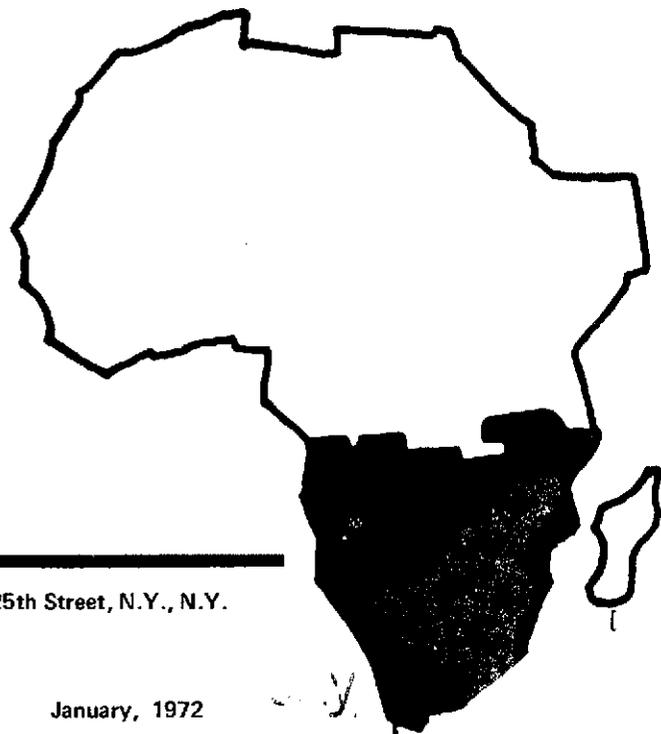


# SOUTHERN AFRICA

## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion



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(The following notes were made by Dr. W. W. Plummer, a black dentist from Grand Rapids, Michigan who is a member of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ. Dr. Plummer was a member of the delegation of U.S. churchmen who recently visited South Africa to investigate U.S. firms there [see story in Economics section, this issue].)

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#### **JOHANNESBURG PASS COURTS:**

We visited a pass court and saw justice done TO Black people by white people because they were not in possession of proper passbooks. We saw 35 women brought in barefoot, in tattered clothing, frightened and confused, to a hearing conducted in English. We suspected that over 75% of the women did not understand English sufficiently that they did not use the services of the interpreter. The interpreter who, it appeared to me, was capable only of saying "Yes, your worship" and "No, your worship." We saw tears, rage, and utter hopelessness. The magistrate did not even bother to look at the accused. He was much too busy with the paper work. In and out, 35 women subjected to 60-second justice. When we left the court, the magistrate looked into our horrified faces and smiled.

#### **JOHANNESBURG BLACK PHYSICIAN**

I was a guest at the home of a Black physician for dinner. His home is adequate and comfortable, considering the conditions of the Black township in which he lived. He was not unaware of the lack of curbs and sidewalks and well-paved streets. He noted that crime in his community was accentuated by the lack of adequate street lights. We dined and talked of the future of his country. He was convinced that the future for Black South Africans lies in the transfer of political power from the "chief system" (used by the white government) to the urban, educated Blacks and Coloureds. What about U.S. corporations? Stay and make effective political and economic change; but if they cannot (and will not) treat the Black worker as an equal, they should get out of South Africa.

#### **SOWETO TOWNSHIP**

Black and white students agreed to take us to Soweto, the Black township a few miles from Johannesburg—mile after mile of what would be considered in America as substandard housing. Somehow it reminded me of Black housing clustered in or around large Southern cities. We were told that there were more beer halls than schools. We were told that alcoholism among Blacks is rising and that education for Black children is not compulsory and not free. We were told that crime and violence by Blacks against Blacks is considerable, especially on weekends. We were told that over one million Black people live in Soweto, temporary residents, with the permission of the white town council of Johannesburg. Anyone not gainfully employed must leave Soweto and return to the "homeland" (or Bantustan). We were told that a rented home is four walls and a roof. The renter must provide a ceiling and a floor. If the renter wants electricity, he must pay an additional fee to wire the house. We were told that most cooking is done by coal and the haze created by the many stoves never seems to clear.

We also paid a visit to a large Black hospital in Soweto.

Our visit began in the house resident's quarters—where we met Black and Coloured doctors. We visited some wards, crowded beyond belief. Patients were everywhere on beds, cots, and stretchers. Our request to tour more of the vast hospital was refused by the white director who sent us a message that appointments must be made two weeks in advance. The director did not do us the courtesy of greeting us.

Even on the professional level in the hospital the apartheid system prevails. Although of equal training and working with the same Black patients, the white doctors receive substantially more pay than the Black doctors and the quarters for the white doctors are separate and much more comfortable than those provided for the Blacks. The administration of the hospital is white and the top professional staff (medical and nursing) is white. Why, we ask, do white doctors come here to train? We were told that the hospital provides abundant professional experience.

#### **CAPE TOWN**

Karl Gregory joined us for breakfast on the Plaza. In an attempt to have an informal conversation with one of the Coloured waitresses, he asked her how long she had been employed at the restaurant. She quickly replied: "I have no complaints" and turned away.

We met with Father Clive McBride, a Coloured Anglican minister, in a Coloured township. This man, it appeared to me, is truly one the Anglican church should listen to very carefully. He told us of the difficulty of ministering to his community. He told us of young couples who come to him for advice—they want to marry but cannot find housing. "I have no help for them—I can only send them away." He told us how difficult it was to tell Coloured children that the Christmas Festival is for whites only. When we parted he told us that our visit was the first evidence of organized U.S. Christian support. "We are so glad you have come."

Drivers picked us up at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel to take us to the Chrysler plant. The driver was reluctant to talk to us, but we convinced him that we were to be trusted. He told us that white men who were employed after he came to the company are now supervisors and make more per hour than he does. What about American corporations leaving South Africa? He believed that, although he would suffer greatly, "If American corporations cannot be fair, they should leave."

#### **PORT ELIZABETH**

We toured the Ford plant and inspected the segregated lunchroom facilities. I asked one of the Coloured workers if the facilities were adequate and the food good. I was told that it had never been so clean before and that it had been subject to special attention because of our visit. "We wondered why the food was so much better today."

A Coloured worker took me aside. "We read in the paper that you were coming here. We are glad you are here and we hope you can help us."

At the Port Elizabeth Goodyear plant, the Black worker begins at \$.56 per hour. The Coloured worker begins at \$.84 per hour. The white worker begins at \$1.05 per hour. We are told, however, that the Black worker who is dedicated and industrious and who is willing to work during his lunch period and his rest periods "can over-produce his quota and make as much as the other workers." No matter how we approach the subject we are not able to convince management that if you start behind given the same conditions you stay behind. We met an African worker. He had been employed at Goodyear for over ten years. His wage was \$1.05 per hour.

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

## REVIEW OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT TRIAL

The trial of 13 members of the Unity Movement of South Africa on charges under the Terrorism Act, which opened on 16 August 1971, is entering its fifth month in the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg. The prosecution has called a hundred witnesses to testify on the charges, which allege a campaign to recruit people in South Africa to undergo political and military training to overthrow the regime, and specifically the recruiting of at least 32 people to undergo military training.

Most of the evidence for the prosecution has contained accounts of meetings and discussions held in various parts of South Africa, including the Transkei (particularly the Pondoland area), Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban. There has been testimony that four organizers returned to South Africa from abroad, and that these met with Unity Movement groups in the areas mentioned as part of a continued recruiting campaign. Evidence has also related to the collection of funds and transportation arrangements for the four organizers. (It should be pointed out that the latter are consistently referred to in press reports as "Zambian agents." However, all the four individuals named are South Africans, and the only basis for the reference to Zambia is the allegation that they proceeded to South Africa on the instructions of exiled leaders in Zambia.)

At an early stage of the trial the defense elicited from the prosecution testimony some admissions regarding police assaults. However, the prosecution quickly moved to charge the witness concerned with perjury, and thereafter state witnesses consistently denied maltreatment. The veil cloaking police maltreatment was, however, lifted on a number of occasions as a result of close defense cross-examination. The account hereunder should accordingly be read against this background.

A great number of the witnesses who testified for the State were brought to court from solitary detention to give their evidence. All these detainee-witnesses had been held "for interrogation" under the provisions of Section Six of the Terrorism Act for many months before being called to testify. An uncertain number of persons who were detained by the police did not appear as witnesses, and their fate remains unknown.

### Defendants Describe Torture

Insight into the conditions of detention was given in an urgent pre-trial application brought on August 13 by one of the defense lawyers on behalf of her husband, who had just been redetained by the Security Police. In the application she stated her fear that he would be maltreated by the police because of reluctance to testify as a state witness, and in support of her contentions submitted sworn affidavits made by 12 of the defendants detailing the extreme police brutality which they had undergone while under interrogation. The affidavits described how witnesses had undergone systematic and sadistic beatings, been subjected to electric torture and sleep deprivation, had been threatened with the detention of wives and families, and with unlimited further

detention for themselves if they remained uncooperative with the Security Police. Much of the maltreatment was described as having occurred in a police camp set up in Mkambathi Forest in the Pondoland region of the Transkei. This camp was later called by the defense counsel a "torture camp." The affidavits also described brutal treatment meted out to Mr. Mtayeni Cutshela, an elderly man from Pondoland who subsequently died in detention. An inquest into his death has not yet been held. One of the deponents described how a detainee, Jakede Nohalaza, cut his throat, apparently in a suicide attempt after brutal torture.

The application resulted in a court order that the detainees continue to be held at police headquarters in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, and not be removed, and that the Security Police refrain from "unlawful pressure." However, under the terms of the Act, the judge could not order the detainee's release or in fact afford access by anyone to the detainees: release and access are specifically prohibited by Section Six.

### Impeached After Exposing Maltreatment

Shortly after the trial commenced, a 19-year-old witness from Cape Town, Jonathan Byneveldt, was impeached for giving evidence at variance with his police statement, and was then charged with perjury. (This case is still pending.) Significantly, the impeachment came when the witness had described maltreatment by the Security Police in answer to defense questioning. (Natal Mercury, Aug. 25, 1971) The defense counsel protested this to the court, pointing out the alleged inconsistent statement had occurred before defense cross-examination. He said that the impression had been created that the witness was discredited not because of these inconsistencies, but because the State was anxious to cancel out indications made by the witness of ill treatment. (Natal Witness, Aug. 26, 1971)

Another Cape Town witness, Mr. Brian Bailey, a schoolteacher, who was also brought to court from police detention, testified that he had been fearful of solitary confinement and torture by the Special Branch. He said that he had heard that people had died at the hands of the Security Police, notably the Imam Haron, a Moslem religious leader who had died in detention in Cape Town. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, and Cape Times, Sept. 2, 1971)

A number of witnesses testified about the appalling conditions at the Mtonsasa Police Station in Pondoland, where persons were held prior to being taken to the Mkambathi forest camp. Mr. Mbojuyana Tekase stated that he had been held for two weeks in an overcrowded cell, without any exercise. The only food was a thin liquid porridge. He was there during the summer, and despite the heat, only a little water, sufficient to wipe the face, was brought to the cell. Sleep was very difficult and there was no change of clothing. All the occupants had become infested with lice. (Natal Witness, Sept. 29, 1971) Mr. David Memela, another witness to describe these conditions, characterized them as "horrible." (East London Daily Dispatch, Oct. 7, 1971) Mr. Mcunukelwa

Makubalo, an elderly man recovering from tuberculosis, said he had been confined for a week in this cell with seven men, while he suffered severe coughing spells. (The Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 23, 1971)

Mr. Bhobose Deyi, asked about the Forest Camp, said he and another detainee had been made to run around and around there by a white policeman. He claimed not to know the reason for this. (Natal Witness, Oct. 5, 1971) Mr. Leo Sijaji told of being interrogated for 18 hours without a break at the Compol Building, the Security Police headquarters in Pretoria. He professed not to know why he had not been allowed to sit down. (East London Daily Dispatch, Oct. 23, 1971)

A teacher from Botswana testified to police ill-treatment of her husband and threw light on activities by the South African police within Botswana territory. She related that her husband had set out in his tractor from their home in the Lobatsi District of Botswana but failed to return. The tractor was subsequently returned from the South African side of the border and the witness then learned that her husband was in detention in South Africa. Later she received a message from the South African police that her husband was being held in Mafeking, a town near the Botswana border. She thereafter saw her husband at the Mafeking Police Station, and noticed that he had black marks on his face that looked like bruises. He complained to her that he had been hit by the police and was not feeling well. After signing a statement she was returned to the border. Some time later two South African policemen came to her home in Botswana, and told her she had to attend the case, as her husband was still in detention. She agreed to accompany the police but pointed out that she had no passport or travel document. The policemen advised her that this was in order because she would be in their company. She was taken to the border fence which they crossed at dusk and then boarded a car that had been waiting on the South African side. On reaching Mafeking she was to her surprise locked up by the police. On this occasion she again saw her husband who still seemed unwell. She told the court that she felt compelled to testify in the case in order to secure the release of her husband, although she did not, at the time of giving testimony, now whether he had in fact been released. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 4, 1971)

#### Defense Lawyer Harassed

The difficulties faced by the defense lawyers have been illustrated by recent events. The senior counsel was unable to act after the end of October, and withdrew from the case. One of the other counsels, Mr. David Soggot, was censured by the presiding judge for privately interviewing state witnesses who had completed their testimony without leave of the prosecutor. The judge ordered a disciplinary proceeding by the Bar Council, despite Mr. Soggot's explanation of the reasons for his action, and his statement that he obtained the approval from the chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council, and also from his fellow defense counsel.

In relating the background to the interviews Mr. Soggot said that he had been approached at court by the witness Bailey as the latter was leaving after completing his testimony. Mr. Bailey was fearful of the police and indicated that his evidence had been prompted as a result of police coercion. Realizing that the giving of the usual notice to the prosecution of his intention to interview the witness would come to the attention of the Security

Police, Mr. Soggot determined to interview Mr. Bailey, and certain others in the same plight, confidentially. In the course of his address to the Judge-President, Mr. Soggot referred to "the existence of an interrogational apparatus which entitled the Security Police to a new world where they cannot be controlled" by any judge, a world where no judge has the right to make an order demanding to know what is happening "and where no person has access," that this "holds a particular terror and endows members of the Security Branch with arbitrary powers enabling them to do what they wish." Referring to the witness, Mr. Soggot said:

"To him, and I would submit with justification, there is a pitiless system of coercion. . . . There is nothing in our jurisprudence or our practice, which ever has had to deal with the frightening combination of unscrupulousness coupled with a power of intimidation without precedent." (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Oct. 31, 1971)

It is revealing that the Bar Council, after deliberating on the judge's complaint, found that Mr. Soggot had not breached any rules or committed any misconduct.

It appears that the defense case will commence early in the New Year, and that the trial will probably continue into February. New charges are still pending against Mr. Joseph Tsukukutu Maleka who was originally charged with the 13 defendants presently on trial. His case is likely to commence after the verdict on the 13. The perjury charge against Mr. Byneveldt, mentioned above, is also due to be brought to trial after the present trial. An inquest on Mr. Mtayeni, the man who died in detention, is due to have taken place in mid-December.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the 13 defendants have all sent demands to the Government (through their attorneys) claiming damages for the police assaults upon them during their detention. They have given individual notice of their intention to institute civil actions, if their demands are not met.



Racial discrimination is even extended to public facilities as shown here at a public park in Johannesburg where only whites are allowed to sit on benches.

## SECURITY POLICE ACTIVE

Between Nov. 17 and 20, at least 11 more people were detained by the South African Security Police. One former detainee, Mr. Joergen Wagner, a German photographer who was held for seven days, released and rearrested for a further five hours of questioning, was to have left South Africa on Nov. 19.

Three British citizens are now in detention. Quentin Jacobson and David Smith were detained under the Terrorism Act in early November, along with an Australian, Martin Cohen (Daily Nation, Nov. 6, 1971). The third Briton is Colin Marquard, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) who was detained on Nov. 18. Two former "Wits" students were arrested with Marquard.

Others arrested include Michael Markovitz, Martin Notcutt, Colleen Crawford, Winston Saoli, Patrick Moelstane, Kerwin Chiya, and Hajira Essop.

Miss Essop is the third member of her family to be in detention. Her brother, Mohamed Essop, is being held in a prison hospital. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971)

## OCTOBER RAIDS RECALLED

Mohamed Essop was detained in the same raids that took in Ahmed Timol, the Indian who was killed in "a fall" from the tenth floor of Security Police headquarters. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, Dec. 1971) Essop was apparently healthy before he was detained. There had been great concern about his well being. (Standard of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam, Nov. 4, 1971) Essop's father made urgent application for private doctors to treat his son. Counsel for Mr. Essop said he had seen his son lying naked and battered on a hospital bed four days after he was detained by police. The court ruled that private doctors should be allowed to see him. (East African Standard, Nairobi, Oct. 30, 1971)

The initial October raids are said to have stemmed from the arrest of two Indian students at the University of the Witwatersrand, who allegedly had "subversive leaflets" in their car. The raids were in part an attempt to trace other people connected with the preparation and distribution of the leaflets. (Guardian, London, Oct. 26, 1971)

## GOVERNMENT REACTION

Prime Minister John Vorster has defended the Security Police saying, "The Security Police are at present engaged in a comprehensive and serious investigation in connection with terrorism and sabotage and it can be expected that in the course of the investigation more persons will be detained." He also said there is "no reason to appoint a special judicial commission" to inquire into the death of Ahmed Timol. (East African Standard, Nairobi, Oct. 30, 1971)

Head of Security Police Interrogators, Colonel Swanepoel, denies that torture is used by his men. "When you torture a person," he said, "he will hate you and will do anything in his power not to give information. He will say anything to stop himself from being tortured. . . . We want the person being questioned to become a personal friend of ours," he said in a newspaper interview. (East African Standard, Nairobi, Nov. 10, 1971)

## NATIONALIST PRESS EXPLANATIONS

Die Vaderland alleged in early November that communist forces within South Africa were embarked on a propaganda campaign to discredit and emasculate the Security Police. On Nov. 15, Die Transvaler openly indicted Mr. Ahmed Timol as a link-man in an international conspiracy between local communist cells

and a network overseas. No matter that Mr. Timol is to be the subject of an inquest and in terms of justice, this should preclude any public speculation about the cause of his death. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Nov. 16, 1971)

## TERRORISM ACT DEFENDED

The head of the Bureau for State Security (BOSS), General H. J. van den Bergh, was interviewed on South African radio. Selections from the interview follow:

VAN DEN BERGH: "I want to get more to the point of the question, namely, why it's been necessary to have security measures which in some ways remind one of war-time emergency measures. . . . In South Africa in the late 50's, a state of emergency was declared. . . . In my opinion, these emergency measures did not solve any of the problems. . . . With the increasing number of acts of sabotage in South Africa, it soon became apparent that the country was on the brink of violent revolution.

"In fact it was proved over and over again in South Africa's courts that the banned communist party and its fellow-travelers and sympathizers were intent on using violence to bring about change.

"The sabotage attacks were merely a softening-up process for what was to come—violent revolution. Existing legislation was useless in helping us counter this threat. So . . . we had to decide whether to declare a state of emergency again . . . or whether to make use of acceptable Western democratic methods to break down the growing conspiracy before it became too late.

"We decided on additional legislation that would enable the police to combat conspiracy . . . the police were faced with legal requirements introduced to South Africa via England—long before the world had to begin coping with communism. . . . What greater justification can one ask for than this? Those whose guilt cannot be proved are discharged, those whose guilt is proved in terms of acceptable Western democratic principles, are punished. . . .

QUESTION: It appears from your explanation that the security forces are being required to handle a specific revolutionary situation. Our situation now is surely one of peace—the police having delivered the final knock-out blows in the early 60's. In view of this, are these wide powers still necessary?

GENERAL VAN DEN BERGH: "Anyone who tries to create the impression that the revolutionary forces are down and out is very far off the mark indeed. They've been hit hard, but they're as tough as leather and are already gathering their forces for a new onslaught. . . .

"The communists believed then, and still believe, that they have no hope of success in South Africa until they succeed in disrupting the South African economy. . . . For this purpose they say, and I quote, 'We must gain international support, we must seek to pull into the struggle and to encourage students and women's organizations, progressive churchmen, newspapers and journalists, and even professional bodies'. . . .

"The present actions and arrests being carried out by the police are definitely more than justified and critics will soon be swallowing their words."

QUESTION: Do you think the wide powers given to the police can be reconciled with the civil freedoms which any individual in the democratic country would like to enjoy?

GENERAL VAN DEN BERGH: "Yes, and most definitely. After all, it is just these powers which enable you and me to enjoy freedom in a free and democratic country. Take away these powers from the police and our freedom . . . will soon become something of the past." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Nov. 22, 1971) ■

# INSIDE ZIMBABWE

## THE SELL-OUT SETTLEMENT.

"The conspiracy has been consummated. The deal has been signed, and once more Britain has handed over millions of Africans and hundreds of thousands of square miles of valuable real estate property to a handful of racist British settlers. Britain has created one more minority racist republic that Africa must fight. The 'settlement' is nothing more than a device to legitimize military support for its new creation. Zimbabweans have always said that this was what would happen as soon as Sir Alex Douglas Home started talking of a constitution in 1961. Zimbabweans have always said that any 'settlement' that gave independence to a racist minority was a conspiracy to continue exploitation of the African people and the resources of Zimbabwe for the British people at home and white settlers in Rhodesia. The only question for Zimbabweans is: when do the majority of Africans see through all these machinations of imperialism and when does solidarity for the battle become a reality?"

Comment

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Home reported to the House of Commons on Nov. 24 that a settlement has been reached and signed with the "rebellious regime" of Southern Rhodesia. He called it an "honorable settlement" that could provide "an opportunity to set a new course, which can lead to greater harmony" (The New York Times, Nov. 26, 1971). The Conservative backbenchers who own most of the real estate in Southern Rhodesia, cheered him enthusiastically, while the Laborites who were looking for an honorable political settlement with the Africans booted him and cried "sell-out."

The settlement is basically along the lines of the Smith constitution of 1969, which was itself a rejection of the Douglas Home constitution of 1961. White, elected by European settlers; 8 Africans will be elected by Africans. The constitution provides for a Senate with very few powers except on money matters. The Senate is made up of 10 European settlers elected by the Parliament, 10 Chiefs appointed by the settler government, and three others appointed by the government.



'And as the years go by, one after another of us can black-up.'

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... 1961.  
... Zimbabweans  
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... reality?"

The franchise is geared to include every European who works and exclude every African who is not a college graduate, in a country with a dual wage structure and with one college, and where the government is doing everything it can to reduce the small number of Africans aspiring to go to college. There will be a European Settler Roll and an African Higher Roll with the same qualifications: about \$2,700 a year income. The highest paying industry in the country, the trucking industry, pays Africans a maximum of about \$1,200 a year. The only group of Africans who would qualify on the Higher Roll are college graduates after three years of steady work and African businessmen. There is a great scarcity of both. The development to majority rule is presumed on the expansion of this African Higher Roll. When this roll increases by six percent, two more African seats will be elected and appointed alternatively until parity is reached with Europeans. At that point a Rhodesian Government commission will look into the question of whether the settler community would like majority rule or not, with extra seats elected on a Common Roll of both Africans and settlers. There is an African Lower Roll with lower qualifications, but it elects only eight representatives and has no effect on the development to parity. There is also a Bill of Rights judiciable to the Southern Rhodesian courts. After their stand against the Privy Council in support of a racist regime, no one would seriously expect Africans to have faith in that court system.

Africans in Zimbabwe and throughout the continent called the settlement a sell-out to racism. In a memorandum smuggled out of the prison, ZANU leader (Zimbabwe African National Union) Ndabaningi Sithole called the settlement and the British "five principles" very "inimical to the basic interests of the Africans." He rejected completely any settlement that gave sovereignty to a racist minority and reiterated that Africans would never have any obligation to any such contract to which they were not party. ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) leader Joshua Nkomo, who is detained in a remote prison camp, was brought to see Sir Alec Douglas Home. Nkomo told a reporter later that "there would be no independence without majority rule . . . and that the time for majority rule was now." (Sunday Times, London, Nov. 21, 1971; Observer, London, Nov. 28, 1971; Guardian, London, Nov. 22, 1971). The newly formed FROLIZI (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe) also denounced the settlement as a sell-out (The New York Times, Nov. 26, 1971). A joint statement by former ZANU and ZAPU members in the country was also presented to Douglas Home calling on the United Nations to be the final arbiter in the settlement. The statement was signed by Michael Mawema and Edison Sithole of ZANU and Josiah Chinamano and Cephas Msipa of ZAPU.

Ronald Sadomba, former Member of Parliament, deplored the fact that the British Government had decided to use Smith's 1969 constitution as a basis of discussion, a constitution that had itself arisen out of rebellion to a British constitution of 1961. Representative of the Tanzanian Government at the United Nations Salim A. Salim denounced the settlement as a "tragic and shocking culmination of the British Government's long record of betrayal of the African peoples of Zimbabwe." (The New York Times, Nov. 31, 1971) President Kaunda of Zambia called it a betrayal to all the hopes of African peoples and "a despicable sell-out." The Organization of African Unity called it an "outright sell-out." Students at

Southern Rhodesia's only college said that the settlement was "totally unacceptable and unbinding to the African people." (Rhodesian Sunday Mail, Nov. 14, 1971) When Douglas Home was touring African towns near Salisbury one man shouted to him: "Don't sell us out." (Guardian, London, Nov. 19, 1971)

The House of Commons approved the Douglas Home settlement by a vote of 297 to 269 with most of the opposition Labor Party voting against it. Home said he did not believe "better terms for blacks could have been negotiated." Labor shadow Foreign Secretary Denis Healy called the terms for political advancement of black people "the greatest obstacle race of all time." (The New York Times, Dec. 2, 1971) The New York Times reporter who covered the talks came to the conclusion that whichever way one looked at the settlement, "it still reads 'white power.'" In an in-depth article on the settlement, Antony Lewis comes to the conclusion that: "To the whites of [Southern]Rhodesia they [the terms]gave the promise of effective political power without end. . . . To the blacks the terms promised guarantees against a slide from spotty multiracialism of [Southern] Rhodesia today toward South African apartheid." (The New York Times, Nov. 28, 1971) In a letter to the London Times, British Permanent Representative to the U.N. C. T. Crowe tried to show how Africans can ultimately determine the issue of majority rule after parity has been reached. However, he declined to explain that half of the African representatives would be appointed by the Government or appointed by a body of African chiefs and counselors who are all appointed by the Government and have always shown absolute loyalty to their settler mentors. An editorial in the New York Times concluded that the settlement "will leave the rate of African political advance under white control indefinitely" (Nov. 28, 1971). An in-depth article by the London Times projects that African majority is theoretically possible by 2035. Dr. Claire Palley, the writer, is a constitutional lawyer and has written a constitutional history of Southern Rhodesia. Her husband was an outstanding Member of Parliament in Southern Rhodesia. In an editorial, the London Times calls the settlement "an ignoble end to the empire." (Nov. 28, 1971) The Guardian (London, Nov. 26, 1971) reporter Niesewand perhaps summed the settlement best of all. He said that the plan rests firmly on three graces: "faith, and hope in London that Mr. Smith and his Ministers will exercise charity toward the five million Africans. . . . The plan depends on the goodwill of Mr. Smith and his successors." Smith himself assured Rhodesian settlers that African rule was now no more a threat in his lifetime or ever.

#### PRICE FOR SETTLEMENT

The real reason why Britain may have settled for this "ignoble end to an empire" may be found in the economics of England and Southern Rhodesia. In a front-page article with one-inch-deep headline: "Wake Up Britain," the Daily Express (London) shows how British firms are already preparing to fight to capture the Southern Rhodesian market all to themselves again. The entry of Germany, France, and Japan into this market that had been until UDI completely monopolized by the British, has irked many British business men and they are determined to get it back. According to the Express (London, Dec. 2, 1971), all hotels in Salisbury are fully booked by French, German, and Japanese business representatives who want to make sure that they do not

lose their newly found market. The Express revealed for the first time that Germans were using British drawings to manufacture replacements for Southern Rhodesian machinery and rail stock that were vital to the economic life of Southern Rhodesia. (For getting back this market Britain is willing to pay a price of \$240 million to subsidize Southern Rhodesia's economic recovery. (Guardian, London, Nov. 25, 1971) The money is for two specific purposes: (1) \$108 million is earmarked for foreign exchange and Southern Rhodesia's foreign debt; and (2) \$130 million is for a crash program of African development. Both the British and the Smith Government agree the money will be for African Trust Lands—another name for Bantustans.

The British Government is going to help Smith develop a full Bantustan system in Rhodesia. The Smith Government is already thinking of Africans-only colleges and Africans-only institutions financed by British money. While the British Government ostensibly demanded no further racial discrimination, it would like to strengthen that which already exists. And historically Southern Rhodesia's Land Apportionment Act (1931) is much older than South Africa's Group Areas Act (1950). What Southern Rhodesia does not spell out in law is already accepted as customary. Britain will pay to enhance settler customary discrimination in return for a monopoly market.

Smith has said it is most unlikely that he will return to the pre-UDI situation because he owes something to Germany, France, and Japan who kept him afloat in bad times. The London Stock Exchange went up 28 points at the news of the settlement. (Guardian, London, Nov. 25, 1971)

The U.S. decision to buy Southern Rhodesian chrome in spite of U.N. sanctions buoyed the Southern Rhodesian economic picture even more. To play within the rules of the international game, however, the British Parliament voted Nov. 10 to extend sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. (Guardian, London, Nov. 11, 1971) According to the Johannesburg Star, the Southern Rhodesian farmers are now "planting for peace." Tobacco, which was Southern Rhodesia's main export earner, but was shuttered by sanctions, is being planted in pre-UDI proportions. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 10, 1971) According to two reporters of the Guardian (London): "Sir Alec Douglas Home's career began with Munich and ends fittingly with Salisbury." (Nov. 25, 1971)

#### THE CHURCH FIGHTS DISCRIMINATION

About 3,000 Africans living at Epworth mission farm of 9,000 acres have been warned that they may have to move because Epworth is in a European area, about 15 miles out of Salisbury. As the settlement talks came to a head the Epworth issue was hushed up to avoid embarrassment, but the government is expected to renew its demand as soon as the settlement dust settles down. (Rhodesian Sunday Mail, Oct. 12, 1971) It has since been revealed that a similar move was contemplated against

1,000 African tenants of the Catholic mission farm at Chiwasha, about 10 miles northeast of Salisbury.

Epworth is owned by the Methodist Church (UK). The Catholic Church is once more agonized by the decision to comply with government guidelines on admission of African students to so-called multiracial church schools in European areas. Early this year they agreed they would comply, and now they say they will not. The Catholic secretary for education, Father Sean Dunne, said that "it is now clear that the Government's ideology is so incompatible with the church's teachings that further negotiations would serve no useful purpose." Dunne said that the bishops have now made it clear and any attempt to interfere with the church's work will lead to a closing of all their institutions—schools, hospitals, orphanages, and others. (Guardian, London, Nov. 7, 1971) The Church of England is also considering the same guidelines that require that only six percent Africans may be admitted to European private schools. All Government schools are strictly segregated.

Under the Land Tenure Act that divides all land into African and European, missionary groups with schools in European areas or vice versa are required to ask permission for such interracial registration in schools and are expected to follow guidelines. Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the Methodist Church, the only African head of any church in the country, complained that he was subjected to "inhuman treatment" by immigration officials when he returned from the World Methodist Council conference in the United States. (Guardian, London, Nov. 10, 1971)

#### ON THE LIBERATION FRONT

Betsera Madzviire, a former student in the U.S. who has since become an accountant for the Bible Society in Southern Rhodesia, was recently sentenced to seven years in prison in Salisbury. Madzviire was accused of having been asked to do intelligence work for a banned organization based in Lusaka. According to the evidence, Madzviire was later approached by a Government man pretending to be a leader of a guerrilla group in the country. He promised to try and get the supplies the group needed.

When Madzviire contacted the banned organization in Lusaka, he realized he had been tricked, but he was arrested before he could leave the country. (Rhodesian Herald, Oct. 13, 1971) According to the New York Times (Nov. 14, 1971) the 129 Zimbabwe guerrillas of ZAPU who were deported out of Zambia to Southern Rhodesia were spies for the Smith regime.

It is known, however, from private sources, that some of the men have since been sentenced to death by the Smith regime. It is also known that most of them were opposed to certain ZAPU leaders who have since formed a new party—FROLIZI. Jutta Dube denied in a Salisbury court recently that he had been recruiting for guerrilla training outside the country or harboring guerrilla recruits■

## PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

### CAETANO PROCLAIMS STATE OF "SUBVERSION"

Caetano has asked the National Assembly of Portugal to proclaim the existence of a serious state of subversion, thus permitting the Government to "adopt the measures necessary to repress subversion and to prevent it from spreading, with such restrictions on individual liberties and guarantees as are seen to be indispensable." (Times, London, Nov. 17, 1971) Reasons for the move include increased anti-government acts.

October 27 a bomb extensively damaged the main building of the new NATO naval headquarters at Oeiras, on the coast 12 miles west of Lisbon. From this location the Iberian Atlantic Command will "guard the southwest approaches to Europe from any potential Soviet attack." It is thought the bomb may have been placed by the ARA (Armed Revolutionary Action). (International Herald Tribune, U.S., and Times, London, and Daily Telegraph, London, Oct. 28, 29 and 30, 1971.)

The Portuguese General Assembly, on Aug. 4, approved a new press law that is supposed to lift censorship somewhat six months after public announcement of the law by the President. It is unsure what real changes the law will bring about or exactly when it will come into effect, given more recent moves. (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Aug. 8, 1971)

### ARCHBISHOPS SUPPORT PORTUGAL

Portuguese-born Archbishop Alvim Pereira of Mozambique restated his firm support for Portuguese rule while speaking in the synod of bishops in Rome in October. Archbishop Nunes Gabriel of Angola also defended the Caetano regime and affirmed that Angolan bishops were collaborating with the regime. (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 30, 1971)

### IMPENDING USE OF HERBICIDES IN GUINEA-BISSAU

On Nov. 10, 1971 the American Committee on Africa received the following telegram from Amilcar Cabral, leader of the PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau's independence party):

"Desperate in the face of the great victories brought by our party during this year, the criminal Portuguese colonialists have launched a wave of savage air bombings since August against the peasant population in our liberated areas. As of the end of October, 38 villages were destroyed, 7 women and 8 children killed and 28 wounded.

"They have not succeeded in terrorizing or demoralizing our people in their determination to pursue the just struggle for liberty, peace and progress. I bring to your attention that the Portuguese colonialists are feverishly preparing to spread toxic chemical products in order to destroy our crops before the next harvest. The goal is clearly to stop our struggle by famine. We face dismal prospects resulting from these preparations.

"We request you to take all measures in your reach to denounce and condemn in advance this monstrous crime against Africa and humanity."

On Nov. 17 the Chairman of the United Nations Fourth Committee on Decolonization announced that the U.N. had also received the cable. Speakers from PAIGC appeared before the Fourth Committee in late November, testifying to Portuguese atrocities.



Credit Mozambique Revolution

## CABRAL ON BRITISH TOUR

Amilcar Cabral, on speaking tour in Britain the last week of October, reiterated the strength of PAIGC, and its willingness to meet Portuguese negotiators. He asserted "We have the means to attack and destroy Bissau" but that the movement preferred to negotiate for the Portuguese to leave rather than cause such destruction. Cabral was not received by any Foreign Office Minister "because he is committed to violence against a Government with which we have friendly relations" but the British Labour Party expressed its solidarity with the people of the Portuguese colonies struggling for their freedom. (Guardian, Sunday Times, London Times, Times of Zambia, and Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 22-29, 1971)

The Daily Telegraph (London, Nov. 16, 1971) reported a senior Portuguese official as saying that the war in Guinea-Bissau was really no longer defense against guerrillas but a "classical" war "against communists fighting for the impoverished colony as a first step toward capturing the strategic Cape Verde Islands."

## NEW YORK TIMES REPORTER IN LIBERATED GUINEA

William Borders, reporting for The New York Times, has recently been inside Guinea-Bissau with PAIGC. In articles printed on Nov. 8 and Nov. 14, 1971 he indicates that the nationalists roam "freely through the rain-soaked countryside, ambushing and laying mines, sometimes striking a Portuguese-held fort with heavy artillery, and just waiting, secure in the conviction that they can wait longer than the colonialists for victory.... The Portuguese... do not seem to know where to aim, because of the difficulty of air reconnaissance. Most of the rebel villages and camps in the area (Cacine) are well hidden by trees, and when there is fear that a camp has been spotted, it is quickly moved, stick by stick." He cites Amilcar Cabral as saying "We will take aid from anyone. In fact, we would be most grateful if those who are not aiding us—the United States, for example—would simply stop aiding the other side... that the world stop arming Portugal, and then we can finish up our struggle." Borders also testifies to the extent of development work by PAIGC—schools, clinics, judicial system—and the peace of some areas of Guinea that have long been under the control of the PAIGC.

## ANGOLA'S ECONOMIC STATUS

Noticias de Portugal of Oct. 23, 1971 reports a large increase in the value of extractive minerals in Angola in 1970, especially in diamonds, oil, and iron. Japan is one of the major buyers of the iron and will import three million tons of it in 1971. It is expected that oil exports in 1971 have reached five million tons, with additional gain from the oil by-products that include gas refined in Luanda, jet-fuel, bottled butane gas, extra heavy fuel, bunker C, asphalt, and Cut Back MC2.

Noticias de Portugal of Oct. 16, 1971 indicates that cotton production of 1969/70 showed a 500% increase over production in 1966, reflecting both increased acreage and improved infrastructure and techniques of production. It is expected that the current yield will be 90,000 tons. Most of the cotton goes to Portugal to supply its textile industry.

## SMITH AIDS PORTUGAL

The White Father Cesare Bertulli, who left Mozambique this year, has confirmed FRELIMO information that Rhodesians, piloting South African planes, aid the Portuguese in Mozambique. (Le Monde, Paris, Oct. 1, 1971)

## MPLA PROGRESS

The Times of Zambia on Oct. 11, 1971 reported that MPLA has requested that Congo-Kinshasa (Zaire) permit its freedom fighters to pass through its territory to facilitate operations against Portuguese soldiers in the MPLA First Region of Angola.

MPLA is preparing to launch a large-scale offensive on Portuguese barracks in its "liberated areas" according to Jacob Kamalata, the movement's representative in Lusaka. He noted that an Oct. 4 attack on the barracks in Cayanda in Angola's Moxico Province left the barracks in flames and that it took several Portuguese planes to remove the corpses, as Portuguese military radio bulletins have acknowledged. (Times of Zambia, Oct. 14, 1971)

An MPLA communique of Oct. 12, 1971 said the spraying of defoliants by the Portuguese Air Force had destroyed two-thirds of the crops in the country's liberated zones, and was frequently followed by napalm strikes, poisoning rivers, and causing hundreds of fatalities and deformations, mostly among the elderly and children. (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 12, 1971)



MPLA Freedom Fighter

**STRATEGIC ROAD PLANNED**

A massive 22,000-mile roadbuilding plan has been announced for Mozambique. It is to go the full north-south length of Mozambique, linking Lourenco Marques to Beira to the Rovuma River, and Beira to the Cabora Bassa Dam area, with completion of the Lourenco Marques/Beira link by February 1972. The whole network will cost more than the Cabora Bassa Dam. Tenders will be asked from international road building contractors. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 30, 1971)

**TETE AREA ASTIR**

The Star (Johannesburg, Nov. 6, 1971) and the Standard of Tanzania (Nov. 8, 1971) both report thousands of African refugees, mainly women and children, streaming into Malawi from the Tete province of Mozambique, with consistent stories that their flight is from Portuguese troops. The Star cited Portuguese atrocities related by the refugees and quoted the spokesman for the Portuguese Embassy in Malawi as saying that it "was true that some soldiers occasionally 'carried out deeds beyond their commitments'" but "it would not be right to generalize."

Reports continue in many sources, including Portuguese, of the extent to which FRELIMO has besieged the Cabora Bassa area, cutting supply links through road mining and ambush, causing many Portuguese troops to be tied down escorting convoys of materiel to the damsite or Rhodesian vehicles en route to Malawi or doing advance mine-sweeping before the convoys begin. One of the most recent is the report by FRELIMO (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 29, 1971) of the sinking of four more Portuguese patrol boats on the Zambezi River on Aug. 10 and 23.

**PRISONERS EXCHANGED**

Four Portuguese, including a civilian pilot and three soldiers, were exchanged for five Congolese in the first formal exchange of prisoners between Portugal and a rebel-supporting African state in 10 years. The Portuguese had been seized by Brazzaville in two skyjackings. The Congolese were detained in Cabinda after their bus was hijacked earlier this year. (Daily Telegraph, London, Oct. 29, 1971)

**CAPE VERDE ACTION**

Cape Verde's budget estimates for 1971 show an increase of 44% in the allocation for the Public Security Police (PSP), and of 31% for the Direcçao Geral de Seguranga (DGS), formerly the PIDE (secret police). These increases followed the imprisonment of four persons in October 1969 on charges of subversive propaganda and of having a connection with the PAIGC. (U.N. Document A/AC.109/L.726 of Aug. 5, 1971)

Portugal is studying the establishment of naval shipyards in Porto Grande, Sao Vicente, Cape Verde. In December 1970 the Portuguese Government signed a contract with Techno-Economic Resources, Inc. of the United States for a technical and economic study of the proposed naval shipyards. (Same U.N. Document of Aug. 5, 1971)

**ZAMBIA WON'T HAVE DIALOGUE WITH PORTUGAL**

When the Portuguese delegate to the U.N. suggested that Portugal would like dialogue with "the whole of Africa" about its African policies, the Zambian Foreign Affairs Minister rejected the idea, saying that Portugal should negotiate with the leaders of PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO. (Zambia Daily Mail, Nov. 2, 1971) ■

## ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

**BRITISH COLLEGES ON INVESTMENTS**

It was discovered that the bursar at Nuffield College, Oxford University, had begun several years back to reinvest college monies in South African firms, a practice that had been stopped back in 1963. Student protests against the \$480,000 investments in the apartheid companies has forced the college to sell its holdings. At Manchester College shares worth \$336,000 in two huge South African mining concerns were sold. (Guardian, London, Oct. 26, 1971; Anti-Apartheid News, Nov. 1971)

London demonstrators from the Anti-Apartheid Movement occupied offices of the South African Government in early December. Sit-ins have occurred for several consecutive days. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1971)

**TRADE ASSOCIATIONS MANEUVER**

The U.K. South African Trade Association joined the trend in calling for better working conditions in South Africa and asserted that it would "show by our record that we have nothing to be ashamed of. . . ." A parallel group from South Africa (the South African Britain Trade Association) has been received through British cities by protests and hostile actions. A group of Labor Members of Parliament failed to show up for a meeting with the South Africans. Both groups are concerned about the economic implications of Britain's entry into the Common Market. South Africa is working to offset expected dislocations in its exports to Britain by increasing trade with Europe and is hoping that firmer ties with the English will enable an easier transition. (Guardian, London, Nov. 23, 1971; Anti-Apartheid News, Nov. 1971)

**TRADE UNIONS AGAINST PORTUGAL**

Unions associated with the Socialist Conference of Free Trade Unions and a Scandinavian Christian group have both opposed Portugal's entry into the Common Market. (European Community, October 1971)

### BLACK GROUPS MOVE ON "PORTUGUESE" AFRICA

A demonstration of more than 50 people, called by the Hunter College Black Student Union, was held on Nov. 24 in front of the "Casa de Portugal" in New York City. Demonstrating near the time of the first anniversary of the Portuguese invasion of Guinea (Conakry), the student union called for more information about oppression in Africa and action. In its leaflet it said: "... there is a whiteout of this information. The Government knows that if you the Black Man of America, ever found out about the murder of your Black Brothers and Sisters in Africa, you would be in the best position of anyone in the world to do something to stop it. ... The Black men and women of America must make it clear to the Portuguese ambassadors, visitors, businesses, and the American Government that we will not stand idly by and watch the wanton murder of our brothers and sisters."

The Pan African Liberation Committee associated with the Southern African Relief Fund in Massachusetts recently published a full report about how Harvard University's holdings in Gulf Oil contribute to Portuguese repression in Africa. The report was presented to Harvard's president, and was also circulated to Black leaders. The Pan African Committee calls for Harvard to sell its stock (worth \$15 million); for more information contact the group at P.O. Box 514, Brookline Village, Mass.

### "VORSTER'S SS" STILL UNDER ATTACK

The row created by revelations of cooperation between the South African and British security has forced the British Government to agree to an official investigation. (Herald Tribune, Nov. 23, 1971) A group of Labor Members of Parliament announced in early November, action to prepare a full dossier on cooperation beginning in 1957. Reginald Maulding, Tory Home Secretary, said that liaison was limited only to criminal and personal/property protection. But the call by liberal press and government people has created an aura of exposure and attention to South Africa's BOSS in Britain. (Observer, London, Nov. 14, 1971; Guardian, London, Nov. 8, 1971)■



Go Gulf



Go Gulf



Go Gulf

## INSIDE NAMIBIA

### SWAPO WAR COMMUNIQUE ON SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER ACTIONS

The extremity of Vorster's reaction to what was reportedly the death of one South African officer and the injury of four policemen on October 4 (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, November and December issues) can be more easily understood in the light of the SWAPO communique issued in Dar es Salaam on Oct. 20. The communique reported that SWAPO forces had killed more than 50 South African soldiers in September and October in three separate actions. (Standard, Tanzania, Oct. 21, 1971)

### ANTI-GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SACKED

According to Anti-Apartheid News (Nov. 1971), three members of an Ovambo deputation (two teachers, one clerk) that condemned Chief Shiimi of the Ovambo "Bantustan" were recently fired from their jobs.

### SWA AND SA UNITED PARTIES MERGE

The United National South West Party, UNSWP, the old opposition party of Namibia (white), recently merged with the United Party of South Africa. In his speech at the 45th and final congress of the UNSWP, Party leader Senator J. P. Niehaus explained that the merger had come about because of the United Party's assurance that once in power it would restore to South West African citizens the powers of which they had been deprived.

Niehaus pointed to the breaking up of the territory into "Native homelands," asserting that the "Native inhabitants" regard South West Africa as one unit. He also referred to disillusionment of the white citizens (who, as far as South African politics are concerned, are the only ones who count) with the present government that has reduced the powers of self-government and increased the bureaucratization of South West Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971)■

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### NAMIBIA STRIKERS SHOCK SOUTH AFRICA

Since the middle of December, striking Namibian (South West African) contract workers, now numbering 12,000 have brought the crucial mining industry there to a near standstill. One of the focal points of the strike is the Tsumeb mining operations, jointly controlled by two U.S. companies, American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining. The strike also spread to service trades, construction, and other occupations.

The widespread defiance of the slave labor system by contract workers throughout the country in the face of overwhelming South African force is an extraordinary act which shows how completely Namibians reject the life South Africa has forced upon them. The strike has been so effective (South Africa has been unable to find strike-breakers) that South African authorities fear the strike may spread to workers in South Africa.

Strikers everywhere protested against the contract-labor system. The protest in some places was directed also against living conditions and low wages. At a meeting in Walvis Bay, strikers told the South African-appointed chief Native Affairs Commissioner that they were protesting the statement of the Commissioner-General of the Northern Native Territories that workers freely accepted the contract-labor system because they signed up freely.

Wide popular support is being given to the strikers. Efforts of both tribal and governmental authorities to get African strikebreakers met with almost complete failure. The one verified case was of 90 Kavango workers who replaced 72 school children who had been paid \$2.80 a day to scab as refuse collectors in Windhoek. The use of convict labor has been reported. The most recent news of South African action is that the Government has flown troops into Ovamboland in northern Namibia in order to control the people involved in the protest. (Excerpts from Fact Sheet by the American Committee on Africa, January, 1972) ■

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# THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

## U.S. HANDBOOK ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Pentagon has just published an 843-page "Area Handbook for the Republic of South Africa" which claims that foreign diplomats find it very difficult to make contact with the real decision-makers in South Africa. (Star, Washington Bureau, Nov. 13, 1971)

Ken Owens (Washington Bureau of the Star, Nov. 20, 1971) asserts that the U.S. Government is doing all it can in favor of its new "communication policy with South Africa, as shown by its attack of the Security Council resolution on the Zambian border violation and Assistant Secretary of State Newsom's statements about signs of change in South Africa. Newsom has also suggested that South Africa could improve its international image by ameliorating petty apartheid, restoring basic tenets of Western law like habeas corpus, establishing a realistic policy for urban Africans, Coloureds, or Indians who do not fit into grand apartheid, or by showing some signs of development in the Bantustans. Instead, Owens notes, the regime has recently convicted a man of the church, let a man die in the care of the Security Police, crudely revealed the confidential correspondence of Kaunda with Vorster and announced its hot pursuit of forces into Zambia.

## CHROME QUESTION

A joint congressional conference approved the lifting of the U.S. embargo on imports of chrome, part of the \$21 billion military procurement bill. It made the measure into an amendment of the Stockpiling Act rather than keep the original language of a change in the Participation Act which empowers the President to enforce Security Council decisions. (Herald-Tribune, Nov. 5, 1971; Rhodesia Herald, Nov. 6, 1971). On Nov. 16 the General Assembly of the U.N. voted 106 to 2 (Portugal and South Africa) with 13 abstentions (including the U.S.) to protest the U.S. Congress' decision to import chrome in defiance of the 1966 mandatory sanctions on trade with Rhodesia voted by the Security Council, in "one of the most crushing defeats suffered by the U.S. in the 26-year-old history of the U.N." (The New York Times, Nov. 16 and 17, 1971) On Nov. 17 President Nixon signed the military procurement bill into law, including the provision for ending the importation ban on Jan. 1, 1972. The White House said, however, that Nixon would take no action under the legislation while British-Rhodesia negotiations were going on and hoped that the negotiations might bear fruit before Jan. 1. (The New York Times, Nov. 18, 1971)

### Effect in Rhodesia

According to the Rhodesia Herald (Nov. 6, 1971) the U.S. move came at a critical time and "is at least a signal to the world that sanctions are not important enough to warrant serious sacrifices; and at the most that their usefulness has lost its credibility in American eyes. The practical consequences may or may not be tardy; the psychological effect must be decisive in the long run." British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas Home

reportedly said (Herald Tribune, Nov. 17, 1971) to six Rhodesian Coloured leaders in Salisbury that the U.S. lifting of sanctions had "seriously undercut Britain's bargaining power" in the negotiations with the Smith regime. He gave them the impression that Britain must settle soon before sanctions "were further eroded."

### Effect on U.S. Prestige

State Department officials lamented the damage done to U.S. prestige among African and other members of the U.N. by the lifting of the embargo on chrome (New York Times, Nov. 18, 1971). In addition, Nixon signed the military procurement bill just one day after the protest vote of the General Assembly, further exacerbating feeling at the U.N. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971). In addition, Professor Stephen Schwebel of Johns Hopkins University (Professor of International Law; Guardian, London, Nov. 5, 1971 and New York Times, letters to the editor, Nov. 26, 1971) noted that the chrome measure was one more recent instance of U.S. violation of its treaty obligations, going along with refusal to pay ILO assessments, establishing the tax surcharge on imports, and the Congressional threats to withhold part of the U.N. assessment.

### Possible Loopholes

Professor Schwebel suggests several possible recourses for President Nixon to avoid lifting the ban on chrome imports: selling of chrome from the U.S. stockpile and suspending imports from the USSR (requiring legislation for the sale, an unlikely event); or deletion of chromite ore from the list of strategic and critical materials, an action that can be taken by the director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness. Schwebel notes that in situations of conflict between treaty obligation and Congressional legislation, it is an accepted canon of interpretation that the President should give effect to the treaty if that reasonably can be done. A "senior Administration official" reported investigations of means by which the President might discourage violations of the embargo. (The New York Times, Nov. 18, 1971)



## AZORES DEAL MEANS INCREASED U.S. BACKING OF PORTUGAL'S COLONIAL WARS

The pact that the U.S. signed on Dec. 10 gave Portugal an unstated amount of economic aid in return for the U.S. base in the Azores, and formalized and strengthened the continued U.S. backing of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. In the nine years since the written Azores pact lapsed because of verbal U.S. opposition to Portuguese colonialism, U.S. military and economic aid to Portugal has been indirect and disclaimed. Now the Nixon Administration has dropped all pretense in signing this new pact and providing direct economic assistance to Portugal. Trying unsuccessfully to stem the liberation movements, Portugal now has 150,000 soldiers in Africa (higher per capita than the U.S. forces in Viet Nam), fascist rule at home, and a faltering economy.

U.S. private and Governmental aid to Portugal includes:

- The sale of 707's and 747's to Portugal which Portugal says they will use for troop transport to Africa;
- \$2.5 million in direct military aid to Portugal each year;
- \$12 million put into the Portuguese economy by

U.S. military expenditures in the Azores each year;

-The sale of Bell helicopters to the Portuguese for use in Mozambique;

-Gulf Oil's operations in Cabinda, Angola, which have brought in over \$30 million for the Portuguese Government (not to mention the valuable fuel resources);

-The training of Portuguese armed forces, both in the U.S. and in Europe and the continuing exchange of military missions. U.S. Viet Nam-style tactics (herbicides, napalm, strategic hamlets, bombings of civilians) are now used by the Portuguese against the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau;

-Now the new pact will mean direct U.S. economic aid that will provide Portugal with vital foreign exchange to prop up its economy and purchase more war materials.

It is now estimated that the U.S. will provide the Portuguese with \$435 million worth of economic aid, an unprecedented grant. More analysis of this implications of the move in the next issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA.

(from American Committee on Africa, Dec. 12.) ■

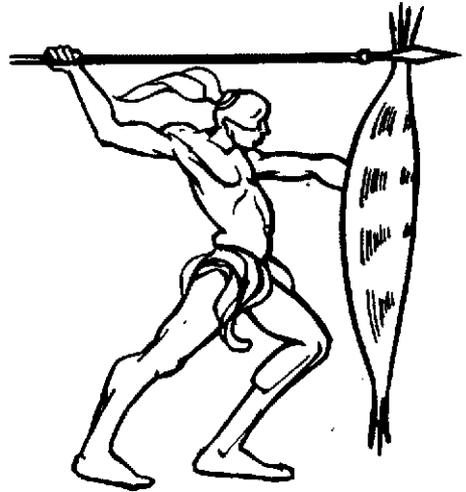
## THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

### SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNALIST CALLS FOR "NON-WHITE FIGHTERS"

Al Venter, a newspaperman who has travelled with the Portuguese in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, spoke at a meeting of government members in October and advised them to gain more cooperation from Blacks and Coloureds, saying that he would rather have them on his side because "the Coloured people in other parts of Africa have shown themselves to be brilliant fighters." He estimated that there are 25,000 "terrorists" (5,000 well trained), but did not specify to which countries he referred. He said things were not going well for the Portuguese in Africa (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 30, 1971).

### NEW ZIMBABWE FRONT MOVES AHEAD

Several reports have indicated that both the governments of Zambia and Tanzania are acting favorably to the new liberation movement of Zimbabwe, FROLIZI. Although not recognized by any government or group (the question of OAU recognition is to be considered at a Heads of States meeting in June), it is speculated that Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere will canvas other African states to gain support for FROLIZI plus channel the movement some extra funds. (Guardian, London, Nov. 4, 1971) This in spite of the fact that the Supreme Revolutionary Council of ZANU and prominent leaders of ZAPU have not joined; some critics denouncing FROLIZI as a uni-ethnic movement. The Zambian police broke up an anti-FROLIZI demonstration organized by ZANU. (Guardian, London, Nov. 1, 1971) Meanwhile the leader of the new front, Mr. Shelton Siwela, said that his movement would be involved in building up power within Rhodesia during the time that the new settlement principles are to be tested, and it would concentrate especially on young people and the unemployed. (Observer, London, Nov. 28, 1971)



### OAU MISSION NO. ONE ENDED—AID PROMISED TO MOVEMENTS

The Executive Secretary of the OAU African Liberation Committee, Mr. George Magombe, briefed a group on the results of the OAU mission to Europe and the U.S., announcing that more humanitarian assistance to the liberation struggle had been promised by Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Iceland.

The Scandinavian countries will also host a conference in April sponsored by the OAU and UN. During its mission, led by President Daddah of Mauritania, the group encouraged an end to investments in South Africa and investigation of NATO links to Portugal's military power. (Nationalist, Tanzania, Oct. 28, 1971) The group will also visit Greece, Turkey, Luxemburg, and Switzerland in "Phase II" of its mission.

The OAU will exhibit arms captured from the enemy by the liberation movements at the All Africa Trade and Industrial Fair in Nairobi in February. Also the OAU-recognized movements will exhibit items related to liberated areas. (Standard of Tanzania, Nov. 11, 1971)

#### U.N. AGENCIES—MORE ACTION

Officials of UNESCO and the U.N. Development Program are in Zambia and Tanzania to receive recommendations from the governments on behalf of the liberation movements. A similar World Health Mission occurred earlier in the fall. Meanwhile the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) is in an uproar because of a vote to provide "all possible moral and material assistance" to freedom fighters. Passed by a vote of 40 to 6 (U.S., U.K., Portugal, Spain, Brazil, and Belgium), there were 60 abstentions or absentees. The vote could mean that FAO would be involved in agricultural production aid in liberated areas of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. (Standard, Tanzania, Nov. 5, 1971; Observer, London, Nov. 28, 1971)

#### MOVEMENTS ANALYZED

Richard Gibson, a London-based reporter writing in Commonweal (Nov. 19, 1971) presented a simplistic and at times inaccurate analysis of the liberation movements in Southern Africa. He admitted that reporting on them was difficult because of "partisanship" (Gibson in other publications has supported what he considered to be pro-Chinese movements) and the desire not to write about failures. Gibson does cite hopeful signs such as the united presentation before the OAU of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress (both of South Africa) and SWAPO in Namibia, as well as new involvement of movements such as MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO of Mozambique, and PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau with China. But he concludes (as if movements themselves didn't recognize the former) that the groups must decide on protracted struggle or some sort of settlement with the white rulers.

#### A.N.C. STATEMENT ON PROPOSED NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

On Oct. 4, 1971 the African National Congress issued a statement in response to the move by Chief G. Buthelezi of the Zulu Tribal Territorial Authority (Bantustan) calling for a national convention of all races in South Africa, a call supported by the white United Party, Progressive Party, and Trade Union Council of South Africa, yet strongly rejected by the Nationalist-run Government. In its statement, the ANC provided necessary background to Buthelezi's proposal, as well as its own conclusions. Extracts follow:

"In 1961, when for the last time the oppressed people, led by the ANC, made a call for a national convention in place of a whites-only Republic, the fascist regime replied with the most unprecedented mobilization of the oppressor army in an attempt to crush the national stoppage of work which we called in reply to the enemy's refusal to summon a national convention.

"Our call was answered with the ruthless forms of legalized, police, and military terrorism. Political organizations were banned: the leaders of the people were arrested, tortured, and restricted. The white minority regime declared open war against an unarmed people. This marked the close of a chapter in the history of our struggle for freedom and justice.

"Yet, white organizations and individuals that have supported and continue to support the perpetuation of white rule—the United Party, the Progressive Party, and

the Trade Union Council of South Africa—now want a national convention. Why?

"These white, anti-Black groups see with the greatest fear that the liberation of the Black man is approaching. They see by the actions of the Black people of our country that their hatred of the white oppressor and their determination to seize political power, relying on their own strength, have increased double-fold, despite and because of the iron heel of mass arrests, torture, indefinite detention, and murder of patriots. They see that the ANC, the oppressed and exploited people, are not shaken in their resolve to prosecute the armed struggle up to victory.

"The African National Congress declares that the only genuine national convention that can be held in South Africa would:

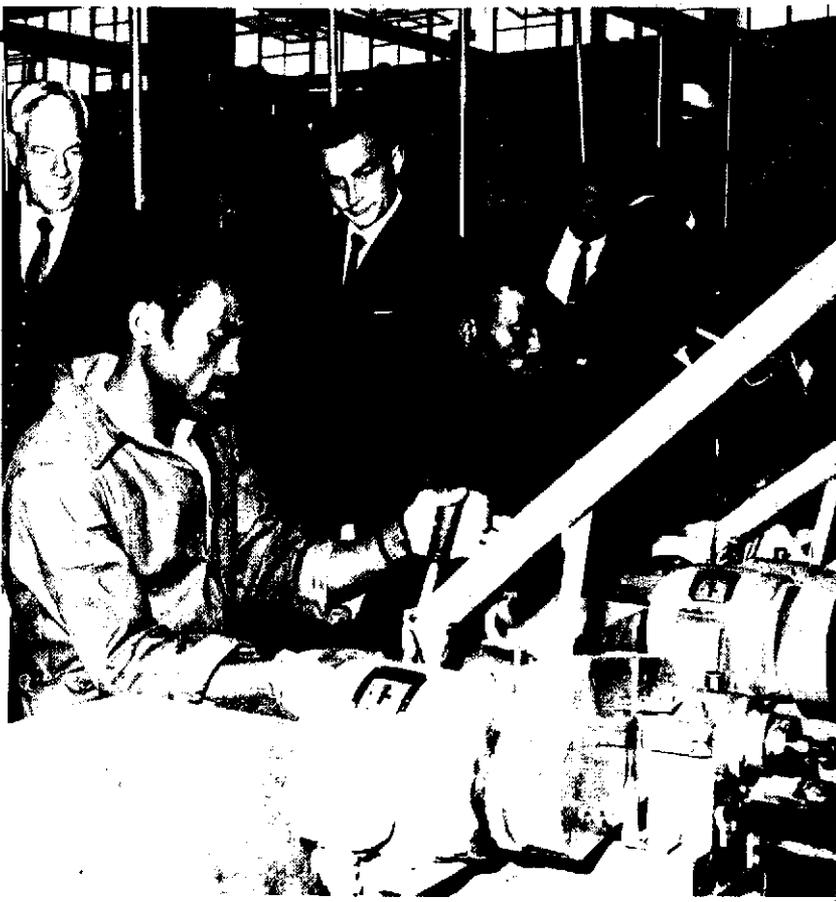
—be vested with sovereign and unlimited authority to change South African society in all its aspects;

—be attended by representation of all the national groups in proportions that reflect the composition of the South African population. . . ."

The ANC concludes that if a convention were "genuinely sovereign and democratic" it would have to follow certain conditions including: suspension of the South African Constitution; end of ban of vanguard and popular organizations; release of all political prisoners (and their return from abroad); immediate compliance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; repeal of the Land Act; repeal of all repressive legislation; disarming of police and disbanding of machinery of police and military terrorism. The minority, the ANC states, will only move when "the Black people's war of liberation seriously threatens" and "the main direction toward change . . . is through the armed struggle. . . ." (Printed in Notes and Documents, Unit on Apartheid, U.N. No. 43/71, October 1971) ■



# ECONOMICS



## MULTIRACIAL TEAM OF U.S. CHURCHMEN VISIT SOUTH AFRICA TO INVESTIGATE U.S. FIRMS

A multiracial team of U.S. church representatives spent 10 days in November assessing the involvement of U.S. business in the Republic of South Africa. Churches represented included the Episcopal, United Presbyterian, United Church of Christ, United Methodist, American Baptist Convention, and Disciples of Christ. Their task was the experience South Africa first hand and to "gather information on the impact of American corporate involvement." This information would be used to interpret to Americans the implications of U.S. economic involvement in South Africa.

As expected, several South African papers saw the entry of a multiracial team as a validation of South Africa's "outward looking policy." An editorial in the October 29 Star (Johannesburg) argued that the South African Government had done a sensible thing in granting them visas. "One discovery is that the best way to defuse ongoing and uninformed criticism abroad is to let people come here and see for themselves. It's always different and seldom worse than visitors expect."

Mr. Gerdner, South Africa's Minister of the Interior, said he had agonized over the decision but that he believed that "the investigation by American Churchmen could, in the long run, be in the interests of South Africa and the United States of America because such a factual investigation could throw a different light on the position in South Africa than currently exists in wide circles in America."

Gerdner will be disappointed if he expects white-washing of South Africa from this particular team.

Black Methodist spokesman Ike Bivens read a statement as the team left South Africa, charging that American Corporations made Black workers "barely eke out an existence under intolerable conditons." The statement emphasized "our distress at the general lack of initiative by U.S. corporations to upgrade the total conditions of the non-white workers in this country."

The team visited Chrysler, G.M., IBM, Goodyear, Polaroid, Mobil, and Caltex among others.

Another Black American working on an analysis of U.S. business in South Africa was there at the same time. Don McHenry, presently on leave from the State Department, where he's special assistant to Secretary of State Rogers, is doing this study under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations. McHenry said, "I hope my study will provide a factual base that can be useful to the business community for making their decisions, to the public in judging U.S. business practices in South Africa, and the U.S. Government in trying to decide what role it must play in the situation."

## DAYTON CITY COUNCIL REJECTS GULF OIL BID

A Gulf Oil Corporation bid to supply the city of Dayton (Ohio) with gasoline was rejected by city commissioners because city officials found Gulf's minority hiring record unacceptable.

It is not unusual in these days for nondiscriminatory hiring policies and rulings to be considered in the awarding of contracts to corporations, but what is unusual about the Dayton decision was that for the first time a corporation's international involvement was also a factor in the decision.

"Although Gulf's involvement in Portugal's African colony of Angola was not a direct or actual factor in the city's decision, there were undertones of that issue underlying the deliberations," said Edward A. King, executive director of Dayton's Human Relations Council.

The Council is the body that oversees corporate compliance with nondiscriminatory laws, and other areas such as housing, youth development, and crime. According to King, Gulf has refused since 1969 to submit its records regarding these issues or to report on its compliance with the Council's regulations regarding city contract awards.

King had been requested by the Congress for Reconciliation and by the Gulf Boycott Coalition, both of Dayton, to recommend to the City Commission that the City refrain from purchasing any products from or awarding any contracts to Gulf until Gulf discontinues its business relationship with the Portuguese Government in Angola. In a memo to James Kunde, City Manager, of November 15, King stated: "Boycotting Gulf is a national concern and the leaders of this movement are recommending that the various municipalities and public agencies throughout country not do business with them because of their alleged successful activities of preventing Angola from becoming a free state."

Standard Oil (Ohio) was finally awarded the contract, even though its bid was not as low as Gulf's. However, Standard has a 12 percent minority hiring record, whereas Gulf's latest figures indicated only a four percent figure.

The issue raised some local controversy because of its uniqueness. In a Dayton Daily News editorial of November 29, one reads: "The commissioners shouldn't let themselves get sucked into judging and second-guessing the wisdom and/or morality of the Gulf Oil Corporation's operations in Angola. If Gulf is keeping blacks out of work hereabouts, by all means the commission should buy the city's gasoline from another source, despite Gulf's bid being the lowest. But the commission should leave foreign policy to the State Department, where it can be expertly bungled."

Pat Roach, Coordinator of the Gulf Boycott Coalition since its formation in Dayton last July 4, sees the City decision as a major first victory in the boycott campaign. The national boycott drive is being coordinated by the Congregation for Reconciliation, a Presbyterian and United Church of Christ-related congregation. The basis for such a boycott lies in Gulf's tacit support of Portuguese colonialism (through taxes, royalties and production of valuable fuel resources) in Angola to the tune of millions of dollars annually. Gulf is the largest U.S. investor in Angola.

In a statement drawn up by the Congregation and adopted March 11, 1971, it is recommended that its own members and all American Christians refrain from purchasing any product of Gulf Oil while its business relationship with the Portuguese Government in Angola continues. The Congregation also commended the Ohio Conference of the United Church of Christ for initiating the campaign of selective patronage. (The Ohio Conference urged its members to return Gulf credit cards and boycott Gulf products in a controversial action in the summer of 1970).

#### **WHITE INDUSTRIES ALLOWED TO INVEST IN BANTUSTANS**

Babelegi is the first industrial area to be established inside an African homeland. But whether it will contribute to the economic development that the South African Government boasts of, or becomes another source of cheap black labor, is a question that needs examination. Babelegi is situated less than 60 miles from

Johannesburg in the Tswana "homeland." Here the Government has allowed white industrialists to lease or put up factories for a period of 16 years. After that period they will be expected to sell their entire concerns to the Bantu Investment Corporation or to an African industrialist.

All sites at Babelegi have already been taken and 1,200 Africans and 48 whites are already employed there in 20 factories. Before the end of 1974, the South African Government hopes that 10,000 jobs will have been created.

What are the benefits that will attract industrialists to start up a new factory in Babelegi? The answer is very simple cheap labor. In the clothing industry, for instance, they pay a starting wage of \$4.20 a week instead of the \$10.50 paid in Johannesburg. Wage increases are given in six-month notches of 70 cents per period instead of the Johannesburg increase of \$1.50. Workers work a 45 hour week in Babelegi, instead of 40, and all workers are paid the same, irrespective of the type of work they do or any previous experience they may have had. There are also no overall requirements that give the workers the benefits of medical aid, sick pay or slack pay. Hence employers do not have to pay contributions for these benefits. Nor can trade unions operate there.

All of these differences have been made possible by the suspension of the Industrial Conciliation Act in the homelands. "Why," two trade unionists recently asked, "is a 60 percent drop in wages, a 16 percent increase in working hours, and only a 4 percent wage increase every six months, necessary?" The unionists have recommended that wages be relative to productivity and that an independent arbitrator be appointed to have access to statistics in order to ensure that workers receive their fair share. (Star, Johannesburg, October 30, 1971)

This new development is not unrelated to the United States. Several right-wing academics have suggested investments in the Bantustans as a means of "developing" black South Africa. Other spokesmen argue that such investment will build a "black power base" in South Africa. U.S. AID is talking about aid to the Bantustans. We must monitor such suggestions very closely, for they provide immediate acceptability to the idea that 15 million Africans only have rights to 13 percent of the land. Any talk of a black power base from these fruitless arid areas is fabricated nonsense.

#### **NCR STAGING U.S. TOUR FOR SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN**

The National Cash Register Company is organizing a businessman's tour of the United States in May of 1972 to give South African a chance to examine the latest retailing developments here. The 29 day itinerary includes visits to internationally known stores in Europe as well as in Washington, Dayton, Denver, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York. The wide variety of stores and shopping centers visited will expose delegates to new ideas of store operations, displays, merchandizing methods and so forth. Highlight of the tour will be a three day seminar at NCR's headquarters in Dayton, Ohio. Here, Harvard case-study methods, distribution strategies, franchising, profit returns will be studied.

These details were reported in the Johannesburg Star of October 30, 1971. The Southern Africa Committee invites letters of protest to NCR for its overt act of cooperation with white South Africa. One might well ask what percentage of the South African visitors will be black? Organization might also occur in cities where the team will visit. For information contact SAC.

## JAPAN DEFENDS TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Defending his country's trade with S. Africa, Japan's representative told a U.N. body that his government has discouraged Japanese investment in the Republic of South Africa. As a member of the Asian bloc at the U.N. which has generally condemned South African racism, Japan has been embarrassed by the increasing level of sharp criticism it has received for its growing trade with South Africa.

Mr. Genichi Akatani of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is the fifth ranking member of Japan's 32-man delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, made his delegation's first attempt to counter the criticisms. He told the Assembly's Special Political Committee that the Japanese, who had experienced prejudice from others on account of their ethnic character, abhorred apartheid in practice and also the philosophy underlying it.

Japan's trade with South Africa, said Akatani, was "not an exception to the general trend of trade" between his country and another. While Japan's trade with South Africa had increased by 16.3 percent in 1970, its entire trade had risen by 23.2 percent. Thus, he commented, there was "nothing particularly remarkable" about the increased trade with South Africa.

Japan and, at the same time, increased its trade with other African nations. It had encouraged economic and technical cooperation with these countries, whereas it had discouraged investment in South Africa. Mr. Akatani said Japan had no diplomatic relations with South Africa and had no intention of changing that policy. However, he went on to endorse the moves for dialogue between South Africa and Black African states. "Unless a dialogue was fostered," he said, "there was little prospect for a peaceful solution." (Star, Johannesburg, November 13, 1971)

## THE STATE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

South Africa is in the midst of grave economic problems. Predictions in the English-speaking press talk of imminent economic "dark ages." The Minister of Finance Dr. Diedericks has called for an end to the present atmosphere of gloom over the economy. However, the manager of Anglo-American Corporation predicted no improvement in the economy in the next year and there has been a 10 percent rise in prices in some meat and cereals. (Star, Johannesburg, November 20, 1971)

In the ten-month period from January to October 1971, South Africa's trade deficit has built up to a mammoth \$1,772 million with imports amounting to \$3,360 million and exports excluding gold totalling \$1,772 million.

Gold as always assists in diminishing this gap, providing \$1,087 million in foreign exchange. However, the gold mines cannot be seen as an antidote forever for this problem since it is increasingly expensive to operate them.

Tom Murray, a white trade unionist, has warned that South Africa is on the threshold of one of its most difficult periods since the country is faced with a massive balance of payments deficit and gold mining that normally brings in over \$1 billion in foreign exchange is well past its prime. Murray is but one of the many voices who warns that Britain's entry in to the Common Market will have a serious impact on South Africa's traditional exports to the U.K.

Murray and others used this warning to call for the wider use of black manpower in South Africa so that "the chronic shortage of manpower obstructing production be lessened as soon as possible." (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 13, 1971)

## AFRICANS IN THE MINES

The New York Times has been running a series of articles on South Africa. A November 16 article dealt with life in the South African mines for 360,000 Africans who work there. Although the obnoxious term "Bantu" (the South African Government name for Africans) was used in the title, the article provided a wealth of facts plus a look into the racist attitudes of the white mining officials.

Some examples: One official, discussing "that talk about us exploiting cheap native labor," said, "We not only pay our Bantu miners, we feed them 4,000 calories a day each, we train them, we give them health and dental care, we provide recreation for them, and when they go back to their homelands after 9 or 18 months everyone of them has saved a tidy sum of money." The article explains that: "That sum, at best, is a few hundred dollars. The average cash out for a black laborer in South Africa's gold mines is about \$22 a month for nine hours of backbreaking work underground six days a week."

Officials of the mine referred to their black workers as "boys" or "Natives" and appeared convinced that they knew best what was good for them.

A recent study by the South African Institute of Race Relations, showed that the average earnings of white gold miners were 21 times those of blacks. In 1944 a white miner was paid 10 times as much as a black, the study said.

African miners have no unions and are forbidden by law to strike.



# THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

## CHURCH UNVEILS PLAQUE COMMEMORATING DISTRICT SIX REMOVALS

The Buitenkant Street Methodist Church in Cape Town has unveiled a plaque fixed to an exterior wall that reads: "All who pass by remember with shame the many thousands of people who lived in District Six and other parts of this city and were forced to leave their homes because of the colour of their skins.

"Forgive us, Father."

The plaque was unveiled on Nov. 21, and the Rev. Peter Storey delivered an address that was also mimeographed and handed out. The address continued: "This is not done in a spirit of resentment but one of profound sorrow and protest in the hope that passersby will be forced to examine their consciences, and perhaps join the growing flood of people who are determined to see the end of this legislation and all other laws which demean and destroy the dignity of men in South Africa." (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971)

## MINISTER SUPPORTS BORDER TROOPS

The Rev. A. N. D. Waugh of the Presbyterian Church in Krugersdorp has sent a check for \$50 to the Brandwagfends, the Defense Force comforts fund for South African soldiers serving at border posts. An accompanying letter read: "As you might know, we are one of the Presbyterian congregations which showed displeasure at our church's membership of external religious councils that have pledged support and aid, either financially or morally, for terrorist movements fighting the governments and peoples of Southern Africa. We felt that this could be one way in which we might show our displeasure." (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 26, 1971) [The reference is, of course, to the World Council of Churches.—Ed.]

## CHURCHES DECIDE TO SUPPORT PERSONS BANNED, DETAINED

The Anglican Church of South Africa has recently decided to support people who have been banned, detained, or restricted for standing on Christian principles. Additional support for the Anglican decision has come from the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev. Dennis Hurley; the President of the Methodist Church, the Rev. Alex Borraine; the chairman of the Congregational Church, the Rev. Alan Hendricks; and the Director of the Christian Institute, the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude.

In Johannesburg the central superintendent minister of the Methodist Church, Rev. S. G. Pitts, said that though detailed comment would have to wait, in general "my church is in agreement with the sentiment" of the support statement by the Anglicans. The general secretary of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Edwin Pons, said that though he hadn't yet studied the statement, "it sounds like something I would agree with." (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 20, 1971)

## CHURCHES JOIN PUBLIC OUTCRY OVER TIMOL

Prime Minister Vorster's refusal to appoint an inquiry into the death of political detainee Ahmed Timol, alleged to have jumped from the tenth floor of Johannesburg police headquarters, has fanned South Africa's largest public outcry for years. Besides a protest from opposition leader Sir de Villiers Graaff, five church leaders and the Chief Rabbi have called for an official probe and for a day

of prayer and penitence. Mass protest meetings were also organized by English-speaking university students.

Adding to the concern is the case of another detainee, Mohammed Essop, 21, a student, whose father obtained a Supreme Court injunction in October ordering the police not to maltreat him. Now the families of nine more detainees are considering similar court applications. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Oct. 31, 1971)

## ANOTHER U.C.M. LEADER "TERRORIZED" INTO FLEEING

The Rev. Donald Morton, former Publications Secretary for the University Christian Movement (UCM) of Southern Africa, has recently fled South Africa in close proximity to the Government's banning of Justice Moloto, UCM's black General Secretary. Currently in the U.S., Morton had been harassed by South Africa's security police for several months because of his "unorthodox" religious practices, his revelations about the torture of political detainees (particularly Timol), and his deep anti-apartheid involvement.

Morton's wife, Sheila, said the harassment to which her husband had been subjected had become unbearable. "He felt he was in grave danger of being detained by the security police and he felt that he preferred to carry on his work in another country, rather than languish indefinitely in a South African prison."

Morton had been an organizer and leader of a group called COCO (Committee of Committed Outreach), which worked among the underprivileged in South Africa setting up courses in literacy, hygiene, and child care. COCO organized a project selling high protein vitamin foods at cost price, trained health educators, and paid for the education of African high-school scholars.

On Oct. 25 the security police raided the homes of liberals in five South African cities and arrested more than 50 people, including Ahmed Timol, an Indian schoolmaster. Timol later died in custody after allegedly falling from a tenth-floor window of the Johannesburg police headquarters. Police claimed he had committed suicide. However, six days after these mass arrests, Morton learned at a party that the doctor who carried out the post-mortem on Timol had spoken privately of finding the man's fingernails pulled out, his right eye gouged out, and his testicles crushed. He had further been told that upon Essop's admission to hospital the initial diagnosis had been omitted from his card on the instruction of the security police. Morton said, "On the next Sunday I told my congregation exactly what I had heard. . . . I said it was the seventeenth death in custody and that there were 48 sworn affidavits of torture. I attacked the regime in strident tones." A week later the police began interviewing Morton's friends and members of his congregation, and it was shortly thereafter that Morton decided he had to leave.

## SOUTH AFRICAN LUTHERANS DEPLORE APARTHEID

A federation of Lutheran churches in Southern Africa has added its voice to the growing number of critics of South Africa's apartheid policies. A Church Leaders' Seminar held in the Transvaal, attended by clergy and lay representatives of 13 Lutheran bodies, issued a series of statements on "the political dimension of Christian theology" which declared that "there are no natural divisions among men that are of ultimate value."

About two-thirds of the delegates at the seminar sponsored by the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa were nonwhite. Two staff members of the Lutheran World Federation, which assisted in sponsoring the seminar, were unable to attend because they were denied entry visas to South Africa.

Seminar participants, in a public statement, declared that both church and government must "fulfill their functions for the sake of man." Such institutions derive their authority from their common mandate to serve man, and each has its own type of power," it added. (Religious News Service, Nov. 30, 1971)

#### **RHODESIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH ENDS TRUCE WITH SMITH REGIME**

The Roman Catholic Church of Southern Rhodesia has broken the temporary truce with Ian Smith's breakaway government over the admission of black pupils to church schools. In February, as a "temporary working arrangement," the Catholics had agreed under protest to comply with a provision of the Land Tenure Act and ask the administration for permission to accept African pupils. This would be done pending negotiations between church and state. Meanwhile, the Smith government assured the church that all applications would be granted, provided that the intake of Africans did not exceed 6% in white schools, or 15% in Coloured and Asian schools. In practice, no eligible Africans have been turned away from Catholic schools, as the black-white ratio is well within the defined limits.

The Roman Catholics, however, have now told the Ministry of Education that the temporary truce is over. The percentage ruling will in future be disregarded and pupils will be admitted on merit only—regardless of race. (Guardian, London, Nov. 8, 1971)

#### **DEAN'S APPEAL TO BEGIN FEBRUARY 1**

It was announced in Pretoria that the appeal of Anglican Dean Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh of Johannesburg will be heard in Johannesburg beginning February 21. The dean was sentenced to five years in prison following his conviction on charges of inciting to violence and channelling money to banned persons and organizations (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, Oct., Nov., and Dec. 1971). He is appealing the conviction. (Ecumenical Press Service, No. 29)

#### **U.S. CHURCHES HELP RHODESIA BREAK EMBARGO**

U.S. churches with missionaries in Southern Rhodesia have unwittingly funded an illegal "embassy" in Washington, D.C. that represents the white minority government of that country, it has recently been disclosed. The church funds have been involved in supporting a campaign by two U.S. mining companies—Foote Mineral and Union Carbide—to force the U.S. Government to repudiate its own commitment to the United Nations economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The U.S. had not recognized the Southern Rhodesian Government under Ian Smith since its illegal break from Britain in 1965.

According to Dr. Chester Marcus, chairman of the Overseas Ministry of the United Church of Christ, estimates are that almost \$3 million a year of expenditures tied into U.S. church missionaries have been fundamental to this sanctions-busting campaign. The revelation that these funds were available to Smith's men in the U.S. shocked Marcus. "Shortly after Southern Rhodesia declared [unilateral and illegal] independence [from Britain] I suggested that we should withhold all funds from Southern Rhodesia and take our people out. My board didn't support that. They wanted our schools and hospitals to continue," Marcus said.

After 1968, when the United Nations froze all trade with Southern Rhodesia, the Washington mission faced the problem of how to keep money coming in to support their continued activities here. At first the Southern Rhodesians suspected that the U.S. Treasury was going to drive them out of business. The Treasury reassured them, however, that so long as the money came from a free-dollar account in the U.S. banking system there would be no breach of U.N. sanctions. "What was meant by a 'free-dollar account' was one containing money put on deposit by the mission societies," said one of those involved in the operation. This loophole had been deliberately created by the United Nations to permit funds to continue flowing to mission hospitals and schools.

A U.S. Treasury official confirms that when checks sent to Southern Rhodesia under special license come back to New York for payment, the funds are put at the disposal of the Smith regime in the U.S. In Southern Rhodesia, meanwhile, the missionaries are paid an equivalent amount in local currency by the Rhodesian government.

In the process, funds moving for purely humanitarian purposes have thus taken on a distinctly political and illegal overtone. In Washington the Southern Rhodesians were publishing leaflets, addressing meetings, and meeting with potential allies in and around Congress. Always the message was the same: the U.S. should break the U.N. embargo on Southern Rhodesian chrome.

Apparently it has worked. A cable from Salisbury congratulated its illegal Washington office "on final result chrome issue in both Congress and Senate." That cable represented one of the most spectacular diplomatic coups achieved by any foreign power, recognized OR unrecognized, in the U.S. for a long time. But even more interesting is the disclosure of the relationship of major U.S. denominations in such political intrigue and subversion. (Boston Globe, Dec., 1971) ■



# BOOK REVIEWS

## WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: The View From White South Africa and Rhodesia

Recently there have appeared a number of books by white South Africans and Rhodesians about the wars in Southern Africa. This is a genre of writing that is important both for what is said and who is saying it. As there is a likelihood of more of this kind of book, it is essential to decide how to read and evaluate them in order to separate useful information from propaganda and bias.

First to appear, in 1969, was **THE TERROR FIGHTERS** by Al J. Venter (Cape Town: Purnell). South African journalist Venter travelled with Portuguese troops in Angola—Cabinda, northern and eastern Angola. His account is fairly straightforward, often recounting verbatim what he was told by Portuguese officers and soldiers. It can probably be taken as an accurate reflection of such information, and therefore generally reliable on such points as where the fighting is heaviest, who the Portuguese regard as their most dangerous antagonists, and so on. Information on the internal developments in the liberation movements also reflects Portuguese information, and should be read sceptically. Generally, however, Venter sticks fairly closely to what he saw—the war in Angola from the Portuguese side.

In 1971 two more books appeared: **TERRORISM** by Michael Morris (Cape Town: Timmins), and **THE SILENT WAR** by Reg Shay and Chris Vermaak (Rhodesia: Galaxie Press). Michael Morris is a member of the Security Branch of the South African Police, who took a leave of absence in 1970 to write this book. His information reflects what is available to and publishable by the Security Police. He has done service in border areas, it says on the cover, and he gives especially detailed consideration to the fighting in Zimbabwe and Namibia. As long as he is talking about the South African side, his information seems generally reliable, and occasionally unexpectedly frank, as when he practically admits that South African forces are at Cabora Bassa. There is in this book much more detail about the liberation movements than in Venter's work, all of which must be read with considerable scepticism. It seems to reflect the kind of information supplied by informers and prisoners to the Security Branch and to the Portuguese, resulting in a mixture of fact, fiction, and half-truth almost impossible to sort out.

Reg Shay, the cover says, has lived in Rhodesia for 11 years, coming from England. He has run a sub-bureau for Time-Life, written for Readers Digest, and is a correspondent for ABC. Chris Vermaak is a South African, until recently News Editor of Dagbreek. The postscript to their book is written by former Rhodesian statesman Sir Roy Welensky. Their sources seem to be the same as Venter's and Morris', at second-hand, embellished with considerable sensationalism and imagination. None of their information can be trusted without independent corroboration. Thus recent visitors to Bagamoyo, Tanzania will be amused to note that Shay and Vermaak think that "Bagamoyo beach sees scores of guerrillas racing up and down the sands, their bodies glinting with sweat under a tropical sun as Chinese instructors shout orders." (See the News and Notes of the Committee for a Free Mozambique, Sept. 1971, for a recent account of the FRELIMO secondary school in Bagamoyo.)

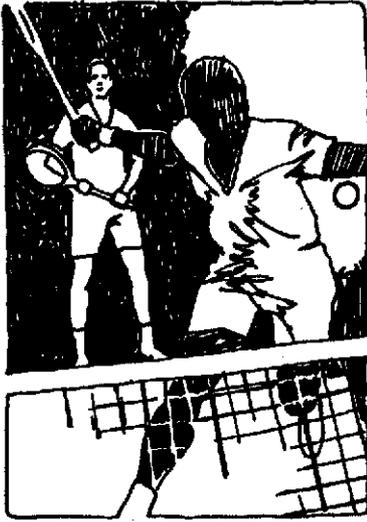
In spite of their point of view, and their inconsistent factual reliability, these three books all witness to the fact that white Southern Africa is beginning to realize that the war has begun in earnest ■



### AFRICA REPORT on Educational Materials on Southern Africa

In the December, 1971 issue of the African-American Institute's publication **AFRICA REPORT** there is an article on materials available for teachers (on Southern Africa). Taking a more than neutral position, the article indicates that teachers and parents must "pay more than normal attention to the need for objective and multisided treatment of the subject" because of the "partisan" nature of material coming from "both the present regimes and their opponents". . . While pointing to the need for the "emergence of moral issues and the need for a personal position," **AFRICA REPORT** then suggests that teachers can "present a number of mutually antagonistic points of view to their students. . ." but must "be aware of the dangers" and keep an eye on the materials. Thus in a very definite way the article puts on an equal footing materials produced by the South African Government or its allies, and materials coming from the U.N., National Council of Churches, American Committee on Africa, Africa Research Group, Liberation Support Movement, and Committee of Returned Volunteers. The article fails to talk about the liberation movements of Southern Africa, and new works particularly prepared by groups such as the Africa Research Group for high schools on Southern Africa, the relationship of Black Studies to African Studies, and so forth. The overall impression is that "objectively" there are two sides; they must be balanced, comprehended, and used to one's own ends. Reminiscent of other institutions?

# SPORTS



## SEPARATE AND INFERIOR FACILITIES ACCORDED TO BLACK ATHLETES

In terms of the latest pragmatic adjustments to South Africa's sports policies, white and black athletes may now represent South Africa in international track competition. The first such "international" took place in Rhodesia in June but it was obvious that there were two categories of team members: first and second class.

The black and white athletes travelled to Rhodesia separately; the whites made the trip by air while the blacks made the long journey by bus. The Secretary of the South African Athletic Association claimed that his body could not find a bus to charter for the whites and so they were forced to fly. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 21, 1971)

## SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS BOYCOTT GROWS

The campaign to exclude South African sportsmen from international competition continues to grow.

**GOLF.** Under strong pressure from the New Zealand Golf Association, South Africa withdrew its team from the 1971 centennial golf tournament that was played in New Zealand in October. In September, three golf courses, including the site of the competition, had been severely damaged by protesters. On requesting the South Africans to withdraw, the New Zealanders cited the serious threats of disruption of the tournament should South Africa compete. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 1971)

**RUGBY.** The Queens University Rugby Club, Belfast, called off a five-week tour of South Africa after the Student Council ruled that playing in South Africa would have condoned racial discrimination. The Students' Representative Council threatened to withdraw recognition of the Rugby Club if the tour, scheduled for August, took place. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, June 27, 1971)

**TRACK.** A team of Cuban athletes withdrew from an important international championship meeting, Mericamp Memorial, Paris, to protest against South African participation. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, June 27, 1971)

**BASKETBALL.** A basketball team from the French warship EV Henry refused to play its scheduled game against the Natal Technical College in Durban after being told its two black players would not be allowed to participate in the game. The game was called off after a Natal Basketball official protested at the presence of the black players. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 8, 1971)

## HAIN TO GO ON TRIAL

Peter Hain, National Chairman of the Young Liberals in Britain and main organizer of the South African sports boycott campaign there, has been committed to trial on a charge of conspiring to disrupt sports events involving South African teams in Britain. Francis Bennion, the British lawyer bringing the private prosecution against Hain, has become a folk hero to most white South Africans. Bennion has been feted on visits to South Africa and large sums of money were donated to his case fund by South Africans.

In the preparatory examination, prominent South Africans were brought to England to give evidence against Hain, including the manager and captain of the South African rugby team whose 1970 tour was severely disrupted by demonstrators. (Guardian, London, Sept. 4, 1971; and Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 14, 1971)

## GARY PLAYER CRITICIZED

The Post, South Africa's largest black newspaper, has accused Gary Player, South Africa's leading [white] golfer, of hypocrisy in his action in inviting a black American golfer, Lee Elder, to visit South Africa. The paper questioned Player's motives: Was the invitation by Player really genuine or was it a camouflage to the outside world? Did Player make the offer to Elder "at the point of a gun" to buy his friendship from the militant Black Panther Party, after being heckled by blacks during the recent U.S. Open in Ardmore, Penna.? Player was forced to pull out of the Cleveland Open because of protesters against South Africa's racial policies. (Post, South Africa, June 27, 1971) ■

# STUDENTS

## SASO BANNED FROM CAMPUSES

Both the Department of Indian Affairs and the Department of Coloured Affairs have decided not to allow colleges under their control to affiliate to the South African Students Organization (non-white). SASO is a radical and exclusively non-white student group. The Department's decisions were based on the grounds that they believe there is nothing in common between African, Indian, and Coloured people, socially or culturally. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 7, 1971)

## STUDENTS BANNED, DETAINED, AND RAIDED

White and black students have borne the brunt of the Security Police's attentions in the recent series of raids and detentions launched in late October. According to figures compiled by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), 148 persons have been raided since Oct. 24. As of Nov. 12, 28 of these had been detained under terms of the Terrorism Act. Of the 28, one died in detention and 5 have been released. Students from all major English-speaking universities were among those searched as well as the entire NUSAS head-office staff. At least 12 of the detainees are students at either Witwatersrand University (Wits), Natal University, or the University of Durban (a college for Indian students).

At the same time, Mewa Ramgobin, former student body President at the University of Natal (black section) and leader of the Natal Indian Congress, was banned for a second time. Ramgobin was first banned in 1965. Following the expiration of that ban in 1970, Ramgobin organized a campaign calling for clemency for all political prisoners to mark the tenth anniversary of the establishment of a Republic in South Africa. The latest ban on Ramgobin also confines him to his house from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. every night.

Since his ban, Ramgobin has also lost his job as District Manager of the South African Mutual Insurance Company in Durban. (All above information taken from NUSAS Newsletters No. 36, 41, 42, 43, and 44.)

## SASO TO IGNORE PRO-DIALOGUE BLACKS

At its July Conference, SASO decided to have nothing to do with visiting Black leaders of the pro-dialogue camp. A motion on dialogue rejected arguments by the pro-dialogue camp on the basis that their arguments failed to realize that South Africa's policies are based on domestic imperialism, servitude, and degradation. (Rand Daily Mail, July 8, 1971)

In recent months, several African leaders have called for the opening of a dialogue with the South African government as a means of destroying apartheid. These leaders allege too, that the activities of the liberation groups are futile and without any prospect of success. In August, Dr. Banda (President of Malawi) became the first head of state to visit South Africa. Despite his visit, no weakening of the strength of the government has been discernible but Malawi continues to receive generous portions of economic and technical aid from South Africa.

## LECTURERS QUIT

A Rhodes University lecturer in Political Science, Ruan Maud, has withdrawn his application for a permanent post at the University in protest of the suppression of all enlightened criticism and dissent by the university authorities. In recent years, large numbers of students and several lecturers have been suspended, dismissed, or in some way penalized by the university authorities for criticism of the "archaic" rules under which students are required to behave while on camps. (NUSAS Newsletter No. 36)

It has also been revealed that the Principal of Rhodes University, Dr. Hyslop, has allowed the Security Police to examine student files kept by the university administration. Hyslop's admission came after reports in the Johannesburg Sunday Times that the university administration "worked hand in glove" with the Security Police. (NUSAS Newsletter No. 35 and Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Oct. 17, 1971)

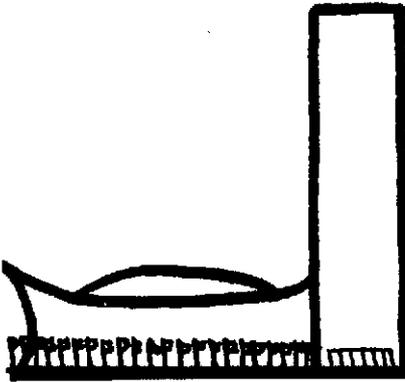
Note: A few years ago, Hyslop was awarded an honorary degree by Edinburgh University, Scotland, in recognition of his work as an educator and courageous opposer of apartheid.

## HUNDREDS OF STUDENTS BEATEN

Hundreds of students (male) were beaten in July at the St. John's College (for Africans) in Umtata, Transkei after disturbances at the college. The beating (by canes) was administered to the students by their parents or guardians after this punishment had been set as a precondition for readmission to the college. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971) ■



# AT THE UNITED NATIONS



## UNITED NATIONS FUNDS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

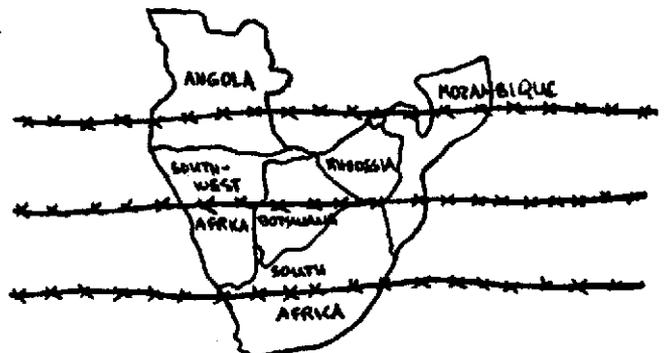
The U.N. TRUST FUND FOR SOUTH AFRICA was established in 1965 to provide grants to voluntary agencies, governments, and others for the legal defense, family aid and educational help of South Africans suffering from the results of oppression from apartheid. In 1970 aid to Zimbabweans and Namibians was included. This humanitarian thrust was envisaged not as an alternative to other U.N. programs of action, but as a complementary form of concrete aid to those most directly affected. The Fund is administered through a Committee of Trustees with members from Chile, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Sweden. The Fund maintains close contact with the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. By August, 1971 \$1.3 million had been raised from more than 50 member nations of the U.N. The largest contributions have come from the Scandinavian countries (\$430,000 from Sweden; \$300,000 from Denmark; \$100,000 from Norway), while the United States Government has given only \$25,000 back in 1968. States that have given more than the U.S. include Belgium, Finland, France, Japan, the Netherlands, and United Kingdom; while even poor African and Caribbean nations have given proportionately more than the U.S. (Unit on Apartheid Notes and Documents, No. 38/71, August, 1971)

The U.N. EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA was formed in 1967 by integrating specialized programs already existing for Namibians, Africans from Portuguese colonies, and South Africans, and it was extended to include Zimbabweans. Based on the same principle as the U.N. Trust Fund, the appeal for funds was made to member nations, but in 1970 monies were for the first time allocated from the U.N. budget. The target for member grants was \$3 million from 1968-70, while actually less than \$2 million was raised by 1971. The Fund aids 556 students; 191 from South Africa, 111 from Zimbabwe, 236 from Portuguese colonies, and 67 from Namibia. An advisory body to the Fund consists of representatives from Canada, Denmark, India, Tanzania, Venezuela, Zambia, and Zaire. The Fund cooperates with the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, which aids refugee students through the first cycle of secondary school and in technical education, while the U.N. Fund concentrates on secondary and college-level study. Students attend schools mainly in Africa, the U.K., and the U.S. while some governments offer direct scholarships under the program (Canada, India, Sweden, USSR, Bulgaria, Rumania, Jamaica, Pakistan, Israel, Byelorussia).

The Fund cooperates with U.N. Development Program offices in Africa, with the OAU, various voluntary and church educational programs (Red Cross, World Council of Churches, Oxfam, YMCA, International University Education Fund, Catholic Charities, etc.). In 1970 a special fund for Namibians of \$50,000 (more than half through the Training Fund) was included in the U.N. budget. (From U.N. a/8485, 29 October, 1971.)

## BELL HELICOPTER QUOTES

The International Chamber of Commerce (with headquarters in Washington, D.C.) recently scheduled touring African dignitaries to meet Texas businessmen in the Fort Worth-Dallas area. Fort Worth is the home of Bell Helicopter Company (a subsidiary of Textron), which has sold its aircraft to the Portuguese Government for use in Mozambique. The Africans were given a tour of the Bell factory while copters destined for Uganda were on the assembly line. The equal employment opportunities representative at Bell said: "A large part of our business comes from various African countries. They're a pleasure to do business with. We could use more like them." (Amsterdam News, New York, Dec. 11, 1971)



# SAC RESOURCE LIST

(Revised List, January 1971)

## SOUTHERN AFRICA (General)

—"Race for Power." Important political survey of Southern African Nations and their relationship to World Politics. Prepared by the Africa Research Group especially for high school, college, and study groups. Section on U.S. policy. 97 pp. \$2.00.

—"Luta: Struggle." A special issue of the Committee of Returned Volunteers magazine called "Voices of African Liberation," 1970. 30 pages, free.

—"The Status of the Liberation Struggle in Africa," a midyear report from the American Committee on Africa, June 1, 1971. 3 pages, free.

—"Southern Africa: A Time for Change." A United Methodist Church publication, 1969, good comprehensive survey of Southern Africa and possible action suggestions. 96 pages. \$1.95.

## SOUTH AFRICA

—"South African Reality." By The Rev. Kenneth N. Carstens, a 6-page address to the 19th Ecumenical Student Conference on the Christian World Mission. It has some good perspectives on events of recent past history. Free.

—"Casualties of the Economic Boom in South Africa." and "The Grim Deception of Separate Development." A reprint of two articles from the London Times by John Sackur, April 26 and 27, 1971. 4 pages, \$10. The articles argue that South African blacks are increasingly poorer.

—"Work, Wages, and Apartheid." By Ruth First; a United Nations Unit on Apartheid publication. 12 pages. free.

## ZIMBABWE (SOUTHERN RHODESIA)

—"Rhodesia or Zimbabwe: No Middle Ground in Africa," published by The Africa Fund, September, 1969; some statistics and recent history. 10 pages. \$10.



## PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

—"Project Transistors," a 2-page description of a project of The Committee for a Free Mozambique, a FRELIMO support group in the U.S. 1971. Free.

—"Dam a Symbol of Whites in Africa," reprint of a Washington Post article by Jim Hoagland, May 13, 1971. 2 pages. free.

—"Inside Liberated Angola—A Survey of Medical Services." A reprint of a SOUTHERN AFRICA survey article by Boubaker Adjali about the health situation in Angola and activities of MPLA. 10 pages. \$10.

—"Motive MPLA Photo Essay." A February, 1971 issue of Motive magazine with a special photo essay on MPLA and the liberation movement's work and struggle in Angola. \$50.

## U.S. ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

—"The American Corporation in South Africa. An Analysis, A Foundation for Action." by Tim Smith of the Southern Africa Committee. 65 pages. 1971. \$50.

—Reprints of three articles from "Southern Africa: A Time for Change" (see General section of this list), March, 1971. 7 pages especially about the issue of U.S. involvement in the area. Free.

—"Apartheid and Imperialism: A Study of U.S. Corporate Involvement in South Africa," published by AFRICA TODAY Magazine, September-October 1970. 40 pages. \$50.

—"A Businessman Looks at Apartheid," by Neil Wates, a British building contractor who decided not to invest in South Africa. 2 pages. 1971. Free.

—"General Motors and South Africa," a 4-page summation of GM's South African operations published by New York-based groups working on Southern African concerns. 1971. \$05.

—"The Banks and Apartheid," a now outdated plea by the World Student Christian Federation to ask for support in the campaign against banks involved in a revolving loan to South Africa's government. Good for understanding the history and beginnings of protest of economic support for South Africa. 15 pages. Free.

—List of U.S. corporations in Portuguese territories, with addresses, compiled by The Africa Fund. 7 pages. May, 1970. Free.

—"The Polaroid Experiment in South Africa," by the Corporate Information Center, National Council of Churches, May, 1971. 14 pages. \$50.

—"The Southern Africa Task Force Proxy Statement on Gulf Oil Corporation," from the United Presbyterian Task Force on Southern Africa. March, 1971. 6 pages. Free.

—"Allies in Empire," issue of AFRICA TODAY magazine on the U.S. and Portugal in Africa. July-August, 1970. 36 pages. \$.50.

—"Why We Protest Gulf's Operations in Portuguese Africa," by the American Committee on Africa, 1971. 4 pages. Free.

—"Taxing Goliath," a Washington Post reprint of a Nicholas von Hoffman article on Gulf Oil and the United Church of Christ. Sept. 7, 1971. 1 page. Free.

—"KIT" A kit prepared by the Southern Africa Committee on the issue of U.S. corporate involvement; a collection of resources containing booklets, articles, reprints. \$2.00.

—"Gulf Oil: A Study in Exploitation," a booklet covering not only Gulf's operations in Africa but also Latin America and the U.S. Prepared by the Committee of Returned Volunteers. 47 pp. \$.50.

—"Is Southern Africa Wisconsin's Business?" A complete study of Wisconsin corporate involvement in Southern Africa published by the Madison Area Southern Africa Committee, 1971. 35 pp. \$.45.

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**OTHER GROUPS TO CONTACT FOR LITERATURE:**

**Africa Research Group, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass.  
02138.**

**American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue,  
New York, N.Y. 10016.**

**Committee for a Free Mozambique, 616 West 116th St.,  
New York, N.Y. 10025.**

**Liberation Support Movement, Information Center, Box  
338, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.**

**Student Organization for Black Unity, P. O. Box 20826,  
Greensboro, N.C. 27420.**

**Unit on Apartheid, United Nations, New York, N.Y.  
10017.**

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