

SOUTHERN AFRICA



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FEATURE ARTICLE

**TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUB-COMMITTEE ON AFRICA** by Gail J. Morlan,
Chairman, Southern Africa Committee of the University
Christian Movement (prepared 1970).

*One year ago Secretary of State Rogers made the following
statement before the Senate Committee on Foreign
Relations:*

*"Progress in the southern part of Africa also remains a
vital goal of the new African states and one with which we
basically sympathize. Self-determination, majority rule with
minority rights, and human equality are the product of our
own practical experience and our practical idealism; it will be
our policy to support them in Africa as well. Our dedication
to these goals is the result of our history, a product of our
search for basic answers to human aspirations. By the same
token, Africa's efforts to realize these goals throughout the
continent is a product of its history and aspirations. In this
situation, there exists a broad community of understanding
between Africa and the United States, dramatized by the fact
that some 22 million Americans trace their origin to Africa.
There will no doubt be differences on methods and timing,
but to the extent that they are committed to the above goals
there will be none on objective." (United States Foreign
Policy: Some Major Issues, A Statement by Sec. of State
Rogers, March 27, 1969, reprinted from the Department of
State Bulletin of April 14, 1969)*

*The policy contained in that statement by the United
States Secretary of State is one which we would like to be
able to affirm. We would like to believe that the United
States has a basic commitment to support self-determination,
majority rule with minority rights, and human equality, in
southern Africa. However, what Secretary Rogers tries to
dismiss as "differences in methods and timing" cannot be so
easily disguised. It is our belief that the role of the United
States in southern Africa both politically and economically
works directly to hinder self-determination, to postpone
majority rule, and to perpetuate a lack of human equality.
We will now lay before you official United States policy on
southern Africa and the facts which contradict that policy.*

ZIMBABWE (Southern Rhodesia)

Ambassador Charles Yost, Security Council, June 13,
1969: "We have all learned that the evils of white racism in
Southern Africa, and particularly in Southern Rhodesia, are
more durable than we had hoped. But their duration does
not make them any less evil, nor does it make our united
opposition to them any less important.

"In November, 1965, when Rhodesian authorities first
announced the purported 'independence' of their country,
they sought to mislead public opinion by dressing up their
announcement in the stolen plumage of the American
Declaration of Independence—beginning with the very
opening words, 'When, in the course of human events—'

"Never were nobler words borrowed to camouflage a more
sordid enterprise. This so-called 'independence' . . . is an
independence conceived from the outset in racism and
maintained—as the new constitutional provisions clearly
show—by the ugly practices of the police state." (Press
Release USUN-61 [69] June 13, 1969)

"We have consistently maintained that the use of force is
not the appropriate way to bring this problem to a solution."
Ambassador Charles Yost in the Security Council. (Press
Release USUN-67 [69] June 24, 1969)

Ambassador William Buffum, Deputy U.S. Rep. in the
Security Council, June 13, 1969% "I wish to assure this
Council that my Government scrupulously applies the
economic sanctions which this Council has imposed on
Southern Rhodesia. Indeed, our trade with that country has
been reduced by 90% since 1965. And that of the remaining
10% none . . . to the best of our knowledge, is in violation of
any of the mandatory provisions of the Council's
resolutions." (Press Release USUN 64 [69] June 13, 1969)

A U.S. Company, Chrome-Carbide Co., in February of
1970, loaded two ships in Beira [Mozambique] with
chromium which came by rail to Beira from Selukwe,
Rhodesia. The chromium was to be shipped to the United
States. (Southern Africa, Vol. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1970) Tourism
continues. 67 members of the Liberty Lobby went to
Rhodesia in November on a good will tour. The leader,
Colonel Curtis Bean Dall, expressed "warm greetings and
admiration of about 100 million Americans to Rhodesia."
The group was guests of the Candour League, an
ultra-right-wing organization devoted to the maintenance of
white supremacy. Dall promised that on return to the U.S.
"our lobby will do all in its power to have American
sanctions against Rhodesia removed." (New York Times,
Nov. 16, 1969)

On March 17, 1970, the United States closed its consulate
in Rhodesia. Secretary of State Rogers made an issue of this
to show that U.S. sentiments are on the side of the black
majority. State Department officials said, "We strongly
disapprove of minority-based governments" because they
"exclude for all time the possibility of majority rule." (New
York Times, Feb. 10, 1970)

The United States cast its first veto in the United Nations
Security Council, rejecting an African-Asian resolution which
"condemns the persistent refusal of the Government of the
United Kingdom as the administering power to use force to
bring an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and

enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence." (New York Times, March 18, 1970) The United States veto was a surprise to the African and Asian Group at the U.N. British spokesmen said that the U.S. move was not a surprise to them. (New York Times, March 19, 1970)

NAMIBIA (South West Africa)

The United States fully supports "the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to freedom and independence." The United States voted in favor of Resolution 2145 (XXI) of Nov. 22, 1966 of the U.N. General Assembly which determined that South Africa had no right to administer the territory and that South West Africa was a United Nations responsibility.

Secretary of State Rogers, then U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., laid down three principles which should be the basis of any implementation of the resolution. (a) Any plan . . . must provide practical means for the people of the territory to realize self-determination and independence, (b) such a plan must assure a peaceful solution. . . (c) it must be within the capacity of the United Nations to achieve. (Public Information Series, Department of State, p-111-569, "U.S. Position on South West Africa.")

When the General Assembly established the Council for Namibia the United States abstained. When the Security Council set a deadline for South African withdrawal from Namibia in August of 1969, the United States abstained. Ambassador Yost urged his own and other nations to take 'voluntary steps' to achieve common good.

In May, 1970 Ambassador to the U.N. Charles Yost announced a new economic policy towards Namibia. The U.S. Government would discourage investment there by denying U.S. Government protection against the claims of a future lawful government, denying export-import bank credit guarantees for trade there, and denying government aid in any future project to companies or individuals doing business there.

"From a letter interpreting this new policy written by David Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State, written to the American Committee on Africa: "Such efforts obviously rely on our powers of persuasion. In the last analysis the decision whether or not to invest in South West Africa remains with the individual."

A summary of U.S. policy on Namibia can be stated in Ambassador Yost's words. The U.S. supported the Security Council call for South Africa to get out of South West Africa "because [the resolution] wisely does not commit the Council to the narrow path of mandatory sanctions." (Washington Post, March 21, 1969)

That is to say, the United States will continue to verbalize full support for self-determination and independence as long as it is clear that all means to actually achieve this end are denied the people of Namibia.

PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

(Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau)

Portugal's domination of Angola and Mozambique "is an anachronism in the modern world. The United States firmly supports the right of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique to self-determination. . . . Nevertheless we do be-



lieve that the problems of southern Africa do require more patience . . . most of the members of the United Nations became independent through peaceful means, and while such peaceful change remains possible—however slow it may be—we are convinced that such peaceful means are in the best interest of everyone concerned." Ambassador Seymour Finger, Committee of 24, April 17, 1969. (USUN Press Release 41).

Dr. Eduardo Mondlane: "If the West has decided for reasons of expedience that it cannot part company with fascist Portugal, and to leave the Africans of Southern Africa to fend for themselves, remember it's not our choice. It's yours. We will accept that. . . . Let me make it clear that we do not believe that a change of attitude by the West itself is going to help us win our struggle. We do think, however, that it may determine the length of time it may take for us to win. This is something the U.S. should consider very carefully." (Africa Report, Nov. 1967)

Ambassador Seymour Finger: "Another myth which cannot be taken seriously in the light of experience is the false allegation that foreign economic investment is, in this day and age, a significant prop to colonialism." (Committee of 24, April 17, 1969, US6UN Press Release 41)

Gulf Oil began production in Cabinda in 1966. Now at the end of 1970, Portugal is able to secure all the oil she needs from Angola; she has in fact begun to import Angolan petroleum. In addition, Rhodesia and South Africa are now potentially immune to oil sanctions. Portugal gains not only oil, but also income to pay the army, income to buy guns and napalm, and income to build roads to ease military transport. Wealth from the oil at Cabinda does not go to the Angolan people. While the figures that Gulf releases serve only to obfuscate the matter, it is clear that Gulf's operation relates to no more than 600 people in Angola; even if these were all "Angolans," and they are NOT, a few hundred is a tiny percentage in a country of 5 million!

"The United States recognizes the contribution made in Africa by Portugal—

The illiteracy rate in the Portuguese territories is still about 90%. Amilcar Cabral, leader of the P.A.I.G.C. said recently, "Guinea is not 'underdeveloped.' The Portuguese have not developed it at all."

—and feels it is important that Portugal continue to contribute to the stability in that continent." (Department of State Background Notes on Angola, July 1969)

In 1969 the Gulf Oil Corporation made a major contribution to the Portuguese budget which is badly strained by military expenditures for its colonial wars. In 1970 it was projected that Gulf would pay \$5 million; in addition, Gulf has stated, "this will increase as production reaches its peak and levels out." Gulf's recent find off Cabinda and its recent promise to the Portuguese to spend \$30 million developing these new deposits indicates that Gulf is getting even deeper into Angola and that even more new revenue will be able to be tapped by the Portuguese in the future. (Actualidade Economica, May 14, 1970)

"United States policy toward Angola (as well as Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea) rests on three basic points: (1) consistent with national principles, the U.S. Government believes that all people are entitled to the right of self-determination; (2) our Government's aim is to encourage a peaceful and equitable solution to the Angolan problem, based on the self-determination principle, and (3) it is hoped that Portugal will be able to play a constructive future role in Angola and elsewhere in Africa." (Department of State Background Notes on Angola, July 1969)

There has been guerrilla activity in Cabinda territory for several years. Under the 1966 and 1968 agreements, the Portuguese government "agrees to undertake such measures as may be necessary to ensure that the company may carry out its operations freely and efficiently, including measures to permit the company the use and free access to public land and such measures as may be necessary to prevent THIRD PARTIES from interfering with the company's free exercise of its contractual rights." Thus a major American corporation has sought the aid of the Portuguese colonial government to protect it against the mass of the people among whom it is operating. (Southern Africa, Vol. III, No. 1, Jan. 1970)

Military cooperation between the United States and Portugal was drawn up in a series of military treaties after the establishment of NATO. These agreements strictly forbid the use of U.S. military equipment of any kind in the Portuguese territories. Further in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) the United States has stated a basic policy position of encouraging a peaceful solution to the problem. (Department of State Background Notes, Angola and Mozambique, July 1969, Portuguese Guinea, April 1969)

M.P.L.A. forces shot down an American made T-6 aircraft in Angola. Equipment marked U.S. Air Force was found in the wreckage. (Congo-Brazzaville report, WBAI, Sept. 5, 1969)

Kaiser Jeep Africa (Pty) Ltd., a subsidiary of Kaiser Jeep International, has sold jeeps to the Portuguese army in Mozambique for several years. (Letters from the Department of State, Feb. 20, 1970, Harvey F. Nelson, Jr., Acting Country Director, Southern African Affairs.)

By January 1962, outside observers could watch Portuguese planes bomb and strafe African villages, visit the charred remains of towns like Mbanza M'Pangu and M'Pangala, and copy the data from 750-pound napalm bomb casings from which the Portuguese had not removed the labels marked "Property U.S. Air Force." (John Marcum, THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION, Vol. I, 1969, M.I.T. Press, p. 229)

Napalm and phosphorous bombs marked "made in USA" have been dropped in African villages not far from here, according to numerous eye-witness reports and photographs which appear to be genuine. The villages are part of Portuguese Guinean territory wrestled from Portuguese control by Nationalist forces. (Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 12, 1968. The two above quotes are found in "Portugal and NATO," Angola Comite, Klarenburg 253, Amsterdam.)

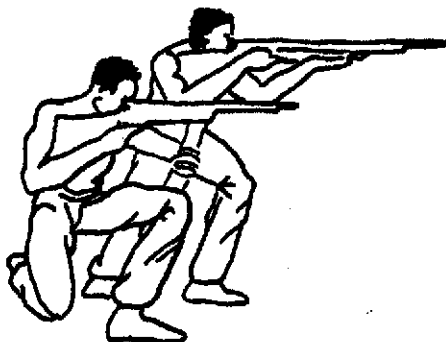
In May 1970, M.P.L.A. reported that Angolan crops were being destroyed by herbicides dropped from Portuguese planes. State Department leaks in December (New York Times) confirmed this report. Do the chemicals come from the U.S.?

The Portuguese are using American-made planes in napalm bombing and strafing attacks against guerrilla forces in Guinea-Bissau: B-26's, sabre jets, and T-6 trainers equipped for bombing runs. Light field weapons of American manufacture have been used by Portuguese forces and captured by guerrilla troops since the start of the war in 1960. Only within the last year have American-made air power been brought into use. (New York Times, Feb. 22, 1970)

In November 1970, Portuguese officers and soldiers based in Guinea Bissau led a raid against the neighboring Republic of Guinea (see Southern Africa, Vol. III, No. 9, Nov.-Dec. 1970), attempting to kill President Sekou Toure in addition to P.A.I.G.C. President, Amilcar Cabral. The U.N. Security Council condemned the raid, and the U.S. abstained.

Ambassador Charles Yost, Security Council, Dec. 8, 1970: "I would appeal once again to all concerned to examine their consciences and exert renewed efforts to develop fresh, imaginative approaches to the basic problem underlying so much of the violence that disturbs the normal lives of so many of the people of Africa today."

The above testimony will be continued in the February issue of Southern Africa, covering the area of South Africa and U.S. Policy.



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

WINNIE MANDELA SUFFERS HEART ATTACK AND IS BANNED

Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, has suffered a heart attack. She had just returned from a trip to Robben Island, the prison where Mr. Mandela is serving a life term. It was the first visit granted in two years. Mr. and Mrs. Mandela were allowed to talk only in the presence of authorities. "It was not a contact visit and it lasted less than 30 minutes," according to Joel Carlson, Mrs. Mandela's lawyer.

Mrs. Mandela was recently acquitted on charges under the Terrorism Act. However, she and ten others who stood trial with her have been banned. To further complicate matters, the Government has charges Mrs. Mandela's sister, Nonyaniso Madikizela, with living in Johannesburg without permission and with having failed to produce a reference book. Miss Madikizela is taking care of Mrs. Mandela, who is in great need of that care.

Joel Carlson, Miss Madikizela's attorney, has claimed that the case against Miss Madikizela is rigged. According to Carlson, documents have disappeared and the prosecutor has had access to papers that were given to the magistrate and should have been kept completely confidential. Mrs. Mandela has been left unattended while Miss Madikizela has had to appear in court.

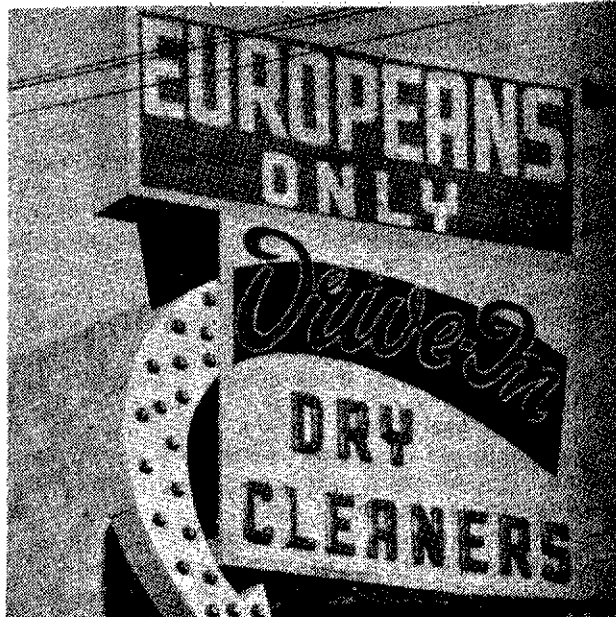
Carlson asked that the case be remanded so that Miss Madikizela could return to care for her sister and that his "misplaced" documents be returned to him. The magistrate granted both requests, and the case was adjourned until a date, not yet determined. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 14, 1970)

CARLSON RECEIVES BOMB

Joel Carlson received a bomb in the mail, which failed to go off. The package, a book similar in size to legal books he regularly receives, was mailed from Lusaka. The center pages were cut away and the bomb placed inside. The book was "The Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung." After careful examination, a senior police officer said that the bomb was no more dangerous than a fire cracker and that someone must have sent it to frighten Carlson. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 14, 1970)

APARTHEID IN PRACTICE

The following case studies illustrate the effect of apartheid on individuals'



S.M. was born in 1948 in Alexandria, a Johannesburg location, and lived there with his parents until the family was moved to Diepkloof in 1962. At that time his name was put on the house permit. In 1965, he was told by the superintendent to apply for his reference book and his name was removed from the house permit.

When he applied for his reference book, he was asked where his father was born and correctly replied Rustenburg. When his book was issued, Rustenburg was stamped in the tax section.

Since then he and his mother have been trying to obtain permission for him to remain in Johannesburg. He was endorsed out and his appeal was disallowed by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. He has only been in Rustenburg twice in his whole life—on both occasions when he was arrested and taken there under escort.

He has a letter from a doctor certifying his birth and a letter from his school in Alexandria proving his schooling. He has lived his life with his mother, but how is he to prove this? His two brothers and his sister are all lawfully living there. His mother has made an affidavit swearing to these facts. But more proof is continually demanded and it is not possible for her to find any other documents. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 4, 1970)

2. A woman who was knocked down by a car was left lying injured in the road in pouring rain because an ambulance at first refused to fetch her until it was established what race she was.

Officials point out that because of apartheid laws the ambulance service was "White" and "non-White" ambulances. But if a "non-White" ambulance was unavailable for a "non-White" victim, a "White" ambulance would be sent immediately. This was a regulation.

Many White victims, however, refused to go in a "non-White" ambulance, or even to use the same blankets. (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 31, 1970)

SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT PUSHED AHEAD

The White South African Government has an outspoken ally in Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief K. D. Matanzima. The Transkei is the model for separate development in South Africa. Matanzima said in a recent speech that he wanted to remove the idea that people in South Africa were not living together happily. He said cooperation had never been greater between Black and White and that the policy of separate development was the policy that had always existed since Black and White had come to South Africa. He went on to express lack of understanding of the statements about South Africa made at the United Nations. "The Bantu people," he said, "are getting tired of these statements." He also stated, "I want to remove the idea that the South African Government is forcing on the Bantu people what they had never requested."

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Dr. Koornhof, was in attendance when Matanzima gave this speech. In a speech of his own, Dr. Koornhof stated the concept of Separate Development:

"Our concept of nations is not based on differences in nature. All human beings of the same color do not belong to the same nation. For this reason the White population of Western Europe consists of a number of nations. I want to be thoroughly understood that we do not only have one Bantu nation in South Africa, but various nations—each one proud of its own identity." This formulation was first made by Mr. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Development.

Dr. Koornhof paid tribute to the African members of the police and said, in these rapidly developing times, the task of the police was harder than ever. "Not only do they protect our safety night and day, but they have to patrol the borders for terrorists." (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 4, 1970)

The Transkei is not the only homeland "to get parliamentary self-government." Tswanaland will be the next recipient, according to Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in an interview with the Afrikaans newspaper, Die Transvaler. The location of the Tswana capital has not been chosen and no confirmation of Botha's remarks were forthcoming from his senior officials. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 14, 1970)

HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY: RIGHT WING IN TROUBLE

The Herstigte Nasional Party (HNP) is one year old, and it is in serious trouble. Led by Dr. Albert Hertzog and Mr. Jaap Marais, the party came into being as a reaction against the *verligte* or "liberal" mainstream of the Nationalist Party. Hertzog led the *verkamptes* or "conservatives" to form a new party in October, 1969. The party fared very poorly in the national elections. (See Southern Africa, Dec. 1969 for background.)

Six members of the executive of the HNP have resigned because they have lost all confidence in the party leadership. These include Dr. Willie Lubbe, editor of the party's paper "Die AFrikaner". (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 21, 1970)

The financial state of the HNP is a disaster. The party is almost R100,000 in debt. (R1 = \$1.40) "Die AFrikaner" is

R350,000 in debt, and "Ster," the party's weekly magazine is R100,000 in debt. Such losses are unequalled in South African history. Hertzog and Marais are blamed for the situation. It is speculated that those who have resigned will

organize a new party on the right rather than try to take over the KNP and all its debts. (Johannesburg Sunday Times, Nov. 22, 1970)

THE NATIONALIST PARTY AND THE FUTURE

As a result of the 1970 provincial and parliamentary elections, the Nationalist Party has lost eight seats on the Witwatersrand, a traditional stronghold, and holds only three out of twenty-five Provincial Council seats in Natal, and three Natal parliamentary seats out of eighteen. The United Party has won both Port Elizabeth Central and Maitland. It is clear that the Nationalist Party is losing urban, English-speaking support to the United Party, and that there are many, possibly between 30 and 40% of the electorate who cannot be attracted to vote for either the Nationalist or the United Party. (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 31, 1970)

Now that the elections are over, the Nationalist Party, which still holds a firm majority, is expected to push forward its *verligte* course. According to News/Check, this could mean that before the next national election, 4 1/2 years hence, at least one homeland will be "fully independent." It is also expected that white capital will be allowed into the Bantu Homelands, a policy formerly prohibited in order to "prevent white interference and control in the homelands."

The demise of the HNP would free the Nationalist Party from worrying too much about the extreme right wing. The election results indicate that it must act dramatically to regain the overwhelming majority of white support it has enjoyed in the past. (News/Check, Oct. 30, 1970)

The Africans in South Africa do not vote and are allowed no political parties. While the decisions of the white parliament effect their existence fundamentally, the Africans are totally excluded from the structures of power that determine policy.



TENT CITY FOR THE UPROOTED • A community of 2000 people, uprooted before their new township was ready for them, was herded into this tent city. The community had been forced to move because it occupied an area into which whites wanted to expand.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

NEW REPORTS OF MPLA ACTION

MPLA forces destroyed a number of Portuguese barracks in the Third Military Region in early October, according to a communique published in the Standard of Tanzania (October 22, 1970). A communique the following month referred to battles in Moxico and Cuando Cubango provinces, including shelling of Portuguese posts, sabotage, and ambushes. On July 18, MPLA sappers blew up a bridge between Luoe and Mengo "just as it was being crossed by three military vehicles. Seven soldiers were killed and two wounded. This road is completely controlled by us and the invading troops have stopped using it." (Standard of Tanzania, Nov. 19). Mr. Boubakar Adjali, photographer and correspondent for the magazine AFRICASIA, noted in a press conference in Lusaka after visiting MPLA-controlled territory in Angola that MPLA is in full control of the area surrounding the Benguela railway, and would be able to cut it at any moment, as soon as the Tanzam Railway provides Zambia with another link to the sea.

EDUCATION: STRATEGIC ELEMENT IN THE WAR OF LIBERATION IN ANGOLA

(a document of the Department of Education and Culture, MPLA)

For 14 years the MPLA had waged a bitter struggle for the independence of Angola, combatting at the same time the obscurantism practised by the Portuguese with respect to our people. From the beginning of the struggle, clandestine schools have been a powerful instrument against ignorance and for liberty.

With the launching of the war of liberation and its requirements, MPLA has endowed itself with specialized services in order to better carry out to the different tasks of the liberation struggle. The Department of Education and Culture (DEC) is one of the results, with responsibility for the instruction and the formation of cadres.

In the liberated regions, schools and centers of revolutionary instruction are providing for children, adults, and combatants an education that was refused them by colonial domination. With each difficulty met in its turn, the infrastructure of a truly national education is being consolidated bit by bit.

It is thus that during the year 1969/1970 it was possible to work out a significant number of textbooks, to fill certain gaps in primary instruction. In spite of the provisional printing by mimeograph, DEC has been able to give the students of the schools of

MPLA a powerful instrument of study. After corrections suggested from experience, the textbooks will be printed in a more permanent form.

The first Teachers' Seminar of the III Region South, in September 1969, concentrated on certain problems of teaching under the hard conditions of our war, determining what measures proved successful. Besides the addition of new schools, the training of teachers is the fundamental preoccupation of this stage, given that the majority of those with such training are taken up with the many tasks inherent in the war itself.

On the other hand, the training of politico-military cadres in the Centers of Revolutionary Instruction continues strong. Commanders, political activists, militia, local authorities, men and women, all have attended the courses organized by the Centers and have left enriched by new knowledge which enables them to better carry out the tasks of the war of liberation and the reconstruction of the country.

The secondary instruction created to prepare candidates for university study includes an accelerated program concentrating on the fundamental subjects. This secondary education is a prelude to necessary technical education that is still far from being realized, due to the material difficulties it is necessary to overcome.

A program envisaging the writing of literacy texts in the languages of Angola, leading to the training of literacy workers, is in preparation, as is the project for the construction of the Angolan Education Institute, at Dolisie (in Congo, Brazzaville), near the border with Cabinda.

The training of nurses (in charge of the Medical Services) and other specialties more closely linked to military question, is proceeding at a very satisfactory pace.

For the realization of these programs of education, MPLA has already counted on the active solidarity of individuals and institutions. Nevertheless, the size and complexity of the tasks to be carried out leads us to appeal for new expressions of solidarity, in particular for the satisfaction of the following needs:

1. Construction of an Education complex at Dolisie, including 5 blocks (dormitory, primary, secondary, administration, and kitchen) with an approximate total of 50 divisions.
2. Material for laboratories of Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, and Mineralogy, including wall maps.
3. Four Land-Rovers, and a light truck.
4. Typewriters with a carriage of at least 50 cm and a keyboard adapted for Portuguese script.
5. Duplicating machines, Gestetner, and auxiliary equipment
6. Dormitory equipment for 500 students.
7. School supplies: notebooks, crayons, ballpoint pens, etc.
8. Agricultural equipment, including seeds
9. Sports equipment (soccer, volleyball, basketball)
10. An offset printing press
11. 3-speed tape recorders

12. 16 mm cameras and projectors

13. slide projectors

Shipments for the secondary school should be addressed to:

DEC/MPLA

B. P. 2353

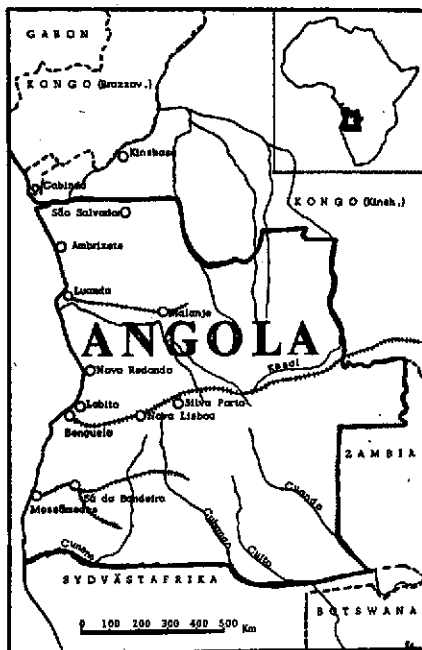
Brazzaville, R. P. du Congo

Other shipments should be addressed to:

DEC/MPLA

P. O. Box 20793

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania FOR
INDEPENDENCE, FOR EDUCATION, VICTORY IS
CERTAIN! (DEC/MPLA, December 1970)



REPERCUSSIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE INVASION

The Washington Post may have mocked at the reports of Portugal's invasion of Guinea: "One is tempted to dismiss all this as a typical and fairly harmless African political charade which owes its prominence in the Monday headlines to the sparseness of the general Sunday news" (Washington Post editorial, Nov. 24). But with the return of the U.N. fact-finding team (See Section "AT THE UNITED NATIONS") it became more and more difficult to deny the facts. "The invasion . . . was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside the Republic of Guinea," they reported, backing up their version with testimony

from sources such as the American and West German Ambassadors in Conakry, as well as prisoners taken by Guinea.

The resolution adopted by the Security Council condemned Portugal, called for payment of compensation, and urged all nations to refrain from giving Portugal "any material assistance and material assistance enabling it to continue its repressive actions" in Africa. The United States, Britain, France, and Spain abstained, although the resolution had been watered down from the original Afro-Asian version in an effort to win western support. American, British, and French representatives made it clear that the abstention did not mean they could refute the U.N. commission's report. American delegate Charles W. Yost declared that the U.S. had "no reason to question the mission's considered judgment and opinion." But, he said, the U.S. could not vote for the resolution because the language of the text might be used in the future in a demand for mandatory sanctions against Portugal.

The U.S. abstention stirred only minimal attention in this country: the "crisis" had passed, and the press had already other things to talk about. The New York Times, feeling that the Afro-Asian resolution had been watered down sufficiently, felt the U.S. should have voted in favor. The editorial even went on to comment that "Lisbon's refusal even to discuss self-determination and independence with the black leaders of its African territories is the root cause of violence and guerrilla war in Portuguese Africa" (Dec. 10). And in a strange development a State Department source leaked to the press that they were worried that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would ask them about the use of herbicides by Portugal in Angola. (Portugal, the U.S., and Australia were the only countries voting in the General Assembly against a resolution maintaining that an international treaty banned the use of herbicides in war.) MPLA has claimed several times during the past year that herbicides were used in Angola, presenting detailed accounts in its communiques, but that the State Department should reveal that it was looking into the subject is unexpected. Several days later (Dec. 12) an official spokesman denied that the State Department had any information on the subject; privately they added that the publication of the report in the New York Times had "not been helpful." Somebody must have goofed!

There was reaction to the Guinean invasion by several black groups, including a new coalition formed in Harlem (the Federation of Pan-African Nationalist Organizations) Imamu Amiri Baraka's Committee for Unified Newark, National Committee of Black Churchmen, and an Ad Hoc Committee of Afro-Americans Concerned About U.S. Policy in Africa, which placed an ad in the New York Times—see this issue of Southern Africa). The attention paid to such protest was minimal.

Meanwhile, reaction in Africa was more substantial. At a meeting of the Organization of African

Unity in Lagos, Nigeria, the OAU Ministerial Council agreed on a special fund for "financial, military and technical assistance to Guinea," and on increased support for PAIGC. (Dec. 11) A joint defense committee was formed by Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea. Although later in the month Sekou Toure warned that Portuguese troops were massing again across the border, the main result of the Portuguese invasion seems to have been increased support for the liberation struggle against Portugal, and a setback for Portuguese and South African cultivation of African "moderation."

PORTUGUESE COMMUNIQUE ADMITS MORE CASUALTIES

According to a Portuguese armed forces communique released on October 16, 1970, Portuguese forces suffered 68 killed and wounded in September and 52 in August. They claimed to have killed during the same period 108 African guerrillas, captured 295 guerrillas, and occupied a guerrilla base. (Daily Nation Oct. 16)

U.S.-TRAINED OFFICERS DESERT PORTUGUESE ARMY

Seeking asylum in Sweden, six Portuguese army lieutenants claimed that before being assigned to Mozambique, they were trained by U.S. Army personnel in West Germany. According to Lt. Constantine A. Lucas, many Portuguese soldiers are sent to West Germany from Portugal for training by U.S. guerrilla warfare experts. (Jet Magazine, Nov. 19, 1970)

ANTI-WAR SABOTAGE IN PORTUGAL ESCALATES

On October 26 and 30 bombs exploded aboard the Portuguese troop and transport ships Cunene and Vera Cruz. On November 20 the attack was renewed by the Portuguese movement Armed Revolutionary Action, with blasts at the Portuguese political police (PIDE, nor General Directorate of Security) training school, the U.S. Embassy Library, and on the waterfront. The waterfront blast was from a bomb in a suitcase due to be placed aboard the Portuguese liner Niassa, scheduled to leave for Africa with soldiers aboard the next day. Bad weather had delayed the loading of cargo. For the first time, the Portuguese press was allowed to report the bombings, which would have been difficult to conceal from the Lisbon public.

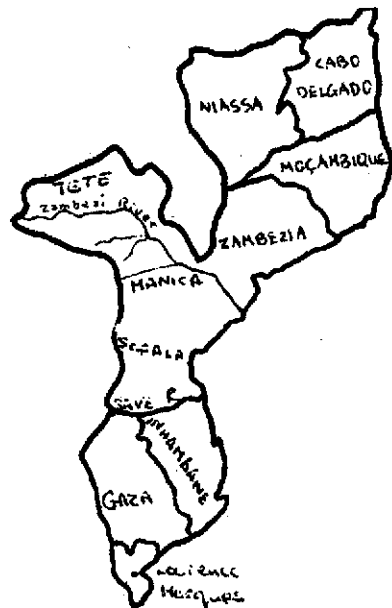
THE GERMAN SAGA OF CABORA BASSA

During the spring, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia campaigned in Europe for non-participation in the massive, strategic Cabora Bassa Dam project to be constructed along the Zambezi River in Mozambique. In May, Kaunda asked Social Democrat Chancellor Willy Brandt to have the West German Government withdraw credit guarantees from German firms

connected with the dam construction (i.e. Siemens, AEG, Brown-Boveri, Voith and Hochtief). Although Kaunda met with a positive reaction from the Italian Government, the German Government said nein. (East African Standard, Aug. 1, 1970) In June students in the Heidelberg area where the major corporate factories are located, launched protests and began to seize upon the Cabora Bassa issue as a prime vehicle for student-worker action.

Apparently Brandt tried to soothe African feathers, when friend Heniz Kuehn, Social Democrat P.M. of North Rhine-Westphalia State, visited Tanzania and Zambia during the summer, ostensibly in his role as executive member of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. Kuehn explained that the German Government couldn't withdraw guarantees which had been granted by the preceding administration (East African STANDARD' Aug. 29, 1970), and spoke to liberation movement people (including FRELIMO) about ways in which the Foundation could relate to the non-military needs of the groups. For this action, he received harsh criticism from the opposition back home. (Durban Daily Nation, Aug. 27, 1970; East African Standard, Sept. 3, 1970). He also condemned the Cabora Bassa scheme as having military overtones, which caused a Portuguese reaction.

Beyond the student protests, the campaign has picked up Catholic support. Siemens had to appoint a full-time public relations officer to counter the anti-dam attacks of the groups and journalists. With words which remind us of U.S. corporate statements, Siemens justified its role by stating, "We have always made a point of going into all markets and of helping the local people to become prosperous . . . we do not concern ourselves with the politics of other countries. We would not, for instance, refuse to do business with the Americans if we didn't like Nixon policies." (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Sept. 27, 1970)



MPLA ATTACKS WHILE PORTUGUESE COURT FOREIGN INVESTMENT

While the headlines focus on Guinea (Bissau) and the Portuguese emphasize Cabora Bassa and their new counter-insurgency, offensive in Mozambique, the struggle continues in Angola as well. A report from MPLA (Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola) notes that about 196 Portuguese soldiers were killed in September, and that several Portuguese armored cars, as well as a helicopter, were destroyed by MPLA forces.

Meanwhile, the New York Times (Nov. 30) carried an advertisement of two full pages for "The Province of Angola," designed to attract new foreign investment. Among the interesting comments is a paragraph on the Benguela Railway, which notes:

"The Railway is one of the most profitable in the world. It has average annual profits of about \$10 million. More than \$20 million will be spent in the

next four years on improvements to the 150 miles of track running inland from Lobito. This project, named Cubal Variant, is entirely financed by foreign capital, thereby lending their credit to the Portuguese Administration."

The major mineral resources of Angola so far exploited are not in the areas of greatest guerrilla activity, and the Portuguese are concentrating on increasing the flow of foreign capital to these areas as rapidly as possible. According to the Standard Bank Review for September, 1970 (Supplement on Angola and Mozambique), "Up to a few years ago few people outside Portugal and its provinces had any intimate knowledge of Angola. To most it was merely a country situated somewhere in Africa. Today the situation is very different. Interest in the progress of this country is becoming widespread in business, financial and mining circles, particularly those in South Africa, and South African capital is starting to flow north" (p. 14).

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

NEWS ON GUERRILLA ACTIVITY

"Reports reaching London state that South Africa has increased its military and paramilitary assistance to Rhodesia in the face of mounting African nationalist guerrilla activity.

"The reports indicate that there are now about 4,000 South African troops and policemen with the Rhodesian army along the Zambesi River Valley. They are equipped with 'Saracen' armoured personnel carriers, patrol vehicles and 'Alouette' helicopters.

"According to *The Guardian* newspaper, the South Africans have recently strengthened a military base in the Caprivi Strip which is used in security operations along the Zambian border.

"The paper says Prime Minister Vorster has admitted publicly that paramilitary forces were operating against the guerrillas on the northern borders but the South African Government has refused to comment on reports that troops as well as policemen were involved. (Reuter, 30 Oct.)

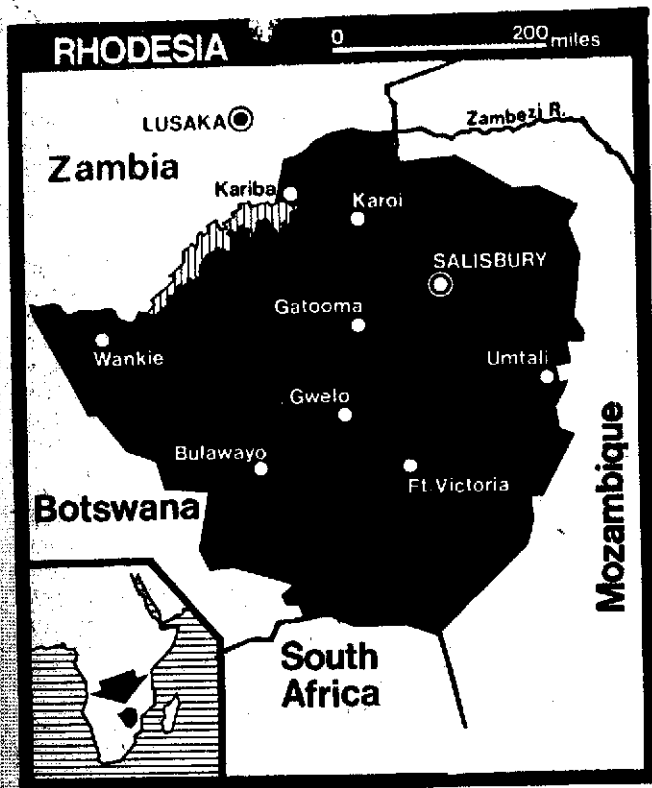
Guerrilla activity in Zimbabwe is on a higher level than has been disclosed in government communique, concludes the Salisbury correspondent of the *London Sunday Telegraph* after the publication of Smith's "honours list" which replaces the Queen's traditional honours list. It awards most of the 62 members of the security forces for bravery in battles with guerrillas in the Zambezi Valley. The citations showed that the guerrillas engaged Southern Rhodesian forces in close combat on many occasions. (*Standard of Tanzania*, 30 Oct. 1970).

The Rand Daily Mail also reported (Nov. 18) that an anti-terrorist fund has been launched to raise R148,000 in aid of Rhodesia as a sequel to the recent grant of the same amount to guerrilla organizations by the World Council of Churches. The goal of the fund, which was established by the national council of the South Africa-Rhodesia Association, is to raise the same amount as the World Council had donated to "terrorist" causes.

FINED OVER EXPORTS TO SOUTHERN RHODESIA

A textile machinery manufacturing company was fined a total of \$14,448 and ordered to pay costs in Liverpool at the end of November on 14 charges involving illegal export to Rhodesia. The firm was Leeson Ltd., of Heywood, Lancashire. Its export sales manager, Mr. Jack Lent, pleaded guilty to six charges and was fined a total of \$721.

The firm, which admitted the charges, supplied two textile machines to a company in Rhodesia before U.D.I. Afterwards, spares and extensions to the machinery were sent to a South African firm which forwarded the goods to Rhodesia. (*Johannesburg Star*, which forwarded the goods to Rhodesia. (*Johannesburg Star*, Nov. 28)



GROUP AREAS IN RHODESIA

Rhodesia's Local Government Minister, Mr. Mark Partridge, announced details on November 26 of the proposed Residential Owners' (Protection) Bill which

brings group areas to Rhodesia once and for all. He said the bill would have the effect of clearing Asian and Mixed Race "infiltrators" out of white residential areas. The bill allows the eviction of "excluded denominations" from an area after 15 residents, whose identities will remain secret, have applied to the local authority for their area to be declared "exclusive." Mr. Partridge claimed the bill was aimed at reducing racial tension and stabilizing property values in the face of "infiltration" by other racial groups. A government-appointed investigation will handle the application and report to the President, who may then declare the area "exclusive." Right of appeal is granted to a three-man tribunal appointed by the regime's Minister of Justice. An "excluded person" will have three months to leave his property. He will be paid "reasonable moving expenses" (*East African Standard*, 27 Nov.). Diplomats, mixed-marriage couples and people who have been living unquestioned on their property for more than two years after the bill becomes law will be exempted from the bill's provision.

The results of this bill could be the development of South African-type 'group areas.' However, South Africa imposes its scheme by direct law; the Rhodesian regime is trying to give white Rhodesians the power to impose them at will.

Rhodesia's multi-racial opposition Centre Party attacked the bill as "a pathetic attempt at pre-negotiation bravado—the worst kind of constitution horse-trading." A joint statement issued by the National Association of Coloured People (mixed race) and the Southern Rhodesian Asian Organization warned that the bill would "create more racial disharmony and seriously prejudice race relations in the future" and called on the churches and all "free-thinking" Rhodesians for support in opposing this "vicious and evil piece of legislation." (*East African Standard*, 28 Nov.)

SOUTH AFRICA'S HOSTAGES

A CRACK IN THE WALL: BOTSWANA SPEAKS AGAINST BRITISH ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA

From another part of Africa a broadcast such as Seretse Khama made on September 30, Botswana's fourth anniversary of "independence," might not have caused a ripple of interest—nothing brave or unusual, just words of pan-African solidarity. But Botswana is NOT elsewhere in Africa—it is in the heart of the white-dominated southern third, and to take a position condemning U.K. plans to resume arms sales to South Africa, and to oppose the talk of greater South African and Portuguese participation in Western defense strategies took careful weighing of South Africa's retaliatory capabilities against the need to speak out on this crucial issue.

Seretse Khama stated that Botswana was opposed both to

the sale of arms to South Africa and to any Western military involvement with countries which deny self-determination in Southern Africa. The basis for his opposition to the latter was couched in internationalist but nonetheless relevant and evocative terms—he does not "wish to see in Southern Africa the kind of conflict [that exists] in the Middle East or in Vietnam, with Western countries lined up on one side and Eastern countries on the other. . . . A dangerous situation will arise in Africa if the Portuguese territories and South Africa are permitted to play a part in Western defense arrangements, as Western military involvement with Portugal and South Africa increases the danger of ideological and great power conflicts which is added to the existing problems of racialism and minority rule which already threaten peace and security not only in South Africa but also in Africa as a whole. It will benefit nobody if the argument about democracy, dignity,

and self-determination becomes confused with the arguments between Communists and anti-Communists which are irrelevant to our problems."

As President of Botswana, Seretse Khama's speaking out could encourage the British government to listen to the majority of the British public and not to the British capitalists who think they will profit directly and indirectly (by protecting the investment climate in Southern Africa) from the sales. Before Seretse Khama had spoken against it, a member of the South African government told Agence France Presse in Cape Town that a major point in South Africa's defense capabilities under the Simonstown agreement. Unspoken of course was the pressure put on neighbors not to oppose. The silence has now been broken and the next moves are up to South Africa and to the U.K.

Why did Botswana speak its opposition to the British policy change? Over the last 6 or 7 years Seretse Khama's speeches have shown a gradual movement toward frank articulation of his opposition to South African foreign policy. (He had never withheld expressing his disapproval of domestic apartheid policies.) Success in building alternative foreign economic and diplomatic ties has been integral to giving maneuverability to Botswana. This spring a series of contracts with Western governments and companies was signed to develop mineral resources and thus diversify the cattle-raising base of the economy. The crisis which followed the U.S. Agency for International Development agreement to help build the road to Zambia was weathered with the U.S. Government resisting South African pressure to prevent the acceptance of the agreement. Nonetheless the U.S. Government should not be counted on to find common cause with Botswana, especially vis-a-vis South Africa; hopefully Seretse Khama feels his support internationally has a stronger base than this slightly tried but not likely to be found true alliance. (Africa Research Bulletin, Oct. 15, 1970)

HOW BANDA TOOK THE FIRST STEPS SOUTH

Banda of Malawi was the first African head of State who suggested talking to the South Africans rather than isolating them. He himself had actually walked from Malawi to South Africa where he had his primary school education and spent much of his pre-university life there before going to Britain and America.

This may have colored his attitude towards South Africa, but the President is a realist who sees that links with South Africa are inevitable for his State. South Africa is Malawi's second biggest market apart from Britain and in return sells more goods to Malawi than any other country but Britain. South Africa sells machinery and manufactured goods and buys tobacco, cotton, tea, peanuts and other agricultural products.

Malawi also has a large force of workmen who leave the country to work in the mines in South Africa, and this force currently numbers about 200,000. Given these links Banda seems to have decided to formalize relationships and the two countries exchanged representatives at charge d'affaires level in 1967. The Malawi charge d'affaires is Mr. P. A. Richardson, a white, British-born former colonial officer who was permanent secretary to the Malawi external affairs department before taking on the job. He has two black Malawi assistants with him and the group commutes between two offices, one in the capital of Pretoria and the other at Cape Town, where Parliament sits. The Malawians have the same status as other diplomats and there are no restrictions on them living in white areas or using any other white facilities. (Reprinted from The Sunday Times, Nov. 29, 1970)

INSIDE NAMIBIA

PERSISTENT RUMORS OF UNREST

News from inside Namibia filters slowly if at all into the outside world, but the two brief demonstrations reported here are probably indicative of a more or less constant unrest. The first was a demonstration of students at Dobra College, a private Roman Catholic African school near Windhoek. The demonstration, which occurred on October 11, was broken up by police using dogs. Several demonstrators were hurt, one of them badly. (Anti-Apartheid News, Nov. 1970)

The second demonstration occurred when Mr. J. J. Loots, Minister of Rehoboth Affairs, visited Rehoboth, a small town 50 miles south of Windhoek. About 200 demonstrators greeted Loots with placards which read: "Keep your money and leave our ground"; "Loots, where is your permit?"; "Rather

poor than a rich slave"; "Vorster, leave our ground"; "South African Government, do away with your pigs and pigsties and your cronies"; "A dog has the right to fight for his survival, but not a Baster"; "Gone with apartheid." (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 21, 1970) In the dust on the minister's car someone had scrawled "Voetsak, you dog" and "Loots, you pig." Mr. Loots had come to open the regional offices of the Department of Rehoboth Affairs, but fewer than 40 people entered the building to listen to his speech.

SIERRA LEONE AIDS SWAPO

Following a visit by SWAPO's President Sam Nujoma and a SWAPO delegation to Sierra Leone, Sierra Leone's Prime Minister Siaka Stevens has announced that Sierra Leone will give aid to SWAPO. (Anti-Apartheid News, Nov. 1970)

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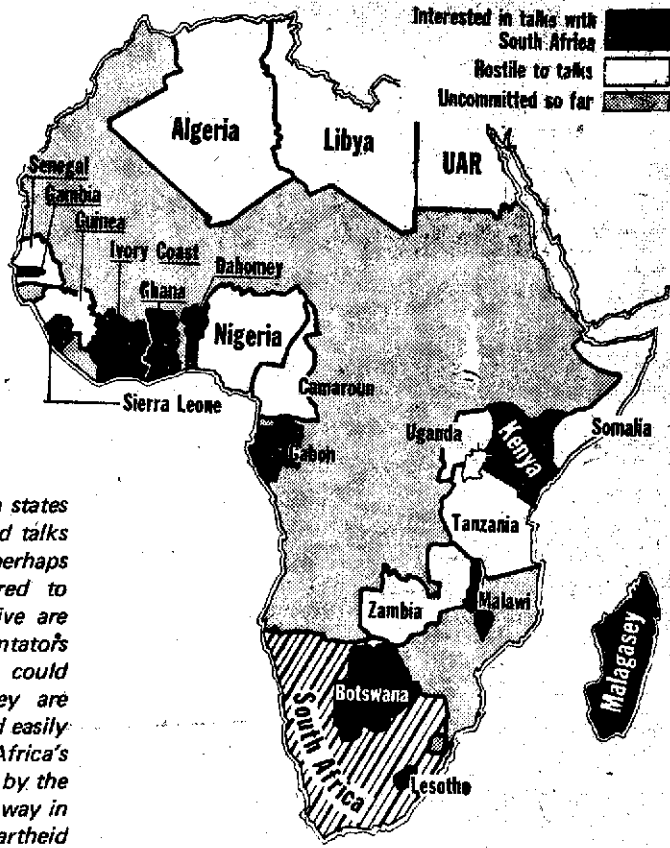
SOUTH AFRICA'S SWEET TALK

In the last four weeks six black African states have announced their willingness to hold talks with the white regime of South Africa; perhaps double that number are now prepared to discuss the idea of talks; and about five are hesitating on the brink. To some commentators this is a sudden change of heart which could end South Africa's isolation. But they are over-optimistic, and the new moves could easily backfire. The real importance of South Africa's "diplomatic offensive" is the part played by the French-speaking states in Africa, and the way in which South Africa is trying to "sell" apartheid to the rest of the continent without actually bending its internal policy.

The first move came on November 4 when President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast announced that his Government was planning an African summit to urge a dialogue with South Africa.

The President said he planned to make contact with African Heads of State to ensure that the Ivory Coast was not on its own. With remarkable alacrity he was supported in his bid by other States. But the division of African opinion, expected to be between former French- and English-speaking colonies, has not emerged. At least two Commonwealth countries have expressed their interest in Houphouet-Boigny's idea. If the matter is now taken to the Organization for African Unity, he may gather more support than he reckoned on.

Any African summit, within the O.A.U. or not, will certainly discuss the Ivory Coast move in the context of the Lusaka Manifesto, agreed to in April last year by 14 African countries, later adopted by the O.A.U., and now an official United Nations document. This document offers an approach to South Africa PROVIDED there is a commitment on South Africa's part to the full emancipation of Africans.



The terms are generous and were and still are regarded with dismay by the African National Congress of South Africa, the underground liberation movement. They regard them as too open to interpretation, and point out that in South Africa's view the policy of separate development (apartheid) in the tribal areas meets the commitment. If any discussion does follow the Ivory Coast's initiative, the argument is bound to resolve on an interpretation of this "commitment."

South Africa expects that the Ivory Coast will be backed by most of the 14 members of the African and Malagasy Common Organization (OCAM), a political grouping of "francophone" states within the O.A.U. Gabon and the Malagasy Republic have already given full support and the South African Foreign Minister, Dr. Muller, signed a trade agreement with the Malagasy Republic last week.

But two important African members of the Commonwealth, Ghana and Kenya, have also given qualified support to the Ivory Coast plan.

When Kenya's Foreign Minister, Dr. Mungai, returned home after his overseas tour as part of President Kaunda's mission on the question of British arms sales to South Africa, he gave qualified support to the Ivory Coast plan, according to Nairobi radio. If the proposals

were based on the Lusaka Manifesto, Dr. Mungai said, they were worth trying.

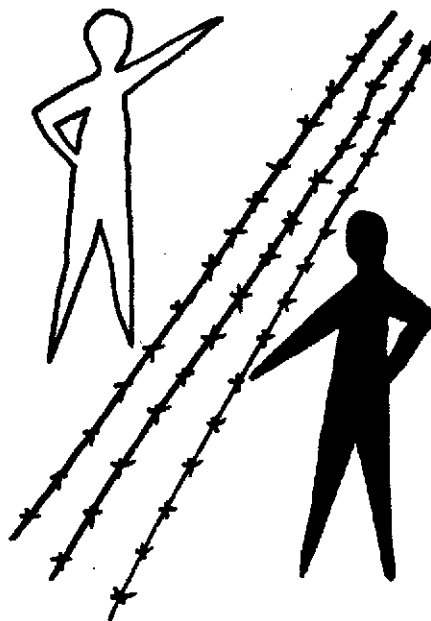
Ghana's Prime Minister, Dr. Kofi Busia, told a press conference in Ottawa on November 10 that it was time for African countries themselves to re-assess approaches to South Africa. The guerrilla strategy "simply had not worked" and trade boycotts had been similarly ineffective. A dialogue with South Africa as a possible means of ending the apartheid policy should not be excluded.

Chief opposition to the plan so far has come from Nigeria, Tanzania, and Somalia, although there is little doubt that others will join them, particularly Zambia, Uganda, the U.A.R., Algeria, Libya and Guinea. Smaller Commonwealth African countries like the former protectorates—Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana—and Sierra Leone and the Gambia would probably take a position similar to that of Kenya. Malawi of course already has diplomatic relations with South Africa. A count of heads at the O.A.U. shows that more than 20 states will either support or be prepared to debate in terms of the Lusaka Manifesto the Ivory Coast initiative while some 10 states will definitely oppose it, leaving five to 10 states liable to go either way.

The Lusaka Manifesto itself received such scant attention overseas in April that the Zambian Government published it as an advertisement in *The Times* and other leading papers in the world. It is a long document which opens by re-stating African opposition to any form of racialism and the desire for peaceful solutions in Africa. Acknowledging their own imperfections, the African states appealed to South Africa to commit itself "to human equality and human dignity" and the right of all people to participate in their own societies equally. In a key section of the manifesto the offer to South Africa is given. Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories are included.

The South African Press is jubilant over the Ivory Coast's initiative, calling it an unexpected breakthrough. The South African government is much more cautious. For some time past the Foreign Ministry had been working on a strategy for going into black Africa through the French-speaking states with the help of France, and they know its dangers as well as its possibilities.

Mr. Vorster's visit to Paris in June of this year, before the British general election, puzzled those who saw it as an attempt to boost South African arms purchases. But while Mr. Vorster was in Paris, Radio South Africa



was confidently broadcasting: "The military implications of cooperation between Paris and Pretoria are wider than the mere provision of arms. France is virtually divorced from NATO and South Africa has been virtually abandoned by her traditional military partners." Thus, it suggested, France was in the best possible role to help South Africa establish relations with "Francophone" states and Mr. Vorster's visit would create an understanding "at top level."

These approaches stem from the efforts of Mr. Dawie de Villiers, the Cape Town advocate (now head of a Nationalist newspaper group) who led South Africa's team at The Hague in the South-West African case three years ago. He returned convinced that South Africa had to stop being on the defensive and should instead go out to make overtures to the world.

The Foreign Ministry, under the inspiration of Mr. Albertus Burger, then head of the Africa section, and now, significantly, South African Ambassador to France, worked on the French-speaking African States with the help of France. Mr. Vorster's visit to Paris was the successful outcome and the Ivory Coast's overture followed naturally.

But behind this eagerness to make contact with black Africa is a new economic force represented by the *verligte* (enlightened) section of the ruling Nationalist Party. It consists of a rising group of Afrikaans industrialists, bankers, financiers and investors

who have acquired an ever-increasing stake in the country's economy. They are the indigenous capitalists and now they seek to export their capital, manufactured goods and expertise, to what they regard as their natural market—the African hinterland.

They are not a cohesive group whose representatives meet to formulate policy in some institutionalized way and they are as aware as their verkramppte (die-hard) critics that in exposing themselves to African influences outside the country they are also exposing the whole apartheid structure. But the verligtes believe they can contain this internally.

To do so they offer the policy of separate development in the bantustans (tribal areas) and, if their Africa policy is to succeed, they believe their bantustan policy must succeed as proof to the rest of Africa that their commitment to equality is genuine. This is their only hope of having any African summit accept separate development as a first sign of a commitment to human equality demanded by the Lusaka Manifesto.

The verkrampptes, who broke away from Mr. Vorster and who have been soundly trounced in a General Election and the later provincial elections, do not believe any concession to apartheid can be contained. Lower one barrier, however slightly, and the rest go down one by one, they reason. Economically they represent large land-owners with an extreme vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

How convincing the verligte policy—a

somewhat optimistic interpretation of the Lusaka Manifesto—will prove is a moot point. It is also a distant one. Things are a long way from any actual discussion, and at the United Nations South Africa is still faced with an implacable wall of black hostility.

But the new moves of the last few weeks suggest that several African statesmen may be thinking like Dr. Busia that every point of contact is a point of pressure as well. And if pressure can be brought then it will coincide with the economic pressures being felt inside South Africa.

Finally, and most important, there is the abuse, injustice and humiliation felt by the Africans in South Africa. These, too, will lead to political pressure from that section of the South African population who cannot be ignored in an expanding economy—the work force, nearly all of it black. Nor should the stand taken by African States over apartheid be dismissed as posturing. They feel deeply affronted, so deeply affronted in fact that before South Africa can score up diplomatic successes this affront will have to be eased. The South Africans may find their diplomatic breakthrough as domestically divisive as they believe it will be at the O.A.U.

Arthur Rudolph
Benjamin Pogrund
and Tony Clifton

(Reprinted from The Sunday Times, Nov. 29, 1970)

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ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER CHALLENGED BY STUDENTS

The 25th Anniversary of the United Nations was the occasion for innumerable foreign ministers and heads of state to come to the United States. Among the dignitaries in the U.S. was the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Dr. Rui Patricio. Whether here for the U.N. or not, Patricio apparently fulfilled various speaking engagements in the U.S., one of which was at the University of Connecticut (Storrs) to which he had been invited by the Department of Political Science and the Institute of International and Intercultural Studies. On November 16 Patricio came to the U.N. Room at the U. Conn. Student Union prepared to speak on "Portuguese Policy in Africa." Students in the hall "welcomed" the Foreign Minister with boos and hand-claps, and after three attempts to continue with his speech Patricio stepped down, unable to finish.

Earlier in the day the Foreign Minister had been ushered around Yale by the Secretary of the University. It was not until a U. Conn. luncheon that noon that he was challenged by a South African Professor, Bernard Magubane. Only then did Patricio realize that Connecticut was not all pro-Portuguese colonialism. But even then, as a reporter drily commented, "... from the 15 or so faculty members who attended the luncheon, not one other than Prof. Magubane questioned the Portuguese foreign minister's views. Either they were ignorant of the crisis [in Portuguese Africa], or they agreed with Dr. Patricio's explanations."

The U.Conn. demonstration against the Portuguese foreign minister was called by the Black Student Alliance, SDS, and African Students of U. Conn., "because he was a representative of Portuguese fascism which is carrying out mass colonial exploitation endorsed by the American government."

Can we believe that Yale and the U. Conn. faculty don't know this? Patricio is next scheduled to meet with President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers. (New Haven Register, Nov. 17 and 22, 1970)

VICTORY FOR ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES HOLIDAY INNS STOPS SOUTH AFRICAN ADS IN THE U.S.

Conceding that South Africa is a dirty word in the U.S., John Vieyra, Managing Director of Holiday Inns in South Africa, announced that the huge hotel chain would not promote its South African inns in the States. Vieyra explained, after a meeting with American executives of Holiday Inns, that the Inns "have been subjected to pressures because they are in South Africa . . . in this country [South Africa] the facilities they offer are not available to all sections of the population. . . We can't expect a great expansion of tourism in South Africa from America . . . We are catering essentially for South Africans." (Note: whites only of course, Ed.) The Inns in Swaziland

and Lesotho will be advertised by the central American advertising and promotion fund but the words "South Africa" will be excluded although the "Southern Africa" terminology might be retained. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 14)

This unprecedented policy is, it appears, the result of private and public pressures against Holiday Inns (with headquarters in Nashville, the Inns prides itself on its civil rights record in the American South) via letters, inquiries, phone calls, etc. In addition, the legal action taken against South African Airways (see below) had no doubt presaged (for Holiday Inns officials) the possibility of impending local trouble because of advertising discriminatory facilities in the U.S.



NEW YORK STATE SUPREME COURT DECIDES IN FAVOR OF SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS

The New York State Division of Human Rights has for more than a year been involved in a case against the South African Airways, an agency of the government of South Africa. The case has gone through many levels of the State court system, with an attempt being made by the Division to have a PUBLIC hearing on the issues. In mid-November, the Supreme Court ruled that the Division "is without authority to conduct a hearing on the visa policy of the Government of South Africa as it affects petitioner (S.A.A.)." (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 14) The State Division of Human Rights had argued that as a government agency, S.A.A. is responsible for discrimination when black Americans do not obtain visas to enter racist South Africa. The Airway claimed it was not involved in this government decision, but acted like all other airlines. The follow-up action by the State has not been decided.

AMBULANCE DONATED TO FRELIMO

A supporter of FRELIMO in Leeds, England donated an ambulance to the movement which will go to the Amerigo Boavida Hospital in Southern Tanzania. Students in Sheffield have collected clothes and blankets also. (Anti-Apartheid News, Nov. 1970)

CANADIAN VOLUNTEERS VOTE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION ACTION

At an annual meeting of the Canadian University Service (C.U.S.), delegates voted to put pressure on the Canadian Government and companies to stop ties with South Africa and the Portuguese territories. In addition they voted for a C.U.S.O. program to educate Canadians about Southern Africa and to demand that the Canadian Government recognize the legitimacy of the Southern African liberation movements. The motions, passed by two-thirds of the group, were not approved by the new executive director of the Canadian "Peace Corps." [The Canadian Government underwrites 90% of the costs once host governments in 40 countries finance 50% of the annual C.U.S.O. budget.] (East African Standard, Nov. 12; and the Standard of Tanzania, Nov. 12, 1970)

GERMAN GOVERNMENT RUMORED TO AID LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

\$42 million is the expected contribution of the West German Government to the liberation movements. The monies, promised by Chancellor Willy Brandt, will be channeled through President Kaunda of Zambia. It was reported that Brandt was influenced by North Rhine-Westphalia Minister Kuehn who travelled to Africa, and is compensating for continued German economic involvement in the Cabora Bassa project (German contracts amount to \$307 million). (East African Standard, Oct. 29, 1970)

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT PULLS OUT ADS IN BRITISH PAPER

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement placed an advertisement worth \$192 in the Times, and caused the South African Government, which had planned a series of ads by different departments worth \$19,200, to withdraw. The South African Embassy said that the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and Amnesty International and the International Defense and Aid Fund had "created a discordant note by barging in. . ." Who's barging where? (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 24, 1970)

Note: The Times did not welcome the Anti-Apartheid Movement ad; in fact the Times informed the movement before the special South African supplement was printed that it would "prefer not to print" the ad which read, "This supplement does not show even half the true picture." When AAM threatened to go to the Press Council, the Times found room to print the following: "We publish a supplement on South Africa every month. . ." advertising Anti-Apartheid News. (Anti-Apartheid News, Nov. 1970)

BRITISH IMPORTER BOYCOTTS SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS

The impression that the European boycott of South African products has fallen by the wayside is misleading. For example, Donald McNab, chief executive of the London Co-operative Society, which operates supermarkets, explained that his organiza-

tion was cutting back buying South African goods and seeking other supplies in Spain, Hungary and Bulgaria. When questioned about the politics of those countries, McNab replied, "They are different from South Africa because there is no apartheid in those countries. I don't think the question of inconsistency arises." (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 29)

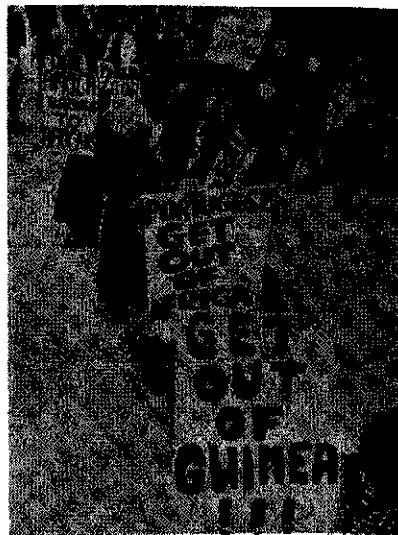
LIBERATION STRUGGLE SHOWS SIGN OF LENGTHY COMMITMENT

Ten years of armed struggle, ten years of continuing deprivation, ten years of imprisonment and poverty; ten years is a long time.

Yet the decade of the 60's revealed in the southern African context the birth of its own prolongation. 1961—Angola; 1963—Guinea; 1964—Mozambique; 1966—Namibia; 1967—Zimbabwe—all were beginnings of new forms of struggle against racism and colonialism. Now, 1970, ten years after Sharpeville, 11 years after Mueda, there are indications that the world outside southern Africa now realizes as do the liberation movements that a prolonged conflict is an absolute necessity.

PROTEST OF PORTUGAL'S INVASION OF GUINEA

The Black community has strongly protested the Portuguese invasion of Guinea. In Newark, the Congress of African People called for a boycott of all Portuguese products such as sardines, tomato paste, olive oil and wines (Washington Post, Nov. 26) while in New York a rally was sponsored on Dec. 12 by a Federation of Pan-African Nationalist Organizations (Amsterdam News, Dec. 12, 1970). Operation-Breadbasket in Chicago also condemned the invasion.



Portugal Denounced: Protesting the recent military invasion of the Republic of Guinea, U. S. Blacks, spearheaded by poet-playwright Imamu Amiri Baraka's (LeRoi Jones) Committee for United NewArts picketed Portuguese consulate in Newark, N. J.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON:

AFRICA should not suffer from the continuing short-sighted crisis diplomacy characteristic of United States foreign relations. It was this same kind of egocentricity which blinded America to the realities of Indo-China and resulted in pain, anguish, and increasing economic hardship for millions of Asians and Americans. Mr. President, you should not remain silent regarding issues important to African peoples: 1) the recent invasions of Guinea financed primarily by the enemies of African freedom; 2) the growing economic difficulties of the independent African States; and 3) the worsening crisis in Southern Africa.

As African-Americans, we are concerned that the pitiful amount of United States economic aid to Africa has been drastically curtailed under a cynical policy of granting only regional aid. This policy was formulated at a time when foreign influence prevents the creation of such regional groupings and when African States desperately need bilateral assistance.

Mr. President, we particularly deplore your failure to have arranged a mutually convenient time to discuss with President Kaunda of Zambia the abhorrent policies of the white minority regimes in Southern Africa. Even though you recognized in your "State of the World" message earlier this year that "deep-seated tensions" exist in Southern Africa, conditions in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe will not improve unless thoughtful action is taken. Therefore, your inability to meet President Kaunda during his recent visit to the United States, is deeply disturbing. President Kaunda had a mandate from the 60 or more "Non-Aligned Nations" that met in Lusaka in September, and from the Organization of African Unity of which he is the current chairman. Your expressed approval of the Lusaka Manifesto's appeal for a peaceful settlement of the tensions of southern Africa, renders your inability to meet with President Kaunda even more unacceptable.

The more than 24 million Americans of African descent have not missed the implications of your Southern African strategy. It is very akin to your "southern strategy" for the United States. While unable to meet President Kaunda and our own Black elected representatives, you have repeatedly given audiences to officials from the ancestral lands of America's other ethnic groups. As President, you have also visited the ancestral lands of these groups. It is time to recognize, Mr. President, that Afro-Americans have always possessed great concern for the continent of their ancestors. This concern is increasing given the growing racial confrontation in Africa and in the United States.

We call upon you, Sir, to:

- 1) develop a meaningful aid policy for Africa.
- 2) accord due respect to all African officials visiting the United States.
- 3) disassociate the United States economically and politically from South Africa as long as that country pursues a policy of Apartheid—a policy which threatens both international peace and security and American domestic tranquility.
- 4) urge the United Kingdom not to resume arms sales to South Africa, and not to compromise with one minority regime in Zimbabwe.
- 5) withdraw landmine rights granted by the United States to South African Airways in violation of the United Nations General Assembly resolution.
- 6) discontinue military aid to Portugal under the Azores and NATO treaties and thereby make it impossible for her to wage repressive war against nationalist movements in Africa.
- 7) discourage the publically acknowledged American private investment in Portugal's slave empire.
- 8) honor your pledge in the "State of the World" message to help Africans, (in this case Guinea) to help themselves when they are threatened by outside forces attempting to subvert their independent development.

Ad Hoc Committee of Afro-Americans
Concerned About U. S. Policy in Africa

Z 7064 TIMES

Dr. Elliott Skinner, Co-ordinator
Mrs. Herschelle Challenor,

Dr. Mabel Smythe,
Barbara A. Wheeler.

The hundreds of signatories to the above "Open Letter" included:

Julian Bond	Vincent Harding
Prof. Robert G. Browne	Floyd McKissick, Esq.
Congresswoman Shirley Chisolm	Channing Phillips
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark	Dr. Elliott P. Skinner
Prof. John H. Clarke	Roy Wilkins
Dick Gregory	Ambassador Franklin Williams
Prof. John Hope Franklin	Whitney Young
Dr. Charles V. Hamilton	

ECONOMICS

GENERAL MOTORS SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCT TO BE SOLD ABROAD

G.M. South Africa has announced that the South African designed and developed passenger car, the Ranger, will be on sale in several European countries by the end of the year.

Ranger cars, made with over 50% South African components, have been on sale in Switzerland since February. They have created considerable interest in other European countries as well, and this had led to negotiations with G.M. subsidiaries on the continent for the sale of the car in selected markets. (South African News and Press Review, Oct-Nov. 1970)

The vital importance of this fact could easily go unnoticed. The U.A.W. has long warned that South African manufactured products, produced at low cost with cheap labor, could be marketed cheaply internationally. Several implications arise. If G.M. workers are on strike as they have been recently, and G.M.—U.S.A. operations are shut down, products from South Africa could help to keep G.M. show rooms stocked internationally. When on strike in the U.S.A. other G.M. workers around the world are encouraged to shut down also. This would be impossible in "stable" South Africa where strikes are illegal.

In addition, G.M.'s international marketing of the Ranger will help strengthen South Africa's balance of payments and assist in opening up new external trade links for South Africa. Since the car is made with South African components, South Africa's component industries and the economy generally will be strengthened by this move.

APARTHEID LIMITS UPGRADING OF NON-WHITE LABOR

The South African press continues to be full of stories on the shortage of skilled labor and its effects on the economy. Contradictory statements and actions are seen within government circles. On the same page of the Nov. 11, 1970 Rand Daily Mail appeared one story concerning a speech by the Minister of Defense affirming that non-white labor is essential to South Africa while another column reported that the Minister of Labor refused the Johannesburg City Council's request to allow Coloreds to drive busses for whites.

Mr. Botha, the Minister of Defense, encouraged white immigration to boost the white labor force, but admitted that the economic task of the future couldn't be done by whites only and therefore especially the Colored potential should be extended further.

Mr. Viljoen, the Minister of Labor, vigorously defended his decision to stop the "drastic measure" of allowing Coloreds to drive busses. Mr. Viljoen said the occupation of bus driver on "White busses" had always been the prerogatives of Whites, and the tribunal regarded the step envisaged by the city council as a very serious one.

In further coverage the president of the Federated Chamber of Industries stated on Nov. 5 that the country's main economic problem was that there were not enough economically active people, but that South Africa's labor shortage was self-imposed. Mr. Back attacked Government proposals to further restrict the employment of Africans in jobs such as telephonists, receptionists and clerical work.

Mr. Back's further comments are indicative of the limits in the debate on the increased use of non-white labor. Clearly he envisages whites maintaining total control, and receiving the major benefits of widened employment. "Will not the widening of the scope of employment for non-Whites have the net effect of the White industrial worker going still further, and much faster, up the economic ladder," he said. (Rand Daily Mail, Nov. 5, 1970) It seems virtually impossible looking at these criteria that the ferment over widened job opportunities for non-Whites will mean any change in white domination and control.

At the same meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries the Minister of Planning, Mr. Loots, claimed that organized industry had given unequivocal support to the Government's policy of decentralizing industry. He indicated that he expected full liaison between Government and industry in pursuing decentralization.

Mr. Loots did not explain that economic decentralization is part of a racially motivated government plan to remove as many Africans as possible from the cities to the "reserves" and that business cooperation was assistance in implementing the government's racial policies. Nor did he note that such "active support" automatically included many American companies such as Firestone or International Harvester who are setting up in border areas. Business support for "decentralization," including American businesses, clearly indicates once again how U.S. companies support apartheid.

RESOURCES FOR THE STRUGGLE

Liberation Support Movement has published a 28-page pamphlet, "Medical Assistance Services," dealing with Portuguese use of defoliants in Angola, medical care in guerrilla areas, and extensive lists of needs. \$.25 each or 25 for \$5: from

Liberation Support Movement
P. O. Box 15290
Seattle, Wash. 98115

STRONG STEPS TAKEN BY SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO EASE INFLATION

In an immediate move after the recent provincial elections, the South African Government drastically restricted the public's ability to obtain credit for luxury items. One of the results of lack of skilled labor has been an inflationary trend since both prices and white wages are pushed upward. The move by the Government is an attempt to control inflation but many commentators in the English South African press assert that the restrictions will just be a palliative for while it will reduce consumer demand it will not lead to the production of more goods because production depends on labor.

A representative editorial in the widely read Sunday Times of Nov. 22, 1970 commented:

"The Government is heading for a serious economic upset if it does not immediately increase South Africa's productive capacity—by allowing more non-Whites to be trained and employed in so-called White industries.

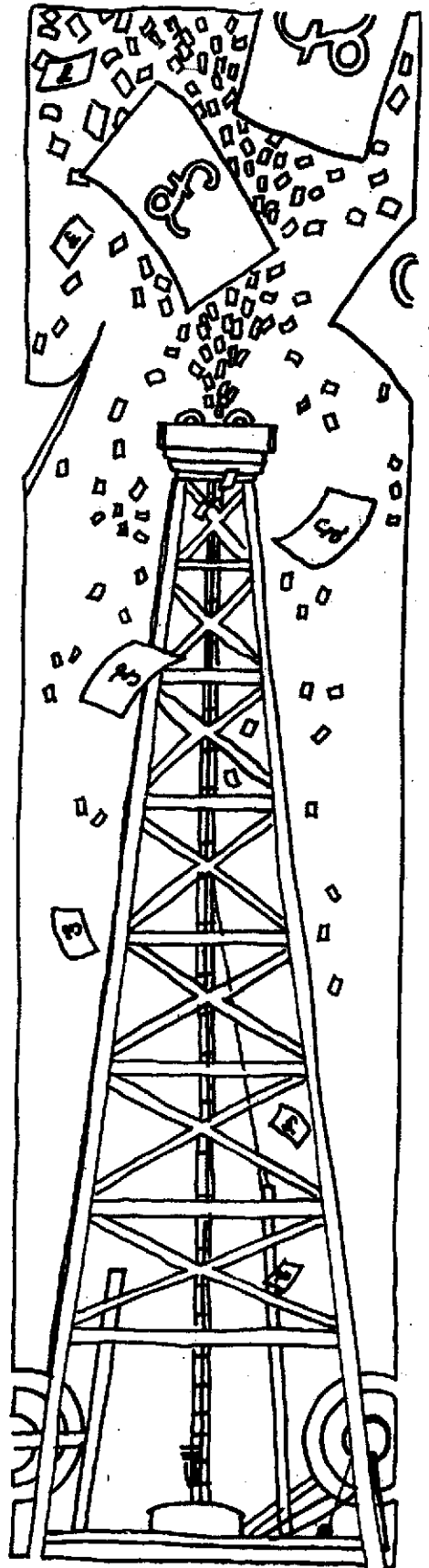
"This is the basic step needed to halt inflation. The Government is trying all kinds of other remedies, such as credit control, sales tax and hire purchase restrictions, but these are merely dislocating trade and hampering traders without, as far as one can judge, making any serious dent in inflation. But as long as the labour shortage lasts, with a premium placed on White labour, inflation will grow worse. The only thing that can stop it is greater productivity, which cannot be achieved without employing more non-Whites in skilled and semi-skilled work."

A November report of the Federated Chamber of Industries indicated there was an overall shortage of labor of 4.4% in industry with 63,000 jobs unfilled, 20,000 of them white.

MINISTER OF LABOR PLEDGES WHITE SUPERIORITY IN JOBS

Mr. Marais Viljoen, the Minister of Labor, told Cape Nationalists at their 1970 congress in East London that he would act "within hours" if a White worker anywhere in South Africa was placed under the authority of a member of any other race. Following a congress discussion on labor which reflected a more liberal attitude—"the show must go on, even without White labour"—Mr. Viljoen said the Government was determined to protect the position of the country's White workers. At the same time, however, non-Whites would be allowed to move into jobs for which no Whites were available. But this would be allowed on an orderly basis and the Government would not permit South Africa to be turned into a "mixed market-place" where races mixed freely on the work floor.

Mr. Viljoen heavily stressed the two basic conditions for further non-White involvement in the economy: no White worker should be pushed out of his job and no White worker should come under the authority of a non-White. He further stated that if a situation was brought to his notice in which a white worker was pushed out by a non-white he would take



the necessary action within a week. If he was told about a White placed under a non-White's authority, he would act "the very next morning."

When the South African Government allowed non-Whites into White jobs this would be done on a controlled basis "with due regard to the availability of White labour, White feelings and the opinions of the White-orientated trade unions." "On this basis, I believe we will cope with our economic situation," he said. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 22, 1970)

VORSTER ENCOURAGES INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT IN "HOMELANDS"

The Government will guarantee industrialists in the homelands against any losses they might suffer when the homelands become independent.

Announcing this as a policy decision, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said the Opposition was creating scare stories about investments in the homelands and was telling industrialists not to invest there because they could lose everything with independence.

His announcement is seen as an important concession and another desperate attempt by the Government to attract industrialists to the homelands. Mr. Vorster said: "If an industrialist establishes himself in the homelands on the agency basis, and suffers any loss as a result of that homeland's independence, or as a result of the political actions of the homeland government before his contract expires, this Government will guarantee him against any loss." He said he had made it clear previously that there would have to be lengthy discussions before independence could be granted to any homeland which wanted it. These discussions would include the interests of any industrialists who had established themselves in the homelands.

GOVERNMENT STANDS FIRM ON LIMITS TO "NON-WHITES" LABOR IN CITIES

In a recent speech in the Parliament Prime Minister Vorster made it clear that the Government was not going to listen to opposition criticisms and accept the fact that Africans were in the "white cities" to stay. The Nationalists are intent on removing as many Africans as possible to the reserves while the opposition United Party argues that Africans will always be working in industries in the urban areas.

Rumors had been circulating that the Government might allow companies to hire extra quotas of Africans in the urban areas if they would pay an extra tax. Instead, Mr. Vorster seemed to suggest, the best industry could hope for would be to share the existing urban labor force, and its natural increase until the "drawing power" of the homelands could absorb it. This could be achieved by certain industries moving to border areas or taking their operations into

the homelands themselves. Mr. Vorster said unfortunately there were industries in the metropolitan areas which should never have developed there, i.e. African-intensive industries. Ironically Mr. Vorster admitted that massive exemptions had been given under the Physical Planning Act to companies who were in the cities but needed extra African workers. He said that between January 1968, when it had come into force, and the end of August 1970, 2,500 factories had in terms of the Act asked for 77,456 more African workers. Of these, 65,303 had been granted. Mr. Vorster said there had also been applications from 1,865 new industries, which required 52,961 workers; they had been granted 38,486. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Sept. 15, 1970)

BRITISH TRADE UNIONS URGED NOT TO INVEST IN CORPORATIONS WITH SUBSIDIARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Investment of British trade union funds in the semi-slave system of South Africa was no better than a similar investment in slave traffic or drug traffic, says Mr. John Gaetsewe, United Kingdom representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, in a circular letter of "special appeal" to all British trade unions which have invested in firms, or their subsidiaries, with interests in South Africa. Mr. Gaetsewe says there are many firms, institutions and individuals in Britain who invest capital in South Africa or establish subsidiary companies. "By doing so they become partners in the apartheid system and help to maintain it," he said. The letter adds: "They usually justify their actions by arguing that 'business is business' and that it is their duty to see to the interests of their shareholders. The letter appeals to trade unionists in Britain to check and make absolutely sure that those union funds which were available for investment were not invested in South Africa. (*Standard of Tanzania*, Sept. 24, 1970)

BRITISH COMPANIES FEAR "BLACKLIST" OF COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

British industry and the Government are becoming increasingly worried that companies with even the slightest links with South Africa will be blacklisted by other African states. Board of Trade and Foreign Office officials are studying first reports that companies registered and operated from Britain will be boycotted by members of the Organization of African Unity, because of alleged South Africa links. It is understood that early in September a secret session of the Organization's recent summit meeting in Addis Ababa decided to set up a special working party to investigate all European firms trading in Africa which have links in Africa. The first case to come to light was that of Carreras Rothmans, one of Britain's largest tobacco groups, who confirmed that the Sudan had decided to ban its products.

It is understood that Libya, Algeria and Tanzania have also decided in principle to ban Carreras because of the company's connection with Rothmans of South Africa. Although details of the proposed boycott are still confused, Government officials in London are taking the threat seriously. It is believed that the ban may apply not only to companies with some organizational or equity link with South Africa, but also to companies which merely trade with the Republic. (*Johannesburg Star*, Sept. 28, 1970)

A NEW INVESTMENT TWIST—SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT IN THE U.S.A.

Alexander Sagov Holdings Ltd. of Cape TOWN PLANS A \$2.8 million investment in its newly-acquired United States subsidiary, the Waldman group, involving extensions to the company's knitting mill in South Carolina and the erection of a new plant. In addition, South African investments this year will total \$2.1 million mainly on expansions to existing plant as part of the group's general program of growth.

The U.S. development, likely to be only the first of several overseas developments by the company—involves expanding the Waldman group plant in Greenville, South Carolina, to three times its present size. As far as South African expansion is concerned, programs will be tackled at most of the Sagov and Sidcor companies, including National Spinning and Nylon Processors, the Meritex group and Tecosa, which will have its premises doubled during the next two or three years. Cost of this year's program alone will amount to about \$2.1 million, according to the spokesman. (*South African Financial Gazette*, April 17, 1970)

LACK OF UNIONS FOR AFRICANS PRODUCE POVERTY WAGES

The vast majority of Africans earn wages below the officially estimated breadline, according to Mr. J. A. Grobbelaar, general secretary of the official Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), commenting on the results of a new agreement in the steel and engineering industries. While containing some improvement he added that it gave African workers "little of note."

"The African workers," he said, "are not adequately represented in negotiations between employers and the registered (White or Colored) trade unions. The time is long overdue for more effective machinery to be created that would protect their interest and enable them to pursue their aspirations." (*X-Ray*, Sept. 1970)

BRITISH COMPANIES FOLLOW WATES' LINE NOT TO INVEST IN SOUTH AFRICA

More than half the top 100 companies in Britain have a stake in South Africa. But it now appears that some companies have already privately taken a similar stand to Wates (i.e. decided not to invest in South Africa—see Southern Africa, Sept. 1970). These include Bovis Holdings, the \$50 million construction group, of which Sir Keith Joseph was a director until he joined the present Government. Neil Wates will draw strength from such allies. His decision to decline a profitable franchise for Wates' industrial building system and to make his reasons known is explained by his character and that of his company. Wates finds it impossible to draw a distinction between moral and commercial values. In his statement he writes: "I was frequently pressed in South Africa to say whether we were looking at it as a business or an ethical problem: there can, of course, be no difference."

Another company that sides with Wates is Booker McConnell, the Commonwealth merchants and sugar producers. Chairman Mr. David Powell says: "I am completely in sympathy with Mr. Wates' general line.

Booker McConnell, as an essential part of its



THE BONES • Newly recruited laborers wait at a railroad station for transportation to the mines. There they will work nine or ten hours a day, six days a week, for 46¢ a day.

policy, clearly holds that there shall be no discrimination of any kind between people on account of race, colour or creed. This policy is clearly incompatible with operating Booker business in South Africa." Booker McCONNELL has substantial interests in a number of black African countries.

Of a slightly different order was the withdrawal from South Africa in 1961 of John Laing, the construction group. The move came because the company felt Sharpeville was going to shatter South Africa's stability. "It was not an ideological decision," says Sir Maurice Laing, deputy chairman. "In fact, it came at a propitious moment for us. But I must say we were not particularly happy working there."

The question today is whether South Africa's business stability will be upset by a shock wave caused not by one mass shooting, but by a new moral scrupulousness among businessmen. If such a feeling gathered momentum, other companies might become concerned about the long-term future of their investments. (*Business Observer, Aug. 30, 1970*)

ATOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND PORTUGAL

A \$1,050,000 nuclear accelerator is to be installed at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Its purchase made possible by donations from leading mining, industrial and business concerns, it is supplied by High Voltage Engineering Corporation of America. It will be the only one of its kind in Africa, and will be available to nuclear physicists throughout the Republic of South Africa. The University of Lourenco Marques, in Mozambique, will make use of ten percent of the time available on the machine. (*News From South Africa, Nov. 14, 1970*)

GULF OIL CORPORATION FAILS TO PEDDLE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ON PORTUGUESE ISSUE

In the October issue of Southern Africa we carried a picture and brief announcement of a demonstration which occurred at Columbia University on October 5 when President B. R. Dorsey of Gulf Oil spoke to Columbia's business students. Members of the Committee for a Free Mozambique and the Southern Africa Committee organized that demonstration with the intention of exposing the farce and continuing the focus on Gulf Oil as a major supporter of Portuguese colonialism. Armed with leaflets, pamphlets and booklets, the 15 protesters were given a resounding UNwelcome by the business school students. Allowing Dorsey to give his standard 40-minute speech, some of the group simply stood near the podium with placards reading: "Gulf's Foreign Exchange pays for Portugal's Wars in Africa," "Gulf pays 1% in income tax, how much do you pay?" "Gulf sucks the blood and oil of Angola." When queried about Gulf's threatened law suit against the

Ohio Conference of the United Church of Christ, Dorsey denied it! even though the protesters had a copy of Dorsey's letter with his own signature.

What follows is the text of one of the leaflets handed out at the demonstration:

"A solid dialogue between the public and business is long overdue." (B. R. Dorsey, President, Gulf Oil, Spring, 1970.

Why then is Gulf Oil threatening a court suit against the Ohio Conference of the United Church of Christ when the Ohio Conference's only sin was to pass a resolution criticizing Gulf's involvement in the Portuguese colony of Angola? Is Gulf interested in dialogue only on its own terms?

"Today, maximum financial gain, the historical number one objective, is forced into second place whenever it conflicts with the well-being of society." (B. R. Dorsey, President, Gulf Oil, Spring, 1970)

In fact, Gulf's investment in Angola (the largest U.S. investor in the country) works against the long-range well-being of the Angolan African population by strengthening the system of Portuguese colonialism. Gulf has put profit above people, and has proudly stated that it has excellent relations with the Portuguese.

"Oil is where God put it." (Gulf Oil, 1970.

Does this mean that we must tap God's oil at any cost? Does God also sanction exploitation and murder for the sake of oil? Did God say to take it away from where he put it? Did God put oil in certain places for the people who live in those places, or for foreigners? And is Gulf God?

"As an international company Gulf must remain politically neutral."

"Gulf's corporate managers aren't publicly neutral on all governments. We definitely prefer the form of government in the United States."

"Gulf does business in 60 "free" world countries around the world." (Gulf Oil, 1970)

Is a corporation which actively lobbies for the oil depletion allowance and import quotas neutral? Is a corporation which exercises political influence to modify or block pollution measures politically neutral? Is a corporation which called for an international boycott of Bolivia when Bolivia nationalized Gulf's holdings there apolitical?

"Black capitalism has worked for Gulf for many years." (B. R. Dorsey, President, Spring, 1970)

Elaborate please!

THE FOLLOWING TEXT IS FROM AN ADVERTISEMENT IN THE *SOUTH AFRICAN FINANCIAL MAIL*

I.B.M. — — Making South Africa Work More Efficiently!?

In more spheres of business than most people realise, IBM teams are today providing a highly specialised service. For example, here you see part of an IBM Finance Team whose experience and efforts are devoted exclusively to businesses dealing in stocks and shares.

One of their clients — acting on behalf of a group of stockbrokers — will soon be making use of a number of these IBM Visual Display Units to provide — via normal telephone lines — instantaneous visual access to data regarding their clients' dealings.

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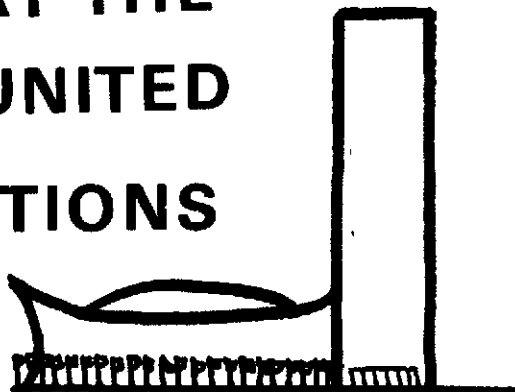
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CAL 46-3-35

AT THE UNITED NATIONS



On December 8, 1970 the Security Council of the U.N. condemned Portugal for the November 22 and 23 invasion of Guinea. The Council demanded "that full compensation by the Government of Portugal be paid to the Republic of Guinea for the extensive damage to life and property caused by the armed attack and invasion."

Portugal was further warned that "in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council shall immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter."

This action was in response to a plea from the President of Guinea, Ahmed Sekou Toure, who sent

the Secretary General of the United Nations the following telegram:

"Wish to inform the Sec. General of the U.N. that Guinean national territory was the object of armed aggression by Portuguese forces this morning at about 2 a.m. Landing craft, violating our territorial waters, landed mercenary commando troops at several points in Conakry, capital of the Republic of Guinea, and carried out cowardly bombing of several points of the town. Thanks to the immediate reaction of the National Army and the population, this treacherous attack has been checked. However, the Government, whose sacred rights as a sovereign State Member of the United Nations have been violated, requests the immediate intervention of air-borne troops of the United Nations with a view, in cooperation with our National Army, to reducing the last positions held by Portuguese mercenaries and to driving the vessels of the aggressors from our territorial waters. The Guinean Government is certain that the United Nations will respond to its appeal without delay in order to put an end to this unjustifiable armed aggression carried out in disregard of our sovereignty and territorial integrity and the basic principles of the Charter. The United Nations obviously cannot remain indifferent before this clear-cut violation of international peace and security. Highest consideration. President Ahmed Sekou Toure."

The Security Council resolution condemning Portugal was adopted by a vote of 11 in favor to 4 abstentions (France, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States—see section on PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES). It had been feared that the U.S. or the U.K. might veto the resolution, but it was changed enough to secure the abstentions.

The action of the Council was the result of a report by the Special Mission appointed by the Secretary General to investigate the situation in Guinea. Members of the Mission included Major General Padma Bahadur Khatri of Nepal, Augusto Espinosa of Colombia, Max Jakobson of Finland, Eugeniusz Kulaga of Poland, and Vernon J. Mwaanga

of Zambia. The U.S. had reluctantly agreed to the manner of choosing members for the mission, as it had preferred to have the Security Council form the special mission "after consultation" among its members.

The response of Portugal to the U.N. action was to send a letter on December 4 stating that "it did not order or authorize or consent to any military operations against the Republic of Guinea" and that "it is not in any manner responsible for the occurrences in that country." All this was written after the Council had declared that the presence of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent "is a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African states," and appealed to all States to give moral and material assistance to Guinea to strengthen and defend its independence and territorial integrity.

The information obtained by the fact-finding mission is available in a 200-page report through the U.N. This report contains eye-witness accounts from various diplomats, Guinean army officers who were on the scene, and African prisoners who identified themselves as soldiers in the regular Portuguese forces in Portuguese Guinea.

NOTES FROM U.N. REPORT

(Report s/10009 and s/10009/add.1 of 3 December 1970 of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under Resolution 289)

RECRUITMENT OF PORTUGUESE FORCES FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PAIGC AND FOR THE INVASION OF GUINEA CONAKRY. One of the most interesting aspects of the mission's report is the eighth meeting of Nov. 27, 1970 with prisoners captured by the Guineans from the invading forces (pages 143-188 of the addendum). Six of those interviewed are Africans or Euraficans with Portuguese names, born in Guinea Bissau (generally in the vicinity of Bissau), 19 to 25 years of age and recruited into contingents of the regular Portuguese army for service in Guinea Bissau. Four of the six communicate in a Portuguese Creole, two in Portuguese on the basis of their elementary educations. The seventh person interviewed is Djalo (probably Diallo) Adama, a Mandinga-speaking Gambian stone-mason from the Bathurst area. Djalo and another Gambian were persuaded by a recruiting agent to go to Bissau. Djalo's testimony is very confused, and it is impossible to determine whether he went to Bissau only expecting to work as a stone-mason or expecting to join a military unit, and whether the recruiting agent in Gambia was his own relative, a Guinean (Conakry) exile or a Guinean (Bissau) representative.

All of the prisoners agree that the invading force consisted of about 150 "regular" soldiers from Guinea Bissau, about 80 marines from Guinea Bissau, and 150-160 West Africans from Senegal, Gambia (very few), Sierra Leone and especially Guinea Conakry (exiles). According to Djalo Adama, the

commanding officer of the last group was a certain Djalo Thierno (a Fulbe or Fulani name that could well indicate an exile from the Futa Jalon section of Guinea Conakry). The other 230 soldiers were predominantly rican from Guinea Bissau like the six prisoners interviewed; their commanding officers were generally white Portuguese. The soldiers remained quite ignorant of the purpose of the expedition, and until the actual landing at Conakry thought that they were only escorting exiled Guineans back to their homeland and that they, the Guinean (Bissau) soldiers, would not participate in any fighting at all. Shortly before the debarcation, the usual G-3 weapons of the soldiers were exchanged for weapons that one prisoner called 'Calachinicof,' probably Soviet AK rifles. Some of the white officers and many Euraficans of higher rank apparently returned to the ships fairly early in the fighting on Sunday, Nov. 22, leaving most of the responsibility in the hands of the African soldiers, who thus comprised the majority of the prisoners taken. Some of the African soldiers of the invading force, including a contingent of 24 under Lt. Lopes, one of the prisoners, never actually fought at all and gave themselves up to the Guinean (Conakry) authorities. Lopes himself was never enthusiastic about the expedition, and feared that any action against Guinea Conakry and the PAIGC might provoke reprisals against Guinea Bissau and that his family might suffer.

The training of the mercenary or exile contingents was apparently done at Suga, one of the Bijagos Islands off the shore of Guinea Bissau. Lopes and some of the other prisoners captured had been serving in the central area of Guinea Bissau around the Geba River inland from Bissau (Bafata, Enchale, Barmbadinca, Fa Mandinga, Chim).

The prisoners who were serving as regular soldiers in Portuguese forces stated that they had not been promised any bounty for participation in the expedition. In Djalo Adama's confused testimony, he indicates that at some point he was promised 60,000 francs (if he means CFA francs, about \$220.00).

Lt. Lopes revealed that in 1966 he entered the Practical School of Cavalry at Santaren (Santarem?) in Portugal, and was transferred three months later to the Sergeants' Training Center at Tavira, Portugal. He apparently returned to Santaren later for most instruction. In April, 1967 he came to Guinea Bissau to begin his military service. By 1970 he was serving an additional period of time.

PORTUGUESE RECONNAISSANCE SHIP BEFORE THE INVASION. Two engineers from the German Democratic Republic serving in Conakry observed from their 10th floor apartment a ship which anchored in several positions off the Conakry coast beginning on Nov. 18 in the evening.

DEATHS among the foreign community included an Embassy Secretary from the German Democratic Republic and the daughter of a technical assistant from Yugoslavia. Several other diplomats, experts or

members of their families were wounded.

INVASION IN THE NORTHERN PART OF GUINEA CONAKRY. Apparently the Portuguese started a second invasion of Guinea Conakry coordinated with the coastal expedition. Fighting was reported during the week of Nov. 23 by Guinean representatives hosting the U.N. mission in the area of Koundara (also reported by Agence France Presse from Bamako, Mali, appearing in the New York Times of Dec. 8). The Guinean government was apparently able to end the threat in that area. [NB: Koundara is close to Guinea Conakry's border with Guinea Bissau and with Senegal and is inhabited predominantly by Fulbe or Fulani peoples. It is a sparsely inhabited area with few roads at all. The adjacent part of Guinea Bissau is the only area of the interior that the Portuguese control (around their posts of Bafata, Gabu and Pitche). The Fulbe chiefs and at least some of the Fulbe people who predominate in that part of Guinea Bissau, in the Koundara area and in the Futa Jalon part of Guinea Conakry, have had little sympathy for the PAIGC and the regime of Sekou Toure. Fulbe have formed one main support for the Portuguese presence in Guinea Bissau and are quite numerous among exiles from Guinea Conakry. See Amilcar Cabral, *REVOLUTION IN GUINEA*, pp. 46ff.]

GUINEAN GOVERNMENT ACCUSED U.N. OF INDIFFERENCE

The Guinean government would have preferred military aid to the sending of the mission and accused the U.N. of "indifference" and perhaps "complicity" as it chose to meet an act of aggression with verbal responses. They did cooperate with the mission in its investigation, however, as a "matter of serving the United Nations, making it understand that Africa has evolved; it is a matter of showing the burning reality that the vital existence of nations depends on putting an end to colonialism and imperialism, and that this struggle against colonialism and imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for peace." (Statement by Mr. Ismael Toure, minister for Financial Affairs, Republic of Guinea)

The effect of the Security Council Resolutions may not be known for a while. An analysis in the Dec. 10 issue of the New York Times stated, however, that "Guinea's President, Sekou Toure, derived advantages from taking his case to the United Nations. An independent mission corroborated his evidence against the Portuguese, and the Council endorsed the mission's conclusions. Before the endorsement, President Toure's charges of a Portuguese invasion had been widely shrugged off in the West.

"Although the Portuguese have rejected the Council's verdict, it is unlikely that a similar armed attack on Guinea will occur in the near future, diplomats here say.

"In addition, the Soviet Union gained additional friends and influence in Africa by being able to give all-out support to the Africans.

"Conversely, the principal Western powers were "in the dock" with Portugal, in the words of several African speakers. The Western powers were embarrassed, unable to say either "yes" or "no" to the charges, and some of their diplomats concede that there has been another small step toward the radicalization of Africa.

CREDENTIALS DENIED

The General Assembly of the United Nations voted on November 13, 1970 not to accept the credentials of the representatives of South Africa. The report by the Credentials Committee recommended that the credentials of representatives to the current session of the General Assembly be accepted "except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the government of South Africa." The vote on this resolution was 71 in favor to 2 against (Costa Rica and South Africa), with 45 abstentions. The vote on the South African exception amendment was 60 in favor to 42 against (including the United Kingdom and the United States) and 12 abstentions.

This amendment to the original draft resolution of the committee was proposed by ten African states. President of the General Assembly session, Edvard Hambro, stated that the African states' amendment should be regarded as a "very strong and passionate condemnation" of the policies of the South African Government and a very solemn warning to that Government, but that it would not mean the unseating of the South African delegation in the Assembly.

BLACK MAGIC

A couple of years ago an official South African calendar, distributed in this country, included a picture of two well-dressed Africans draped possessively over a gleaming new car, with a caption suggesting that they owned it.

A sceptical Miscellany scout, versed in the affairs of the republic, wrote to the chief licensing officer in Pretoria, quoting the car's registration number and asking who owned it. Back came the reply: the South African Tourist Corporation, a Government organization, all of whose staff are white.

The picture has now turned up again, this time on the front cover of South Africa House's glossy free propaganda monthly, "Report from South Africa." The main caption on this page is: "New Era of Bantu Progress." Next thing they'll be dressing an African in a flying suit and posing him beside a Buccaneer bomber. (The Guardian, Dec. 2, 1970)

GULF ATTACKED AT U.N.

On October 9, the American Committee on Africa hit out at Gulf in a presentation before the United Nations Fourth Committee (on Decolonization), which called for international cooperation between U.N. member states and private organizations against Gulf and other foreign economic interests in Southern Africa. The statement was made in support of U.N. and O.A.U. resolutions calling for similar action, and concluded, "... the U.S. corporations tell us they are not interested in politics—only in profits. Let us take the profits from them." (ACOA press release, Nov. 9)

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THE U.S. and AFRICA

NIXON PUSHES RIGHT—RIGHT OVER KAUNDA!

True, the majority of African diplomats didn't sit down and listen to South Africa's Foreign Minister speak before the U.N. General Assembly; in fact they boycotted the speech, but did that mean the overt snubbing of the President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, by the Nixon administration?

Kaunda wanted to meet with Nixon on Tuesday, Oct. 20. The Nixon end arranged the meeting for 9:30 a.m. Monday the 19th, an hour before the Zambian President was to address the U.N. The meeting was never held. Kaunda came not only as the leader of a major African nation, but under assignment from the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Nations Summit Conference, to present, together with the foreign ministers of Algeria, Cameroon, Kenya and Mali, Southern African concerns to the U.S., in particular the problems of arms sales to South Africa. Kaunda and the delegation had managed to meet other leaders in Rome, Bonn, London, the U.N. and after leaving the U.S., Paris. But in the U.S., Kaunda commented that maybe Nixon didn't want "to see our ugly faces," and considered the switch in appointment time a definite snub. (Baltimore Sun, Oct. 20, 1970; Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 21, 1970). The actual details of the incident are not relevant, although press statements that the O.A.U. "deliberately promoted Kaunda's estrangement from the U.S." (Washington Post, Oct. 24, 1970) and that "left-wing African elements" caused it (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 24) are

dangerous. What is more clear is that the U.S., once the "snafu" occurred, did little or nothing to rectify the matter. Kaunda, who had been wooed by Secretary of State Rogers during his trip to Africa in February, 1970, seems an unlikely target of the Nixon venom, but if one sees the incident in the perspective of the developing reactionary policies on the part of the U.S. government, it makes perfect sense.

Other moves have included the appointment of Texan John Hurd as Ambassador to South Africa; the renewal of chrome imports from Rhodesia; the sale of light aircraft to South Africa, etc. Pile this on top of the fact that Julius Nyerere failed for the second year in a row to arrange a meeting with Nixon (Washington Post, Oct. 24) or place it in the American context that the problem occurred because Nixon had to



"step up his campaigning for Republican candidates south of the Mason-Dixon line," and we have the full picture. (Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 24, 1970).

In their presentations to the U.N., both Nyerere and Kaunda hammered away at the colonial and racial issues in Africa, warning of racial holocaust with aggressive South Africa and calling for positive action by the West. The follow-up to the Kaunda-Nixon snub was Kaunda's refusal to meet with Rogers in New York, and the rumor that Assistant Secretary of State Newsom would delay a planned trip to South Africa and proximate territories, so as to dispell the conclusions that the snub to Kaunda was part of an Anglo-American plan to renew ties with South Africa. (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 24, 1970)

U.S. DIPLOMATS APPOINTED

There are now two Texan diplomats who could influence the Southern African policy of the U.S.: Texas oil millionaire and Republican loser to Bentsen in the Texas senatorial race in November, has been named to succeed career diplomat Yost as U.S. Representative to the U.N. Bush is 46 and is completing his fourth year of service in the House of Representatives, where he has had very limited experience in foreign affairs and none at all in diplomacy. On hearing of the nomination, one U.N. official commented: "I didn't know the U.S. Ambassadorship to the U.N. was still considered a political plum. Maybe there's more life left in this place than some people say." (New York Times, Dec. 12, '70)

The other Texan, John G. Hurd, a businessman who was appointed U.S. Ambassador to South Africa in September, recently commented on the drastic changes in the State Department's African Advisory Council (persons such as G. Mennon Williams, Gwendolen Carter, Vernon McKay, C. W. de Kiewiet, George M. Houser, Helen Kitchen, and Ruth Morgenthau were removed in October; they were replaced mainly by businessmen and only three academics, including Edwin S. Munger). Mr. Hurd said that if these changes had any significance, it was that the voice of responsible businessmen was being heard in political affairs. He added that responsible people had to realize that South African race policies were in conflict with most of the rest of the world. But he added that there was another aspect to the belief that apartheid was "not the best," viz., that "the internal policies of a country must be determined by that country." He said: "I think you are able to meet your own situation. . . ." (News from South Africa, Nov. 6, '70).

STILL A U.S. ARMS EMBARGO, BUT. . .

What may be regarded as ambiguity in the Nixon Administration's adherence to its stated policy on arms sales to South Africa has been created by its decision to license the sale of "executive civilian type aircraft" to the South African military. In answer to queries, the Administration has confirmed that the licensing of such sales is being "considered," but that the arms embargo is still in effect.

This apparent shift followed the urging by U.S. industrialists and trade unionists that the sales of military aircraft to South Africa be resumed. In a report to the U.S. Department of Commerce, the National Export Expansion Council (composed of business, professional and labor leaders) criticized the U.S. interpretation of the U.N. ban on arms shipments to South Africa and said that "South Africa's strategic location . . . especially with the Suez Canal closed, seems deserving of important consideration" regarding aircraft sales. The report adds: "Competitor countries do not interpret their obligations as rigorously. . ."

Routine U.S. policy on arms embargoes does not permit the sale of products that could be used for military purposes. The fact that these "civilian type aircraft" would be sold to the South African military seems to confirm a shift in the application of that policy to South Africa.

UNITED STATES SUB-COMMITTEE CONTINUES HEARINGS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Africa in the 1970's is the continuing theme of open hearings being held by the House Subcommittee on Africa chaired by Representative Charles Diggs (Dem.— Mich.) In late September two testimonies were presented by members of the "Black establishment." (Muhammed Speaks, Oct. 23) NAACP Washington Bureau head, Clarence Mitchell (brother of newly elected Perry Mitchell, now Congressman from Baltimore who defeated Samuel Friedel, the only Congressman to be present on South African Airways inaugural flight—a decision no doubt Friedel greatly regrets) and former USIS head, Carl Rowan, appeared. Mitchell called for the end of the South African sugar quota, U.S. ties with Portugal, continued sanctions against Rhodesia and opposition to arms sales to South Africa. Muhammed Speaks criticized Mitchell's testimony as not mentioning the liberation movements and the "growing determination of Africans to drive imperialism from the shores of the continent." Rowan moved farther to the right and said it was unfeasible to "demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. business interests from South Africa, and rather recommended that more black diplomats should go to racist governments and that the private sector increase ties with independent Africa. Rowan, after having spent several weeks in South Africa and having written somewhat naive anti-apartheid articles for his Chicago syndicated column, strongly believes that "black rebellion" is impossible in South Africa. No wonder when he spent most of his time in South Africa with white liberals and Afrikaner verligtes.

NEWSOM ON U.S. POLICY

Both during and after a visit to South Africa with his more outspoken black Deputy, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, David Newsom reiterated that apartheid is still unacceptable to the U.S. government but that South Africa should not be isolated.

Speaking at Northwestern University after his South African visit, Mr. Newsom said that "commu-

nication can bring people to ask themselves questions." Communication "does not mean acceptance," he said. "It does not mean departing from the arms embargo, from the refusal to submit to apartheid in any of its forms, from our continued expression of abhorrence for the system."

Speaking before Rep. Diggs' Congressional Subcommittee on Africa in December, Mr. Newsom said he and his Deputy, Mr. Carter, saw little hope for progress in formal contacts between "Black Africa" and South Africa unless the latter was prepared to discuss apartheid, which Prime Minister Vorster had already ruled out. But they recommended "more, not less, communication" with South Africa at a less formal level "by Africans and by Americans." Newsom noted that the basic position of African states had been expressed in the Lusaka Manifesto, to which such states as Zambia remained wedded.

Mr. Newsom also told the Diggs Subcommittee that the next ten years would decide whether South Africa would ever be open to evolutionary change. The four areas to watch for signs of change, he said, were (1) petty apartheid; (2) the rule of law in such cases as the recent banning of persons twice acquitted by the courts; (3) the treatment of urban Africans, "Coloureds" and Indians; and (4) the Bantustans, which he contrasted sharply with the liberty and development in the independent land-locked countries in Southern Africa.

He added that the most debated question now was whether the government would relax job reservation restrictions on Africans at the risk of weakening apartheid, or whether it would rather inhibit economic growth. He took the decision on Johannesburg bus drivers as an indication that the government was opting for the latter course. U.S. businessmen in South Africa were very disturbed by this situation, he said, and were looking toward the land-locked states that were free of such restrictions but would retain access to the South African market.

Newsom's deputy, Mr. Beverly Carter, told the Subcommittee that change could be rapid if the South African government wanted it, because the government controlled "everything."

BUT STILL NO BLACK DIPLOMATS THERE

Despite Mr. Newsom's statement in Evanston that the U.S. government would not "submit to apartheid in any of its form," officials in Washington said there was scant likelihood that the U.S. would try to send a black diplomat to South Africa in the foreseeable future because South Africa's objections to it are well known. (Sources: Southern Africa [London], Oct. 31, '70; Washington Post, Nov. 8, '70; Johannesburg Star, Nov. 14 and Dec. 12, '70; a paper entitled "U.S. Moves to Aid South Africa by Licensing Sale of Planes" by the American Committee on Africa.)

U.S. SUSPICION OF PORTUGUESE USE OF HERBICIDES IN ANGOLA

The State Department reports that the American consulate in Luanda (Angola) has indications of Portuguese use of herbicides to destroy food crops raised by members of the liberation movements. The evidence is not conclusive, but American officials in Lisbon and Luanda have been instructed to pursue the matter with the Portuguese.

The Administration contends that the Protocol's ban on chemical and biological agents in war does not include herbicides and tear gas, which have been used in Vietnam. It also maintains that the U.S. has not supplied Portugal with any herbicides, but is anxious to verify that in anticipation of the Senate hearings on the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which has been submitted to the Senate for ratification. (New York Times, Dec. 9, '70)



AMERICAN DIPLOMAT SAYS "GIVE SOUTH AFRICA'S WHITE RULERS A CHANCE"

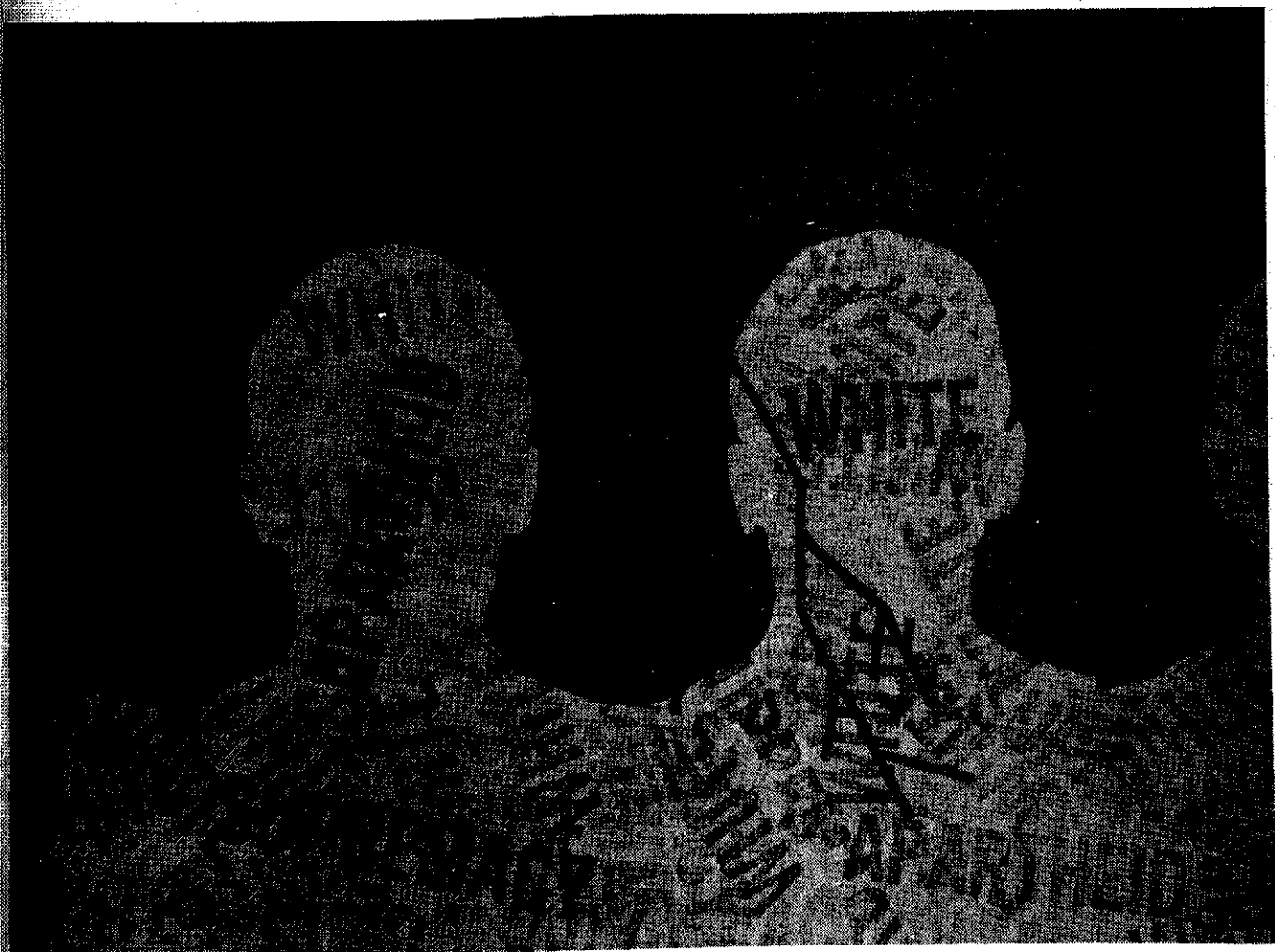
George F. Kennan, one of America's most distinguished retired diplomats, a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, has suggested ground rules for dealing with apartheid. In an article appearing in part in the New York Times (Dec. 18, '70) and to appear in full in the Jan. 1971 issue of Foreign Affairs, he emphasizes that white South Africa must not be isolated. He concludes by saying:

"Let the friends of the various South African peoples hold the white rulers of that country to the recognition that to the outside world the pattern of South African apartheid is abhorrent in aspect and unconvincing in rationale; but beyond that let it be

the task of those rulers, who know their own situation better than any outside can, to find the conceivable alternative."

Kennan's sympathy for rulers and disregard for people in Southern Africa is no new development of his old age. In fact, he was the man responsible for arranging while charge d'affairs in Lisbon in 1942, the use of the Portuguese Azores for an American base.

He took it upon himself to pledge that "the United States undertakes to respect Portuguese sovereignty in all Portuguese colonies," presenting Washington with a *fait accompli*. Thus the foundation for continued American presence in the Azores, and Portuguese membership in NATO when it was formed.



THE CHURCHES

and SOUTHERN AFRICA

FURTHER REACTION TO WCC GRANTS

The Christian Council of Rhodesia has come out in support of the World Council of Church's grants to organizations fighting racism (see *Southern Africa*, Nov.-Dec. 1970), but the Presbyterian Church in Rhodesia has dissociated itself from the Christian Council's statement. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Nov. 18, 1970). The Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Central Africa, the Rev. A. G. Leask, said the Synod, representing Presbyterian Churches throughout Rhodesia, "repudiates the statement issued under the name of the Christian Council of Rhodesia."

In addition, Archdeacon Humphrey Pugh of Matabeleland, an Anglican church leader, said the views expressed at the meetings were not those of the Anglican Church.

Also, top theologians of the Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) in South Africa have repudiated their newly-elected Moderator, Dr. J. D. Vorster (brother of the Prime Minister) and warn that his ultraconservative views threaten a split in the NGK. Dr. Vorster's statement in the *Sunday Times* Nov. 7 that the NGK would rather break all links with world churches—including the Reformed Churches in Holland—than change its outlook, has created a storm of anger and protest from churchmen inside and outside South Africa. (*Sunday Times*, 11/15/70) In the same article, a number of Dutch theologians refer to Dr. Vorster as a "dictator", and the Christian Institute of South Africa called Dr. Vorster "a danger to the Dutch Reformed Church."

Four ministers of the Rhodesian Methodist Church (all white) also condemned the decision by the Rhodesian Christian Council to support the WCC. One of the four ministers, The Rev. Bob Forkrest, said there was a very

real danger of some Methodist congregations making their own unilateral declaration of independence, causing a possible split in the Rhodesian Methodist church.

A fund-raising campaign is being started by the South African Rhodesian Association to counter the financial support given by the WCC to the liberation movements. The association collects funds for the security forces of South Africa and Rhodesia which are fighting the liberation movements. (*Standard of Tanzania*, Nov. 17, and *Johannesburg Star*, Nov. 14, 1970)

NGK SYNOD URGES FAMILY HOUSING

The Synod of the NGK in Pretoria decided on Nov. 1 to ask the government to house domestic servants with their families in African townships. Under South Africa's Group Areas, Population Registration, "Bantu Homelands", Labour Migration, Influx-Eflux Control, and other acts, no African can live near a white city unless he or she are employed in that city. Thus the families of such Africans cannot stay together in the townships under current law. Another NGK resolution expressed "deep concern" about family disintegration, moral decay, and the disruption of religious life among Africans, a condition which was worsened by the system of migratory labour.

On the question of migratory labor, it said it could not be easily abolished without serious detrimental economic and social consequences, "but the evils resulting from migratory labour must be combated by the Church and the State." The recommendation said the Church realized that free movement of laborers and their families would lead to chaos—"but at the same time it was realised that the refusal of African

labourers in White areas could result in famine in the homelands." (*Rand Daily Mail*, Oct. 20, 1970)

CHURCHGOERS PROTEST DEPORTATION OF PRIESTS

More than 1,500 churchgoers, among them a number of prominent people representing several denominations, have signed petitions against the deportation orders on the two Stellenbosch Anglican priests, Father Robert W. Mercer and the Rev. Bernard Chamberlain.

The Rev. Theo Kotze, regional director of the Christian Institute, stated that "The Government can deport ministers of the Gospel, but it can never deport the thing they stand for. The fight goes on. As long as there is breath in our bodies we will proclaim from the housetops the basics of justice, truth, liberty and love." (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, Oct. 25, 1970)

ARCHBISHOP RAMSEY VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury (Anglican) recently visited South Africa and other African countries, where he experienced a variety of reactions. Though the Archbishop disagrees strongly with the WCC grants and has threatened to quit his position if the British Council of Churches retains its strong stand in support of the liberation movements, he maintains his support for the campaign against the supply of arms to South Africa. To be logical, it would seem Dr. Ramsey should espouse both these causes or neither. One interesting fact is that apartheid rules went by the board for most of his tour of South Africa, and almost all the functions he attended were multi-racial. (*Johannesburg Star*, Nov. 12, 1970).

Some questions which the Archbishop faced in South Africa included: Why are discriminatory stipends still paid to Anglican clergy of different races? Why are Church administrative offices reluctant to employ non-Whites? Why are non-White clergy not given charge of White parishes? Why did he agree to address a multi-racial Church rally at Hartleyvale soccer stadium in Cape Town when this stadium is normally barred to non-White soccer

players? Why did he agree to address a Whites-only meeting of the Students' Anglican Society at Stellenbosch University from which three Coloured men were evicted? Why did he not rather make an effort to meet White and non-White students together?

While he was in South Africa, Dr. Ramsey received a \$4,000 gift from Anglicans there for the Anglican Church in Uganda. However, Anglicans in Uganda refused to receive the gift. A Kampala daily newspaper expressed strong resentment against Ramsey's reported gift, and asked, "Who told Archbishop Ramsey that Uganda Christians were in dire need of a gift of money from South African racists?" (*Religious News Service*, 11-19-70)





**Abel T. Muzorewa:
Courageous Churchman**

At 44, Abel Muzorewa, the Methodist bishop of Rhodesia, has become the symbol of courageous Christian dissent from his government's racial policies.

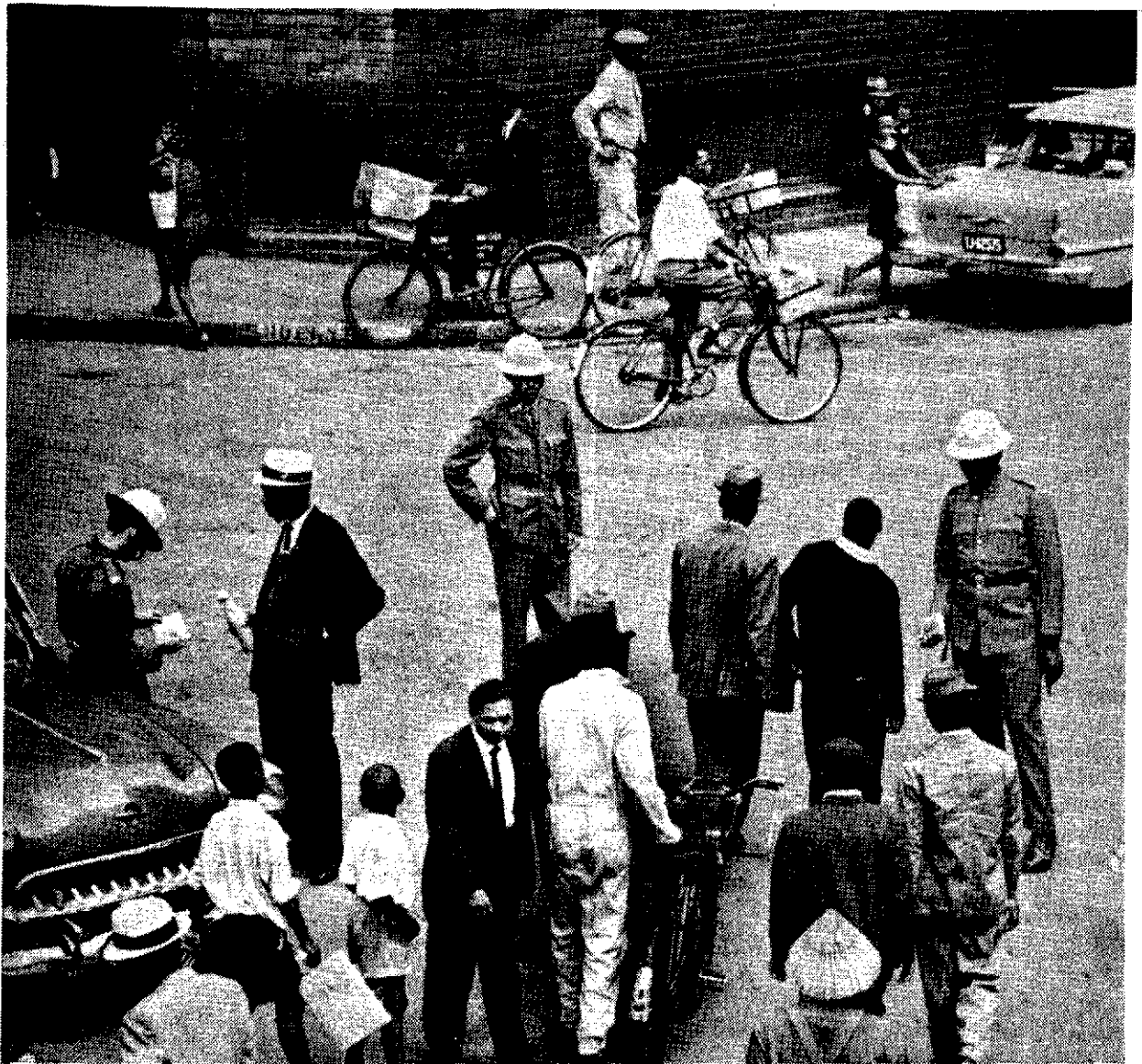
A vigorous foe of white supremacy and unjust laws, the first native-born Methodist bishop has been barred from official visits to three-fourths of his churches which are located in the so-called Tribal Trust Territories. He and leaders of 16 other churches—including the UCC in Rhodesia—have protested against the Land Tenure Act which divides Rhodesia into two equal parts, one relatively fertile area for 250,000 whites and a poorer section for the country's five million blacks. The land act also requires missionaries to obtain permits before entering African sectors and would make interracial meetings or worship virtually impossible.

Bishop Muzorewa has appealed the ban but holds little hope that it will be revoked. His appeal challenges the government to prove allegations of past offenses but suggests that unless the ban is lifted he may be forced to defy the sanction.

UCC AFFIRMS DISAPPROVAL OF GULF OIL OPERATIONS IN ANGOLA

The Board of Trustees of the Ohio Conference of the United Church of Christ unanimously affirmed its disapproval of the operations of Gulf Oil Corporation in Angola on Dec. 3, but at the same time absolved Gulf of "singular culpability" for oppression. In a special meeting at the Community Church of Dublin, Ohio, the trustees supported in general a resolution adopted by delegates to the Conference's 1970 annual meeting last June calling on delegates to turn in Gulf credit cards and discontinue use of Gulf products.

The Council for Christian Social Action of the UCC in New York City announced on Dec. 3 that it has also adopted a resolution excoriating Gulf Oil for its activities in Angola. Dr. Lewis I. Maddocks, executive director of the Council, announced results of a mail vote in which the agency's 27 directors approved a statement which charges that Gulf's operation of an oil concession in Angola is "a pressure which provides economic, moral and political support for the Portuguese in their wars against the independence movements of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau." The resolution also "encourages" the two million members of the UCC "to return their Gulf credit cards to the president of Gulf Oil Corporation accompanied by personal letters of protest."



POLICE AND PASSES • Pass raid outside Johannesburg station. Every African must show his pass before being allowed to go about his business. Police check for employer's signature, proof that taxes are paid, and legality of presence in white area.

PHELA-NDABA ("End of the Dialogue")

A documentary has been filmed, at great risk, smuggled out of South Africa, and produced by some members of the Pan Africanist Congress. It has been widely acclaimed in Europe and America.

It is available at moderate rental cost.

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POLAROID ANNOUNCES "EXPERIMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA"

In a full page advertisement printed in dozens of American newspapers including 20 black weeklies. Polaroid has set forth a "Polaroid Manifesto" on its involvement in South Africa. Recently pressed by a number of their black workers to withdraw from South Africa and give profits to the S. A. Liberation Movements (see Southern Africa, Nov.-Dec. 1970, Vol. III, No. 9), Polaroid declared instead that they would continue doing business in South Africa but would "dramatically improve salaries and other benefits of the non-white employees" of their distributor in South Africa. In addition, Polaroid's South African associates will "initiate a well-defined program to train non-white employees for important jobs."

Polaroid has also decided to commit a portion of their profits to "encourage black education" in South Africa and is investigating setting up a company in independent "black Africa."

The Polaroid ad was outspoken in its criticism of apartheid and stated it was "a policy contrary to

everything we feel our company stands for."

Much more analysis needs to be done than can be contained in a "Stop Press" editorial; however, Polaroid's contention that education for blacks and the expanding economy are "a key for change in South Africa" is flagrantly misleading. Such a statement assumes that a few more jobs and a little better schooling for Africans will change South Africa without dealing with the basic question that a white minority is willfully controlling the political, economic and social power in South Africa and is unwilling to give up those powers at any cost. An equally serious question is whether South Africa will allow training of blacks for jobs traditionally reserved for whites.

While Polaroid's widespread public response to the question of U.S. investment in South Africa is unique, its response is reminiscent of the answer of money corporations: just leave it to the expanding economy and we investors in South Africa and things will change." This background response, now mirrored by Polaroid, does little to convince the informed reader that Polaroid is the truly progressive company that she claims.

More in the next issue!

Southern Africa Committee
537 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

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