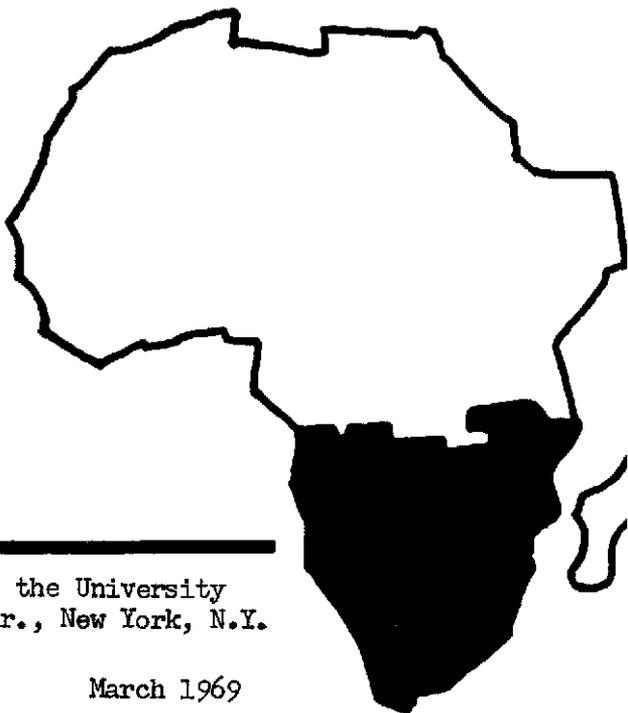


SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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On March 21st, 1960, in response to a Pan Africanist Congress call, Africans gathered outside the police station at Sharpeville, a town about thirty miles south of Johannesburg, the gold mining center of South Africa. They came there to protest the ignominious pass laws which brand black South Africans as so many cattle.

At 1:40 p.m. seventy-five policemen emerged and fired about 700 shots into the crowd, killing 69 Africans and wounding over 180. Most of them fell with bullets in the back. The gory pictures of the massacre splashed around the world. A wave of horror and fear followed. Investors withdrew their funds. For a fleeting moment it seemed that white supremacy would fall.

Apartheid survived. The money returned, the black politicians went to gaol and the government settled more securely and ruthlessly in power. There had been bigger massacres. But this one caught the imagination. Africa burst into the world in 1960. A host of countries became independent. A fever of change rippled through the continent. The pillars of empires fell. Anything could happen. It was Africa's year. Sharpeville came at a time flushed with revolution. Who could forget?

Nine years have passed, and illusory optimism has faded. Sharpeville must be remembered, for it marks the time when South Africa lost its fragile hope of a peaceful revolution and turned onto a road to a violent civil war. Those 69 may have been the first to fall. The monuments of the future will bear their names.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

"Limehill Rhymes With Sharpeville"

The resettlement area for Africans at Limehill continues to receive attention. Members of the opposition discussed the situation there and criticized the government during the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly. The Government's reply to its critics is indicative of the outlook of the rulers of South Africa. Accusing those who have raised the issue of "playing at politics and playing dirty", Mr. V. A. Volker, Nationalist MP, made the following charges: "The outcry about conditions at Limehill had come in the same spirit as the protests made by Bishop Reeves, Father Huddleston and Canon Collins during the implementation of other resettlement schemes. The whole outcry had been for propaganda purposes here and overseas. Was it not possible that the name Limehill had been selected because it rolled off the tongue much easier than did Vergelegen or Uitval, especially overseas? 'Limehill, after all, rhymes with Sharpeville. This was a perpetrated trick.'" This same approach to the problem was taken by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. A. H. Vosloo. He blamed the entire "scandal" on certain members of the opposition in Parliament, certain English-language newspapers, members of the Black

Sash and certain clergymen. (Johannesburg Star, Feb. 8, 1969) Government spokesmen choose to see a problem involving the movement of some 5,000 people, an unusual number of deaths, the outbreak of typhoid, and general poverty as a propaganda trick, as being created by the opposition.*

Opposition in South Africa?

South Africa is not a one-party state. The Nationalist Party has been in power since 1948, but there is still an official opposition, the United Party. The No-Confidence Debate at the opening of Parliament gave the United Party an opportunity to express its position. A brief study of that position illustrates well the scope of political debate in South Africa.

In contrast to apartheid or separate development, the United Party calls for a federal state. Sir de Villiers Graff, leader of the party, spelled out what that means: "Our goal is a state in which each racial community or group will control matters intimately concerning itself to the full extent which will be consistent with its stability and welfare of the whole

*See also the January, p. 12 and February, p. 8, issues of this newsletter re Limehill

state and each of the other communities. I want to emphasize that as far as we can see ahead, peace and the necessary progress of all our people can only be achieved by maintaining the leadership and political control of the White people. I know that I shall be told that this means that there will be equality between the various groups which form the federal State. Of course there will not be..."

Under the Federal plan, the position of the African would be that he would have separate voting rights; he would select 8 White representatives to the House of Assembly and six to the Senate. He would also enjoy a high-level of self-administration in the reserves. Sir de Villiers also pointed out that this structure would not be subject to sudden change. "...we guarantee that no change will be made in the parliamentary representation of the Bantu and the other non-White races or communities without the approval of the White electorate specifically obtained at a general election or at a referendum." (Johannesburg Star, Feb. 8, 1969)

The fundamental question for both the Nationalist Party and the official opposition is how to maintain the position of the white. The Opposition does not argue that apartheid is unjust, depriving Africans of their rights. Rather, they argue that apartheid will lead to a situation that the white government cannot control. Thus the only way to maintain "the security of the Republic" is to opt for a Federal plan. The official opposition quite plainly does not in any way offer a viable alternative for the majority of the people of South Africa.

CHILD LABOUR

The Zimbabwe News reports on plans being drawn up by the Ministers of Education and Labour to legalise the drafting by white cotton plantation owners, of black school children. The plans envisage an extension of the present 1 month school holiday to 3 months during the winter (June to August). It is at this time that the cotton is ready for harvesting, and this plan will make the children readily available to work on it - the estimated weekly payment to be 55 ngwee (pennies) per child. The plan is expected to become law this year.

Apartheid Incidents and U.S. Visitors

The United States luxury liner is visiting Cape Town, South Africa. An official in the Railways and Harbours Administration of the S.A. government sent a directive to his employees asking that they use "tact and diplomacy" in applying apartheid to the American ship's non-white crew and passengers. The white railway staff rose up against the order and the government department quickly withdrew it. In the words of one ticket collector, "They wanted us to suspend for a few days a policy which we have fought for for years, just for the sake of a few Negroes on the liner" (Daily Telegraph, Feb. 11, 1969). Nixon's press officer, Robert J. McCloskey, when asked about the incident at a recent press conference, gave a predictable reply: "The U.S. policy opposing apartheid remains unchanged" .. but Americans visiting South Africa "subject themselves to the laws of that country, including apartheid" (Cape Times, Feb. 11, 1969). McCloskey was quick to add that U.S. navy vessels do not call at South African ports except in emergency situations.

U.S. Aircraft and South African Defense Plans

It appears that in 1966 when the French aviation company, Marcel Dassault, wanted to sell fan jet Falcons (Mystere 20's) to the South African Air Force, the United States embargoed the sales because Falcon engines are produced by General Electric. Now three years later the French have begun demonstration flights of the fan jet in Johannesburg and have even made several flights for South African Airways. The French company insists that the plane is geared to a "purely commercial market" and has no military purpose. It is not clear whether or not this year's French sale has been cleared by the State Department, but from past sales of Boeing aircraft to South African Airways, it is reasonable to believe that Marcel Dassault has received a State Department go ahead. It is obvious that the effect of U.S. aircraft and parts sales to South Africa via South African Airways is a continual abrogation of the beloved American arms embargo of South Africa. (Daily Telegraph, Feb. 10, 1969)

FRELIMO STATEMENT: "Our pledge is only one: to carry on the fight for freedom and independence of Mozambique, thus vindicating the cause for which our great President died." (Uria T. Simango, President pro tem of FRELIMO, Feb. 7, 1969)

INSIDE RHODESIA

Ian Smith Unveils Proposed Rhodesian Charter

Ian Smith has remarked that "if the British Government goes on being obdurate over coming towards us in any way, then there is the second road...our own constitution."

A "leader" in the London Times (2-3-69) points out that this "second road" is what many British MP's fear will, by cutting the last ties with the legal 1961 constitution, finally make negotiation impossible. However, it points out too, that the new constitution appears to have in it all the elements of apartheid, but does not institutionalize them. It would be possible for Smith, if rebuffed by Mr. Wilson in new talks, to enact the constitution and then wait hopefully for a Conservative government to ask him to amend it in such a way simply to exclude full apartheid - in exchange for lifting sanctions. For such a long haul, he would have to have the continued backing of South Africa.

The New York Times (2/25/69) meanwhile has given details of Smith's proposed new constitution which they point out racially segregates the electorate, and is designed to insure that there will never be black African majority rule in Rhodesia. In Smith's words, the new constitution would entrench the Government "in the hands of civilized Rhodesians for all time." A referendum is scheduled to be held in May to test the proposal.

Under this constitution the blacks would hold about the same number of seats as they do now, with the prospect, though restricted, of increasing this number. It provides for a multiracial parliament - with separate electoral rolls for blacks and non-blacks--and for separate provincial parliaments for blacks and non-blacks.

The proposals call for an abolition of the two present "A" and "B" rolls which are based on income and means and are open to all races, though by virtue of qualifications, whites are the majority on the "A" roll (which elects 50 members of the present parliament) and the "B" roll (which elects 15). Under the new proposals, voters would be separated into two rolls, one would include whites, coloreds and Asians; the other would be only for blacks. The central parliament would consist of 66 members, 50

of these elected by non-blacks. Of the remaining 16 seats, 8 would be elected by voters on the African roll, and 8 would be held by blacks elected by an electoral college consisting of Chiefs, headmen and representatives of African councils.

It is noted that black representation would not be limited to 16, but would be determined by contributions to the National treasury. As black contributions as a whole increased, seats allotted to them conceivably could be increased until there were 50. Thus the new constitution appears to insure that there will never be black majority rule in Rhodesia. With these proposals however, the New York Times suggests that Smith hopes to placate the British sufficiently for them to be prepared for further negotiations.

Relations With South Africa

Reports indicate that the solid South African backing of Rhodesia continues. Exports to South Africa are of key importance, because S.A. is in some measure substituting Rhodesian for South African production (meat, maize, light consumer goods, asbestos) and then exporting the latter. Despite this, there was a small adverse balance on Rhodesian payments last year, and tobacco support payments to farmers is becoming very inflationary. Nobody knows if the Rhodesian pound is really worth R2 on a free market, but clearly a financial crisis, even financial pressure from Pretoria, would profoundly affect Smith's freedom of choice.

South Africa, the London Times of 2-3-69 comments, would certainly be in favor of a quick deal on the Fearless proposals, which in the Pretoria view (in the light of South African experience) would leave white rule

DOCTORS NEEDED:

While there is a general shortage of doctors for all people in South Africa, the situation is much more critical for Africans than for whites. 6,000 doctors are needed to serve the 13 million blacks. However, only one medical school exists for Africans and it graduates only 20 doctors a year. (New York Times, 2-19-69)

intact for long enough to meet its current planning for the white man's survival in southern Africa and would free South Africa's hands for other purposes (it would be easier

to defend Rhodesia against terrorists if it were legally independent. At present the drain on South African police power is embarrassing.) Mr. Smith's and the Rhodesian Front extremists' intransigence is not welcome in Pretoria. But it seems that Smith has cards to play in South Africa itself. For if he leaked out that pressure was being brought on him to "surrender", there would be a ready-made case for Vorster's verkrampters (to the right of Vorster) opponents to exploit.

The "verkramptes" care little for the Rhodesians, but this stick could be useful for them to beat Vorster's "outward policy" with. As the New York Times points out, this situation will not last, but unless trouble is brewing far beneath the surface it seems that in the immediate future, Smith's position both at home and in South Africa looks relatively solid.

Was Sithole Framed?

The Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, the 48-year-old President of the banned Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was sentenced to six years hard labor on February 12 on a charge of plotting to kill Ian Smith and two other Rhodesian rebel ministers. Under the heading "Was Sithole Framed?", Pendennis of the London Observer (3-2-69) strongly suggests that Sithole, as he had claimed all along, was wrongly accused.

According to the Prosecution, Sithole (a highly educated man) wrote a letter from prison (where he had been held without trial for three years) instructing a friend to hire three killers to assassinate Smith. The letter contains phrases like: "I will make sure that your reward is big all your life" and "Don't discuss with Dr. M. about this serious plan." Evidence of Sithole's handwriting was therefore crucial to the case. Ronald Blackmore, an ex-chief inspector of the British South Africa Police, who appeared for the Prosecution, said: "It is my opinion that it would be impossible for someone else to have written the letter." The far more famous and experienced forensic expert engaged by the Defence was never called to give evidence.

Pendennis called in a forensic scientist to compare the assassination letter with two letters which Sithole wrote to a friend in England. In his report he stated that "It

is unlikely that the writer of the letter to a friend possessing such marked normal characteristics should suddenly abandon them and write in a totally different manner, but, if some unusual circumstances should have forced him to attempt this... then it is unusual for a person to produce writing so consistently different without sometimes betraying signs of his own natural characteristics. On the whole the writing in the assassination letter has definite characteristics of its own...and appears to be the natural unforced production of the writer." Pendennis concludes that on the evidence of their forensic expert there must be considerable doubt that Sithole should now be doing six years' hard labor on evidence of a letter that reads like the fantasy of a child who has seen too many T.V. movies.

WITH ZAPU-ANC IN ZIMBABWE

Russell Warren Howe, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, in an article in the Monitor of March 8, reports briefly on a visit inside Zimbabwe with the guerrillas. He reports that the guerrillas now face 2,700 South African troops as well as 3,600 Rhodesians, but that the operations in three distinct areas (northern, western, and central) have not been diminished. He accompanied a unit of guerrillas led by the Algeria-trained officer who commanded the "Wankie raid" in 1967, when the guerrillas carried on a battle of several days against Rhodesian and South African troops. He notes that the local population seems prepared to risk more support for the guerrillas, although the Zambezi River still poses problems in infiltration.

U.S. ECONOMIC RELATIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA

"Sweet Talking"

To focus attention exclusively on the giants of American industry and their penetration of Southern Africa economies is to miss the persistent, snow-balling inroads made by American businessmen through small firms. Take Albert Tandy, for example, a Los Angeles "candy king" (South Africa

Digest, Nov. 15, 1968). He has been teaching housewives the art of candy manufacturing in the home, a harmless pastime on the surface. But he is really "sweet-" talking the wives into an interest in manufacturing and consuming candy, a "need" his son Edward will satisfy next year when he comes to South Africa "to supply the machinery and equipment to his father's clients," i.e. the housewives whom he has encouraged to start their own small candy manufacturing business.

Black Americans Not Welcome

It may be that bon-bons, using the extensive supply of South African sugar, will make their way to the U.S.A. via a newly instigated weekly flight between New York and Johannesburg via Rio de Janeiro (South Africa Digest, Nov. 22, 1968). South African Airways received clearances from both the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Executive Branch of the federal government during the Johnson administration. Since it is doubtful black Americans will be welcomed to make the trip to South Africa despite the fact that magazine advertising encourages all Americans to come aboard, the U.S. government has in fact sanctioned an extension of apartheid outside South Africa's territorial limits. This point was underscored in a demonstration at Kennedy International Airport (New York) upon the arrival of the "maiden flight" on February 23. The American Committee on Africa, supported by the Southern Africa Committee, will be in touch with future events related to these flights. Readers are encouraged to contact the American Committee on Africa in New York, and also to oppose this government sanctioned attempt to bolster the South African economy with American tourist dollars.

South Africa's Fifth Province

On April 1, South Africa will take unto herself a virtual fifth province, South West Africa (Namibia). On this day the autonomy that South West Africa had through its Legislative Assembly since it became a South African mandate in 1919 (including financial autonomy, full control over mining, agriculture, fishing, posts and telegraphs and many other departments which in South Africa are administered by the central government) will come to an end. The Legislative Assembly will be reduced to the level of a South African Provincial Council.

According to the Johannesburg Star (3/1/69) many whites have privately expressed misgivings. However, the 75,000 whites were not consulted. The decision was made in the South African Parliament and the bill will become law on April 1st. Needless to say the opinion of the black majority would not be considered.

Businessman's Paradise

A survey was recently conducted on U.S. and Canadian business attitudes toward South Africa (Washington Post, Dec. 29, 1968). From 65 replies to 254 questionnaires, it was learned that 92% felt that South Africa is "not really subject to serious jeopardy due to racial or economic unrest in the foreseeable future." 55% agreed profit opportunities were better than in most developed nations. 81% said apartheid was "at least an attempt to develop a solution."

Trade figures released by the U.N. underscore these businessmen's attitudes. U.S. exports to South Africa last year were valued at \$426 million, an increase of \$26 million over 1966. Earnings by American investors total some \$100 million, with total U.S. investment set at \$750 million, according to the Washington Post story. (By the way, each year longish stories regularly appear in major newspapers about U.S. investments in South Africa. While refraining from accusations, this form of "news" story became the lively subject of a Senate Foreign Relations inquiry showing connections between foreign lobbyists and American journalists in the early 1960's.) The article states: "Few newly arrived Americans have difficulty getting settled. There is no language barrier, the climate

MARCH 19, 1969 - BRITISH PARATROOPERS LAND IN ANGUILLA AND END THE ISLAND'S ATTEMPT AT U.D.I. The Rhodesian whites, however, are still going strong - since 1965. Could the different reaction by the British have something to do with the Skin color of the respective rebels?
(Anguilla formed part of the associated state of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla when it was formed in 1967. Britain, which retained responsibility for the "foreign relations" of the associated state, has re-established direct administration. The population of Anguilla is almost all black.)

is excellent, black servants are plentiful and cheap... virtually all the consumer goods sold in America are available here (Johannesburg)." There are currently 6,000 Americans living in South Africa, most of them businessmen and their dependents.

Dr. Diederichs Looks for Loans

In a story released by the London Times (2/1/69) it was reported that South Africa's Finance Minister, Dr. Diederichs, had held top-level discussions in London with U.S. financiers close to the Nixon administration. The American Embassy denied the report. Diederichs, however, was in the process of negotiating a loan from West Germany's largest private bank, the Deutsche Bank. A loan of 60 million Swiss francs has already been successfully negotiated in Zurich in October, but was only announced in early February. While in London Diederichs conversed with representatives of the Bank of England. The need to raise currency in Europe has been caused by the January 22 announcement by Secretary of the Treasury, David Kennedy (formerly of Continental Illinois Bank, one of the 10-member consortium whose \$40 million revolving credit arrangement has been the subject of extensive controversy. As this goes to press, the board of trustees of Princeton University are deciding the fate of its deposits in that bank.) that the price of gold would remain at \$35 per ounce.

3 M
Bert S. Cross called it "fantastic progress" as he opened the new multi-million dollar Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing complex at Elandsfontein near Johannesburg (South Africa Digest, 12/20/68). The 3M company was a one-room operation ten years ago, but now it employs 500 on a 42-acre site.

"Super Dam"

No newsletter would be complete without a story on Charles Engelhard. Although he has poured his energy and millions into South Africa, he seems only to be worth \$168,000 in the "living monument" category. That is the cost of the Engelhard Dam recently opened in Kruger National Park. Called a "super dam", it is designed to store water for dry periods in the park, and will eventually become one of a chain

of such dams for the same purpose. (South African Scope, Jan. 1969) Engelhard recently made a gift of \$1.25 million to Rutgers University's Graduate School of Business Administration for its \$5 million expansion drive (New York Times, 1/22/69). The gift was intended to show "how much Newark has meant to my family and me..., as well as the Engelhard corporation."

Why Do Tourists Go To South Africa?

The New York Times recently gave a long list of reasons as to why South Africa was the country in Africa with the most "drawing power." Reporter Peter Hawthorne writes, "The face of South Africa is rapidly changing, for the tools of industrial development and the concrete and steel of 20th century progress are leaving an impressive path across the veld... It is this blend of breathless industrial pace, and beyond it, an Africa untouched, that gives South Africa much of its drawing power for tourists. The challenge in South Africa's rapid development is to build the new without affecting the old, to preserve the old and unspoiled heritage of Africa while amalgamating the clamor for the new."

Indeed a tourist in South Africa can see "something different" than what he can see in Europe, yet he can enjoy the comforts of home and the security of the English language, while experiencing the African culture--"in the game parks, excellent rondavel (round thatched hut) accommodations are available for only a few dollars."

Mr. Hawthorne sees only one problem with South Africa, and that is its Sundays. "Sunday is South Africa's dull day, by tradition and legislation. Movie houses and public bars are closed, and various local by-laws prohibit certain types of entertainment. Many travel agents here maintain that if South African Sundays were enlivened, its tourist appeal would be enhanced."

COME TO SUNNY SOUTH AFRICA! However, please be aware of our police state... Mr. Hawthorne continued: "South Africa's official policy of racial separation is clearly posted for all visitors to see. It should be noted that this policy is enforced strictly, and so it is a good idea for prospective visitors to first acquaint themselves with some of the basic rules and regulations of the South African way of life." The article dispels any fears of getting a visa, provided..... "visas for

bona fide visitors are given almost automatically." (New York Times, Resort Section, March 2, 1969) It would have been more honest to simply state that non-whites (if they did manage to get a visa) would be treated like a non-white South African, subject to innumerable discriminatory regulations concerning such South African innovations as the pass laws. The non-white American would have to prove his right to be in any place at any time, watch for signs and symbols of separate facilities in every part of his travels from restaurants, railways, taxis to hotels, post-offices and beaches, and if caught violating any particular regulation would be liable to fines and/or imprisonment.

Increase in Immigration

The total number of immigrants increased during 1968. The total in 1967 was 3,259; in 1968 it was 3,870.

Where did they come from? United Kingdom - 1,690; Germany - 374; Italy - 159; Greece - 125; Netherlands - 103.

Visitors to South Africa during 1968 totalled 22,523. Those who came on vacation numbered 17,631; those who came for business reasons were 3,567; and for study purposes, 1,326.

South Africans who left for visits abroad numbered 19,776 (16,148 for vacations; 3,548 for business; 80 for study). (South African Scope, Feb. 1969)

SOUTH AFRICA'S FIFTH PROVINCE

On April 1, South Africa will take unto herself a virtual fifth province, South West Africa (Namibia). On this day the autonomy that South West Africa had through its Legislative Assembly since it became a South African mandate in 1919 (including financial autonomy, full control over mining, agriculture, fishing, posts and telegraphs and many other departments which in South Africa are administered by the central government) will come to an end. The Legislative Assembly will be reduced to the level of a South African Provincial Council.

According to the Johannesburg Star (March 1, 1969) many whites have privately expressed misgivings. However, the 75,000 whites were not consulted. The decision was made in the South African Parliament and the bill will become law on April 1st. Needless to say, the opinion of the black majority would not be considered.

Move Against "Petty Apartheid"???

The Rand Daily Mail reports that the Department of Public Works has announced a decision to change the wording of the "Whites Only" signs over all separate entrances and counters in South Africa's State Buildings. With the increased number of tourists and diplomatic officials it was undoubtedly felt that the more neutral wording "whites" without the "only" attached was more acceptable. (New York Times, 2/16/69)

U.N. FUNDS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA OPEN FOR PUBLIC REGISTER

On March 21, the ninth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre and designated by the United Nations as International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, a public register for contributions will be opened at the U.N. for "the victims of the policies of apartheid and racism in South Africa." The register will be open for one week in the General Assembly Building, and funds will go to the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa and the U.N. Educational and Training Program (for South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration.) If one cannot be at the U.N. during the week of March 21 to make a contribution, send your check by mail to the Treasurer of the U.N., Room 3763, United Nations, New York, N. Y. 10017. made out to either or both funds. The U.N. Trust Fund provides legal assistance, family and refugee aid to South Africans oppressed by apartheid, while the Education and Training Program provides funds for the education of exiled southern Africans.

EDUARDO C. MONDLANE 1920-1969

(by Edward A. Hawley, Pastor for Refugees of the Christian Council of Tanzania and close friend of Eduardo Mondlane, written for Christianity and Crisis, March 17, 1969)

Eduardo Mondlane was assassinated Feb. 3 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He was the president of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front), the revolutionary organization committed to driving the Portuguese out of Mozambique. Mondlane, the son of a Mozambican chief, had been educated in mission schools and completed his education with a Ph.D. from Northwestern University in this country.

A few facts are known about the assassination; he was working in the home of a friend and a package containing a bomb, set to explode when opened, killed him. It probably came through the mails, which makes it almost certain that the assassin will not be found.

Rev. Uria Simango, who was vice-president of Frelimo, has been chosen to succeed Mondlane by the executive committee. The committee also passed a resolution urging Mondlane's American wife, Janet, to continue working with them in Dar es Salaam.

Mondlane was buried Feb. 6 after a State funeral attended by Tanzanian President, Julius K. Nyerere, and leaders of other African states. Rev. Edward A. Hawley offered the following words during the funeral service.

"Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for a friend."

Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane was a man with this love. One may protest that he did not lay down his life, that it was taken from him by a foul and cruel deed; this, of course, is true. But the deed could not have happened had not this brave man, by his own free act, offered his life for the sake of his people and, in a larger sense, for the redemption of the soul of mankind from the degrading slavery of the patterns of the past.

He had all the qualifications to have been a great professor and scholar. He had position, security and salary enough to maintain his family comfortably. He had the ready-made rationalizations at hand: "I can do more for my people by presenting their case from a position of recognized academic achievement than by descending to the hurly-burly of revolutionary action."

But he chose to heed the call of his people to lead a united Mozambique Liberation Movement. He made himself the lightning-rod to draw the wrath of the Portuguese usurpers of his homeland and lived bravely and courageously in the shadow of death and danger. He knew the peril in which he walked; he knew the subtle lies and propaganda insinuated to

disrupt his movement and to make enemies of those who should have been his friends. He knew that any day might be his last, but he gave himself to the cause in which he believed. He laid down his life - as a life to be lived fully, openly, courageously, dedicated to the truth that man was made for dignity and self-determination - and in laying down this life to be lived, he laid it open also to the possibility of death. He laid down his life for his friends. Greater love hath no man than this.

I shall not outline his life here, but will say simply that it is a glorious story, one that will inspire other sons of Africa for decades to come.

Now suddenly, with the story not yet over, with victory not yet won, he is gone. The strength, the joy, the zest for truth, the faith in the triumph of right he imparted to the struggle are with us only in memory.

A Son's Hope for Africa

To his comrades in arms in his own movement and those that share the struggle in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa remains the task to take up the banner he has so unwillingly dropped. In the heat of the struggle they will see again his strong face and his clenched fist and hear his cry "Viva FRELIMO. Viva Moçambique. Independencia ou morte," and it will give them strength to go on. Their enemies think this act will divide them. It must strengthen instead. To him and to those in simple graves in the soil of their homeland, death came before liberty, though in one sense a man is truly free once he gives himself to the cause of freedom. One day, because of such men, all men of Mozambique will know freedom.

But great and important as is the vision of a free Mozambique, that was not the limit of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane's dream. I said before that he was a son of Africa, and the hope of an Africa united, enlightened and free was his also. Had freedom come to Mozambique as early as it did elsewhere in Africa, or had this brutal tragedy not taken him until victory was won, I am convinced that he would have stood a worthy brother to his neighbors and friends, Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda, as one of the outstanding philosopher-statesmen of our age.

Yet even this was not the limit of his vision. He was truly a citizen of the world. He transcended the barriers that divide men in our age, understanding and caring for the

people of East and West, while hating injustice wherever it occurred. Men of such vision are peculiarly vulnerable in our time. Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, Che Guevara, and now Eduardo Mondlane. But the American poet-prophet, Carl Sandburg, once wrote:

"The strong men keep coming on.
They go down shot, hanged, sick,
broken.
They live on fighting, singing,
lucky as plungers.

.....
Call hallelujah, call amen, call
deep thanks.

The strong men keep coming on.
("Upstream", Complete Poems by
Carl Sandburg, Harcourt, Brace
and Co.)

From somewhere, the strong men will keep coming on - for Mozambique, for Africa, and the world. We do not underestimate our loss, but we need not let it plunge us into despair.

A Man's Faith

Finally, behind all this was another, and still wider, view - a view which he did not often have occasion to articulate, but which was at the root of the radiant life he knew - that this fallen world we know, in which deeds like this can happen, was ultimately in the hands of a just and loving God. This conviction came to him by way of the Christian faith, and he frequently was called on to speak to great gatherings of the Christian church. Because of the second great FRELIMO Congress, held in the homeland last July, he had to decline an invitation to address the World Council of Churches in Uppsala which was meeting at the same time.

He knew that this conviction could come to men of many faiths - Muslim, Hindu, Jewish, Buddhist - but for him it came through Christianity. Jesus, the revolutionary carpenter of Nazareth, chose these words from the Jewish scripture to characterize his work: "To preach good news to the poor, proclaim release to the captives, recovering of sight to the blind, and to set at liberty those who are oppressed." This strange yet compelling man, who called himself the Son of Man and whom Christians called the Son of God, once said: "The kingdom of God comes by violence, and violent men take it by force."

I do not wish to enter here into the long debates that have surrounded this passage, except to say that there have been many who, like Mondlane, are filled with a burning love for the oppressed whom Jesus loved. Seeing justice long delayed and the cruel yoke harsh on the people, they have been willing - against their natures - to become violent men. They seek to seize the kingdom by force, trusting in God to rework the deeds they saw as necessary into a larger pattern of justice and right.

Mondlane's was a faith inspired by the Christ who, speaking of the fake peace that acquiesces in injustice so commonly advocated by comfortable men today, said: "I have come not to bring peace but the sword." But beyond the sword was always the vision of the higher goals - of justice, righteousness, truth and love - and violence was a regrettable but necessary means to these higher goals.

President Nyerere has rightly said: "There is not the slightest necessity for people to study metaphysics and decide whether there is one God, or many Gods, or no God before they can be socialist. It is not necessary to decide if there is an afterlife, or what kind, before you can be socialist. These questions are important to man but irrelevant to socialism."

Eduardo Mondlane shared this position and so was able to work wholeheartedly with men of many faiths and philosophies and world views toward a common goal. I mention it here because to be silent about it would be to falsify the whole picture of his life and because we are met to commit his spirit again to the God who made him and gave him to us.

That he had this faith may be a help to others who feel some inadequacy or incompleteness in their revolutionary commitment, but we all together, whatever our faith or world view, can only give thanks to "whatever gods there be" for this life, and leave this room committed afresh to carry forward with our lives that for which he was called to give his. Praise be to God, who gives the victory, even the victory over death.

A N N O U N C I N G - - -

Two information kits which have been made available to readers of this newsletter who wish more specific information and resources on the following:

- (1) SOUTH AFRICA: A MATTER FOR CHRISTIAN ACTION
(A kit of information and strategy suggestions for those concerned about South Africa)

Contents:

South Africa: An American Christian Concern? (a pamphlet)

"Racism in Southern Africa: Challenge to U.S. Policy"
(April, 1968 issue of Social Action magazine)

Map of Africa

The Law in South Africa Today

Testimony of the Rev. Kenneth Carstens before the Africa
Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. Senate

South Africa: The History of a Nation on the Brink

Proposals for Policy Initiatives

Constituency Projects

Price: (below cost) 50¢ each

Source: Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ
289 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

- (2) SHARPEVILLE
(A resource kit prepared by the Africa Research Group)

Contents:

"Sharpeville 1960" - background article from Africa and the World

"Armed Struggle in Southern Africa" - An Introductory Background
to the issue, including official statements by ZAPU,
FRELIMO, ANC and MPLA

"I Am Prepared to Die" - The Text of Nelson Mandela's speech
in his defense at the Rivonia Trial

"The Epic of Sharpeville Lives On" - from Africa and the World

"South Africa Has Robbed us Of Our Country" - by
Toivo Hermann Ja Toivo of SWAPO

"United States Economic Involvement in South Africa"
by Richard Thomas

Price: (below cost) 75¢ each

Source: Africa Research Group
c/o Room 924
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

Southern Africa Committee
University Christian Movement
Room 758
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

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