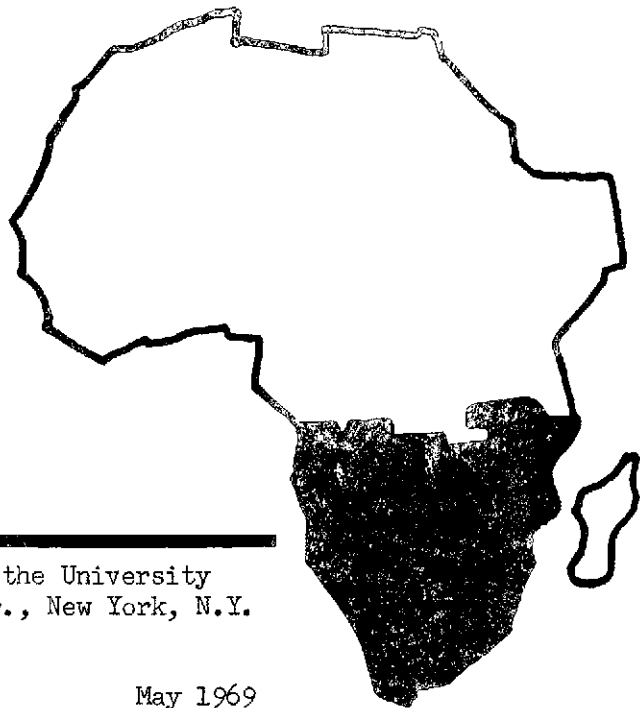


SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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EDITORIAL

"Good Ole Smithy"

That gallant band who so stoutly defend Western Civilization against "uncivilized" hands in the remoteness of Zimbabwe are going to have a constitutional referendum. Less than one hundred thousand white Rhodesians will decide the constitutional future of a country of four and a half million.

For decades this tiny band has defended Western Civilization against the dreaded African Majority Rule. They have had to go to great lengths and some self-sacrifice to hold this "communist-tinged" menace at bay. Hiding their racialism under endless new disguises they hoped to seduce the British Government, as their only slightly reluctant accomplice, to grant them independence and perpetual mastery over their black fellow citizens. At last their patience snapped and they seized independence.

But the facades went on, in a stream of negotiations in which they tried to spread a sheep's clothing over their racist wolf. Ian Smith, their great white leader, could not face even the remotest possibility of African Majority Rule and as a result could not accept any of the wretched sell-outs that the British Government offered to him.

Unfortunately his own supporters, in their world of twisted illusions and greed, could not distinguish the sheep's clothing from the wolf. Smithy had to battle for his political life. As the referendum has approached he has nailed his true colours to the mast. The racist banner rides high. Smithy claims that this constitution will block African Majority Rule for all time. The six percent of the population who are white can relax. Smithy is a wolf. Good Ole Smithy.

PETITION TO U.N.

Death of Freedom

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF
ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Petition to the United Nations

At the height of student demonstrations in South Africa, which were sparked off by the tenth anniversary of the passing of the Act to exclude Blacks, Coloureds and Asiatics from white universities, a petition was presented to the Special Committee on Apartheid of the U.N. on April 18, 1969. The text of the petition presented by Gail Morlan, Chairman of the UCM Southern Africa Committee, is reprinted below.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to begin by thanking you for the opportunity to bring to your attention the serious situation that exists today in South Africa. At a time when

student protests are the order of the day throughout the world, it is perhaps easy to underestimate and dismiss the significance of student protest in South Africa. Thus I welcome this opportunity to point out the unusual

dangers and pressures that face student opposition in the Republic. I will begin by outlining the most recent protests and the reaction of officials to this protest. I will then discuss the matter that has brought about this protest, that is, the so-called Extension of University Education Act, which was passed ten years ago. Finally, I will relate information which illustrates the reality of university education for students, and particularly for African students in South Africa.

I. Student Protest, April, 1969

Contrary to continued predictions that student opposition would become weaker and weaker, this past year has seen an increased amount of activity on the part of students. Students pay a high price for their involvement in such protest. Three student leaders have been deported, two have had their passports confiscated, 21 African students were suspended from Fort Hare University College and seven were arrested, tried and found guilty.

Protest

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All this action in response to peaceful, non-violent action on the part of the students.

April, 1969 was chosen by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) as an appropriate time to continue the protests against the Government's encroachment on human rights and academic freedom. A nation-wide campaign of mass meetings, vigils, teach-ins and non-violent demonstrations has been planned, to be climaxed by events on April 16, the tenth anniversary of the universities' stand on academic freedom, a stand made necessary by the passing of the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. (The Cape Times, April 8, 1969)

This is the situation: Six students stand in the middle of a traffic island on Jan Smuts Avenue, an excellent place to stand with posters, as one is seen by hundreds of passing cars. The island has been a favorite place for such demonstrations for years. Suddenly, without warning, 30 policemen arrive, backed by police dogs, to arrest the six students. The students are not requested to leave of their own free will. They are overwhelmed by police force and taken into custody. While it is true that the students may have been violating a municipal by-law, the injustice of the police action is clear. Last year, for example, during a previous protest, pro-government Afrikaans students stood on that very island and threw eggs, paint and tomatoes at non-violent students from the University of the Witwatersrand who were engaged in a protest demonstration. What was the action of the police then? They stood by and watched, not making a move. (Cape Times, April 11, 1969)

I think it is worth pointing out that this action took place in Johannesburg. It was the City Council of Johannesburg that refused to give the students permission to demonstrate on the pavement and traffic island along Jan Smuts Avenue. It is indicative of the extent to which freedom has been destroyed in South Africa that a council which is not in the hands of the ruling National Party, but rather is still dominated by the opposition party, takes this action. The United Party controls the Johannesburg City Council. The United Party theoretically stands in opposition to the Nationalists. The existence of an official opposition in South Africa gives the appearance of a democracy. However, those who believe in

and fight for academic freedom and human rights find no comfort or support from this official opposition. According to the April 12 Johannesburg Star, opinion is growing in political circles that the Council may have referred the matter to the Government or to the United Party hierarchy, or to the police. This merely underlines the fact that the opposition is in no way prepared to offer an alternative, that it is either too intimidated, too worried about its own image, or too bound to narrow white interests to counter the racism of the Nationalists. In fact, the opposition is a boon to the Nationalists for it helps them perpetuate the myth of democracy in South Africa. It offers them no real threat and it offers genuine opponents no real option. The only support the students can hope for comes from those elements in the society that are more and more invisible, silenced by the white power structure which will stop at nothing to maintain the power and privilege of the whites in South Africa. That white power includes both the National Party and the United Party.

EDUCATION ACT

II. Extension of University Education Act, 1959

What was it that students were protesting? They were protesting the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 which forced the open universities to become segregated. Africans, Asians, and Coloureds would each have their own universities and the Government would decide who would go to each university or college. This act was strongly protested when it was first introduced ten years ago. Nonetheless, the Government went ahead. Segregated universities came to be understood by the Nationalists as an integral part of apartheid, a logical extension of the idea of separate development. It is perhaps easiest to get a clear idea of what this means by hearing what the architects of the idea said about it themselves.

As early as 1954, in a now famous speech, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, made the following remarks in the Senate:

"It is the policy of my Department that education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native

environment and Native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community while he cannot and will not be absorbed there. Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community, and particularly misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there... The effect on the Bantu community we find in the much discussed frustration of educated Natives who can find no employment which is acceptable to them. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupts the communal life of the Bantu and endangers the communal life of the European..." (Verwoerd Speaks, Speeches 1948-1966; Prof. A. N. Pelzer, ed.; APB Publishers, Johannesburg, 1966, pp. 83-84.)

J. H. Viljoen

The Nationalists would like the world to believe that they have only the best interests of the Africans at heart. This falsehood is exposed by their own overwhelming concern for the safety and security of the European community. J. H. Viljoen, Minister of Education, Arts and Science made the following statement in the 1957 debates which culminated in the Act of 1959:

"I am convinced that one of the basic causes of the numerous defiance campaigns that we have so frequently in our country amongst the non-white population groups, is that they are developing a national consciousness, but it is attributable particularly to the fact that the leaders of those non-whites are often trained in an

area and in an atmosphere which is totally foreign to the section of the population which they have to serve... and when those trained leaders of the non-white population have completed their training and want to get away from that unnatural atmosphere, they have to go back to a society where they are frustrated, a society with which they are out of touch, and they regard it as humiliating to return to that society. I can recall... a chief who sent his son to one of the open universities.

The result was that the poor individual was not at home in his own kraal. He could not go back to be absorbed into the White community. He was therefore a frustrated individual. Is it to be wondered then that such a person becomes an agitator and takes part in disturbances such as we have seen in this country in the past?... Psychologically he is frustrated and instead of becoming a leader and a social asset, he becomes a traitor and a social evil. In addition to this, there is the well known and from the point of view of the maintenance of the White race, the predominant consideration that the non-White population groups within our borders, are regarded by the Government as separate groups and must be encouraged and assisted as such." (Hansard, May 27, 1957)

The Nationalist response to the frustrated, educated man is to deny him the education that opens his vision to a world beyond that of his limited and provincial background. Africans, Asians and Coloureds are to have an education that will be so limited that they will not know the world that if known would frustrate them and lead to the defiance South Africa fears so greatly.

At the time that the Extension of University Education Act was passed, there were Africans in the open universities but there was a good deal of social segregation. However, at the admission of Viljoen himself, the open universities were moving to a more free and equitable system, in spite of the fact that Viljoen could not understand it as that. He spoke again in the same debate:

"...It is quite evident... that the 'open' universities are deliberately working in the direction of complete social equality... They are systematically working in this direction and it is... plain... that in the

Inequality

course of time this object will be achieved. At that time it will be too late and it would cost too much...to rectify the matter. We are tackling it at this stage therefore while the numbers are small and controllable... There is a great danger, if these universities are sincere towards the non-whites, that in the course of time their students will be preponderantly non-white and that the atmosphere and orientation will then be such that White students will not feel at home there and will eventually have to hand over these universities to the non-white. In practice, separate non-white university institutions would come into being along this road over a longer period with much more unpleasantness than will be the case along the lines adopted by the Government!" (Hansard, May 27, 1957)

This is part of the rationale behind the establishment of separate universities. There was a great outcry against this action. There was, and the demonstrations this week substantiate that there still is, opposition to this infringement of the rights of the universities. The Government however has its own kind of answer to this concern for academic freedom. Once again, Viljoen speaks:

"...It has been contended that the establishment of non-white university institutions will mean interference with the autonomy of the universities and with academic freedom. I cannot associate myself with this view. Although I have great respect for the autonomy of the universities, it must be remembered that the degree of autonomy which the universities have today was accorded to them by the State, and can therefore be amended by the State, as has been done in fact on various occasions in the past ... The State has now decided on a certain policy of great national importance with regard to the relationship between White and non-white, and that policy does not stop at the borders of the universities..." (Hansard, May 27, 1957)

This statement is important for understanding what is at stake when students defy the Government and take a stand for academic freedom. The contention of students that African and White, Asian and Coloured should

meet as equals in the university is not something that can be easily overlooked by the Government. In fact, to allow that is to deviate from the inflexible ideology that forces the separation of people, that limits the opportunity for all South Africans and that necessitates a network of informers and police state powers to enforce that ideology. To stand for open universities and academic freedom is to stand in direct opposition to the Government's total policy of apartheid. This the Government will not tolerate.

Segregated

III. Education in Segregated Universities

The Government of the Republic of South Africa contends that the institutions of higher education established for Africans, Asians and Coloureds are of equal quality as those for English and Afrikaner. This argument is used to justify the existence of segregated institutions. Apart from the basic fallacy of the separate but equal position, it is clear that there is no comparison in quality between White and non-white institutions.

Time permits only a small discussion of the inequalities. First, a simply look at the population of the country and the number of students of each racial group in university tells the story:

| Population (Mid 1967) | | |
|-----------------------|------------|-------|
| Africans | 12,750,000 | 63.1% |
| Whites | 3,563,000 | 19.0% |
| Coloured | 1,859,000 | 9.8% |
| Asians | 561,000 | 3.0% |

| Enrollment at Universities and Colleges (including correspondence) | | |
|---|--------|--------|
| Africans | 3,320 | .00017 |
| Whites | 60,747 | .00321 |
| Coloureds | 1,438 | .00007 |
| Asians | 3,191 | .00016 |

(Figures from Introduction to South Africa by Muriel Horrell, South African Institute of Race Relations, June, 1968, Johannesburg)

The University College of the North was officially established in 1959. By 1964, it had over 300 students. Let us look briefly at the situation of students at the University College of the North. It is true that they go to school in modern buildings with

NUSAS

Equipment

new equipment. Perhaps the outstanding landmark on that campus is the library. However, if one were to go into that library, they would discover problems. For example, the periodicals the college can list as receiving may be fairly impressive. Unfortunately, due to lack of trained staff, the periodicals have not been classified and indexed. They sit in large stacks on the floor of a large room, totally useless to students and faculty in their present form.

Perhaps the most common criticism leveled at the tribal colleges is their isolation. The University College of the North is very isolated. It is over two hundred miles north of Pretoria, that is 200 miles from any major city. Among other things this means that the students at the College are 200 miles away from a book store, forced to rely completely on the official texts and materials made available through the Department of Bantu Education. Contact with other students, from other universities is obviously extremely limited and in fact impossible for most. Contact at the College itself is limited. The informer system is greatly feared by the students. It was reported by a member of that college community that politics are simply not discussed. It is not that the students are uninterested and uninformed. It is rather that it is extremely difficult if not impossible to know who to trust, the informer system being what it is. Thus for many students wisdom means the silencing of one whole side of their educational endeavor, of their interests and concerns. Discussion of the reality of political control takes place only behind locked doors.

Students in South Africa are protesting the loss of academic freedom. For Africans, Coloureds and Asians it is not just academic freedom that has been lost. The loss of freedom for any of these groups means the loss of freedom for all South Africans. This finally is what is behind the student protests. The exposing of the reality of South Africa is something that the Nationalist Government cannot endure. The Government will continue to arrest, interrogate, and harrass any and all opposition. How long that opposition can remain open and active is unknown. That students are acting with courage and need our support is only too clear. I thank you for this opportunity to bring their situation to your attention.

Statement by NUSAS President Which Closed Week of Protests

"I think that our protest campaign has been successful in that it has drawn to the attention of the public an issue which we regard as tragic. The fact that our universities are not free is a glaring reminder to us that our whole society is not free. The fact that our non-whites receive, through the tribal colleges, an inferior education, is a glaring reminder to us that the non-white is held in subjection in South Africa today.

"The protests have proved beyond any doubt that South African students are responsible, and that any attempt to associate them with overseas rioters is blatantly dishonest, and deliberately provocative. I sincerely hope that Messrs. Vorster, Muller, de Wet, and others who have not hesitated to associate us with these rioters, are feeling suitably embarrassed.

"In Johannesburg, the police could well brush up on their courtesy and efficiency, and they could learn a lot from the Cape Town police, whose handling of the protest was praiseworthy. They did their duty and they did it well.

"It is unfortunate, though, that police in both areas have had to concern themselves with unruly elements that have attempted to disrupt our protests. If these people wish to express their views, why don't they do it as we do, in an orderly and peaceful manner? Why must they resort to violence? It is a tribute to the restraint and courage of our students that no violence occurred.

"We are aware that the forced segregation of our universities is only one of the many aspects of the ultimate tragedy of our society. That tragedy is apartheid. We know that our universities can never be integrated until our society is integrated, we know that our universities can never be free until our society is free. We feel that apartheid is the cause of all that is wrong with South Africa. Our opposition to apartheid is just beginning."

Duncan Innes, President, NUSAS

FRELIMO

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MOZAMBIQUE: The Kavandame Affair

In early April the news of the defection of Lazaro Kavandame from FRELIMO to the Portuguese was carried by many newspapers across the world. He was referred to as Director of FRELIMO's military operations and as Leader of the Makonde warriors.

The Johannesburg Star (April 5, 1969) carried a leading editorial about the incident:

"The defection of the military leader of the Mozambique terrorists could signal a decisive turn in the punishing 1 1/2-year war which Portugal has fought to defend her East African colony. Lazaro Kavandame, who surrendered to Portuguese officials last month, is now touring districts along the Tanzanian border urging his fellow Makonde tribesmen to lay down their arms.

"The warlike Makonde were the backbone of FRELIMO's 5,000-strong army, and Kavandame is credited as the man who launched their operations in 1964. He ran an effective hit and run campaign in the north of Mozambique that tied down many thousands of Portuguese troops and added a severe extra load to Portugal's defence budget.

"His change of allegiance, which followed secret messages to him from other captured terrorists, may be a reflection of the setbacks which the rebel forces have suffered in recent months. It is very likely to lead to more setbacks....

"...FRELIMO's men in the field have lost a charismatic leader. It would be a major triumph if Lazaro Kavandame's example could start a new phase of negotiating rather than fighting with the Portuguese. But this seems unlikely, as its leaders say they are determined to continue the struggle."

FRELIMO Replies

On April 14th, the following Press Statement was issued by FRELIMO from Dar-es-Salaam:

"(1) Lazaro Kavandame once held an important position in FRELIMO. He was appointed Provincial Secretary of Cabo Delgado Province, and was in charge of commercial activities in that Province.

"(2) However, for some time, FRELIMO has been aware of the connections of Lazaro Kavandame with counter-revolutionary forces, based on the following facts:

(a) He used his post in our commercial structure to serve his own personal interests, exploiting the people in the exchange of goods, and keeping the difference.

(b) These activities were denounced by the people, and FRELIMO established a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the matter. When he found out about this, Lazaro Kavandame organised a group of people, his collaborators in the exploitation of the people, to sabotage the work of the Commission. It was on his orders that the group murdered one of FRELIMO's military commanders on the 22nd December, 1968. His defection, therefore, is to escape trial for this murder of which he was declared to be the organiser by the 16 elements of his group who are under detention awaiting trial.

(c) These activities, culminating in murder, classified Lazaro Kavandame as an enemy of the Mozambican people and of the Mozambican Revolution. In fact, this murder was in accordance with the Portuguese plan of murdering FRELIMO leaders in order to stop the Liberation Movement.

"(3) Therefore, on the 3rd of January, 1969, the Executive Committee of FRELIMO met in order to consider the case of Lazaro Kavandame, and decided:

(a) To dismiss Lazaro Kavandame from his position as Provincial Secretary of Cabo Delgado.

(b) As a result of this dismissal, Lazaro Kavandame is automatically removed from membership of the Central Committee of FRELIMO;

(c) Lazaro Kavandame was also dismissed from the post he held in FRELIMO's commercial section.

Defection

"(4) The defection of Lazaro Kavandame to the Portuguese will not have any effect on our liberation struggle, because:

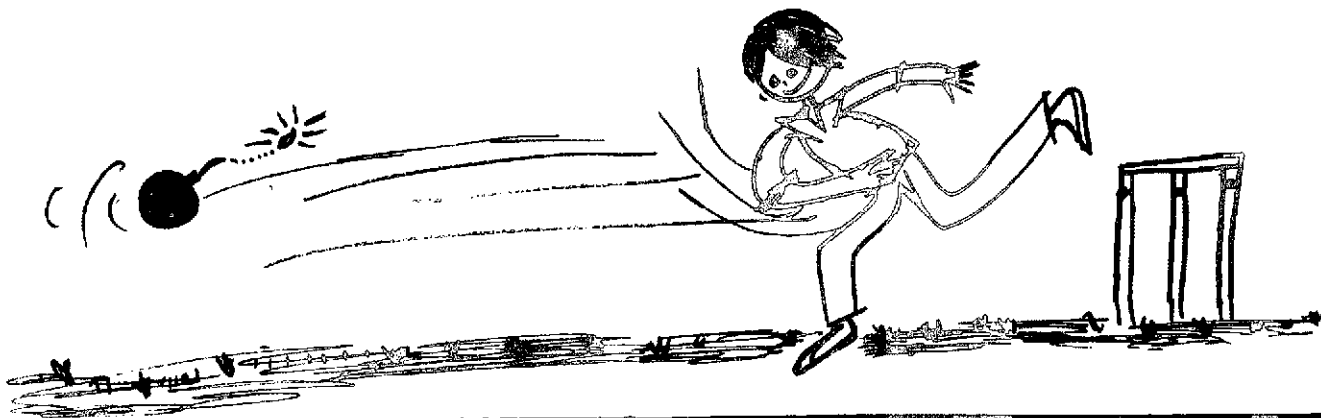
(a) Contrary to what the Portuguese announced, Lazaro Kavandame has never had any military position in FRELIMO, having held a merely administrative position.

(b) He was denounced by the people of Cabo Delgado themselves as being an exploiter and counter-revolutionary; therefore, the people are now well aware of his criminal character and activities.

(c) Also, contrary to what the Portuguese say, Lazaro was never a tribal chief in Mozambique. The only influence he had on the people derived from the position to which FRELIMO appointed him.

(d) He is ignorant of the present state of the military struggle, as he has not been in Mozambique since December 1967.

"The Portuguese claim that "Portugal is poised for a breakthrough in Mozambique as a result of the defection of Lazaro Kavandame" is therefore completely valueless, and mere colonialist propaganda."



IT'S NOT CRICKET

"As enthusiastic, if unskilled cricket followers...we have enjoyed South African cricket in the past, and would like, ideally, to watch it in the future. Yet, if the South Africans arrive in 1970, we shall feel obliged, in conscience, to do all we can to disrupt the proceedings.

"We cannot accept the established argument that to ban South African tours will do nothing to obliterate Apartheid; that the best hope of shaming South Africa in to common sense is to maintain all possible contact. The second part of the argument is demonstrably false:

since 1948, South Africa has been involved in twelve series with Australia and England, and the attitude of the South African Government has not budged. There is, on the other hand, some evidence that sport is the weak link in South African colour prejudice. The prospect of total isolation - in athletics, Rugby and tennis, as well as cricket, might just broaden the loophole left by Mr. Vorster in 1967.

"On the positive side, we believe that, if international sport is to have a consistent *raison d'etre* at all, it must also be multi-racial. This is, in our view, a moral issue. A principle that debases human dignity is no more tolerable for being applied in a sports club rather than a Government. For England to involve itself would be to compound the felony. If our activity...were to endanger cricketing relations between the two countries, we should feel proud, not ashamed."

- from a letter to the Editor,
The Sunday Times (London), 4/27/69

U. S. CONGRESS

IN CONGRESS

The South African Sugar Quota

On April 17 and 18, Congressman Jonathan Bingham (D-ME) and Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass) respectively, introduced Amendments to the Sugar Act calling for the revocation of the sugar quota to South Africa. Both Congressmen condemned the sugar quota as a subsidy to South Africa and likened it to foreign aid. Senator Kennedy commented upon introducing the bill, "At a time when other types of disengagement from South Africa are finding increasingly broad support in this country, I believe we in Congress can at least reach wide and bipartisan agreement on the principle that the United States should not now be conferring a direct economic benefit on a nation whose basic policies are at war with the fundamental values of mankind."

Write now to your Senators and Congressmen. Call for support of the amendments. In the Senate S. 1858, in the House HR 10239. Send copies of your letters to Bryce N. Harlow, Assistant to the President, the White House. For more information, write ACOA, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016.

S. A. A.

South African Airways

Congressman Samuel W. Friedel (D-Md) was the only elected official to partake in the joys of the inaugural South African Airways' flight to South Africa. He was accompanied by a multitude of travel journalists, right-wing Army types (Generals Mark Clark and S.L.A. Marshall), a few businessmen and two members of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Friedel shocked his constituents by accepting the South African propaganda pitch and his action belied his high ADA rating. Friedel should hear from you: his address is 2233 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Chairman of the House of Representatives sub-committee on Africa, had the following report concerning South African Airways included in the Congressional Record of April 21, 1969:

"United States Betrays U.N. Embargo of South African Jet Service" (By Winston Berry)

"United Nations. - Just before midnight on a cold Feb. 23rd, a jet aircraft of the South African Airways landed in the snow at New York's Kennedy International Airport.

"By allowing this plane to land, the United States has thumbed its nose at the United Nations resolution of 1962 which requested all member states not to grant landing rights to any aircraft, public or private, operated under the flag of the racist South African regime.

"And by not acting to repeal a Civil Aeronautics Board decision to grant landing rights to South Africa, President Richard M. Nixon has insulted the entire non-white world.

"However, it is to the credit of the black community of New York and the American Committee on Africa that they "greeted" the plane with a picketline.

PLACARDS

"For three hours about 100 black youths, joined by a number of white supporters, picketed in the slushy street in front of the airport's arrivals building.

"Placards denounced the U.S. assistance to the regime that has become infamous for its anti-black police state laws.

"The shameful spectacle of an aircraft landing in New York from a country that would refuse admittance to all black Americans resulted from cooperation between the U.S. and Britain.

"British Overseas Airways Corporation furnished facilities at the air terminal for the South Africans.

"It was the outgoing Johnson Administration that pushed the U.S.-South African decision through CAB in secret hearings last year.

"In November, President Johnson signed the decision, authorizing South Africa to carry persons, property and mail between Johannesburg and New York by way of Rio de Janeiro.

"Thus exactly six years after a majority of the nations of the world had agreed to quarantine South African racism, the United States gave it a big boost.

U THANT

"Four days before the South African service in New York was initiated, the U.N. Committee on Apartheid called the attention of Secretary-General U Thant to the matter, pointing out that landing rights have also been granted South Africa by Australia, Indonesia, West Germany, France, Greece, Italy, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Portugal, Spain, Swaziland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

"President Nixon was not compelled to honor the Johnson Administration's decision. Indeed, he did order reopened the CAB decision granting extension in the Pacific to certain airlines.

"But he 'forgot' this CAB decision that honored the international symbol of racism - South Africa.

"Now the South Africans have an easy means of attracting American tourists. But it is not American tourists that motivates the South African government; it is propaganda.

"Who can calculate the propaganda value of 5,000 white Americans, many of whom will undoubtedly be racists, visiting South Africa every year?

"South Africa's racist message will have another outlet, and the moral isolation imposed by the United Nations will have been broken.

"Just as the Johnson Administration sneaked through the decision to allow landing rights, the airport officials on the night of Feb. 23 sneaked the South African plane and its passengers into the terminal. No announcement of its arrival was made.

A bus met the 19 passengers - the plane can seat 139 - and ferried them directly to a secret customs processing.

"One youth, apparently out of anger and frustration, snatched the South African flag from the terminal newspaper and carried it outside where other demonstrators stuffed it into the dust.

"How one word of the incident appeared in the New York papers the following day.

"Maybe, if the plane can sneak 'greetings' and 'sendoffs' are carried out by the black community, President Nixon will have to reconsider his decision and the South African jets will have to sneak out as cowardly as the first one sneaked in.

GUN CONTROL

Gun Curbs Urged in South Africa

South Africa is planning better ways of controlling its growing numbers of privately owned firearms. Nearly 1.5 million firearms are owned by South Africa's 3.5 million whites. Under the Arms and Ammunition Bill introduced by Minister of Police Louwrens Muller, a central register of firearms will be kept by the Commissioner of Police and all private owners will have to obtain new licenses. Mr. Muller told Parliament:

"In the time in which we are living other factors have arisen which make the stricter control of arms and ammunition more important. We are particularly thinking of terrorist infiltration across our borders and the changing pattern of crime where increasing use is made of firearms in crimes of robbery and the various forms of homicide."

South Africa's crime rate is one of the highest in the world. During 1966-67, the last year for which police figures are available, 8,900 people of all races died as a result of what the police classify as "criminal acts of violence."

PORTUGAL

CONCERNING PORTUGAL

Does the Heart Fund Have a Heart?

Mrs. William C. Langley (former radio personality Jane Pickens) visited Portugal recently and mingled with the aristocrat and faded royalty of Lisbon society. As special events chairman of the New York Heart Association "Heart of America" Charity Ball, Mrs. Langley proposed a Portuguese theme and invited Portuguese government and social dignitaries to attend the affair. (President Caetano's son was in attendance.) Normally the Heart Fund appeals to smaller nations interested in promoting U.S. tourism as collaborators in their fund-raising events.

The charity ball was held on May 7 at the New York Waldorf-Astoria; while on the sidewalk in front protesters called together by

CONTRASTS

Portuguese Like Americans Better?

The Africa Committee of the New York Committee of Returned Volunteers were led in rousing anti-Portuguese songs by students from Angola and Mozambique. A picket line was cordoned off by the police and the protestors carried signs calling for freedom from Portuguese oppression ("Africa will be victorious", "Independence or Death") and the end of American aid to Portuguese colonialists. Others handed out red, heart-shaped fliers to the furred, bejeweled guests. Meanwhile inside Portuguese wine was being served, waitresses dressed in non-descript "peasant" girl dresses carried baskets of Portuguese wares to sell to the guests, and an auctioneer sold acres of Portuguese land, Russian sable coats. The contrast between the "ins" and the "outs" was obvious.

In a Johannesburg Star article of March 29 it is reported that the South Africa consortium (ZAMCO) contracted for the huge hydroelectric project at Cabora-Bassa was running into difficulties with the Portuguese Government, and that the final signing of the contrast was long overdue. Spokesmen for ZAMCO denied that the consortium, led by Anglo-American Corporation, might pull out, but rumors were fanned by reports that P.M. Caetano "would prefer American interests to take over Cabora Bassa... This, say the diplomatic sources, is because Dr. Caetano is bargaining for American aid against terrorists' attacking Mozambique, and is part of a larger deal--in which America could get bases in Portugal and its possessions near Europe as alternatives to its present bases in Spain."

Guerrilla Fight

SUPPORT THE GUERRILLA STRUGGLE
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (Reprint)

(Proposed to the SDS National Council)

From Bill Barnett, Goleta Beach, John Paul Jones Chapter, Santa Barbara, California (with Martin Legassick, co-author of American Imperialism in Africa, to be published in United States Imperialism, David Horowitz, ed.)

Increases,

SDS correctly recognizes US imperialism as the most repressive, anti-democratic international force. Likewise, we recognize that our struggle in the mother country must move toward solidarity with revolutionary movements abroad. SDS has characteristically assumed a leading role in the denunciation of and resistance to fascism both domestically and abroad. SDS participation in the anti-apartheid movement in this country is one such example. SDS participation in action directed against American supporters of apartheid has included educational programs, boycotts, confrontations, etc. (The March 169 conference on southern Africa held at Cornell University being the most recent SDS program.) SDS must formulate a strategy which can meet the needs of that liberation struggle. This strategy must take into account:

(1) That US corporate and governmental support rescued South Africa from near financial collapse following the March, 1960 Sharpeville massacre;

(2) That since 1960, total US investment in the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled, now totalling over \$1 billion;

(3) That US investment is now primarily in manufacturing (as opposed to mineral extraction, etc.) - particularly manufacturing with export orientation. Continued profit exploitation is dependent upon the availability of continental wide markets for South Africa-U.S. exports;

(4) That the United States is partner with the Republic of South Africa in a co-imperialism, designed to penetrate and make further subservient the economies north of the Zambezi;

(5) That the massive development of South Africa's production base has further entrenched the policies of apartheid...not the opposite, as depicted in the fulsome attempts of US apologists to justify American support to Pretoria;

(6) That, since August 1967, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC-SA) has, in military alliance with ZAPU, carried on an armed guerrilla struggle in Rhodesia, as well as the continued covert development of revolutionary cadres within the fascist state of South Africa itself.

(7) That the southern march of the ANC-ZAPU guerrillas presents the threat of westward imperialism (especially the United States expansionist policies) with the greatest con-

ANC, ZAPU

-12-

temporary threat to their (its) global hegemony. Much more than in Vietnam, revolutionary struggle in South and southern Africa assaults the economic, political and racial foundations of "Western Civilization";

(8) That the ANC-SA (the only South African revolutionary movement recognized and supported by the O.A.U.), in order to intensify the guerrilla struggle, has made an appeal for financial support at this crucial stage of the armed struggle;

(9) That, finally, just as armed revolutionary struggle is demanded for the liberation of southern and South Africa, so our support is necessary for that liberation.

Therefore, be it Resolved,

That the SDS-NC extend to the South African liberation struggle its full and active support. That this program include immediate and long-term projects. That:

(1) SDS immediately initiate programs to provide financial assistance to the ANC-SA, and to such groups actively engaged in armed struggle in southern Africa if and when they should similarly request our assistance in the future;

(2) SDS intensify its educational programs on American involvement (both present and potential) in South Africa. This long-term project should be initiated and/or intensified at the earliest possible date. The corporate-government elite must be made painfully aware that American support for a South African war will mean war at home;

(3) SDS continue to initiate direct pressure on corporate and governmental interests which directly support the Republic of South Africa;

(4) Finally, these actions be undertaken in close cooperation with Third World movements (BSU, UMAS, Panthers, etc.) in the United States. Determined action in support of the armed struggle against fascism and racism in South Africa will provide a catalyst for greater revolutionary solidarity in the United States.

Torture

"The warder said electric machines were used in the hospital in his presence. Prisoners were stripped and put on a table on a wet waterproof sheet and then their bodies were also wetted. The machine was two feet high and there were wires and electrodes which were attached to any part of the body while men held the prisoner down. When a prisoner was shocked he usually screamed, and fellow prisoners had to hold him down."

"There were 20 (African) prisoners in a cell," said the witness, "and if they did not come out of their cells quickly enough, they were hit. If they did not eat their food quickly enough, they were also

hit. If they were hit while eating their food and fell over each other and the food was spilt, they could not come back for more."

evidence presented by a Defence witness at the trial of Laurence Gandar, editor-in-chief, and Benjamin Pogrund, a reporter, on charges of publishing false information about prison conditions without having taken reasonable steps to verify the accuracy of the information. London Observer, May 4, 1969)

Anschluss!

In April, 1969, the South African government assumed virtually all the functions of governing South West Africa, the territory which was placed under its trusteeship by a League of Nations Mandate after World War I. Among South Africa's plans for this new "province" are these listed in the Johannesburg Sunday Times, April 13, 1969:

NAMIBIA: A Brief Review of Recent Political Events

South Africa Take-over in South West Africa

"Broadly, South Africa plans to carve the territory into 11 sections--10 tribal Bantustans earmarked for some kind of eventual autonomy, and a central "white" section which Pretoria will treat virtually as a fifth province of South Africa.

bantustans

"This arrangement will fit nearly on to South Africa's own framework of separate development which consists of eight tiny Bantustans and a central white-dominated section.

"Add the former British protectorates, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, which are economic satellites of South Africa, and there is the main constellation of what the apartheid planners see as an eventual Pretoria-oriented Commonwealth of Southern African States.

"With some impressive development projects thrown in--South Africa and Portugal have announced a big joint project to harness the Kunene River which divides South West Africa and Angola--you have what pro-government newspapers here are hailing as South Africa's 'dynamic answer' to world criticism."

All this spells increased prosperity for the 56,000 whites in the territory itself and for the whites in South Africa itself, but at the same time, increased isolation and deprivation for around 560,000 Africans relegated to "tribal states." As the Times continues, these Bantustans "will be too small and backward ever to enjoy any meaningful degree of independence. At best they will be pastoral reserves where some aspects of tribal culture can be preserved; at worst cheap labor reservoirs for the white economy." Besides, the members of most of SWA's tribes are scattered all over the territory; gathering them together will cause suffering and will inevitably entail the use of force.

condemned

U.N. Condemnation of South Africa's Takeover

On March 20, 1969, just before South Africa's take-over of South West Africa became a reality, the U.N. Security Council condemned this action and called on South Africa to withdraw from South West Africa, which the U.N. has renamed Namibia. The Security Council resolution puts into effect the General Assembly's 2½ year old declaration that South Africa's trusteeship

of South West Africa was terminated. Many African representatives have condemned the resolution as not bold enough. They assert that it should at least have demanded mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. On the other hand, U.S. Ambassador Charles W. Yost said that the U.S. was able to support the resolution "Because it wisely does not commit the Council to the narrow path of mandatory sanctions." (Washington Post, 3/21) There were no votes against the resolution, but France and Britain both abstained on the grounds that it was unrealistic and that it raised false hopes.

This is, of course, the constant dilemma of the United Nations. Should it pass resolutions when its members are not willing to ensure their enforcement? However, the abstentions of Britain and France must not be credited solely to their desire to keep the UN realistic; it is clear that Britain and France do not wish to displease South Africa. Many Americans would have been happy if the U.S. had abstained as well, as an article entitled "Wrong-headed Policy in Africa" in the Norfolk, Virginia Ledger-Star (3/28) points out:

absurb

"In condemning South Africa and demanding that it get out of what the UN now calls 'Namibia,' the council asserts that failure to comply will bring a meeting of that body 'to determine upon necessary steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the UN Charter.' And what will the U.S. do then? Apparently, Washington would not be inclined to join in sanctions, and surely the U.S. would not be a part of any forcible moves to expel the South Africans--inasmuch as they unquestionably would resist and this would mean war.

"This latter is what gives the whole UN policy its grim absurdity--the incongruous fact that an international body supposedly established to keep the peace is deliberately embarked on a course that points toward bloodshed where there has been no breach of the peace.

"The U.S. should have opposed or at least refrained from supporting such a policy from the beginning."

As for South Africa's response to the Security Council resolution, Dr. Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke of it as il-

legal, unrealistic, and as disregarding the "multinational character of the territory's population." Muller also stated (Cape Times, 3/21/69) that "travel documents issued to inhabitants of South West Africa by the UN Council for South West Africa were not only illegal but patently ridiculous and would not be recognized by the Republic or the Territory." He noted that these documents were intended to go into the hands of terrorists.

Suggested Ways for the U.N. to Put Teeth Into Its Jurisdiction Over Namibia

In her article, "Effective Steps Toward UN Jurisdiction Over South West Africa", in the February-March issue of Africa Today, Elizabeth Landis comments that the "Council for South West Africa has not as yet taken any effective action vis-a-vis South West Africa largely because the U.S. and the other Great Powers have refused to become members. One reason for such refusal is the belief that there is no way for the UN to assert its jurisdiction other than by physical confrontation with the Republic of South Africa." To this argument Miss Landis counters that "a considerable range of effective action is available," and she

lists several actions which she considers possible. First, she says, the "General Assembly should declare the South African government to be an illegal 'occupying power' in South West Africa and so refer to it in all official documents and speeches...the U.S. should also employ this terminology." Second, Miss Landis lists several steps which the UN Council for South West Africa should take. These are: (1) Issue passports and visas and request all UN member states to acknowledge only those passports and visas, rather than the ones issued by the South African government. (2) Collect taxes from the U.N. member states, and request that they "deny foreign tax credits or otherwise to penalize their nationals if they pay such taxes to the occupying power." (3) Record all existing land titles, keep an official register of all future transfers of title, and request all UN members to accept the Council register as the valid register of land titles. (4) Issue South West Africa postage stamps and call on the International Postal Union and its members to treat as if it were unstamped mail, all mail originating in SWA which does not bear the council's stamp.

Immorality?

Sex Law Decried in South Africa

(Johannesburg, May 10, in the New York Times, May 11, 1969)

"The Immorality Act, forbidding interracial sexual relations, has come under new and strong attack from churchmen, politicians and sociologists.

"The opposition has been fanned by statistics showing a sharp rise in prosecutions as well as acquittals, and by a series of recent cases involving unsavory disclosures about police tactics.

"Mrs. Helen Suzman, Parliament's only vocal opponent of apartheid, or racial separation, recently declared that the Immorality Act 'belongs to the dark days of witch-burning and the stocks.'

"But H. P. Torlage, a member of the governing Nationalist Party, has said: 'It's not a vicious act. It's a way of facing up to one of the problems that have to be faced in this country.'

"The pro-Government South African Radio Service commented that in the light of widespread support for racial separation, the only alternative to the act would be 'the raw justice of the Ku Klux Klan.'

Race Classification

INNOCENT VICTIMS OF DEEPLY INGRAINED RACIAL ATTITUDES

"Frequent reports in South Africa of dark-skinned children being born to white parents have highlighted the suffering of families affected by the racial prejudice of others and the severity of South Africa's race laws."

In South Africa, when you fall in love with someone, you can't always tell what "race" your children will be; in fact, you face the problem that they may be racially different. Professor Phillip Tobias, one of South Africa's top authorities on the subject of race and social structure, University of Witwatersrand, gave in a recent interview: "We have no means of defining a 'white' person by any South African legislation in terms of the number of light and dark genes he or she possesses. Where the parents are white, the children are classified as white, and as such they have to attend white schools. But there the prejudice of the other parents and of their school fellows as well, turns into cruel and bitter racialism. When these dark-skinned children grow up they face a further problem. As whites they can marry only whites. But very often their appearance precludes such a possibility. Yet marriage to a person of similar appearance, but classified Coloured, would result in prosecution under the Immorality Act. Even in their work and social life, it may be expected that these young people will find discrimination and loneliness and deeply hurtful attitudes. (In South Africa there

are four categories based on color - White, Bantu (African), Asiatic and Coloured. The Coloureds are people of mixed descent, which generally includes a considerable portion of white blood.)

Some case studies of such families show the deep problem apartheid has caused. Sandra Laing, who was born white, was reclassified Coloured and then reverted back legally to white when the Race Classification law was changed in 1967. Sandra was sent home from her white school in Piet Retief because the parents of pupils refused to allow her to stay. For many heart-breaking months she stayed at home because no school would accept her. Now she is in a private boarding school which took her on the condition that the name of the school would not be given the public. Sandra's mother one time contemplated suicide over the tragedy of her daughter's rejection by society.

Another case, an elementary school child, Johanna de Bruin of Botrivier, Cape, is considerably darker than her white parents. Her family has given up the fight to have Joanna, who is classified white, accepted at a white government school, and the little girl is now studying at home with a tutor.

Dr. Tobias, in commenting on the lack of a definition of a "white person", said, "This is the fundamental scientific objection to race classification and to South African race legislation." It is impossible to classify everyone into a "water-tight" racial category. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 3/16/69)

Inside Rhodesia

Racial Curbs Contained in Proposed Rhodesian Constitution

The Daily Telegraph (3/25/69) reports that the 10-member Executive of the Rhodesian Front party met in secret in Salisbury to approve the draft of the proposed constitution. It is thought

that they cleared the last hurdle in the way of approval - the constitution is to be presented in a referendum in May 1969.

The original proposals required a 2/3 majority of Parliament and Senate sitting together to change entrenched clauses. A later version issued by the Government itself said the Houses would sit separately,

meaning that the Senate would have power of veto.

The draft provides for a racially segregated voters' roll and eventually racially segregated provincial Parliaments with a multi-racial Senate. There is no provision for eventual African majority rule in the National Parliament - only the possibility of racial parity at some undefined date in the remote future.

The New York Times (3/27/69) gives indications of increasing legislative backing to the proposed constitution - a special committee of the Rhodesian Front party met to draw up further proposals. Amongst these is one which would confine the four main racial groups to their own residential areas, and would define white and black business areas. Separate areas would be provided for mixed-marriage families!

Blacks would not be allowed to trade in white business areas, and vice-versa, unless the controlling authority felt it was in the best interests of the other race group.

Chromium: Rhodesia Contribution to Big Power Trade

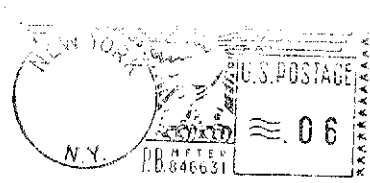
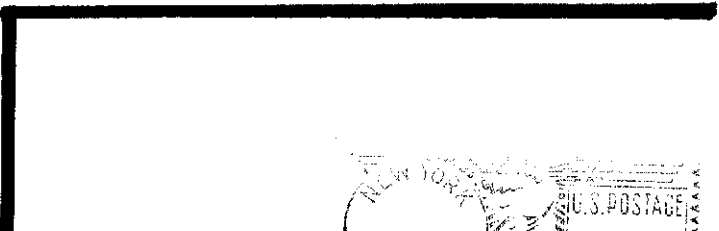
Willard Edwards, reporting in the Chicago Tribune 15 April 1969, gives details of intelligence reports received in

Washington. According to these, a Russian ship docked at Mozambique and began to take on chromium ore - this had been transported from Rhodesia in cars marked with the Rhodesian railroad emblem, and examination indicated that the ore was of Rhodesian origin.

Evidently the Soviet Union and Rhodesia have the largest sources of supply of chromium ore in the world - chromium is so indispensable to stainless and other alloy steels essential to defense, he says, that chromium ore and the American-based industry to convert it to ferrechrome have been declared by the office of emergency preparedness as essential to national security.

The mines in Rhodesia are owned by two American corporations. Before sanctions, these mines were the major "free world" competitors to Russia.

Since embargo, the American companies have been denied access to their \$8 million worth of stockpiled ore, and American industry has been forced to turn to the Soviet Union for their supplies. The Soviet Union meanwhile raised the price 44% ---so it seems that Russia now is buying ore from Rhodesia's American-owned mines and selling it at considerable profit back to the United States!



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