

SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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

VOL. V, No. 2

MAR 25 1972 February, 1972

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | |
|---|----|----|
| 1. FEATURE ARTICLE: "Polaroid and South Africa - A Year After the Experiment" | | 3 |
| 2. INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA | | 5 |
| No Exit for Sobukwe and Naidoo | 5 | |
| NUSAS Head with Spro-Cas | 5 | |
| Release of Political Prisoner | 5 | |
| Essop Hearing | 5 | |
| 23 Still Detained | 5 | |
| Government Seeks to Divide Zulus | 5 | |
| Professor Guilty | 6 | |
| Aftermath of October Raids: Timol Hearing | 6 | |
| 3. INSIDE NAMIBIA: Strike Continues as Military Units Move In | | 7 |
| 4. INSIDE ZIMBABWE | | 9 |
| On the Road to Recognition | 9 | |
| The U.N. and the Settlement | 10 | |
| Vultures Move In | 10 | |
| On the African Front | 10 | |
| 5. THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES | | 11 |
| MPLA Plans First National Congress Inside Angola | 11 | |
| China and Portuguese Colonialism | 11 | |
| USSR Base in Guinea Feared by Portugal | 12 | |
| American Companies Exploit Natural Gas in Mozambique | 12 | |
| Planes to be Built in Mozambique | 12 | |
| FRELIMO Harasses all Routes to Cabora Bassa | 12 | |
| Food Shortage Results from Napalming in Angola | 12 | |
| Angolan Oil Production Increases Continue | 12 | |
| Too Much Coffee | 12 | |
| PAIGC Requests U.N. Recognition | 12 | |
| Portuguese Plane Shot Down by Guinea | 12 | |
| FRELIMO Blocks Attempted Portuguese Offensive in Niassa | 12 | |
| U.S. Jazzman Detained in Lisbon | 12 | |
| Continued Sabotage in Portugal | 13 | |
| Portuguese Military Outlay 1967/1968 to 1971 | 13 | |
| 6. ACTION NEWS AND NOTES | | 13 |
| Actions by Liberation Support Groups | 13 | |



| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|----|
| (ACTION NEWS AND NOTES – Continued) | | |
| | Madison Area Committee | 13 |
| | Polaroid Revolutionary Workers | 13 |
| | European Actions | 13 |
| | Aid to Liberation Movements | 14 |
| | OAU Action | 14 |
| | Boss Probe Reveals More Facts | 14 |
| | South African Public Relations Problems | 15 |
| 7. | THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA | 15 |
| | Chrome | 15 |
| | U.S. Position on Rhodesia | 15 |
| | S.A. Imports into the U.S. and Forced Labor | 15 |
| | Diggs Protests About U.S. Policy | 16 |
| | Lee Elder | 16 |
| | Azores Agreement | 16 |
| | Reps and Senators Oppose Pact | 16 |
| | Diggs' Resignation | 17 |
| | Opinion | 17 |
| | How is this Agreement Important to Portugal? | 17 |
| | Panel Report | 17 |
| | Postscript | 18 |
| | What Does the Agreement Mean to the U.S.? | 18 |
| 8. | ECONOMICS | 19 |
| | Rand Devalued | 19 |
| | Nixon Official Suggests "Philadelphia Plan" for South Africa | 20 |
| | General Motors to Expand in South Africa | 20 |
| | South African Economy Continues to Slump | 20 |
| | Black Postal Workers Take Over White Jobs | 21 |
| | South African Economy: Facts and Figures | 21 |
| 9. | THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA | 22 |
| | Radio Rhodesia Condemns World Council of Churches | 22 |
| | Archbishop Demonstrates Against Detention Laws | 22 |
| | British Church Leaders Unhappy with Rhodesian Settlement | 22 |
| | Plan for Social Change Submitted in South Africa | 22 |
| 10. | AT THE UNITED NATIONS | 23 |
| | General Assembly Resolution on Chrome and Nibmar | 23 |
| | Peking in U.N. Supports Liberation Movements | 23 |
| | Special Political Committee Resolution | 23 |
| | Special Report on Maltreatment and Torture of Prisoners | 23 |
| | Council for Namibia Makes Recommendations to Assembly | 24 |
| | Plea to Trade Unions for Intensified Action Against Apartheid in 1972 | 24 |
| 11. | DEFENSE | 24 |
| | Macedonian Cry Sounded | 24 |
| | Portugal-South Africa Axis | 24 |
| | Six Corvettes for South Africa | 25 |
| | Zambia's Show of Force | 25 |
| 12. | SPORTS | 25 |
| 13. | STUDENTS | 26 |
| 14. | CULTURE | 27 |

(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.

POLAROID AND SOUTH AFRICA



(Last year SOUTHERN AFRICA reported in depth on what is known as the "Polaroid Experiment." Polaroid's recent decision to stay in South Africa and continue its experiment merits a major examination by SOUTHERN AFRICA once again.)

On December 30, 1971 the Polaroid Corporation declared that the first year of its "experiment" in South Africa had "exceeded the expectations of many" and stated its intention to remain in South Africa. The announcement was made quietly and without fanfare, in contrast to the full-page newspaper advertisements costing tens of thousands of dollars that heralded the first round of the "Polaroid Experiment."

In the fall of 1970 a number of black workers at Polaroid, calling themselves the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement (PRWM), demanded that Polaroid disengage from South Africa and give substantial sums to South African liberation movements as compensation for their years of profits there. Polaroid, a company with a "liberal" reputation in the U.S., responded eventually by firing several members of PRWM. Polaroid also established a multiracial study team that went to South Africa and returned with recommendations that the company stay and work for change from within South Africa. The PRWM responded by urging a nationwide boycott of Polaroid products.

The PRWM pressure was doubly important since it both symbolized and stimulated a growing concern for Southern Africa in the Black community and since it signalled to all U.S. investors in South Africa that their involvement in South Africa would no longer go unnoticed and unchallenged.

In another vein, certain aspects of the "experiment" provided an easy out for some companies who were looking for ways to assuage public sentiment in the U.S. while operating in a business-as-usual manner in South Africa. Considerable pressure had come from other

companies in 1970 for Polaroid to stay, and Polaroid understood that a decision to withdraw would be a bad precedent for industry as a whole. Others argued that most of the feedback from South Africa would come from an American-financed, well-programmed white liberal community, and that very little authentic feedback was possible or probable from the Black community there or here.

In a time of extreme repression in South Africa when even mild statements and innocuous relief work by church people results in bannings, house arrests, detention without trial, and numerous trials under the Terrorism Act, critics may well ask why the South African Government did not crack down on a program that Polaroid felt was both imaginative and effective. It would seem that the program did not challenge the basic question of white supremacy and white control in South Africa, and therefore it did not merit a crackdown by the Government. Or the Government in no way wished to jeopardize the important influx of foreign investment by landing hard on liberal proposals of U.S. investors.

The Polaroid report stated: "Another of the goals of our experiment as to create some mechanisms for change in the area of black education. . . ." A grant of \$15,000 has been made by Polaroid to a black organized and operated institution. . . . A second grant of \$10,000 was made to the U.S.-South African Leadership Exchange Program. . . . Under this grant two black South Africans and their wives have come to the U.S. for an extended period of travel and study. . . . A third grant of \$50,000 was used to establish a foundation to underwrite educational expenses of black students and teachers in

South Africa. This foundation, called ASSET [American-South African Study and Educational Trust] was organized in May, 1971. . . . Recipients have included blacks, "coloreds," orientals, and Indian students at all levels from high school through college and post-graduate study. Teacher training and vocational training have also been funded. Another 2,000 students have benefited from five special grants made for teacher's salaries in various schools. The number of applications for aid, however, has been overwhelming."

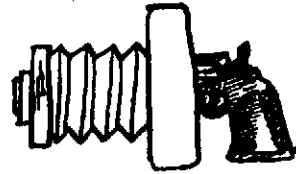
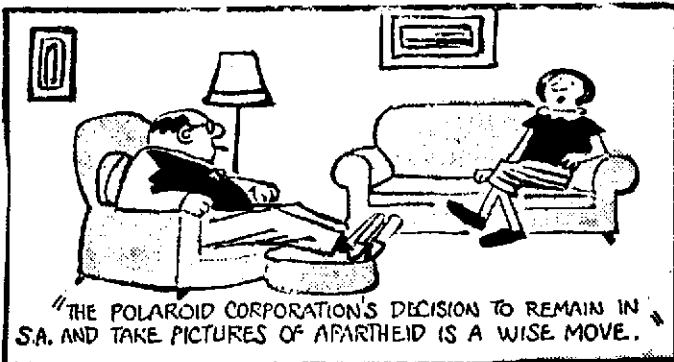
Much might be said about Polaroid's educational efforts. Noticeably lacking is any evaluation of the effect of scholarships for a totally white-run educational system, which according to one former Prime Minsiter is dedicated to making Africans "hewers of wood and drawers of water." If the African educational system is purposely designed to condition pupils into inferiority, how can Polaroid tell the public honestly that their scholarships are progress? Polaroid deludes the U.S. public when it tells us that education and economic growth are a "key to change in South Africa."

Polaroid also proudly points to the grant given to the U.S.-South Africa Leadership Exchange Program. While USALEP may provide chances for Americans and South Africans to study and travel, very few blacks have been part of that program. Furthermore, USALEP openly pushes a pro-dialogue line for Africa and the U.S. with South Africa. This may not be surprising considering the leadership provided by conservative academics like Ned Munger, who advocates acceptance of and aid to the Bantustan policy of South Africa.

In short, Polaroid's education effort may be considered welfare, but hardly a step toward real change. And even the welfare effort serves to perpetuate the system that now obtains in South Africa.

"What specifically did we do in South Africa?" the report asks. "The principle of the same pay for the same job has been accepted and announced publicly. The average monthly salary including bonus for black employees has increased 22%. Individual increases have ranged from 6% to 33%. The average is now about \$127 a month, up from \$105. The minimum wage including bonus has been raised to \$98. Twenty-one black employees (out of a total of 151) now make more than \$182 per month. We feel that further progress is possible in this area. Wage discussions including Polaroid, our distributor, and the Black Employees Committee of that company have already taken place regarding next year."

The report continues: "Eight black supervisors have been appointed during the course of the year in the Computer, Administration, Services, and Distribution Departments. A pension plan with death benefits is already in operation with equal provisions for blacks and whites. A loan service for black employees is in operation and applications are now screened and recommended by the Black Employees Committee."



A report compiled by two research assistants of the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg reaches this conclusion about Polaroid's experiment: "If it was intended to significantly improve the wages and working conditions of black South Africans in general, it must be regarded as a failure." The Financial Mail (Dec. 3, 1971), which labels the Institute report as "somewhat amateurish," also criticizes Polaroid's wage levels. "Can Polaroid justify itself to its U.S. detractors when its distributor still pays some employees the minimum rate allowed by law?"

Polaroid's report continues by stating that black employees have received pay raises averaging 22%. Although the Financial Mail reports that 39 employees whose pay was \$70 are now making \$98, the company claims that the minimum pay is now \$98 per month, and the average is \$127. Even this higher figure gives Polaroid little to brag about. The Johannesburg City Council has estimated that \$98 is the minimum income required by a family of five to live in Soweto, and this excludes such essentials as funds for medical care and education. According to the Institute of Race Relations report, the president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce has set \$140 per month as the necessary income "for families to have any sort of life at all." The Urban Bantu Council concludes that \$155 is the poverty datum line in Soweto.

In addition, it has been reliably reported that Frank & Hirsch (Polaroid's South African agents) refused to consider hiring Africans that were banned since they did not wish to jeopardize Government contracts.

The report concludes with several questions and an evaluation. Noting the positive press accounts, it also mentioned the decision by Barclays and Standard Banks, and an unnamed U.S. auto company to pay equal wages for equal work, stating that most companies in South Africa have refused to make any public statement of their wage policies. Polaroid claims: "We have faced no pressures that would alter what we hoped to achieve. On the contrary, we have been surprised at how much progress has been made in a relatively short time."

The report closes with two pieces of text-proofing. Alan Paton and a black employee of Polaroid are quoted as supporting the Polaroid approach and opposing withdrawal and divestment. The futility of meaningful change is seen in the sincere support letter written by a black Polaroid employee: "The Polaroid program has brought about great ferment in this country and many people seem to be trying to do something about improving the lot of the African people. We have had the case of [a large] bank, which gave a directive to its employees to accord African people the same courtesy accorded to the other racial groups. . . . We are to be addressed as Mr. or Mrs. now. . . . What was started by Polaroid is gaining momentum and if it goes on in this way we hope that sanity may eventually be restored to our troubled country."

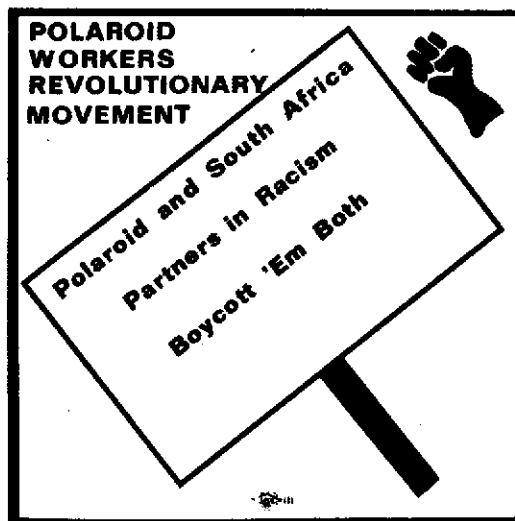
Is an African slave or labor unit really any less an exploited individual because he is not called "boy"? Social change in South Africa is not a matter of nomenclature, but of the vote.

The Polaroid report ends: "In our opinion, relatively little has happened prior to this experiment that could encourage hope for change. The alternative courses of action, after close examination, seem equally bleak to us."

Although in a year's time the visible effects on other companies of our experiment have been limited, the practical achievements in salaries, benefits, and education have shown what can be done. In this respect the experiment has exceeded the expectations of many. Therefore we have decided to continue our program in South Africa."

One of the most insidious overtones of the Polaroid report is the insinuation that serious change can occur in South Africa under the auspices of Polaroid-type programs. Nothing could extend the imagination further. There is little, if any indication that slightly higher wages and scholarships for apartheid education can alter the basic societal structure of South Africa and give political and economic power to the African majority.

Polaroid is basically dishonest with the public when it implies that its program is anything more than a minor relief program. The basic social change needed in South Africa will not result from higher wages and a few scholarships, but when the majority of South Africans decide to take power for themselves.



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

NO EXIT FOR SOBUKWE AND NAIDOO

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, former leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, and Shantie Naidoo, have been refused permission to leave South Africa. Both had been granted exit permits, but both are restricted to areas that prevent them from travelling to a port of exit. An appeal to the Transvaal Supreme Court failed, and both must remain trapped within South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Dec. 3, 1971)

NUSAS HEAD WITH SPRO-CAS

Neville Curtis, president of the National Union of South African Students, has been appointed an organizer-liaison officer on the Christian Action project SPRO-CAS (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society). Curtis will be succeeded in the NUSAS post by Paul Pretorius, a graduate of the University of Natal. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Dec. 3, 1971)

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONER

Hugh Francis Lewin has been freed from Pretoria Local Prison after serving a seven-year term for sabotage. He was convicted in 1964 of sabotage, allegedly planned by the African Resistance Movement. Lewin was held in 90-day detention in July, 1964 after Security Police visited his office. Only 90 minutes after the explosion of a bomb on the Johannesburg Station on July 24, he was taken to the scene by police to view the bloodstained concourse. His defense counsel argued at his trial that the acts of sabotage contemplated were intended purely as protests against the Government policy with no intention to endanger life. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Nov. 30, 1971)

ESSOP HEARING

Mohammed Essop was detained on Oct. 23 during the police raids. On Oct. 27 his father went to the Verwoerd Hospital where authorities denied that his son was a patient. However, Essop caught a glimpse of his son who appeared to be very ill. Nine doctors and nurses who are alleged to have been withholding information will be summoned to give evidence in the Supreme Court in Pretoria on Feb. 22. (Guardian, London, Dec. 8, 1971)

23 STILL DETAINED

At least 23 people are still detained under the Terrorism Act, with no further releases reported since the Christmas weekend. Only four of the detainees so far released are standing trial—all on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 31, 1971)

The Black Sash is organizing daily lunch-hour demonstrations in Johannesburg which will continue until "all the people who are known to be detained have been either charged or released." In order to hold these demonstrations, the Black Sash must seek permission from the City Council for each of these daily stands. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Dec. 3, 1971)

GOVERNMENT SEEKS TO DIVIDE ZULUS

During the first week of December, ceremonies were held in Zululand to install Chief Zwelithini Goodwill Ka Cyprian Chekuzulu as Paramount Chief of the Zulus. Vorster's Government is backing the Paramount Chief against the Chief Executive Officer of the Zululand Territorial Authority, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, installed Chief Bekhezulu and warned the Zulu people: "You must guard against his (the King's) status and position being undermined, and no member of your Government should consider his own position to be more important and exalted than that of the Paramount Chief. Precautions should be taken to ensure that he is not relegated to a mere figurehead. Certain safeguards in this connection can be taken by way of provisions in the draft constitution which is now being drawn up for the Zulu Legislative Assembly." (Times, London, Dec. 4, 1971)

Prior to the installation, rumors were circulating that Chief Buthelezi's life was in danger if he attended the ceremonies. The reports of the death threats were circulating so widely that some of Buthelezi's associates advised him not to attend the coronation. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 27, 1971) However, he did attend. Buthelezi's territorial executive, which has limited ruling powers in Zululand pending the establishment of an elective assembly early in January, has already voted against a provision in the draft constitution that would enable the King to appoint and dismiss his own chief



minister, the post that Buthelezi expects to receive. (Times, Longon, Dec. 4, 1971)

Buthelezi responded to Botha's speech by bluntly accusing the Vorster Government of campaigning to have him removed as Chief Executive Officer, and of negating the basic principle of self-determination for the Zulus. (Guardian, London, Dec. 6, 1971) Members of both the United Party and the Progressive Party have criticized the Government's action and told the Government to stay out of Zulu affairs. Botha has been accused of trying to set up a puppet government in Zululand. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 11, 1971)

The South African Government has never liked Buthelezi's outspoken criticism, as he is an embarrassment to them over and over again. On Jan. 12, Buthelezi's interim Assembly voted unanimously to delete all reference to allegiance to the South African Government from the oath being written for a Zululand legislative authority. Buthelezi said at a meeting of the authority that he was "conscience-bound to disagree" with many laws made by the South African Government. He could not accept an oath of allegiance to the Government. He mentioned particularly laws requiring the carrying of passes and laws designating jobs for whites or blacks. The oath will offer respect and honor to the President of the State and the Zulu Paramount Chief, but not to the Government. (New York Times, Jan. 13, 1972)

PROFESSOR GUILTY

Barend van Niekerk, Professor of Law at the University of Natal gave a speech on Nov. 9, 1971 at the Durban City Hall. He criticized the legal profession for their lack of action against the country's Terrorism Act. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971) Subsequently, the South African police confiscated a copy of the speech from the offices of the Daily News, and Professor van Niekerk was brought to trial. On Dec. 17 he was found

guilty of contempt of court in the Durban Supreme Court, and fined \$140. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 18, 1971) Professors of Law in Natal and the Transvaal have strongly condemned the "act of intimidation" against van Niekerk, and against legitimate protest in general. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971)

AFTERMATH OF OCTOBER RAIDS: TIMOL HEARING

Ahmed Timol, taken into custody by police in the October Security Police raids, fell to his death from the 10th floor of police headquarters in Johannesburg on Oct. 26. The inquest into the death began in the Johannesburg Regional Court on Dec. 1. The magistrate, J. J. de Villiers, refused the Timol family access to documents and information that they must have in order not to be prejudiced in the conduct of the proceedings. The refusal is irregular and not in accordance with the provisions of the Inquest Act. The dispute over the documents led to a postponement til Jan. 24. The postponement was granted by the Supreme Court in Pretoria. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 18, 1971)

QUOTE OF THE DAY

"Durban—The sight of a hospital official brandishing an electric cattle prodder 'to get kaffirs moving,' was one of the reasons a German nursing sister gave for leaving South Africa."

(Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 11, 1971)

INSIDE NAMIBIA



Main offices and mine shaft of Tsumeb mines — Tsumeb, Namibia.

NAMIBIA STRIKE CONTINUES AS MILITARY UNITS MOVE IN

Despite the steady movement of South African troops into Namibia this week, there is no indication that striking workers have accepted the proposed settlement of the six-week-long walkout. The terms mark the first time in history that black strikers have forced major labor concessions from the South African Government, but reports reaching New York say the workers are unsatisfied. Although the accord reached between South Africa and the Ovambo and Okavango tribal authorities makes some changes in the contract labor system that was central to the dispute, most of the strikers demands were ignored.

Since Dec. 13, 15,000 workers have downed tools, crippling mines, factories, farms, and services of the territory South Africa rules in defiance of both United Nations and World Court decisions. South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia, or South West Africa, was ended by the U.N. in 1966, and in June of 1971 the World Court confirmed the illegality of South Africa's continued control.

Most of the strikers are from the Ovambo tribe. Early in the work stoppage, South Africa attempted to recruit strike-breakers from other groups, but the effort failed. Negotiations took place in the town of Grootfontein between the Government of South Africa and the tribal chiefs it pays to implement its policies. Employers were also present. A representative of Newmont Mining Company which manages Tsumeb Corporation—the largest employer in the territory—flew from New York to attend the talks; workers themselves were unrepresented. Strikers' demands to transfer proceedings to Ovamboland, the traditional homeland where workers' families live while they fulfill labor contracts in the mines and industries of the south, were ignored.

Deployment of South African Defense Forces to Ovamboland, in the northern part of the territory, follows allegations in the South African press that the Government has imposed a "news blackout" over the area. In an interview with Radio South Africa, Prime Minister Johannes Vorster denied the charges, but admitted that combat units are being used to aid police in quelling "intimidators trying to cause trouble." (Radio South Africa, Jan. 27, 1972)

Earlier, on Jan. 12, police reinforcements were flown into Ovamboland from Pretoria, 1,000 miles away. Last week's decision to use regular army troops indicates the seriousness with which South Africa regards the continuing strike.

Radio South Africa announced on Friday, Jan. 28 that 1,200 Africans have registered with the new labor offices provided for in the agreement, and that 800 of them have already left for their places of work. The remainder are presumably holding out, but there has been no official reaction from the 24-person strike committee formed earlier to articulate worker grievances. The sparcity of news from Ovamboland, and the increasing show of force by the Government, leads to fears that the strike is being crushed by the authorities.

Namibia has been the scene of clashes with Government officials since 1966 when the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) launched an armed struggle aimed at independence for the territory. On Jan. 6, a SWAPO-planted land mine exploded in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia's northwest corner, killing a sergeant and wounding three policemen. (New York Times, Jan. 7, 1972)

On Jan. 10, the Commissioner General for the Northern Territories, Jannie de Wet, revealed that two Ovambo headmen—Government-supporting tribal leaders—were injured in an assault. De Wet claimed the

8

attacks were unrelated to the strike, but the Windhoek Advertiser quoted reports that the trouble sprang out of tension between headmen and workers. Nineteen days later Radio South Africa announced that 60 armed Ovambos had attacked a unit of South African police, wounding two. Two of the attackers were killed. (Radio South Africa, Jan. 28, 1972)

Among those who feel that the strike agreement is unsatisfactory is Colin Winter, Anglican Bishop of Damaraland. When contacted by telephone by church officials from the U.S., Winter said that "After a sober reading of the settlement, one is left in puzzled confusion." Pointing out that opposition is coming from other groups besides Ovambos, he mentioned that Chief Clemens Kapuuo of the Herero people dismissed the settlement as meaningless.

The contract labor system has made virtual slaves of 40,000 Ovambo laborers, for whom striking is a criminal offense. Under the new agreement, workers will be able to

change jobs more easily, but demands for higher wages, abolition of the pass system, and the freedom of families to accompany workers to their places of employment went unmet. (Windhoek Advertiser, Jan. 21, 1972)

Two American companies—American Metal Climax [AMAX] and Newmont Mining—own the controlling interests in Tsumeb Corporation. According to a Tsumeb official, none of the 5,000 company employees who end their strike and return to work can expect immediate pay raises, though the firm plans "some future upgrading." Tsumeb earned \$15 million in profits for its U.S. owners in 1970. It pays its average African worker \$28 per month.

Sources in Namibia estimate that, owing to a year of good rains in a usually arid area, strikers and their families have two to three weeks of food supplies left. Relief and aid can be sent to them through:

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa
14 West 11th
New York, N.Y. 10011



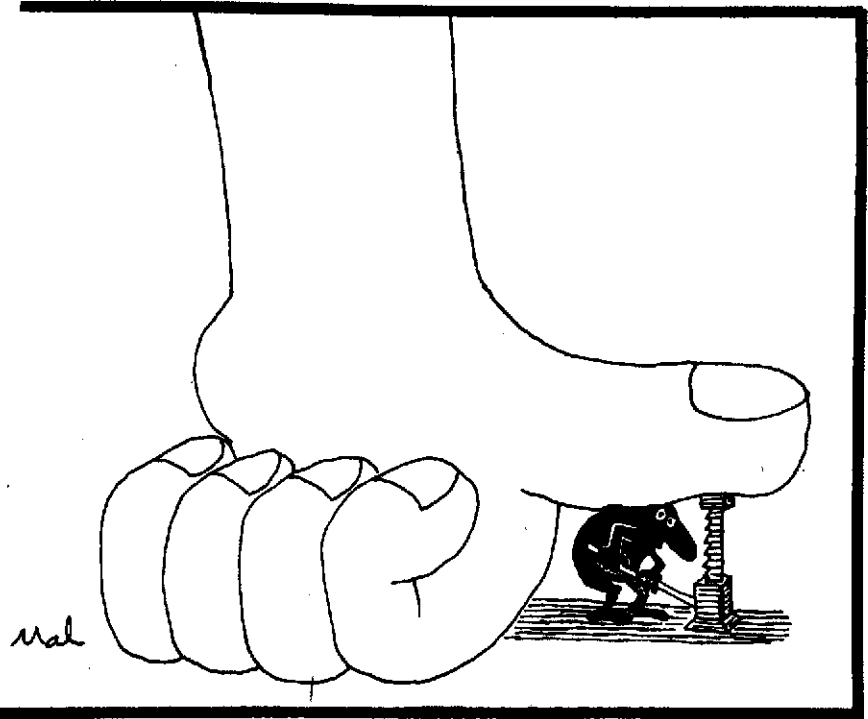
Ovambo miners leaving compound at Tsumeb mine—Tsumeb, Namibia.

February 4, 1961

The first armed revolutionary action took place in Luanda, Angola, led by M.P.L.A.

February 13, 1964

First P.A.I.G.C. Congress held inside Guinea. Creation of FARP (Peoples Revolutionary Armed Forces), which would be the existing guerrilla forces, a Regular Army, and a Popular Militia.



ON THE ROAD TO RECOGNITION

"Now we must concentrate on strengthening our economy and fortifying the strong links and associations we have established with our friends in the free world," said Rhodesia's Foreign Minister Jack Howman in an address to the Lions' Clubs International. (Rhodesian Herald, Nov. 29, 1971) This is the view of the Rhodesian Government to the settlement recently reached with Britain. African advancement is not part of their scheme of things, and may indeed jeopardize their plan. According to British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home. However, one the major reasons for the settlement was to bring about African advancement by creating more work for the Africans. (Guardian, London, Dec. 2, 1971). Africans reject both views of the settlement. The Rhodesian view means consolidation of power to oppress them and the British view means a society where the African will forever be the worker, the labor force, and never the master of his destiny.

South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster congratulated Smith and the British Government for the constitutional agreement reached after five years of an impasse. "A prosperous Rhodesia restored to international respectability would be a big asset to South Africa; would help to secure her northern boundaries and improve the stability of the whole of Southern Africa," said Vorster. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 27, 1971).

Smith has the support of the Tory Party and government in England, the South African Government and the establishment white liberals of South Africa and Rhodesia. The Johannesburg Star, which purports to reflect liberal white opinion in South Africa, called the settlement "Rhodesia's great new chance." In an editorial the paper said that only extremists on both sides will reject the settlement. The paper urges those "with interests of all races at heart should applaud the decision."

Opinions of South Africa's white liberals are very close to those of the Tory Party in England reflected by Lord Goodman, the man who negotiated the settlement. In a defense of his efforts in seeking an agreement, Goodman admits that Africans were sold out "during the long years

of British colonial administration which, notwithstanding our reserved powers, accepted discriminatory legislation against black men," and yet he found it possible in this situation to negotiate a constitution that leaves Africans at the mercy of the the same settlers. Because African states are themselves in no position to help Rhodesian Africans, and because Rhodesian Africans are effectively oppressed by British settlers, the British Government cannot do anything but legitimize the situation in hope of influencing settlers in the future, said Goodman.

Lord Goodman believes majority "rule will arrive within 15 or 16 years." He criticizes opponents of his plan who have not been to Rhodesia and yet rejects the forecast of a recognized scholar on the constitution of Rhodesia, whose husband was a member of Parliament in Rhodesia for over a decade, Dr. Claire Palley. Her prognosis is majority rule in 64 years, and even this is based on factors which many Africans would reckon to be totally unrealistic. (Observer, London, Dec. 5, 1971).

According to the Guardian (London, Dec. 2, 1971) most members of Smith's right-wing party had gone along with him. There were some grumblings and one outspoken criticism by the magazine, PROPERTY AND FINANCE, but in general the settlers agreed with the settlement. One woman who had written earlier criticizing Smith apologized later, after some explanations. Smith denied that the explanations implied "tearing up the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement in two or three years."

The South African Star put the situation more positively. "There will be no significant right-wing revolt in Rhodesia against the terms of settlement." (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 4, 1971).

Even the multiracial liberal white Center Party of Rhodesia is now urging Africans to accept the settlement. Former P.M. Garfield Todd is also said to support the settlement.

The opposition to the settlement comes from the Africans of Zimbabwe, Africans throughout the continent, and from Labor and Liberal Party circles in Britain who are in touch with Africans.

Leader of Britain's Labour Party, Harold Wilson, said

he expected the party to take the view that the settlement did not meet the five principles that the British Government had previously committed itself to. (Guardian, London, Nov. 11, 1971). Labour foreign affairs spokesman, Denis Healey, called the settlement a "shabby charade." Young Liberals led a torchlight demonstration outside the Prime Minister's offices. Placards of the group accused Douglas-Home of selling out to racists the same way he had sold out to Hitler at Munich. Douglas-Home was one of the Foreign Office officials that signed the Munich agreement. In a letter to the Rhodesia Herald (December 12, 1971), G.C. Grant, a well known and well respected minister in Rhodesia, accused the British Government of washing its hands "of the responsibilities to the African people of Rhodesia and to save the conscience with L50 m. . . . In effect the proposals are little more than an evasion of the five principles."

THE U.N. AND THE SETTLEMENT

At the United Nations the British Government blocked all efforts by members to intervene in the Rhodesian situation. British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Joseph Godber, has indicated that Britain will grant Rhodesia independence irrespective of what the United Nations or Security Council says. For the past five years Britain has been wooing the support of the U.N. and the Security Council in making the U.N. economic sanctions which Britain asked for work, but now that England has Rhodesia as it wants, Britain does not want the U.N. any more.

According to the Rhodesia Herald (Dec. 1, 1971) Godber indicated that when the settlement is ratified Britain will consider the function of the sanctions to have been accomplished, i.e. she will want them withdrawn. Meanwhile African and Afro-Asian States at the U.N. show division on whether to go along with Britain and pressure for United Nations observers in Rhodesia or to oppose the whole settlement and chart their own policy. British Minister of State Godber indicated that even if Britain approved of observers Smith could turn down the proposals and there was nothing they could do. (Guardian, London, Dec. 1, 1971.)

In the meantime, the British Government announced the last two names of the commission of jurists who are supposed to test the acceptability of the settlement among Rhodesia's 250,000 settlers and 5,500,000 Africans (Guardian, London, Dec. 4, 1971). The chairman of the commission is Lord Pearce, one of the few Privy Council members who supported the legality of Smith's UDI Government. Other two members are Lord Harlech and Sir Maurice Dorman. After speculation that the Government was failing to find a jurist of international standing who would go along with the legitimization of the Smith Government, Sir Frederick Pedler who worked with the United Africa Company in West Africa and Sir Glyn Jones, the last Governor of Malawi, have been appointed to the five man commission. (Guardian, London, Dec. 12, 1971). Smith said he expected ratification of the agreement and withdrawal of sanctions by next August. (Guardian, London, Dec. 7, 1971).

VULTURES MOVE IN

Even before the sanctions are legally lifted, foreign businessmen are moving into Rhodesia like vultures after a kill. According to the Guardian (London, Dec. 3, 1971), a large delegation selling technical equipment arrived in Salisbury and is meeting with various companies in the main towns. Several other delegations, including one from the British Aircraft Corporation, are already in the country. Manager of Air Rhodesia, Pat Travers, disclosed

that Rhodesia has been sending its personnel to South Africa for jet training. Rhodesia expects to change over to jet aircraft as soon as sanctions are lifted. Foreign exchange is Rhodesia's only major problem, and that is where British loans will come in handy.

According to the Guardian (London, Dec. 5, 1971) there is a row brewing over British aid to Rhodesia. The Government is set on creating African areas and is therefore spending large sums on irrigation projects to make the African village farmer in the low rainfall areas a cash-cropper. Economic studies (Sadie Report) have indicated that such efforts will not succeed because the soil and the rainfall in most of the African areas cannot carry any larger populations than there are now. An alternative plan (the Savory plan) suggests concentrating on cattle farming in the African areas. This plan is gaining ground although the Government has not paid too much attention to it. All the plans aim at excluding the African from the regular industrial economy of the country and creating a separate cattle or agricultural economy for him. The British Government is going to pay for this separate development. Separate development is another word for apartheid, which is another word for labor reservoir in economics.

According to the Star (Johannesburg, Dec. 4, 1971) international bankers are considering plans to lend substantial sums to Rhodesia. They are planning loans of \$700,000 million in short, medium and long-term formats. The British businessmen were given a shot in the arm by the Foreign Office which issued instructions that they could now go to Rhodesia and take business orders. (Rhodesia Sunday Mail, Dec. 5, 1971).

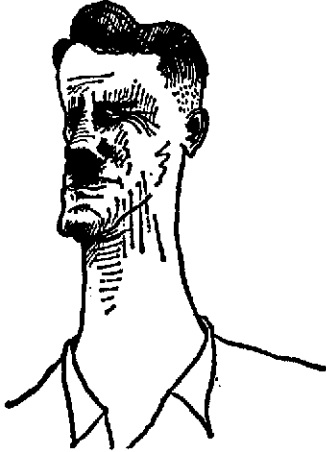
The biggest build-up, however, is the tobacco industry, which was once a multi-million dollar industry. President of the Rhodesia Tobacco Assn., Sandy Firks, said that the crop would be back to pre-UDI levels within two years. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 4, 1971). Rhodesian farmers hope to undercut American tobacco which has taken its place on the European market.

ON THE AFRICAN FRONT

On the African front several groups have been formed and others revamped to fight against the new constitution. It looked until recently that their chances of reaching the African population would be slim because according to the settlement game only those political parties with parliamentary representation are going to be given the chance to speak at meetings or on radio and TV. The largest group of African members of Parliament belong to a Settler Party, the Center Party, which has already indicated it is going to urge Africans to support the settlement. The only African party with parliamentary representation is that of Josiah Gondo, the National People's Union, which has already announced that it is going to fight the settlement. (Sunday Mail, Dec. 5, 1971).

One Africa party has emerged from former supporters of banned parties, the African National Council, led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Among the office holders of the new party are: Michael Mawema (ZANU), Josiah Chinamano (ZAPU) and Edison Sithole (ZANU). The deputy chairman of the Council is the Rev. Canaan Banana of Bulawayo. Bishop Muzorewa told a press conference that acceptance of the settlement would be a betrayal of the Africans. "We cannot be vendors of our own heritage and rights. Therefore the Africans' responsible answer should be an emphatic 'NO.' " (Guardian, London, Dec. 17, 1971). A former ZANU leader just released from six years detention, Edison Zvogbo, said Africans must stand fast and fight for "majority rule now." He confirmed that all the detainees

reject the British proposals and called for a referendum of all peoples conducted by an international organization. The Security Council and the General Assembly of the U.N. have invited Ndabaningi Sithole and Joshua Nkomo, leaders of ZANU and ZAPU, respectively, to appear before the world body. Sithole is serving a prison sentence on conspiracy charges and his executive is still detained in Salisbury prison; Nkomo is detained in a remote camp in southeastern Rhodesia with most of his executive members. The chances of Rhodesia allowing them to leave the country are zero. Smith is still in control no matter what the British say.



J. C. Soares
Prime Minister Ian Smith

flash flash flash

Since the time of writing it is evident that the people of Zimbabwe have organized themselves both in the urban and rural areas against the British-Rhodesian settlement. This united demonstration of 'NO' to the sell-out occurred in four major cities where thousands of people gathered in the streets, and where it is reported that the Rhodesian authorities killed 14, and also in tribal areas where Britain expected a yes vote but instead found well disciplined and unanimous articulation against the settlement. The Pearce Commission is continuing its investigation of opinion but it unclear how the British Government will be able to continue with the sham settlement after such a clear and bold statement by the African majority against it. A MORE DETAILED REPORT OF AFRICAN ACTION AND REACTIONS NEXT MONTH.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

portuguese africa



It's boiling . . .

Behrendt in HET PAROOL, Amsterdam

M.P.L.A. PLANS FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS INSIDE ANGOLA

More than 300 MPLA cadres met Sept. 27-Oct. 3, 1971 in their Quitexe base to plan for the first National Congress of the MPLA, to take place in the near future "someplace inside Angola." The Congress will discuss such questions as: structural changes in the movement, changes in the MPLA program, formation of a regular army, creation of a popular National Assembly, creation of an Angolan currency. (Africasia, No. 56).

CHINA AND PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

In its opening statements in the United Nations, the People's Republic of China pointedly affirmed support for the national liberation movements of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), stating that the "continued existence of colonialism in all its manifestations is a provocation against the peoples of the world," and noting especially that although Portugal voted for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the U.N., Portugal must have no illusions. China would

not refrain from attacking its colonial policies nor could there be official governmental relations between China and Portugal. (The New York Times, Nov. 9 and 16, 1971)

USSR BASE IN GUINEA FEARED BY PORTUGAL

Lisbon is reported to fear that the USSR has an effective naval "base" in Conakry, Guinea, neighbor to Guinea (Bissau) where the Portuguese are fighting (Daily Telegraph, U.K., Oct. 11, 1971).

PORTUGUESE BARRACKS DESTROYED IN ANGOLA

Nov. 3, 1971, MPLA guerrillas attacked and destroyed the Jimbe barracks (MPLA communique Nov. 10, 1971). On Oct. 6, 1971, MPLA guerrillas attacked the Ninda barracks. In early October also the Muie post of the Portuguese was attacked and six houses destroyed. (MPLA communique Nov. 11, 1971).

AMERICAN COMPANIES EXPLOIT NATURAL GAS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Amoco and Pan American Oil of Mozambique are exploiting the natural gas deposits of Pande, Mozambique. A pipeline for natural gas is being built from Pande to South Africa. (Journal do Comercio of Portugal, Nov. 30, 1971).

PLANES TO BE BUILT IN MOZAMBIQUE

Deutsche überseeische Bank (W. Germany) in Sept. 1971 noted that a licence contract has been given a Portuguese concern to build a factory in Mozambique which by 1973 will be constructing planes and parts of planes. It will be located either in Nampula or in Lourenco Marques. The same report indicated that American Mobil Oil plans to build a new oil refinery in Nacala, Mozambique.

FRELIMO HARRASSES ALL ROUTES TO CABORA BASSA

The Star South Africa News Service reported on Nov. 13, 1971 the Portuguese claims to success in Mozambique ending the article with the note that "all attempts by infiltrators to reach the Cabora Bassa dam site in Tete district have also been checked." However, only a week later on Nov. 20 the Star's correspondent in Salisbury reported "Terrorist land mines blasted a convoy of trucks on the Tete road this week" and in a second item the same day the Star reports from Tete that "Portuguese forces are pursuing a 20-strong band of guerillas who this week blew up five rail trucks and 400m of track on the line in southeastern Tete district along which supplies go to the huge Cabora Bassa scheme... the track was blased between the stations of Chueza and Msito, 136 km from Tete." And again on Dec. 4, the Star reports that the preceding Wednesday "Frelimo guerillas blew up a supply train on the railway line to Vila Cabral, injuring three men and extensively damaging the engine and three trucks" (trucks=railway cars). The explosion was near Catur close to the Malawian border.

In addition Le Monda on Nov. 23 noted that seven Portuguese soldiers were killed and 15 others wounded near Nacala, Mozambique on Nov. 11 when Frelimo attacked a military transport train. Dec. 22 The Guardian (U.K.) confirmed the previously mentioned attacks and minings and added that in mid-December "the guerillas rerailed a railway truck carrying cement supplies for Cabora Bassa. The next day they detonated charges on the line to the dam, and derailed and damaged four bulk cement carriers."

FOOD SHORTAGE RESULTS FROM NAPALMING IN ANGOLA

The Times of Zambia (12/9/71) interviewed Paramount Chief Kazungo of the Mbunda when he was in Lusaka for medical treatment. He reported that the destruction of crops in Angola by Portuguese napalm bombs had caused extensive food shortages with people in some areas depending heavily on wild fruit. However, peoples from different parts of the liberated areas are attempting to share unspoiled crops with those whose crops were destroyed, insofar as this is possible. The chief urged Angolan exiles to return to help with the struggle to oust the Portuguese and end the napalming and resultant starvation.

ANGOLAN OIL PRODUCTION INCREASES CONTINUE

Crude petroleum production in Angola rose from 749,514 tons in 1968 to 2,457,510 tons in 1969. Exports rose from 16,764 tons to 1,502,391 tons. Nearly all the increase was from the concession of the Cabinda Gulf Oil Co. In 1970 total exports exceeded 4.2 million tons, valued at \$51.4 milli (U.N. Document A/8398/Add.1, Dec. 6, 1971 of General Assembly).

TOO MUCH COFFEE

Marches Tropicaux (Dec. 25, 1971) reports an internal coffee crisis in Angola due to overproduction. There is now a stockpile of more than 2 million sacks (120,000 tons) of Angolan coffee from surplus production beyond the amount that could be exported in the past few years.

P.A.I.G.C. REQUESTS U.N. RECOGNITION

M. Gil Fernandes of PAIGC in a statement delivered to the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly (30 Nov. 1971) requested that the United Nations recognize the PAIGC as the true representative of people of Guinea/Bissau and as the only authority in the Territory, and that the PAIGC be admitted as associate member in the specialized agencies, as well as that the various specialized agencies begin to grant material help as they had been instructed to do by the General Assembly.

PORTUGUESE PLANE SHOT DOWN BY GUINEA

Radio Conakry announced that on Nov. 20, 1971 a Portuguese reconnaissance plane was shot down in the region of Boke, about 200 miles north-west of Conakry. (Times of Zambia, Dec. 8, 1971).

FRELIMO BLOCKS ATTEMPTED PORTUGUESE OFFENSIVE IN NIASSA

A Frelimo communique of Dec. 13 noted that in October, the Portuguese brought in troops by helicopter in the regions of Macalogue, Megangula, and Mwembe but only managed to stay 17 days, during which "they were constantly attacked by our artillery, infantry, and sabotage units" which killed "about 60" of them, blew up 13 vehicles, destroyed one camp and damaged another, and sabotaged three bridges. Before retreating, the Portuguese reportedly killed two civilians, wounded three, and arrested others, and brutalized the population through torture, burning of huts and crops, etc. (Standard of Tanzania, Dec. 14, 1971.)

U.S. JAZZMAN DETAINED IN LISBON

Charlie Hayden was detained for questioning when at a jazz festival in Portugal he dedicated a song to the people of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea/Bissau. (Standard, Tanzania, Nov. 26, 1971)

CONTINUED SABOTAGE IN PORTUGAL

Near the middle of Nov., the NATO communications center at Fonte de Telha in Portugal was bombed, and also a battery of four guns at another site, three miles from Lisbon. (Guardian, U.K. Nov. 20).

PORTUGUESE MILITARY OUTLAY 1967/8 to 1971

The Portuguese military budget comes in many parts. Within the general Portuguese budget are military expenses listed under both ordinary and extraordinary expenses. In 1968 the total of military budget in these two categories was \$305.6 million. In 1971 it was \$396.45 million. In addition, however are the separate "provincial" budgets. The Angolan military budget in

1967 was \$28.9 million and in 1971 was \$70.97 million. In Mozambique the 1967 military budget was \$31 million and in 1971 \$42.4 million. In Guinea/Bissau the military budget was \$3.3 and in 1971 it was \$6.1. The Cape Verde military budget was \$0.7 million in 1967 and \$1.35 million in 1971. (Sources: Portugal. Rapport sur le Budget General de L'Etat, 1968, 1969, 1970, and Portugal. Diario do Governo, Series I, 1967-1971).

In 1967/8 Portugal's Armed Forces totalled 148,500 which by 1970/1 had increased to 185,500, of whom about 57,000, including those locally enlisted are in Angola; 43,000 in Mozambique; and 25,000 in Guinea/Bissau. (Institute for Strategic Studies. The Military Balance, 1967-68 to 1970-71).

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

ACTIONS BY LIBERATION SUPPORT GROUPS

A new committee has been formed in Chicago called the "Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea" (2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614). It is working to provide material support to liberation movements (MPLA, PAIGC, and FRELIMO) and to end U.S. collusion with the Portuguese. The committee is calling upon Chicago and Illinois area people to join in its work, to pledge, or contribute.

MADISON AREA COMMITTEE

The Madison Area Southern Africa Committee (MACSA) of Madison, Wis. is organizing a fund-raising drive for medical supplies that will go to MPLA and FRELIMO.

POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement (Box 8487, Boston, Mass.) is now producing a newsletter. Prior to the "phase two" decision of Polaroid Corporation to stay in South Africa (see Economics section), the workers issued a report that pointed out that Polaroid has lost about \$15 million in sales in 1971. Calling for a continued international boycott of Polaroid products, the group also condemned the Boston NAACP for accepting a \$36,000 gift from Polaroid, calling it a "slap in the face of the Boston Black Community that gave a \$20,000 Polaroid gift to Southern African liberation groups and a liberation group in Cairo, Ill." (Bay State Banner, Nov. 4, 1971) The PRWM reports that Polaroid photograph equipment will be used in conjunction with IBM computers to set up the new population registration system in South Africa, and announced that its work would focus also on the use of Polaroid instant ID systems in the high schools (Boston, Cambridge, Berkeley, and elsewhere) as well as expanded ID's used for transit and credit cards. (Press Release, Oct. 27, 1971)

EUROPEAN ACTIONS

An anti-apartheid movement has been formed to coordinate actions in Holland by students at the FREE UNIVERSITY in AMSTERDAM. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 4, 1971)

In ENGLAND, American Black DICK GREGORY is participating in concerts on the South African issue organized by the INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE AND AID FUND. (Guardian, London, Dec. 8, 1971)

At several universities there have been more actions on the corporate level. At HULL, BRITISH STUDENTS are demanding that the school divest itself of shares in



Reckett and Colman, Ltd., in which Hull University is the second largest shareholder. While at TRINITY IN DUBLIN the Board decided not to invest in companies that supply goods used to enforce apartheid (and will probably be selling its shares of Polaroid). (Anti-Apartheid News, December-January, 1972).

The FRENCH TRADE UNION (CGT) held meetings recently with the South African Congress of Trade Unions and announced its policy of opposing the sales of French arms to South Africa.

DUTCH TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS affiliated with the ICFTU have demanded that Portugal be rejected from associate membership in the Common Market until Portugal makes concessions in terms of internal repression and its "brutal colonial wars." The unions have appealed to the Dutch Parliament for action. The group is also protesting the arrest of the Portuguese labor leader in detention since June. (Standard, Tanzania, Dec. 30, 1971)

At the Annual General Meeting of the BRITISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT resolutions were passed calling for an intensified campaign for South African political prisoners, condemning the sellout in Rhodesia, and urging greater work with trade unions. The meeting rejected "dialogue" and called for more aid to the liberation movements. Some five British companies were picked as targets for their collaboration with South Africa. (Anti-Apartheid News, December-January, 1972)

AID TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The German African Society and League for Friendship is producing a second math book for use by FRELIMO. (Standard, Tanzania, Nov. 29, 1971) A TANU study group has presented the Mozambique Front with donations of books and pencils for use at the FRELIMO Tunduru school.

The FAO VOTED "to render all possible moral and material assistance within the mandate of the FAO, to the peoples struggling for their liberation from colonial rule." Apparently at the FAO meeting in Rome in late November, the issue developed into a real struggle. The debate went on for nine hours and was passed by only a vote of 40 (64 nations did not vote, 14 abstained, and 7 voted against [U.S., U.K., Belgium, Brazil, Spain, Portugal, and Italy].) An analysis of the voting prepared by The Washington Post showed how the balance of powers have changed, while although the U.S. underwrites one third of the U.N. specialized agency's budget, it failed to gather votes to its side. The resolution really only fulfilled one passed by the General Assembly calling for actual programs to aid the peoples of Southern Africa through the OAU and the liberation movements. But the old FAO standards of respecting the sovereignty of states and impartiality were deemed as radically altered by the resolution that had been sponsored by Guinea, Tanzania, and Algeria. Apparently the FAO mission to Africa which consulted with the movements returned with a limited recommendation, implying that aid should not go to liberated zones. The resolution passed in late November pushed the organization beyond that, causing splits and problems. (The Washington Post, Dec. 9, 1971)

The SWEDISH GOVERNMENT will aid the PAIGC with a loan worth \$990,000 to enable the movement to buy clothing and food from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). (Agence France Presse, Dec. 11, 1971)

The BRITISH LABOUR PARTY and TRADE UNION CONGRESS members have contributed \$3,000 to a solidarity fund for FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC. In the future grants might go to the South African movements, while at present the policy toward Rhodesia is to work within political government structure until all political possibilities are finished. There are no strings attached to

CHICAGO BOOKSTORE CARRIES SOUTHERN AFRICA MATERIALS

A new book center on the third world has opened in Chicago entitled the New World Resource Center. It carries materials from African groups, including the Africa Research Group, American Committee on Africa, Liberation Support Movement, Madison Area Committee, and London Defense and Aid Committee. For a literature list, write: New World Resource Center, 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. The Center has materials also on Latin America, Pacific Rim, Indochina, and other related topics.

the aid provided to the movements. (Guardian, London, Dec. 21, 1971) The Labour Party's fund has not been without its enemies both within its own ranks and outside for its action. (Daily Telegraph, London, Dec. 22, 1971)

OAU ACTION

The OAU delegation led by President Daddah of Mauritania met with Dutch Government representatives and called upon NATO countries to stop aiding Portugal in its African wars. The OAU Defense Commission met in Ethiopia in mid-December and the military experts from 30 African states finalized a series of recommendations for the OAU summit in June that include the creation of regional defense systems, an "Office of the Military Defense Advisers" within the OAU General Secretariat (its role would include gathering military information for the liberation movements), and a permanent defense committee to meet every six months. (Agence France Presse, Dec. 18, 1971) The meeting declared that an attack on any independent African state would mean aggression against all members of the OAU. (Standard, Tanzania, Dec. 23, 1971)

Meanwhile, President Amin of Uganda, in a seeming turnabout from his "dialogue" days with South Africa, has offered the OAU Defense Committee the use of Uganda territory as training ground for such forces. (Standard, Tanzania, Dec. 4, 1971; Agence France Presse, Dec. 14, 1971; Times, London, Dec. 14, 1971) Amin said Uganda could provide a good air force school, instructors, and central location not proximate to Southern Africa. (Agence France Presse, Dec. 15, 1971) The Congo (Brazzaville) labelled that offer as a plot to gain control of the African liberation movements and mentioned the role of Israelis in the Ugandan military. (Standard, Tanzania, Dec. 17, 1971)

BOSS PROBE REVEALS MORE FACTS

The complex nature of the South African/British spy ring operating in England is being steadily uncovered in documents and testimony compiled by Labour and Liberal MP's. In December a report in the works for three months was presented to the Home Secretary that showed that South African intelligence had been working out of the South African Embassy for the last eight years. Most information came from a former spy, Blackburn, recently paroled after being convicted in 1967 of receiving and passing on Cabinet documents on the Rhodesian issue. Blackburn said that from 1965-67 when he worked for the intelligence ring, 315 various organizations were infiltrated by "buying" informers on the inside who received between \$150 and \$300 per month. In the case of large organizations there were sometimes two informants in an office who did not know each other's roles, including some Africans. Heading the whole operation was a Mr. "X," an Englishman (not a South

African). Blackburn had lived in Rhodesia in the early 1960's where he made contact with Mr. X [another spy, a South African working for a British paper], and it is believed that the death through falling out a window was not totally accidental! From the reports, it appears that British intelligence knows the identity of X but that little interference occurs with the South African operation except, as in the case of Blackburn, a figure gets involved with British matters of high security value. (Observer, London, Dec. 12, 1971; Guardian, London, Dec. 7, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC RELATIONS PROBLEMS

Mrs. Catherine Taylor, South African Member of Parliament and United Party spokeswoman, has returned to South Africa after a three-month tour of the U.S. She says she returned to her country "a disappointed woman" because all of her positive public relations work is often quickly debunked by the extreme statements of South African Government officials. She called on people to be more public in their support of South Africa and said the Government too easily made martyrs of its opposition.

She commented on her contacts in the U.S. and said that businessmen were eager to improve African working conditions but were not upset about political pressure, while policy makers "would like to see the moderate elements in South Africa achieve power." (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 11, 1971)

SAVE MARCH 24 AND 25!!!

Save Friday and Saturday March 24 and 25 for a national strategy conference on SOUTHERN AFRICA to deal with:

- (1) U.S. Corporate involvement in Southern Africa and the upcoming spring corporate proxy campaigns;
- (2) The Liberation Movements, their importance, ways and means of support.

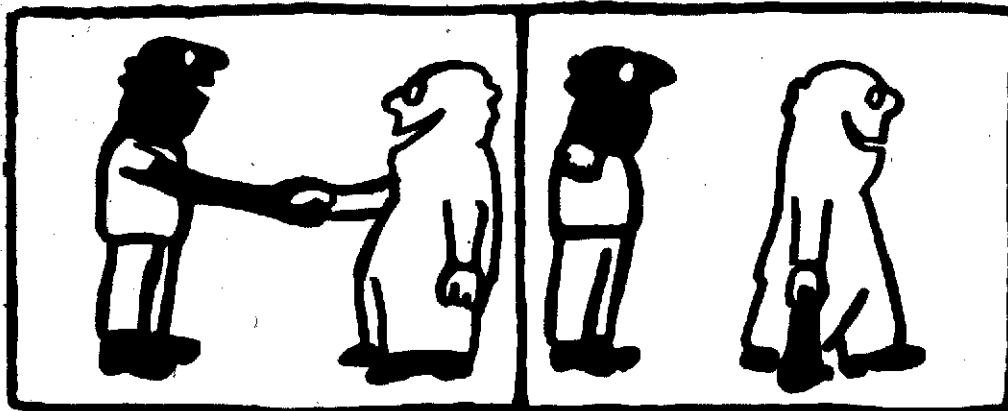
Title: The United States and SOUTHERN Africa

Place: Washington, D.C. (Sheraton-Park Hotel)

Cosponsors: African Heritage Studies Association, Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, Southern Africa Committee, and others.

For further information, write Harry Applewhite
CCSA/UCC
110 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA



CHROME

Rhodesia's Ministry of Mines said that the country would be happy to consider orders of chrome from the United States after meeting obligations to customers who have been purchasing the metal during the last six years. No requests from the U.S. have yet been received. In London, Labour MPs Orme and Healey criticized the U.S. Congressional approval of chrome imports in defiance of the international embargo and expressed some hope that the Washington Administration might be influenced not to implement the proposal. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 27, 1971).

U.S. POSITION ON RHODESIA

In embarrassment at the U.N. criticism and in anticipation of sharp debate over the Rhodesian question, State Department officials have indicated that the U.S. might not be satisfied with Britain's "five principles" for

granting independence of the white regime of Rhodesia. This in reality covers their true hopes for a settlement with the Smith regime, an end to sanctions, and what they would call "increased stability" in Southern Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 27, 1971).

S.A. IMPORTS INTO THE U.S. AND FORCED LABOR

During the Diggs committee hearings, Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich) suggested, on the basis of his trip to S.A. with Rep. Diggs, that over 90% of the U.S. trade with S.A. might violate U.S. laws, (American Tariff Act of 1930), prohibiting imports produced by indentured, forced and convict labor. Donald Irwin of the Department of Labor replied that the Bureau of Customs was alerted to such questions and that one of its officials, Juliet Kidney, was going to S.A. in 1972 to gather more information. Lawyer Donald Wachholz, however, said that few if any imports had been prohibited and that

indentured labor under penal sanctions was widespread in S.A. and enforced by the Bantu Labor Act of 1964, the Bantu Building Workers Act of 1951, and Masters and Servants Acts of the provinces, the Mines and Works Act of 1956, and the Coloured Cadets Training Act of 1967. John Petty, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, promised to obtain legal opinion on the issue. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 11, 1971).

DIGGS PROTESTS ABOUT U.S. POLICY

In a press conference on Dec. 14 and in an Action Manifesto delivered to Nixon's foreign policy advisor Kissinger, Congressman Diggs called for an end to U.S. imports from South Africa, additional U.S. investments in S.A. and any military assistance to Portuguese colonialism and South African apartheid. He called for an improvement of labor conditions in South Africa, especially in U.S. businesses, and expressed fear of S.A.'s developing nuclear potential. He sharply contrasted conditions in liberated areas of Portuguese Africa with the deplorable and oppressive situation in white-dominated Africa and called for aid to liberation movements. He announced that "he was giving serious consideration" to walking out of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. over the Azores' agreement. (Daily World, Dec. 15, 1971).

LEE ELDER

At a Washington luncheon honoring him and his wife and arranged by Gulf Oil Company, Lee Elder commented on his trip to South Africa at the invitation of Gary Player and on the pairing of Elder and Player in the golf tournament there. Elder said, "I asked for multiracial galleries. I asked for seating on a nonsegregated basis for freedom for us to go anywhere we wanted in the country, for the right to select our own lodging and for a free hand in raising money for the Unanda (sic) Seminar School. There are many things I disagree with about South Africa, but I'm a sportsman. Golf is my business. Wherever I'm invited I'll go." Elder had just returned from Nigeria where he won the Nigerian Open Tournament as the representative of Gulf Oil. He hopes to be the first black man to be invited to play at the Masters Tournament in Augusta, Ga., in April. (New York Times, Dec. 21, 1971).

AZORES' AGREEMENT

On Dec. 10, the State Department announced the signing of a 2 year executive agreement, not subject to Senate confirmation, between Secretary of State Rogers and Portuguese Foreign Minister Rui Patricio. The agreement became effective when the two officials exchanged diplomatic notes at the NATO Organization Council meeting in Brussels. It provides for \$436.5 million in credits to Portugal, including \$400 million of loans and guarantees through the Export-Import Bank for development projects, \$30 million of farm commodities, (P.L. 480 agricultural goods), \$5 million in "non-military excess equipment," \$1 million for education and the free lease of an oceanographic ship, plus waiver of Portuguese Military Assist. Adv. Group payments (\$350,000). The mammoth nature of the grant to Portugal must be seen in light of the fact that the \$400 million in Exim loans is more than eight times what Portugal received from the Bank in the period from 1946-70, and more than half of the total provided to Europe in long term loans (\$753.7 million) during the same time. The entire African continent has received only \$358 million in Exim Bank loans since 1946. (From a statement on the U.S. Pact with Portugal signed by 18 members of Congress.) A recent comparable military base agreement, that with Spain in 1970, provided that country with 50% less than

the deal with Portugal. (Newsday, Dec. 30, 1971, article by Bruce Oudes.) The \$400 figure also represents about 10 percent of the "average annual commitment to all countries" from the Bank. (Congressmen's Statement.)

In return, the U.S. receives official permission for use of the air base (Lajes Field) and naval facility (Praia da Vitoria) on Terceira Island, the Azores, until 1974. The facilities, used for refueling, transit areas and anti-submarine warfare, and regarded as important but not "vital" by Washington military opinion, were originally leased in 1948. The non-vital nature of the bases was shown by the fact that the last agreement lapsed in 1962 and, while the U.S. was permitted to continue to use the bases by "courtesy of the Portuguese Government" no new lease was signed because of "Portuguese resentment of the U.S. anticolonialist policies in Africa." When Nixon decided in November to meet President Pompidou in the Azores, he ordered a step-up in the slow-moving negotiations with the Portuguese begun in Feb. 1969.

It has been reported that serious negotiations with the Nixon administration began when Portuguese Foreign Minister visited Washington in early Nov. 1970. Rui Patricio, the young diplomat, only left the capital four days prior to the Portuguese invasion of Guinea on Nov. 22, 1970. Part of his handle since that invasion has been to point out to the U.S. the presence of Soviet naval forces in the Atlantic off the West Coast, and the strategic importance of Portuguese power in that context. Concern for growing Soviet presence off Guinea was indicated at a London meeting of the Institute for Strategic Studies, by Robert Weinland of the Center for Naval Analyses. (Newsday, Dec. 30, 1971).

There are presently about 1500 American servicemen and 2,000 dependents on the Azores and the bases put about \$12 million annually into the economy of the area.

Formerly the U.S. provided Portugal with less than \$3 million in military kinds of agreements; the jump to \$435 is tremendous. The agreement is also open for more expansion as the commitment can be upped when reviewed in 1974 and the grant of \$5 million in drawing rights for non-military excess equipment is not to be seen as the maximum. (Congressmen's Statement).

REPS AND SENATORS OPPOSE PACT

Five U.S. Senators (Republicans Case of New Jersey and Javits of New York; and Democrats Fullbright of Arkansas, Symington of Missouri and Church of Idaho) protested that "the executive agreement" involved U.S. servicement overseas and must be submitted to the Senate for confirmation. They introduced a resolution for a "sense of the Senate" that no military or economic assistance agreements with Portugal be concluded without affirmative action by Congress. (New York Times, Dec. 9, 11, 17, 1971). Hearings before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee will begin in late January or February.

Eighteen Representatives (Abzug, Badillo, Bingham, Clay, Collins, Conyers, Dellums, Drinan, Edwards, Fautroy, Fraser, Hawkins, Metcalf, Mikva, Rangel, Ryan, Scheuer, Stokes,) protested in a letter to President Nixon, signed Dec. 15, 1971, against the unprecedented commitment to Portugal and called for its submission to the Senate. The group asked whether the development projects were to be limited to "metropolitan" Portugal, what other Export-Import Bank loans were contemplated, and why when there was no money to aid Black business in this country the U.S. could afford to assist Portugal on such generous terms (with 8.6 million people, as opposed to 23 million Blacks in this country.) (Text of the letter, signed, Dec. 15, 1971).



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

DIGGS' RESIGNATION

At a news conference at the United Nations on Dec. 17, Rep. Charles Diggs, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, became the first member of an American delegation to the U.N. to resign his post in protest over the 'stifling hypocrisy' of U.S. policies towards Africa. Diggs cites the Azores agreement as the 'watershed' forcing his resignation, but also mentioned a series of U.S. decisions throughout the fall: abstentions or negative votes on motions to reaffirm the arms embargo against South Africa and provide financing for the Special Committee on Apartheid, the sale of Bell helicopters to the Portuguese and the Administration's failure to oppose seriously the amendment authorizing chrome purchases from Rhodesia. Diggs suggested that others at the U.S. Mission to the U.N., including Ambassador Bush, were also dissatisfied with American policy. Ambassador Bush and Rep. Derminski (R-Mich, also a member of the delegation to the U.N.) expressed criticism of Diggs for using "a diplomatic forum for political purposes" and for "naively" expecting to change U.S. policy in the three months of his appointment. (New York Times, Dec. 18, 1971, Amsterdam News, Dec 25, 1971).

OPINION

Zambian U.N. Ambassador Vernon Mwaanga, who is current chairman of the OAU delegates at the U.N. and Tanzanian U.N. Ambassador Salim Salim congratulated Congressman Diggs for his "courageous" stand and for highlighting the degree to which U.S. policies support

white oppression in Southern Africa which U.S. policies support white oppression in Southern Africa.

"Speaking for himself and not the African American Institute of which he is a vice-president" Frank Ferrari said that Diggs' initiative could help "in mobilizing support in this society to highlight the distinction. (Amsterdam News, Dec. 25, 1971).

The Amsterdam News praised Diggs and said, "Right on, and keep on movin' on." (Dec. 25, 1971). The New York Times, (Dec. 18, 1971) concurred in Diggs' action, suggesting that "where he (Diggs) erred was in taking seriously the Administration's rhetoric against apartheid and minority rule in Southern Africa as well as its promises to consult members of the delegation in advance...." Waldemar Nielsen, former president of the African American Institute, (Letter to the editor, Dec. 29, 1971) praised Diggs and stated that "not only a mistake, but a major mistake has been made (in the Azores agreement). In ten years of close observation of African developments, I have never known an American action which has stirred the depths of bitterness among black people everywhere as much as this one. It is interpreted not as a further sign of official indifference to Africa and Africans, but as a deliberate, aggressive insult, as a definitive alignment of American policy with racism."

HOW IS THIS AGREEMENT IMPORTANT TO PORTUGAL

There are a number of immediate interpretations of the accord including the great need of Portugal for dollar loans (it has a trade deficit of nearly \$500 million). These loans, usable for mainly internal development projects (it is as yet unknown the precise projects to which the loans will go,) or their location, mean that Portugal can use other funds to continue to pay its rising military expenses. In fact, the military budget for Portugal for 1971 is slightly less than \$400 million. Meanwhile this development kind of aid will be sugarcoating to some of the Portuguese people so massively "undeveloped" and to whom the war has been an even greater burden. Recently people within Portugal have shown greater outrage at the war; to dissipate this discontent is as vital to the Portuguese policy makers as it is to the U.S. in a similar situation. Of course it also provides an irreplaceable American pat on the back to Caetano, significant in terms of Portugal's NATO participation, its hope for entry into the Common Market, and its Southern Africa position. The U.S. did not even utter the usual call of self-determination in the African Colonies when it set up the Portuguese agreement. (Newsday, Dec. 30, 1971).

PANEL REPORT

A National Policy Panel of the U.N. Association of the U.S.A. issued on Dec. 3 a 93-page report on "SOUTHERN AFRICA: PROPOSALS FOR AMERICANS." While stressing that most change must come from white and non-white Southern Africans, "working together", the panel said that the U.S. could "offer aid and encouragement to internal forces for change," help insure that U.S. policies "in no way support the oppressive policies of the white minority governments," and "support the (liberation) movements in the non-military aspects of their programs, including education and medical assistance," through governmental and private channels. As to South Africa, the panel urged the U.S. Government to discourage new investments by U.S. business, discontinue guarantees on U.S. exports, relocate S.A.'s sugar quota to other African nations, assign Black Americans to U.S. Government posts in S.A. and insure against racial discrimination at public U.S. functions, maintain strict compliance with the arms embargo

(meaning a reversal of the decision permitting sale of executive-type aircraft), and state clearly "that the U.S. would not go to its (South Africa's) defense or give aid in the suppression of internal revolt related to its repressive policies." On the question of boycotts and exchanges, the panel suggested a "selective" policy depending upon the situation.

The panel noted the relatively poor labor practices of U.S. companies in S.A. and urged them to provide equal pay and benefits for equal work, provide on-the-job and vocational training for non-whites, open promotion opportunities to non-whites, abolish apartheid practices in company functions, stop financing projects or organizations strengthening the S.A. Government (including the South Africa Foundation), and withdraw if the application of fair labor practices would mean the loss of profitability. The majority of the panel was cautiously affirmative of the Polaroid experiment for "change from within."

As to Portugal, the group urged the U.S. to direct its influence towards Portuguese integration with European and extrication from Africa, including the suspension of all military assistance and the application of an arms embargo until Lisbon withdraws its troops from Africa. On Rhodesia, the panel recommended repeal of the chrome importation measure and strong support for the Sanctions Committee of the U.N. On Namibia, support for the U.N. position was expressed, including disallowal of any credits for taxes paid to the S.A. Government for income made by enterprises in Namibia.

The panel was composed of 14 persons primarily from business, law and teaching vocations, including 5 blacks. The chairman was William Roth, San Francisco businessman and former U.S. Representative for Trade Negotiations vice-chairman was William Coleman, Philadelphia attorney, member of Nixon's Price Commission and Delegate to the 24th U.N. General Assembly. Members Coleman, Clifford Alexander, Jr. (Washington lawyer, black), Ruth Schachter Morgent (Professor at Brandeis), Waldemar Nielsen, and Brad Lee Skinner (Executive Director, Council on Internal Relations and U.N. Affairs/CIRUNA) desired somewhat stronger criticisms of the Southern African regimes and U.S. policies. Members Edmin Munger (Prof. at California Institute of Technology) and Nahs Ries (Vice-President, Continental Ore Corporation, black) wanted less strong statements. (From the report itself and the press release of Dec. 3, 1971, the U.N. Assoc. for the U.S.A.).

John Chettle, Director of the S.A. Foundation in the U.S. attended the Press Conference called by the U.N. Association for the distribution of the Panel's report and attacked it as uninformed and biased, citing recent "Improvements" in dialogue, interracial cooperation, and "black power" in South Africa. Chettle echoed the views of Panel members Munger and Ries. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 4, 1971).

POSTSCRIPT

It is important to note that although the UNA policy study is liberal in its recommendations, the organization (The U.N. Association) has acted swiftly and surely to nullify activity by CIRUNA (its student group) executives to push forward programs directly aimed at challenging the American power aid to South Africa. CIRUNA, while in the fall working on such issues as the Gulf and Polaroid campaigns, now has no Southern African program. This kind of internal head rolling is a signal as to the real intent of the organization.

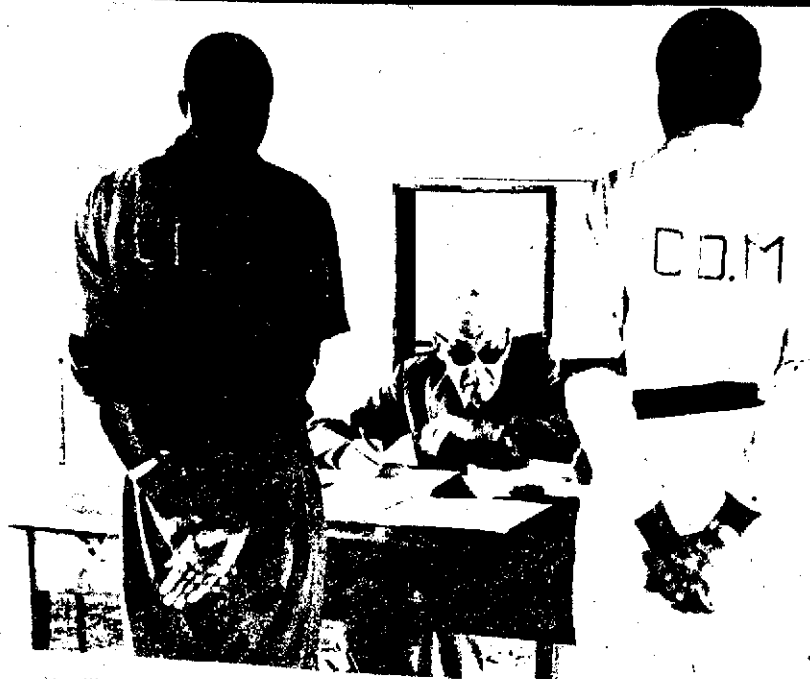
WHAT DOES THE AGREEMENT MEAN TO THE U.S.?

In general the U.S. has been cutting back in its "foreign aid" program, although Export-Import Bank loans have increased, probably because they are normally tied to purchases of American goods and thus will help the U.S. foreign trade posture. But the immediate balance of payments problem overwhelming the U.S. is not aided by such a loan. The questionable military value of the Azores bases, except in view of cold warring in the southern Atlantic, has been mentioned. The commitments must also be seen in the context of evergrowing private investment in Portugal and the colonies. (It is estimated that Gulf Oil will give \$30 million to Portugal in royalties etc. in 1972). But beyond these ramifications, is the diplomatic and broader economic strategies of the U.S. and the West in Southern Africa. True, the U.S. has always aided Portugal in its effort in Africa, a "low profile" until the present loan, through training, technology, replaceable weaponry, economic aid, but this move to "high profile" must be tied with the fact that the Portuguese are obviously loosing in Africa, in spite of the "offensives", herbicides and a growing air war. This is the reality. As a paper by the Africa Research Group states:

"The Portuguese colonies are seen by the Nixon administration as an integral part of southern Africa as a whole. According to U.S. policy makers, any threat to the stability of Angola and Mozambique directly threatens the stability of all of southern Africa, and thus endangers not only extensive U.S. investment, but undermines strategic Western presence in the south Atlantic, along the Cape Route and the Indian Ocean. The U.S. and its NATO Allies have long contemplated the establishment of an organizational equivalent to NATO in the South Atlantic, to assure the "free world" of control over the entire area of the Atlantic. Such an organization would have as its members countries like Brazil and South Africa. The Portuguese government has graciously and openly informed its NATO allies that its south Atlantic colonies are at their disposal. Independent African governments in these countries might not be so generous. In this context Melvin Laird, present Secretary of Defense, declared 'we must define American interest not only in Southeast Asia, but...in equally important parts of the world where conflicts are erupting. (He went on to give tribute to...) the importance of Portugal to American foreign policy with regard to both the Atlantic Community and Africa.'"

Open and direct support for Portuguese interests in Africa must be understood as one part of what is emerging ever more clearly as the 'Nixon strategy' for southern Africa as a whole. The lines of this strategy receive further definition in the resumption of chrome import from Rhodesia despite continuing U.N. sanctions, and U.S. support for what South Africa has termed 'dialogue' between its racist government and the countries of independent Africa. As Representative Diggs said, the Azores Pact merely "crystallizes, in one act, the trend of this administration in its relationships with the minority rule and colonial powers of Africa." It amounts to an American "partnership in the subjugation of the African people." (Press Release, Africa Research Group, Jan 6, 1972).

ECONOMICS



RAND DEVALUED

South Africa hopes that devaluation of the rand will give a much-needed boost to the country's faltering economy. Minister of Finance, Dr. D. Diederichs, announced the 12.28 percent devaluation on Dec. 21 last year in the wake of worldwide currency realignments that followed devaluation of the dollar. (South African Digest, Dec. 24, 1971) The Government hopes that the move will help relieve pressure on two sensitive points of the economy—an ever-widening balance of payments deficit and the profitability of the gold mines. (The rand formerly was valued at \$1.40.)

At the same time as the U.S. devalued the dollar, an increase in the official gold price was announced, a move that has been a South African dream for years. The balance of payments gap has for years been closed only by gold sales and last year, when it appeared that for the first time gold sales would fail to make good the deficiency, South Africa applied rigid import control restrictions in an effort to narrow the gap.

Announcing devaluation, Diederichs said that the Government had taken particular notice of the substantial balance of payments gap that the republic had been experiencing since 1969, bringing about a large decline in gold and foreign reserves. He also pointed out that gold mines would benefit because the price of gold was determined in terms of foreign currencies and the mines would receive slightly more rands for these currencies.

South African devaluation and the increase in the official gold price could jointly lead to an increase in the profitability of gold mines—especially those operating at marginal efficiency. But for this to become a major factor, the official price increase will have to be matched by an equivalent increase in the free market price of gold, which has for some time been higher than the official price. Diederichs said that devaluation would in due course bring about an improvement in the balance of payments on current as well as capital account by stimulating exports, by eliminating the "leads and lags" in external payments, and by encouraging the inflow of capital. He did not mention, however, that the country's gold and foreign reserves would receive an immediate boost of at least R30 million from the precarious and dwindling R400million at which they stood before

devaluation—compared with a peak of R1,243million at the end of April 1969.

In addition Diederichs said that devaluation would stimulate the rate of growth of the economy and place financial markets in a better position to promote more rapid growth.

Another major preoccupation in South Africa has been the possible effects on South Africa's economy of Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. As South Africa's major export market Britain's entry could have disastrous effect on the South African economy. But this worry has in part been relieved by devaluation. Cheaper exports will be placed in a more competitive position on overseas markets.

According to Diederichs, further benefits would accrue to industry. South African manufactured goods would be more competitive with imported goods on the domestic market, and also new industrial investment would be encouraged with the resultant creation of new industrial capacity and employment opportunities. However, as first effects of devaluation began to be felt, a more cautious note crept in behind the initial optimism.

Mr. John W. Shilling, president of the South African Chamber of Mines, pointed out that unless the free market price of gold increased proportionately with the official price there would not be a dramatic effect. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 31, 1971)

Also, tax and mining lease formulas provided for sliding scales that could take as much as two-thirds of a gold mine's profits in peak years. Any withholding from producers of benefits from the increase could lead to substantial tonnages of ore becoming unprofitable to mines. "This, in turn, will lead to the offsetting of benefits that should accrue to the country from extending the life of the mines," he warned.

Immediately following devaluation it was discovered that the Rand was taking some heavy knocks from the dollar and other major currencies in commercial bank dealings in Johannesburg. Early indications were that the Rand was selling as much as 2.6 percent below new official parities, indicating the weakness of the Rand.

NIXON OFFICIAL SUGGESTS "PHILADELPHIA PLAN TO BE EXTENDED TO SOUTH AFRICA"

U.S. companies in South Africa should be required to operate under an extended Philadelphia Plan, U.S. delegate to the U.N. General Assembly Arthur A. Fletcher recently told the Amsterdam News. As President Nixon's Assistant Secretary of Labor, Fletcher had the responsibility of implementing the Philadelphia Plan to which the U.S. Supreme Court recently gave constitutional sanction. In essence the plan calls for "parity of utilization of manpower on all contracts," Fletcher noted.

"American Government and companies made the policy decision to keep doing business in South Africa, over the opposition of Blacks here and also of some whites," the U.N. delegate stated. "But Africans say this works hardship on them," he went on. And "South Africa is the best investment market in the world because it has a captive work force" of Blacks "on the low end of the scale." Therefore the U.S. should devise a method to improve the working conditions of Blacks in South Africa. This has to be done, the Black U.S. delegate stated, through "upgrading and training" the African workers. Thus they would not only move up from menial levels of work but so to better pay for work done, Fletcher said.

Over at the U.N., Fletcher had to speak for the U.S. in the General Assembly Third Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. He made no reference to South Africa's laws that do not allow U.S. companies to practice racial parity. (Amsterdam News, New York, Dec. 27, 1971)

GENERAL MOTORS TO EXPAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

During the next 18 months G.M. is to invest a further \$8.4 million in South Africa. "I have the full confidence in the future of the South African motor market and the company is determined once again to become the greatest seller of motor vehicles in South Africa," Mr. Bob Price, Jr., general manager for General Motors, South Africa, told a South African magazine recently.

Price arrived in the Republic from Belgium three months ago. It is his task to see that the sales of G.M., which have dropped sharply in recent months, again reach the highest levels. The \$8.4 million G.M. will spend on its assembly plant at Port Elizabeth is only one of the measures being taken to win back lost ground. Most of the capital will be spent on equipment for faster and better assembly work.

Instead of using separate lines for the assembly of different models, only one line will be introduced, which will be able to handle all the vehicles. One of the greatest advantages of a single assembly line is to ensure continuity. "At present the factory is not always able to cope with a sudden high demand for a certain model. One line is overloaded with work, while another continues at its normal tempo and is not able to assist the busier line. The general line now being planned will obviate this as the plant will be able to switch over quickly to the assembly of the model for which there is a pressing demand.

"New reliable equipment of a high quality will also be installed. By the time the vehicle leaves the plant, it will be in a perfect condition," Price claims. "The additional investment in the assembly plant will also mean that for the first time the company will work in a single shift as soon as work is resumed in January. The single shift will produce twice as many vehicles as on the double shift." (South African Digest, Dec. 17, 1971)

Under pressure from the U.S., General Motors seems to be increasing its stake in apartheid.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY CONTINUES TO SLUMP

The South African and U.S. economies bear a remarkable degree of similarity: both are in severe trouble with inflation and unemployment levels rising; productivity declining; credit restricted; the trade deficit at record levels; and all the signs point to further deterioration.

Trade Deficit

On the basis of preliminary figures, the visible trade deficit for the first half of 1971 was a record R722m and was likely, after adjustments, to top the R800m. The Department of Commerce has warned in a statement that the country's exports faced a period of crisis. Announcing the formation of a commission of inquiry into South Africa's export trade, the statement explained: "As South Africa has now reached the stage where it may possibly face a crisis period in its potential to compete in foreign markets, and because it is no longer desirable to treat in isolation the many problems faced by exporters and to attempt to solve them haphazardly, it has become necessary to investigate all the circumstances and factors that impair the expansion of the country's export trade." The warning is understood to refer to the threat to South African exports of British entry into the Common Market. Official estimates indicate that British entry would be extremely damaging particularly in the country's fruit, wine, meat, egg, and grain exports.

Inflation

Between April 1970 and July 1971, the cost of living rose by a record 7.5% while in the month of July 1971 it rose by a full 1% despite the "once and for all" measures taken by the Government in March 1971. Most economists maintain that the rate of inflation will continue to spiral despite the government's best efforts because the economy is based on economically irrational grounds (discriminating wage and labor policies) and because the solution to the economy's woes are political and not economic, a fact that the Government refuses to acknowledge.

Productivity

The chairman of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, Dr. Rickert, revealed recently that in 1970 industrial labor-productivity fell to an alarmingly low level. At the same time, the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association revealed that productivity in industry had risen by an average of 20% in areas where Africans had been permitted to take over jobs from whites. This figure gives the lie to the Government's claim of many years that the giving over of "white" jobs to Africans would lead to a decline in productivity. The reverse appears to be true.

Export Sector Declines

In 1970, South Africa's export volume declined by 3% and was attributable to a fall-off in performance by two vulnerable exports, base minerals, and agricultural products. The Governor of the South Africa Reserve Bank attributed this decline to the fact that people are not working hard enough. In truth, South Africa is beginning to price itself out of certain export fields; the high prices of the goods are a product of the inflated wage rates paid to white workers who can demand excessive wages because of the critical manpower shortage.

G.N.P. Up Four Percent

The GNP rose in 1970 by four percent, the lowest figure in ten years. In the latter sixties, the GNP growth rate was an average of 10%.

Unemployment

Officially, the unemployment figure in South Africa is currently 0.1%—one of the lowest rates in the world. However, figures are kept on white workers only. According to Prof. J. C. Sadie of Stellenbosch University, the actual figure is in the region of 15%, reflecting a total of 1,294,000 jobless individuals. (All figures drawn from the Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 14 and 28, 1971 and Africa Bureau Fact Sheet, August 1971.)

DIGGS ATTACKS ROLE OF U.S. FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), has attacked the activities of American corporations in South Africa. Diggs visited South Africa in August 1971 and, on his return to the U.S., criticized American firms for not doing enough to raise the standards of African workers. "It is incontrovertible that U.S. business, representing the second largest foreign investment in South Africa and concentrated in the manufacturing and dynamic sectors, buttresses the South African economy and, therefore, the present government and apartheid. Its presence not only renders the U.S. hostage to apartheid, provides a stake in the status quo.

"I was shocked at the blatant racism of U.S. business in South Africa. U.S. business must be required to pay equal pay for equal work, to institute training programs, to throw off local coloration, to respect all employees and refuse to adhere to racial practices. . . . American firms must push beyond the permissible. . . . The U.S. Government must use every legitimate means to bring U.S. business to dedicate itself to fair employment principles. I shall urge that fair employment practices in their own South African enterprises be a condition of eligibility of U.S. firms for government contracts." (NUSAS Newsletter No. 47, Dec. 10, 1971)

BLACK POSTAL WORKERS TAKE OVER WHITE JOBS

Despite strong objections from the white Postal Union, the Government has adopted plans to appoint blacks to take over "white" jobs on a permanent basis. For years, the notoriously inefficient postal service has been hampered by a critical shortage of white employees. As a remedy, the postal authorities have employed blacks on a temporary basis. They have now apparently determined to come to terms with the reality of the white labor shortage and utilize black manpower. Addressing the members of the Postal Union in Johannesburg, the Minister of Labor claimed it was morally indefensible to deny these nonwhite workers permanent posts when it was doubted whites would become available for them. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 14, 1971)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY IN FACTS AND FIGURES

Whites account for less than 19% of the population, but receive 74% of the country's total income.

The ratio of white to black miners' wages was eleven to one in the m 30's, 18 to 1 in 1968, and 20 to 1 in 1970.

The annual cash income of blacks in Bantustans has DECLINED from R25.8 in 1954 to R22 in 1969 and R15 in 1970.

The rural per capita incomes in Botswana average R31.5 per annum (approximately \$50) exclusive of remittance from migrant workers. Comparable figures for Black South Africans is R25.4 per annum. (approximately \$36).

The average per capita income of all South Africans equals \$375 per annum, the highest in all Africa. However, the average per capita income of black South Africans is only \$105 per annum, which places them behind the incomes of Ghanaians (\$187), Senegalese (\$162), Liberians, and Zambians (\$137).

In the Transkei, 40% of all children die before age ten. South Africa is one of the few countries in the world in which the incidence of tuberculosis is rising: in 1969, 61,300 Africans had the disease, a rise of 2,500 over 1968.

The national infant mortality rate per thousand equals 21.2 for whites, 36.5 for Asians, 101.2 for Africans, and 132.0 for Coloureds.

The ratio of doctors to patients for whites is 1 to 455; for blacks is 1 to 100,000 and an average of a to 250,000 in the rural areas. (Africa Bureau Sheet No. 13, August 1971.)



22 THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

RADIO RHODESIA CONDEMNS WORLD COUNCIL

In the most recent of its periodic attacks on the World Council of Churches, Radio Rhodesia quoted at length from two articles in late 1971 issues of the Readers Digest. The broadcast added what it claimed were factual reports on "terrorist" activities of FRELIMO, which has received funds from the WCC. Radio Rhodesia, under the control of the white-dominated regime, occasionally criticizes the WCC. It has resoundingly denounced the WCC Program to Combat Racism, which includes grants to liberation movements. The Readers Digest articles quoted from by Radio Rhodesia were scathing attacks on the WCC grants "supporting violence." United Methodist Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa of Salisbury, a leading black churchman and chairman of the African National Council of Rhodesia, has said that only whites in Rhodesia oppose the WCC grants. He said he had met no Africans who object. (Religious News Service, Jan. 10, 1971)

ARCHBISHOP DEMONSTRATES AGAINST DETENTION LAWS

Archbishop Denis Hurley said he joined a protest in Durban against imprisonment without trial because taking part in such a demonstration may be better than a hundred sermons. The archbishop said that his carrying a protest sign against the detention laws was the first time he had taken part in a public demonstration of that sort. He said that although he is interested in reaction to the demonstration, it is difficult to measure its effectiveness. He is prepared, however, to participate in a demonstration again, he said.

Hurley also recently expressed support for the decision of the Anglican Church in South Africa to support persons who are banned, detained, or restricted for standing on Christian principles in their opposition to the country's apartheid policy of strict racial segregation. (NC News Service, Dec. 14, 1971)

BRITISH CHURCH LEADERS UNHAPPY WITH RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT

British church leaders—Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Protestant—have expressed profound dissatisfaction or serious doubts and misgivings about Britain's constitutional settlement with breakaway Rhodesia. A Roman Catholic statement, viewing the settlement with "profound dissatisfaction," said "This is a European settlement, for Europeans, by Europeans." The national Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) expressed "grave misgivings and concern" and a British Council of Churches statement, reflecting Anglican and Protestant views, said "The achievement of majority rule [by the Africans in Rhodesia] is so uncertain that it cannot be clearly stated when it will be reached."

Roman Catholic reaction to the proposals was contained in a statement by the International Justice and Peace Commission of the English and Welsh Bishops' Conference. Expressing "profound dissatisfaction" with the settlement, it said: "There is no evidence to suggest that the agreement has upheld the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule. The proposed increase of African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament is unlikely to dislodge white supremacy in the lifetime of this or even the next generation." The statement added that no serious attempt had been made to repeal the discriminatory legislation enacted before and since Rhodesia's UDI in November, 1965. "The essentially racist constitution of 1969 remains largely unchanged,"

it said. "The Land Tenure Act, which divides Rhodesia into two halves with one half going to five million Africans and the other half to a quarter of a million whites, is in substance unaltered."

The British Council of Churches' statement was in the form of a seven-page analysis made by its Department of International Affairs and the Conference of the British Missionary Societies. It said there were grounds for sympathy with the Africans' reluctance to accept independence under white minority rule. An underlying supposition of the agreement, it said, was that political power would remain effectively in European hands for at least a generation. In this context, it said it was estimated there would be almost 800,000 European voters in 20 years time. To match that number there would have to be 40,000 additional Africans each year earning \$2,160 or the equivalent. "Since the average income of the African wage-earner at present is \$374 annually and the number of Africans completing the fourth year of secondary education in 1970 was 2,315, most Rhodesians now living will never see majority rule."

The Scottish Presbyterian statement was made by the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee. It said: "Having studied the [Rhodesia settlement] the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland expresses its grave misgivings and concern. . . . It doubts whether these [settlement] proposals offer a substantial prospect of the establishment of a fully multiracial society in Rhodesia in a reasonable time. Without going into lengthy detail, it finds that firm guarantees are conspicuous by their absence. . . . But these proposals having been approved by Parliament, the choice is now for the people of Rhodesia as a whole to decide whether they accept or reject them. The adequacy and accuracy of this testing of opinion is now therefore absolutely crucial." (Religious News Service, Dec. 20, 1971)

PLAN FOR SOCIAL CHANGE SUBMITTED IN SOUTH AFRICA

A five-point plan for social and political change in South Africa, with far-reaching implications for all races, was issued in Cape Town recently by a commission made up of prominent churchmen and educators. The major proposals contained in a 197-page report are listed in a chapter called "Strategies for Change" by Lawrence Schlemmer, senior research fellow at the University of Natal's Institute for Social Research.

- Recommendations:
- Steady improvement of the economic position of the Black African majority.
 - Closing of the gap in the living standards of Black and White groups.
 - Increased civil liberties, social benefits, and freedom under law for all segments of the population.
 - A political arrangement that will avoid exploitation and control of any one group by another.
 - Steps to permit all persons to "enjoy self-esteem, pride, dignity, and a release from factors that presently undermine the morale and self-respect" of blacks.

The report has great meaning when compared to the apartheid system in South Africa, and was sponsored by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of South Africa. Schlemmer wrote that meaningful change will "lead to a significant reduction of social, economic, legal, and political injustice and inequality" and the elimination of "psychological oppression" of groups now under subordination. (Religious News Service, Dec. 22, 1971)

AT THE UNITED NATIONS



GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION WARNS U.S. AGAINST IMPORTING RHODESIAN CHROME AND CONFIRMS NIBMAR

The General Assembly called on the United States on Nov. 16 to take steps to prevent the import of chrome from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and asserted that a Congressional decision to allow chrome to be imported would constitute a serious violation of the Security Council sanctions against the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia. It asked the U.S. to act in compliance with those sanctions and to carry out its obligations under Art. 25 of the U.N. Charter.

Subsequently on Nov. 22 the General Assembly also adopted a resolution confirming the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule (NIBMAR) in Southern Rhodesia. This was in response to the talks which were under way between Ian Smith and the British Government. The roll call on the resolution was 102 in favor, 3 against (Portugal, South Africa, U.K.). The U.S. abstained with eight others. Further consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia resulted in a draft resolution that expressed grave concern at the further deterioration of the situation there, which the Security Council reaffirmed as constituting a threat to international peace and security. The resolution also stated deep concern over the continued presence of South African forces in the Territory, which constitutes a threat to the sovereignty of neighboring African states. It also noted with deep regret the decision of the International Olympic Committee to permit the participation in the XXth Olympic Games of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia, and urged all states to insure the exclusion of this Rhodesian Committee. It called the attention of the Security Council to the need to widen sanctions against Portugal and South Africa who refuse to carry out the decisions of the Security Council. The U.S. voted with the U.K. against this resolution. (U.N. A/8518/Add.2, Dec.3, 1971). A letter from the Permanent Representative of the U.S.S.R. released a Tass statement on the matter, which said that "London's ignominious deal with Rhodesian racists is resolutely condemned. The Soviet Union does not recognize the racist regime that has usurped power in Southern Rhodesia and rejects any manoeuvres to import to that regime a "lawful character." (U.N. A/8551, S/10427, Dec.6, 1971).

PEKING IN U.N. PLACES ITS SUPPORT TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, Peking's Deputy Foreign Minister, in his first speech in the General Assembly since the People's Republic of China was admitted to the U.N. took a strong stand against the continued existence of colonialism in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories. He also stated that China will provide free military aid to countries and peoples who are fighting against aggression, saying "We will never become munitions merchants." (The Star's N.Y. Bureau and SAPA-Reuters, Nov.20, 1971).

GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ASKS SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

In a resolution on the general problem of apartheid, the Special Political Committee asked that the Security Council condemn "the continued and increasing cooperation" by certain States and foreign economic interests with South Africa, and declared that "the present tactics of the racist Government of South Africa in pursuance of its so-called 'outward policy' are designed primarily to obtain acquiescence in its racial policies, to confuse world public opinion, to counter the international isolation, to hinder assistance to the liberation movements by the international community and to consolidate white minority rule in Southern Africa." The U.S. voted against the resolution, as did U.K., France, Portugal, Belgium, and Australia.

The Special Political Committee adopted other resolutions dealing with specific proposals in regard to the apartheid policies of South Africa. Under one on the arms embargo, the Assembly would declare that the embargo make no distinction between arms for external defence and arms for internal repression and requests the Apartheid Committee to make a comprehensive study of military collaboration with South Africa. (U.S. abstained.) Another resolution condemned the establishment of Bantustans, and another on sports urged all states to promote adherence to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and to withhold support from events organized in violation of this principle. (U.N. Press Release WS/529, Nov. 19, 1971)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY REQUESTS SPECIAL REPORT ON MALTREATMENT AND TORTURE OF PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In a resolution adopted on Nov. 9, the General Assembly requested Special Committee on Apartheid to prepare a report on all known cases of maltreatment and torture in South Africa. The action came after a series of incidents in South Africa that illustrated South Africa's attempts to crush the growing opposition to its apartheid policies. Among these were the conviction and sentencing under the "Terrorism Act" of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, Very Rev. French-Beytagh to five years imprisonment; the death under suspicious circumstances of an Indian school teacher, Ahmed Timol, while under police custody; (he was said to have "jumped" from a tenth floor cell whose windows were barred. Timol was the seventeenth person to have died under such conditions in South Africa); expulsion of tens of thousands of Africans from urban and farm areas to over-crowded, poverty-stricken reserves of "resettlement camps"; and arrests of nearly a million Africans in a single year under pass laws and other discriminatory laws; suppression of protest demonstrations, including an incident in Port Elizabeth in which police shooting resulted in several deaths. (U.N. and South Africa, Bulletin No.4 Nov. 1971).

U.N. COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The U.N. Council for Namibia made a number of recommendations in the light of the Nov. 16 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice that "South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory," and in accordance with a Security Council resolution calling on all States to take steps recognizing the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia. The recommendations call for an increase in the membership of the 11-nation council, the appointment of a full-time U.N. Commissioner for Namibia, the development of an educational program to provide for the educational and vocational training needs of Namibians, and for all States to implement the International Court's advisory opinion. (U.N. Press Release WS/529, Nov. 19, 1971).

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR SUGGESTS FOREIGN FISHING FLEETS INVADE SOUTH WEST AFRICAN WATERS

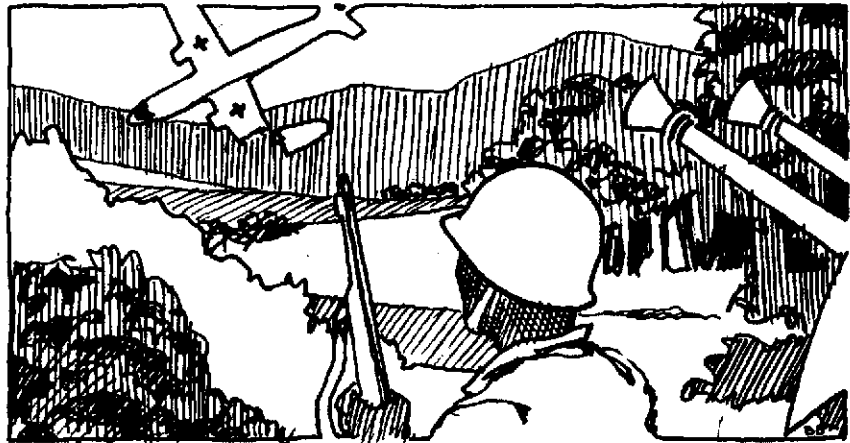
Prof. Gideon Gottlieb, professor on international law and director of N.Y.U.'s peace studies program, proposed

before the General Assembly committee that the U.N. encourage foreign fishing vessels to fish in South West African waters under naval escort in necessary and that the fleets be made to pay a proportion of their profits to the U.N. He also suggested that the secretary general seek further legal opinion on whether title to natural resources, which had been granted by the South African Government to private enterprise was valid in international law. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY PLEA TO TRADE UNIONS FOR INTENSIFIED ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID IN 1972

Following consultations and the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid, the General Assembly appealed to all national and international trade union organizations to discourage emigration of skilled workers to South Africa, to take appropriate action in connection with infringements of trade union rights and persecution of trade unionists in South Africa and to exert pressure against foreign economic and financial interests which are profiting from racial discrimination against non-white workers there. (U.N. Doc. A/8515/Rev.1 Nov. 15, 1971).

DEFENSE



MACEDONIAN CRY SOUNDED

The South African pro-government newspaper Die Burger editorialized that "South Africa cannot afford to deliver Malawi into the terror and chaos of a terrorist regime, by sitting back and doing nothing at the present time." It said further that South Africa cannot intervene on its own initiative but "we do not doubt that timely and effective action is possible if Malawi sounds the Macedonian cry." (East African Standard, Dec. 9, 1971)

At the same time it was announced that Malawi had purchased 9 "Ferret" class armoured scout cars from South Africa. This was believed to be the first sale of military equipment by South Africa to any black-ruled state. It came at a time when Banda is reported to have requested both material aid and troops. Although Botha, South Africa's Defense Minister, denied sending troops to "deal with a security threat to Malawi's southern border," they did send four South African aircraft loaded with weapons. It is not unlikely that instructors have been sent to show the Malawians how to use their weapons.

This deal, which underlines the close links between Pretoria and President Banda, occurred at a time of

increased activity by FRELIMO along the borders of Malawi. "Rapport," a pro-Vorster newspaper, reported that "Terrorists have invaded Malawi from the South. It is clear they are trying to cut the link with Rhodesia. The link is a road that runs from Blantyre more or less directly through Tete in Mozambique to Salisbury." The guerrillas say they have cut the road already and also the rail link to the coast, by blowing up the railway link near Cutor. The 450-kilometer road provides Malawi with its only connection with Rhodesia and South Africa. The Rhodesian regime had already warned that the Mozambique stretch must be considered unsafe, demonstrating their lack of faith in the reliability of the Portuguese to guard the area.

In a press statement, Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, criticized the arms shipments, but said it would not change "the content, nature and targets of the Mozambique struggle." (Guardian, London, Dec. 6, 1971)

PORTUGAL-SOUTH AFRICA AXIS

A few years ago Vorster said that "a good neighbor knows what to do when the other's house is burning,"

and offered to send South African troops to any state which requested them. Rhodesia accepted the offer. But the Portuguese were wary of South Africa's involvement in their territory. However, at the beginning of December, General Kazula Arriaga, commander-in-chief of the Portuguese forces in Mozambique, paid a secret visit to South Africa. He held talks with defense officials, and a week later the heads of Portuguese diplomatic missions in Southern Africa met to discuss the guerrilla situation. (Guardian, London, Dec. 12, 1971) Simultaneously, the South African Army Chief of Staff paid a six-day visit to Lisbon for secret talks with high-ranking officials at the Portuguese defense ministry. Portuguese officials refused to give any information on the talks, but they are believed to have centered around tripartite military relations between South Africa, Portugal, and Malawi for action against FRELIMO. (Guardian, London, Dec. 6, 1971)

SIX CORVETTES FOR SOUTH AFRICA

While welcoming the second of three Daphne-type submarines sold to South Africa by France (despite the U.N. ban), Defense Minister Botha announced that the South African Navy would be acquiring six Corvettes armed with guided missiles. The hulls for the ships are to be built in Portugal. The possibility of building the remainder of the ships in South Africa is being investigated. In his statement at the Simonstown Naval

Base, Botha said that the sea route round the Cape was "the most important to the free world. South Africa guards the sea lanes linking the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. What is more, it is not only a sea route of importance to Europe, but also to America."

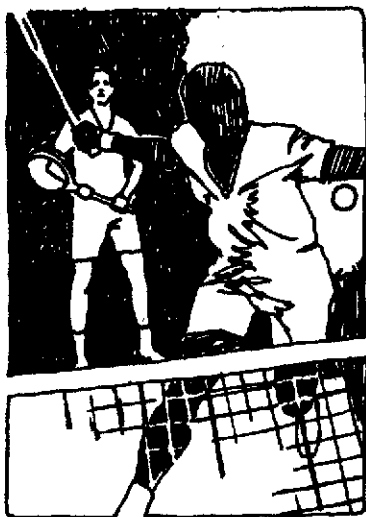
These Corvettes will almost double the South African Navy's capacity when all the ships are commissioned.

With the increased interest in the Indian Ocean by Nixon's administration witnessed after the settlement of the Indian-Pakistan upheaval, Botha's statement regarding America is borne out. (Times, London, Dec. 11, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 11, 1971)

ZAMBIA'S SHOW OF FORCE

A ground-to-air missile was paraded in Zambia on their Independence Day in November. The first black state to operate and adopt advanced weaponry, Zambia now has a response for the regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal's aircraft overflying her territory. In the past, border villages have been strafed and reconnaissance flights carried out with impunity.

The rapier, bought from the British, does not render Zambia immune to attack, but it does mean that she has an anti-aircraft shield and that military aircraft that try to penetrate it do so at their own peril. (Standard, Tanzania, Nov. 11, 1971)



SPORTS

U.N. CALLS FOR ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTSMEN

By a vote of 81-0 with 7 abstentions, the Special Committee of the United Nations General Assembly called on all individual sportsmen to refuse to participate in any sports activity in a country in which there is an official policy of racial discrimination or apartheid in sport. The resolution requests national and international sports organizations and the public to deny any recognition to any sports activity from which people are barred or discriminated against on the basis of race, religion, or political affiliation. It also asks states to urge their national sports organizations to act in accordance with the resolution.

Australia, Britain, and New Zealand abstained and it is these three countries who maintain the most frequent sporting contacts with South Africa. They were joined by Greece, Madagascar, Portugal, and the Central African Republic. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 23, 1971)

CONTROVERSY IN NEW ZEALAND OVER NONWHITE OMISSIONS

Controversy has been raging in New Zealand recently over the omission of two Polynesians from the national softball team that was to visit South Africa en route to the world championships in the Philippines. The two Polynesians were experienced internationals and had performed well at the team trials. Their omission was criticized by the New Zealand press and led to speculation that the two nonwhites had been omitted so as not to offend the South African Government, particularly after it was learned that the New Zealand Softball Association had received \$11,000 toward the cost of the tour. (New Zealand Herald, Oct. 26, 1971 and Auckland Star, Nov. 11, 1971)

HAIN TRIAL: PROSECUTOR LOSES \$25,000 ANNUAL SALARY

The organizer of the boycott campaign against South African sport in Britain, Peter Hain, is to go on trial on four charges of conspiracy as a result of a private prosecution brought by a London lawyer, Francis Bennion. Bennion drew up the constitution of Jamaica a few years ago, for which he has been receiving an annual salary of \$25,000. Payment was to be made indefinitely but the Jamaica Government has terminated the contract because of his actions against Hain and on behalf of South African sport.

Bennion will by no means be destitute, however, as his actions against Hain have elicited a huge number of contributions from both South Africa and Britain. The South African Rugby Union made a \$7,000 grant to the prosecution fund while donations were also received from the Conservative Party's Monday Club and the Society for Individual Freedom in Britain.

Lord Avebury, former Liberal M.P., Eric Lubbock, has established a fund to assist in meeting the cost of Hain's defense. Contributions can be sent to: Peter Hain Fund, High Elmo Farm, Downe, Orpington, Kent, England. (Guardian, London, Nov. 19, 1971 and East African Standard, Nov. 6, 1971)

WELSH HOCKEY ASSOCIATION IN APARTHEID DISPUTE

The Welsh Women's Hockey Association has accepted the resignation of its president, Mrs. Mansi Blair, following a dispute over racial segregation in sport, but refused to declare an official policy on apartheid.

Mrs. Blair resigned because the association dissociated itself from remarks on apartheid which she made at the meeting of the International Federation of Women's Hockey Associations in New Zealand. She allied herself with the Indian delegates, who said that the Federation should recognize the multiracial South African Womens' Hockey Union instead of the South African Womens' Hockey Association, membership of which is confined to whites.

When Mrs. Blair's letter of resignation was read to the meeting, Miss Jean Lloyd-Williams, the secretary of

the North Wales Association, proposed that the Welsh Association should formally declare its opposition to apartheid. She failed to find a seconder.

Several members said they personally disapproved of apartheid, but were not prepared to allow politics to be brought into sport. Mrs. Blair said: "It took me three days to decide to say what I did in New Zealand. In view of what has happened since I am ashamed that it took me that long." (Guardian, London, Oct. 25, 1971)

"MULTIRACIAL" TRACK MEETING

Early last year Prime Minister Vorster announced a new sports policy by which certain sports bodies could organize multiracial sports events within South Africa provided these events were "international" in nature, that is, non-South Africans were to be among the competitors. If this condition was met, then both black and white South Africans could compete together in the function.

The first such international multiracial track meeting was held in Cape Town on Nov. 27, 1971. Originally scheduled for Pretoria, the event was transferred to Cape Town after protests from the white citizenry of the nation's capital, whom it appears disapproved of this form of racial integration.

Foreign sportsmen from nine nations—Greece, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Britain, West Germany, Finland, Lesotho, and Madagascar (the latter two the only black nations represented)—participated in the event.

The press—Government and opposition—reported the event in euphoric terms, hailing it as the beginning of a bright new era; the first step on the road to South Africa's return to international sports respectability. The Government press waxed lyrical over the lack of friction and atmosphere of harmony that prevailed at the meeting. It evidently found this ability of different races to mix harmoniously something quite novel. The Star (Johannesburg) of Nov. 29, 1971 took a more sober view: "Now South Africa's brief honeymoon of multiracial sport is over. The nonwhite golfers can return to their sand 'greens,' the nonwhite sports followers back to their beerhalls, and the traditional pattern of South African segregation reasserts itself."

STUDENTS



U.S. STUDENTS ON WHITE DOMINANCE.

160 American students aboard a floating university visited South Africa in late November and, after their stay, addressed a statement to their hosts, the citizens of Cape Town:

"As students of the S.S. Universe Campus "World Campus Afloat," we are indebted to the white South Africans of Cape Town who entertained us officially and individually during our stay in the City. We were greatly impressed by their genuine hospitality and true friendship.

"However, we were increasingly conscious of the fact that we were being officially welcomed to this country by WHITE South Africans, and we wonder how it is possible that in a country with more than 75% black population, we met no blacks in prominent civic positions.

"We were greatly shocked by this enforced white dominance of South African society, and hope that when next we visit we will find the people of South Africa equally represented in the office bearers who welcome us."

FLOW OF BLACK ENTERTAINERS TO SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES

In 1965, prominent Black American artists instituted a boycott of South Africa. In May, 1970 Black singer Percy Sledge broke the embargo to visit South Africa by spending three months there, earning \$150,000 in fees. Since then a growing number of Black artists have decided to visit South Africa earning fabulous fees for their efforts. In October, singers Brooke Benton and Judy Clay toured South Africa.

Early in 1972, three of the biggest names in show business will visit Southern Africa. The "Queen of Soul," Aretha Franklin, was a visitor in January, followed shortly thereafter by Sammy Davis, Jr. and in April by Eartha Kitt. Davis has refused to perform before segregated audiences in South Africa itself, so the entertainer will perform his show in Swaziland where he will earn a minimum of \$350,000 for a six-night run. Tickets to each show will be sold at \$210 each so it is doubtful that any more than a handful of blacks will be in the audience at each show. (The tickets probably include a flight from Johannesburg to Mbabane and an overnight hotel fee.) However, to ensure an "integrated" audience, it is reported that Davis himself will sponsor the attendance at his shows of 20 Black South Africans.

According to the Queens Booking Agency in New York, other Black artists who will visit South Africa in 1972 include Lloyd Price, Ray Charles, the Isley Brothers, and Count Basie. (Facts from Tan, Sept. 1971, Jet, Nov. 11, 1971, and Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 10, 1971)

PLAY BAN ON SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS

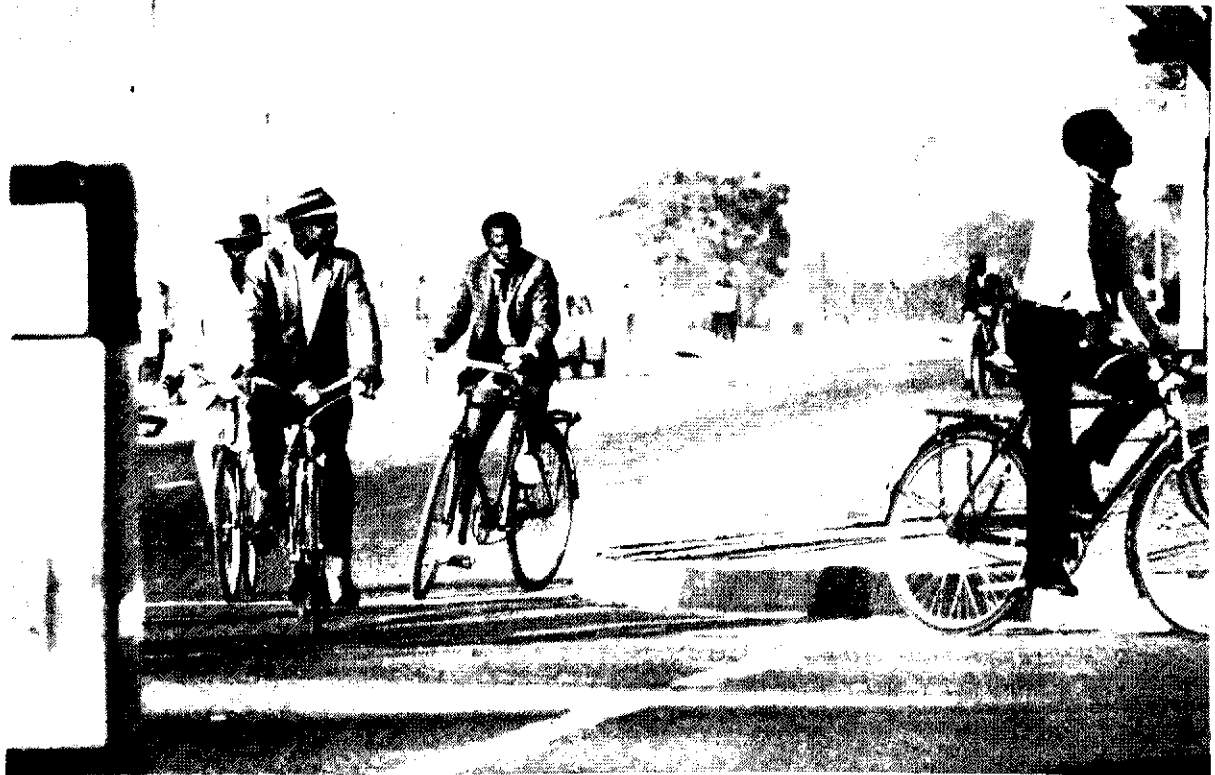
More than 30 British playwrights have issued a statement saying they will continue to refuse to allow their plays to be performed in South Africa.

The statement, issued through the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, says the boycott of South Africa iculture and now in sport "shows signs of success." Because of this it should be strengthened, not weakened.

Among the playwrights to sign were John Osborne, Harold Pinter, J. B. Priestley, John Arden, Edward Bond, Iris Murdoch, and Keith Waterhouse. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 13, 1971)

BRITISH CULTURAL UNIONS TO BOYCOTT SOUTH AFRICA

All the major British unions in the entertainment field, the Writers' Guild, Actor's Equity, Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians Union of the Musician's Union, have decided to impose a cultural boycott on South Africa. This means that the unions will attempt to ban the use in South Africa of all plays, films, and, in time, TV material with which their members have been connected. The unions' decision was part of a comprehensive motion South Africa adopted unanimously at the Trade Union Congress in Blackpool in September. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 8, 1971)



Africans going home from work in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

**AFRICANS DEMAND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN
NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE.**

AMERICAN SUPPORT MUST COME NOW!!!

NAMIBIA: Despite the "settlement" reached between the South African Government and the Ovambo and Okavango tribal authorities, striking workers have not returned to their jobs. Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax (AMAX), as the owners of Tsumeb Corporation, are involved; a Newmont vice-president, who also serves as managing director of Tsumeb, attended negotiation sessions in Grootfontein.

ZIMBABWE: Africans throughout the territory have expressed their opposition to the proposed Anglo-Rhodesian settlement terms. Police action has resulted in the deaths of 14 Africans in urban violence. The British Government's Pearce Commission has found almost unanimous "No's" even in the rural areas, where the Smith regime expected acquiescence.

NOW IS THE TIME to support the courageous actions by these peoples, who are attempting to resist the white domination that they have lived under for so long. Here is a list of some suggested actions:

**INFORM YOURSELF AND OTHERS. READ THE
ARTICLES IN THIS MONTH'S NEWSLETTER.**

NAMIBIA: In New York, organizations and individuals are asking people to support a demand that Newmont affirm the right of Namibian independence and pay its taxes to the U.N. Council for Namibia. A press conference is planned at Newmont offices on February 4.

(1) The Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, who hold stock in both AMAX and Newmont, have filed statements with the companies to be included on their proxies that would force them to recognize the U.N. as the lawful authority and to cease cooperation with the illegal South African administration. You can support this action by writing to the companies (send a copy to ECSA, 14 West 11th St., New York, N.Y. 10011) or by voting your proxy in support of the resolution if you own Newmont stock. If you know any people or organizations holding shares in Newmont, ask them to support the ECSA resolution as well.

(2) The strikers need aid. They have now been without cash wages since mid-December. Please raise money and send it to:

Mr. Bill Johnston
Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa
14 West 11th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

The need is urgent, so please send money quickly!

(3) Funds are also needed to continue the armed struggle waged by SWAPO in Namibia. Money and communication can be sent to the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), P. O. Box 2603, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

(4) Write to Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), chairman of the Africa Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, supporting hearings on the role that Tsumeb is playing in supporting illegal South African rule in Namibia.

ZIMBABWE: The campaign against the settlement has been directed by the newly-formed African National Council, chaired by Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The World Council of Churches has put out an urgent appeal for funds to support this group. Send contributions to:

World Council of Churches
Program to Combat Racism
150, Route de Ferney
1211 Geneva 20 Switzerland

For some time, the U.S. Government has been moving toward support for the white minority regime of Ian Smith and violation of U.N. sanctions. President Nixon's new budget includes the issuance of import licenses for purchase of Rhodesian chrome, asbestos, and other "strategic" materials in line with a Congressional resolution of 1971 calling for import licenses for such materials from Rhodesia if the only other source is a communist country. Write to your Senators and Representatives protesting these U.S. imports (stockpiles of these materials are already quite large; their classification as "strategic" is a matter of opinion).

U.S.-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS: The recent U.S.-Portuguese agreement, which involves loans to Portugal worth \$436.5 million, should be protested. A resolution sponsored by Senator Clifford Case (R-N.J.) calls for the "executive agreement" to be rightfully considered a Treaty and thus subject to Senate confirmation. Write to your Senators calling for support for the Case resolution and opposing all aid to Portugal in 1972 Foreign Aid and Military appropriations (similar protests against aid to Greece and Pakistan were made in 1971).

The liberation movements that are carrying on their struggle in the Portuguese colonies need continual support.

**SEEK SUPPORT FOR THESE ACTIONS FROM LOCAL
CHURCHES, UNIONS, UNIVERSITY GROUPS, AND
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. DON'T FORGET TO
WRITE YOURSELF! AND SEND SOME MONEY. THE
NEED IS CRITICAL. THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW!!!!
!!!!!!**

SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE
637 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

February 1972

NORTHWESTERN UNIV
LIBRARY
SERIAL DEPT
EVANSTON IL 60201

2950R