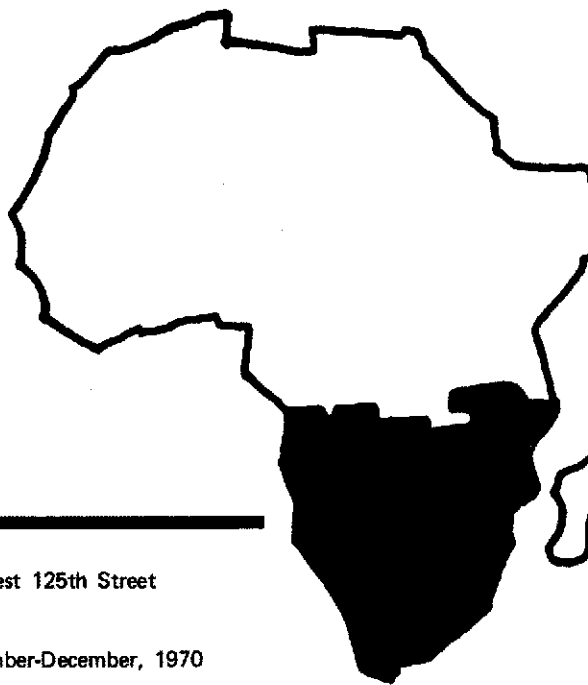


# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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## EDITORIAL:

### "Jumping on the Banda Wagon"

Prime Minister Vorster, apartheid's strongman, is seeking black friends. South Africa's "enlightened" outward policy seems to be expanding successfully. If its hopes are realized, Black Africa will be split between those who embrace the South African whites and those who do not. Mr. Vorster's strong hand is stretched out. Who's hand is rising to meet it?

Hastings Banda of Malawi seized that hand long ago and as a result will build his new capital with South African cash. The Malagasy Republic, the large island off the east African coast, has been sliding for years towards the trade agreement recently signed with South Africa. Now a black champion of the north, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast, has risen to lead the dialogue. He is almost certain to carry with him the fourteen countries of the francophone African and Malagasy Common Organization (OCAM). Kofi Busia of Ghana announced his readiness in Ottawa, Canada and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya does not seem too adverse. Half of Africa is responding to the friendly trade and economic assistance offered by Vorster.

Africans extended their hand with the Lusaka Manifesto published in April, 1970 and signed by fourteen states. It called for dialogue if South Africa would commit itself to the principle of equality for all its people, to forswear racialism. But South Africa wants none of that. Blacks at home must live as serfs and in degradation while their brothers of the north get the full flattering treatment. Those flattered find it convenient to forget this. The Black Man in South Africa will not.

"In the old age black was  
not counted fair,  
Or if it were, it bore not  
beauty's name."

are the words of the Bard. But Vorster and Felix woo to a different tune.

# FEATURE ARTICLE

3

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ADDRESS  
BY

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA  
MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE  
AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1970

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is, I know, customary to congratulate an organisation which has successfully survived for 25 years. Yet I feel that it would be a little odd for me, as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, to offer congratulations to the United Nations on its 25th Anniversary. For the United Nations is not an abstract thing; nor is it governed and run by creatures from outer space. The United Nations is us—its members. It does not exist apart from us; it can do only what we, its members, are prepared to do, acting together. This means that to congratulate the United Nations is to congratulate ourselves—and that is rather dangerous! For self-congratulation is all too liable to lead to complacency and self-satisfaction—neither of which is, I believe, warranted at the present time in relation to ourselves as the United Nations.

In saying this, Mr. President, I do not intend to belittle that which we have achieved, nor to underestimate the importance of the fact that, after 25 difficult years, the United Nations still exists. And I must make clear that I am not wishing to minimise the value of the work which has been done by successive Secretaries-General of the United Nations, and their staffs. The task of servants of this Organisation has been—and still is—extremely important to world peace; it is also difficult beyond assessment for men and women who are concerned to live up to the high ideals of the United Nations' Charter.

Therefore I would like, through you, Mr. President, to express gratitude and congratulations to the Secretary-General and his staff, both for their achievements—which are many—and for their efforts in the cause of peace and justice. In this expression of appreciation I would like to include all the members of the peace forces still at work under the auspices of the United Nations. Their thankless task has saved many lives, and has provided more time for us—the masters of the United Nations—to deal with the problems which threaten world peace.

Whether we use the time thus made available to us is, of course, not within the control of United Nations' employees. They remind us of what has to be done; they prepare Papers for us to consider. But the consideration and the decision-making is a matter for the nation states which are members of the United Nations. The failures—where there are failures—are ours. And it is about one of these areas—where the Secretary-General has constantly reminded us of a danger and where we have virtually failed to act—that I intend to speak today.

Before I do so, however, there is one other matter I must mention, and that is the question of membership of the United Nations.

Mr. President, it is not always easy, at a given point in time, to determine which is the real government of a country that is going through a period of revolutionary upheaval. For that reason, the United Nations—I believe wisely—usually gives the incumbent government the benefit of doubt until the position clarifies itself. But there comes a time when we only make ourselves ridiculous by refusing to face the facts of change—whether we like that change or not. And that point has been reached and passed in relation to China.

The territory and people of Mainland China—that is, about 3-3/4 million square miles, and now about 700 million persons—have been under the effective control of the Government of the Peoples Republic of China in Peking since 1949—for 21 years. Yet they are still represented in our Councils by a so-called Government of China, which in fact controls only Formosa—an island of approximately 13,900 square miles in area, and a population of about 15 million people, and even this control continues only because of an intervention of an external power.

How much longer does the General Assembly propose to allow this absurd state of affairs to continue? For it cannot go on indefinitely. I would like to suggest that an appropriate way of celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Organisation would be the admission of the Peoples Republic of China to its seat here. Only by such an action shall we end the situation whereby we pretend to decide questions of peace or war in the absence of the most populous nation on earth.

Having made that point, Mr. President, I want to come back to my major theme today—which is the question of peace or war in Southern Africa.

Nothing could be more relevant, or more important, to this Assembly. For the purpose of the United Nations is the preservation of peace. But no one has ever suggested that this meant the preservation of evil. On the contrary, the Charter of the U.N. makes it quite clear that peace can only be maintained—and should only be maintained—on the basis of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

The task of the United Nations is thus much more than the prevention of violence between men and nations. It has to promote justice and human equality. And it has to fight against the forces of injustice and inequality.

In particular, the United Nations has to act against the forces of racialism and colonialism. For these represent the kind of tyranny and oppression which deny all hope to men, and which therefore FORCE them to express their humanity through violence. A man can change his religion if he wishes; he can accept a different political belief—or in both cases give the appearance of doing so—if this would relieve him of intolerable circumstances. But no man can change his colour or his race. And if he suffers because of it, he must either become less than a man, or he must fight. And for good or evil, mankind has been so created that many will refuse to acquiesce in their own degradation; they will destroy peace rather than suffer under it.

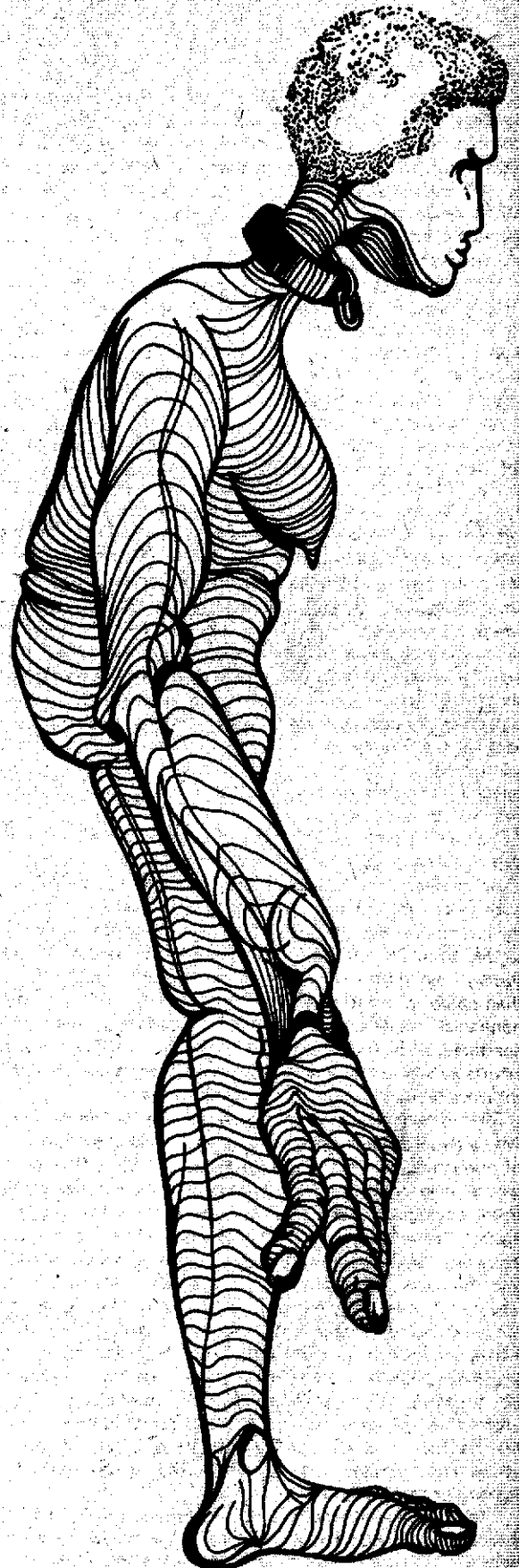
That is the position in Southern Africa now. The apartheid policy of South Africa—now being imposed also in Namibia—and the colonial oppression of Portugal in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, have goaded the people to desperation.

No one can say that the peoples of these territories did not try to secure change—even some movement towards justice—by peaceful means. They tried political organisation, trade union organisation, and tribal welfare organisation. They tried petitioning to their rulers, and to international organisations; they tried peaceful public rallies; they tried the publicizing of their wrongs through the press of the world. Indeed, perhaps they tried too long, and thus enabled the forces of oppression to strengthen themselves too much, before they finally recognised the situation for what it was. For all their efforts were met with increased oppression and an increase in the sufferings imposed upon them. But the position is now obvious. Efforts to achieve peaceful change towards justice from within the states of Southern Africa have failed—miserably failed.

As far as the peoples of Southern Africa are concerned, therefore, the choice is now clear. They can acquiesce in their own humiliation and accept their position as third class subjects of an alien ruling power, or they can fight for their manhood. They are now making that choice. And they are doing it for themselves. They are choosing future life at the cost of physical death and suffering for many.

What free nation, or what free people, dares to tell the masses of South Africa, of Rhodesia, of Namibia, and of the Portuguese colonies, that they are wrong? Who is it that can tell these people that they should acquiesce in the daily humiliation of themselves and their children? Certainly the United Nations cannot do so. For this would be to deny the basic premise of human equality, and thus to deny the basis on which we meet here.

No one who genuinely believes in human equality has the right to demand that the peoples of Southern Africa should refrain from making war on racialism. But, if we used our strength in support of humanity, we could make their fighting unnecessary. For the United Nations—the nation states acting together—has the power to put such pressure on the states of Southern Africa that change would have to come. It is a question of our will; it is a question of whether the preservation of peace by the removal of injustice is sufficiently important to us. If it is, we shall exert all pressures short of war. If it is not, then war will grow.



Until now, we have not acted in support of our verbal condemnations of apartheid and colonialism. We have given the peoples of Southern Africa no hope of change. So they have begun to take up arms in their own defence—in defence of their manhood and their right to a life which is more than brutal existence. Yet so far the fighting is more a warning to the world than a real threat to the power of their oppressors—although it has certainly frightened them.

One thing, however, the beginning of the fighting has already done. It has forced the rest of the world—all of us—to face up to the situation. We can no longer pretend that we have no concern with affairs in Southern Africa. Now we have to make up our minds: whether we support the freedom struggle; whether we support the South African and Portuguese racist and colonialist governments; or whether we propose a new version of the 'non-intervention' which helped the fascist regime of Spain into power in the late 1930s.

For Africa there is no choice. We have to support the Freedom Fighters. There is merely a continuation of the freedom struggle which has already resulted in 41 African nations being represented in this General Assembly. For the national freedom and human equality for which these people are fighting are not only the same rights which the rest of Africa claimed—and won. They are also the only basis on which the free states of Africa exist. For no one would claim that Tanzania, for example, has a right to be independent because of its military power, its economic strength, or the high level of education of its people. Tanzania is independent because the United Nations, and the Administering Power, acknowledged the right of its people to demand national freedom, and because they acceded to that demand when it was made firmly and clearly.

Yet if this right to self-determination existed for Tanzania, then it exists for Southern Africa. And if it does not exist for those peoples, then it does not exist for us. This is recognised both by South Africa and by Tanzania. It is the root cause of the conflict between the free states of Africa and the apartheid regime of South Africa. For apartheid is the modern form of slavery—and Africa can no more survive half slave, half free, than could the United States of America. Our efforts to build non-racial societies are made more difficult because of apartheid. Conversely, the example of our freedom, and our efforts in support of human dignity, is a continual irritant to the slave-masters of South Africa and Portugal.

This is why talk of a Non-Aggression Treaty between South Africa and Tanzania is such nonsense. Our conflict is not that of two states quarrelling about a border or something of that nature. The conflict is about apartheid versus humanity, and about our right to freedom. For racialism is itself an aggression against the human spirit, as colonialism is the result of past aggression against a people and a territory. We in Tanzania, and the other peoples of Africa, have been—and still are—the victims of those aggressions. It is impossible for us to sign a Non-Aggression Treaty with aggression itself. No country which considers itself a friend of Africa should try to persuade any African State to sign such a treaty with the murderers of our humanity. For an African Munich would not more bring peace than did that of Europe in 1938. It would be a betrayal, and as such it would weaken the struggle for justice. But ultimately it would not succeed in preventing the people from fighting for their freedom.

Yet although Africa has no choice but to side with the freedom struggle of Southern Africa, it has at the present time very little power to affect the outcome. We are all

poor nations. We have no effective economic power to use. Further, we do not even manufacture arms which could be made available to the Freedom Fighters. All that we can do is to allow the peoples of Southern Africa to receive help through our territories and to use our land for their offices, their hospitals and so on, until they have effectively reoccupied their homeland. This little we do. And we do it because we have already, without effect, implemented all the non-violent pressures within our power.

But what of other—non-African—nations? They all claim opposition to apartheid, and to colonialism. Yet the sad truth is that—far from using their power for justice, many nations represented in this Assembly give continuing and expanding practical support to South Africa, and to the Portuguese colonial war effort.

Does anyone imagine that one of the poorest states of Europe could, unaided, fight colonial wars in three territories, which are together twenty times its own size? On the contrary; its NATO membership allows it to almost disregard its domestic defence needs, and devote its armies to Africa. Its membership of EFTA strengthens the Portuguese economy and thus helps that country to meet an otherwise intolerable burden. And things like the planned foreign investment in the Cabora Bassa project enable Portugal to increase its exploitation of Africa.

The same pattern can be seen in relation to South Africa. Despite all the expressed opposition to apartheid, South Africa's foreign exchange deficit is now financed by new investment from abroad. And powerful nations still put more time, effort, and money, into expanding their trade with South Africa than with the whole of Africa north of the Zambezi.

But this is not all. In absolute contravention of the United Nations arms embargo, France—and to a lesser extent some other European nations—continues to provide arms to South Africa. Indeed, it is noticeable that to France the obligations of friendship and peace go only one way. For many French-speaking countries in Africa are very sensitive to criticism against France; they value their friendship with that European power and do not like to embarrass it. But France does not seem to be equally concerned to avoid embarrassment to her African friends, or to consider their attitudes on matters affecting the African freedom and unity to which they are publicly committed. And now another great and powerful nation is considering the resumption of arms sales to South Africa—and using the French practice as one of its justifications!

Mr. President, national leaders do not like it when their sincerity is called into question. Let me just say, therefore, that Africa and the Freedom Movements have to judge who are their friends and who are the allies of their enemies, by actions, not by words.

Yet we are sometimes given an explanation. We are told that the arming of this racist state is an aspect of the defence of the 'free world,' and does not imply any support for apartheid. Really: do words change their meaning? What have freedom and the present regime in South Africa to do with one another? Can you avoid aiding a murderer if you give him a weapon?

There is another aspect to this, which is of very great importance to the future of the world. For if the Eastern Bloc nations made arms available to the Freedom Fighters, and the Western Bloc nations sell arms to South Africa and Portugal,

what is the likely result? Africa will become a hot front to the cold war. The freedom struggle of Southern Africa will become confused by a power conflict which is irrelevant to it; and Western countries will then find that their exclusive concern with what they see as the danger from communism, has led them to take the side of South Africa in a conflict with the rest of Africa. And the rest of Africa will find that it is fighting against the nations with whom it has had long ties, and in alliance with others from whom it had desired only normal friendly relations.

Yet although Africa recognises this danger to the peace of the world, we cannot draw back. We cannot ask the peoples of Southern Africa to acquiesce in their humiliation and misery. We cannot fail to support them. For the deliberate attempt to deny the humanity of non-white peoples, which is what apartheid means, is an affront to every person in Africa. And because humanity is in fact one and indivisible, and because freedom is indivisible, it is also an affront to every free man, regardless of colour.

The war has already started in Southern Africa. Yet even now it would be possible for us to restore peace, if we only acted for justice. For if the world would really recognise this evil for what it is, and isolate the nations concerned, then change would be inevitable. It might not be quick, but it would be certain; and that certainty would provide new hope for the peoples of Southern Africa. The regimes of South Africa, and Portugal, need the world; they cannot survive without it. This they know—it is why they work so hard to obtain 'certificates of respectability' in the form of contact of any kind.

We in Tanzania recognise that nations find it difficult to make sudden changes in their trade and economic policies; we know that inherited patterns of investment and trade cannot be suddenly disregarded. We are neither fools nor impractical

idealists. But it is one thing to recognise the facts of an inheritance while you work to change that pattern. It is another thing altogether to intensify that pattern of friendly and trade relationships with a country like South Africa. Up to now, that is what has been happening—despite all our words. We in Tanzania are asking that the world—and particularly the powerful nations of Europe and America—should change direction, and should move towards actions which will increasingly isolate South Africa. Only by such policies can we hope to secure change without the horrors of war.

Mr. President: the issues of Southern Africa have been discussed so often that some members of the United Nations express boredom, and ask why the matter is raised yet again. But the peoples of Southern Africa are not bored by their oppression; they are suffering it. They are not tired of repeating that they are oppressed, because their repetition is a cry for help.

The issue in Southern Africa is one of principle. It does not allow for compromise, because compromise on a matter of human rights is a denial of those rights. We are none of us perfect. Certainly I do not claim that Tanzania is faultless, or that offences against human rights never take place in my country. But it is one thing to try, and to fail, and to try again. It is an entirely different matter to abse the whole structure of your society on a denial of human rights. With a society of that kind, we compromise at our peril. For ultimately, humanity will not be denied.

Mr. President, the prime function of the United Nations is to establish and to maintain peace. We know that there can be no peace without justice. The greater the movement for justice, the greater the chances for peace. I ask that all members of the United Nations should work for peace in Southern Africa by acting for justice now.



*John Kennedy sent the first Peace Corps volunteers to Tanganyika and President Njereve visited Washington*

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

## GOVERNMENT ACTS AGAINST MOST OF THE 19 ACQUITTED

After Mr. Justice Viljoen, a Judge of the Supreme Court, acquitted 19 of the 20 charged under the Terrorism Act last September, the *New York Times* commented:

"For the second time this year, South Africa's Supreme Court has demonstrated a rare independence of the Government and struck a considerable blow for justice and fair play...."

"In Premier Vorster's country, however, not even a second acquittal ensures that the Africans will long be free. *The courts have spoken, but the Government could still put the 19 under house arrest by administrative action. . . .*" (our emphasis)

A fortnight later the South African government had indeed acted against most of the 19. Having spent many months in jail without trial, 14 have now been placed under house arrest, or have been subjected to banning orders restricting their movements and forbidding them to attend any gatherings for the next five years.

Among those served with an order of house arrest is Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, one-time leader of the African National Congress who is serving a life sentence in the notorious maximum security prison, Robben Island. Mrs. Mandela made an urgent application asking for one day's exemption from the order of house arrest in order to visit her jailed husband. Her application was refused. (*Johannesburg Star, 10/3/70*)

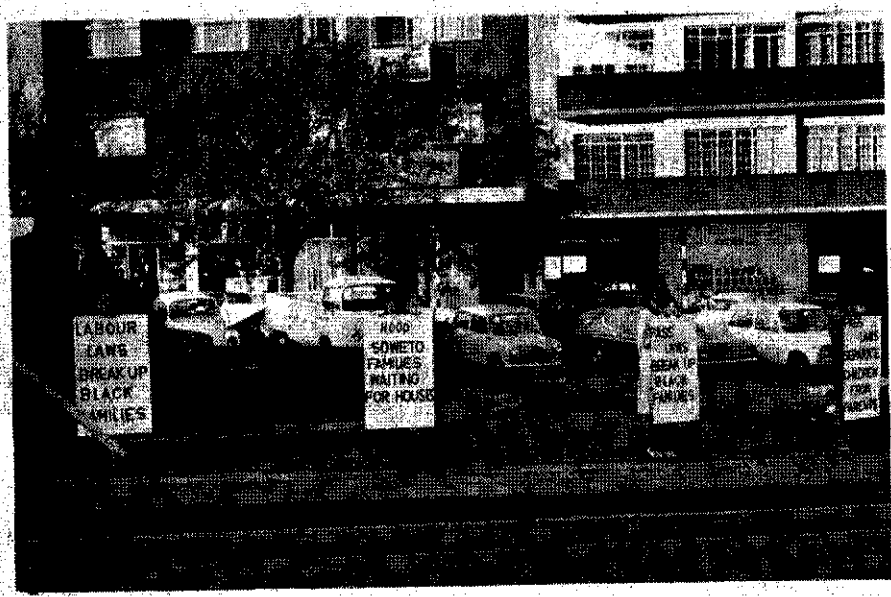
## FIFTEEN YEAR SENTENCE FOR RAMOTSE

One of the group of 20 Africans charged under the Terrorism Act, Benjamin Ramotse, was found guilty and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. The charges against him were that he underwent training in guerrilla warfare, the use of firearms and explosives, Communist theory and military intelligence and that he received training in Tanzania, Egypt and the USSR; that he instructed other trainees in camps in Tanzania, that he plotted out routes for and transported guerrillas from Zambia to Rhodesia and Botswana; and that he tracked down a deserter from the guerrilla forces and stood by when an attempt was made to execute him.

In passing sentence, Mr. Justice Viljoen gave some degree of benefit to Ramotse for his honesty in admitting a number of the charges, and for his motive of seeking to alleviate the lot of his people and to deliver them from oppression. (*Johannesburg Star, 10/3/70*)

## INQUIRY URGED INTO POLICE TREATMENT OF DETAINEES

Since seven political detainees had "committed suicide" and four others had died from "natural causes" while in police custody, an inquiry into police methods of interrogation was urgently needed, according to Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Member of Parliament. Speaking in the House of Assembly she



Women members of the Black Sash, a non-militant South African protest organization, line the street in Johannesburg with posters protesting the pass laws and the migratory labor laws of South Africa.

mentioned also repeated allegations of prolonged standing and other "interrogation techniques." In the past two years there had been 578 cases of assault by policemen of all races, she said, but only 27 had been dismissed from the police force. One had received a suspended sentence and a fine of R100 (\$140) for beating an African woman with a hose pipe so that she later died.

In addition, Mrs. Catherine Taylor (United Party Member of Parliament) alleged that the Moslem Imam Abdullah Haron who died while in detention had been "assaulted." Mr. Muller, the Minister of Police, objected to her suspicions and replied that the Imam had been in contact with the Pan Africanist Congress overseas, had received money from overseas for illegal purposes, and had instructions to see that Moslems going to Mecca were recruited for guerrilla training. (*Johannesburg Star*, 9/19/70)

#### OVER 800 SERVING SENTENCES FOR POLITICAL OFFENCES

More than 800 persons, mostly Africans, were serving prison sentences for contravening security laws at the beginning of 1970, the Minister of Justice, Mr. P. C. Peiser said in reply to a question from Mrs. Helen Suzman in the House of Assembly. 251 who had been serving sentences were released during 1969. Of the Africans now serving sentences 332 were convicted under the "sabotage" provisions, 51 under the Suppression of Communism Act, 337 under the Unlawful Organizations Act, and 49 under the Terrorism Act, according to the Minister. (*Johannesburg Star*, 10/3/70) These figures did not include those held without trial for interrogation.

#### THOUSANDS JAILED FOR JOB-SEEKING

One of Prime Minister Vorster's greatest fears was the development of the city areas, but what should worry him were the jails which were bursting with people who had got there for seeking work, said Mrs. Helen Suzman in the House of Assembly. She mentioned the "grievances building up among people sitting in jail for the crime of seeking jobs (*Johannesburg Star*, 9/19/70) a reference to the laws aimed at "influx control" which make it illegal for Africans to be in "white" areas without permission and beyond short specified periods if they are jobless.

#### CENSUS FIGURES BELIE APARTHEID

According to recently released census figures the proportion of whites (3,779,000) to non-whites (Africans, Coloreds and Indians—17,533,000) has decreased from 19.3% in 1960 to 17.8% in 1970. Of the 14,893,000 Africans, 7,955,000 or 53.5% (nearly twice the number of whites) live in so-called "white areas." The government claims that this figure has been decreased from 62.5% in 1960, but it does not take into account the hundreds of thousands of black workers now classified as migrants from the so-called "Bantu homelands." Even so, the figures indicate that after over 20 years of Nationalist rule, the "Bantu homelands" policy, the cornerstone of the apartheid ideology, is an unattainable chimera. (Figures given in the *Johannesburg Star*, 10/3/70).

#### OPERATION SPRINGTIME: WE HAVE TWO IN THE BAG

*The following is a statement made by Benjamin Ramotse, recently sentenced to 15 years imprisonment (see "Inside South Africa," this issue and the "Editorial" of the September 1970 issue of Southern Africa).*

I, the undersigned, BENJAMIN SELLO RAMOTSE, the Applicant in the above matter, do hereby make oath and say that:—

1.

I am accused No. 1 in the case of the State versus Ramotse and Others, charged with the offence of participation in terroristic activities in contravention of Section 2(1) of Act No. 83 of 1967, and read with Section 1, 2(2), 4, 5 and 9 of the said Act, in the Supreme Court of South Africa (Transvaal Provincial Division). On the 3rd August 1970, when the proceedings commenced, the matter was postponed to the 24th August 1970.

2.

I am presently detained in the Pretoria Gaol, where I have been since the 16th July 1968.



3.

On the 1st June 1968, I was travelling by car from Francistown in Botswana to Livingstone, Zambia, where I was ordinarily resident, in the company of one Samson Sithole. Approximately 20 miles beyond the Botswana Police Game Rangers Camp, which is situated in the Nata Game Reserve, our car stalled in deep sand and being unable to push the car out of the sand, Sithole and I proceeded by foot along the road in a southerly direction, with the object of making for some huts which I knew to be ahead of us and to ask the people there to assist us in getting the car out of the sand.

Approximately 2 miles from our car we were suddenly surrounded by uniformed Rhodesian soldiers. I was thrown to the ground, handcuffed and assaulted. Seeing that they were Rhodesians, I protested stating that they had no right to arrest me in Botswana, but their leader denied this and stated that we were in Rhodesian territory.

4.

I have no doubt that the arrest took place in Botswana for the following reasons:—

- (a) I had travelled on this road some two weeks earlier, going towards Francistown, and was therefore well aware that the whole road was in Botswana territory. We never deviated from this road and thus could not have entered Rhodesian territory.
- (b) The arrest took place just after we left the Nata Game Reserve, which I know to be in Botswana.
- (c) The road is signposted and I remember passing a sign just before the car stalled indicating that we had passed the Nata Game Reserve.
- (d) I know this road to be miles from the Botswana/Rhodesian border.
- (e) At the hearing hereof I beg leave to refer the above Honourable Court to a map of the area.

5.

After the seizure, we were taken to Land Rovers hidden in the bushes and driven, still handcuffed, towards the Rhodesian border. We reached a fence, which I took to be the border fence, after an hour's driving. I knew we were in Rhodesia because sometime after passing through a gate in this fence, they stopped at a place which seemed to be a motel and went in leaving me under guard in a Land Rover. Before we were put into the Land Rovers, the leader of the Rhodesian soldiers communicated per radio with a Spotter Plane flying overhead and I heard him say, "Operation Springtime, we have two in the bag."

6.

After many hours travelling we reached the Wankie Police Station, where I was locked up for the night. On the way to the said Police Station I was seriously assaulted with gun butts and fists to such an extent that my body is still painful. The following day I was driven in the direction of Bulawayo, but before reaching Bulawayo we were blindfolded and transferred to another vehicle. I travelled thus for many hours and eventually we arrived at a place where I was to remain for at least fifteen days. I was stripped naked, beaten, given electric shocks, and chained naked to a cell floor. I was spreadeagled over the bars of the window and left in that position for many hours. Electric shocks were administered for many hours on end and applied to all parts of my body. This was because I refused to answer questions. I was given very little to eat—mainly stiff, cold porridge once a day and a mug of water. I was interrogated for many hours on end by Rhodesian police over the course of time in that prison.

7.

Four days after my arrival at this place, two South African security policemen made their appearance. They took part in the assaults and on more than one occasion they remarked that in Pretoria I would be made to divulge information. One of the South Africans showed me a photograph of myself taken years ago in South Africa and said that I looked better in South Africa than I looked in Rhodesia, and that it was time for me to return home. I do not know the name of this officer but will recognise him should I see him again. The other South African's name is Captain van Rensburg. I learned his name during my interrogation in Pretoria. At the time I was well aware of their South African identity as they spoke in Afrikaans, which I understand, whilst the Rhodesians always spoke in English. In addition, shortly after the South African security police arrived, I heard them ask the Rhodesian police about the time of a television programme. They seemed particularly interested in watching television.

8.

One morning I was blindfolded and put into a vehicle. After travelling many hours, I was transferred from this vehicle into

another car. I remained in this car till we reached Pretoria many hours later. This car stopped on only two occasions before reaching Pretoria. Once it stopped at a place I presume to be Beit Bridge, and the second occasion somewhere in the Republic. As I was blindfolded, I am not in a position to state whether I was brought to the Republic by South African or Rhodesian policemen.

## 9.

(a) After my arrival, and during my detention in terms of the Terrorism Act, I was removed from Pretoria prison and taken by security police for interrogation to Compol, Pretoria, that is, Security Headquarters. At Compol, security police under the direction of Major Swanepoel mercilessly tortured me. This took the form of simple physical assaults and electric shocks on my head, and suspending me upside down. All this was done during my interrogation to make me talk.

(b) In August 1968 (I had by then lost track of the days and cannot be more exact), I was handcuffed and removed by car from prison and driven to Beit Bridge by Major Swanepoel and two van Rensburgs, one is a Captain and the other a Lieutenant. I was not chained or blindfolded. At Beit Bridge, Major Swanepoel went into the Immigration Office and later we crossed into Rhodesia. Major Swanepoel then instructed the others to place me in leg irons as I believe this is in accordance with Rhodesian requirements. We drove on through Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls Police Station. There I was locked in a police cell and chained to the floor. Next morning van Rensburg came and told me there was no helicopter available that day and we would wait until the following day. He allowed me off my chains to go to the lavatory and I was then chained up again.

(c) Next morning the same van Rensburg came and I was taken to a car and we drove to a military camp. At this camp there are Rhodesian and South African forces in uniform. Major Swanepoel was dressed in a camouflaged uniform and I got into a Rhodesian helicopter with him. He was accompanied by a Rhodesian officer in uniform. The pilot and co-pilot, both Rhodesians, were in uniform.

(d) I sat at the back of the helicopter and I was required to point out certain things and places along the Zambezi River. The helicopter flew over Zambian and Rhodesian territory, and I pointed out certain things to Major Swanepoel.

(e) When I had finished pointing out, the helicopter descended at a certain river base and Major Swanepoel left us. His place was taken by another South African security policeman and the helicopter then returned to the camp. I was then taken back to the Victoria Falls Police Station and chained up for the night.

(f) Next morning Major Swanepoel fetched me and we left by a Rhodesian Land Rover to the same camp. Then Major Swanepoel, the van Rensburgs and myself got into the same car and I was chained up. We then returned to Beit Bridge and Pretoria. This time my leg irons were only removed in Pretoria and I was once more detained in Pretoria prison.

## 10.

I respectfully submit that the arrest in Botswana by the Rhodesian soldiers was an illegal act. I say that my removal to Rhodesia was an illegal act, as was my detention in Rhodesia, and that the South African police participated in this illegal act, as set out in paragraph 7 hereof. I state further that by removing me, or assisting to remove me from Rhodesia to South Africa, the South African authorities acted illegally. The facts as set out in paragraph 9 hereof also constitute illegal acts by the South African authorities.

## 11.

Further, I submit that my seizure in Botswana was a violation of international law, as was my original removal from Rhodesia and my second removal from Rhodesia to South Africa.

As my detention and my arraignment before this Honourable Court originated in a violation of international law in which the South African authorities have participated, I submit that this Honourable Court has no jurisdiction to try me.

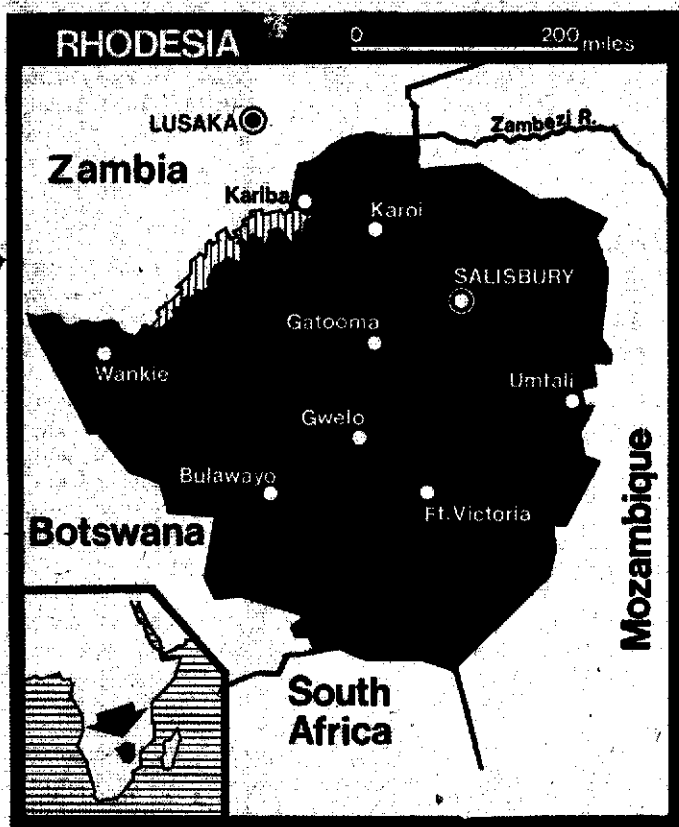
## 12.

I was born in Kimberley, but in 1965 I acquired citizenship of Zambia under the name of Joseph Mate. I am the holder of a Zambian Passport No. L1964/68 File 20.

BENJAMIN S. RAMOTSE.

SIGNED AND SWORN TO at PRETORIA, on this the 14th day of August, 1970, the Deponent who has acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this Affidavit.

BEFORE ME,  
COMMISSIONER OF OATHS.



# INSIDE RHODESIA

## FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF U.D.I.

November 11, 1970. On this day, five years ago, the Salisbury regime declared itself to be unilaterally free of Britain and the British Government did little in response except to brand the act "illegal." Talks were held to try to work out what was termed the "constitutional impasse," but they were deadlocked. Five years later, and the illegal Rhodesian regime is still in power. Sanctions and diminishing foreign exchange reserves have hurt the economy. However, they have not had the hoped-for effect, because the British Government has refused to take a strong stand on the issue. Africans remain disillusioned by Britain's behavior.

Critical moments have come and gone and still nothing has changed basically. Endless talks have taken place, which have failed to resolve the problems. The new British government under Heath and the Rhodesians are about to negotiate talks. NIMBAR (No Independence Before Majority African Rule) has been changed to read "no independence before majority rule." Smith had declared his willingness to

negotiate with the Conservative Government, his willingness to travel anywhere for talks, but it is doubtful if anything constructive will come out of the talks.

Smith, at a news conference, declined to say whether he had any new proposals to put to the new Conservative government in Britain. "I don't negotiate in public," he told a questioner when asked if he expected the Conservatives to put forward new ideas; he said, "I believe the British government will be a bit more realistic than their predecessors." (*Washington Post*, 29 Oct. 1970)

October 9 the Conservative Party Conference narrowly defeated a motion demanding the removal of Britain's economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but only after Sir Alec Douglas Home (the British Foreign Secretary) personally called on delegates to reject the motion, and after he conceded on two points.

1. He revealed that from that day, the Post Office was ENDING the surcharge on letters arriving from Rhodesia, and

2. He announced that legislation would be introduced to legitimize divorces obtained from within Rhodesia.

The proposed resolution to bring an

end to sanctions was the culmination of a highly emotionally charged right-wing-oriented conference. Before Sir Alec spoke, many speakers—notably Mr. Nigel Lawson, the former editor of the *Spectator*—called for another type of realism in Conservative ranks: an acknowledgement that a negotiated settlement with Rhodesia was now out of the question.

But Sir Alec's brand of realism prevailed—a realism in the fact of all evidence to the contrary that any settlement must still be sought by peaceful means (meaning a Rhodesian constitution bringing about a genuine multi-racial society).

Sir Alec disclosed that when he was last in Salisbury both he and Mr. Smith thought the right way to handle the matter of sanctions was at the end of a successfully negotiated settlement, not before.

The *Economist* of 17 October remained optimistic on the proposed talks. "However the economy may look on the surface, real living standards for black Africans in Rhodesia fell in the past decade—and there are 20 Africans to every one white. If the growth rate now has to be curbed—many believe it is falling already—sanctions are eventually going to leave Rhodesia a poorer country than Mr. Smith found it. Which may not be a bad point from which the Tory Government in Britain could start a new round of talks."

## RHODESIA'S FIRST BANTUSTAN

Following the pattern set by the South Africans, the regime's Bantustan policy has become clear. The first major group area is that of Gokwe and Silobela in the Midlands which are being developed as Rhodesia's first pronounced Bantustan. The entire area stretching from Que Que to the Zambezi Valley has been surveyed, pegged, and is now being serviced for its reception of thousands of African families in the next three years. They are being moved from the Hunyani, Seke, Mhondoro, and Nharira areas to make room for the new white settler farmer. This Gokwe Bantustan fits into the policy of the Land Tenure Act to clear the area to the east of the Railway line for accelerated white settlement and to squeeze as many African families as possible into the arid Zambezi River basin, reports *Zimbabwe News* (Oct. 1970). When over half a million people have settled in their new homes, Gokwe will be developed as the new administrative center for the Chiefs and their people. Nor do long-term prospects seem less bleak than immediate prospects. The Minister of Land and Water Development, Phillip Van Haerden, told Parliament that African land holdings will not be increased in future.

## AFRICANS MUST LEAVE LIVESTOCK BEHIND

The Minister for Internal Affairs explained to Parliament on 12 June 1970 why the Government is limiting the number of livestock the African people may own:

"There are two reasons why tribesmen who are moved from one area to another are either not allowed to take any livestock, or to take a reduced number of livestock into the new area. First, where tribesmen move to these tsetse-fly infested areas no stock is permitted. Not only would stock succumb very quickly but their introduction mitigates against Government's efforts to eradicate the fly in these areas."

In other words, it appears that not only is the land inarable, but it is also infested with tse-tse flies.

## TANGWENA TRIBE HOLDS OUT

Some tribes have held out most bravely and resolutely against the schemes of the Government. The Tangwena tribesmen have been harassed by the Government for five years in an attempt to remove the 2,500-strong tribe from their ancestral home near the Mozambique border. "That is our home, the only home we know. We were there before the White man came, and we were hospitable to him. Now we are being hounded," said Chief Reyaki.

When the Tangwena tribesmen's cattle were driven off the Gaeresi Ranch which is now proclaimed a white area, the tribe simply took to the hills. Mothers sent their older children to the Nyafam Farm, where more than 200 children are being looked after by the old chief. Babies and younger children have remained with their mothers in the rough shelters up in the hills. Hidden food reserves are reported to be running short. Chief Reyaki said that his people were afraid to come down from the hills lest they be arrested.

Eventually the Chief came to Salisbury to appeal to the Government to open talks on the future of the tribe. "We don't want to fight or quarrel. My people are ready to sit down and talk with the Government" (*Rand Daily Mail*, 5 Nov. 1970).

## DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

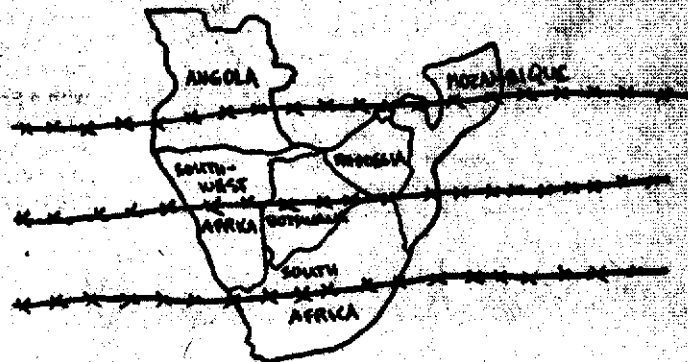
President Clifford Dupont has appointed a three-man tribunal to examine the cases of people detained without trial or charge in Rhodesia. According to the rules of the tribunal, established in compliance with the declaration of rights in Rhodesia's new

Republican Constitution, any detained may apply within the first three months of his detention to have his case reviewed. The tribunal will review all cases of detention at intervals of not more than twelve months in the best southern Africa tradition; proceedings of the tribunal will be held *in camera*. (*East African Standard*, 15 Oct. 1970).

## LEOPOLD TAKAWIRA DIES IN PRISON

The recent death in a Salisbury prison of Leopold Takawira, one of Zimbabwe's leading nationalists, has raised a number of unpleasant questions for the Smith regime. It is reported that Takawira, serving a 6-year sentence, complained on 10 June of feeling very ill and asked to be taken to hospital. Permission was refused and he was told he must apply in writing to the minister responsible for law and order, Mr. Gardner Burke. On June 13, while awaiting permission, he fell into a coma and was removed to the prison dispensary, but he was not taken to the hospital until two days later. A few moments after arrival at the hospital, Takawira died. Only then was Mrs. Takawira informed by a friend of her husband's critical condition.

The family had requested an investigation as early as July 3. When Mr. Gardner Burke was recently questioned in Parliament why Takawira had not been given the medical treatment that could almost certainly have saved his life (the condition was diagnosed as "middle-aged" diabetes, readily treated by insulin), the Minister said questions on this matter could not be entertained as the subject was *sub judice*.



# INSIDE NAMIBIA

## SWAPO PRESIDENT TESTIFIES BEFORE U.N. FOURTH COMMITTEE

On October 26, Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) appeared (together with Rev. Michael Scott of the International League for the Rights of Man) as a petitioner before the U.N. Committee on Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories. In his statement Mr. Nujoma reviewed briefly the history of the U.N. responsibility for Namibia, formerly South West Africa. He then described the military and para-military tactics which the South Africans, aided by other "free world nations," employ to control Namibians. With regard to South Africa's military occupation of Namibia, Mr. Nujoma said:

"Today South Africa has established airforce and army bases in Windhoek, the capital, air, naval and army bases at Walvis Bay, Ohopoho, Ruacana Falls, Ondangua, Runtu, Gobabis, Keetmanshop, Grootfontein, Bwambata, an area in the vicinity of Koevango River, and the huge air base at Singalame near Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi Strip where jet fighters could simultaneously land and take off. . . . Today Namibia is a battleground. There is compulsory military training of all able bodied whites. Besides that, shooting clubs where white women and white school children are trained in the use of firearms have been provided for by South Africa throughout the territory. And all Police stations have been turned into the so-called anti-guerrilla detachments."

He continued to say that "Over 1,000 Namibian patriots are languishing in South Africa's notorious jails," and that even civilian populations had been forced to live in restricted areas:

"Entire African communities of Okavango River basin and the people of East and West Caprivi area have been forcibly removed from their villages and farming lands. They have been thrown into the concentration camps which the enemy calls "safe resettlements." These camps are fenced off and guarded by enemy troops day and night. The peasants are forbidden to till the land as they normally do and their live-stock has been confiscated by the fascist authorities. Their only livelihood are rations from the South African troops."

Mr. Nujoma also described the poisoning of water by the South African forces:

"Sometime ago we brought to the attention of the world the heinous crimes of poisoning the water in the areas where our guerrilla forces are operating. This barbaric act resulted in the deaths of many innocent civilians and animals. During the current dry season, South African forces resorted once again to these criminal acts of poisoning water. . . ."

Next he reviewed the armaments that South Africa is receiving from the Western nations, especially France and the United Kingdom, and chided the members of the U.N. saying "This military aggression against the United Nations' only territory is a serious blow and irreparable damage to both the prestige and authority of this body."

Mr. Nujoma concluded by reaffirming SWAPO's resolution to continue to fight for freedom in Namibia and by making the following specific proposals to the Fourth Committee:

(1) The question of Namibia's independence be accorded first place in the order of United Nations priorities.

(2) The United Nations strengthen the Council for Namibia by appointing a full-time Commissioner to initiate new plans.

(3) The Council for Namibia establish a special educational programme to be financed from the United Nations budget.

(4) The Council for Namibia work out concrete methods to levy taxes on all foreign companies operating in Namibia.

(5) The Council sponsor an international conference on Namibia to generate support for the people's legitimate struggle for freedom.

(6) The United Nations take effective measures to ensure the immediate and unconditional release of all Namibian political prisoners, and that captured SWAPO freedom fighters be treated as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1949.

(7) All United Nations Member States cease diplomatic, economic, communication and military co-operation with "fascist South Africa."

## SECOND BANTUSTAN ESTABLISHED IN NAMIBIA

The formal opening of the Kavango Legislative Council marked the establishment of the second "South West African Black nation," or Bantustan. Okovangoland's 42,000 people will be represented in the Legislative Council by councillors chosen from the five "tribes" of Kavango people. A five-man Kavango Executive Council will have control of most of the area's domestic affairs (economic and military matters, of course, rest in the hands of the white South African government).

The territory allotted to the Kavango people lies between the Caprivi Strip and Ovamboland, which was established as South West Africa's first "tribal nation" in October, 1968. As in Ovamboland, the chiefs and councillors of Okovangoland can be expected to voice support for cooperation with South Africa and self-righteous shock at the activities of popular movements such as SWAPO which are determined to win true independence. Yet the people in these territories continue to support SWAPO freedom fighters despite increased repression (see "SWAPO President Testifies Before the U.N. Fourth Committee" herein).

## OFF-SHORE OIL SEARCH

A consortium of companies formed by the two giant American oil groups, Standard Oil of California and Texaco Incorporated, is about to start off-shore prospecting in South West African waters.

This will be the first time that off-shore oil prospecting is carried out in these waters—until now the search in South West Africa has been restricted to the activities of Etosha Petroleum in the North, and De Beers Consolidated together with a French company, in the South.

The actual prospecting work will be carried out by the South West African subsidiaries of the two American groups, Standard's Chevrol Oil, and Texaco's Regent Petroleum. (*The South African Financial Gazette*, 16 Oct. 1970)

## SIR SERETSE KHAMA; the man in the middle

(Reprint from *The Times*, 11/11/70)

Sir Seretse Khama, who quietly left London for Scandinavia last Sunday after three days of unpublicised talks and soundings, personifies the difficulties facing, as well as the considerable success already achieved by, Botswana in building a non-racial democracy in the heartland of a racialistically white-ruled southern Africa with whose economies Botswana's is intertwined.

It is, inevitably, the political implications of Botswana's geography which periodically bring it into the news: guerrilla fighters infiltrating into neighbouring South-West Africa, South Africa, Rhodesia or Angola via the vast and virtually unpoliceable bushland of Botswana, or political refugees from these countries seeking asylum.

It is typical of the way in which Seretse Khama balances on the tightrope stretching between heavy dependence on South Africa and his own democratic goals that his Government's policies here are clearly defined. Political refugees, presently numbering 4,000, are readily received.

Guerrilla infiltrators, however, are actively discouraged, and are promptly arrested and disarmed if intercepted by the necessarily thin khaki line of the Botswana police. There is no army, and Botswana, though roughly twice the size of the United Kingdom, has a total population of only some 600,000 (including 3,500 whites, 3,500 Euraficans and 400 Asians). But, again typically, South African and other pressures for the handing over of such intercepted guerrilla fighters have been resisted. Instead, they are sent back into independent black Africa via Zambia, with which Botswana has a four hundred yard wide common border on the banks of the Zambezi, over which the rather primitive Kazungula, or "freedom ferry," plies.

Botswana illustrates the unreality of the straight line and other borders once drawn by European gentlemen in Berlin on the map of Africa, and a resultant border dispute of international significance is currently simmering around this crucial pin-point. In attempting to establish an effective land-route through the white-ruled encirclement, plans are well advanced for linking Botswana with Zambia through the building of an all-weather highway and a modern, commercial-scale ferry at Kazungula.

Earlier this year, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, had issued a "low-profile" policy statement on Africa which, following a dignified appeal by Sir Seretse Khama, committed the United States to helping multi-racial countries like Botswana and Swaziland, which presented contrasts to apartheid.

Nevertheless, the South African government sent a stiff note to Botswana, denying the legal existence of a Botswana-Zambian border and claiming that the Kazungula river frontage is part of the Caprivi Strip which extends from South-West Africa.

Again typically, Sir Seretse is playing his hand quietly but firmly. A Botswana statement pointed out that the Kazungula border is valid by long unchallenged usage as well as by law, but officially Botswana is still "studying" the South African note.

The new American interest in Botswana is, however, not motivated by political morality alone, for recent mineral discoveries have dramatically transformed Botswana's economic prospects.

"Ipelegeng" or "self-help" is Botswana's watch-word, and even in famine-time, public works labour was given in return for relief food. But this period painfully underlined Botswana's dependence upon South Africa, with whom it is in a Customs Union and an informal monetary union (though Francistown hotel bills can readily be settled with Ian Smith's Rhodesian pound notes). Nevertheless, Sir Seretse's government has repeatedly refused direct South African aid, just as he will not exchange diplomatic missions with the Republic—where the repercussions of his marriage to Ruth Williams, an Englishwoman and now Lady Khama, long made him a prohibited immigrant, until Botswana diplomats are assured of full rights and dignities.

Private investment, however, is something else, especially

where a largely subsistence economy with an estimated per capita income of L35 cannot generate development capital. Now, since the great mineral discoveries, capital is flowing in: private investment, chiefly South African and North American, and infrastructure development funds from World Bank associated bodies, from Canada and, temporarily suspended, from Sweden.

Thirty-seven million tons of nickel and copper have been proved at Pelikwe by Botswana R.S.T., and is to be exploited by its parent company, American Metal Climax Inc., together with Minerals Separation and Mond Nickel of Toronto, Canada. The Botswana Government will have a 15 percent shareholding in this, as also in the exploitation by South African-based De Beers of one of the world's largest kimberlite, or diamond-bearing, pipes in the world, located at Orapa. A subsidiary of Botswana R.S.T. is also poised to exploit the huge Makarikal pans for readily marketable salt and soda ash; oil prospecting is under way; and the vast Botswana medium-grade coalfields, with proved deposits of 150 million and over 400 million tons, are to be mined by South African concessionaires for the generation of electricity.

On the international scene, Seretse Khama has recently demonstrated his independence and belief in non-alignment by establishing, to the horror of Pretoria, full, if presently non-residential, ambassadorial relations with the Soviet Union. But his greatest achievement is that, in a country where literacy is low, where tribal loyalties are still potent, and where independence has been achieved without an African nationalist struggle, Sir Seretse Khama has undoubtedly become accepted as Botswana's national leader.

Jack Halpern



# PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

by Patrick Orr

(Reprint from *Sachaba*, Aug. 1970)

*Talk of an arms deal by the new British Government with South Africa has been much in the news lately. The tie-in with Portuguese Africa has been less mentioned. The following report, prepared as part of a study by the Conservative Commonwealth and Overseas Council, reveals Conservative thinking on this issue.*

Perhaps the most serious immediate threat to the security of the Cape route lies several hundred miles to the north of South African waters—in Portuguese Guinea, the smallest of Portugal's African mainland territories (roughly the size of Scotland) and by far the most vulnerable. Consider Portuguese Guinea in isolation and the threat appears relatively minimal, but linked with the Cape Verde Islands with their operational naval base (San Vincente) and all-weather air-base (Sao)—the only facilities of this kind in the area controlled by a NATO power—and both these Portuguese provinces, which straddle the Cape route, assume a position of vital strategic importance.

It is therefore no coincidence that the nationalist movement, the PAIGC, stands for the "liberation" of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, an objective which has led to the communist powers, in particular the Russians, turning the PAIGC into the best equipped and trained revolutionary army in Africa with a fighting strength of approximately 7-8,000 men.

Despite this, and the fact that Guinea is almost impossible to defend, surrounded as it is on two sides by the Republic of Guinea and on the other by Senegal, from which former French territories the PAIGC launches well-directed attacks, often under Cuban command, the Portuguese retain control in all but a few border areas and in the southeast where they admit a limited withdrawal. In certain parts of the province, too, a system of "dual control" is recognised—depending on which forces, the Portuguese or the PAIGC, are in the area.

On the other hand, the cost of defending Guinea (Portuguese forces number upwards of 30,000 men) for little return, contrary to the case of Angola and Mozambique, is prohibitive and PAIGC pressure is increasing. The nationalists, supplied with the latest Russian and Chinese weapons, are generally better armed than the Portuguese, whose equipment is often out of date. There is a shortage of helicopters, an essential in this war, modern amphibious craft for protecting Guinea's river-borne trade and communications. The Portuguese feel strongly that the British arms boycott is seriously disrupting their war effort. It is also in contradiction to the wider interests of NATO.

If the Portuguese withdraw or are driven from Guinea:—

(i) The Nationalist forces fighting in Angola and Mozambique would receive an enormous psychological boost which could unite many separate quarrelling factions. The wars there would certainly intensify and add to a rise in tension and to the general dangers of confrontation between black north and white south.

(ii) A valuable seaport, Bissau, the capital of Portuguese Guinea, and a modern airport, Bissalanca, near Bissau, would become available to the Russians.

(iii) The fragile stability of a number of West African states, including Senegal, Gambia and possibly Sierra Leone, would be threatened by the establishment of a pro-Soviet, revolutionary regime in Bissau. Western interests and influence could be seriously affected, particularly if another valuable port—Dakar—was to be drawn into the Soviet sphere of influence.

If Guinea was to be lost to the Portuguese, would the PAIGC and the Russians pose a threat to the Cape Verde Islands and if so, how?

(i) How many Cape Verdeans live and work in Portuguese Guinea. It would therefore be comparatively simple, following a Portuguese withdrawal, to infiltrate PAIGC sympathisers onto the is-

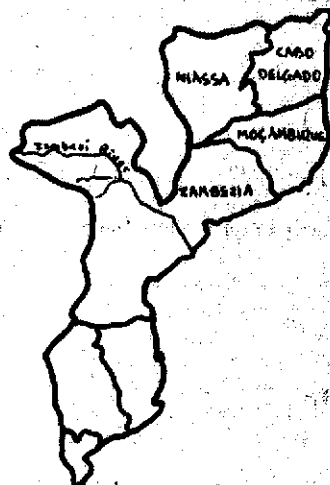
lands in the general Cape Verdean exodus from Guinea which would take place at "independence."

(ii) It is not inconceivable that the Russians would, from Bissau, assist an armed landing of PAIGC forces on the islands to mount "Castro-style" military operations following a successful infiltration of PAIGC agents and the establishment of party "cells."

(iii) It is certain that, with the Cape Verde islands their main objective, the Russians have adequate contingency plans for taking the islands in the guise of a PAIGC "liberation."

## ANGOLA

Angola, the largest of Portugal's African provinces, also has the greatest economic potential. The discovery of oil off Cabinda, the Portuguese enclave north of the Congo river, and the finding of fresh fields near Luanda could, in the long run, contribute towards solving the problem of southern Africa's oil needs in the event of an oil embargo. "The value of Angolan oil and iron ore output will be approaching \$100 million in 1970" reports the quarterly review of the Economist Intelligence Unit which goes on to state, including Mozambique, that "both provinces, but especially Angola, can look forward to a further period of steady



"It would seem fully appropriate to reverse the present unfriendly policy and come to some arrangement with our Portuguese ally," the document concludes.

growth." In January 1968, a mission from the British National Export Council (southern Africa) found that "the province of Angola offers an attractive field for British business and investment from the viewpoint both of economic promise and political stability."

The most obvious British investment in Angola is the Benguela Railway which is also the most obvious sign of the economic interdependence of Angola, the Congo and Zambia. Portugal's relations with the Congo are improving while the summer border tension with Zambia has been reduced. Despite the competition which the Chinese building of the Tan-Zam rail-link will bring, the Benguela Railway will still serve the shortest and most economic sea route from Lobito, for the shipping of Central African copper to Europe and will therefore continue to act as an important lever for the establishment of more normal and neighbourly relations with the Congo and Zambia.

### GUERRILLAS IN ANGOLA

It is on the Portuguese that the brunt of the struggle for southern Africa must fall, necessitating the expenditure of nearly half the national budget on defences and the maintaining of armies of roughly 50,000 men in both Angola and Mozambique.

Angola was the first Portuguese province to be attacked by nationalist guerrillas in 1961 from across the Congolese border. Since that time, the threat of war has largely shifted from the far north of the province to the eastern area, bordering Zambia, and the nationalists make use of "staging" camps in Zambia while training and arming mainly in Tanzania. The Angolan nationalists are seriously divided. Two parties, the self-styled "Government-in-Exile" (GRAE) of Holden Roberto, based in Congo-Kinshasa, whose war effort in the north of Angola has largely petered out, and the

MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) based in Brazzaville with offices in Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam, are recognised by the Organisation of African Unity. A third, UNITA, has little military significance.

The most effective fighting force, the MPLA, launches hit and run attacks across the Zambian border, which has sometimes led to the disruption of the Benguela Railway and the halting of Zambia's copper traffic. Until recently the MPLA looked to Moscow rather than to Peking, but Chinese influence, particularly in the Tanzanian training camps, has increased following the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and the ensuing "third world" disillusion.

### STRATEGIC POSITION

The important strategic position held by Portugal in Angola (with three large ports capable of taking international shipping, Luanda, Lobito and Mocamedes) and the Cape Verde Islands for the defence of the South Atlantic (no less than the Azores for the North Atlantic) will be strengthened by the improved relations between Portugal and Brazil and perhaps manifested in the form of a defence pact in which South Africa might also share. Brazil and Angola face each other across the South Atlantic and the Portuguese have long considered the South Atlantic to be a "Luso-African-Brazilian sea." Sao Tome in the Gulf of Guinea, too, is an important staging port.

### MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique, no less than Angola, is a "buffer" for the defence of southern Africa. Not so obviously potentially wealthy as Angola, it has a perennial trade deficit which may improve when the power generated from Cabora Bassa enables the Portuguese to exploit the mineral resources of the district of Tete. The Cabora Bassa project, the most ambitious of its kind in Africa, could have enormous economic consequences for the province and for its neighbours, South Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi.

Otherwise, the ports of Lourenco Marques, Beira and Nacala are of obvious strategic importance for the defence of the Indian Ocean trade served by the Cape route, though Beira has been seriously affected by sanctions. The port was originally built to handle Rhodesian trade. Nacala, now linked by rail to

Malawi and a possible outlet for Zambia, has the best natural harbour in the East African coast.

### GUERRILLAS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Before the death in February 1969 of Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, appeared to be the most effective nationalist force confronting the Portuguese.

FRELIMO may concentrate more now on Tete in an attempt to disrupt the constitution of the Cabora Bassa dam.

### THE DOCUMENT CONCLUDES:

"If Angola and Mozambique serve as military 'buffers' for southern Africa, they can also serve as a line of communication between black and white Africa. Visiting African diplomats feel perfectly at ease in the Portuguese provinces, which are interracial societies and no "special arrangements" have to be made as is the case when they visit South Africa. Portugal's close ties, too, with South Africa can likewise work towards a relaxation of that country's own racial tensions.

Therefore, should not British policy, unofficially, if necessary, concentrate on lessening the dangers of confrontation (which can only affect British interests adversely) by recognising the realities of the situation and by encouraging independent African links with Portugal and Portuguese Africa? British diplomats in independent African countries could work towards this end, if so instructed. It would also seem to be time to stop British participation in votes in the Security Council of the United Nations condemning Portugal for self-defence against external aggression. This happened on December 9, 1969 when Portuguese troops were censured for returning fire against hostile action from Senegal. The Portuguese representative pointed out that civilian casualties had been sustained from this type of action.

On the naval side, Portuguese resources are extremely small—naval personnel amounting to some 13,000 all told. In view in particular of the importance of the Cape Verde Islands to the Cape route, it would seem fully appropriate to reverse the present unfriendly policy and come to some arrangement with our Portuguese ally for naval support more especially in the region of SAN VINCENTE."



*Note: It should not be concluded, however, that English cooperation with Portugal in its colonial wars would be a new phenomenon. In 1961, after the beginning of the war in Angola, two frigates were supplied by the English to the Portuguese Navy, and have been used off the African coast. Between 1961 and 1964 150 light aircraft (Auster) were supplied to the Portuguese Air Force. A sale of 300 Austin Jeeps was made in 1965. More recently, Portugal has acquired 12 PUMA SA 330 helicopters, produced as a joint English-French project since 1968.*

**SOUTH AFRICA IN ANGOLA (Some Suggestions from a conference of SAFTO (South African Foreign Trade Organization), December, 1969)**

"We have now talked about influencing factors in establishing a permanent foothold and will give you some quick personal thoughts on what might be the ideal establishment in Angola. Capital structure South Africa, 70%; local capital, 30%. Members of the Board, two South Africa directors, resident South Africa; one South African resident in Angola; one director from the raw material source in Angola for example steel which holds incidentally a monopoly supply position in certain fields; and one Portuguese director from one of the principal industrial and banking groups. The 30% share capital could be distributed among the resident South African director and the major local interests. The operating structure of the company consists of the following:

The resident South African director would be the marketing man and the brains of the operation. The product would be manufactured under contract by Company A, a Portuguese established enterprise in Angola. The manufacturing company would procure specialist components from the parent company in South Africa and other materials and components from industry in Angola for inclusion in the finished product. The product would be stocked and sold by one agent covering Luanda to the north, and by a second and different company covering Lobito and the southern half. What does such an organization give you? You have involved one of the major Portuguese industrial groups, you can place yourself in a unique position for the supply of your raw materials by the placement of a Portuguese directorship. You, as a foreign dominated company,

are not involved in obtaining import licenses into Angola by virtue of your manufacture being undertaken under contract; your distribution is secure in that you have two outlets who are developing skills in your product. You invest a minimum of capital in the territory, yet can take 70% of the profits and pass on a fair percentage of the problems. The import of the critical components of the product enable you to use your South African resources which, combined with the manufacturing ability of the contract manufacturer, puts a competitively priced and quality product on the Angolan market. This factor alone, apart from the possibilities of protection, licences, etc., is the surest way of obtaining a permanent foothold in Angola."

*(Speech by G. C. D'E Vallancey, Marketing Executive of I.M.M.C./South Africa.)*

**CAETANO PRESSED BY WAR**

Caetano's attempt to show a new "liberal" image got a new boost this month from a visit by evangelist Billy Graham, whose visit marks a new attitude by the Portuguese Government towards religious liberty for the Protestant minority. According to news reports, Mr. Graham "avoided questions on religious controversy in Portugal and the churches' position on the guerrilla wars in Portuguese Africa." In a characteristic headline, the *New York Times* proclaimed (Nov. 6, 1970) that "In Portugal, Curbs are Slowly Being Eased."

A more accurate indication of position relevant to the future of Portugal in Africa is given in a major speech by Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, Sept. 27, 1970. The following excerpts are of particular interest:

"And in the first place it is necessary not to forget that Portugal has faced in three of its overseas provinces terrorist activities, sustained by the moral and material aid of foreign countries, of international organizations, and of pressure groups of all kinds.

"The defense of the Overseas against terrorist activities has lasted ten years—involving the expense of large sums and the mobilization of many thousands of men." (It is said NATO helps.) But "Portugal has supported practically alone the burden of defense of her Overseas. This, which is admirable, still cannot help but weigh on the national life. Nor can it be ignored by Portuguese when they ask that the Government do, or pay, for this

or that. The Government is constantly forced to difficult options. It doesn't wish to neglect education, development, health—here and Overseas, but everyone knows that money is not elastic. And it is only with prodigies of administration that one can fight on two fronts: the front of war against the terrorism and the front of the struggle for development of the country.

"In the international forums they criticize us. But don't they know that these provinces have been Portugal for 500 years? They were desolated territories, here and there inhabited by the most primitive tribes without any notion of nationality. In them the Portuguese established themselves, opening them to commerce, building cities and towns, planting farms, constructing industries. . . ." They talk about majority rule. But "Why do they have to close their eyes to the reality that these majorities do not have the mentality nor do they possess the technology and capital that would permit a true independence?"

"In spite of these difficulties . . . I do not see how we can fail to defend the Overseas. . . . The Overseas must be defended because there are millions of Portuguese there, white and black, who trust in Portugal, who wish to continue to live under our flag and to enjoy our peace, and who do not accept the idea of being handed over to savagery."

(Billy Graham may not want to criticize. But some Portuguese do. Caetano's response to such challenge to authority is: We must "form the anti-bodies to combat and eliminate the infection. An infection even more dangerous when it comes from certain religious circles where one would least suspect it, and which pollutes the spirit of the faithful accustomed to follow trustfully their pastors. Certain sectors of the Catholic Church show tendencies which cannot fail to disturb the civil power. . . . That the Church should be at the side of the oppressed, no one disagrees. I also agree. But it is necessary to determine what is oppression and who is oppressed. Because to accept that notion of oppression put forth by socialist doctrines would be to foment a war against all.



"The duty of one who governs is to defend law and order entrusted to him, the evolution of which can and should take place only by peaceful and regular means."

One month following Caetano's speech, forceful disagreement was registered by a group called Armed Revolutionary Action, which successfully sabotaged the cargo ship Cunene, which had been scheduled to depart for Guinea and

### MINI-CABORA BASSA GETS THE GO-AHEAD

(Reprinted from African Development 9/70)

The Mozambique Legislative Council has given the go-ahead for a new dam at Massingir on the Olifants river, which divides Mozambique from South Africa. The dam should also serve as a railway bridge on the Lourenco Marques-Rhodesian railway line. It will be only 28 km from the South African border and 150 km from Vila Trigo de Morais and 240 km from Lourenco Marques.

Tenders have been called in for this massive project, which with a total cost of 590,000 contos, or \$20.7 million, will be a mini-Cabora Bassa, presenting exactly the same set of political problems to European firms that may intend to participate.

The main purpose of the dam is to irrigate the Limpopo valley which suffers from serious drought, but it will also produce hydro-electricity which would be eagerly snapped up by the power hungry South Africans.

The lake that will be formed behind the dam will also cement southern African solidarity by extending over the Rhodesian and South African sides of the border.

The dam will irrigate approximately 40,000 acres of land. It is hoped to start construction work during the 1971 dry season and the dam should be ready that the lake can start to fill by the 1975-76 rainy season. The whole project could be completed by October 1976. Two working groups—one in Mozambique and the other in Lisbon at the Ministry of Overseas Territories—have been appointed.

### PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

The following losses were reported in Portuguese war communiques from April 29 to June 6. The reports are incomplete.

	Guinea	Angola	Mozambique
<b>Killed</b>			
Armed Forces	21	45	48
Militia	20	29	
<b>Wounded</b>			
Armed Forces		136	80
Militia	58	80	
Total Armed Forces Killed: 114 Total Militia Killed: 49 Total Armed Forces Wounded: 153 Total Militia Wounded: 138			

Angola on November 4. The statement of the group said that the explosions were its first revolutionary action against the "colonial war machine of the fascist Government."

**GUERRILHEIRO**, a new publication of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, 531 Caledonian Road, London N7, England, is available at 8/- for an annual subscription.

### ARMED STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

The Portuguese over the past few months have claimed major military successes in northern Mozambique. A communique issued in Beira, in early July, said that over 300 FRELIMO guerrillas had been killed and scores of bases occupied. The Zambian government has at the same time accused the Portuguese of napalming and machine-gunning villagers in the Tete Province, and of using South African troops for reconnaissance work.

FRELIMO communiques also report such military action associated with Kaulza de Arriaga's search and destroy campaigns, but claim the campaigns have failed. FRELIMO guerrillas put out of action nearly 390 Portuguese troops, shot

down one jet fighter, two helicopters and two reconnaissance planes, destroyed nineteen military vehicles, and one train. According to the communique, "The Mozambique Patriotic Armed Forces, in order to counter the current Portuguese offensive, multiplied their military operations, harassing the enemy constantly, laying ambushes in every path, laying mines and attacking posts. . . almost all the Portuguese contingents have been repelled. The liberated areas under our control remain unchanged, and our advance to new zones proceeds." Portuguese reports admit the deaths of 211 soldiers during May, June, and July, an unusually high number undoubtedly to be attributed to the more aggressive Portuguese tactics.

A new Portuguese campaign begun in September is intended, according to reports, to "seal the border" to Tanzania. Kaulza de Arriaga's "forward strategy" is still in effect. As FRELIMO resistance continues, the consequences of such a strategy are likely to be even greater Portuguese casualties.

# PORTUGUESE INVASION OF GUINEA

After hearing the report of a special five-man fact-finding mission to Guinea, the United Nations Security Council voted today to condemn Portugal for "its invasion of the Republic of Guinea." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 11 to 0, with 4 abstentions, and it demanded that the Portuguese Government "pay full compensation" to Guinea for the loss of life and property caused by the reported attack and urged all nations to refrain from giving Portugal "any military assistance and material assistance enabling it to continue its repressive actions" in Africa.

The United States abstained, along with Britain, France, and Spain. The U.S. abstention came as a surprise to many observers, since Portugal receives arms and military aid from the U.S. through NATO.

The five-member fact-finding mission reported to the U.N. on December 4 after a three-day visit to Guinea at the request of Guinea's President, Sekou Toure. It reported finding conclusive evidence that the West African country was invaded on the night of November 21-22 by an armed force consisting mainly of members of the Portuguese armed forces under the command of white Portuguese officers. The mission's report said that the invasion had originated in neighboring Guinea-Bissau (the Portuguese colony bordering independent Guinea). The Portuguese Government has denied all involvement in the events in Guinea.

Portugal's colonization of Guinea-Bissau has been threatened for several years by the continued opposition of the nationalist movement headed by Amilcar Cabral. Cabral's organization, the *Partido Africano para a Independencia de Guinea e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC), has secured control of large portions of Guinea-Bissau and there have been persistent rumors that Portugal would abandon it in order to concentrate troops in its other two African colonies—Angola and Mozambique.

However, it appears that Portugal has intensified its efforts against the countries bordering Guinea-Bissau—Senegal and Guinea (Conakry). Occasional bombings or raids across the border have been standard practice for the Portuguese in Senegal and Guinea, as well as in the countries adjoining Angola and Mozambique, especially Zambia and Tanzania. In Senegal such measures have been partly successful, moderating Senegalese Government

the initial attack on Conakry, capital of Guinea, seems to have been a surprise. On consecutive nights of November 22, 23, and 24, a group of approximately 500 mercenaries and African opponents of Toure landed from Portuguese warships off the coast, attacking government offices and prisons, the residence of Sekou Toure, and the headquarters of the PAIGC. Reports from diplomats indicate that in the initial stages of the attack, the Guinean Army was not concentrated in Conakry, and the civilian population aided in repulsing the invaders. Several diplomats, including West Germans, East Germans, and Yugoslavs, were killed or wounded in the attacks.

Radio Conakry accused Portugal of being responsible for the attacks, which at first met with some scepticism as international news media is not represented in Conakry. The initial U.N. resolution condemned the invasion, but did not specifically mention Portugal, which was denying all responsibility, and, instead of responding to Toure's request for U.N. troops, send the five-man fact-finding mission, Nigeria, Egypt, and Algeria responded to the appeal for troops with initially small military missions. By the end of the week, reports from diplomats were confirming that Portuguese prisoners had been taken by the Guinean army. President Sekou Toure reported over Radio Conakry, on the basis of interrogation of prisoners, that the Belgian mercenary, Jean Schamme, of Congo notoriety, had trained the mercenary group. Portuguese Government spokesmen in Lisbon claimed that Schamme was living quietly in Portugal as a "poultry farmer."

On the weekend (November 28) a new attack by Portuguese forces across the northeastern border of Guinea (Conakry) was reported. It was being repulsed by local militia. The U.N. fact-finding team was due back in New York the following day.

The full impact of the invasion is not yet clear, Portugal has long denied



SEKOU TOURE

Sekou Toure has been more recalcitrant.

Most recent reports now reveal that two months ago, in September, 38 Guineans were arrested in Gambia on their way to Guinea-Bissau. They claimed to be in the pay of the Portuguese Government, and were being trained for an invasion of Guinea. An Algerian Government spokesman revealed that Algeria had been aware of the training of this group in Guinea-Bissau.

In spite of this advance warning,

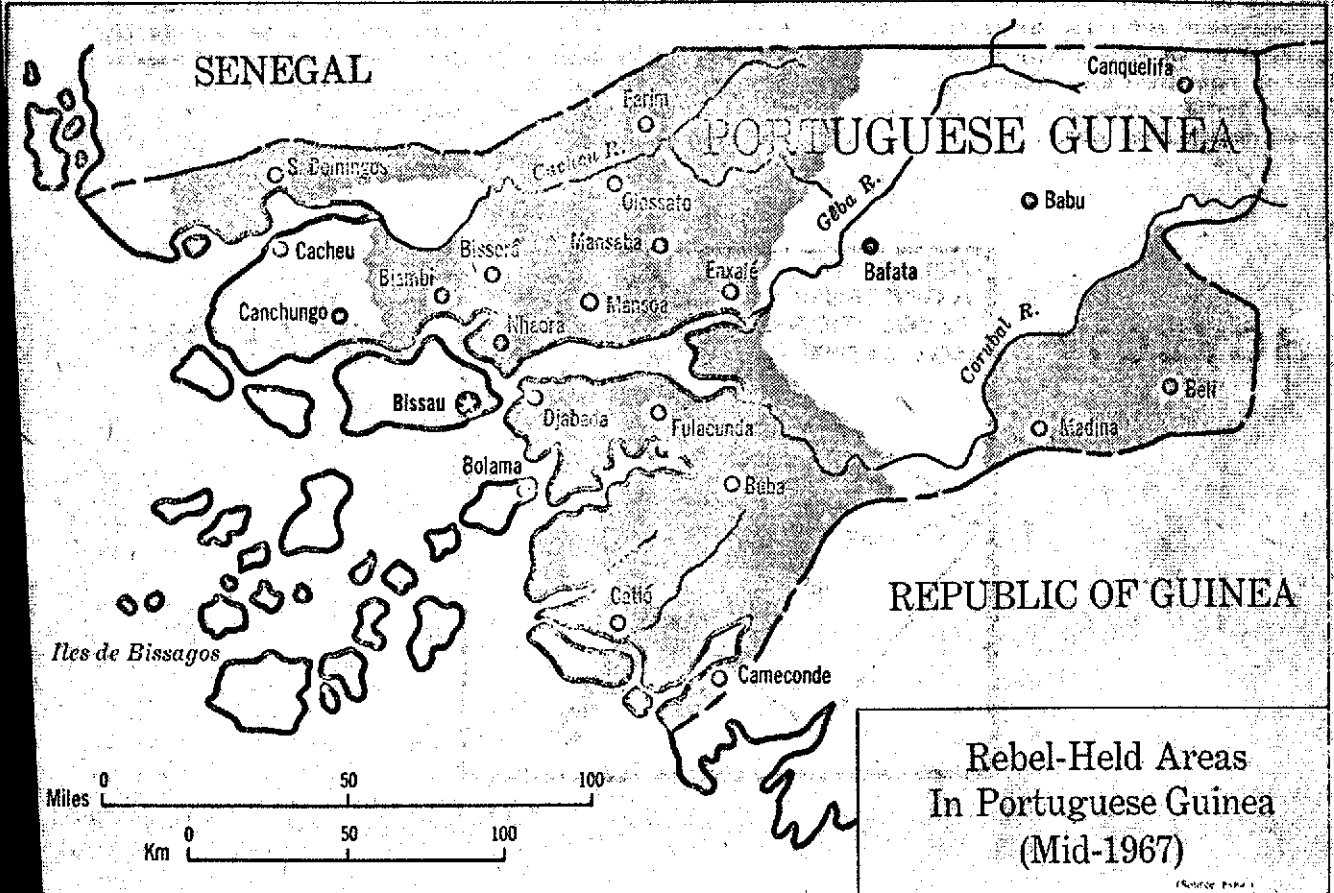
using NATO-provided arms against her African colonies' peoples, despite consistent proof to the contrary, but it is clear that Portugal is not using the arms provided by NATO against any other external force.

There has been some evidence that Portuguese troops used NATO arms of U.S. manufacture in the raid. This corroborates discoveries of NATO-supplied weapons in other parts of Africa.

One result appears certain, however—the feelings aroused around Africa will make it more difficult for “moderate” African states to pursue their rapprochement with the white-ruled regimes of South Africa and Portugal. The initial attacks failed in at least two of their apparent primary aims—to eliminate Sekou Toure of Guinea and Amilcar Cabral of PAIGC. And the invading forces failed to gain rapid control, enabling defense to be mobilized, and African opinion to be aroused. Outside the walls of the United Nations, reaction in other parts of the world appears to have been quite mild.



PAIGC Secretary-General Amilcar Cabral (rt.) in Portuguese Guinea (October 1967)



# ECONOMICS

## FEAR OF BOYCOTTS INCREASES

*An indication that the increasingly successful boycott campaigns directed at South Africa are contributing to a sense of uneasiness in ruling circles was given recently by an article in the South African Financial Mail. The article entitled 'It isn't Cricket' was reprinted in SECHABA and follows below:*

"The cancellation of the cricket tour has given the demos a taste of blood. Economic ties could feel the bite next.

"We have always comfortably assumed that economic self-interests would stop South Africa's detractors abroad from ever seriously disrupting their profitable trade and investment links with this country. The success of the 'Stop the 70 Tour' demos, and the encouragement extremist critics of apartheid the world over have drawn from it, now make that assumption look at best an oversimplification, at worst a dangerous delusion.

"Already the attack is shifting to new fronts. In Brussels the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has urged its affiliated organisations to discourage their 50m members in 60 countries from emigrating to SA. In London the Anti-Apartheid Movement has started organising demonstrations against British companies with SA interests. Some Barclays Bank branches have already been picketed, and an attempt was recently made to burn one down.

"In Britain, too, the Federation of Film Unions has started a campaign to stop UK films from being shown here, and there is talk that printing workers might refuse to set copy for SA advertisements.

"On the other side of the Atlantic, the US decision officially to discourage investment in South West Africa, while not directly extending to the Republic, is nothing to be complacent about.

"None of these offensives amounts to very much—yet. But who would have thought two years ago that a Springbok rugby team would be made

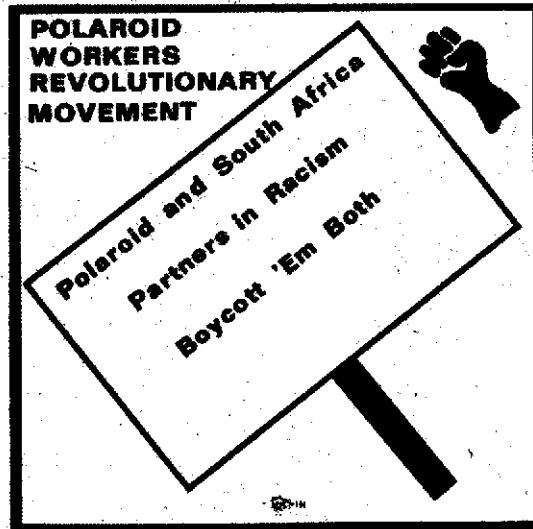
to feel unwelcome in England, and our cricketers would have the door slammed in their faces? These trends can clearly escalate at a terrifying rate.

"Anyone who thinks this is alarmist talk should have listened to what SABC has had to say in Current Affairs [this is the South African government-sponsored propaganda program]: 'Campaigns are already in preparation for an attack on our economic, financial and defence sectors. The enemy plans to disrupt South Africa's external trade, to cut off the flow of capital investment from abroad, and to deprive her of arms urgently needed for her protection.

"The struggle,' it warned sombrely, 'is going to become wider and more intense.'

"It is absolutely essential for South Africa that she survives and wins this coming battle. For no longer is one talking of tennis and cricket, but of the country's prosperity and the life blood on which all hope of peaceful social and political evolution so heavily depends.

## BOYCOTT



## POLAROID

The FM has already warned (April 24) that Pretoria's outdated labour attitudes could slow the rate of economic growth, increasing the risk of mass unemployment and thus of unrest, if not revolution. It is not inconceivable that hard hitting demonstrations against foreign companies with investments here could sap our net capital inflow (over R 1000m in the past five years) landing us with an almighty balance of payments problem, which would cut our growth rate even more.

"Indeed, one leading SA industrial company, in which Swiss interests have a large shareholding, is already planning its capital expenditure programme on the assumption that Swiss residents might no longer be permitted to invest in SA after 1975. And if the Swiss are thinking along these lines, what of countries which don't think twice about slapping controls on foreign investment?"

#### ANOTHER U.S. INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICAN MINING

The following story appeared in the Oct. 16 issue of the *South African Financial Gazette*. It is notable not only because another American mining corporation is becoming involved in South Africa but because it underlines the international cooperation between American investment and Japanese trade in South Africa. Such economic interlocking is symbolic of how American investment strengthens South Africa, not solely by virtue of its own dollars, but by fitting into a pattern of international cooperation with South Africa's economy.

Yet another American mining group, Marcona Corporation, which forms part of the Utah Mining and Construction Company's holdings, plans to move into the South African mining sphere.

This (\$84m) company, with its headquarters in San Francisco, specializes in iron ore, coal, and metallurgical mineral exploration and development, while its other activities include acquisition and development.

The company has become well known internationally as a result of the development of the so-called "marcona process" used for iron ore refining.

Basically, the process involves turning the iron ore into a slurry, then piping it aboard specially adapted vessels. The loading operation thereby becomes far faster, allowing for reduced turn-around times—a vital factor in the economic operation of modern ore carriers of any significant size.

Whether or not the company will attempt to introduce the process in South Africa is uncertain. But it is significant that it plans to establish a South African operation at a time when local iron ore producers are hoping to land large scale iron ore export contracts with Japan.

It is anticipated that the company will negotiate for equity holdings in existing iron ore operations, while it will almost certainly look to operations of its own—specializing in this respect in open pit mining.

#### AND MORE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE MINING FIELD

A British company, Lonrho, has announced that it will team up with Falconbridge Nickel Mines, a major Canadian nickel-producer, to exploit Lonrho's platinum deposits on the Merensky Reef. The two companies will form a new joint concern which will be controlled by Lonrho on a 51-49% basis, and this will be responsible for financing and operating the mines. Falconbridge will share its holding with an associated company—Superior Oil.

Production is due to start in 1971, and the companies hope to bring out put up to 320,000 oz. of platinum group metals a year by 1974-75.

Development of the mine in the Rustenburg area is expected to involve the outlay of about \$21 million by 1971 and between \$70 and \$84 million by 1973.

No decision has yet been taken in London by the partners as to when a refinery will be built, but it is now official South African policy for such mines to have their own refinery in order that the country can reap the extra price benefit from selling the pure metal.

#### VORSTER GIVES GUIDELINES TO BUSINESSMEN

In a recent speech, Prime Minister Vorster made it clear to industrialists

and businessmen that their problems would have to be solved—whether they agreed or not—within the framework of Nationalist policies.

Addressing members of the influential National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa at their annual meeting here he warned: "Because you have to put up with me for the next five years, whether you like it or not, I have to explain my political philosophy because it is going to affect you."

Mr. Vorster said that "from now on, as never before," it was essential that business leaders not only look at South Africa through "economic glasses," but that businessmen must take note of political realities. "This is essential," he said. (*Star*, 9/19/70)

One may add that Mr. Vorster's comments are a clear indication that business in South Africa can never be "apolitical," and act as if it were divorced from politics. Instead, it is the government's clear intention that business must support South Africa's political and racial goals. Such evidence is merely another nail in the coffin of the argument of American industrialists that they do not play a political role in South Africa.

#### JOHN DEERE SOUTH AFRICA SELLS TRACTORS TO MALAWI

John Deere (Pty) Ltd. South Africa, a subsidiary of the American farm implement manufacturer, recently scored a major breakthrough in Malawi with the sale of 47 tractors valued at \$132,000. A semi-state organization in Malawi bought 15 of the tractors.

The August bulletin of the South African Trade Organization called this sale "a considerable boost to the company's exports" and pointed out that Deere's South African manufactured products had been making an impressive impact in foreign markets with Deere's exports rising \$540,000 last year.

John Deere is but one of the numerous American and South African corporations which is vitally anxious to increase their market in black Africa. Especially in economic sectors where South Africa's market is limited, large scale growth and expansion of companies like Deere would be greatly enhanced by access to black African markets. As a result, such corporations tend to sympathize with

the South African government's "outward looking" policy, which is attempting to build a number of friends for South Africa in black Africa.

"More than that, corporations based in South Africa are often actively engaged in promoting trade and investment with independent Africa, perhaps hoping that economic dependence will help "buy" political friendship. If the forced caution and silence of Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana are any indication, this bet may not be far wrong.

Meanwhile J... Deere South Africa pays its workers extremely low wages, thereby creating its product for export even more cheaply. Deere officials admit they use government minimums as their starting salary base for African workers; while many American industrialists argue that this minimum is both inadequate and unjust. The government weekly minimum is \$14-18; while the poverty datum line, the breadline for an average African family is over \$80 a month.

## ECONOMIC FOOTNOTES

### GOODYEAR SOUTH AFRICA EXPANDS

South Africa's tire manufacturers have launched a big expansion program to meet with rocketing sales of passenger cars and commercial vehicles. 256,000 cars and trucks were sold in 1969, and 139,000 in the first half of 1970. In response, a new line of tire curing processes has been installed at Goodyear's Vitenhage factory at a cost of almost \$980,000. (*Johannesburg Star*, 10/17/70)

### PARKER PEN CHAIRMAN VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

The announcement in the October 17 *Johannesburg Star* that Mr. Daniel Parker, chairman of the Parker Pen Company, had come to South Africa for his first visit makes one ask several questions of the visits of American businessmen to South Africa. Who and what did Mr. Parker visit in South Africa? Did he, like many American

industrial visitors, get the typical "white picture" of South Africa, leaving him with the impression that South Africa is not nearly as bad as her international critics would paint her? Were his visits with "whites only"? Has he returned, as other American businessmen, filled with shallow belief that economic growth is gradually transforming apartheid? Perhaps more important, will Mr. Parker, who is a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and a member of the International Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce, feed back his impressions from white South Africa into organizations such as these and the US government—thus building a shallowly based openness and friendliness to South Africa?

The pictures below were taken summer 1970 in the Elsie's River Plant of CHRYSLER CORPORATION, just outside Cape Town, South Africa. All facilities in the plant are operated according to South Africa's apartheid regulations—from the lockers to the cafeteria, the drinking fountains, even the exits and entrances for the different racial groups. It is unfortunate that there is no picture to indicate the racist principles underlying South Africa's job reservation laws and practices regarding the hiring and salaries of Africans as compared to their white counterparts.



# AT THE UNITED NATIONS

## DECOLONIZATION PROGRAM APPROVED

On October 13, 1970 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a special program of action to achieve the full implementation of the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Special Committee of 24 on decolonization had recommended the program, in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration.

The vote was 86 in favor to 5 against, with 15 abstentions. Those who voted against the proposal included Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Abstaining were Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Swaziland, and Sweden.

In commenting on the negative vote by the United States, Ambassador Seymour Maxwell Finger of the U.S. stated:

"I do not propose to detail again our specific objections. However, the program of Action—while laudable in objective—does not represent a useful or constructive approach to a problem of deep concern. In particular, it proposes courses of action in the Security Council which experience has shown cannot obtain the measure of support necessary to make them practicable.

"It is not an easy matter for my delegation to be forced to cast a negative vote. In the area of southern Africa which has so preoccupied the Committee of 24, our support for the principle of self-determination is clear. We have been as conscientious as any nation in support for the arms embargo against South Africa. We have conscientiously embargoed arms for use in the Portuguese territories. We have supported the United Nations position on Namibia and we have unilaterally taken steps to demonstrate that support. We have firmly implemented the sanctions against Rhodesia. We justifiably feel that we stand with those seeking self-determination and human dignity in southern Africa. We shall continue to do so."

The program initiated by the Committee of 24 "declares the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations."

It reaffirmed "the inherent right of colonial people to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against

colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence." Member States were asked to give necessary aid to colonial people.

The Assembly further asked the Member States to enforce their embargoes on arms to the Government of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and to consider such arms being supplied to Portugal, as this enables Portugal to further deny self-determination to its colonial territories. Member States were asked "to end the political, military, economic, and other forms of aid received by the above-mentioned regimes (South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia), which enables them to persist in their policy of colonial domination."

Finally, the Member States were asked to help educate all peoples on the importance of decolonization and the need for "active assistance in the achievement of complete decolonization. . . ." This is to be accomplished by the States and by the United Nations. The Special Committee of 24 is to continue to make arrangements for securing the presence of the United Nations in colonial Territories and to prepare draft rules for visiting missions.

## ARMS EMBARGO

The General Assembly asked all member States of the United Nations to take steps to strengthen the Arms Embargo against South Africa, which resolution was adopted by the Security Council last July, 1970. The resolution to do this (Oct. 13, 1970) met with a vote of 98 in favor to 2 against (Portugal, South Africa), and 9 abstentions (Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Malawi, New Zealand, Swaziland, United Kingdom, and the United States).

The Assembly asked the Secretary General to study the implementation of this resolution and report back to the General Assembly by December 10, 1970.

## PAMPHLETS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The following United Nations publications are available through the Office of Public Information for distribution:

Objective: Justice, Quarterly Magazine Covering U.N. Activity against Apartheid, Vol. 2, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1970.

Infringement of Trade Union Rights in Southern Africa, Report submitted to the Economic and Social Council by



the Ad Hoc working group of experts appointed by the Commission on Human Rights.

**Industrialization, Foreign Capital and Forced Labour in South Africa, Unit on Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs**

#### U. N. COMMEMORATIVE SPEECHES

The situation in South Africa was a topic for discussion in speeches by governmental leaders during the general debate and commemorative sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. These speeches took place during the time between the end of September through October 23, 1970. Summaries of some of these comments follow:

**Damantang Camara, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea.** Apartheid exists throughout southern Africa and Britain is primarily responsible for this; the coalition of fascist South Africa, racist Rhodesia and slave-driving Portugal constitutes a real threat to world peace and an injustice that can only be ended by force.

**Sori Coulibaly, Minister Delegate to the Military Committee of National Liberation and Special Envoy of the President of Mali:** In southern Africa, people are not allowed their rights as people. Portugal has intensified its repression; Britain has remained indifferent to the fate of the people of Zimbabwe. Revision of the Charter is not essential; what is important is a change in heart.

**Samuel N. Odaka, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of Uganda:** The United Nations and the progressive force in it have assisted decolonization, but there are remnants of colonialism still in Africa. The racist regimes are being supported; if the United Kingdom sells arms to South Africa it could mean it is not interested in the liberation of the oppressed people of Africa. France should be condemned for its policy of selling arms to South Africa in spite of the Security Council embargo. It is important that the United Nations address itself to giving hope, a future and opportunity to the large part of the world now living in poverty.

**Nsanze Terence, Special Envoy of the President of Burundi:** Instead of symbolizing a human organism, the United Nations has tended to become a kingdom of dreams. Violators of the Charter have used it as a scapegoat, blaming it for failures for which they themselves are responsible. The structure of the Organization is being called into question, but the main cause of failures lies in the attitudes of States over-attached to the defence of their special interests and fiercely jealous of their sovereignty. While Western Governments describe socialist societies as totalitarian, they protect the regimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon, which continue and imitate the policies of nazism.

**Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius:** Mauritius is against any arms sales to South Africa and it wishes the United Kingdom Government not to enter into any kind of arrangement with that country. The Assembly should adopt a common attitude towards all countries engaged in these arms sales and not single out Britain. Britain should be allowed to supply certain types of restricted naval defence equipment to South Africa after prior consultation with the Commonwealth countries, provided such equipment is not used to oppress or suppress African efforts to build a democratic Africa.

**S. S. Ramphal, Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs of Guyana:** There is need for more United Nations action to guarantee economic justice in the world. There can be no peace if the demands in the world for economic justice go unheeded. There is a danger that this commemorative session will do no more than verbally reaffirm its faith in the Charter while avoiding any commitment to action in its implementation. Colonialism exists in southern Africa, compounded with the perversion of apartheid; what is urgently needed is the positive and unqualified support of all Member States for the practical measures required to bring freedom to the overwhelming majority in southern Africa.

## STUDENTS



### BLACKS CHALLENGE UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

The most militant of the multi-racial student organizations in South Africa, the University Christian Movement, has been accused by black members of paternalism, nurturing black inferiority-white superiority attitudes, dampening the militancy of blacks in South Africa and denying them the chance of nurturing their black consciousness. As a result, black members are considering a breakaway from the UCM and forming a separate black organization.

Such a development would come only a few months after a breakaway move by black members of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). This led to the formation of

the South African Students Organization (SASO). Recent reports indicate that SASO is attracting widespread support from black students. With 3,000 members, the organization has spread to every black campus in the country and it shows promise of becoming an effective force for unity among black students. (*Sunday Times, Aug. 9, 1970 and Anti-Apartheid News, Oct. 1970*)

### BOMB EXPLOSION AT NATAL UNIVERSITY

Police are investigating a bomb explosion at the University of Natal in Durban in August. The bomb destroyed a toilet directly beneath the main hall where the British academic and harsh critic of apartheid, Sir Robert Birley, was delivering an academic freedom lecture to 600 students. No one was injured by the

explosion which was caused by the detonation of an army thunderflash, powerful enough to shoot a flare 1,000 feet in the air. (*Port Elizabeth Herald, Aug. 25, 1970*)

### OXFORD UNIVERSITY HAS SHARES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Students at Oxford University who occupied the University's financial center last April discovered that the University holds shares worth \$150,000 in South African companies. In a leaflet, students accused the University authorities of being two-faced—presenting itself as being liberal while its financial center was directly

involved in the exploitation of black South Africans. The students demanded that the university should publicly and categorically renounce all connections with South Africa and Rhodesia and sever all links with Barclays Bank—a British bank with substantial investments in South Africa.

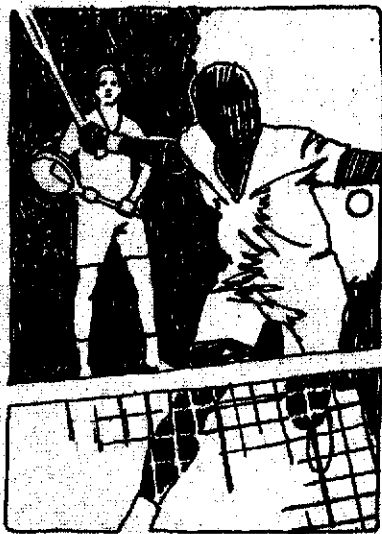
### MORE PROTESTS IN RHODESIA

Further student protests have occurred at the University College in Salisbury. In August, 250 students marched on the home of the President, Professor Robert Craig, to demand African representation on the College

Council. Craig was not at home but at one stage a car appeared in the driveway but quickly drove off when it was surrounded by jeering students.

The demonstration occurred after an announcement by the University authorities that there would be no specific African representation on a new 34-member College Council. The students have demanded six black representatives. Following the rejection of their proposal, students announced that they planned to resume a student strike which almost closed the college in June and which led to the expulsion of seven black student leaders. (*Rand Daily Mail, Aug. 13, 1970*)

## SPORTS



### BLACK SPORT ADMINISTRATORS DEFIANT

Heartened by the growing opposition to segregated sport in South Africa, black sports administrators are adopting an increasingly defiant attitude to government pressures. Recently the Southern Natal Soccer Board ignored a government threat of prosecution and allowed 18 racially mixed teams to participate in a soccer tournament. No charges were laid. In September, black sports administrators from all over the country met to coordinate their efforts to resist government attempts to end sport between Indian, African and Coloured teams. (*Spotlight on South Africa, Aug. 17*)

### AUSTRALIAN STUDENTS TO PROTEST S. A. VISITS

The National Union of Australian Students has announced that it will coordinate all plans to protest forthcoming tours to Australia by teams from South Africa. A rugby tour is planned for 1971, followed a year later by a cricket tour. The Australian

government has so far refused to intervene to prevent the visits from taking place. (*Anti-Apartheid News, Oct. 1970*)

### ASHE CLAIMS NO INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA

The American tennis player, Arthur Ashe, has announced that he is no longer interested in visiting South Africa. Earlier this year the South African government prevented Ashe from entering the country to play in the national tennis championships. On a recent coaching tour of Africa, Ashe said he would not enter for the 1971 championships and would be prepared to give up tennis to fight apartheid. "The liberation of black people is more important." (*Washington Post, Oct. 27, 1970*)

### TOP U.S. HORSEMAN VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

America's leading horseman, Neil Shapiro, obviously does not share Ashe's views, for in September, along with three other international horsemen, he visited South Africa to participate in the International Indoor Horse Show in Johannesburg. (*News from South Africa, Sept. 25, 1970*)

# THE CHURCHES and SOUTHERN AFRICA



The World Council of Churches' (WCC) recent allocation of \$200,000 to 19 organizations fighting racism has precipitated a good deal of international reaction. Most of the reaction has centered around the fact that several African liberation movements of Southern Africa will be receiving some of the funds. Characterized by the white minority regimes in Southern Africa as "communist" and "terrorist," the liberation movements have increasingly focused hopes for change in the racist political and social structures of that part of the world.

When word of the WCC allocation was received in South Africa, Prime Minister John Vorster warned that South African Churches belonging to the WCC must withdraw or "action would be taken against them." In reaction, most of South Africa's white churches denounced Vorster's threat and maintained their stance within the WCC community. The table below indicates the reactions of some churches and church leaders both in South Africa and internationally:

## South African Council of Churches

Rev. Theo Kotze, Secretary of the Western Province Council of Churches said that the South African Council can show that the purpose for which the WCC money is used is not violent or racist, and dissociated the South African Council from Vorster's rebuke.

## The Presbyterian Church of South Africa

Presbyterians retain WCC membership but disassociate themselves from the grants, pending approval from congregations.

## South African Catholic Newspaper *The South Cross*

Catholics decry Vorster's move to force South African churches to sever links with WCC.

## United Congregational Church of Southern Africa

Voted to remain a member of WCC and continue its annual contributions to WCC.

## Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa

Applaud Vorster's threat and support removal from the WCC.

## Methodist Church of South Africa

Votes to remain in WCC but further money contributions suspended temporarily.

## All Africa Conference of Churches

Resolved: "The Executive Committee of the All Africa Conference of Churches, meeting in Lome, Togo, Sept. 21-23, 1970, supports the efforts of the WCC to establish programmes to combat racism. . . . The committee welcomes the revolution in the thinking of donors, in being prepared to trust people who are taking radical action against racism."

## Lutheran World Federation

"We . . . endorse and support not only Christians but all men throughout the world as they strive to eliminate racial discrimination and to achieve racial justice in society." (World Assembly Resolution)

## Baptist Union (U.K.)

Sir Cyril Black, President, opposes apartheid but disapproved WCC's method of attacking it.

## Anglican Bishop (U.K.) and Archbishop

Anglican Bishop Eastaugh condemned the WCC grants as "intolerable." Anglican Archbishop Ramsey (Canterbury) expressed concern but is taking no action as yet.

## Presbyterian Church in Australia

General Assembly expressed support of WCC allocation of funds.

## Evangelical Church in Ger-

Voted to postpone its final decision on support of WCC.

many (EKID)	Leaders anticipate EKID will retain WCC membership but withhold funds temporarily.
Methodist Church in the U.S.A.	Board of Missions strongly defends WCC allocations and makes own \$100,000 grant to WCC.
United Church of Canada	Denounces racism but is hesitant to support WCC grants. Will study the question more.
Evangelical Church Synod of Hesse-Nassau (Germany)	Voted to make \$30,000 available to WCC for grants fighting racism, in apparent challenge to policies of the EKID and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany (VELKD).
United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.	Participated in making the WCC allocations and grants total of \$50,000 toward WCC funds.

In another surprise move, a major report released October 29 by the British Council of Churches calls on all Christians around the world to support peoples fighting "to free themselves from oppression and injustice." The summary of the report reads:

"The general conclusion of the report is that the situation in Southern Africa (South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique), has now reached a point of oppression and injustice, so far as many Africans are concerned, that the only means of protest left to them are violent ones.

"While the Christian way of love, ready to suffer to the end after the example of Christ on the cross, is a way we must respect and honour in any African Christian called to it, we in the West, unless we are pacifists, cannot without hypocrisy claim the right to use force to defend justice on the international plane (as we have done in many wars) and deny the same right to Africans who believe they have no other way left open to them, and are prepared to follow it at the cost of their own lives, even if their cause seems hopeless. . . .

The summary concludes: "Indeed, the Churches of Britain should be prepared to support them, and Christians should be ready to back them with financial and other aid."

The allocations by the World Council of Churches were the outcome of several years of debate over the relationship of the churches (and of Christian people) to the struggle against racism and injustice in Southern Africa. Some of the criteria used in making the decision of the allocation and its recipients are indicated in the following:

"When Christians find in the world a state of things that is not in accord with the truth which they have learned from Christ, their concern is not that it should be explained but that it should be ended.

"The situation in southern Africa is recognized as a priority due to the overt and intensive nature of white racism and the increasing awareness on the part of the oppressed in their struggle for liberation.

"In the selection of other areas we have taken account of those places where the struggle is most intensive and where a grant might make a substantial contribution to the process of liberation, particularly where racial groups are in imminent danger of being physically or culturally exterminated.

"In considering applications from organizations in countries of white and affluent majorities we have taken note only of those cases where political involvement precludes help from other sources."

Spokesmen for the World Council have indicated that past grants made by Christian groups and organizations to white racist programs and churches in Southern Africa have not caused such a furor, yet such help has been used to "perpetuate a system which is not only inhuman, but also un-Christian."

The listing below indicates the 19 organizations to receive grants from the WCC allocation.

\$10,000 Australia  <i>Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.</i>	An organization supporting land title rights of Aboriginal peoples, concerned especially with legal action.
\$15,000 Australia <i>National Tribal Council</i>	New organization created by Aborigines aiming at (1) organizing campaign to establish local councils for political expression, and (2) national campaign of political and educative nature directed toward white population and power structure.
\$2,000 Japan <i>International Committee to Combat the Immigration Bill</i>	Organization of Korean and Chinese minority groups working for change in proposed Japanese Immigration Bill which has racist overtones, causing fear that minority groups would lose basic human rights.

**\$15,000**  
Colombia  
*Committee for the Defense of the Indian.*

Supports Indian groups involved in studying causes and processes which have produced the "Indian problem" (there are an estimated half million Indians in Colombia.)

**\$7,500**  
U.K.  
*West Indian Standing Conference*

Umbrella organization for 16 groups with 10,000 members total. Request is to help organization promote solidarity among black community in Britain, toward creation of black power base which could effectively defend interests of this minority.

**\$2,500**  
U.K.  
*Africa Bureau*

Aims to improve understanding in Britain about current problems in Southern Africa, toward change in British policies that affect racial tyranny in Southern Africa.

**\$5,000**  
U.K.  
*Anti-Apartheid Movement*

In close touch with African governments and liberation movements in Southern Africa. Organized national campaigns against all-white sports teams from South Africa and against British arms sale to South Africa.

**\$3,000**  
U.K.  
*International Defense and Aid Fund*

Provides legal defense for opponents of racial policies in Southern Africa, welfare aid to families of those executed, imprisoned, or banished for political beliefs, assists with education of political prisoners and their families.

**\$5,000**  
Holland  
*Angola Committee and Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Foundation.*

Two organizations planning joint action in cooperation with other groups in continental Europe, under the new "Foundation for Promotion of Information About Racism and Colonialism." Aims are to produce documentation concerning Southern Africa in Dutch and English.

**\$15,000**  
Zambia  
*Africa 2000 Project*

Program based next-door to white-controlled Southern Africa which aims to expose economic, political, social, and racial structures which exploit human beings and to replace them by more just

structures (before the year 2000).

**\$15,000**  
Mozambique  
*Frelimo Institute*

Institute is educational/social welfare arm of Frelimo, which claims control of over 1/5 of Mozambique. Is now setting up development plan for a free Mozambique, including organization of agricultural cooperatives and social, educational, and health services.

**\$50,000**  
Angola  
**\$20,000 MPLA**  
**\$20,000 GRAE**  
**\$10,000 UNITA**

(Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola; Governo Revolucionaria de Angola no Exil; and Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola.) Each of three movements is in control of substantial territory (together they claim 1/3 of the country) and is developing emergency economic, educational, health, and social welfare programs, which are almost totally lacking.

**\$20,000**  
Guinea-Bissau  
*PAIGC*

The Partido Africano da Independencia da Guineea e Cabo Verde controls 2/3 of this small Portuguese colony and is developing economic, educational, social welfare, and health programs, and already operates two hospitals and school programs for 12,000 children.

**\$20,000**  
Rhodesia  
**\$10,000 ZAPU**  
**\$10,000 ZANU**

The Zimbabwe African National Union requests support for its information service and for assistance to wives and children of refugees, detainees, and freedom fighters. The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union requests support for relief of destitute families whose breadwinners are in prison, have been killed, or are in military service for liberation of their country. Relief includes school fees for children, food and clothing, and legal aid to prisoners.

**\$10,000**  
**South Africa**  
**African National Congress**

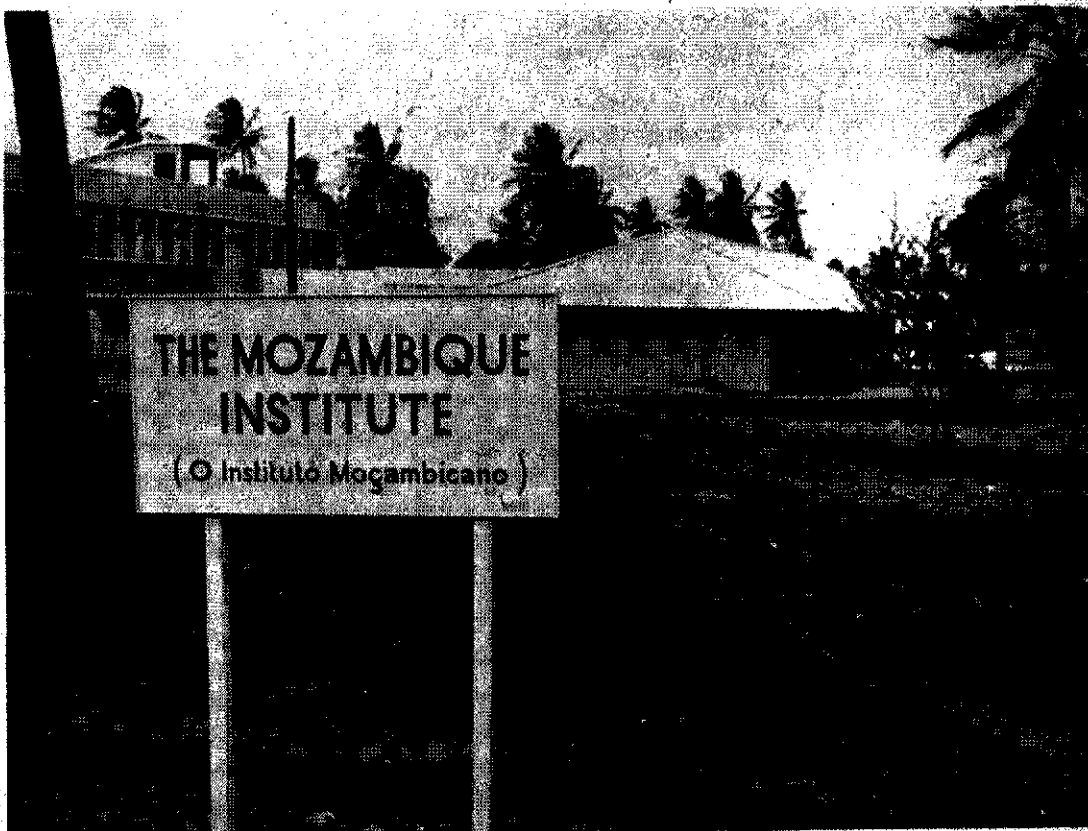
The ANC, created by Nobel Prize Winner Chief Albert Luthuli, requests support for launching of "Luthuli Memorial Foundation" to inform world public opinion about alternatives to present apartheid regime, to do research, and to assist victims of apartheid.

**\$5,000**  
**Namibia**  
**SWAPO**

South West Africa Peoples Organization requests help for education of students in and outside Namibia, issuing information bulletin on the Namibian situation, food and medical care to Namibians living in Zambia.

Dr. Albert H. van den Heuvel, director of the World Council's department of communication stressed the long history of the Council's opposition to racism and the desire to identify with blacks suffering the effects of racism, even if it made the position of white liberals more difficult.

"Christians around the world cannot listen to their white liberal fellows only," he said. "They must listen also, and I think they must listen first, to their oppressed African brethren."



*These buildings in Dar-es-Salaam used to house the school for Mozambican refugee students. Now they shelter the printing offices and some research and curriculum-writing materials for the Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO. The Mozambique Institute is one of the recipients of funds from the World Council of Churches grant to organizations fighting racism.*

# ACTION SUGGESTIONS

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## BREAKTHROUGH AT UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ON BLOCKING CORPORATION RECRUITERS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTIONS

The Southern Africa Committee (and its publication, "Southern Africa") have tried to cooperate over the past years with university groups attempting to block recruiters from firms with subsidiaries in discrimination-ridden Southern Africa. A recent decision at the University of Michigan provides a fascinating case study of a victory in this field. As a result, "Southern Africa" has decided to publish extensive coverage of this issue hoping that other universities will follow suit.

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE APPEARED  
IN THE MICHIGAN DAILY, 10/22/70.

The Office of Student Services (OSS) Policy Board yesterday adopted guidelines and procedures barring use of OSS Placement Services facilities by companies with offices in South Africa. Some 250 major U.S. firms would be affected.

The policy board's action was part of a larger measure aimed at amplifying and enforcing University rules which bar on-campus recruiting by corporations which discriminate against minority groups and women.

In the past, corporations using Placement Services facilities have only been required to sign an affidavit affirming non-discriminatory hiring practices. Placement Services officials say no company has been barred under this procedure.

In its resolution, the board stated that OSS would investigate any corporation using the Placement services which is charged with discrimination.

If the allegations are found to be correct, the statement added, OSS will issue either a warning, or deny the corporation use of the Placement Services.

However, in the case of corporations which operate "where discrimination is legally enforced on the basis of color, creed, or sex, for example, South Africa, they will be denied use

of the services of the OSS Placement Office."

According to Brain Mistrust (BMT), a radical group which has been active in the recent campaign against on-campus job recruiting, about 250 corporations currently operate in South Africa, including General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Dow Chemical Co., the Chase Manhattan Bank, and most other major corporations in the United States.

According to the policy board members these corporations will be denied the use of the services of the OSS Placement Services unless the corporation can prove that it does not follow the apartheid policies of the South African government.

The policy set by the board is only binding on the OSS Placement Services and not on any of the other placement services in the University.

The Placement Services, geared mainly toward liberal arts students, deals mainly with corporations that require non-technical personnel such as advertising. However, some of the major corporations in those categories, for example, Chase Manhattan, will be affected by the new ruling.

Although the University has had a policy for some time that denies its services to "any organization or indivi-

Model: University of Michigan  
Target: Corporate Recruiters

(see also Oct. '70 issue for Columbia University Gulf Oil action)

dual which discriminates because of race, color, creed, sex, or religion or national origin" the geographical extent of this definition has been unclear. Through their resolution, the board has extended the policy to apply to any area in which a company operates, inside or outside the United States.

The specific indictment of South Africa stems from a proposal presented to the board by BMT alleged that many of the companies recruiting on campus operate in South Africa. In doing so, BUT said, they "practice blatant discrimination through adhering to the apartheid laws and policies."

The final resolution of the policy board was substantially different from the one presented by BMT, which only requested that the University enforce its existing policy. The board defined that policy further by extending it to corporations that practice legal discrimination.

Another problem with the official University policy is that there has been no way to enforce it since there is no mechanism to ascertain whether or not a company does in fact practice discrimination.

Recognizing this problem, the board stated that "any allegations that a company has discriminated in its recruiting or hiring in any of its business activities either within or without the United States may be made within the OSS."

Then, if there is sufficient evidence that the company has discriminated, it will be requested to participate in a public forum. If the company refuses, the statement adds, it will not be permitted to use the OSS Placement Services.

The resolution also urged other academic placement offices to follow this policy.

## UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN OFFICE OF STUDENT SERVICES POLICY BOARD STATEMENT

The University of Michigan Placement Services is administered in a manner which provides equal opportunities for placement and employment. Consequently its services are not available to any organization or individual that discriminates against any person because of race, color, creed, sex, religion, or national origin, nor which does not maintain an affirmative action program to assure equal employment opportunity.

1. No corporation operating where discrimination is legally enforced on the basis of race, color, creed, or sex, for example, South Africa, shall be allowed to use the services of the OSS Placement Office. Furthermore, the OSSPB urges other academic placement offices to follow this policy.

2. Allegations that a company has discriminated in its recruiting or hiring in any of its business activities either within or without the United States may be made within the Office of Student Services. A determination shall be made if there is sufficient evidence to request the company involved to participate in a public forum. Failure to participate in a public forum will automatically result in the company not being allowed to use OSS Placement Office services.

3. If there is an allegation that a company or its representative has discriminated in its recruiting or hiring activity on this campus, the Placement Office of the Office of Student Services will undertake to conduct an investigation. Determination of violation and the sanction to be applied (warning or denial of use of the services of the OSS Placement Office) will be determined within the Office of Student Services.

The following is a memo sent from a student group at University of Michigan:

**TO:** Office of Student Services Policy Board  
**FROM:** The Brain Mistrust (BMT)  
**SUBJECT:** Enforcement of the University's policy governing the use of its facilities by corporate recruiters  
**DATE:** 6 October 1970

The University of Michigan maintains the following policy for campus recruiters:

The University of Michigan Placement Services is administered in a manner which provides equal opportunities for placement and employment of University of Michigan students and alumni. Consequently its services are not available to any organization or individual which discriminates against any person because of race, color, creed, sex, religion or national origin, nor which does not maintain an affirmative action program to assure equal employment opportunity.

This policy has not been enforced.

Many of the companies recruiting on campus operate in the Union of South Africa. It is well known that these companies practice blatant discrimination through unequal wage scales based entirely upon race, through segregated facilities in their plants, through discriminatory promotion practices, and through adhering to other apartheid laws and policies. The companies themselves openly admit to practicing apartheid, as illustrated by Henry Ford II's statement: "When abroad, we must operate by the standards of the host country or forfeit our welcome."

No corporation operating according to South Africa's apartheid policies should be permitted to use University of Michigan recruiting facilities. We call for strict and immediate enforcement of the University's stated policy.

Thank you.

Jeff Field  
 Liz Field  
 Don Larkin,  
 for the BMT

\*Quoted by George M' Houser in 'Report of Special Study Mission to Southern Africa,' House Report No. 91-510, Nov. 6, 1969, p. 99.



# POLAROID and SOUTH AFRICA

Polaroid Corp., based in Cambridge, Mass., enjoys a reputation as a progressive company whose employment practices and community relations programs are far ahead of most companies. But Polaroid has been doing business in South Africa since 1938, selling film, cameras, and identification systems via a local distributor, Frank & Hirsch, Ltd. which also manufactures sunglasses with imported Polaroid lenses. It is this South African business that has led some Polaroid employees to issue a sharp and uncompromising challenge to the company to be consistent with its humanistic aims by getting out of South Africa and, in a sense, making reparations to the struggle for liberation there.

Thus has been launched a campaign to get Polaroid to apply its progressive principles in South Africa where the advocacy and practice of such principles are outlawed—as was pointed out by Polaroid's sole distributor in South Africa last month (*Johannesburg Star*, weekly ed., 21 Nov. 1970).

Polaroid has already set precedents in South Africa by trying to prevent its products from being used by the government in the implementation of its apartheid policy. The demands of the black Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement (PRWM), which began and leads the Polaroid campaign, have added a further dimension of significance by pressing the issue of economic disengagement even more sharply than the "bank campaign" did. As a staff writer of the *Boston Globe* said, "It is not an overstatement to say that big business throughout the United States is watching closely. . ." (1 Nov. 1970)

## THE WORKERS' DEMANDS AND THEIR MERIT

The PRWM has made the following demands:

1. That Polaroid disengage completely from South Africa.

2. That the management meet the entire company and announce its position on apartheid in the U.S. and South Africa simultaneously.

3. That the company donate its profits earned in South Africa to the South African liberation movements.

The PRWM demands bring together two major thrusts against apartheid: (a) the policy of economic disengagement from South Africa, removing both symbolic and material support from the apartheid regime; and (b) direct aid to the liberation movements that will be the main vehicles for change in South Africa.

Support for the challenge to Polaroid has come from several fronts. The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the major South African Liberation Movement, sent a telegram stating:

"On behalf national executive African National Congress of South Africa support stand of revolutionary Polaroid Workers Movement with regard to Polaroid involvement in South Africa and endorse your demands for total disengagement and public statements denouncing apartheid stop Reaffirm African National Congress programme demands that the National wealth of South Africa must be returned to the people of South Africa."

In addition, numerous groups in America such as the Boston branches of the NAACP, the Greater Boston

Ministerial Alliance, the African Studies Association, the African Heritage Students Association, various Black Students Unions, the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, and the American Committee on Africa, are supporting PRWM and its demands.

According to a lengthy Nov. 1 *Boston Globe* article, specific support is also evident among certain Polaroid workers and management. The *Globe* account states that black employees are concerned about "the glaring inconsistency in the humanistic aims of

the company and the reality of doing business in South Africa," that one black employee equated the situation of a black employee working in Polaroid on products for South Africa with that of asking a Jew during WW II to improve a method of making bricks for the concentration camp ovens; and that Robert Palmer, manager of community services for Polaroid, also favored complete withdrawal.

## POLAROID'S POSITION

Polaroid's response to the PRWM demands has been as uneasy and inconsistent as its policy on South Africa. The *Globe* article just cited reports that

"...in 1948, when the corporation had great optimism but very small sales, the South African government had offered business that would have meant millions to the firm. The company declined on grounds of morality, Land said. Furthermore, it has been Polaroid's practice in almost every other foreign situation to set up a company subsidiary around the \$1 million sales mark. Not so in South Africa, however, and apparently there have never been any plans to do so. There seems all along to have been a subconscious effort to keep the lid on South African business, yet the company became mousetrapped nevertheless. Certainly Polaroid's business in South Africa could have been substantially bigger under normal circumstances."

In a letter published in the *Globe* on Nov. 9, a South Africa, the Rev. Christopher Jabulane Nteta, explained the insistence of the PRWM by highlighting Polaroid's historical reluctance to face the issue head on. The letter states:

"Various people at Polaroid have bemoaned the tactics employed by the movement. Dr. Land speaks of being 'pushed around,' while another declares that Polaroid will not listen to

'one yelling outside in the front yard.' The truth is that Polaroid has shown a particular reluctance to face up to this issue. Six years ago . . . this matter was brought to the attention of the management. What happened? A committee was appointed to look into the case and there the matter ended. Two years ago this skeleton was pulled out of the closet. Again it was skillfully shelved by being referred to a committee. No report is on file from these two committees. . . ."

Polaroid has refused to recognize the PRWM and its demands as valid; instead it has created a committee of its own, consisting of management and workers, to look into the company's

they allow such a policy? It is not possible." (*The Star*, Johannesburg, weekly ed., 21 Nov. 1970). It is not known, at time of writing, whether Polaroid has responded to this denial.

On Nov. 21 a vice-president of Polaroid issued the following statement: "Polaroid has in the past prohibited the sale of its identification system to the South African government for use in the apartheid passbook program. We are now discontinuing sale of any Polaroid products, including film, directly or indirectly, which might be used in this identification program. The enforcement of this decision will be pursued with all possible speed. Two of our people are on their

indignity for us to work together to build something wonderful like our camera and film, work together on a basis that makes one common human family, and then see that product, our own tradition, used for the purpose of isolating a race.

"We are explicitly and vigorously opposed to the apartheid program. And I can tell you that in the last two or three days, the headlines in South African newspapers say that. . . ."

"That word—Polaroid—is known around the world. Polaroid is considered a great and generous company. Shouldn't we use that power—the power of our great reputation—to accomplish our objectives in South Africa,

# BOYCOTT POLAROID

South African involvement. It has also deplored the tactics of PRWM—although Mr. Nteta points out that the public demands, far from being precipitous, were preceded by weeks of meetings and discussions with persons and groups in Polaroid.

On October 6 a company official issued a "Memorandum of Legal Matters" that stated that "Polaroid has consistently refused to sell the Polaroid ID-2 system DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY" to any agency "for use in implementing the apartheid program." It also stated that Polaroid's distributor in South Africa, Frank & Hirsch, Ltd., "has adhered to our policy" and that it "is unique in South Africa in its adoption of full equal employment practices for blacks."

This last statement was categorically denied by a spokesman of Frank & Hirsch: "We are governed by the laws of the country," he said; "would

way to South Africa today with this specific assignment. Polaroid has always had as its most basic policy the equal treatment of all individuals regardless of race, color, or religion. We oppose the policy of apartheid in any manifestation either in South Africa or any place else in the world."

Even this very limited step has caused considerable consternation in South Africa. Polaroid's representatives who were rushed to South Africa reported that the corporation's decision "has made considerable impact at the governmental level, as well as the consumer and dealer levels because it is an unprecedented statement of a position by an American company."

Dr. Edwin H. Land, Chairman of the Board, commented as follows before the joint employee-management committee studying the South African issue:

"It seems to us to be a peculiar

ca, or Boston, or Roxbury, or any place else? Is boycott of South Africa the right way to use that power? I don't really know. Let's examine the problem together and work together to make the decision which will prove most effective. There is a lot of hard work to be done.

## BOYCOTT OR WITHDRAWAL?

Impatient with the inconsistencies and evasions of Polaroid, the workers have called for a national boycott of all its products until their demands are met. The Southern Africa Committee fully supports this call for a boycott and believes that blacks, churches, students, and all persons of conscience will also respond to this call. But the Southern Africa Committee nurtures the earnest hope and expectation that Polaroid will recognize the ineluctable morality and logic of the demands and

with this conflict of images. The Brandeis sociologist concluded that Polaroid's own advertising program, painting it as a progressive company, had created an image of Polaroid which made her terribly vulnerable when it proved that Polaroid products were being used to help suppress black people in South Africa.

Polaroid's liberal image, its relatively small volume of business in South Africa (last year's sales were about \$1 million, whereas Polaroid's global sales were over \$500 million), and the pressure it faces from black workers and concerned groups, have combined in a unique way to offer the possibility of public withdrawal from South Africa—a step one could hardly expect from other corporations.

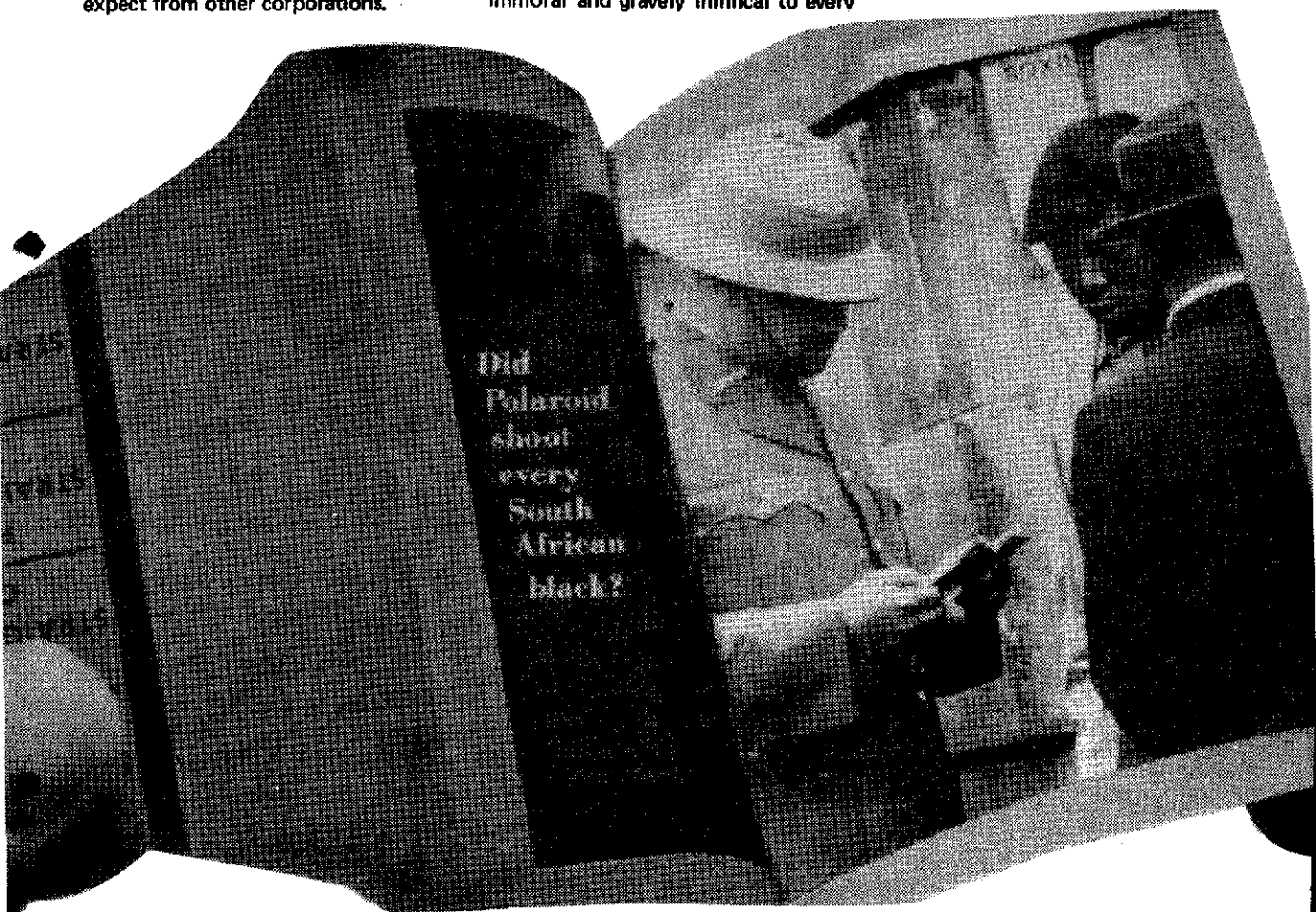
Polaroid has been called a "pacesetter in human relations;" a positive response to the PRWM demands, coupled with its domestic record, would place such a designation beyond question. Indeed, it would make Polaroid a trail-blazer and perhaps begin to reverse the distressing flow of symbolic and material support from America to South Africa.

The point is not whether a product can be used to implement apartheid—especially when the product is readily available from other sources; this is not worth debating. The point is that Polaroid is lending its good name and paying import duties and taxes to a socio-political system that is fundamentally and essentially racist, brutal, immoral and gravely inimical to every

decent and humane value worth mentioning.

will respond on the basis of principle rather than of economic necessity after the effects of the boycott are felt.

In a recent lecture in New York City, the head of the Sociology Department of Brandeis University stated that this challenge to Polaroid was an event of very great importance. Polaroid's liberal image as a company in the forefront of black hiring and involved in the manufacture of a product which serves people had caught up with them, he theorized. A liberal image in America is in direct contradiction to involvement in South Africa, and Polaroid is being confronted



**It's like opening a present.**

**Boycott**

**Support the black revolutionary workers at Polaroid.**

**Polaroid**

**Until all sales to South Africa are discontinued.**

**RESOURCES FOR THE STRUGGLE:**

Special issue of *Africa Today*, "Apartheid and Imperialism: U.S. Corporate Involvement in South Africa," Sept.-Oct. issue; special rates available from American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; 50 cents single issue, 40 cents bulk of 10-100; 30 cents each for more than 100.

*Economic Priorities Report*, Vol. 1, No. 5; "American Auto Industry in South Africa," single issue 50 cents; subscription rates for students or clergy \$5.00 per year. Published by Council on Economic Priorities, 1028 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

**QUOTE OF THE DAY:**

Hilgard Muller, Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa: "Self-determination does not mean that one group in a country, even if it happens to be the majority, should be allowed to deprive numerically smaller groups of the same right. South Africa is composed of one white and several non-white nations, diverse in language, history and culture; distinction is not solely based on race and colour; all peoples possess self-determination in various forms. South Africa bases its relations with other nations on mutual non-intervention."

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