

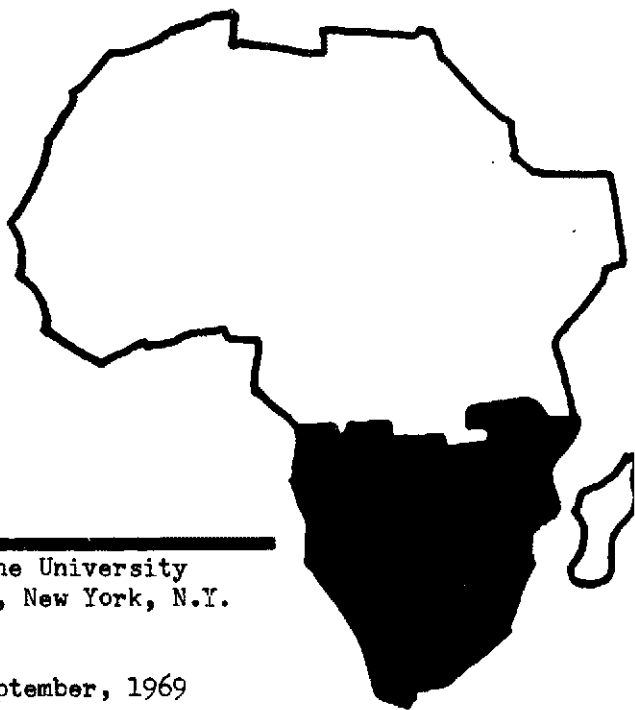
SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

Published by the Southern Africa Committee of the University
Christian Movement, Room 752, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.
10027

Vol. II, No.7

August-September, 1969



CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. Editorial: SOUTHERN AFRICA: New Editorial Policy	2
2. The Meaning of Apartheid: Background Article	3
3. INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	
The Bureau of State Security	
Separate Development Continues	7
Gandar and Pogrund "Guilty" in Prison Trial	7
Terrorism Act Holds Africans and Briton	7
Joel Carlson's Passport Seized	9
The South African Press: Some Statistics	9
South Africa Advocates Border Industries as "Good for Bantu"	10
Business Briefs in South Africa	10
	10
4. SOUTH AFRICA'S DEFENSE SYSTEM	
South Africa Has \$2,400 Million Defense Plan	11
South Africa Finances Military Base in Angola	11
South Africa Air Force Gears to Tackle Terrorists	11
Apartheid Arms Flood Biafra	11
South Africa Trains Paradogs	12
Army to Hold Big Manoeuvres	12
5. MAP of Southern Africa	12
6. Southern Africa - Common Enemy Common Struggle: Background Article	13
7. THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA	
United States Protests Visa Speech Ban	18
"Nothing to Hide"	18
Possible Repercussions?	18
Notes on the Bank Campaign in a Nutshell	19
U.S. Business: A Force to Break Down Apartheid?	20
Bank Issue to be Brought Before New York Legislature	20

8.	THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA		
	World Council of Churches in Canterbury		20
	Pope Visits Africa		21
	All-Africa Bishops Conference		21
9.	AT THE UNITED NATIONS		
	Security Council Discusses Portuguese Aggression Against Zambia		21
	Security Council Debates Namibia		22
	South Africa's Version of the Story		22
10.	NAMIBIA		
	August 26 - Day of Solidarity With The People of Namibia		23
	Second Terrorism Trial		23
11.	INSIDE RHODESIA		
	The Cauldron Called Rhodesia		24
	African Education		25
12.	PORTUGAL AND HER COLONIES		
	Liberalization in Portugal		26
	Angola at War		27
	Brief Notes		28
	A Martyr for Mozambique		29
	Cabora Bassa Dam		29
	Portuguese Casualties		30
	Black Man's War		31
13.	ZAMBIA		
	Kaunda Nationalizes Copper Mines	EDITORIAL	33

The September version of Southern Africa ushers in a new editorial approach to the tragic situation found in the southern sixth of the African continent. Inherent in this new editorial policy has been the re-evaluation of the role and approach of the Southern Africa Committee after the demise of the national University Christian Movement. On June 30, the University Christian Movement went out of existence as a national bureaucracy placing its faith instead in the grass roots approach to social change. The Southern Africa Committee, in a subsequent evaluation of its task and purpose, decided to "escalate" its own activities, among other things increasing its outreach to universities and black communities in America.

South Africa looms large on the horizon as a racial Vietnam. American foreign policy toward Southern Africa remains frighteningly archaic. The Southern Africa Committee will continue to play its small role in pressing for a change in that policy and for the liberation of Southern Africa.

Part of the "escalation" of the Committee's activities includes a new format and use of the newsletter. This new format will include a continued but enlarged monthly capsulization of news events, periodic listing of new resources available, up-to-date commentaries on American groups working for change in Southern Africa and monthly background articles to facilitate understanding of the current news. This issue of Southern Africa includes two such articles, "The Meaning of Apartheid" and "Southern Africa: Common Enemy, Common Struggle." Future issues will include analyses of problems existing in each of the segments of the Southern Africa bloc.

Southern Africa has been published for four years now and during that time has depended heavily on its readers for both financial support and suggestions for direction and approach. A separate letter will be sent to all readers concerning our financial situation. We hope our readers view Southern Africa not only as raw information but also as an organizing tool which should reach American people who desire social change in Southern Africa. We invite your continued comments on the contents of the newsletter and any suggestions for new readers.

THE MEANING OF APARTHEID

INTRODUCTION

APARTHEID: a word that has become synonymous with injustice and oppression of black by white. The United States is warned to amend its ways or it too will become an APARTHEID state. Because of this general usage it is easy to forget that APARTHEID is understood to be a just and moral solution to the difficult problems that face the multi-racial state of South Africa. To the rulers of the Republic, APARTHEID is, at least, the best possible solution to an extremely complex and difficult problem. Others would go so far as to say that APARTHEID contains within it the answer to the problems of relations between races, that eventually the world will wake up and recognize the virtues of South Africa's system.

In order to understand South Africa, it is necessary to look at APARTHEID through the eyes of its perpetrators and to study its effects on the African population. Without both sides of the picture, the reality of the South African system is missed.

APARTHEID: THE RATIONALE

Fundamental to an understanding of APARTHEID is recognition of the diversity of the population of South Africa.

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Africans	12,750,000	68.1
Whites	3,563,000	19.0
Coloured	1,859,000	9.9
Asians	561,000	3.0
	<hr/>	
	18,733,000	

(1967 Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations.)

Coloureds are people of mixed racial background. The whites or Europeans are divided into two major groups, the English and the Afrikaner. The latter, descendent of Dutch immigrants, is in the majority of the white population, holds the political power, and is the author of the APARTHEID policy.

To the Afrikaner, APARTHEID is a logical step in a centuries old process. He argues that in the earliest years of settlement in South Africa, white and black existed as two autonomous free-flowing units, living next to each other but each in its own territory. The periodic clashes that broke out between them were nothing compared with the wars that the so called white civilized nations fought against each other in Europe. However, in South Africa, white victory in these clashes led to a critical step in the development of APARTHEID, the subjugation of the African and the theme of white guardianship.

Clearly less civilized to white eyes, the black man had to be protected, developed, educated and uplifted by the white. As

of 1948, when the Afrikaners won political control of the country, the development of the African, or Bantu, has been publicized as a major Government goal.

According to the theory of APARTHEID, this guardianship will continue until the Bantu is ready for emancipation. Final emancipation is the end of the process. Black and white will again live side by side, each in his own territory. APARTHEID, according to its supporters, should not be seen as a static state of affairs designed to keep the Bantu forever subservient to the white man. Rather it should be seen as a dynamic process which takes into account the God-given differences in racial groups and works toward full development of each group on its own territory.

APARTHEID is based on the principle that South Africa has never been a single homogeneous nation. Rather it is made up of the white nation and eight Bantu nations. The 12,750,000 Africans do not exist as one unit to the Afrikaner. Rather the Bantu nations of Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, etc., exist. The more sophisticated members of the Nationalist Government claim that APARTHEID recognizes this reality and does not force the black man to become a pseudo-white nor the white man a pseudo-black. In fact, because of the negative meaning that has come to be attached to APARTHEID, the word is no longer "in" in South African government circles. Instead, the language is that of "separate development", "separate freedoms".

The white man will readily admit that separate development or APARTHEID was designed to ensure a future for him in South Africa. The Afrikaner has no other home. His language, Afrikaans, is spoken only in South Africa. His roots in Europe have been cut. He is an "African". ("Afrikaner" means "African". That is why the black African has to be called a "Bantu".) He argues that just as he has a permanent future in South Africa, so does each of the Bantu nations, each in its own territory. Only in this way can the chaos of independent Africa and the racial violence of the integrated United States be avoided.

APARTHEID: THE REALITY

The Afrikaner, while believing that total separation between the races would be the ideal, recognizes this is not practical. Primarily it is not practical for economic reasons. It is this inconsistency of Afrikaner ideals and economic pragmatics that creates many of the characteristics that have won APARTHEID the condemnation of the world. In reality, APARTHEID is a negative fact of life for the vast majority of South Africa's people.

First of all, APARTHEID is a system imposed by the ruling Europeans onto the Africans. Africans cannot participate in parliament for parliament is white. Africans are told that their political institutions must be in their homelands. The right of self-determination has been totally denied to the non-white in South Africa. He is politically powerless and has no chance to choose for or against APARTHEID.

Furthermore, the promise of political rights in the homelands is next to meaningless for a number of reasons. Land distribution in South Africa places 87% of the territory in white hands. 19% of the population controls not only the vast majority of land but also all of the major cities and natural resources. The Africans, 68% of the population, are to control 13% of the land, which is also the most inferior land. Further, African land is divided among the tribes and most tribes do not have unified territory but rather pieces of land separated from each other by European territory.

Only one third of South Africa's black population lives on these pieces of tribal land, for the reality of "separate development" is that this land simply cannot support the total African population. Thus two thirds of the African population live in white areas in order to supply labour to the white farmer and white industry, automatically forfeiting their "political rights" in the homeland.

In fact, European South Africa could not function without black labour. The architects of APARTHEID recognized this and made allowances for it. Africans are allowed to live adjacent to white areas in order to work. But all their rights, socially and politically are supposed to find expression in their homelands. And the fact is that most Africans in South Africa can never hope to live permanently in their homelands because the homelands are too small and too poor to support them. Thus most Africans can never expect to be able to exercise the limited social and political rights offered in the Bantustans.

Whether or not Africans would want to live in their so called homelands is another question. To many Africans, particularly those who have lived in urban areas, the entire policy is artificial and absurd. Political freedom is still a very long way off and many doubt whether white South Africa will ever give genuine freedom to the homelands or Bantustans. The poverty and size of the Bantustans insure permanent absence of economic independence. The policy is understood to be a classic example of divide and rule.

Within the Republic, Africans at best have two choices. One is to live in an isolated rural homeland that they may never have seen, to take on a tribal identity that forces them backwards rather than opening the future to them, to exist in perpetual poverty. The other is to live as an economic unit, often separated from family, with no possibility for social or political expression, bound by inferior wage scales, restricted to jobs not reserved for whites, an economic unit, not a person.

One can take any social institution in South Africa, schools, hospitals, churches, trade unions, etc., and find APARTHEID reflected in it. A future article will deal with the mass of repressive legislation which is necessary to enable the system to survive.

CONCLUSION

APARTHEID is a policy which separates people according to race or tribe. It was conceived by the Afrikaner, perhaps the most tribal group in all of South Africa. Cut off from Europe, isolated by language, by geography, the Afrikaner missed many of the events which have shaped the Western world in the past decades, even centuries. It is hard for an Afrikaner to understand why the African rejects APARTHEID. What more could a people want than to be allowed to maintain and exercise their particular tribal heritage? The Afrikaner would like nothing better himself.

The Afrikaner believes he is right. He will fight to protect his place in South Africa. He cannot understand world condemnation of APARTHEID. South Africa, after all, is peaceful. The policy obviously works. Intentionally blind to the present violence of the system, he is a victim of his own narrow interest and isolated history.

That interest and history have created a system to ensure the future of the white man in South Africa. When all the rationalizations and pretenses are stripped away, APARTHEID remains a system of brutal white domination which orders a total society around the needs and privileges of less than 20% of the population.

The peace of APARTHEID is illusory. Because of the power and intransigence of the Afrikaner, incomprehensible suffering stands between the present APARTHEID state and the time of genuine peace for all men in South Africa.

AFRICA ANNUAL SURVEY AND DOCUMENTS, Volume 1, 1968

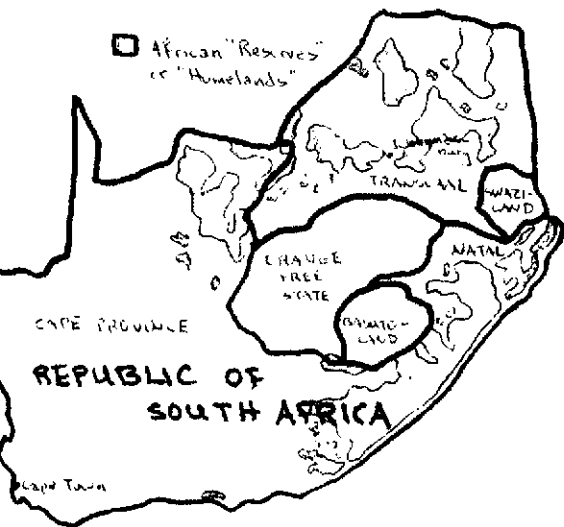
Colin Legum, the Commonwealth Correspondent of the London Observer and an internationally respected authority on African affairs, and John Drysdale, Editorial Director of the Africa Research Bulletin, have brought out the first of what will be yearly volumes on political, economic, commercial and social developments in Africa.

The volume is divided into three parts: articles on current issues, a country by country review of 1968, and a wide range of documents issued in 1967-68, some of which appear in print for the first time. There are 18 maps.

Current issue articles include, "South African Gold and World Liquidity," by John Cockcroft; "Portugal's Year in Africa" by Elizabeth Morris; "Expanding Guerrilla Warfare" by John Parker; and "Year of the Olympics" by Dennis Brutus.

ORDER DIRECT FROM:

Africa Research Limited
Africa House
Kingsway
London, W.C. 2, England (\$22.50)



The Bill passed in spite of strong opposition from numerous quarters, including some Afrikaner judges and intellectuals. The Deputy Minister of Justice, G.F. Froneman answered Opposition criticism of the measure by saying that the United Party was trying to create a bad impression of South Africa in the outside world. The BOSS illustrates well the reality of South Africa. The Government passes more and more laws to entrench itself in power and to destroy all opposition. It then blames that opposition when the outside world calls South Africa a police state.

Separate Development Continues

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

The Bureau of State Security

South Africa's new Bureau of State Security, BOSS, gives the Government even greater powers than already exist to control opposition and deal with dissenters. The General Law Amendment Bill which instigates the BOSS has two particularly ominous clauses.

Clause 10 forbids the dissemination of any information relating to the BOSS. A seven year prison sentence awaits violators. The fundamental problem in this clause is that it is impossible to know that the BOSS is involved in for the activities of the BOSS are of course highly secretive. Innocent violations are thus inevitable.

Clause 29 stipulates that a person can be prohibited from giving evidence in his own defense. In order for this to happen all that is needed is a signed certificate from a Cabinet Minister. The Minister simply states that he judges such evidence to be prejudicial to the interest of the State or public security.

The effects of this bill are clear. Press freedom is greatly curbed. The press cannot know what the BOSS is doing. It risks violation with the consequences that entails, or it silences itself. (Cape Times, June 14, 1969)

The BOSS will be a bureau which co-ordinates State Security among other departments. It is answerable only to the prime Minister, Mr. Vorster. In addition to agents in South Africa, it will have agents abroad.

August 14th saw the formal opening of the Lebowa Territorial Authority, giving to the Northern Sotho some powers of self-administration. The South African Government calls this "the first step on the road to self-government". This "step" has already been taken by the people of the Ciskei, the Tswana, the Southern Sotho, and the Ovambo. (The latter are in South West Africa, and their incorporation into the bantustan system is a violation of the rights of the people of South West Africa by South Africa.) The Transkei, the oldest of the Bantustans, has more control of its life than do the other tribes.

This new action will give the North Sothos their own civil service which will consist of six departments, each controlled by members of a cabinet. Each department will be headed by a white director and a small staff of whites. The whites will be replaced by Africans as they are trained.

(New York Times, August 15, 1969)

Gandar and Pogrund "Guilty" in Prison Trial

It is the duty of a newspaper not to make public attacks on Government departments and their officials. This statement by Mr. J.H. Liebenberg, senior State Counsel in the Rand Daily Mail Trial, summarizes the stance of the opposition that Mr. Gandar and Mr. Pogrund faced in the now famous prison trial.

(Observer Review, July 13, 1969)

Laurence Gandar, editor-in-chief of the Rand Daily Mail and Benjamin Pogrund, senior reporter of that newspaper, were found guilty of publishing false information about prisons without taking reasonable steps to verify the information.

It is a crime in South Africa, under Clause 14 of the Prisons Act of 1959, to publish anything false about prisoners or prison administration without taking reasonable steps to verify it.

(Johannesburg STAR, July 12, 1969)

There is no parallel in any of the western democracies to this restriction on publication of prison conditions.

Reasonable steps has never been defined and the onus of proof is on the defendants.

The Gandar Poggrund trial has its origin in a series of articles published in 1965. The articles stated that prisoners were beaten, given punitive electric shock, forced to wash and brush their teeth in the toilet and that no attempt was made by authorities to halt sodomy or assaults on prisoners while they were lined by naked for medical treatment.

(New York TIMES July 11, 1969)

This trial is the final one in a series that followed the articles on prisons. Mr. Harold Strachan, a former prisoner, was the source of much information for the articles. He has been declared a banned person under the Suppression of Communism Act and restricted to his home for five years. Another key source of information was Mr. Johannes Theron, senior warden at Boksburg Cinderella Prison. He was dismissed from prison service and sentenced to two years imprisonment. These are just two of the men who have been banned or tried because of their involvement in this case.

(London TIMES July 11, 1969)

The Gandar/Poggrund trial began in November, 1968. Its proceedings reveal the degree to which justice has been eroded in South Africa. As the London TIMES editorialized on July 11, "A just trial is still possible under an unjust law. The past reputation of the South African judiciary entitled one to hope for it. Regrettably any reading of the transcript shows repeated intervention by the judge to help the prosecution: it is hard to find any in aid of the defence. The New York TIMES of the same day said, "Sometimes (Government) witnesses, mostly ex-prisoners, embarrassed prosecutor and judge by parroting their rehearsed answers in advance of the relevant questions.

The judge, Mr. Justice Cillie, was for a long time a prominent member of the National Party. His legal career is remarkable, being the youngest man ever to become the Judge-President of the Transvaal, the equivalent of Chief Justice. He delivered his verdict on the 88th day of the trial, making a seven hour speech. He fined Mr. Gandar R200 and sentenced Mr. Poggrund to three months jail conditionally suspended for three years. He said he took into account the fact that the men published false information without knowing it was false. The verdict will be appealed.

The small sentences should not blind anyone to the significance of this trial. The men were found guilty and it was freedom of the press that was on trial. As Mr. Gandar wrote in his Rand Daily Mail editorial of July 12, "...the obvious disadvantages of Press freedom--sensationalism, bias, invasion of privacy, and so on-- are far outweighed by the incalculable advantages to society of the fullest possible disclosure of information, access to a variety of opinions, exposure of malpractices and the promotion of public discussion of matters of importance.

Without this democracy would die. As Thomas Jefferson once said, "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter."

Unfortunately, the Government of South Africa does not even begin to share those views. Staying in control justifies any and all actions. "In the process of repressing the non-white population, Vorster is showing anew that a country cannot live half-slave and half-free. White South Africans may think they have rights and liberties. They are being shown their mistake."

(London TIMES July 11, 1969)

Terrorism Act Holds African and Briton

Philip Golding, 24 year old economist, has been held without trial in South Africa since mid-May. He has been allowed to be visited by the British Consul in South Africa, but he has not been allowed a lawyer. The South African Government has refused to give reasons for his detention, but it is believed that he is suspected of being involved in some kind of subversion. The August 11th Guardian states that it appears that at least three dozen others, mostly Africans, have been arrested under the Terrorism Act in the past two months. Some observers believe a major trial is in the offing and that Golding is being held under the Terrorism Act for that trial.

The London Sunday Times of August 10th compared the detention of Mr. Golding with the Russian detention of the London lecturer, Mr. Gerald Brooke: "There is only one difference. Under the Soviet penal code, with all its faults, Mr. Brooke was at least openly tried and openly sentenced for a clearly defined crime. This is a luxury South Africa does not permit, even to foreign nationals...South Africa's friends have gone on claiming, not wholly without evidence that the country still has free courts and a free press. Now the humbug is over. The new police authority, called the Bureau of State Security, can censor the press and silence the courts on any matter affecting so-called security, which it is itself empowered to define. South Africa's rulers can afford to discount British protests. Whatever the extent of their tyranny, they know they can rely on the friendship of rich and vocal allies here---including Britain's alternative government, which has promised, in the likely event of its return to power, to gratify South Africa by starting again to sell the weapons she wants.

Joel Carlson's Passport Seized

The South African police have seized the passport of Mr. Carlson, Johannesburg attorney. Mr. Carlson has been involved for years in matters offensive to the Government. In the late '50's he was largely responsible for the exposure of abuses in farm labour. He represented the defendants in the South West Africa Terrorism case. He has been involved in exposing the conditions in South Africa's prisons. The specific case in which he has been recently involved is that of the death of a prisoner, Mr. James Lenkoe.

Mr. Lenkoe was found hanging by a belt in his Pretoria prison cell. However, a post-mortem examination by a leading American pathologist, Dr. Alan Moritz, throws great suspicion on the case. Dr. Moritz testified that without a doubt Lenkoe had been subjected to electric shock within 12 hours of his death. Joel Carlson had brought Dr. Moritz to South Africa as Carlson was representing Mrs. Lenkoe.

Carlson's case brought two prominent lawyers to South Africa. Mr. George Lindsay (Mayor Lindsay's brother) represented the American Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights. Mr. Edward Lyons, British MP, represented the International Commission of Jurists. The men spoke on Carlson's behalf to Mr. Lourens Muller, Minister of Interior. Muller refused to return the passport or to give reasons why it was removed. He did say it was taken for a good reason, a security matter that had nothing to do with the Lenkoe case.

(The London Times, August 4, 1969)

It may not be possible to learn the specific reasons for the passport seizure. However, it hardly seems an accident that it came at a time when Carlson had been appointed observer at the Gandar trial. (See article on that trial.) Lindsay and Lyons expressed the wide felt concern over the Carlson case. Essential legal safeguards have been removed in South Africa. Lawyers can no longer represent their clients without fear of reprisal.

(NY Times, July 25, 1969)

There is some concern in South Africa over the negative publicity that the case is earning. The fear has been expressed that this case has jeopardized South Africa's chances of reaching an improved understanding with the Nixon administration.

	<u>CITY</u>	<u>CIRCULATION</u>
<u>DAILIES</u>		
Star	Johannesburg	174,000
Cape Argus	Capetown	111,000
Rand Daily Mail	Johannesburg	111,000
<u>WEEKLIES</u>		
Sunday Times	Johannesburg	408,000
Dagbreek	Johannesburg	324,000
Die Beeld	Johannesburg	289,000

Circulation Breakdown by Language and Politics
(other newspapers not listed included in totals)

<u>DAILIES</u>	
English	742,000
Afrikaans	168,000
Government-supporting	168,000
Opposition	742,000
<u>WEEKLIES</u>	
English	750,000
Afrikaans	630,000
Government-supporting	647,000
Opposition	733,000

(TEMPO, South Africa Foundation)

SOUTH AFRICA ADVOCATES BORDER INDUSTRIES
AS GOOD FOR BANTU"

The day would surely come when the urban Bantu in South Africa could no longer afford to ignore the opportunities created for them in their homelands, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. A. H. Vosloo, said last week, when he officially opened a new Bantu residential area.

It was, and always had been, the policy of the Government that family life should as far as possible be maintained and to this end vast development projects were being undertaken in the Bantu homelands to ensure adequate opportunities there for Bantu who did not wish to leave their families behind when they proceeded to the white areas for employment.

The concept of border industrial development and even industrial development in the homelands would enable Bantu workers in such industrial areas to reside with their families in villages and towns within the homelands, where they would be able to live a completely normal family life and would be free to embark upon any commercial or industrial undertaking, secure in the knowledge that they would not be subjected to competition from other racial groups.

(News from South Africa, Government Information Service, 7/2/69)

BUSINESS BRIEFS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Industrial production in South Africa between 1960 and 1968 rose faster than in any other advanced economy except Japan. The average annual South African industrial growth rate for this period was 11.5 per cent compared with a 7.3 per cent world figure. Japan's rate was a staggering 23.7 per cent yearly increase.

The value of rock lobster imports into the United States grew from \$49,000 in 1938 to \$19,110,000 in 1968. During the last 30 years over 200-million pounds of rock lobster have been shipped to the United States, which has resulted in a return in excess of \$171.5-million in foreign exchange for South Africa.

Lever Brothers, one of the largest privately-owned companies in South Africa, is believed to be on the fringe of a large-scale diversification policy which could boost turnover to more than \$140-million within two years. A number of leading public and private companies are being studied and several takeovers are expected. Sweeping organizational changes have been made and several separate operating companies formed to provide a platform for the planned expansion.

Motorists in South Africa are spending more than \$112-billion a year on new and second-hand motor vehicles, states a seven-page vehicle components and servicing equipment survey, published in the Johannesburg Sunday Times. This does not account for money spent on the repair and servicing of vehicles or the purchase of spares and accessories. Figures released by the Motor Industries Federation show that last year alone the Government netted more than \$47.6-million in revenue from the sale of cars. With new car sales topping 151,500, the upsurge of the commercials brought the industry's all-vehicle total past the 200,000 mark.

(South Africa Scope, July, 1969)

SOUTH AFRICA HAS \$2,400 MILLION DEFENCE PLAN

South Africa is to spend nearly \$2,400 million on defence during the next five years--buying aircraft, ships, armour, anti-aircraft guns, rockets and guided missiles, armaments, vehicles, and radar, navigational and other equipment.

About 140 million pounds (sterling) will be spent on defence in the present financial year--nearly 17 per cent of the Budget, compared with 6.5 per cent eight years ago.

A White Paper says the country's defence force must be prepared to face both conventional and unconventional attack. "Although an unconventional threat already exists in the form of terrorism, the possibility of a conventional attack is not excluded," it states.

It suggests that in spite of the Western arms embargo against South Africa, supplies are being obtained without much difficulty.

Airfields are also being built in "strategic areas," it says, and the local electronics industry is making "some of the most modern and sophisticated equipment."

(Guardian Weekly 5/1/69)

SOUTH AFRICA FINANCES MILITARY BASE IN ANGOLA

South Africa has promised to help finance and man a base in Angola, partly to protect the \$216 million dam project on the Cunene River (the river frontier with South West Africa). The project is expected to attract 500,000 immigrants. (Economist 10/5/69)

WARNING

The South African government has diplomatically warned travel agencies not to book non-whites into South Africa this summer. An exception will be made for non-whites arriving by ship. Generously, the government will allow these people to be taken on day tours providing they travel in one group and return to port at night.

(Parade, 7/13/69)

SOUTH AFRICA AIR FORCE GEARS TO TACKLE TERRORISTS
(Cape Times, 6/5/69)

Several events in the last six months indicate South Africa's determination to be ready to combat the terrorist threat. 1. South Africa's most recent orders for aircraft are for those used in guerrilla warfare, (probably medium helicopter). 2. The country's commando aircraft squadrons of 240 pilots have been transferred to the Air Force. 3. Additional ground support aircraft are also to be acquired, aircraft which could patrol the coast and also cover rough territory used in guerrilla fighting. 4. Defence Minister Botha disclosed that there were now five centres in South Africa where young men "were being trained continually on a full-time basis to combat terrorism.

APARTHEID ARMS FLOOD BIAFRA

London's Sunday Telegraph recently disclosed that South African weapons are flooding Biafra, rivalling even the supplies provided by the French. Three times a week shipments leave from the northern Transvaal town of Pietersburg to a rendezvous in the Kalahari desert where they are transferred to chartered flights. Many of the arms are "heavy stuff", field guns etc.

The Telegraph proposes that South Africa's motives are to show Zambia and Tanzania how wrong their opposition to South Africa is, by "securing a grateful client-state in this rich and strategically vital corner of Africa."

(Times of Zambia - Lusaka 11/7/69)

One might hurriedly wish to add that South Africa's investment in bloodshed in the Nigerian conflict also provides international political sentiment favouring the "peaceful and stable" atmosphere of South Africa. South Africa's image is too often the victor on every occasion that African majority rule can be maligned.

(Times of Zambia - Lusaka 11/7/69)

SOUTH AFRICA TRAINS PARADOGS

Skydiving "paradogs" are being trained by the South African police and army to combat crime and guerrilla activities.

Policemen and dogs will jump as a team in a secretly conceived scheme by a Pretoria policeman. Now the project has been taken up officially by Pretoria's police force. The head of the army-dog school said, "They will prove invaluable in strengthening the country's military forces. There's nothing like a man-and-dog team when it comes to flushing out terrorists." These dogs are also excellent at detecting mines.

(New York Times, June 15, 1969)

It seems strange that in a country which the government declares that "all the Bantu are happy" that training "paradogs" to fight terrorists would be necessary.

ARMY TO HOLD BIG MANOEUVRES

Port Elizabeth, South Africa: Several thousand troops from all over South Africa, most of them Citizen Force trainees, will take part in a combined armed forces "anti-terrorist" exercise between Grahamstown and East London in September and October this year. The manoeuvre will be carried out over a ten day period, with navy and air force both playing prominent parts. Emphasis will be placed on repelling seaborne infiltration of South Africa's coast.

(Daily Dispatch - East London 30/7/69)



SOUTHERN AFRICA - COMMON ENEMY COMMON STRUGGLE

"The truth is, however, that in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South West Africa, and the Republic of South Africa, there is an open and continued denial of the principles of human equality and national self-determination. This is not a matter of failure in the implementation of accepted human principles. The effective Administrations in all these territories... are fighting principles; they are deliberately organising their societies so as to try to destroy the hold of these principles in the minds of men. It is for this reason that we believe the rest of the world must be interested. For the the principle of human equality, and all that flows from it, is either universal or it does not exist."

The Future of Southern Africa,
Manifesto signed by Leaders of
14 East and Central African
Nations (Ethiopia, Kenya,
Rwanda, Malawi, Congo-Kinshasa,
Congo-Brazzaville, Somalia,
Burundi, Central African Rep.,
Sudan, Tanzania, Chad, Uganda,
and Zambia.)
April 14-16, 1969.

"Imperialism's victory: because, as has been proved, the establishment of white minority regimes whenever and wherever possible, is in fact another of the ways used by the imperialists to assure the defense of their economic interests in our continent. For world imperialism, the establishment of white minority regimes is, for this part of Africa, the form of political power considered the most appropriate for the maintenance and consolidation of its economic interests. Their intention is to reinforce South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia alliance bloc, which they directly control. The territories of Southern Africa will be used as bases to threaten and even attack the independent African states which oppose imperialist policies...

"The most important lesson is that an African and popular solution to any of our problems can only come from Africa herself: never from an imperialist country. Another lesson...is that it is imperative to increase aid to the liberation movements. Indeed, the events in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) prove that the people's armed struggle against imperialist domination - whatever form this may take - is the only historical, African and popular solution."

Editorial,
Mozambique Revolution
Journal of the Mozambique
Liberation Front (FRELIMO)
June/July 1969.

"Today, with South African troops operating in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, and with monthly meetings of Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian military officials reported by the London TIMES, the existence of a military alliance is no longer in doubt. Grouped around the white supremacist core of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are its economic dependencies...the land-locked former High Commission Territories, Lesotho, Botswana and...Swaziland, South West Africa, which has been brought closely under South Africa's wing despite United Nations' objections; and Kamuzu Banda's Malawi, with its growing ties with the bastion of white racism. In South Africa, proposals are in the air for the formation of a Southern African Common Market and a Southern African Treaty Organization."

"The Southern African Bloc:
Integration for Defense or
Expansion?"

Martin Legassick

Africa Today

Oct./Nov. 1968.

"Further, the South Africa Government intends to sell arms to 'friendly nations' as soon as its munitions factories get into production, which will no doubt further reduce stability in an already highly unstable region; for there is no doubt that besides arming Rhodesia and Portuguese troops in the region, the Republic would consider its client states fo Malawi, Lesotho and others deserving recipients of similar military aid..."

South Africa, Information,
Analysis,

Lewis Nkosi, Paris

June, 1969.

Most Americans remain unaware of Southern Africa. Those vaguely knowledgeable recognize and react to the mention of South Africa alone, but the more relevant structures relating South Africa, the bastion of white supremacy, to other parts of the Southern African complex, and this entire complex to the international realities of revolution and imperialism are even more cloaked from public understanding.

The above quotes evidence the existence of an integrated SOUTHERN AFRICA regional concern both from the point of view of white South African planning for the preservation of apartheid, and from the perspective of independent African states and allied African liberation movements engaged in a common struggle.

A glance at any South African newspaper or Portuguese journal, for that matter, reaffirms on one end of the spectrum the growing recognition on the part of the white minority regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal that the preservation of political and economic power in any one country is interdependent on events in the others, and ultimately on the kinds of friends this regional bloc can depend on outside of its own geographical entity. This is particularly true of Portugal, so obviously reliant upon NATO allies and South Africa, and of Rhodesia, with its miniscule 250,000 white population more and more

bound to big brother South Africa's wishes. On the other end, Afro-Asian bloc influence as seen in the United Nations' resolutions and elsewhere, and the more coordinated cooperation of the African liberation movements bear witness to their conceptualization of Southern Africa as one.

Many examples can be cited to substantiate both the consciousness of these ties and the real factors either being created or underpinning their existence, including elements of history, ideology, economics, politics, military strategy and international relations. There is the aggressive policy of white supremacists towards the poor dependent states, (e.g. Lesotho) and toward the more moderate, potentially stronger African states, (e.g. Zambia). There is the actual fighting alliance of liberation movements, such as the African National Congress of South Africa, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Rhodesia. This David and Goliath landscape includes independent African states, Western imperialist countries, Eastern bloc nations, and finally the entire future of the Third World.

HISTORY

Southern Africa as a unit is not a phenomenon of the 1960's. Rather there are historical factors which help to explain the present situation. Thus for example, South Africa was not a bystander in the nineteenth century "Scramble for Africa"; witness Cecil Rhodes Cape-to-Cairo dream and the "Pioneer Columns" of South African colonialists who marched north to occupy what is now the present "Rhodesia".

Early in the twentieth century economic agreements were established between South Africa and Portugal to "allow" the importation of African laborers from Portuguese Mozambique to work in the new South African mines. Infra-structures between the countries (railways, etc.) linked not only South Africa to the north, but also areas like Portuguese Angola to the Congo, and Mozambique to Rhodesia. The migrant labor system also expanded to involve most governments, sending workers to South and South West Africa.

Even less recognized is the fact that early relationships also existed among the urban Africans from different Southern African countries. During the second quarter of the 20th century one can trace the multiple links being created between various national groups located outside of their homeland, most often in urban areas of South Africa. These groups or individuals later returned to their homes in Rhodesia, Nyasaland (Malawi), South West Africa, etc., to be the core of new African nationalist and trade union organizations. Thus throughout the Southern African tier the "enemy" established various infrastructural and economic ways to cooperate, while non-whites, through the mutuality of their conditions, worked to establish the beginnings of the struggle.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

What then are the new aspects of the Southern African complex? All was changed in 1960. African nationalists chose the only option and launched the armed struggle. Open warfare began, initially in Angola, then in the West African Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau in 1963, in Mozambique in 1964, in Rhodesia in 1966-67.

Although not faced with overt guerilla operations inside, South Africa experienced a period of economic decline following the intense period of African political activity after the 1960 Sparpeville Massacre. The international community, at the U.N., in the business world, and elsewhere focused on Southern Africa. The contrast was clear -- many black states seizing or being granted political independence, versus revolutionary guerilla wars against the last "colonial" power of Portugal and severe legal repression by the South African government against the nonwhite majority population.

During the past 10 years, therefore, the Republic of South Africa, the wealthiest, strongest element of the complex, and the master-planner for its fate, has struck out in recognition of the determination of the oppressed to seize their freedom. Carefully, South Africa has escalated an attack involving military, economic and political strategies to secure the future of tightly controlled white, repressive power. And she is able to act in this imperialist, aggressor role because of a parallel strategy to continue and expand international alliances with real or supposed vested interest in the continuation of a white South Africa.

In brief, South Africa's military expansion (as enabled by West Germany, France, Israel, and indirectly by other Western powers) has meant the placement of South African troops in Rhodesia, and Mozambique, small in number at this time, but able to be increased; advisors and equipment in Angola. Internally South Africa's army and commando regiments conduct massive "anti-terrorist" maneuvers as part of the creation of a war psychology among the white population. She has also established missile, coastal and other stations and this new muscle is used as both a threat and a carrot to recalcitrant independent states such as Zambia and Tanzania.

As part of the military alliance scheme South Africa with Portugal's aid, is preparing for the establishment of a Southern Atlantic (i.e. Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela) - Indian Ocean (Malagasy) - Southern Pacific (Australia, New Zealand) Alliance.

ECONOMICS

Economically the tenacles of South African corporate and government capital and technical know-how have stretched north to engulf (willingly) Malawi and the more vulnerable former High Commission Territories. Building buffers, black and white, has also meant massive South African investment in Angola and Mozambique, particularly with huge hydro-electric schemes such as Cabora Bassa in Mozambique and Cunene in Angola. And Zambia, still presented with neo-colonial economic factors such as South Africa's Anglo-American Corporation, has also been more secured to the South African market after she severed ties with Rhodesia in line with the United Nations' Sanctions policy. A Southern Africa "Common Market", revolving around and thus dependent upon industrial white South Africa is the blueprint for the future. This concept also demands the continuation of Western investment in South Africa; in part to continue to enable her economy to stand on its own feet, (i.e. the drive for self-sufficiency), and in part to keep with the lure of extremely high profits, the West on her white side, rather than on the side of possible black alternatives to Western needs such as Moise Tsombe provided in the Congo.

OTHER STRATEGIES

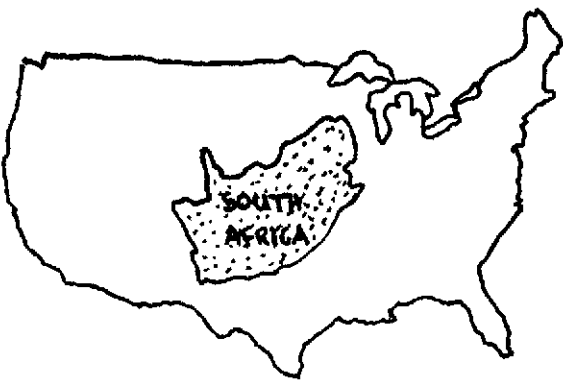
Politically there is no doubt that South African security forces are fostering through an international intelligence network the elimination of unacceptable Africans, such as aiding and abetting separatist movements in Zambia. And as a backdrop to this very specific regional activity South Africa drives on, spending millions on public relations, tourism and propaganda to assuage Western white masses to convince them of the sincerity of the "Separate Development" policy. In the field of sports, and new ties with black African allies South Africa has made a concerted attempt to alter the apartheid image. Investment in Latin America, direct links between Lisbon and Pretoria, military advisory visits and the very important world monetary system with South Africa's control of gold, all tie the world to South Africa, and visa versa.

In addition within Southern Africa, one finds Portuguese military aggression aimed at contiguous African states, most recently illustrated by the bombings of Zambian border villages. On the other hand, Portuguese Mozambique has provided aid to beleaguered Rhodesia through the re-export of oil and other key commodities, (a role also played by South Africa to break international sanctions). South Africa's intensified incorporation of South West Africa (Namibia) through imposing a Bantustan system and making South West Africa a virtual fifth province of the Republic, fits well into South Africa's protective sphere psychology.

In summary, African patriots recognize the South African and allied strategy. Certain of the liberation movements, in particular ANC of South Africa, ZAPU of Rhodesia, South West African People's Organization (SWAPO of Namibia) and three movements from the Portuguese areas, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau), have met together, strategized and fought together. (Other movements have fraternal relations as well, although the clearest example is cited above.)

Liberation Movements, fighting or organizing in exile or underground, are not alone. They receive geographic and material aid from the nearby states of Tanzania and Zambia. They receive support from the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and from the Eastern Bloc and in some cases China. They are backed by the solidarity and support of black people throughout the world. Such support and solidarity are crucial for Southern Africa remains at the very core of the international conditions of racial war, imperialism and violence.

An African solution is the determination of the Liberation Movements. The plea is for the West to keep out, hands off, stop supporting their enemies, do not interfere. But who on Wall Street or on Capital Hill pricks up an ear until forced to do so?



"NOTHING TO HIDE"

Defending the ban South African Prime Minister Vorster has stated that it is government policy to allow into the country those who are well disposed to the country as well as those who are not well disposed to it, "because we have nothing to hide," but "Messrs. Diggs and Reid...want to come here and interfere...No country with any self respect can allow that."

Radio South Africa has also defended the ban in one of its "public affairs" broadcasts. The two House members were attacked as "agitators not impartial observers." According to the radio commentator "the conditions under which the visas have been granted them impose no limitations that could possibly hinder genuinely interested visitors. They are simply debarred from meddling in the country's internal politics, whether this be by liaison with subversive elements or by taking part in the campaign against universit apartheid."

The commentator insisted that "in imposing these conditions South Africa has shown the world without ambiguity that she has nothing to hide..."

(Baltimore Sun, 8/5/69)

Except, it seems, what visitors might think about what they know and see of the apartheid system.

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

UNITED STATES PROTESTS VISA SPEECH BAN

The United States has told South Africa that it "strongly deploras" conditions attached to the visas of two congressmen who were planning to visit South Africa, according to a State Department spokesman.

The South African Embassy in Washington told the congressmen that they would be issued with visas provided they promised not to make public speeches or "interfere" in domestic affairs. Both congressmen, Ogden R. Reid (R., N.Y.) and Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D., Mich.) have cancelled their planned visits.

Reid had been invited by the non-racial National Union of South African Students to speak on human rights and academic freedom at the ceremony August 19 at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University. The ceremony was connected with the annual Day of Affirmation of Academic Freedom. The late Senator Robert F. Kennedy accepted the invitation of student leaders to deliver a similar address in 1966.

Diggs, a Negro who is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, intended to include South Africa in a three-week study mission to visit eight African countries during the congressional recess.

Two other House members who had planned to accompany Diggs, Lester Wolff (D., N.Y.) and J. Herbert Burke (R., Fla.) were offered unrestricted visas. Both are white. The difference in treatment was explained as due to their not being members of the House subcommittee on Africa. Neither plans to use his visa. Diggs has pointed out that his white predecessor in the position of subcommittee chairman, former Rep. Barret O'Hara (D., Ill.), was allowed to speak publicly and hold press conferences during a similar mission to South Africa.

POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS?

In Washington U.S. officials confirmed that South Africa's refusal to allow Mr. Reid an unconditional visa is having a detrimental effect on American-South African relations.

"There is much more to this matter than a mere request for a visa for Mr. Reid," a State Department official said. "We made representations to the South Africans on his behalf at the highest levels here and in Pretoria because an important principle was at stake. They were rejected at a time when our relations with the Republic are being reviewed by the new administration."

Mr. Reid said he was grateful to the U.S. government for making it clear at the highest levels that the refusal to give him an unconditional visa "would have an effect on relations between the two countries and could signal to the world further South African withdrawal into isolation."

(Washington Post, 8/9/69; New York Times, 8/8/69)

(Daily Dispatch, East London, 7/8/69)

NOTES ON THE BANK CAMPAIGN IN A NUTSHELL!

Pressure on the Banks from Churches and universities has been accumulating rapidly over the past six months in a way that has caused no small discomfort to some officials in the various banks.

ITEM: LATE 1968 - Substantial pressure put on Cornell University from students to sell bank stocks. Stocks were finally sold for "financial reasons."

ITEM: Early in the year Princeton University reported that they would not do business with any American Bank that dealt directly with the South African government. In this case the philosophy of the Bank campaign had moved into, and was affirmed by, a major prestigious American university. This is a background note that could and should be pointed to publicly as we pressure the banks.

ITEM: MARCH 17 - The U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, urged by Non Governmental Organizations, including Unions, Churches, Academics, requested that U Thant review Chemical Bank's right to reside in the U.N. complex because of their role in the revolving credit arrangement. Chemical Bank took this challenge very seriously as one could understand, considering the prestige of being the U.N. Bank.

ITEM: APRIL - Major demonstration including "Guerrilla Theatre" in Morningside Heights, New York City at a Chemical Bank branch to highlight the U.N. deliberations. Funds withdrawn by 12 people, press coverage, speakers included representatives of Union Seminary, South African Liberation Movements, World Council of Churches. Aim - to give increased visibility to the fact that Chemical is facing expulsion from the U.N.

ITEM: MAY - Episcopal Church, after in depth hearings including representatives from three Banks, decided to withdraw roughly \$2 million from First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan and Morgan Guaranty Trust, if the consortium is renewed. Morgan Guaranty Trust was very low key in their support of the consortium. Episcopalians are to look at stocks next. They will relay this decision to and ask action from the regional and local level as well.

ITEM: JUNE - Report in Wisconsin paper indicates that the University of Wisconsin sold Chase stocks after sustained pressure from African students.

ITEM: JUNE - United Church of Christ General Synod passed a resolution that the UCC divest itself of all stocks and funds in financial institutions doing business with South Africa.

These items point to a snowballing pressure upon the Banks. It would seem

A) that this summer and fall would be a propitious time to escalate pressure upon the Banks especially before the time for the next renewal of the loan

B) considering that our power rests in the publicity generated by our stand against the Banks, and not so much in our financial power of removal of funds or sale of stocks, that concerned organizations should consider co-ordinating a round of publicity opposing American banking support of the South African government

C) that individuals and organizations which have taken first steps or have not been able until this time to make a decision re. the Bank campaign seriously consider adding to the snowball by making decisions to sell stocks or withdraw funds in full public view.

The argument is often made that as U.S. business investment in South Africa increases, the gap in living standards between black and white will decrease and the racist structures will slowly fade away. Therefore, it is revealing to find out what U.S. businessmen think about the South African regime. U.S. News and World Report (April 22, 1968) reports that 40% of U.S. and Canadian businessmen surveyed would, if they were eligible, vote for the ruling National Party which firmly supports apartheid. Nearly 60% felt South Africa's racial policies represented "an approach that is, under the circumstances, at least an attempt to develop a solution." Only 9% found apartheid "altogether incorrect." As U.S. News and World Report says, "The American adapts quickly to living under a system of total racial segregation. He is often frank to admit that he enjoys it... 'Look, here I've got five servants,' says an executive of one of the top U.S. companies. 'Do you think I could have five servants in New York? Here I've got four polo ponies and I play polo every week-end. Could I do that in New York?...All of this doesn't necessarily mean I approve of apartheid, although none of us think that universal suffrage is the answer in South Africa either. Whether I approve of apartheid or not is irrelevant.'"

Not only do U.S. businessmen "adapt quickly" to apartheid, they actively support this policy. For example, they invest in government-prescribed cheap labor areas, thus assisting racial separation by artificial location of industry. On the social level, U.S. businessmen rarely attend parties given by the U.S. embassy even though they are usually invited. This is because most U.S. embassy parties are multi-racial and U.S. businessmen "hesitate to offend the government of a country in which they are doing business" by attending these parties.

Hardly the portrait of a group which is going to bring racial progress and enlightenment to South Africa.

Bank Issue to be Brought Before New York
Legislature

Franz Leichter, Assemblyman from Manhattan to Albany, held a press conference on September 10, at which time he announced that he was challenging New York State's indirect support of apartheid by banking in consortium banks.

"It is abhorrent to me that the State of New York should in any way be involved in such loans and give assistance, no matter how remote or indirect, to a Government which is known and universally condemned as a violator of human rights. I do not think the people of New York want their money used in support of tyranny," Assemblyman Leichter stated.

Mr. Leichter, a recent addition to the Albany legislature, pointed out that the State had an average of \$27 million in Chase Manhattan and \$32 million in First National City Bank. He noted that he had sent letters to the State comptroller and Commissioner of Taxation to take up this matter with the banks concerned.

Banks chartered by New York are under the jurisdiction of the State Superintendent of Banks who could prohibit them from making loans to South Africa. "Loans to South Africa are equally as objectionable as loans to Nazi Germany," Leichter said.

Cognizant of the difficulties of bureaucratic pressures being successful, Leichter stated that he and sympathetic colleagues would introduce legislation to bar Chase Manhattan from being the official State bank.

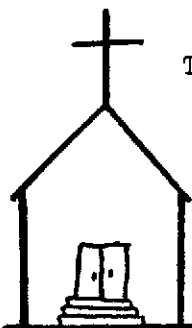
World Council of Churches in Canterbury

Left-wing churchmen at the World Council meeting in Canterbury in August attempted to persuade the participating churches to give immediate financial assistance to organizations fighting racist oppression in Southern Africa, and openly declared their support for the use of violence by some guerrilla groups.

The Council's Consultation on Racism held in Notting Hill, London, last May came up with some radical proposals, including one proposal to give 20% of the WCC's financial reserves to organizations fighting racism. After much debate over the issue, the central committee decided to hand the matter over to a policy committee which includes many progressives.

(London Observer, 6/17/69)

THE CHURCHES AND
SOUTHERN AFRICA



Pope Paul VI's brief visit to Africa in August focused on and in Uganda, where he consecrated 12 new Bishops for Africa, and spoke for 25 minutes in Uganda's Parliament.

In his speech, the Pope defined the two foremost problems facing Africa as 'the freedom of national territories' and 'the equality of the races.' Including neo-colonialism as an evil to be reprovved, he said: 'It is clear that the interested peoples have the right to aspire to their own legitimate autonomy.' He went on to caution that 'in certain concrete situations' the best method of attaining it will be the "little slower but surer" steps of preparing men and institutions capable of true sturdy government." He then called on "all responsible authorities" to help in such preparation and to pledge that the Church will play an active role in securing justice and racial equality for all men." (In his speech, the Pope alluded to strife in Sudan, Rhodesia, South Africa and Portuguese territories, the Associated Press reported.) (Washington Post, 8/2/69)

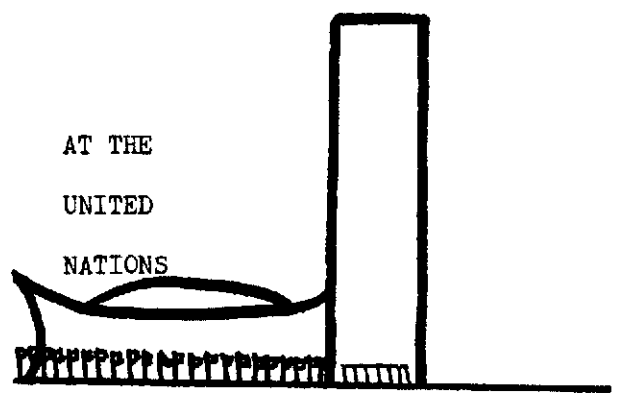
It is interesting to note that the Pope referred to the racial strife in the Portuguese territories in Uganda's Parliament, but when he visited Portugal last year he didn't mention them publicly.

All-Africa Bishops Conference

Held concurrently with the Pope's visit to Uganda, the All-Africa Bishops Conference focused its attention on three problems: the civil war in Nigeria, the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies, and the white rule of South Africa and Rhodesia. The conference and the Pope's visit come at a time when the church has been praised and damned in Africa because of the support given by Catholic priests to secessionist Biafra in the Nigerian civil war.

At its opening ceremony on July 28, the conference was plunged into a political dilemma when newsmen asked the Bishops why there were no representatives of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Spokesmen for the conference did not answer directly, but other conference sources said that invitations to bishops in those colonies had been withdrawn under pressures from liberation movements fighting the Portuguese.

Apartheid in South Africa was condemned in several speeches at the conference, and the question of Rhodesia was also raised. Both South African and Rhodesian conferences are represented by white bishops. (Washington Post, 7/31/69)



AT THE
UNITED
NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSES PORTUGUESE
AGGRESSION AGAINST ZAMBIA

The latest of a series of aggressive acts committed by Portugal against Zambia was brought to the Security Council's attention in mid-July. Zambia had reported numerous occasions on which Portuguese airplanes had bombed Zambian villages and Portuguese soldiers had made forays into Zambian territory. American press reports had noted that such incidents may well have been small punitive measures against Zambia for supporting Angolan guerrillas.

Supported by 34 other African nations, Zambia requested a Security Council meeting to condemn Portugal for the bombing of a village and killing of two civilians. In subsequent meetings the Security Council condemned Portugal for these acts.

One might ask, in light of Portugal's continued flaunting of UN resolutions on the Portuguese territories and Rhodesia, whether this latest resolution will have even a minimal effect.

Security Council Debates Namibia

On July 3, the Security Council of the United Nations began a debate requested by fifty states plus the eleven state Council on Namibia. This debate was to refocus UN attention upon the continuing control of South West Africa by South Africa. South West Africa has been renamed Namibia by the UN as a sign of their decision to take over the mandate of the former League of Nations from an intransigent South Africa.

Security Council meetings on Namibia continued until August 12 and heard a variation of viewpoints. A number of pleas, especially from the Afro-Asian bloc, urged that the Security Council use Chapter VII of the UN Charter (providing for enforcement action) to put an end to the domination of Namibia by the South African government. The Indian delegate also asked for an investigation into the possibility that the UN could claim the revenue due to it from mining etc. in Namibia as well as reparations from South Africa on behalf of the Namibians.

The resolution finally accepted was proposed by Zambia on August 12. It called on South Africa to withdraw its administration from Namibia before October 4, 1969. In the event of South Africa's failure to comply, the Council decided it would meet immediately to determine effective measures in accordance

with the appropriate provisions of the relevant chapters of the United Nations Charter. The tone of the resolutions passed by the Security Council are becoming increasingly firm. However, without the support of the great powers, they are essentially powerless. France, the U.K. and the United States all abstained, Ambassador Yost commenting that this was not an issue that the American people supported strongly as yet.

Other provisions of the resolution called on all states "to refrain from all dealings with the Government of South Africa purporting to act on behalf of the Territory of Namibia" and requested all states to increase their moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia "in their struggle against foreign occupation."

South Africa's Version Of The Story

South Africa intended to remain legally in South West Africa because the inhabitants of the territory wanted it, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said when he addressed a public meeting last week.

The Security Council, he said, was again interfering with South West Africa and, according to reports received, coercive measures were asked for to compel South Africa to heed the demands of a number of irresponsible and wild elements in the United Nations, which boiled down to it that South Africa must get out of South West Africa immediately.

The same old specious arguments and distorted facts were being repeated once again. Yet once more it was heard that South Africa was in the territory illegally and that the Republic was occupying it illegally. The term 'illegal occupation' was used, but apparently the United Nations had not yet heard about Czechoslovakia.

"We are occupying nobody and nothing. The people of SWA possess and occupy their own territories and they live in prosperity under protection.

"We have been in SWA for 50 years already and I want to state clearly that we intend to remain in SWA legally because the inhabitants want us there and also because it is our intention to prevent any aggression from outside against the territory or any of its population groups of SWA," he said.

(News from South Africa, No. 32,
August 13, 1969)

SECOND TERRORISM TRIAL



On July 1, a second trial of members of the South West African People's organization began in Windhoek, capital of South West Africa.

The first was held in Pretoria last year -- now, having less concern for international protest about the incorporation of Namibia in South Africa, the Vorster 'legal' authorities have decided to hold the trial in Windhoek.

Witnesses for the state have included a SWAPO member who was forced by torture to testify against his friends, concerning the South African attack on the SWAPO training camp in August 1966, in which he and twenty others were being trained in Northern Ovamboland.

The eight have been charged under the Terrorism Act, as were those tried last year, and there are considerable fears for their lives. The flood of world protests at the time of the first trial are believed to have led to the judges not imposing the death penalty. It is important that similar pressure is built up for these eight SWAPO militants as well.

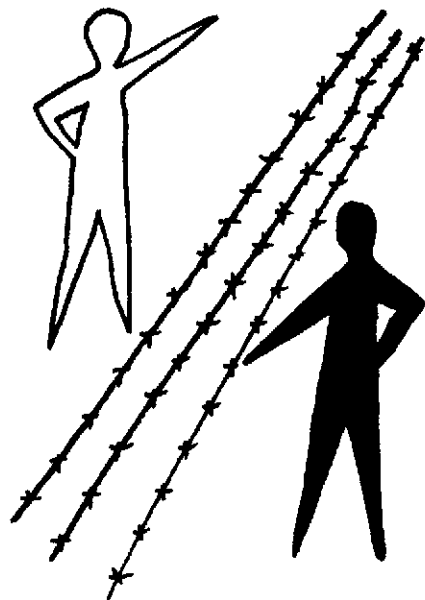
A SWAPO spokesman has stated: 'We need all the support and expressions of solidarity that we can get.... We hope that world opinion will again exert strong pressure on the South African illegal regime in our country.'

NAMIBIA

AUGUST 26--DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA

August 26, 1966 marked the beginning of the armed struggle for independence in Namibia (In 1966 the United Nations theoretically assumed responsibility for Namibia, formerly South West Africa. However, South Africa in a defiant act last April, incorporated the territory, making it a virtual fifth province of the Republic). Since then fighters of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) have repeatedly engaged South African troops. Most of the fighting has taken place in the Caprivi Strip in the North. Here South Africa maintains important bases which give support to South African troops in Rhodesia and South African and Portuguese troops in Angola. But the range of fighting has gradually extended southwards and has already expanded further south than the major town of Grootfontein.

On the anniversary of August 26th this year, a Day of Solidarity with the People of Namibia was held in New York City. At noon a group of people, many of them Africans, met at the United Nations Plaza and marched together to picket the building which houses the South African Embassy. Later in the day a meeting well-supported by the black community, was held at the building of Fordham University at Lincoln Center. The speakers included several Afro-American leaders as well as representatives of several independent African countries and liberation movements. The two events were organized by Godfried Geingob, the SWAPO representative in the U.S.



INSIDE RHODESIA

The Cauldron Called Rhodesia:

Rhodesia took on the whole world when she declared herself independent
by Justice V.J. Nyoka

On June 20, Rhodesia took on the whole world, or at least the greater part of it, when she took the final step in declaring herself independent of the British Crown.

Now that the white-dominated Rhodesia electorate has given Mr. Ian Smith's administration a massive 'Yes' vote on the referendum for a new Constitution to establish a republic, what developments are in store for the country, politically, economically and socially?

From the onset it is necessary to make the point that of the 76,000 voters who took part in the Referendum, only an estimated 2,000 were black people who certainly voted against the proposals. Probably the most significant thing about the above figures is that the population of Rhodesia stands at something like 250,000 whites and 5,000,000 blacks (a white-owned monthly, Property and Finance published in Salisbury recently claimed the Government was afraid to tell the country that there were 7 million Africans in Rhodesia).

The new Constitution is thus an attempt by a white minority to dominate a majority for all time - an indication that white Rhodesians are not prepared to learn the lesson of history.

The political consequences of the Constitution are unquestionably bound to lead to a revolution. At all levels now the Africans are saying the acceptance by the white electorate of a racist Constitution is a show-down on those who thought the Rhodesian situation could be solved peacefully. What form the change will take should crystalize in the near future. But many leaders of African opinion think the withdrawal of African labour would immediately bring home to the whites the need to come to terms with the wishes of the majority.

One thing the new Constitution had done is to consolidate black opposition to the Smith regime. The blacks see the introduction of the Constitution as an evil marriage between Rhodesia and South Africa, with the former as the weaker partner. Government politicians said during the referendum campaign that the new Constitution had to be racial, because the country's friends - presumably South Africa and Portugal, would continue to withhold recognition, until a clearly-defined racial policy had been devised. I fail to understand why Rhodesia thinks adopting South Africa's policy of apartheid or separate development will improve her image outside the narrow confines of Southern Africa.

Economically, so long as sanctions continue to operate (although ineffectively) Rhodesia will continue to rely on her two southern neighbours, much to their embarrassment.

This means that the country cannot expand its economy to match the increasing black population. Unemployment at present has just reached alarming proportions. With growing bitterness and frustration on one hand and unemployment on the other, it is not unreasonable to forecast a revolution in a situation that has already become explosive.

We need to look at a few figures. According to the latest Government census published in March, there were 6,000 fewer Africans in employment than there were in 1961. Yet in that period the black population increased by about 2,000,000.

It is also known that the Government is unable to absorb the growing number of African school-leavers into useful employment. Last year the Minister of Education, Mr. Philip Smith (no relation of Premier Ian Smith) admitted in Parliament that there were nearly 30,000 black children who left school and could not find any employment. At the end of this year government estimates are that the number of school-leavers will more than double to something like 80,000 Africans with no future to look forward to. These youngsters, aged between 11 and 18 years will have received anything from

eight to 14 years of education, passing through some of the stiffest overseas public examinations.

The situation also extends to those Africans with university degrees. The president of Rhodesia's only university, Professor Terence Miller, who will be resigning from his post at the end of August because he violently disagrees with the new constitution, has cited examples of black university graduates who are refused jobs when these are offered to whites who hold inferior qualifications.

Finally, the new Constitution recognizes the tribal chiefs, the majority of whom are illiterate or semi-literate, and ignores the aspirations of the emergent or emerging urbanized Africans. In effect the Africans become second class citizens no matter what achievements they have made.

AFRICAN EDUCATION

A CORRESPONDENT in Rhodesia recently gave figures to illustrate the bottleneck in the upper reaches of African Education. Of the 1,562 Africans who sat for the Cambridge School Certificate in December 1968, 535 attained First Grade passes - the qualification required to enter Form 5 and prepare for university entrance or to enter a TI Teacher Training College.

Taking one secondary school as an example, he reported that out of sixty students sitting the exam all sixty passed. Thirty-eight gained first-class passes, fifteen second-class, and seven third-class. Of the thirty-eight first-class passes only six have gained admission to Form 5. Seven others have gained admission to the Gwelo Teacher Training College - minimum qualification being five credits - and eight others to the Umtali Teacher Training College - minimum qualification being a pass in the examination.

The competition which the others would face in seeking work is illustrated by the recent experience of the Student Christian Movement in Salisbury, which recently advertised for a clerk. The advertisement stated that applicants should possess a School Certificate, and preferably some typing competence. Over 100 applications were received from Africans, male and female.

Even when a student has qualified for university entrance he faces severe financial problems. It was announced in the Rhodesian press last March that twenty-seven students accepted at the university were without any scholarship aid, and £7,000 was needed to enrol them. There is a Preliminary Year at the university before a degree course is commenced.

Quotable

Quote:

"Our new constitution is racialistic, but we have to be realistic."

Ian

Smith

LIBERALIZATION IN PORTUGAL

Since September 1968, when Portugal's dictator Salazar was felled by a stroke, there has been much speculation about the "liberalization" which his successor as Premier, Marcelo Caetano, may or may not bring. Socialist leader Mario Soares was permitted to return to Portugal, while censorship was sporadically eased up. Caetano concentrated on creating a new, more dynamic image with visits to Africa (Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea) in April, and to Brazil in July. He appeared with other dignitaries at Eisenhower's funeral in Washington. Salazar, by contrast, never ventured outside of Portugal. An atmosphere of "change" was created.

Yet whether that change has any basic significance or not is yet to be seen. Elections for the National Assembly will be held on the last Sunday in October. The pattern under Salazar has been that so many restrictions were placed on the opposition - prohibition of meetings, stuffing of ballot boxes, disqualification of voters by arbitrary decision, and the limitation of the franchise in any case to literates in a country over 40% illiterate. So far there seems little promise that things will be different this year. Running down the list of events since March of this year provides impressive evidence for the contention of Portuguese exile and African nationalist leaders that nothing basic has really changed: April 21 - Caetano, returning from his African trip, emphasizes that Portugal is determined to continue to defend her overseas territories against subversion. "The spirit of Dr. Salazar came before me and remains", he had said in Luanda.

May 1 - May day demonstrations are forbidden in Portugal. Riot police break up groups that might grow into a demonstration. Lisbon University is cordoned off.

May 6 - Coimbra University is closed down before exams after suspension of student leaders for "lacking respect for the President of Portugal".

May 10 - A friend of Caetano tells a New York Times reporter: "For Salazar progress was an evil that it was sometimes necessary to permit. For Caetano

progress is a good that it is sometimes necessary to forbid. What we all wonder is, will the difference matter?"

May 18 - Premier Caetano, in an interview with Richard Eder of the New York Times, emphasized that change must be slow. The opposition could not be allowed to form political parties because of the danger of subversion. It should express itself in other ways.

May 21 - A reorganization of the military is announced, for greater effectiveness. Premier Caetano, speaking in Oporto, strongly praises the Portuguese armed forces for their action against guerrillas in Africa.

July 23 - Dr. Adriano Moreira, author of the 1961 "reforms" in the Overseas Provinces, is dismissed from his post of director of the Higher Institute of Social Sciences and Overseas Policy. The dismissal was a result of his refusal to abolish the departments of social sciences and anthropology in the Institute.

August 9 - The Portuguese Government bans all election campaign committees except those with official recognition already. The ban was provoked by opposition activity in organizing committees to prepare for the October elections. The Minister of Interior warns that if any of the committees were Communist or subversive, they would be subject to security measures, or unlimited detention. Criticism of the war in Africa is considered subversion, and is specifically forbidden to candidates for the National Assembly.

August 11 - Announcement is made of the election date - October 26. A one-month period of campaigning will be permitted.

August 18 - Opposition leader Mario Soares challenges the government to hold free elections. His statement, written for the Diario de Lisboa, is suppressed by the censors.

August 23 - The New York Times comments in an editorial that "His eleven months in office reveal Dr. Caetano as a deeply conservative and cautious leader but one nonetheless sensitive to the need for reforms. It remains to be seen whether the "sensitivity" is not just "tra o inglês ver" (for the Englishman to see), as an old Portuguese expression has it.

ANGOLA AT WAR

New York Times reporter Richard Eder, after some time in Lisbon, was allowed to visit Angola. His reports, appearing in the NY Times for July 26, 27, 28 and August 6, 8, succeed in going beyond a mere repetition of the Portuguese points of view. The following excerpts are of particular interest:

July 26 - "There are widespread doubts in Lisbon and Oporto as to whether nearly half the budget should be spent to maintain Portuguese Africa. In Angola there are no doubts at all, at least among those of Portuguese descent."

July 27 - The Benguela Railroad is a vital economic and political factor in the war. A key transportation link for Congo (Kinshasa) and Zambia, it is also an obvious target for the guerrillas. "The Portuguese have no intention of closing down the railroad, which employs some 13,000 Angolans. They have no illusions that if they did, Zambia and the Congo would stop supporting the guerrillas to get them to reopen it. But they clearly hope that in the long run economic interdependence of Portuguese Africa and its neighbors will be a factor in reducing outside support for a costly war that Portugal has no hope of winning and no visible chance of losing."

July 28 - Gulf Oil's strike in Cabinda has provided momentum for a number of other mineral concessions to foreign companies. The Cabinda field is expected to increase Angola's export earnings by nearly one-third in the next two years. The oil workers are Texan, South African, Belgian, Australian, and one Argentine.

July 28 - In the northern Bakongo areas, the 1961 rebellion exploded. Savage, but sporadic, fighting continues. The village of Casseche represent the new form of life for the Bakongo in the north. It is one of the 'agrupamentos' or new villages formed by the Army in recent years. ... Beside serving as a means of protecting and controlling the Bakongo, the villages empty the countryside of inhabitants who might assist and feed the guerrillas. When villagers complained to Eder that they had only 200 children in school, the Government information official remarked that the problem was that the Bakongo

did not want their children to study; one of the sobas, or tribal leaders, broke in sharply: 'The problem is that there are only two teachers'".

August 6 - "The wars against guerrilla groups in Portuguese Guinea, and Mozambique and in northern and eastern Angola have no focus, no geographical center, no real pitched battles, relatively few casualties, no satisfactory victories for either side and no visible end. They are a staggering economic drain on Portugal, they have a fearful pre-emptive hold on the lives of her men 20 to 40 years old, and for 10 years they isolated her from any close association with Western Europe or the United States (????-ed.) Today, eight years after the fighting began, the situation of essential stalemate continues."

"In June, the Portuguese mounted the most recent of their large-scale operations. Using three companies, bombers and helicopters they closed in on a Liberation Movement camp called Mandume, near the village of Lumbala. The camp was a staging point of infiltration north toward the railway; but an additional reason for the strike was a report that the group had planned to bring foreign journalists and conduct a news conference there. The news conference was not held, but apart from its cancellation the operation had few tangible results. Three guerrillas were killed and three taken prisoner. Four rifles were captured, with some grenades. ... This was typical not of a daily operation but of one prepared for several weeks."

The same operation was reported - from the vantage point of the attacked in Ramparts, April, 1969, by Donald Barnett, an anthropologist, who was one of the foreign journalists there.)

If the Portuguese Government should abandon the war "whites here would have to turn for help to South Africa - which is already known to be providing air transport and reconnaissance assistance, although the Portuguese deny it."

August 8 - Over and over, the visitor to these two territories in southern Africa will be told: 'There is no discrimination here'. ... The visitor will hear that from officials, army officers and educators - occasionally mulatto, but mostly white. He is less likely to hear it from blacks because he is unlikely to meet any. At a Fourth of July party given by the United

States Consulate General in Luanda, a foreigner was taken hospitably from one group to another and given repeated accounts of Portugal's multiracialism and of the efforts made to bring blacks along. But there were no black guests. A member of the consular staff explained later that two had been invited but were in Europe. ... (The consular staff) drew up their invitations to reflect the social status quo, not to challenge it. And in Portuguese Africa this means, in effect, admitting whites and some mulattos but bypassing nearly every black in Angola.

Mr. Pinheiro da Silva, a thin, serious mulatto who is widely credited with doing a thorough job, was at first reluctant to estimate the proportion of blacks among the territory's high school students, but finally guessed that they might make up about a fourth of the total. The figure appears to be increasing.

In the guerrilla zones, blacks are gathered by the Portuguese into fortified villages ... The troops and militia carry out impromptu house searches in the middle of the night to check on whether a stranger is sleeping in one of the huts. Special identity cards are still required for travel away from one's village.

The economic development has mixed effects. A new cashew-processing plant in Macala, in northern Mozambique, originally employed 3,000 workers, but an official explained that new machinery would soon cut the payroll by 1,000. Asked what those discharged would do, he replied:

"Why, they will go back to the bush." He was somewhat surprised at the question.

BRIEF NOTICES

Guinea-Bissau (August 5) - 92 repentant terrorists held by Portugal at the concentration camp on Ilha das Malinhas were granted amnesty. The move was interpreted as an attempt to boost Portuguese morale. The released prisoners have pledged to support Portugal.

Mozambique (May 21) - In testimony before the U.S. Decolonization Committee, FRELIMO has proposed a SPECIAL MOZAMBIQUE DEVELOPMENT AND AID FUND. Among the areas included are agriculture, cottage industry and

and commerce, public health, and education.

Azores (May 30) - Seven black GIs, members of the Afro-American Culture Society, were attacked by 12 Portuguese military officers and two white American "advisors". The seven are being threatened with punishment by the Base Command. "U.S. bases here are open support by the U.S. government of Hitler-type fascism and South African-type racism. Members of the Afro-American Society in the Azores ask that you write your congressmen and demand an investigation of this incident and the racial injustice here." (The Bond, July 22, 1969)

Newsweek August 25, 1969 "Portugal, in return for renewing the lease of U.S. military installations in the Azores, is asking for a weapons-modernization program which could cost \$200 million over the next five years. Current U.S. military aid to Portugal, a NATO ally, is \$1,030,000 a year."

Announcing publication of:

MOZAMBIQUE WILL BE FREE

A study of Mozambique's freedom struggle including the nature of Portuguese control and the role of the United States in that control.

A guide to action: How to support FRELIMO
Suggested projects to change U.S. policy

Listing of Publications and organizations

Order from: Committee of Returned Volunteers
Africa Committee, New York
65 Irving Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Price: \$1.00

The March-April issue of Africa Report includes an article by John Marcum entitled "A Martyr for Mozambique." It is a tribute to the recently assassinated head of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, and includes an excellent synopsis of Mondlane's life and personality as well as several interesting paragraphs which we reproduce for our readers here.

"In the beginning, Mondlane was hopeful of getting American assistance in persuading Portugal to grant self-government to Mozambique. He found a particularly sympathetic listener in Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. The United States should realistically accept, Mondlane told the late President's brother, that Portuguese rule in Africa was bound to collapse. 'The needs of the liberation forces are many,' he told Kennedy, 'but none is so great as a change in United States policy toward Portuguese colonialism. Friends of freedom and democracy throughout the world cannot comprehend why the United States does not move to the forefront in this struggle for freedom. It is inconceivable to us that the United States must remain silent and secretive to placate Portugal.'

"Even before President John F. Kennedy's death, however, Washington had given in to what Mondlane (and also Theodore Sorensen) subsequently termed "diplomatic blackmail." When Lisbon threatened to deny the United States use of air and naval bases in the Azores, they pointed out, Washington changed its censorious tone, declined to vote with African and Asian states in support of a proposed UN arms embargo designed to force Lisbon to negotiate with African nationalists, and continued to provide military assistance to Portugal under the terms of its NATO commitments. Private American support for Mondlane's cause also proved to be vulnerable to Lisbon's displeasure. In late 1964, the Portuguese subsidiary of the Ford Motor Company, Ford-Lusitania, announced in Lisbon that the Ford Foundation had promised to consult the Salazar government on future grants relating to Portuguese Africa; subsequently, the foundation withdrew its financial support of the Mozambique Institute. (Some of the costs of this project were taken over by the World Council of Churches in Geneva.)

"When the American Ambassador to Portugal, Admiral George Anderson, visited Angola and Mozambique in 1964 and praised Portuguese colonial achievements, Mondlane issued a rueful warning from Dar es Salaam. He said that the admiral's remarks led him to conclude that the United States 'cannot identify itself with our ideals for self-determination and independence.' Mozambique nationalists might thus assume, he mused, that 'when our people finally rise to take up arms against Portuguese imperialism, the United States of America, like the Republic of South Africa, will intervene against us in support of Portugal.' In so predicting, he probably hoped to dissuade. It remains for those Americans who fear his prophecy, but wish to honor his life, to prove him wrong. If efforts to change American policy are doomed to fail, perhaps all that is left for those who respected Dr. Mondlane and his cause is to work to prepare the American public to expect, understand, and live with the massive hostility of southern Africans that can be the only logical result of protracted American military, economic, and technological support for an oppressive status quo."

CABORA BASSA DAM

The giant Cabora Bassa hydroelectric and irrigation project in the north-western Mozambique province of Tete was begun in November 1968. The first construction phase is scheduled to be completed by 1973 and the delivery of electric power will start in 1974.

Construction of the first phase was awarded to Zamco, a consortium of Anglo-American of South Africa and West German, Swedish and French companies. It was announced that the final settling of contract depends on the consortium fulfilling certain legal, administrative and financial conditions. During a visit to Mozambique in April, Dr. Marcelo Caetano, the Portuguese Prime Minister, was reported as saying that the contract to Zamco had expired, due to differing interests of Zamco and Portugal, and that negotiations with other consortia would be reopened (D.E. 21/4). But spokesmen for Anglo-American in South Africa insisted that negotiations were still going on. The S.A. Star (29/3) denied persistent rumours that Zamco was pulling out of the Cabora Bassa dam. The rumours arose from the prolonged negotiations in Lisbon over the first stage of the project. The final signing of the Zamco contract, for which letters of intent were signed and a provisional award made in mid-1968, is months overdue.

The rumours were supported by reports circulating in diplomatic quarters that the Portuguese Government 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 in 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. (S.A.S. 29/3).

Amongst other reasons discussed for the possible Zamco withdrawal are: genuine difficulty in financing the project; Portuguese fears of South African influence in Mozambique; or, most spectacularly, the possible abandonment of the whole project because Dr. Caetano sees it as a wasteful prestige project far more beneficial to South Africa than to Mozambique or Portugal.

(Africa Digest, June, 1969)

PHILIPPINE BAN ON SOUTH AFRICANS

Manila, Aug. 7. Mr. Edmundo Reyes, the Philippines Immigration Commissioner, today disclosed that 22 South African tourists on board a passenger ship were recently prohibited from disembarking in Manila.

He said that the Philippines was a signatory to the United Nations protocol condemning South Africa for its apartheid policy, and the action against the tourists was only a logical consequence of this commitment.

(London Times, 8/8/69)

PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

These are admitted minimized losses reported in Portuguese war communiques January 31, April 28, 1969. Wounded figures are only given for Angola.

	KILLED armed forces	militia	WOUNDED armed forces	militia
Guinea	109			
Angola	76	50	116	50
Mozambique	57			
	242	50	116	50

Sum total for 12 weeks: 292 killed, 166 wounded.

(Portuguese Colonial Bulletin)

LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM U.C.M. SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE:

- "Opposition to Apartheid by Students in South Africa and Repression against Students"--a U.N. document of April, 1969 reviewing student developments in South Africa. (25¢ to cover handling and mailing, in bulk 5¢ apiece).
- "The Banks and Apartheid"--a booklet explaining the rationale for the Bank Campaign. (25¢ to cover handling and mailing, in bulk 5¢ apiece).
- "South Africa: An American Christian Concern?"--a pamphlet useful as starter information (single copies free).

NEW A.C.O.A. BOOKLET: "U.S. SUBSIDY TO SOUTH AFRICA--THE SUGAR QUOTA"

A recent booklet prepared by the Washington office of the American Committee on Africa outlines the history of U.S. support of the South African sugar industry and advances arguments against South Africa's preferential sugar quota here. The booklet is particularly timely in view of recent efforts in both the House and the Senate to amend this quota. In order to receive this 15-page booklet, send 20¢ to the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York N.Y. 10017.

Black man's war

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

In southern Africa, some 26,000 guerrillas are now matched with government forces totalling nearly 250,000; and escalation is the order of the day. In Mozambique 8,000 Frelimo insurgents hold most of Niassa and Cabo Delgado provinces and are beginning to penetrate Zambezia and Tete. The total of insurgent forces in Mozambique should reach 11,000 this year.

Facing them are about 60,000 Portuguese metropolitan troops and 40,000 local levies, the latter being generally more effective than the unhappy, ill-fed white conscripts. In Tete there are also two South African battalions defending their country's investment in the £120 million Cabora Bassa project, and its hopes that this will bring in a million white immigrants after its completion in 1974. The Portuguese have French Alouette "gunship" helicopters, and use transport aircraft to drop napalm.

Frelimo depends for military aid mostly on Russia and Algeria. The Methodist preacher, Mr Uria Simango, who became its president after the murder of Mr Eduardo Mondlane in February, maintains his headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, but at least half of its central committee is usually inside Mozambique.

The Angolan revolutionary government in exile (GRAE) headed by Mr Holden Roberto, who works from Kinshasa, gets western arms through the Congolese defence ministry. It has parted company with the Organisation of African Unity and now depends on overt Chinese and surreptitious American aid. Mr Roberto recently conducted a Swiss TV team for 600 miles through the areas his 8,000 troops control.

Also active in Angola is the Popular Liberation Movement (MPLA), a predominantly marxist 4,000-strong break-away from the GRAE that operates from Zambia. It enjoys OAU approval and gets Russian and Algerian assistance. Another group, Unita, which was expelled from Zambia in 1967 after cutting the Benguela railway, reportedly still exists inside Angola. Ranged against these groups are 62,000 metropolitan troops and 40,000 Portuguese-officered Africans. The fighting in Angola is not along such a clearly defined "front" as in Mozambique, and the air force patrols in wide arcs, dropping incendiary bombs or gasoline drums and flares, mainly for defoliation. South Africa has promised to help finance and man a base in Angola, partly to protect the £90 million dam project on the Cunene (the river frontier with South-West Africa) which is intended to attract

In South-West Africa, the People's Organisation (Swapo) has several hundred guerrillas in the Caprivi and Okavango regions, most of them engaged in hit and run raids, with withdrawals into Zambian sanctuary. It also strikes repeatedly at the South African army bases at Mpacha and Katima Mulilo. Swapo's Angolan links are with MPLA, not GRAE. The rival South-West Africa National Union group now seems moribund.

South Africa's police and interior minister said in February that his intelligence services expected the infiltration of over 2,000 Swapo and African National Congress guerrillas this year. To meet this threat the republic now musters 5,700 regulars and 22,000 conscripts. In South Africa, the ANC is making most of the running, but the Pan-Africanist Congress still has activists. A PAC marxist splinter group has offices in Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka, but its main exile leadership is now in Kinshasa.

ANC units participate in Frelimo operations in Mozambique, Zapu activities in Rhodesia, or Swapo raids in South-West Africa, then shed their uniforms before entering South Africa, where their task is mainly that of reconnoitring future bases and arms caches. An ANC group that was captured last year admitted to having selected a submarine landing site on the Zululand coast. ANC militants now take their orders from Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Tennyson Makiwane in Lusaka and Dar.

In Rhodesia the Zimbabwe African People's Union is building up its forces, which should reach 2,000 this year. The Rhodesian government prefers to publicise fighting in the west Zambezi valley, where few whites live, but most of the action is now in the north-east, around Karoi, Sinoia and Banket. Many white farmers in this area have evacuated their families to Salisbury.

Zapu has OAU approval, and its forces are trained by Russians, Algerians and Cubans, mostly in Tanzania. The competing Zimbabwe African National Union has a few hundred partisans operating in civilian clothes, mostly in

the south-east. The Zanu groups aim at sabotage. Zapu, like ANC, seeks to set up bases and caches, and also has the task of escorting ANC units across Rhodesia. At this stage, ANC, PAC, Zapu and Zanu guerrillas fight only if forced to.

Arrayed against the black guerrillas in Rhodesia are the regular army of 3,600, 2,700 South African troops, and combined South African and Rhodesian air units. The American, Canadian, British and German embargo on arms sales to South Africa makes it harder for Rhodesia to get aircraft parts from the south, and France has become the chief source of arms. For counter-insurgency operations the Rhodesian air relies mainly on Alouettes. The

South Africans drop napalm and fragmentation bombs on British's last African colony from Buccaneers. The Rhodesian government has called up 3,000 white army reservists, and can use for paramilitary work some of its 6,400 police, about 2,000 of whom are white. There are also over 20,000 police reserves, of whom about 12,000 are white.

Although less experienced than the guerrillas in Portuguese Africa, the ANC and Zapu units appear well trained and well provided with Russian automatic weapons and light artillery. They are convinced they are superior to their opponents, whose guerrilla training is clearly limited. While in Rhodesia recently with a Zapu-ANC unit, this correspondent was told by a village headman near Karoi that the local South African unit's commander had instructed him to wait three days before reporting the presence of guerrillas—to reduce the risk of the South Africans getting involved in actual fighting when they dutifully "rushed" to the scene. Villagers admit to being vulnerable to intimidation by Rhodesian officials, but they clearly see

the guerrillas as the advance guard of a future African government.

The guerrillas admit that their earlier operations have shown disastrous mistakes, but they have learned from these. They envy the enemy his air cover (especially the Alouette), his communications (which they monitor), and his feeding and sleeping arrangements. While Frelimo and GRAE take prisoners, Zapu and ANC have hitherto executed theirs. But Zapu are aware that, to save their own captured comrades from execution, they will have to keep hostages, and ways are being studied of using movable cages for this purpose.

For the guerrillas, only Tanzania and Zambia are genuine sanctuary. Botswana, fearing South African intervention, convicts those it catches for armed border violation. Sentences may run to three or four years, but by tacit agreement with the Zambian government all guerrillas are released after about 12 months and allowed to return to Zambia. They complain that white police officers in Botswana torture them to obtain information of no apparent use to Botswana. The assumption is that some of these officers are selling intelligence to Salisbury and Pretoria.

Some guerrillas question whether uniform is not more of a handicap than a protection, and favour greater emphasis on sabotage, and perhaps on terror—a weapon they have not so far used. Now that the new pipeline from Dar has freed Zambia of dependence on southern oil routes, President Kaunda no longer forbids attacks on Rhodesia's oil supplies. Training in Tanzania includes the making of bombs and sabotage techniques. No training takes place in Zambia, which theoretically the guerrillas never enter.

Actually, they are given seven days to

cross Zambia, and an assurance of a "blind eye." But the presence of white police officers causes a fear of informers. Mr Kaunda's official attitude to sheltering guerrillas is based on fear of reprisal raids. He holds South African terrorists responsible for last year's attack on the Luangwa bridge on Zambia's "Great East Road."

If the guerrillas are angry with Botswana and reserved about Zambia, more of their anger is directed at the Organisation of African Unity. Of its 1968-69 "liberation" budget of £750,000, only a fraction has been paid in, and most of that has been spent on travel and junketing by politicians and officials. Only four OAU states (Algeria, Ivory Coast, Tanzania and Zambia) have paid their liberation budget dues. Russia, China, Cuba, and even Algeria (in addition to its OAU assessment) supply funds direct to the liberation movements they favour. But the source of a movement's funds tells little or nothing about its political orientation. The Peking-aided GRAE is openly anti-communist. Frelimo remains "neutral," despite dependence on Moscow.

Because of Portuguese air and land incursions, Zambia is ridding itself of military personnel from Nato countries. Seconded British and Canadian army and air force officers are leaving this year, while contract officers (paid by Zambia) will be phased out later. It has decided against mobile missiles and will invest instead in an air force, now being trained in Italy. Until Zambians can carry the burden, it is employing Indian airmen. Army officer ranks may be completely Zambianised. Tanzania is also dismissing Canadian officers, for similar reasons. It seems to be thinking of keeping its three-battalion army small, and relying on Russian missiles for defence against South African and Portuguese air incursions.

At the other end of the battlefield, in South Africa, defence spending last year reached £190 million. Pretoria needs to call up some of its 42,000 white army reservists, plus perhaps some air force reserves, some of the 15,000 white police reservists and, eventually, some of the 51,500 rural "home guard" *kommandos*. Experiments continue with the home-made SAM at Uvongo in Zululand, and there is some research on nuclear weaponry, although this would be useless internally. Most light arms and munitions are now made in South Africa. The French contribution to South African arms supplies now include over 100 Panhard armoured cars and over 400 steel-plated French riot trucks. The main air force equipment comes from France—a French-trained squadron of Mirage III-E fighter bombers with air-to-ground missiles and 40 Alouettes.

There is disagreement in South Africa about sending troops to neighbouring countries. Many South African whites believe a *modus vivendi* could be reached with a black-ruled Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), just as it has been achieved

with Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. Even a black-ruled Mozambique might be accommodated. Mr Mondlane was almost certainly killed by Portuguese agents not only because of his appeal to the West, but also because he was the sort of pragmatic moderate with whom South Africa might have thought it could do a deal.

But the military would prefer to fight outside rather than inside South Africa. One saying is that the republic should defend itself "to the last Portuguese and Pommie." Mozambique and Rhodesia also offer useful guerrilla training for South Africans. Rhodesian guerrillas tell convincing stories about their enemies still using conventional war tactics, and the Rhodesian government's predilection for holding military funerals at night and for closing roads when mortuary convoys pass indicates that its forces are getting hurt more than they expected.

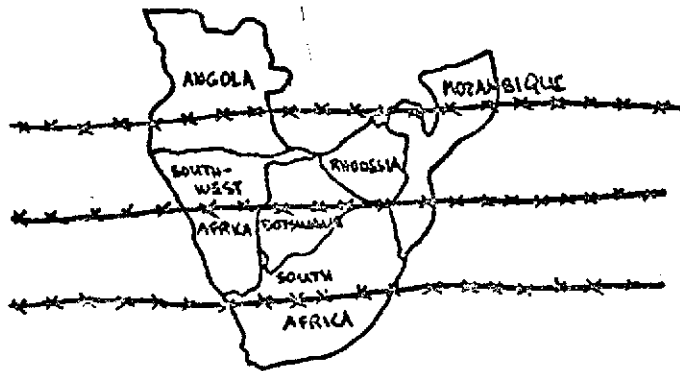
In Pretoria, the evolving war situation has provided some useful excuses. The authoritarian face of the regime has become more rigid. Showing a sophistication of which Dr Verwoerd would have been incapable, Mr Vorster permits the sale of "black power" books, presumably both because they would shock old-style liberals and because they exalt segregated values and "separate development."

But it has become nearly impossible for American correspondents to enter the country unless they work for conservative publications. South Africa is worried about Western attitudes as fighting escalates and Afro-Asian pressure builds up, particularly in Washington, for an extension of the UN blockade on Rhodesia. In readiness, it has five years' oil stocks in reserve. In Malawi, South Africa is buying friends by building a new capital at Lilongwe. There are aid programmes for Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, and a promising exchange of

trade delegations with Madagascar. Diplomats in Pretoria expect to see more South African money flowing to pro-white organisations like the American Southern Africa Council, the American African Affairs Association, the Anglo-Rhodesian Society and the National Front, and possibly to black extremist movements too. The Pretoria office that houses the headquarters of the country's foreign espionage system was recently extended.

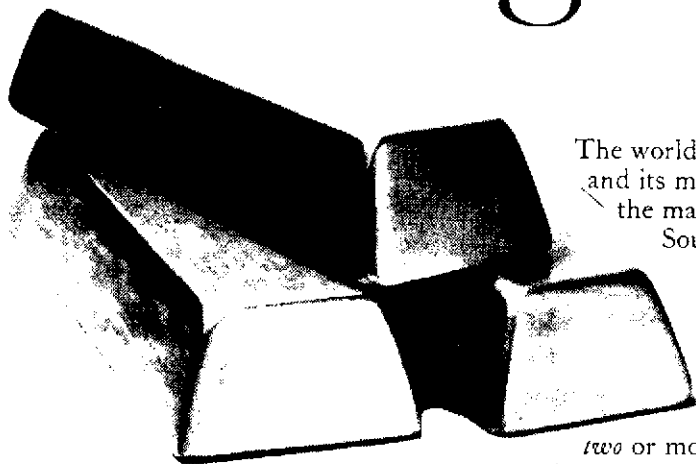
On the other side of the line, Mr Simango claims that Frelimo could take Mozambique in three or four years if the West withheld all aid to Portugal. Since 1959, Lisbon has received nearly \$400 million of American aid under Nato, providing in return the base in the Azores which some experts now describe as redundant. American diplomats in Africa see little merit in "carrying the can" for Portugal. As one of them puts it: "Portugal makes a very good thing out of membership of Nato, and gives peanuts in return."

On the Rhodesian front, few Africans still want British intervention. Both Zapu and Zanu would prefer to do the fighting themselves and hope the Smith regime will accept some British "sell-out" on *Tiger* or *Fearless* lines, and then cheat on its implementation. This, they reckon hopefully, would free Britain from any obligation to the white settlers, and enable the liberation movements to acquire quasi-legal status and arms support in Britain. The movements would like ex-French Africa and France's allies to put pressure on Paris to join the South African arms embargo and they would welcome an increase in moral pressure. Their pipedream is a demonetisation of gold. However, most of them agree that only if law and order broke down in South Africa would extra blows like a blockade produce a healthy despair rather than defiance.



TIME

Southern Africa digs deep where the gold is



The world's newest business continent and its most prolific buyers — that's the market you tap through TIME Southern Africa. Average family income is R. 7,800. 77% of subscribers have university, special or professional training. The main wage earner in 82% of all TIME Southern Africa families is in business. 49% own two or more cars. On the average, five people read every copy of TIME Southern Africa.

TIME Southern Africa is one of TIME's 43 advertising editions, all of which help you to beam your message to your best customers and prospects. Buy one edition — or several, selectively. TIME is read by people who can buy what you have to sell.

For further information about TIME Southern Africa and other world editions of TIME, contact Peter Mummery, Time International, Room 40576, C.N.A. Building, Rissik and Commissioner Streets, Johannesburg. Tel. No. 838-3031.



ADAPTATION --EYE MAKERS INC. , 1 25 E36 ST., N.Y. N.Y.

**We've been in South Africa
a long time...
We like it here!**

1900

Union Carbide has been in South Africa since the 1930's. Some companies grow and prosper, providing new jobs and generating new capital. We like to think that Union Carbide, The Discovery Company, is growing steadily — through the development of new products — through expansion into new fields. All of this is good for us and good for our country. We do our bit to create foreign exchange in South Africa by exporting chrome ore and vanadium products. And we also market many of Union Carbide's discoveries — like SEVIN Insecticide, a wide variety of chemicals, silicones and plastics. Some of these products hadn't even been invented just a few years ago.

As we discover, whole new industries may be born, to help us grow as the country grows.



THE DISCOVERY COMPANY

**Union Carbide
discovers apartheid**

100 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10004

ZAMBIA'S KAUNDA NATIONALIZES COPPER MINES

Half of Zambia's revenue, and 95% of its export earnings come from copper. The two major companies involved in the nationalization of the industry are Roan Selection Trust (80% owned by Americans with American Metal Climax, Inc. the biggest shareholder), and the Anglo-American Corporation (shares held mainly in South Africa or by British investors). When President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia announced that he was taking over all mineral rights in the country, and invited the two giant copper producers there to sell 50% of their shares to the government, he was following the venerable footsteps of such other African leaders as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. (See Zambia Globe & Mail, 8/16/69).

The take-over extends measures begun in April, 1968 to "put Zambian business firmly in Zambian hands, just as political power is in their hands." In Zambia the copper industry view with Chile as the second largest in the world and has been valued by The New York Times at \$1.2 billion. The Zambian move is less inspired by socialism than by economic nationalism, as is indicated by President Kaunda's declaration that Zambia was waging economic warfare with South African, British and U.S. interests and his boast that 'Cecil Rhodes and his 'in perpetuity, forever and ever' is now buried." (The quote reflects Zambian resentment that the major copper producers had held their mining rights in perpetuity since they were granted by Rhodes' British South African Company in the 19th century. President Kaunda had complained that under this system he could only charge royalties and had no control over the companies' development and investment policies, and thus the development of the whole economy.)

President Kaunda realizes he still needs white expertise and the copper companies' management and marketing skills, so the terms he has offered them are relatively generous, compared to nationalizations in other parts of the continent. The companies will be allowed to retain their mining rights for 25 years (and ore reserves will be expanded if they agree to increase present exploitation). Zambia has also offered to pay for the 51% of the shares, out of future dividends, thus making it in the interests of the companies to continue running the industry in order to get their investments out eventually.

Two newspapers in London have sharply criticized, and a third strongly supported, Dr. Kaunda's plan to take control of Zambia's copper mines. The Sunday Express (independent conservative) says his seizure of the mines is an act of brigandage. The Sunday Telegraph (conservative) says that President Kaunda has discovered that political independence is less important than economic independence, but that he has yet to learn that economic independence cannot be achieved by political needs alone.

In the London Observer, Colin Legum declares that Zambia is today perhaps Africa's most crucial country--and the most vulnerable on the border that divides black Africa from white-ruled Southern Africa. He calls on Britain to support Kaunda in this move, since for Kaunda, "the choice is either to fall in with South Africa's wishes or to mobilize Zambia to withstand the pressures from his powerful neighbors. He has firmly adopted the second course."

Southern Africa Committee
(University Christian Movement)
Room 752
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

August-September, 1969

100-100000-100000