

SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE NO.
1. Editorial: "Mr. Lee Reads the Lesson"	1
2. South Africa's Neighbors and the Refugee Problem	2
3. Christian National Education Under Vorster: A Summary of Developments	3
4. Nation-Building in the Portuguese Colonies	7
5. Inside Rhodesia . . . and Outside	10
6. Report from the United Nations	11
7. Inside South Africa	12
A. The Removal of People Spells Death	
B. Military Developments	
C. Power of the English Press	
8. Summary of South Africa's Economy and U.S. Involvement, 1968	14

EDITORIAL

"Mr. Lee Reads the Lesson"

As we enter the last year of this decade, it is time to prepare for the seventies by asking ourselves where we stand. In particular where does Southern Africa stand.

The area of our concern covers two million square miles and eight countries: Rhodesia, South Africa, and South West Africa; Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; Mozambique and Angola. About thirty-six million people live in the area, of whom about 4 million are white. And of these whites, nearly 90% live in South Africa.

During the sixties, extensive guerrilla movements have arisen in the two Portuguese territories and the whites are able to hold on only with the backing of 50,000 troops in each colony. In Rhodesia the 200,000 whites have seized the country and are holding 4½ million blacks as their prisoners. The price has been trade sanctions, the beginnings of guerrilla war and existence dependent on South African support.

South Africa grows from strength to strength, the super power of the area, as bright a star in its region as the United States is in the Americas. But 15 million people bow beneath persecution and feel the evil sting of inhumanity to give the Afrikaner tribe its power.

Thirty-two million people who must struggle to be free. Thirty-two million who struggle for their birthright.

To these people, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, read an interesting lesson. He was speaking at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. The lesson is simple. Nobody will save these people. The British will not save the Black Zimbabweans. The Americans will not free the Black South Africans. Nobody will help them. It is they, themselves, who must forge the iron will to be free, to band in solid unity and grapple with the forces which stand between them and liberation. The example before them is Vietnam, where a people with resolve have frustrated the mightiest military power on earth and forced it to let go.

Thirty-two million people stand near the beginning of a long road.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS AND THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

When a non-white in South Africa wishes to flee the tyranny of that country's apartheid regime, his alternatives for refuge are few. There was a time when many independent African countries would harbor such refugees, and perhaps even offer permanent asylum, travel documents, or citizenship. Now there are very few countries who welcome South African refugees.

Membership in a Liberation Movement

If such a refugee is an active member of a "bona fide" liberation movement, he may find haven in Tanzania or Zambia. (UNITA of Angola and PAC of South Africa have been banned in Zambia; Holden Roberto's GRAE of Angola has its headquarters in Kinshasa, Congo; Angola's MPLA, SWAPO of South West Africa, FRELIMO of Mozambique, ANC of South Africa, and both ZAPU and ZANU of Zimbabwe have offices both in Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka. COREMO of Mozambique also has offices in Lusaka.) However, without such active membership it is difficult to find a place to rest. Currently there is a community of about 300 southern Africans in Nairobi who were originally related to one of the movements but have recently become disassociated and are now forming splinter movements in Kenya.

The Former British High Commission Territories

It used to be the case that South Africans could cross the border into the former British High Commission territories of

Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland. These three countries are now independent (Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana), and enjoy rather "friendly relations" with their powerful racist neighbor, and therefore have not been so willing to harbor refugees or grant them transit as they were before. The day Botswana was granted independence was marked by the arrest of 40 "terrorists" who had sought to move from Zambia into South Africa via Botswana. This was the first major attempt Botswana made to persuade South Africa that she would not allow herself to be used by guerrillas as a base for attacking South Africa. There have been others since that time.

It is a well-known fact that guerrilla fighting for the liberation of Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and South West Africa has been able to occur largely because of the fact that there are bases for training of troops and launching of attacks in the neighboring Zambia, Tanzania and Congo. Were those three countries to discontinue their policy of harboring liberation movements, the struggle for freedom would virtually be rendered impossible. Thus South Africa, through her "outward-looking policy" and her acceptance of some diplomatic visitors from independent African countries hopes to woo all African states into refusing to allow refugees from South Africa to be harbored in their countries.

South Africa's "Outward Looking Policy" Exposed as a Defense Against War

Some observers in the West have interpreted South Africa's new friendliness with independent African countries as a softening

of her extremist racist policies. Actually the friendliness is a method of attempting to deter all possibilities of external aggression, and cannot be interpreted as having any effect on her unfriendliness toward her own non-white citizens. Thus South Africa is trying to eliminate the unfriendly buffer which surrounds her in the existence of Congo, Tanzania and Zambia. She has managed to intimidate the former British High Commission territories into capitulation, and they have proven by their actions (arrests of alleged "terrorists") that they will not harbor such dissidents. No doubt these new, poor, weak nations will continue to be friendly to South Africa as long as she is able to exert such strong economic and military pressure on them.

Persecution of Political Refugees in Botswana

The first issue (Vol. 3) in 1969 of Mayibuye gives details of a law actually passed in Botswana in 1967 relating to the presence of South African refugees within her borders. The law is called "The Refugees (Recognition and Control)(Amendment) Act No. 8, 1967." Under this act the Minister has appointed a committee to inquire into any immigrant who seeks asylum in Botswana. The Act provides that any immigrant could be detained for 28 days incommunicado while being investigated. Often the security police attend the proceedings of the investigating committee. When the Minister receives the Committee's secret report, he has the right to recognize or refuse recognition to a refugee. The refugee's case must be reviewed every six months. If a refugee leaves Botswana he ceases to be a refugee and cannot return to Botswana.

In April 1968 a number of refugees appeared before the Committee. They were required to report to the police weekly, failure leading to prosecution by imprisonment or a fine of about \$1,200. Refugees cannot leave their area of residence for more than 24 hours without police permission. They cannot take part in local politics, attend any political gatherings, join any political parties. They can be detained without trial, or deported without a hearing.

Refugees are required to pay the same taxes as ordinary citizens, yet cannot live in government housing or hold government-related jobs.

With possibilities for escaping from South Africa's oppression becoming slimmer and slimmer, and acceptance of such refugees in independent Africa becoming less likely, perhaps

one can at least hope that the continued forced detention of such dissidents within South Africa's borders will eventually lead to the violent eruption that must one day occur. Or it could simply mean that apartheid has worked...has achieved its end...has cleverly and efficiently subjected all non-whites to the system and rendered them totally helpless either to change it or to escape it.

Honour of God?

"People who are the enemies of God seek peace through international peace organizations where man's welfare, and not the honour of God, is given the priority. No wonder that increasing anarchy is the answer to their quests for peace.

The serious question presents itself whether the song of peace sung by the angels in the fields of Efrata is not being made a mockery of today. The Word still holds true: The Godless will not know peace.

The world refuses to recognize and accept Christ as the bringer of peace."

- Editorial, Die Vaderland,
South Africa

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA by K. Gottschalk

Numerous scholarly works have analysed Christian National Education under the Nationalist Government. As this article is concerned with CNE under the "progressive outward-looking policy" of Mr. Vorster reference to the establishment of C E will be limited to a quotation from Auerbach, one of the most authoritative works, representative of many educationalists' opinions.

"CNE, as applied in syllabuses and some textbooks, has expressed an aggressive nationalism which tends to impute feelings of group superiority in all White children." (F. E. Auerbach, The Power of Prejudice in South African Education, Cape Town: Balkema, 1965, p. 124.)

"White children...are likely to be imbued with the erroneous belief that Africans are permanently tribal and inherently inferior to Whites, and that

Western civilization and Christianity are racially linked with people of White or Caucasian stock." (Ibid., p.126.)

PHASE 1 (1953-65) All schools for African, Asian and Coloured pupils were transferred to Government control or permitted to continue only with its permission. All private night-schools for Non-White adults were ordered to close by 1967. (Sunday Times, Oct. 12, 1967)

PHASE 2 (1965-) Even private vocational and "cram" schools were permitted to continue only if (a) classes were segregated; and (b) only white teachers were used to teach white pupils. (Cape Times, July 17, 1968)

The 1967 National Education Act empowered the Government to impose any education policy on all schools (except those few completely supported by wealthy parents). Education had to be national and "Christian in character." The Government then took over many technical colleges and kindergartens at the same time. The Ministry of Education was divided into a Department of National Education and a Department of Higher Education as "a further step in the development of a national education policy." (Mr. B. J. Vorster, Sunday Express, Dec. 10, 1967)

"The Bantu...genetic make-up is so different that an admixture could not be advantageous to the Coloured People... As a scientist, I warn you against mixing - you must protect your community against assimilating characteristics which can lead to its downfall."

Prof. F. du T. van Zyl,
Cape Argus, May 4, 1968.

"Whenever Aryans have mingled their blood with that of an inferior race, the result has been the downfall of the people who were the standard-bearers of a higher culture... (a) the level of the superior race becomes lowered; (b) physical and mental degeneration sets in."

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf,
London, 1939, p. 240.

A directive in the Education Gazette ordered all school principals to make their pupils celebrate Republic Day by: (a) singing the anthem and hymns; (b) watching the

flag being raised; (c) reciting a declaration of allegiance. (Cape Times, May 31, 1968)

Senator de Klerk, Minister of National Education, emphasized:

"The Minister of National Education will in future lay down a national education policy for the whole of the Republic at all levels of education. This is a tremendous step forward, the full implications of which are not yet realized by all interested parties." (Rand Daily Mail, May 8, 1968)

J. C. Heunis (Cape Provincial Member-of-the-Executive-Council for Education, said of CNE during the debate: "I do not apologize for my belief that it is right to create a pride in the people. I hope it will become a movement that will sweep the Opposition along with it." (Cape Argus, May 10, 1968)

Apartheid is taught in compulsory Standard 8 history lessons under the new syllabus. Textbooks have chapter headings such as "The Bantu - new deal after 1948." (Cape Times, April 27, 1968)

Recently a subject called "Guidance" was introduced into secondary schools. The Coloured Affairs Department laid down a syllabus (C.A.D. Bulletin No. 19/67, dated Aug. 31, 1967 and No. 20/67 dated Sept. 12, 1967) which instructs the guidance teachers that "the function of the guidance teacher is the notion orientation." Guidance teachers, selected by inspectors, must inculcate what the C.A.D. considers to be "a sound attitude towards the Church, other race groups" and the flag and anthem.

While the present Cape Province syllabus for guidance lessons in White schools is only of a vocational and social nature, an all-white Government committee of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, in Pretoria, has planned a nationwide syllabus for guidance lessons to give education "the Christian and broad national character laid down in last year's Education Policy Act." This syllabus' main feature is evidently "fatherland study." (Rand Daily Mail, April 29, 1968) It is believed that Religious Instruction will now be made an examination subject compulsory to matric. Small wonder that one educationalist commented that 15-year-old Norwegian schoolboys are more mature than many South African university students. (Sunday Times, April 14, 1968)

The C.A.D. and the Security Police have

shown interest in the activities of Coloured pupils. A demonstration of pupils at Arcadia High School over the unexplained dismissal of a popular history teacher (Mr. Bastian, a UCT graduate) led to 20 armed police reservists scattering the crowd with police dogs.

Security Police watched the demonstration and interrogated some of those involved. (Cape Times, July 17, 1968) The Standards 9 and 10 were then abolished at the schools. (Post, July 14, 1968)

PHASE 3

The Minister of National Education has called the teacher "the most important strategic factor in the education of the child." (Rand Daily Mail, May 11, 1968)

The draft TEACHERS' BILL (AB 68-'68) states *inter alia*:

Section 8:

"The Minister may, after consultation with the controlling body, determine: (a) the type of training which may be provided at any institute (by institute the Bill means teachers' training college)

(b) the type of teacher for whose training provision may be made at any institute;

(c) the requirements with which prospective students shall comply."

Section 18:

"The Minister may make regulations as to any matter in regard to which he considers it expedient to make regulations in order to give effect to the provision of this act."

In the draft Bill staff appointments at teachers' training institutes can only be made by the University Council if also recommended by the Institute's "Joint Advisory Council" - ON WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS A MAJORITY. Out of 8 members at least 4 are appointed by the Government and Province; 3 by the University, and 1 by such teachers' association that the Minister may recognize for the purpose, according to sections 7(1) and 5.

The Afrikaner churches have asked the Minister to ensure that there will be no "conscience clause" (guaranteeing freedom from religious discrimination) at any teacher's training institute where these are at universities at which there is such a clause.

The N.G.K. (Dutch Reformed Church) allegedly protested that the bill would allow the "Doppers" (G.K.) to control teacher-training. (De Klerk, like Berwoerd, and many Education Department officials are Doppers!) In at least one area surveyed, most of the newly-appointed principals and vice-principals are allegedly Doppers. (Sunday Times, May 12, 1968)

The Bill has been referred to an all-White Government-appointed commission of inquiry. No representative from Witwatersrand University was appointed to the commission (Cape Argus, June 21, 1968); its chairman, Dr. J. S. Gericke, commented: "If a university...by virtue of the ideological task and calling which it sees for itself, should possess a definite character, or wishes to develop still further... let it develop the character with determination, so that people, whether they are lecturers or students, who do not like this definite course or character will know what they must either respect that definite character or seek another academic home." (Cape Argus, July 6, 1968)

Such "character" has been defined by ministers in the past!

The task of a university is (according to the Minister for Higher Education) to combat liberalism, communism and humanism.

The Minister of Finance urged the Rand Afrikaans University to make the "relatively alien Witwatersrand...truly South African" in character. (Cape Argus, Feb. 24, 1968)

The 1968 Universities Amendment Act defines moer specifically than previous legislation that the Minister can stop the Government's subsidy to any university that does not comply with any condition laid down by the Minister. Senator de Klerk warned in Parliament that the universities "had to realize that the authority of the Government had to be recognized. If the authority of the Government was not accepted it would become necessary to intervene." (Cape Argus, April 27, 1968)

He added that he would introduce legislation to prevent "Whites only" students clubs being prohibited by Student Representative Councils if needed. The Bills were only withdrawn in 1966 because "universities where unbridled things had happened had taken fright and put their house

in order." (Cape Times, Feb. 22, 1968)

Albert Hertzog, then the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, claimed (Cape Argus, Dec. 18, 1967) that four South African universities were "heavily loaded with open communism and liberalism." The Afrikaner's enemy worked "through an attack on their personal pride, their national pride, and racial pride."

A Commission of Inquiry into Universities may examine "undesirable activities of students." (Cape Times, May 9, 1968)

The 1959 "Extension of University Education Act" had prohibited students of African, Asian and Coloured descent from attending the "open universities" (Univ. of Cape Town and Wits) without the Minister's permission.

Non-white lecturers have now been effectively prevented from being appointed to the open universities as was recently shown at the U.C.T. (See our September issue of this newsletter.)

A private benefactor willed money to Natal University to establish a Department of Race Relations. Senator de Klerk refused permission for the University to create the Department. It is believed that he refused because the will specified that all student and staff appointments had to be on merit irrespective of race. (Sunday Times, April 28, 1968)

UCT's principal received on May 3, 1968 a letter from Senator de Klerk "appealing" to UCT not to appoint a Non-White as a staff member, otherwise "the Government would not hesitate to take such steps as it may deem fit to ensure that the tradition referred to was observed." (Cape Times, July 4, 1968) The UCT Council then rescinded the appointment: the second time in 3 years that the UCT administration has surrendered to de Klerk's threats. (Cape Times and Cape Argus of July 5, 1968)

Non-White staff lecturing to White students at universities are:

University of Cape Town - 4

Natal University - 2

Stellenbosch University - 2

University of Port Elizabeth - 1

Afrikaner universities have taken the lead in attacking "communism, liberalism and humanism." Pretoria University has established an "Institute for the Typology of Social Systems" to study "Communism, its 'fellow-traveller' organizations and all patterns of

liberalistic thought." The Institute, attached to the University's Department of Political Science, was set up because "Alien ideological and religious attitudes were threatening the country's national traditions, and the new institute would work in combating these moves in close co-operation with the Defence Force, Police and Departments of Information and Internal Affairs." (Sunday Times, Aug. 6, 1967)

Among those giving lectures are General R. C. Hiemstra (Head of the Defence Force) and Major-General H. J. van den Bergh (Head of the Security Police). (Rand Daily Mail, March 20, 1968)

M. C. Botha (Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education) claimed that the university colleges for Africans (who are prohibited from attending other universities) were equal to all universities, not only in the Republic, but in the academic world as a whole. (Cape Argus, Aug. 24, 1967)

It might therefore be interesting to compare rules at overseas universities with some of the regulations at Fort Hare, a Xhosa-speaking African "tribal" college, which are: -

- (1) All students have to live in residence.
- (3) Students may not leave the university campus without the permission of the authorities;
- (4) Students may not be out of residence after 10:00 pm
- (17) No woman student may be outside her residence block after 7:00 pm
- (6) No student may, without permission, have visitors who are not students from Fort Hare;
- (7) No student organization or activities are allowed without prior approval by the rector;
- (8) No student may hold a meeting without prior approval of the rector;
- (11) No student may issue a press statement, either for himself, or on behalf of the students;
- (13) No student may circulate collection lists without the prior approval by the rector;
- (21) Any student will be guilty of an offense if he "by word or by conduct displays insubordination." (Fort Hare Univ. Calendar, 1967, pp. 7-9)

Two incidents at Fort Hare graphically illustrate the extent of Security Police supervision of higher education for Africans:

"Students' activities, their likes and dislikes, were closely examined by the college authorities, especially hostel wardens, to see if they were politically inclined. Sometimes...certain officials spoke to students provocatively. They made unfavourable remarks and criticized their political views. When students argued, they were labelled as 'undesirable' and 'not fit to be at Fort Hare'." (NUSAS Newsletter No. 2, 1967, p. 9.)

"One of the professors at Fort Hare had invited his students to tea on a Sunday afternoon. The local chief of the Special Branch, Sgt. Hattingh, came to the tea party and told the professor that it was incidents like this which created a feeling of equality in the Fort Hare students. The professor replied that this was precisely his aim. During the argument that followed Sgt. Hattingh declared that the students present were in a prohibited group area and demanded reference books from the African students. Those who did not have them were instructed to bring them to his office the following morning. After this the tea party broke up." (NUSAS President's 1964 Report to Student Assembly, p. 25.)

sacking he obtained a post as school inspector with the Transkei Government. He was then banned by the Pretoria Government, being thus prohibited from entering school premises.

Already about 25 professors and lecturers have been banned, deported or dismissed without trial by the Government, and dozens of students expelled in cases with a political background. At UCT alone Professors Jack Simons, Kurt Danziger, Dr. Raymond "Bill" Hoffenberg (Medicine) and Archie Mafeje (Social Anthropology) have been prevented from lecturing by Government actions and threats.

Mr. David Welsh, a senior UCT lecturer, commented:

"The English-language universities.. harbour in their ranks, as staff or students, too many heretics who are not prepared to submit unquestioningly to the orthodoxy established by our rulers. The bannings of Professors Simons and Roux and the recent banning of the President of NUSAS are part of an unfolding campaign to eliminate all heretics from the universities and to compel staff and students to think along governmentally-approved lines...a free university in an unfree society is a rare phenomenon." (Cape Times, June 6, 1966)

CONCLUSION

Mr. Vorster's first two years in office have been heralded as the beginning of a new "enlightened" era. With these developments in educational policy as stipulated by CNE, we are left in little doubt as to the hollowness of these claims - the "outward-looking policy is in fact transparent and this is made quite clear by reference to the facts: they speak for themselves. (Reprinted with permission from Radical 1968)

NATION-BUILDING IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The military actions described in the November issue of this newsletter have made possible in Mozambique, as in Guinea-Bissau and Angola, a wide variety of other activities among the people, which in turn support the continuing growth of the armed struggle.

First we may note that clandestine political organization of several years duration was the essential preparation for armed struggle, as it was in Guinea-Bissau. This clandestine organizational work continues in the areas where fighting has not yet penetrated, i.e., the southern and central parts

On January 12, 1969 a group of about 5,000 largely non-white demonstrators battled police in a protest against racism in Britain and against Rhodesia's white minority government. It was London's first major "black power" march. Protesters attempted to enter and occupy Rhodesia House, the London office of the Salisbury government. Around 500 demonstrators attacked nearby South Africa House too, breaking more than 50 panes of glass. Protesters chanted "Arm the African workers" and "Hang Ian Smith." (Daily News, January 13, 1969)

As the regulations controlling staff appointments forbid criticism of any Government Department, it would appear that teaching of political science might be one-sided. One Fort Hare lecturer, Curick Ndamse, was sacked after making a speech with criticism such as that Africans preferred to be called Africans rather than Bantus. After his

of Mozambique.

In the liberated and semi-liberated areas a different kind of structure is possible. Portuguese civilian administrators have pulled out. Villages have moved to the forest where they are less susceptible to air bombardment. Local village structures, such as chiefs and councils, may continue to function for some time, being integrated into or replaced by FRELIMO structures of popularly elected committees at local, district, and provincial levels.

Provincial committees, headed by a "chefe", function both in the liberated areas, and, with greater difficulties, in the areas of clandestine organization.

This organizational system relates directly to the Department of Organization (DO) and indirectly to the Department of Defense (DD) and other FRELIMO departments. Among the most important of these for the "national reconstruction" are the Department of Health Service (DSS), the Department of Production, Commerce and Cooperatives, and the Department of Education and Culture (DEC).

1. Department of Production, Commerce and Cooperatives

Due to the forced production of agricultural cash crops such as cotton under the colonial system, no time and land were left for food crops. As the Portuguese move out, food production increases. Land is redistributed, agricultural cooperatives encouraged, and production made a high priority not only for the peasants, but for the military detachments and the schools. Thus every FRELIMO military unit is obliged to engage in agricultural production, and the schools, including those in rural areas of Tanzania, do so as well. The FRELIMO primary school in Tunduru, Tanzania has rated first in its district in production of maize and tobacco.

The Portuguese authorities also forced the withdrawal of Asian and Portuguese shopkeepers, and the people are dependent completely on FRELIMO for provision of agricultural tools, cloth, and other necessities. Thus there has been organized a system of trade, based on 5 stores deep inside Mozambique, and numerous others along the border with Tanzania, to which the people bring products such as cashew nuts, peanuts, sesame seed, and other easily transportable

goods (all transport is by head portage). They trade these for hoes, hatchets, machetes, salt, matches, etc. FRELIMO then sells the agricultural products in Tanzania and buys more implements, etc. Negotiations are also under way for the sale of some products such as rubber to other African countries. Such traditional industries as woodcarving are encouraged by FRELIMO, and the famous Makonde carvings are sold in Dar-es-Salaam. Other cottage industries, producing commodities such as soap, candles, etc., are being encouraged for home use.

Commentary by FRELIMO on the removal of Dr. Antonio d'Oliveira Salazar:

"We consider the removal of Dr. Salazar has very little significance in the political life of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. The impending death of Salazar is a biological fact, its political meaning is minimal; consequently it interests only the Portuguese people. Professor Caetano is one of the architects of the fascist political system which has controlled Portugal for the past forty years. While Minister for the Colonies, he created many of the cruel laws so characteristic of Portuguese colonialism. Since his investiture as Prime Minister of Portugal in September, 1968, Professor Caetano has said nothing new to make us reconsider our opinion about him, namely, that he is one of the creators of Portuguese fascism and that he is ready to continue the Salazarist policy of oppression, exploitation and massacre of the African people."
(Mozambique Revolution, Oct.-Dec. 1968)

2. Department of Health Services

The Health Services are organized in a four-tier structure. First-aid posts, district medical posts, provincial hospitals, and the central hospital are being built in Mtwara, Tanzania. The upper three levels are staffed by trained male nurses and at Mtwara cases are referred as well to doctors at the Tanzania government hospital there. First-aid posts deal with simple and emergency treatment, district medical posts with injections, simple sutures, and treatment of the common tropical diseases. More serious wounds or illnesses are referred to

the provincial hospitals and, if necessary, to Mtwara.

Various auxiliary services are carried out in Tanzania - there are clinics at each of the schools, in the camps, and in Dar-es-Salaam. There is also an administration and supplies section concerned largely with import of medicines and medical supplies to Dar-es-Salaam and the south.

Although the program is severely handicapped by lack of personnel (at present about 400, mainly nurses, but no qualified doctor and medical supplies) it continues to expand, setting up new posts as the war front extends into new zones. Within the military at least one in every 15 men must have first-aid training, and everyone carries a basic first-aid kit.

In Dar-es-Salaam two classes of a one-year course for medical aides have been graduated, and next year the course will move to Mtwara, where the new hospital is being completed. This, together with desertions from the nurses working with the Portuguese, helps somewhat with the lack of personnel. But there is a crying need for a doctor.

The lack of supplies is made even more difficult at times by the war situation, as when in 1968 the medical stores at the western Niassa headquarters were destroyed by Portuguese bombs. Thus procurement of medicines, bandages, etc., is one of the high priorities.

3. Department of Education and Culture

One of the primary tasks of this department has been the creation of a system of primary education (4 years in the Portuguese system). Starting at first in the refugee camps, DEC now has more than 20,000 students in 1st and 2nd grades in bush schools in the liberated areas, 3 boarding schools in the interior with 3rd grade, and 3 large primary schools camps in Tanzania, one of which concentrated on 4th grade. This year (1969) the first 20 students to do all their education in FRELIMO schools will enter 4th grade.

The primary school program faces problems of supplies, of teachers, and of textbooks. Most of the students write with burnt cassava or charcoal on slates made of wood; others are lucky enough to get notebooks and pencils which are donated or bought. Most of the 1st and 2nd grade teachers have themselves only completed part of the primary school course, so teacher training is a high priority. In

November 1968 the first teachers completed the FRELIMO teacher training course and returned to the interior - they were 4th grade graduates, who then did a 6-month special course. And textbooks - some mimeographed readers have been produced, and printed texts from Brazil or Portugal are sometimes available for the teachers. A first-grade math book has been written and will be printed for FRELIMO in the German Democratic Republic. If funds are available there are plans for the purchase of a printing press in Dar-es-Salaam and the production of more books.

FRELIMO is only involved in several special courses. An administrative cadres course has been completed, and plans are in the works for another course of the same type, as well as one centered around economic development.

Since 1964 there has also been the FRELIMO secondary school, originally involving only tutoring and preparation for entry into a Tanzania secondary school (which follows 7 years of primary school), but which expanded to include the first 4 years of the 7-year secondary course. When the new school year begins in 1969, there will be a considerably larger staff and a new laboratory, and texts produced in previous years by the present staff - History of Africa and of Mozambique, Geography of Africa and of Asia, and others. Some other Portuguese-language texts have been ordered from Brazil, and a small library collection, that serves all the programs of the Department of Education and Culture, has also been begun.

One of the key principles of the secondary school, as of the other educational programs, is that the education is for subsequent service to the country, not for personal advantage. That some fail to comprehend this means that FRELIMO, like other Third World institutions, suffers from a "brain drain" of its educated personnel. An educational system that is integrated with the life of the people, and not simply a ladder to escape for some, is the goal towards which FRELIMO is working.

Note on the Mozambique Institute:
Originally identified with the FRELIMO secondary school, the role of the Mozambique Institute is now more clearly defined as that of a fund-raising agency

for the medical, educational, and social service programs (orphanage, relief, etc.) of FRELIMO. Contributions to the Institute can be made through the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

INSIDE RHODESIA . . . AND OUTSIDE

The Rhodesian Front Party, long the unified strength of the white population of this country, seems now to be receiving opposition from two new dissenting factions. On the one hand, open attacks from big businessmen, convinced from inside knowledge that the predictions of economic ruin made before UDI will soon catch up with them. This group is led by two tycoons - B. Newson (a steel magnate), and E. Campbell (a banker and tobacco expert), who believe that almost every other businessman supports their views. They have tried to explode the myth that sanctions are failing, and that Rhodesia can win with a little more belt-tightening, and to demonstrate that UDI, in fact, was a "costly mistake."

The seemingly more active second faction is the new, multi-racial Center Party started by youthful business and professional men, university intellectuals, and young middle-class Africans. This party has received favorable comments from numerous overseas newspapers - the Zimbabwe News, however, reporting from where it's at, refers to the "so-called white liberals... deriving their support from the elite of Rhodesia's white society..." who are "receiving favourable publicity internationally through efforts of Harold Wilson and Western news media, who are deliberately trying to prove that sanctions are beginning to bite."

Heading the Center Party is Pat Bashford, who the Johannesburg Sunday Star reports is "being cheered" for his outspoken attacks on the Rhodesian Front. The aim of the Center Party is to convince the whites to back settlement with Britain on the proposed non-racial Gibraltar Constitution. It is banking its support on the growing distrust and frustration with UDI amongst an important section of the white community, and to persuade them that the only answer to Rhodesia's problems is close and sincere cooperation with the Africans in constitutional, political and economic fields. In four months, the Center Party has formed 23 white Con-

stituency branches (the writer has found no report of branches in African areas, despite previous mention of African membership), and plans to fight Smith on every platform if there is an election - Smith has hinted that there might be one early in 1969.

Whether the reports that this information was taken from are part of the propaganda of the Western press is difficult to say, but it is good to know that rumblings, no matter how small, are at last being heard.

...And Outside

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference opened in London on Tuesday, Jan. 7, with 24 of the 28 heads of Commonwealth Governments attending. One of the key issues discussed was the Rhodesian situation. As the conference draws to an end, officials are working hard to produce an agreed statement on Rhodesia, an almost impossible task.

In reality, the Commonwealth leaders are irreconcilably divided, not over objectives, but over methods.

The debate on Rhodesia covered two days. Only four countries - Australia, New Zealand, Malta and Malawi - were prepared to back Britain's "Fearless" terms. The remaining 23, Canada included, showed firm opposition. However, even the opposition is divided on the wisdom of returning to the 1966 pledge of NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule). Canada's Mr. Trudeau stands by NIBMAR while not ruling out an alternative, should one be offered. Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, thinks NIBMAR is not worth the paper it is written on, unless the Africans develop their own Vietcong tactics to make it effective.

Britain still stands by her NIBMAR pledge, but refused to renew it afresh. Mr. Wilson and team tried to explain their position as follows. They admit that NIBMAR and the "Fearless" terms are not compatible. The first insist upon majority rule before independence, the latter promises independence against a promise of subsequent majority rule.

NIBMAR stands while Mr. Smith refuses to accept the "Fearless" terms. Should events move rightward - e.g. open adoption of apartheid - the "Fearless" terms

would fall away, leaving NIBMAR still standing. However, should Mr. Smith show signs of accepting the "Fearless" terms, Britain could then formally ask the Commonwealth leaders to release him from the NIBMAR pledge.

But the battle to produce an agreed communique continued. Two-thirds of the Conference wanted Britain to withdraw its "Fearless" offer, or at best, to get her to set a time limit. This Mr. Wilson is determined not to do. Should Mr. Smith decide to accept the "Fearless" offer, the majority would in fact be in no position to dissuade Britain from going ahead.

At the time of writing, this had not been resolved.
(Colin Legum, London Observer, Jan. 12, 1969)

Footnote:

Dr. Claire Palley, a leading Rhodesian authority on constitutional arithmetic, recently demonstrated that on the most lenient estimates, African majority rule could not be achieved under the "Fearless" proposals before 1999 at the earliest, and taking all factors into account, probably not before 2004.

At present, less than 2,000 Africans per annum attain the necessary educational qualifications to vote - the European education system produces over 4,000 school-leavers. (She assumes that Immigration and Emigration will balance each other so that no additional European voters can accrue.) Arithmetically on this basis, she estimates that there should be the same number of Europeans and Africans qualified for the franchise by AD 2004...i.e. 240,000 each, ignoring deaths, and using the most lenient margins for calculation.

It is interesting to note here the last official estimate of the Rhodesian population: June 1968 showed 237,000 whites and 4,410,000 black Africans. Also, births among the whites are increasing at a faster rate than among Africans. The African population's annual birth rate decreased last year by $\frac{1}{8}\%$ to $\frac{3}{8}\%$, while that of the whites increased from $2\frac{1}{8}\%$ to nearly 3% . The formula lies in the government's \$7.5 million birth-control campaign for Africans, and their encouragement of whites to reproduce, giving them the benefit of government financial subsidies.

A large sign of white desperation is popping up all over Rhodesia in the form

of an advertisement asking: "Know anyone living outside Rhodesia? Encourage them to settle here and win one of these great prizes! . . . Help the Immigration drive - your future depends on it."

REPORT FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

U.N. Survey Looks at South Africa's Economy

In a review of the role foreign investments played in South Africa, a recent U.N. survey pointed out that Britain and the U.S. accounted for 70% of all the foreign assets in South Africa. The document "Foreign Investment in the Republic of South Africa" also pointed out that "the rate of return of these two countries on direct investment in South Africa also registered substantially higher rate than those on investments held overseas elsewhere". In fact, tables indicated that an average return of U.S. direct investment in South Africa was 18-21% annually compared to an average of 10-11% elsewhere. Foreign investment, it was concluded, "clearly plays an important role in the economy of South Africa."

Attempt to Exclude South Africa from UNCTAD Fails

In the most heated debate of this session, a motion by the Afro-Asian bloc to exclude South Africa from an important U.N. agency for trade has failed. In a vote that failed by 11 votes to gain the 2/3 majority necessary for adoption, the decision was made that South Africa could not be expelled from UNCTAD as a punishment for her policy of apartheid. The vote was especially tense because of the charge that excluding South Africa would be unconstitutional. For instance, J. R. Wiggins, the U.S. Delegate, said the negative American vote was "not out of any solicitude for the evil system of apartheid", but arose from the fear that exclusion would jeopardize the rights of all U.N. members; even the communist bloc abstained in the final vote which failed: 55 for, 33 against, 828 abstentions.
(New York Times, Dec. 13, 1968)

Note: UNCTAD is the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

General Assembly Asks Action to Oust South Africa From South West

Dec. 16. The General Assembly voted to ask the Security Council to "take all effective measures" to help oust South Africa from her racist, illegal control of South West Africa. The resolution condemning South Africa's actions in the former League of Nations mandate passed 96 to 2 with 16 abstentions. The abstentions, including the U.S. and Commonwealth countries, were attempts to oppose proposals which the U.N. did not have the capacity to carry out without opposing the substance of the resolution as South Africa and Portugal traditionally do.

The resolution called on the 11-nation U.N. Council for South West Africa, established in May 1967, to continue to use all available means to perform its functions. South Africa, of course, refuses to recognize the Council and has thwarted many of its efforts to get into South West Africa. At present one of the few accomplishments of the Council has been to change the name of South West Africa to Namibia. Members of the Council have also interviewed refugees from South West Africa.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

The Removal of People Spells Death

Limehill is the most recent word synonymous with disruption, illness and death for Africans. Limehill, in northern Natal, is an area that the Government wants to go unnoticed, declaring it out of bounds to all newspapers (Johannesburg Star, Dec. 7). Why? Because according to the Archbishop of Durban, Denis Burley, speaking from facts gained by his priests in the area, 26 people have died in a 3-week period from gastro-enteritis. One case of typhoid has also been verified (Durban Sunday Tribune, Dec. 8).

Limehill (population 4,000) is just one of the many places to which Africans are moved which is intolerable to healthy human existence. A statement by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, clearly shows the attitude of the Government towards its African population: "We are acting according to certain planning at Limehill and we are going ahead with it. I am not in the least interested in the political campaigns of your newspapers and others, and in that of a bunch of clergymen. And you can tell that to the world" (Sunday Express, Dec. 8). African people are dying and this Cabinet Minister says he is "not interested". To him even the death from disease of African people is some kind of "political campaign." This is the voice of the racist white minority regime of South Africa. (Mayibuye, Dec. 21)

The Government operates on the assumption that Africans are accustomed to living in "primitive" conditions. Thus it is no hardship for them to be without piped water, latrines, etc. Further, the Government assumes that Africans have always been migratory people and that to be moved is no hardship. The truth is that rural African families have not been unfamiliar with migration in the past. But each family moved separately and family units were very widely separated to insure adequate grazing for cattle and for agriculture.

That pattern has absolutely nothing to do with present Government policy of uprooting people from the cities and moving them to what are in fact rural towns. Limehill is described as an urban settlement. It has all the problems of an urban slum, only it is handily removed far away from view. (Johannesburg Star, Dec. 14)

Limehill is just one such settlement. Others even more remote have failed to reach

"With ten helicopters, or even five, we could clear the M.P.L.A.* out of Eastern Angola in no time.... Why doesn't South Africa lend us some, they've got plenty?"

Johannesburg Star, Aug. 5, 1968
Report by Wilf Nussey, quoting a Portuguese Senior Officer in Cago Coutinho, Angola

"Thirty-five helicopters have been sent to the Portuguese by South Africa. Every day these helicopters enter Angola's Cuando Cubango Province from Southwest Africa."

Dar-es-Salaam Standard, Dec. 13
Report by Tommy Chibaye who spent 6 weeks with the MPLA troops

*There are growing reports of the strength and persistence of MPLA guerrilla forces in the two large provinces of Moxico and Bie-Cuando Cubango in east and southeastern Angola.

the public eye. But any wishful thinking or naive belief that the South African Government really wants to make separate development a just and equitable policy is absolutely destroyed by seeing the reality of the effects of Government policy. Limehill spells apartheid spells violence, disease and death for Africans.

Military Developments

A new era has begun in South Africa's Defense Force. South Africa has designed, produced and successfully launched its first guided missile. All the research for the missile has been South African. The Minister of Defense, Mr. P. W. Botha, spoke at the launching which took place at St. Lucia missile range: "This is essential equipment for the Defense Force and the protection of South Africa. Fears that he will expand this base to cope with inter-continental rockets are totally unfounded. This base has been established to insure that South Africa will sit in line with modern weapons development. Never in peace time will this area become a permanent base." (Johannesburg Star, Dec. 21)

There are rumors, neither denied nor confirmed by Mr. Botha, that South Africa is planning to build her own submarines and that the plans are already on the drawing board. It is further rumored that Britain is going to break her ban on selling arms to South Africa and supply her with "radar, aircraft, ships, and other defense equipment worth up to \$450 million." If this happens, South Africa will have the British economic situation, the closed Suez Canal, and the renewed fear of the Soviet Union caused by the invasion of Czechoslovakia to thank. (Johannesburg Star, Dec. 7)

Anti-Guerrilla Operations

1968 also saw the first full-scale anti-guerrilla operation practice in history carried out by the South African Defense Forces. Operation Sibasa was an elaborate exercise in the Northern Transvaal aimed at preparing the peasant population to support the Government forces and thus destroy guerrilla possibilities for success. (Sechaba, Nov. 1968)

Education in South Africa

Statistics give a short-hand picture:

Total Expenditure on Education in 1965		
(about \$391,770,000)	Percentage of Total Population	Percentage of Total Expenditure
Africans	68%	9%
Europeans	19%	77%
Coloureds	10%	10%
Indians	3%	4%

Pupil-Teacher Ratio		
African	Primary school	55:1
	Secondary school	35:1
European		22:1
Indian and Coloured		33:1

(from Sechaba, November, 1968)

Power of the English Press

In order to strengthen the position of the English press in South Africa, the Argus Company sought to acquire a majority shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN). This action was strongly opposed by Die Transvaler, an official mouthpiece of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal. It editorialized that "when the newspapers concerned are taken over, the English newspapers will all sing the same liberalistic tune". Blaar Coetzee, Minister of Community Development and Public Planning, added that one could not allow the power of the press to be in the hands of one gr and he thought the Government would put a stop to "this silly bit of nonsense" (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 23).

The Government vetoed this action, fearing the increased power of the English press. The usual South African problem repeats itself: power in the hands of one group is only acceptable if that group is the Nationalist Party.

It may be, however, that the Government is doing itself a disservice. The Argus group is certainly more conservative in tone than the SAAN, which has the Rand Daily Mail (Editor-in-chief, Lawrence Gandar) under its wing. The Argus group would have been the controlling force, and would in fact not have gone against the wishes of the Government in any sphere and would readily have imposed self-censorship. This would have limited the independence of the Rand Daily Mail, the most liberal and outspoken English daily in South Africa.

SUMMARY OF U.S. ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's economy has been expanding and her entire system has benefited greatly from this expansion. The physical volume of manufacturing production rose by 6.4 percent during 1967, despite lagging prices. Profits and net industrial investment declined for the entire year, but activity picked up in late 1967 and early 1968. South Africa is striving to achieve self-sufficiency in essential industry. During 1967 the country's first stainless steel plant opened, the chemical industry expanded, and plans were announced for the first aluminum smelter. Nuclear power stations are foreseen for the 1970's. (South Africa's atomic reactor was a gift from the United States.) In 1967 the Government assumed greater control over industrial expansion with passage of the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources act, covering all industrial areas outside Natal. It aims to divert new industry to Border Areas near African Reserves, and thereby restrict African migration to cities.

Minerals

With the important exception of petroleum, nearly every useful mineral resource is found within South Africa. The gold mines produce 65% of annual world output and 75% of 'free-world' gold. Other important mineral products are platinum, antimony, chromium and manganese ores, vanadium, uranium (as a by-product of gold), iron ore, copper, diamonds, and asbestos. Coal reserves are estimated at a minimum of 50 years. Intensive and continuing exploration has so far failed to locate petroleum deposits.

After increasing for 16 consecutive years, gold output in 1967 declined slightly to 30.5 million ounces worth \$1.061 billion at the official price of \$35 per ounce. Early 1968 production was at a slightly higher rate. With uranium production included, gold mining profits of newer mines (mainly in the Orange Free State) averaged \$16.50 per ounce, but only \$3.70 per ounce in the older Transvaal mines. At the fixed price of \$35 per ounce, profits have declined for several years as inflation raises costs. Gold output is predicted to decline sharply in the late 1970's.

External Payments Position

South Africa's international payments have strengthened gradually since World War II under exchange and import controls, but remain susceptible to external influences, especially in the area of capital movements. A capital flight in 1960-61 (following the Sharpeville massacre and withdrawal from the Commonwealth), ended by September 1963, when official monetary reserves reached a record \$770 million, thanks largely to the United States and their ready response to make loans to help stabilize the situation. Inflationary demand thereafter caused some erosion, but a net capital inflow since early 1965 and the unusually favorable trade pattern of late 1967 and early 1968 pushed reserves to \$780 million in December 1967 and to \$882 million at the end of February 1968.

In mid-March 1968, the world's leading central banks froze existing monetary gold stocks at \$35 per ounce, setting privately owned and newly mined gold free to find its own price. With ample reserves, South Africa reserved the right to sell in either the official monetary or the free market. Prices on the free market generally remained under \$40 per ounce, but it appeared that new supplies might undermine the free price. While officials pondered marketing policy, gold piled up and official reported South African reserves in mid-August were more than \$1.2 billion. Such reserves added to inflationary pressures.

Trade

Recent merchandise trade figures (excluding gold), adjusted for balance-of-payments purposes, are:

\$Million	1964	1965	1966	1967
Exports	1,516	1,490	1,668	1,859
Imports	2,233	2,552	2,349	2,755

Major suppliers were the United Kingdom (25.2%), the United States (16.4%), the Federal Republic of Germany (11.7%), and Japan (5.9%). The United States share of the market is about the same as in 1962, but in 1964 reached 18.3%. The United Kingdom share has declined steadily from 29.6% in 1962.

South Africa's major individual export markets were the United Kingdom (30%), Japan (13%), the United States (8%), and the Federal Republic of Germany (6%).

Japan purchased twice as much as in 1966. Exports to the rest of Africa, primarily adjacent territories, were 16¢. (With such a favorable balance-of-payments, it is little wonder the U.S. is loathe to impose economic sanctions on South Africa!)

Investment

Total foreign direct investment (company) and indirect (portfolio) was estimated at \$5.3 billion in 1966 by the South African Reserve Bank. Nearly 60% is attributed to United Kingdom investors, while the United States' share is put at 13%. United States estimates placed direct United States investment at \$601 million, 1.1% of United States overseas investments. No U.S. official estimates are made of indirect investment.

Aside from the worldwide control programs, the United States Government neither encourages nor discourages private investment in South Africa. The prospective investor is informed about uncertainties stemming from apartheid policies but makes his own decision.

(The above summary was taken from a Department of State Background Notes on the Republic of South Africa, Oct. 1968)

Analysis (our own!)

From the above Department of State summary, it would appear that the U.S. official government stance regarding South Africa is basically laissez-faire. Why is it so with South Africa, which we condemn so vehemently in international bodies and in human rights forums, when we have been willing to formulate and carry out policies of disengagement from such countries as China, Cuba and parts of Eastern Europe? Perhaps because our policy is not, after all, laissez-faire. Perhaps it is, in the end, based on three great American principles: (1) racism, (2) the profit motive, and (3) gross and unreasonable, fanatical anti-communism. (South Africa, though fascist, is strongly "anti-communist".)

"Gold and Mr. Kennedy"

At a press conference on December 17, Secretary of the Treasury designate David M. Kennedy hedged on a commitment to the stabilized price of gold at \$35 per ounce. This new ambiguity in contrast to Nixon's statement during his campaign ("I see no need for a change in the price of gold") caused a flurry in international free gold market prices, raising the price 67¹/₂¢ on the key London market. The following day a Nixon aide reaffirmed Nixon's adherence to the \$35, but any such hints at a change in U.S. policy such as Kennedy's statement will only lead to support of South Africa's desire to up the price of gold and change the present restricted two-tier system. Isn't it interesting that Mr. Kennedy's former position was that of President of one of the ten American banks involved in the consortium loaning credit to South Africa - - Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company?

A special thanks to those readers who have sent us contributions toward the cost of the 1969 newsletters.

STOP PRESS! STOP PRESS! STOP PRESS! - - -

Our next issue will carry information on plans for a special "reception" of the first South African Airways flight at Kennedy International Airport in February.

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