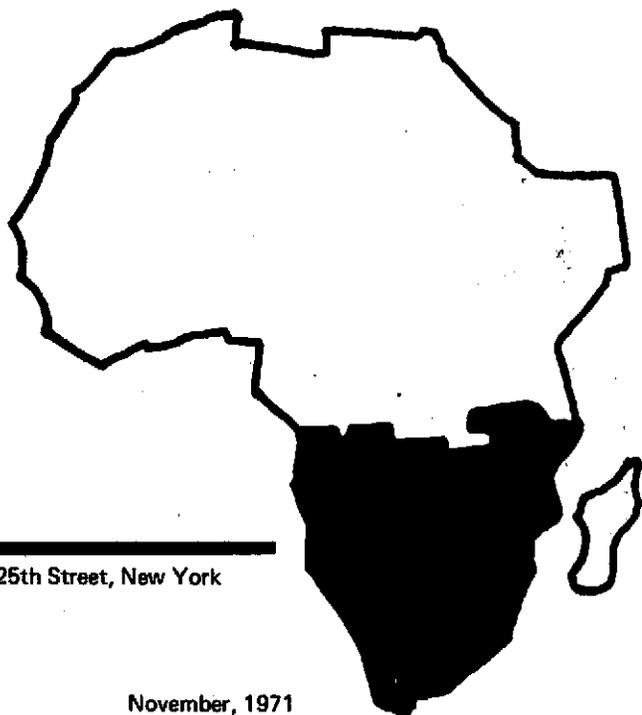


SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion



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CONTENTS		
DEC 13 1971		
Periodical		
1.	NAMIBIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS	2
2.	INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	4
3.	INSIDE NAMIBIA	5
4.	INSIDE ZIMBABWE	6
5.	THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES	9
6.	ACTION NEWS AND NOTES	12
7.	THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS	14
8.	ECONOMICS	15
9.	THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA	16
10.	AT THE UNITED NATIONS	18
11.	DEFENSE	19
12.	UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA	21
13.	ZAMBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA	22
14.	MPLA MEDICAL APPEAL	24

REMEMBER THE MPLA MEDICAL APPEAL TODAY

NAMIBIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

U.N. DEBATES NAMIBIA ISSUE

The current session of the General Assembly is concerned with two crucial issues on which movement is at last possible. As evidenced by the vote of October 25 admitting the People's Republic of China, the first is China. The second is a major Southern African issue - South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia after the June, 1971 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice that this occupation is illegal.

The Namibian question has been before the United Nations for the whole of the latter's existence, and before that the League of Nations was debating allegations of South Africa's repeated violation of the original Mandate. Repeated resolutions have been passed beginning with the General Assembly resolution 2145 in 1966 which declared the Mandate terminated. This was confirmed by the Security Council, which then passed a series of resolutions of its own, finally demanding that South Africa leave Namibia immediately. These are an unhappy reminder of the futility of many U.N. resolutions. However, the International Court, which worked very fast to give its opinion in June, has added new influence and authority to these resolutions. The conclusion of the opinion is that South Africa is in illegal occupation of Namibia; that it is obliged to withdraw immediately; and that other States are obliged not to do anything that will help strengthen South Africa's hold over the territory or imply recognition of South Africa's occupation.

AFRICANS SPEAK AT SECURITY COUNCIL

Immediately after the Court's decision, the O.A.U. asked for a meeting of the Security Council to debate the issue. This was agreed and the Council began weeks of debate at the end of September. In order to underline the importance of the issue, the O.A.U. sent a President and five foreign ministers to address the body. The scene was set by the current President of the O.A.U., President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauretania. He called for all measures, including economic, political and military ones to be used to enforce the Court's ruling and drive South Africa out of the occupied territory. The Foreign Ministers involved also spoke of the urgency and importance of U.N. taking concrete and decisive action.

In addition, in an unprecedented move, Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), was granted the right to address the Security Council, the first African liberation spokesman allowed that role. Mr. Nujoma called upon the Council to "live up to its responsibility...to take authoritative and determined action under Chapter VII" of the U.N. Charter which relates to binding actions (economic in the first instance) determined when a threat to the peace occurs. Mr. Nujoma asked, "How can the situation in Namibia be described as peaceful when South Africa is arming herself to the teeth", a statement made vivid by the Caprivi Strip incident and South Africa's aggression against Zambia a few days later. SWAPO clearly stated that Namibians do not benefit from the so-called economic development of the country as everything benefits the white population. Replying to South Africa's speech before the Council, Mr. Nujoma said, "We want South Africa out of Namibia. We can never be happy, roads, hospitals and schools not withstanding, as long as South Africa is on Namibian soil." He pointed out the farce of the Bantustan scheme and said that the Namibian people supported the World Court decision.

SOUTH AFRICA AND WEST SPEAK

African opinion has formidable opponents. The first of these is South Africa itself, which is betraying its anxiety about the situation by sending a huge and very high-powered delegation to the debate. Foreign Minister Muller not only spoke but also attended much of the debate in person. His speech was not marked by its relevance to the issue, or for its strict accuracy, and most delegations ignored it. After quoting some highly selective and dubious "home-made statistics" about South Africa's efforts in Namibia, Muller went on to denounce the Court's opinion and referred to the proposal of a plebiscite that had been rejected by the Court. He managed not to propose it again, however, but simply left it dangling in mid-air as a face-saver for sympathetic States.

Britain and France have swallowed the South African line almost completely, although with the significant exception that both reject the fragmentation of Namibia according to the proposed Bantustan scheme. Since this is the rationalization for South Africa's position, it may be possible to make this Anglo-French commitment significant at some time in the future. Both countries, however, quibbled with certain elements of the Court judgement, and refused to accept its authority. They also referred to the slogan of "self-determination", hinting that they would be in favor of a plebiscite.

The position of the U.S. on Namibia is relatively good in comparison with other Western powers. During Rogers' speech before the U.N., he said that the United States accepted the opinion of the World Court on Namibia. This line follows the pattern of U.S. policy which even in 1966 was willing to go farther in stating South Africa's illegal role in Namibia than others.

The Soviet Union has a consistent position being free to condemn the Western support given to South Africa. Yet the U.S.S.R. is less helpful when it comes to practical measures. In particular it wants to keep enforcement action in the hands of the Security Council (where it has a veto), and is opposed to strengthening the power of the Council for Namibia which was established by the General Assembly in 1967.

RESOLUTION PASSES SECURITY COUNCIL

The final resolution passed on October 20 by the Security Council reflected the above analysis. It passed 13 to 0 with France and Britain casting the only abstentions. The resolution itself is far less than many delegations were asking, and does not deal with the crucial question of specific actions and how to execute them. The resolution (no. 301) reaffirms and recalls past resolutions making Namibia the direct responsibility of the U.N., notes and endorses the conclusions of the World Court's opinion; condemns South Africa's actions in the territory including the Bantustan idea and calls for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia; and hints that failure to withdraw could "create conditions detrimental to the maintenance of peace and security in the region." (a possible reference to possible future action under Chapter VII). States are asked to refrain from treaty relations with South Africa, to abstain from sending diplomats or consuls there, and "abstain from entering into economic or other forms of relationship or dealings with South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia which may entrench its authority over the Territory. Finally the resolution declares that contracts, titles etc. relating to Namibia entered into with South Africa will not be subject to protection against

claims by a future lawful government in Namibia. The Council requests the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia of the Security Council to review states' treaties with South Africa in view of its illegal presence in Namibia. Later Argentina submitted a second resolution which calls on the Secretary General of the U.N. to initiate contacts with "all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, . . . to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the U.N.," and calls on the South African Government to cooperate and for the S.G. to report back not later than April 30, 1972. Whether this will pass the Security Council or not is unknown; some see the resolution as not preventing other forms of action to continue during these "contacts", others could interpret the resolution as a diversion to other action.

CONCRETE ACTIONS NOT APPARENT

The resolution thus far passed fails to indicate a concrete administering authority to proceed with actions on the Namibia question beyond the Security Council committee which obviously could not arrive at conclusions during the drawing up of the resolution itself. This committee is hardly a forum for detailed planning and legal initiatives which are possible if there is a flexible body with sufficient authority to act.

Many proposals for action have emerged from different quarters, from petitioners, delegations, and the liberation movement. If the Council for Namibia, or other U.N. agencies, deemed legally responsible for Namibia in accord with resolutions and the Court, was given the go

ahead it would be competent to draft legislation and to enforce it. This might seem academic so long as South Africa retains control by force of arms in Namibia, but in fact there are many areas where legislation by the Council is required in order to bring pressure to bear on South Africa and its allies. For example, the licensing of firms operating in Namibia, permits for fishing vessels in territorial waters, repatriation of profits and dividends, etc. are clearly matter for the legal authority. Any individual or company operating in Namibia without the consent of the U.N. would be liable to prosecution, probably in a court of his own country, by either a private person or the U.N. itself. Another example is that companies could be required to pay their taxes to the U.N. and not to South Africa. Finally another possibility is the representation of Namibia on international agencies through the Council for Namibia or another authority, instead of South Africa. In this international forum, life could be made at least difficult for South Africa which would be challenged on every point. It is difficult to predict at this point how these and other proposals for action both by the U.N. or even unilaterally by Member States will occur. The U.N. resolution essentially repeats the fundamentally ineffectual policy enunciated by the United States last May; a policy which involves checking into treaties and preventing visits, verbal condemnations, and warnings for the future, but gives not one real proposal which will threaten South Africa's growing military and economic power in Southern Africa. Nor does the resolution challenge the real aid which countries like the U.S. continue to provide to South Africa.



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

AFRICANS REJECT GOVERNMENT PLANS

A survey has been made of African matriculation (high school) students in Soweto, the African location outside Johannesburg. The test was conducted by a team of social workers under Mr. M. L. Edelstein, the chief welfare officer of the Johannesburg Municipality's Non-European Affairs Department and financed by a grant from the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust.

The results of the study show the gulf between Government propaganda and African thinking. Contrary to Government propaganda which states that the vast majority of Africans accept the policy of Separate Development, the survey clearly shows that the great majority of students questioned would prefer multiracial rather than tribal government. The following statistics give a general picture of the results of the survey:

The students were asked whether they would like to live in a homeland under a tribal government or in South Africa under a white government, or under any other type of government. Seventy percent said they wanted to live under a multiracial government (they provided this term themselves). More of the students (17 percent) said they would prefer to live in South Africa under a white government than in the homelands under their tribal government (13 percent).

On the question of language, 2 percent preferred Afrikaans, 9.5 percent preferred use of the vernacular, and 88.5 percent preferred English as the language of instruction in the schools for their children. This completely contradicts the basis of the Government's Bantu Education system: mother-tongue education.

The Government's official term for the majority of the population is "Bantu." Only 7 percent of the students questioned chose this term. However, 64 percent wished to be referred to as "African." (Other choices included Black—13 percent; Non-European—5 percent; Natives—7.5 percent).

Again, completely contrary to the plans the Government has made, when asked whether they preferred the Western way of life to a tribal way of life, more than two-thirds of the sample stated a preference for the Western way of life.

The students were presented with a list of 12 grievances, and they were asked to indicate their five greatest grievances, and if necessary, include any grievance not listed. Inadequate political rights, influx control, inadequate income, inadequate educational facilities, and inadequate opportunities for employment—in that order—were the sample's main grievances. AN OVERWHELMING 73 PERCENT INCLUDED INADEQUATE POLITICAL RIGHTS AS THEIR MAJOR GRIEVANCE. It is significant that "negative White attitudes" ranked relatively high among the grievances (42.5 percent) while tribal differences ranked relatively low (19 percent).

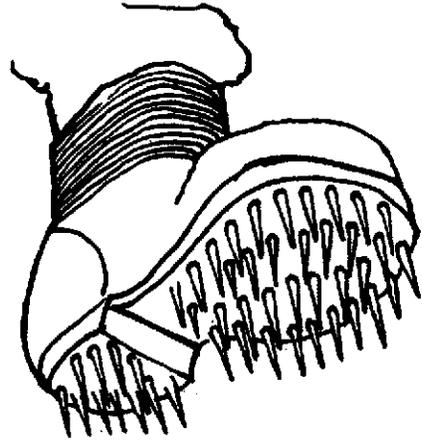
The South African Government defines the black man of South Africa as a tribal Bantu, with his political future tied to the development of a "Bantu Homeland" where education will be in the vernacular, and where each person has a right to develop to the full within the context of a traditional tribe. This is the future held up as desirable by the white man in South Africa. The results of this study make it absolutely clear that this is not what the students of Soweto desire. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 18, 1971)

GOVERNMENT REJECTS AFRICAN OPINION

John Vorster has been Prime Minister for five years. He came to power following the assassination of Dr. H. F. Verwoerd in September, 1966. Interviewed on his fifth anniversary, Vorster stated clearly his view of political affairs in South Africa:

Vorster begins with the premise that South Africa is a multinational society. Integration is rejected absolutely as a solution to South Africa's problems. (Never mind the presence of Africans in "White areas" to provide grist for the mills of the economy.) Vorster admits that "South Africans have a fear complex." He says, "to one extent this is true and to another extent it is not true. For instance, I think that we are less obsessed with color than most people in the world, however paradoxical this may sound. But, when you speak to the ordinary Afrikaner or the ordinary English speaker, regardless of his political affiliations, you find it is a fact that there is this genuine fear that he might be swamped in the future. . . ."

"When you speak to the ordinary non-white, his fear again is that he is begrudged his place in the sun. . . ." Vorster says that both these fears must be allayed. It is possible to allay the fears "if you take as your standpoint that South Africa is a multinational country, because then, on the one hand, you can maintain the identity of



the White man and you can create opportunities for the non-White which never existed before and which could not exist under any other policy—without endangering the position of the White man.

"Examples come readily to mind and I think I can safely say that, in the last decade, more opportunities have been created for non-Whites in this country than would have been possible under any other policy. . . ." Vorster stressed that while the Whites have a responsibility to the non-Whites, the non-Whites "must not just be prepared to receive. They must also roll up their sleeves. The initiative must come from them." (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 18, 1971)

AFRICAN CHIEFS DEMAND DEFENSE ROLE AND MORE LAND

The Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the Xhosa leader, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, have both urged the Government to enlist Africans in the Defense Force. Matanzima said that the key to the success of the Government's policy of separate development was

economic development. "It is up to the Republican Government to let all share in the wealth of South Africa in equal measure and to see that no one race suppresses another. That will be brought about when land is justly apportioned in proportion to the size and number of each racial group. (East African Standard, Nairobi, Sept. 20, 1974; Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Sept. 19, 1971)

DIMBAZA—INSIDE A "RESETTLEMENT CAMP"

One of the most brutal aspects of separate development is that of the "resettlement camps" where Africans repatriated from the cities are forced to live. Dimbaza in the Eastern Cape is one such camp. A sign guards the camp: "Entry without permit is prohibited. Trespassers will be prosecuted."

Dimbaza is a town of 10,000 people but potentially with 30,000. Women and children abound, as do the old

and infirm, and former political prisoners are exiled here from the cities. But the overwhelming majority of men are away in "White cities." These men were moved with their families to Dimbaza. They were called "surplus appendages." Once their families were moved, many of them returned to the cities, some even to their old jobs. Now, however, they are migrant laborers, seeing their families only three weeks out of the year.

A comment from a resident of Dimbaza sums up the situation. Mrs. J.M., a widow, decamped for Port Elizabeth with her three children, was arrested, and spent 20 days in jail. On her return to Dimbaza she said, "It was better in jail. At least the meals were regular, there was some soup, and there were no earthworms pushing up in the wet mud floor." (Sunday Times, London, Sept. 12, 1971)

INSIDE NAMIBIA

CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA TO BE HELD IN BELGIUM

In February, 1972 the Belgian opposition party, Parti Socialist Belge, will host a conference on Namibia. The conference will focus on the involvement of European countries, and especially NATO members, in Namibia and South Africa, and will seek international aid for SWAPO (South West African People's Organization). Support for the conference has been promised by Scandinavian countries, and it is expected to be attended by Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the O.A.U., and by representatives of Amnesty International, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the London-based International Defense and Aid Fund, church organizations, and many others, as well as by delegates from African countries. (Guardian, London, Sept. 16, 1971)

CHIEF KAPUUNO TAKES ON POWERFUL ADVERSARIES

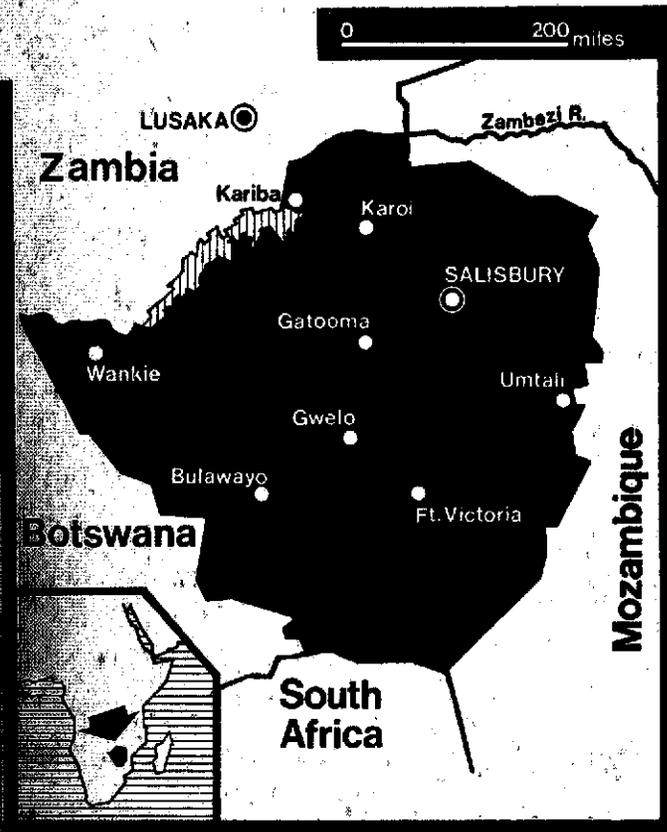
Clemens Kapuun, chief of the Herero peoples, is considering the possibility of suing British mining companies which, in cooperation with the South African Government, continue to expand their operations in Namibia. In a letter to the Africa Bureau in London, Kapuun speaks of the exploitation and wastage of the natural resources of Namibia. "Our fear," he says, "is that when freedom finally comes to this land, it will be returned to us with no minerals left." Kapuun is hoping to force compliance with the decision of the International Court. The court ruling denies the legal right of South Africa to allow international companies to exploit resources in Namibia. The Africa Bureau said a submission would be made to the U.N. Sub-Committee on Namibia for further U.N. action.

Kapuun is also involved in a suit against the Barclays Bank of South West Africa over its refusal to allow him to operate the account of the Herero community. Apparently the bank was following orders from Mr. Verkuyl, the South African Commissioner for the proposed Herero "homeland," in an attempt to prevent Kapuun from exercising his authority as the rightful chief of the Herero people. It has been clear ever since the

death of his predecessor, Hosea Kutako, that the South African Government would try to destroy Kapuun's authority, and this interference in the tribal account is only one of a series of measures taken against him. (X-Ray, August, 1971; Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 22, 1971; Sunday Nation, London, Sept. 19, 1971)



INSIDE ZIMBABWE



prisoners sentenced to death will have their sentences commuted and all political detainees will be released and allowed to participate in the politics of the country. (7) Substantial British financial aid will pour into the country to accelerate development (separate development, according to Smith and African development, according to the British).

Smith made it quite clear that his government and the settlers rejected the possibility of "one-man, one-vote" in Rhodesia at any time. (East African Standard, Sept. 23, 1971) Smith made the statement at a press conference at the end of the third round of talks in Salisbury with the British negotiating team led by Lord Goodman. For his part, Goodman said that "it would be wrong to assume that any dramatic moves are imminent." Asked the prospects of a settlement in London, Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home said: "I can't say that that basis has been established yet, but we hope it will be..." He insisted that "a settlement has got to be within the framework of the five principles... the main principle—is unimpeded progress towards majority rule—without a time scale, but unimpeded progress." (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 1971) Goodman's third official session in Rhodesia ended quietly, dampening some of the wild enthusiasm which was abounding in Rhodesia and England that a settlement had been reached. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 22, 1971) Earlier reports from "experts" like Colin Legum had suggested that a deal had been reached and the Foreign Secretary was going to meet Rhodesia soon to sign the deal. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 1, 1971; The Rand Daily Mail and Star, both of Johannesburg, expressed the same opinion.)

The British Government will be sending Parliamentary Under-secretary Lord Lothian to several African countries. He is expected to brief presidents Nyerere and Kenyatta on Rhodesia. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 29, 1971)

The Government-owned Standard of Tanzania (Sept. 22) said recently in an editorial that any settlement now being negotiated, without the participation and agreement of the African people, "will be unacceptable to Africa." (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 22, 1971) Former Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley said he now "feared that the British Government might be prepared to sell out to Rhodesia." Bottomley has been in touch with Foreign Secretary on Rhodesia. Rightwing papers are calling for a settlement with Rhodesia. (East African Standard, Sept. 27, 1971)

As on previous occasions, Smith said that talks were going better with the present British Government than with the previous one. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 13, 1971) Patrick Keatley of the Guardian (London) suggests that that enthusiasm and leaks on talks are primarily for local political consumption by both Heath and Smith. Both prime ministers were facing party conventions before the end of the year. A spokesman of the South African Government said that a settlement would make their "outward policy" (expansionist foreign policy) much easier.

U.S. SENATE BREAKS RHODESIAN SANCTIONS

The U.S. Senate passed on Sept. 24 a proposal that has the effect of permitting the importation of strategic minerals from Rhodesia, in spite of United Nations sanctions. The proposal by the Virginia Independent Conservative, Harry Byrd, Jr., specifies that under the United Nations Participation Act the President could not prohibit the importation of a strategic material from any

THE DEAL IS ON

A deal between the settlers of Rhodesia and the British Government is going to be signed some time before the end of this year. Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home will meet soon with Prime Minister Ian Smith and a settlement will be signed, according to most of the "experts" on the African scene.

News digest X-Ray (July 1971) speculates that the deal will be on the following lines: (1) The rebel regime will be allowed to assume formal independence as a republic outside the Commonwealth (like South Africa before it), if Smith amends the present constitution to reflect the so-called Five Principles. (2) Principle on "unimpeded progress to majority rule" will be interpreted to mean no time limit or at the best 30 years. Guarantees against settler back-tracking will be provided for by a requirement of a majority of all Africans in the National Assembly (half of the present African representatives are appointed by the government and it is not at all difficult to persuade several of the elected members who are all elected by a majority of settler votes.) A second guarantee is that of a Bill of Rights on the lines of the one now on the statute books! (3) A British-Rhodesian Commission will be appointed to test the public's approval of the settlement, but more important, to develop a defense for the settlement at the United Nations and at the Commonwealth conferences. (4) The principle requiring elimination of discrimination will not be insisted on and the Land Apportionment Act (the magna carta of the white man in Rhodesia) will be left intact. (6) All

country if the same product is being imported from a communist-dominated country.

According to The New York Times (Sept. 24, 1971), Senator Byrd had tried to lift the ban on Rhodesian chrome by separate legislation, but his move was blocked by the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Senator, who is a member of the Armed Services Committee, then arranged for the committee to make the proposal a rider to the procurement bill that authorizes weapons production and research by the Pentagon. The State Department remained opposed to the move, but according to the Times, "the Administration did not wage a strenuous enough campaign to bring over many of the conservative Republicans who normally vote in accordance with the White House."

The conservative Senator was supported in his campaign by many metal companies of the U.S., prominent among them was Union Carbide, N.Y. and Foote Mineral Co. of Exton, Pa. The U.S. Government has a stockpile of 5,344,000 tons of chrome, of which the Office of Emergency Planning recently declared 2,225,000 tons in excess of foreseeable strategic needs. What this all means is that the conservative Senator was looking for a chance to put a dent in the sanctions war and help Smith out. The Johannesburg Star called it a "devastating blow to American—and indeed to international—policy on Rhodesia."

A week later the Senate became tangled in the Rhodesian question again when it passed a Fulbright amendment modifying the Byrd proposal. The amendment, with Administration support, passed but a reconsideration of the same was called as the Senators were drifting away. Senator Fulbright accused the Armed Services Committee Chairman, Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, of "slick practices" in his parliamentary efforts to stop modifications to the Byrd proposal. On second consideration a week later the Fulbright amendment lost and the Byrd proposal was passed as part of the \$21 billion procurement bill. (The New York Times, Oct. 7, 1971)

SMITH GETS AMERICAN PLANES

Rebellious Rhodesia has acquired seven more planes in spite of the sanctions. According to the International Institute of Strategic Studies (London), there has been an addition to the Rhodesian Air Force of seven A1-60 aircraft, American Lockheed transports that are built in Italy by the Aermarchi firm. (This brings Rhodesia to a strength of 11 British Canberra light bombers, 24 hunter and vampire fighters, and 13 Provost reconnaissance planes, plus the 7 new transport/reconnaissance planes). (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 3, 1971) The "carte blanche" authorization given to American firms to sell planes to South Africa guarantees that Rhodesia will get whatever she really needs. (Southern Africa, August-Sept. 1971) The licensing by France to manufacture helicopters and a whole variety of other military materiel for South Africa will assure Rhodesia of all her military needs.

According to a report of the Security Council, new cars are also reaching Rhodesia in spite of sanctions. (The Guardian, London, Aug. 25, 1971) The report revealed that Citroen assembly kits specifically for Rhodesia were consigned to South Africa. German, Japanese, and Italian "kits" have never stopped going into Rhodesia.

The "small fish" in international trade do not get away with sanctions so easily. The Bermuda-based Mundo Gas Company was fined \$6,240 for infringing U.N. sanctions. The company offered to supply chemicals to the Sable Chemical Industries of Rhodesia. (Daily Nation, Nairobi,

Sept. 18, 1971) The British firm of Lustre Fibres was fined \$111,600 in a Liverpool court for shipping 16 consignments of fibres through Malawi to Rhodesia. (Africa Digest, Aug. 1971)

In the meantime the "club" committee on sanctions has been meeting in London to review the effectiveness of sanctions. British Commonwealth diplomats who constitute the committee are expected to seek reassurances on the British stand on sanctions in view of the talks now going on. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 30, 1971)



Abu in THE GUARDIAN, Manchester

ECONOMIC MORASS DEEPENS

The economic morass of Rhodesia is deepening. The Smith Government was forced recently to renounce an obligation to their overseas investors by renouncing their \$247 million dollar debt on the London market. Up to now they had promised to pay as soon as their overseas funds were unfrozen. In a budget speech Minister of Finance John Wrathall said, for the first time, that Rhodesia did not hold herself responsible for the debt. The money is owed mostly to the British Government, the Commonwealth Development Corporation, and international banks. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 18, 1971) This position creates a major hurdle in the settlement now being worked out between the two governments.

On the bright side, Rhodesia's new copper mine, Shackleton, with its estimated production of 8,000 tons a year, will infuse new life into the economy of that country. The opening was a fanfare affair attended by government ministers (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 4, 1971). In the meantime the government is pushing harder that more Africans move out of the market economy into the subsistence economy of the Tribal Trust Lands. Minister of Finance Wrathall warned that more and more Africans must earn their living from the Tribal Trust Lands (Reserves) because "it is clear that the cash economy cannot expand fast enough to absorb the increasing numbers of potential work seekers." (Rhodesian Commentary, August 1971) Of Rhodesia's five million African population, more than 4.4 million are outside the market economy. Settlers believe that somehow the economy can expand without broadening its base, expanding for the limited half million in the market economy, at the expense of five million. In the meantime Rhodesia is locked in a desperate search for skilled European labor. They will not train African labor. These are the basic problems of Settler Colonialism. A 1970 annual report of the Natural Resources Board indicates

that Tribal Trust Lands are already deteriorating very fast because of over-crowding of people and stock.

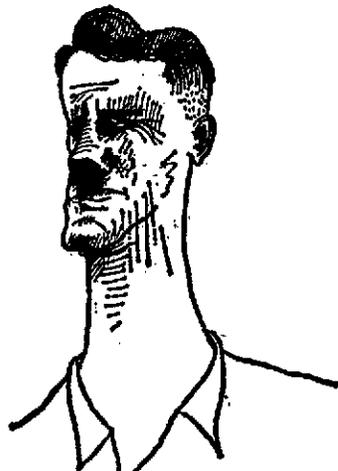
One of the solutions for Rhodesia's problems is to make Africans pay more for their services. Minister of Health Ian McLean insists that even at the country's 62 rural hospitals and clinics for peasants (80 percent of Africans live in rural areas) charges will have to be made for maternity and other services. Europeans who earn ten times as much as Africans do not pay for government medical services. A Rhodesia Herald (white) editorial denounced this "phenomenon of dual standards." (Rhodesia Herald, July 27, 1971) It concludes that what the Minister's policies mean in a nutshell are: "If money for expanding social services to meet the rising tide of demand is scarce, the European elite must be served first. If it is not served first, it may leave. There is not enough money for any other course. If the Europeans did leave there would be even less." That too is Settler Colonialism in a nutshell. African trade unions pointed out that the government is asking the poorest section of the society to pay even more for the country's services than the richer section.

HOME POLITICS

In the meantime the Rhodesia Front is gathering more support. Its candidate won a recent bi-election although with a narrow majority over an even more extreme rightwing candidate. (Rhodesian Herald, Aug. 6, 1971). No one on the other side has even a chance. The moderate right-of-center Center Party won about 13 percent of the vote. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 21, 1971)

African Members of Parliament who had lulled themselves into thinking they had some privileges have suddenly found out they have none. M. P. J. Mahlangu and M. P. Moraka have joined M.P. Bhepe in discovering that they could not address meetings in their constituencies as they wanted. They have all complained bitterly that they have been stopped by the local administrator, called the Native Commissioner, and they had no way of entering their constituencies without his permission. (Rhodesian Herald, Aug. 3, 1971) Indians who also thought they were privileged are discovering their mistake. Indian lawyer A. Kassim told a meeting recently that Rhodesian society was now turning racist "where the race of the person appears to be the determining factor." (Rhodesian Herald, July 7, 1971)

In the Rhodesian Front itself ultra-rightwing back-benchers are challenging the government to go all the way to Bantustans like South Africa. Minister of Housing is having problems on siting of future African towns. The ultras want them way out of the European areas in the African areas, scores of miles away from the city. The poorest section of the society will once more have to pay more for their transportation to work. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 21, 1971) To seal the stamp of apartheid, the Smith Government has tabled a report in Parliament that basically recommends abolition of trial by jury for Africans. (Guardian, London, Sept. 2, 1971) The government is also putting its foot down on mixed marriages and general racial mixing in the country. A British man who was married to an African woman was recently deported to Malawi, and a Dutch optician married to a "Coloured" South African wife was deported to Zambia. There are reports of several Whites deported from Bulawayo who were known to be associating with Blacks. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 21, 1971)



J. C. Soares

Prime Minister Ian Smith

THE NEW PARTY EMERGES

A Zimbabwe party was announced in Lusaka last month. One former executive member of ZANU and two executive members of ZAPU are among its new office holders. In announcing the party, the leaders called it the long-expected liberation front of the two parties and its name is the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI).

The Chairman of the new party is Shelton Siwela, one of the military leaders of ZAPU who supported Chikerema in the ZAPU split. Until about two years ago he was going to school at Boston University in the U.S.

He joined the fighting forces of Zimbabwe and soon became one of the leaders. The Secretary is a military officer from ZANU, Godfrey Savanhu. The secretary for defense is James Chikerema, former vice president of ZAPU, and the treasurer and foreign affairs secretary is Nathan Shamuyarira who lost his job as secretary for foreign affairs in ZANU at an election this August. George Nyandoro, former secretary of ZAPU, is secretary for political affairs. The other members are known to be Tshinga Dube, former member of ZAPU, and Frank Zviyambe, a former member of ZANU. (Guardian, London, Sept. 2, 1971)

An Oct. 5 report in the Guardian pointed out that Mr. Adelo of the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. had noted that the new party was far from being the front of the two parties that the O.A.U. was looking for, since both ZANU and ZAPU remain basically what they were before and will probably continue that way. He said that the new party will be expected to register like any other new party and some time next year the meeting of African Heads of State will look into its accreditation.

The viability of the new party rests in its military leadership. If they can persuade more of their military men and officers to desert the two main groups, there is hope for the new group. The chances of this happening, however, are remote, since none of the two military officers was known to have a strong following among the fighting men. The party, however, has the good will of the press and because of the good relations of former journalist Shamuyarira. Many exasperated O.A.U. officials who had looked forward to an end of bickering will be lauded with a third element in the bickering.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

portuguese africa



It's boiling . . .

Betrendt in HET PAROOL, Amsterdam

SOUTH AFRICAN AID IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA

A South African police officer, Michael Morris, has written a book, "Terrorism: The First Full Account in Detail of Terrorism and Insurgency in Southern Africa." (Capetown: Howard Timmins, 1971) It gives most details of South African interaction with nationalists in Rhodesia and South West Africa, where Morris had apparently served. However, he refers to South African presence at Cabora Bassa as well:

"... In relation to Cabora, then, I feel strongly that despite the... dangers of retaliation, escalation, world-opinion, and so on, we have very positively to impress upon the Portuguese authorities that we should have a South African military force at Tete, and we should do so openly, for all the world, and especially the Liberation Committee, to see. It is not merely a question of deterrent, nor should the Portuguese authorities see it as a deprecation or belittlement of their own freely acknowledged ability to handle the situation themselves. It is, more importantly, a clear showing to all of a determined and visible standing together on a joint interest. Furthermore it would ease budgetary-military-manpower strain upon Metropolitan and oversea-provincial Portugal, and in addition it would give South African armed forces, police, etc. valuable experience in this particular class of military operation. It would also, it should be noted, provide valuable experience in joint defense planning and operations on the international level. . . .

"By the way, it should not be assumed that the calling . . . for such things is in any way a statement that such things definitely do not occur or are not existent. Oh no! It should be seen more as a call to act openly. Deterrent must be seen to be effective as deterrent." (p. 173, Morris, 'Terrorism'.)

FRELIMO, of course, has said South Africans were in the Cabora Bassa area for some time. This was reiterated by Jorge Viera in "FRELIMO: Toward Independence," which appeared in Tricontinental (May 1971): "In Mozambique the military intervention of the South Africans is nothing new, since in 1965 they had already sent troops and have presently installed in the province of Tete a group of five military bases to protect Cabora

Bassa and, at the same time, have sent various detachments of their aerial forces against the fighters. South African airplanes participate actively in the bombings."

And in September, 1971 Mr. Arslan Humbaraci, Zambian Information and Tourist representative in Western Europe, said in London that Portuguese and South African Government planes are spraying African fields with four different types of herbicides, including picloram made by the Dow Chemical Company in the U.S. Questioned about his inclusion of South Africa, Mr. Humbaraci said, "Yes. We know that South African Air Force planes are using Portuguese bases in Angola." Mr. Humbaraci also said the two air forces were using napalm bombs against guerrillas and Native populations indiscriminately. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 7, 1971)

CONGO-KINSHASA AND PORTUGAL

The Financial Times (Sept. 7, 1971) and the Star (Sept. 11, 1971) report a "significant improvement in relations between Portugal and Congo (Kinshasa)." Portuguese dignitaries have been invited to attend a ceremony in Kinshasa in November. President Mobutu of the Congo has been asked to be guest of honor at the opening of a new headquarters for a sports club, dominated by the powerful Portuguese business and professional community still in Kinshasa, and has apparently accepted. And Portuguese diplomatic officers are again functioning normally in Kinshasa from the Spanish embassy which officially takes care of Portuguese interests in the Congo.

There have also been reports that an unpublicized, commercial air link has recently begun operating between Kinshasa and Luanda, the Angolan capital.

If there were a new formalized rapprochement, it is expected the Portuguese would pledge uninterrupted use by Congo of Angolan rail outlets to the sea, in return for Congolese lessening of its support to Angolan guerrillas.

PORTUGUESE HOST MANY VISITORS

Among the many visits reported, besides the well-known ones of Spiro Agnes and Alec Douglas-Home, are the following:

May 1971—Two American destroyers and a French warship visited the port of Lourenco Marques in Mozambique (Noticias, Lourenco Marques, May 20 and 22, 1971)

May 1971—Lisbon-based military attaches of the U.S.A., Britain, Brazil, France, and Spain visited the "scene of the war in Mozambique" as guests of Kaulza de Arriaga, Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces in Mozambique. (Journal do Comercio, May 24, 1971)

June 1971—The consuls of Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Monaco, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, the U.S.A., and the U.K. visited the Zaire district of northern Angola, in particular the village of Banza-Puto, a rural "re-grouping" project where some 2,000 Africans have been settled. (Document of Dept. of Trusteeship and Non-Selfgoverning Territories, "Summary of Major Developments," Aug. 16, 1971)

August 1971—Kent Bruce Krane, technical advisor of Vice President Agnew, declared during a visit to Mozambique: "I have great admiration for the Cabora Bassa Dam. The dam will be of great use to many people

and I hope the dam will be finished within the time planned." (Diario de Noticias, Lisbon, Sept. 1, 1971)

September 1971—Dr. Hilgard Muller, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs had talks with Portuguese authorities during a 3-day stay in Lisbon on his way to New York City for the 26th regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. (News from South Africa, No. 23, Sept. 17, 1971)

Sept. 24-26, 1971—President Banda of Malawi visited Mozambique to open officially the Nacala railway link. He visited the heavily guarded Cabora Bassa dam site as well as Quelimane, Novo Freixo, the island of Mozambique, and Nampula. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 2; Daily Nation, Nairobi, Sept. 11 and 27, 1971; Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 21, 1971) The new rail line gives Malawi a new and much faster route to the sea than that through Beira that was used previously.

MORE RHODESIAN LOSSES IN MOZAMBIQUE

Mr. Mukrab Khan, a leader of Rhodesia's Asian community, was killed Sept. 14 by a road mine in Mozambique, near Tete, on the main road to Malawi. On Sept. 10 on the same road a mine seriously damaged a Rhodesian-based van on its way through Mozambique to Malawi. The African driver was injured. The Smith regime in Rhodesia warned motorists Sept. 15 that "the road must be regarded as unsafe" which passes through Mozambique between Blantyre and Malawi. Commercial groups in Rhodesia have met to consider the effect on Rhodesian exporters of increased lack of security on export routes through Mozambique. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 1971)

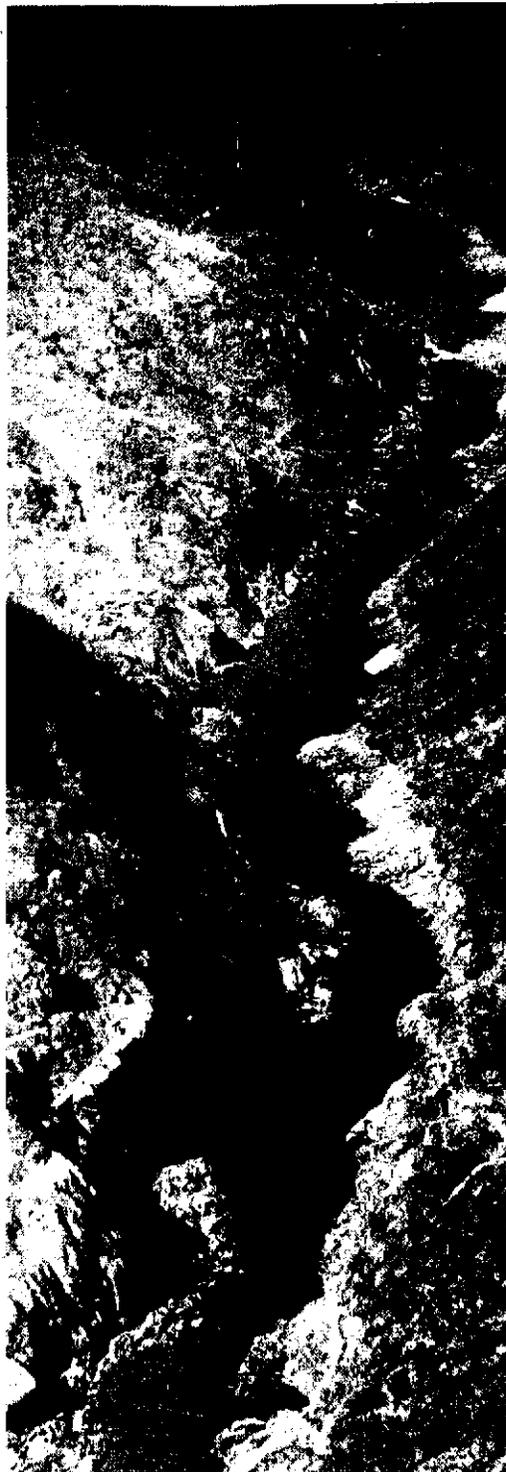
WHITE FATHERS REPORT CONFIRMS ATROCITIES AGAINST VILLAGERS

A report by priests belonging to the White Fathers Order, who left Mozambique shortly after the atrocities specified in their report, provides a detailed account of 26 brutal murders, including names of the victims and how they died. Some were shot and some beaten to death with heavy sticks. After the priests were shown the bodies and the blood-stained sticks, they protested to Portuguese authorities at Mukumbura. They were told: "If you priests have no stomach for such things then it is better for you to leave Mukumbura. The people were apparently killed while under questioning by the Portuguese. An agent of the secret police told the priests: "The negroes only speak when they are beaten." The document was sent by a member of the White Fathers to another Roman Catholic Order in Dar es Salaam. A member of the Dar es Salaam order gave it to FRELIMO, which released those parts of the document which would not endanger the lives of people still living within Mozambique. The parts released were printed in the Standard of Tanzania on Sept. 30, 1971.

This document confirms FRELIMO reports earlier of massacres in the Mukumbura area following the death of three Rhodesian soldiers when their vehicle hit a FRELIMO land mine in the area.

FORMATION OF FUMO ANNOUNCED

According to the Star (Johannesburg, Sept. 17, 1971), FUMO, the Mozambique United Front, has recently formed in Nairobi, claiming to represent some 750 Mozambicans now in exile in Kenya. Narcise Mbule is reported to be the president and claims to have approached the OAU to try to persuade that body to shift support from FRELIMO to FUMO. There is no indication that the group has any current activity within Mozambique, nor are the intentions of the group clear.



FRELIMO SUCCESSES REPORTED

FRELIMO forces in Tete province have wiped out one Portuguese military post at Malewara, partially destroyed another at Casha, and have sunk two patrol boats on the Zambezi river during July 1971. Malewara post had an airstrip used to launch Portuguese bombing raids on neighboring villages. (Standard of Tanzania, and Daily Nation, Nairobi, Sept. 11, 1971)

Portuguese sources admitted in July that guerrillas were in "central Mozambique," without specifying the location. They claimed to have wiped out the guerrilla band on July 6, 1971. (Aug. 16 document [mimeographed] of U.N. Dept. of Trusteeship & Nonselfgoverning Territories.)

In a special FRELIMO pamphlet prepared for the Sept. 25 anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle in Mozambique, it is reported that FRELIMO put 1,603 Portuguese soldiers out of action, destroyed 277 vehicles, 4 trains, 17 bridges, and shot down 2 airplanes and 1 helicopter between June 1970 and July 1971. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 16, 1971)

NEW PORTUGUESE OFFICIAL IN TETE PROVINCE OF MOZAMBIQUE

Army Brigadier, Rocha Simoes, has been appointed both governor and military commander of Tete Province in Mozambique, where the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project is being built, thus merging the top civilian and military positions as a means of better combatting guerrillas through coordinated use of all available resources. (Guardian, London, July 28, 1971)

FRELIMO DELEGATION VISITS PEKING AND SOVIET JOURNALISTS VISIT MOZAMBIQUE

During late August and early September, a delegation of FRELIMO, led by FRELIMO President Samora Moises Machel, visited the People's Republic of China. They met with the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai on Sept. 5. (Standard of Tanzania, Aug. 27 and Sept. 3, 1971; The Nationalist, Tanzania, Sept. 7, 1971)

At approximately the same time, a delegation composed of three journalists and two cameramen, sent by the Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party, visited the Tete province of Mozambique with FRELIMO, attending public meetings, visiting FRELIMO schools, military posts abandoned by the Portuguese, and villages that Portuguese bombardment had destroyed, shooting a film on the evidences of the FRELIMO struggle and development programs in the Tete area. (Communique from FRELIMO, New York Office, Sept. 7, 1971)

PORTUGUESE SETTLERS IN ZAMBEZI VALLEY IN 1973

Radio Lourenco Marques reported on August 10 that hundreds of hectares of bushland in the Lioma area were being cleared to prepare for the arrival of 300 Portuguese settlers by the end of 1973. (Africa Research Bulletin)

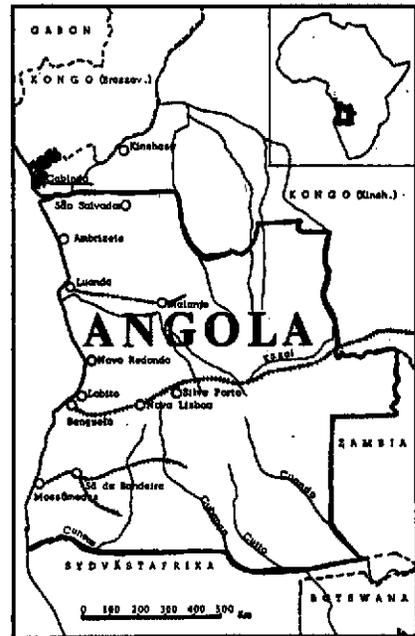
CABORA BASSA

Portuguese engineers report the completion of the first major stage in the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam. The Zambezi river has been diverted through a tunnel cut into granite on the south bank and has been blocked by a coffer dam above the dam site. The north bank diversion tunnel is scheduled for completion in early 1972. (Africa Research Bulletin)

Increased guerrilla activity in the Cabora Bassa area has caused a Portuguese military buildup and crash program in building "protective villages" or "aldeamentos" for Africans of the area, and has posed a severe problem for prospecting teams in the mineral-rich district, according to the Star (Johannesburg, Sept. 18 and Sept. 25, 1971). Johannesburg Consolidates Investments, which has been prospecting in large areas of Tete, is expected to withdraw its field staff until the position becomes more secure. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 18, 1971)

PORTUGUESE KILL UNARMED VILLAGERS IN ANGOLA

An MPLA communique reports that the Portuguese armed forces in Angola are taking reprisals against unarmed villagers after defeats suffered. In early June, the Portuguese lost 30 in the Massivi area, then raided a village and killed 30 people according to the communique. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 7, 1971)



MPLA ACTIVITY

MPLA communiqués reported in the Zambia Daily Mail (Aug. 7, 1971) and the Standard of Tanzania (Sept. 18, 1971) report:

June 3—Moxico Province—attack on Portuguese military post

June 4—Kaianda area—MPLA patrol surprise Portuguese patrol which quickly retreated

June 5-6—near Lushile River—repelled an attacking Portuguese platoon, 10 killed

June 9—between Massivi and Kaiande barracks—2 vehicles with Portuguese troops hit mines

June 10—Luvuyaya River—attacked ex-Katangese gendarmes now mercenaries for Portuguese, 9 killed

June 13—Kingo River—fight off attacking Portuguese, 2 killed

June 14—Luchaze River—ambushed a Portuguese column, 2 killed

June 25-27—at Muie—20-minute attack on Portuguese troops with mortars, also destroyed a bridge, cutting off a barracks

July 5-14—near Luvuei—met Portuguese operations with ambushes and booby traps, 4 killed

July 12—Cuando-Cubango Province—attacked Lupiry barracks at dawn using mortars and machine guns, destroyed two buildings holding arms and ammunition

AUSTRIAN JOURNALIST INSIDE ANGOLA WITH UNITA

Mr. Fritz Sitte, in Lusaka in August after two months inside Angola with UNITA, had great praise for UNITA, saying it had a strong administration and tough discipline among its freedom fighters. He traveled in Moxico and Bie provinces and saw 24 raids by Portuguese planes, met UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi, saw the Benguela railway, was impressed by the agricultural program of UNITA and indicated they had no food problem although they were short on clothes and ammunition. They use arms they capture.

Mr. Sitte, who has been inside Angola with both the Portuguese and GRAE before, shot 1,000 meters of film and 800 still pictures. He films for Britain's BBC, American NBC, and West Germany's Sard Television, and writes for European magazines.

PORTUGAL SEEKS NON-PORTUGUESE WHITE COLONISTS

With fewer Portuguese available to colonize Angola and Mozambique than the Portuguese wish—to form a barrier against "infiltration" by guerrillas and their supporters—the Portuguese have apparently begun contacts designed to attract other Europeans who were once colonists elsewhere in Africa, have returned to Europe, but have had difficulty adjusting to life there. In September both Muhammed Speaks (Sept. 17, 1971) and Africasia carried articles indicating negotiations with the Italian Government for such settlers—in particular Italians who had been in Libya or Somalia. MPLA has indicated they would regard such settlers as collaborators of Portuguese colonialism and would fight against them.

COMSAT LINK

Mozambique and Angola will shortly be linked to the international telecommunications satellite system of the COMSAT company. An agreement to that effect has been signed between Marconi of Lisbon and COMSAT, the U.S.-based telecommunications conglomerate. A new link station will be built north of Tete in Mozambique. (Africa Research Bulletin, July-August 1971)

ANGOLAN ECONOMY HEALTHY

Angolan exports, largely due to increased shipments of oil and iron ore, have increased by more than 50 percent since 1968 and having run a trade deficit since 1966, Angola's trade in 1970 was again surplus. By 1970 oil and iron ore emerged as major export commodities, reducing the role of coffee which until 1967 had provided more than half of Angola's export earnings.

Besides a rise in value and volume of exports, Angola has experienced increased investment in infrastructure and has seen the expansion of secondary industry. Industrial expansion averaged a 17 percent growth rate between 1964 and 1969, with a trebling of manufacturing output during that time, mostly in foodstuffs and beverages.

Angolan mining output increased in value by 40 percent in 1968 and by more than 66 percent in 1969. Diamond exports doubled over the last three years to total \$84 million last year, ranking them still ahead of iron ore (\$55.2 million) and oil (\$50.4 million). There are indications of copper throughout the territory, and there are two sulphur projects under way while a company with American links is investigating the phosphate deposits near Benguela.

Agriculture is still responsible for more than half Angola's exports, coffee having been worth \$136.8 million in 1970, sisal, cotton, and maize also are major crops.

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES' SCIENTISTS PROTEST

Seventy astronomers connected with the Harvard College Observatory signed a letter published in "Science" protesting U.S. aid through exchanges and joint projects to a South African observatory in Bloemfontein. Written to the head of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Lab and the Harvard Observatory, the communique indicates that the scientists are investigating the possibility of legal action against the U.S. Government for violation of civil rights legislation due to the South African facilities' discriminatory practices. The letter calls for an American boycott of South Africa, citing that the "internationalism" of science is violated by the South African system. (Guardian, London, Sept. 9, 1971) The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, although expressing his dislike for apartheid, rejected the scientists' appeal saying that the U.S. Government aids 60 nations on a "neutral" basis even helping government observatories not recognized by the U.S. Government. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 24, 1971)

BLACK AMERICAN ACTION

The Congress of African Peoples met in September at its Eastern Regional Conference and heard many African spokesmen and topics discussed. Speakers, including the U.S. Representative of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), S. M. Khan, denounced the recent New York Times article saying that there is estrangement between black Americans and Africans. Khan said that Africans "will always welcome you back home" (to the audience). He also commented on the perspective of the New York Times saying that it had "labeled our movement against Portuguese oppression as cannibalistic, which shows you how biased it is." (Amsterdam News, New York, Sept. 11, 1971)

The annual CORE convention held in Harlem also concentrated on African issues, and heard a representative of the Anya Nya of Sudan. Congressman Parren Mitchell of Maryland spoke affirming the interest of the Black Caucus to increased American and African ties, while Congressman Charles Rangel (New York) said that U.S. firms were soaking Africa's riches. (New York Times)

In an interview, Mr. E. Weidi Mwasakfyuka, Second Secretary of the Tanzanian Mission to the U.N., called for more Black American pressure on the U.S. Government. He also condemned the Cabora Bassa Dam project in Mozambique. (Muhammed Speaks, Oct. 8, 1971)

IBM ACTIVIST FIRED

A press release of Oct. 1, 1971 from the Pan African Action Front said that the IBM Corporation has been "waging a campaign of repression against activist Black employees in the IBM Black Workers Alliance." The Front cited recent firing of three Black employees in Washington and the fact that another Black worker resigned. All the workers were active in the B.W.A., which was organized to deal with racism, unequal opportunity, and IBM ties in South Africa. Members of the B.W.A. had been threatened also by police action when literature on IBM's role in South Africa was distributed. At present the American Civil Liberties Union is involved in inquiries about IBM's employment practices. The worker who resigned wrote to IBM saying that the company "practices and aids the systematic exclusion of Black people from the sources and levers of power," and that "the issue of Southern Africa is not more job benefits for Blacks but ultimate liberation and power. The Black Man in America demands the same!" The worker also pointed out the "contradiction of verbally opposing apartheid while actively supporting it, reveals what is fundamental in the IBM Corporation makeup—investment returns supercede human concerns and social stability negates social change." (Letter of Sept. 27, 1971)

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

In September the British Trade Union Congress passed comprehensive resolutions on Southern Africa, condemning the sale of arms to South Africa and talks with Rhodesia. The TUC gave full support to workers refusing to labor on armaments destined for South Africa, and urged unions not to hold investments in South African related firms. The Congress called for an end to ties with Cabora Bassa, and encouraged moral and material aid to the liberation movements. Four unions have already withdrawn investments from firms tied closely with South Africa. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, October 1971) When the South Africa-Britain Trade Association sponsored the visit of South African businessmen to England, the group was met by demonstrators and persistent questioners at the press conference. A spokesman from the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa stated that South African companies are in the forefront in raising African standards, a line contradictory to that of U.S. businessmen. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 1971)

The Dambusters group in England demonstrated at the annual meeting of the United Transport Group for its involvement in Cabora Bassa and South Africa. The UTG chairman said his company paid higher wages than average to "Coloured" drivers in South Africa. (Guardian, London, Aug. 27, 1971) The Dambusters plan to concentrate on the explosives company ICI for its involvement in the dam project. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, October 1971)

Twenty representatives of British universities, called together by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the National Union of Students, are planning coordinated actions on the college investment question, particularly in relation to Barclays Bank, ICI, and Polaroid, as well as aid to the liberation movements. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, October 1971)

In Australia, activities have varied from continual protest over the trial of the Dean of Johannesburg (slogans were painted on the South African Embassy) to a corporate campaign at the annual meeting of the tobacco company, Rothmans, of Pall Mall. Again, the company under fire (New Zealand students have called for a Rothmans boycott), claimed that it had raised wages of its "Bantu work force" and said that "if anyone inspects their [Rothman's] factories, they will be impressed... with the working conditions." (East African Standard, Sept. 21, 1971) I bet. Australia has been the locale of tremendous sports protests. A group calling themselves the People's Liberation Army has taken responsibility for the destruction of a South African consul's boats and physical attacks on buildings related to South Africa or used by the touring South African rugby team in its recent Australian tour. (Daily Nation, Nairobi, Sept. 3, 1971)

Observer (London), July 25, 1971.



'We would rather not play with it, but you can if you like.'

In nearby New Zealand, a report of its activities has appeared in a U.N. document (Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 36/71, written by Tom Newnham, Secretary of the Citizens' Association for Racial Equality [CARE]). Although describing the mounting concern in his country for the apartheid issue, Newnham writes that there is still more than a vestige of pro-apartheid feeling in New Zealand due to traditional links and similar colonial understandings. Actions on the sports level began in 1960 evolving into the issue of the role of Maoris on New Zealand teams going to play in South Africa. This issue became the focus of Prime Minister Vorster's "new sports policy." Campaigns have involved labor, churches, students, and various organizations.

A Committee in the German Democratic Republic was established for observing the International Year of Action to Combat Racism. Attended also by the African National Congress, the chairman of the Committee called for a struggle for human rights against racism, colonialism and nazism. (GDR Commission on Human Rights, "Information," May 6, 1971)

Ten members of the staff at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria have protested a visit from the principal of the University of Rhodesia as part of a visiting Commonwealth group, given Rhodesia's separation from the Commonwealth. (Standard of Tanzania, Aug. 25, 1971)

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Zambia Daily Mail (Sept. 15, 1971) editorialized on the struggle in South Africa and praised the recent decisions by the African National Congress (ANC) at its recent Lusaka meeting to concentrate on fighting South Africa on the home front. It said that fighting in Angola, Mozambique, or Zimbabwe was still fighting South African moeny and men, and that the "Boers" must be attacked directly. A fuller report of the ANC meeting in Lusaka appeared with interviews of various members of the ANC External Affairs Department. Spokesmen reiterated that the fight for just "civil rights" and protests had ended, and that "all independent African states should support our dialogue with the racists . . . and our dialogue is through the barrel of a gun."

The meeting involved an updated assessment of the situation and the movement emerged stronger than ever affirming the goal of the seizure of power by the African people and direct action to galvanize the masses. The ANC said it is fighting not only for justice, but for restoration of the fatherland. The meeting examined the Bantustan and "outward look" policy of South Africa, rejecting all but "dialogue" with the political leaders of South Africa incarcerated in jails. The meeting praised the O.A.U. summit meeting when the liberation movements participated fully, and called for intensified aid from that organization.

The ANC has protested the government of Malagasy decision to bar it from attending the opposition party congress, saying in a message to the Madagascar Independence Congress Party that Malagasy is serving the interests of Pretoria. (Standard of Tanzania, Aug. 30, 1971) At the party meeting there was a call for the end of links with South Africa plus a loud condemnation of France's ties with South Africa. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 2, 1971)

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

A Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) spokesman in Dar es Salaam said that even South Africa's "stooges" were split among themselves as revealed when Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei refused to attend a convention of the Malawi Congress Party on President Banda's invitation. The PAC interpreted that Matanzima didn't like all the praise Banda heaped on the South Africans during his recent visit to South Africa. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 1, 1971) In Bloemfontein there is a political trial under way of six men indicted under the Suppression of Communism Act for being members of and furthering the aims of PAC as well as an alternative charge of organizing the overthrow of the state government. (East African Standard, Sept. 9, 1971) In its magazine, PAC praised the unity shown in the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia at the OAU Summit meeting. (Azania Combat, No. 2, 1971)

SWEDISH AND BRITISH AID INCREASES

Premier Olaf Palme, leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, spoke before a TANU conference in Dar es Salaam and pledged increased Swedish material humanitarian aid to the liberation movements (\$1.5 million is allocated for refugees and movement work). He praised the U.N., World Council of Churches, and other organizations now taking cognizance of the movements,

also praising the building of socialism in Tanzania (Daily Nation, Nairobi, Sept. 27, 1971). Other British groups involved in aid include Oxfam and War on Want. The British Labour Party's South African Solidarity Fund has appealed to ten million trade unionists for funds. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 9, 1971) A trustee of the Rowntree Social Services Trust, which allocated about \$70,000 to the Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO, recently visited the Institute's facilities in Tanzania and announced that he was completely satisfied with the use of the funds and would recommend giving more. (Standard of Tanzania, Nairobi, Sept. 22, 1971)

OTHER GIFTS

The Zambian Student Christian Movement has aided MPLA of Angola with clothes, money, and books. (Radio Lusaka, Aug. 18, 1971) The Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N. will give food and educational materials through the O.A.U. to aid movements which function in areas devastated by Portuguese (read U.S.) herbicides. (Standard of Tanzania, Sept. 15, 1971) Ghana will contribute \$260,000 to the O.A.U. African Liberation Fund, plus monies to a local anti-apartheid group (Agence France Presse, September 13, 1971). Both MPLA and FRELIMO have invited the U.N. Committee on Decolonization (Committee of 24) to visit liberated zones, and in a resolution adopted on Sept. 14 the Committee asked its chairman to follow up in consultation with the O.A.U. and the movements. (U.N. Press Release 17 Sept. WS/520)



O.A.U. DELEGATION TO U.S.—U.N. AND NIXON ON AGENDA

Led by President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania who is Chairman of the O.A.U., a delegation including foreign ministers of a number of African states visited the U.N. in order to strongly present the O.A.U. position on crucial Southern African issues. President Daddah spoke before both the General Assembly and the Security Council, the latter of the Namibian issue. The foreign ministers of Kenya, Mali, Zambia, and Cameroun with Pres. Daddah met with White House officials and President Nixon in their first stop en route to visit other NATO countries in Europe in order to raise issues of western aid to Southern Africa. About the talk with Nixon, Pres. Daddah said "Our impression was that we were not speaking to deaf people," while White House spokesmen said that Nixon maintains a deep interest in Africa as shown by his three trips to that continent. (Standard, Sept. 30, 1971)

ECONOMICS

FORD WILL INCREASE ASSEMBLY PLANT CAPACITY

The Ford Motor Company is to spend an estimated \$1.4 million on a second plant in South Africa, to be sited at Struandale near Port Elizabeth, which is designed to increase its vehicle assembly capacity. The new plant will carry out the same assembly operations as are performed in the Neave Township factory. It is scheduled to be completed next year. This further expansion by Ford is seen as "an extremely confident expression by the company in the continued growth of the motor industry in Port Elizabeth, both in output and employment." (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 8, 1971)

The Southern Africa Committee invites letters of protest to Ford Motor Company for its further expansion into the apartheid economy.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL DECIDES ON RATE FOR THE JOB

Seventy-six powerful trade unions recently pledged themselves to fight employers to make them pay the rate for the job—irrespective of the color of workers. The 76 unions affiliated to the Trade Union Council of South Africa decided at the TUCSA congress in Durban to take a firm stand on the principle of the rate for the job. They would insist that employers observe this principle at all times. The Trade Union Council represents more than 200,000 workers throughout the country.

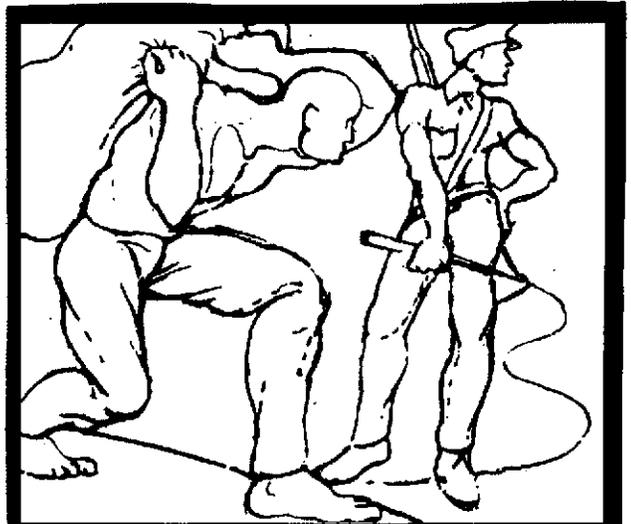
Although the Council represents both white and nonwhite workers, under South African law the nonwhite workers cannot bargain collectively nor strike. Some observers feel that the TUCSA demands for a "rate for the job" are made not so much in the interest of the nonwhite workers, but so that white workers will not be squeezed out of jobs by nonwhites who are paid much lower wages. Thus, if the Government complies with the demand, no doubt more nonwhites will be out of jobs, even though those that DO work would be paid on a par with their white counterparts.

TUCSA is also urging the Government to introduce legislation that will allow the wages of workers of all race groups to go up in relation to increases in the cost of living. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 18, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT GIVES IN TO PRESSURE BY WHITE MINeworkERS

The South African Government has "given in" to pressure from the exclusively white Mineworkers Union by announcing that the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act would be reapplied to the mining industry in the African "homelands." This is in total breach of the Government's own Bantustan policy which lays it down that no restrictions will be put on African skills in their own "homelands."

A year ago, the Industrial Conciliation Act's provisions were suspended to enable Africans to "advance to the top" in the black areas. Reaction from the White miners' union—including a refusal to train Africans for skilled work—was apparently too much for the Government. Although the decision to reapply the Act was accompanied by official assurance that this would not affect the policy of "advancement for Africans in the homelands," the Mineworkers Union jubilantly welcomed



We have always resisted with strikes—the government always answered with batons and bullets.

the decision as a victory. (Star, Johannesburg, May 22, 1971)

This determination of white workers to maintain their privileges was explained at a National Labor conference by Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, President of the Railways Artisan Staff Association. White workers, he said, would not give up their industrial color bar privileges, whatever the economic logic. (X-Ray, June 1971)

U.S. ULTRASONIC FIRM TO ENTER SOUTH AFRICA

Branson Sonic Power of Danbury, Conn., one of the world's leading manufacturers of ultrasonic equipment, is to enter the South African market on a major scale by establishing a local company—Branson Sonic Power (SA). The new company results from a visit to South Africa by the manager of international marketing of Branson Sonic Power, Mr. Ray Sullivan, to explore the market potential in South Africa. Branson has about 90 percent of the American market in ultrasonic energy through the use of vibration, 60 percent of the European market, and about 25 percent of the Japanese market. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 25, 1971)

I.C.J. CONFERENCE SPEAKS OUT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The International Commission of Jurists meeting in late September in Colorado discussed the situation in South Africa and came to some rather startling conclusions for such a traditionally cautious body. The conference was stimulated in its discussion by Joel Carlson, a white South African lawyer recently exiled and now in the U.S.

The conclusions the Conference reached and released to the press included:

(1) The U.N. is entitled to consider as a matter of international concern any situation involving the systematic violation of human rights and to take appropriate action. The U.N. Charter's domestic jurisdiction clause, Article 2 (7), does not prevent the consideration of such situations.

(2) The U.N. Security Council should consider enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter

with respect to the flagrant and systematic racial discrimination in South Africa as was done in the case of Rhodesia. Discrimination of this kind inevitably leads to violence and is a threat to the peace.

(3) Foreign trade and financial interests operating in South Africa should at least, in accordance with the principles of the International Convention on the

Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, be prohibited by their governments from themselves aiding and abetting racial discrimination in the conduct of their business.

Unfortunately U.S. corporate investments increase at the same rate as the words of protest. (Press Release of I.C.J.)

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

ANGLICANS SUPPORT INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA

The Anglican Church Synod of Namibia has given its support to the open letter opposing apartheid sent to South Africa's Prime Minister B. J. Vorster by Namibia's two Lutheran denominations. By a unanimous vote, the Anglican Synod declared the policy of apartheid a sin "liable to bring the judgment of God on those who support it." Another resolution urged the South African Government to cooperate with the United Nations in order to "seek a peaceful solution to the problems of our land and to see that the provisions of the U.N. Human Rights Declaration are observed in South West Africa." (Religious News Service, Oct. 12, 1971)

PRESBYTERIANS WITHHOLD FUNDS TO ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES

The governing body of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa—the General Assembly—recently decided in Bulawayo, Rhodesia to withhold a planned \$1,680 grant to the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC). The decision follows the AACC's resolution in September last year to support the World Council of Churches' grants to African liberation movements. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, Oct. 1971)

"The church voted to retain its membership in the AACC—only 13 delegates voted to resign—but unanimously passed a motion dissociating itself from the AACC's resolution of support for the WCC grant." Rev. Sidney SMuts of Benoni (South Africa) charged that the World Council was "promoting racial animosity in South Africa." Mr. Len Smuts of the Transvaal, the church's secretary for Christian education, said that the people in control of the WCC were of three types: they were professional politicians inclined to change with the prevailing winds; mentally unbalanced people with a guilt complex about the Black man; and those committed to Christ and humanism—the latter being in a minority."

Another motion that the church should not pay a planned grant to the Rhodesian Council of Churches because of its support for the WCC decision was also carried. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 25, 1971)

ATHEISTS BARRED FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Immigration authorities have told the Association for European Immigration that atheists will not be permitted to settle in South Africa. (New York Post, Oct. 1, 1971)

WEST GERMANS GIVE LARGE GRANT TO CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

Protestant churches in West Germany have agreed to donate \$285,000 to the Christian Institute of South

Africa during the next year, according to Mr. Joop de Bruijn, co-founder and comptroller of the Institute in Johannesburg. Following talks with West German Protestant church leaders, the South African churchman said that both the Evangelical Church in Hesse and Nassau and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover had pledged 100,000 marks each to the Institute's program of promoting interracial dialogue on apartheid. The Institute has been the focus of increased South African government surveillance, such as censorship of mail and telephone tapping. (Lutheran World Federation Reports, Sept. 7, 1971)

ANOTHER PRIEST TO BE EVICTED

A young English priest, Father Wilfred Jackson of the Roman Catholic parish and mission of Ladysmith, has been refused a permanent residence permit after being in South Africa five years. No reason was given by the South African Government for the refusal (usually no reasons are given), but it is believed that it is because Father Jackson helped Africans at the Limehill resettlement district. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 21, 1971)

POLICE SPIES AT RHODESIAN CHURCH MEETINGS

The Rev. Michael Appleyard, chairman of the Salisbury Area of the Methodist Church of Rhodesia, has criticized the presence of police spies at almost all church meetings. He said the presence of uninvited plainclothes police was an unwelcome recent development in Rhodesia. "It is this kind of activity that leads people to believe there is an army of informers at meetings sponsored by the churches—and even at our church services—ready to report any thought or feeling which runs counter to the policies of the political party currently in power. Gone is the feeling of freedom for people to express how the Christian Gospel relates to matters affecting human life in all its aspects. But this feeling that we are being watched must not prevent us from standing up for what we believe to be consistent with the life of Christian disciples." (East African Standard, Aug. 28, 1971)

BISHOPS CONFERENCE INTERRUPTED

The South African Catholic Bishops Conference in Pretoria last July was interrupted by a group of 12 African Roman Catholics, including three priests, when they walked into the conference room with placards and presented a memorandum demanding the appointment of a Black Cardinal. This is the first time that demonstrators have walked into a bishop's conference in this manner. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971)

AUSTRALIAN ANGLICANS "CONCERNED" OVER WCC GRANTS

The Sydney Synod of the Anglican Church has expressed "grave concern" over the recent World Council of Churches' grants to liberation movements. An announcement said the Synod voted to communicate its concern to Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the WCC, to the Australian Council of Churches and to the ecumenical committee of the General Synod of the Anglican Church in Australia. The WCC announced its second group of allocations in September. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, October, 1971) The report said the Sydney Synod, while adopting the resolution to voice concern, nevertheless commended the WCC for its desire to combat racism throughout the world. (Religious News Service, Oct. 19, 1971)

UCM GENERAL SECRETARY BANNED

Last month's issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA had a last-minute notice of the banning of Mr. Bokoane Justice Moloto, General Secretary of the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa. A recent communication from friends in South Africa indicate the following restrictions on Mr. Moloto for three years (until September 30, 1974) under the banning order:

-He is to be confined to the magisterial district of Mafeking (although his 'home town' is Rustenburg and his mother and brothers live in Johannesburg)

-He may not enter any 'Bantu' area whatsoever except 'Motshiwastat', a section of the Mafeking location

-He may not enter any "Colored" or "Asiatic" area

-He may not enter any factory, any place where any publication is prepared, printed or published, the premises of any organization, any educational institution, any court of law (except as accused or witness or to apply to a magistrate for exemptions from the order)

-He may not communicate with any other banned person

-He may not publish or assist in publishing in any way whatsoever

-He may not give educational instruction to any person except a person whose parent he is (he has no children!)

-He may not take part in any way whatsoever in the activities of any organization

-He may not attend any gathering (social, educational, or political) or any gathering where social intercourse may "also" take place between persons

In 1969 Justice was elected the third president of the University Christian Movement. He was able to be virtually a full-time member of staff, travelling to all branches of the UCM. He played a leading role in the development of black consciousness. In 1970 he was again elected president and began to become involved in the literacy program and community development. He passionately advocated the need for black students to feed back their skills and talents into the oppressed black community to enable that community to gain the skills to help themselves. During his second term of office he laid the foundations for the UCM's rapidly expanding literacy program.

In recognition of his work, he was elected General Secretary of the UCM in 1971. He was also elected Director of the Literacy program.

Now, Justice, a committed Christian, passionately concerned for his people and especially for the most oppressed sector of his people, and a man ready to work for virtually no income in order that his people might learn to read and write, is banned. The Minister of Justice,

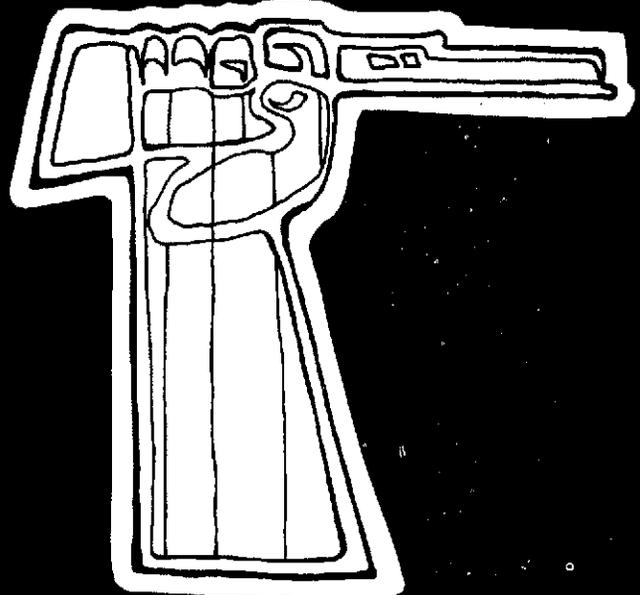
in his order, wrote that he is satisfied "that you engage in activities which are furthering or are calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism." The UCM is satisfied that he was engaged in activities that were calculated to further the development of full, free, creative human beings.

A gifted and devoted young black leader has been cut off from the people he loves and silenced just when his resources were so desperately needed. You can confine a man as much as you like, but you cannot stop him thinking—and when his thinking is part of a larger dream that has the sweet smell of freedom about it, you cannot confine it, kill it, or bury it. You can also communicate in the ordinary human way of letters and gifts of support and caring love. (2170 Motshiwa Township, Cape Province, Republic of South Africa.) (Excerpts from letter from UCM, Johannesburg, Oct. 14, 1971)

ANGLICAN SYNOD ASKS PROBE OF TORTURES

The Anglican Synod of Cape Town has unanimously passed a resolution calling for an official inquiry into charges that police detainees have been tortured and have died in detention. It demanded that those held by police be seen once each week by a judge, given medical attention, and allowed a weekly visit from a clergyman. Anglican Archbishop Robert Selby Taylor of Cape Town said that "There are rumors and there appears to be evidence to support them that the security police are using torture—cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of prisoners." He added that only an independent judicial inquiry can calm public concern. "If, as we are assured, these rumors and fears are unfounded, then such an inquiry will remove the stigma from the reputation of the security police," Taylor said. "But if the Government continues to refuse to appoint a judicial inquiry, then the rumors will grow and it will appear that there really is something to hide."

As Archbishop Taylor was speaking, a Cape Town Anglican priest was in the 57th day of a fast protesting the death of a Muslim leader, Imama Abdullah Haron, who died while being held by the police two years ago. The priest, Father Wrangmore, seeks more information about the death of Haron.



AT THE UNITED NATIONS

U.N. TEAM VISITS SENEGAL TO INVESTIGATE PORTUGUESE AGGRESSION

After approving a resolution condemning acts of violence and destruction committed by Portugal against Senegal, the Security Council sent a six-nation mission of its members including Nicaragua, Belgium, Burundi, Japan, Poland, and Syria, to investigate and report on Senegal's charges of repeated aggression from Guinea-Bissau on Senegalese villages.

The resolution of July 15 condemned the "unlawful laying of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines in Senegalese territory." Only the United Kingdom and the U.S. abstained from condemning Portugal which forced Senegal to the conclusion that it must in future, according to a government spokesman, "consider the U.S. and Great Britain as "great enemies instead of great friends." The special mission arrived in Dakar on July 25 and visited the Department of Kolda where members met wounded villagers injured in shelling attacks from Guinea-Bissau since the beginning of the year. The five U.N. military experts, part of the U.N. team, visited the Senegalese village of Boussanoum which had been shelled a few days prior but the investigation was obstructed by refusal of permission for the team to cross into Guinea-Bissau. The Foreign Minister of Senegal, Amadou Karim Gaye, recalled before the Security Council the Council's actions concerning Portugal's aggression against Senegal since April 1963 including the Security Council's consideration of violations in 1965, its resolution of Dec. 9, 1969 condemning Portugal for shelling a Senegalese village, and the fact that after the U.N.'s fact-finding mission had arrived in Senegal on June 20, 1970, Portuguese artillery bombarded a village. The Foreign Minister concluded that since Senegal had exhausted all procedures under the U.N. charter it was up to the Security Council to take further steps against such aggression.

U.N. CONSIDERS NEW STEPS TO AID IN LIBERATING SOUTHERN AFRICA AND PORTUGUESE-HELD TERRITORIES

The UNESCO meeting that ended in Dar es Salaam on July 13 asked that UNESCO should recognize "authentic" liberation movements such as FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC by giving them observer status in UNESCO and should recommend to its general conference that these organizations receive associate membership in other U.N. agencies as the Economic Commission for Africa. The participants also recommended that technical aid be given for the liberated zones of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. (Standard, Tanzania, July 13, 1971)

In a note to the U.N. Economic and Social Council, Mr. Robert Gardiner, Economic Commission for Africa Secretary-General, proposed associate membership of the ECA for Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea, and Namibia (South West Africa), and recommended the names of five persons nominated by the O.A.U. to represent them: Messrs. Neto and Holden (Angola), Cabral (Guinea), Dos Santos (Mozambique), and Nujoma (Namibia). (West Africa, June 4, 1971)

Meanwhile Portugal formally told UNESCO that it was withdrawing from the organization in a letter to UNESCO Director General Rene Maheu. Accusing UNESCO of providing financial assistance to "anti-Portuguese terrorist movements under the cover of educational aid..." Portugal considered itself not bound by the two-year

notice rule since it had been barred from a number of UNESCO conferences, it was reported. (Christian Science Monitor, July 13, 1971)

The Special Committee of 24 at its meeting September 9 decided to request its Working Group to study the possibility of associating representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial territories in Southern Africa more closely with the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to report to it in early 1972. The Special Committee of 24 on decolonization had endorsed on August 11 the finding of a group of its members who recently visited Africa that "in the course of the past year the situation in the Territories of Southern Africa has continued to deteriorate," that "the regimes concerned have considerably increased their military activities and repressive measures against the African population and the national liberation movements." (U.N. Press Release WS/515, Aug. 13, 1971)

The Joint Meeting of the Special Committee of 24, the Special Committee on Apartheid and the U.N. Council for Namibia, concluded its second session on Sept. 13 and recommended that all matters relating to the racial and colonial problems of Southern Africa be debated in common during the General Assembly sessions and made further specific recommendations for coordination of activities in regard to Southern Africa.

CONTINUED COLONIAL SUPPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MARKS END OF U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S 25th SESSION

During the opening meeting of the 1971 General Assembly session on Sept. 21, 1971, Mr. Edward Hambro of Norway, finishing his term as president of the 1970 session, "noted with regret" that "there had been little discernible progress during the last year with regard to the prevailing conditions of colonial suppression and racial discrimination in Southern Africa." Mr. Adam Malik of Indonesia, the incoming president, also referred to the Southern African situation in his remarks that it was impossible to hope for the establishment of a world order capable of addressing itself to persistent political problems "as long as a substantial number of peoples are denied their right to self-determination; as long as the utter immorality of apartheid and racialism continues to be condoned." (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1971)

Dr. Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, in his speech to the General Assembly, was reported to have answered critics by asserting that "It is still too early to say exactly when the Bantu peoples will attain their full independence... but they have the right to negotiate at any time... We do not impose conditions on their right to approach us." (!!!!!)

U.N. QUERIES BELGIUM AND AUSTRALIA

The U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid expressed dissatisfaction with Belgium's reply to its inquiry over the continued manufacture of an Israeli submachine gun after a Security Council resolution had called for withdrawal of the Belgium's company license. Belgium maintains that no action on their part is required since the legal ties between the Belgian company and the government of South Africa no longer existed. The chairman, Mr. Abdulrabin Abby Farah (Somalia), said that since the gun was still being made "either it was being manufactured without a license or South Africa had another source." (Star, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971)

DEFENSE

SOUTH AFRICA DISPLAYS ITS MIGHT

The South African Government has embarked on a propaganda campaign to convince its own people and the world of its military might. The Minister of Defense, Piet Botha, escorted 98 important officials and the press on a three-day tour of armaments factories in the Vaal Triangle in mid-August. Botha stated that South Africa is now self-sufficient in arms for internal defense and is producing most of its requirements for external defense—apart from sophisticated aircraft and warships. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1971) While such a claim is clearly self-serving to his government (discouraging both thoughts of military action by independent Africa and arms embargo campaigns), the International Institute of Strategic Studies of London provides some substantiation.

The Institute's "Military Balance 1971-72" puts South Africa third in military manpower in sub-Saharan Africa: 44,250 men vs. 252,000 in Nigeria and 46,000 in Congo-Kinshasa (Ethiopia is fourth with 42,750). But South Africa exceeds Nigeria, Congo (K), and Ethiopia combined in combat aircraft, warships, armos, other sophisticated weaponry, and defense spending. (UPI, Daily Nation, Nairobi, Sept. 4, 1971)

Secondary Arms Producer

Moreover, the Institute has ranked South Africa as a "secondary arms producer." In over 1,000 plants (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 14, 1971) a wide range of armaments are made, enough to enable the country to enter the export market. The Commandant General, R. C. Hemstra, claimed earlier this year that a foreign order worth \$1.4 million had been received and negotiations were under way for an additional \$10 million. The most likely customers are Rhodesia and Portugal. Probable export items are the Cactus ground-to-air missile and an unnamed air-to-air missile recently tested after five years' development. The South Africans are also producing a number of other weapons which may be exported: a reportedly undetectable land mine capable of destroying the heaviest tank, canister-shot mines, a night-sight for infantry rifles, napalm bombs, 1,000-pound aerial bombs, and 25-pounder guns. (The New York Times, Oct. 3, 1971; Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1971)

The Atlas Aircraft Corporation's plant on the fringes of Jan Smuts Airport is one of the most important in the country. It manufactures Impala jets (based on the Italian Macchi design) and services and maintains other Air Force



planes. Atlas employs 3,700 white men and women, about half of whom are immigrants, and some 500 non-whites. (The New York Times, Oct. 3, 1971)

The chilling possibility that the South Africans will carry self-sufficiency to the point of nuclear weapons is explored in the July issue of SECHABA. As the world's third largest producer of uranium products (3,978 short tons of uranium in 1969), South Africa gains valuable foreign exchange and has set up an extensive research program at Pelindaba in the Transvaal.

As the result of a new uranium enrichment process, South Africa is theoretically able to make its own nuclear weapons. When he revealed this in April 1971, Dr. A. J. A. Roux, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board, was careful to point out that such a course would be impractical and almost impossible due to international controls. It's curious, then, to note that a month earlier the chief engineer of the U.S. Navy's main nuclear missile laboratory, Dr. Sverre Kongelbeck (see October SOUTHERN AFRICA), was in South Africa job hunting in anticipation of his retirement next year. Moreover, South Africa has refused to sign the Test Ban Treaty. (SECHABA also reports a South African request to purchase 25 five-kiloton atomic bombs from France.)

As South Africa's rulers try to comfort themselves behind ranks of shiny weapons, they might reflect upon a contemporary example of the limitation of sophisticated technology against the aroused and organized strength of the people: Viet Nam.

"WITH A LITTLE HELP FROM OUR FRIENDS"

"South Africa and France have virtually entered into a military partnership." The words of Die Burger, an influential pro-government Afrikaans newspaper of South Africa, quoted in the Standard of Tanzania (Aug. 12, 1971), sum up the current situation. It should not come as a surprise. As long ago as the Algerian war, South African officers were present observing the anti-guerrilla tactics of their French colleagues. (SECHABA, July, 1971)

While mouthing pious distinction between arms for anti-guerrilla purposes and "war materiel of the classic type intended for defense against a modern attacker," the French totalled \$500 million in arms sales in the last six years. South Africa is now their best customer. (The Washington Post, Aug. 19, 1971) These sales include fighter-bombers, air transports, three submarines, missiles, rockets, machine guns, tanks, radar, and light and heavy helicopters. (The final item listed, for instance, includes 16 Super Frelon 3-engine helicopters. Theoretically, they are destined for anti-submarine warfare, but Israeli commandos found them very effective on the ground in their raids against Egypt and Libya.)

The most recent example of profitable collaboration is the agreement announced June 27 for the construction under license in South Africa of Mirage III and F-1 planes. These Mach 2 jets are usable for both high-level interception and ground support and can operate from small rough landing strips. The F-1 is the more powerful version and has a range of 2,000 miles. It can be fitted to carry bombs as well as rockets and air-to-air missiles. South Africa is expected to concentrate on production of the F-1 with the help of French technicians. Informed sources in Paris indicate an initial production run of 50 at a cost well over \$50 million. (Standard of Tanzania, Aug. 12, 1971; Times of London, June 28, 1971; Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1971)

An earlier example of cooperation was the Cactus ground-to-air missile system that is based on the French Crotale. South Africa paid the research and development costs and France provided experts employed by Thomson C.S.F. and Matra.

In a confidential dossier, developed by President Kaunda of Zambia for a confrontation with President Pompidou last October, the O.A.U. charged that at present South Africa was dependent on France for its more sophisticated weapons. Moreover, by providing both technology and capital, France was helping South Africa become self-sufficient. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1971)

What does France get out of this? In foreign exchange terms the French hope to do two billion francs (\$333 million) of business over the next four years. In addition, the French aircraft industry would be in trouble if it could depend only on its own national market to purchase its products and defray the immense research costs. (SECHABA, July 1971)

Uranium Supplies

Other fruits of friendship include: a space tracking station near Johannesburg, exchanges of information on nuclear physics, purchase of 50 percent of South African uranium without having to worry about Euratom, the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, or suppliers with moral scruples. (Canada, for example, refuses to sell uranium to countries that cannot guarantee its peaceful use.) (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1971; SECHABA, July 1971)

Beyond short-term profit, the elements of a grand strategy are beginning to emerge. Militarily, France appears to be angling for a nuclear submarine base on the Indian Ocean. (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971) South Africa has indicated the availability of its Simonstown Naval Base. There is also a complicated deal in the wind in which the South African Government and private finance would construct a deep water port and dry docks at Narinda in Madagascar. It could serve as a secure base for both French and South African submarines. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1971)

Politically, France appears to be trying to construct an alliance between its neo-colonies in French-speaking Africa, the white supremacist regimes, and some conservative African English-speaking states. The campaign for dialogue with South Africa appears to have been initiated in Paris by French Government officials, assisted by South Africa's ambassador. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1971) It is significant that the first public call for dialogue came from President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, long considered a virtual puppet of the French. Should its plans succeed, France will no doubt benefit as a major investor and trading partner with special privileges. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, July 4, 1971)

South Africa, for its part, is not only strengthening itself militarily, but also breaking out of its political and diplomatic isolation. It is too soon to tell who is being used by whom in whose grand design. Regardless of the identity of the dominant partner, the independent and progressive nations of black Africa and the liberation movements are confronted by a dangerous threat.

DIGGS VISIT AND PRESS CONFERENCE

Congressman Diggs held a televised Press Conference in Washington September 16 where he said he supported the 'principle' of U.S. economic disengagement from South Africa but he did not think such a policy practical now. Rather he would make three demands for U.S. firms in South Africa - equal pay for equal work, better training for non-whites, and the refusal to comply with apartheid in their plants. He said he will urge legislation requiring the introduction of fair employment practices by U.S. firms in S.A. as a condition of their eligibility for U.S. Government defense contracts. Diggs thinks that U.S. firms can do a great deal within the law and in defying the law. As to U.S. diplomatic representation, he was sharply critical of its acquiescence in apartheid practice and the refusal of Washington - and especially the White House, center of decision-making - to send any black diplomats to S.A. He understands that an initial decision to send a high-ranking black official has been changed to send someone of low rank. As to NASA and the U.S. tracking facility, Diggs intends calling in the head of the agency to explain NASA's practice of racial discrimination in S.A. And regarding General Motors and Ford, Diggs has written to their chairmen to demand a meeting with their boards to discuss their 'abominable' treatment of non-white workers. Diggs also pointed out that he, Diggs, received better treatment from the Africans, than Banda, who regard Banda as a sell-out. As to Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verda, Diggs decried the Portuguese racism there but otherwise did not touch on Portuguese subjects. (Star and Rand Daily Mail, September 17, 1971)

The Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA) based in Detroit was sharply critical of Diggs' trip and statements saying that he had betrayed black people the world over by even considering the possibility of dialogue with and change in South African policy. They said that Diggs had never been a legitimate representative of black people in the U.S. (African World, September 18, 1971).

COMMENTARY ON NEW SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY

Ken Owen writing from Washington (Star, Sept.11) notes a number of signs of an increasingly 'sane' and subtle policy on the part of the S.A. Government: Rowan and Diggs have been allowed to visit S.A. while a number of diverse South Africans have been or are being 'allowed' to coe to the U.S. These include Lucy Mvubelo, Secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, who was a guest of the State Department and championed Polaroid for staying in S.A.; Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief of the Zulu Territorial Authority, who consistently opposed the campaign against the sugar quota (even after a 'torrid spell' at the dinner table of Mrs. Goler Butcher, Diggs' aide, while Diggs was in S.A.); Alan Paton, who took an 'enlightened' view of the Bantustans. Visitors expected later this year or early next year are Norman Daniels, Cape Town trade union leader and city councillor and Cheif Kaiser Matanzima. Owen also cites the admission of NY Times' correspondent Paul Hoffman to S.A. and Namibia, and describes his reporting, especially after the Banda visit, as 'restrained and fair.'

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

MISSION BOMBINGS IN NEW YORK

The South African Mission to the U.N. received a bomb threat in late September and was quickly evacuated. Asked about security measures at the office near the U.N. (the building also houses Honeywell Corp., the focus of anti-corporate protest in the U.S.), a mission spokesman said that security was heavy all the time. (Star, October 2, 1971).

The man accused of bombing the mission of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa) and placing a bomb which did not explode at the Malawi mission is being held on \$50,000 bail. Larry Pearson, picked up shortly after the Congo incident, was arraigned at night court when 300 people showed up to support him. An anonymous caller to the wire service explained after the explosion had occurred that the bomb had been planted at the Congo mission because that country 'refused to allow our freedom fighters to cross their country to get to Angola.' (New York Post, September 21, 1971).

SOBU, the Black students organization wrote that the 'Black Revolutionary Assault Team' claiming responsibility for the bombings had acted because of the pro-Western policies of the Congo and Malawi. (African World, October 2, 1971).

After the incident President Mobutu of the Congo held a high level cabinet meeting to discuss the implications of the bombings. A Congolese spokesman rejected the inferences that the sabotage was due to the Congo's policy on Angola, stressing the Republic's aidrefugees and the GRAE movement.

Agence France Presse, September 24, 1971.

SOUTH AFRICA THREATENS ZAMBIA

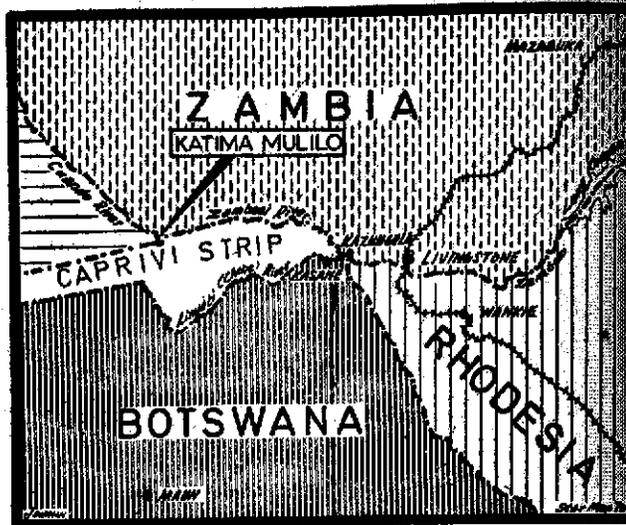
On October 5, during the middle of the U.N. debates on Namibia, P.M. Vorster of South Africa addressed a Congress of the ruling Nationalist Party in the Transvaal and informed them that a South African police captain had been killed and four constables injured by land mines exploding in the Caprivi Strip of South West Africa, mines planted by "terrorists". In the speech, Vorster reminded his comrades that the year before he had said that "if terrorists came on to South African soil and attacked South Africans then South Africa has the right to follow them wherever they might go." He continued, "This has therefore been done in this case, and should the pursuers be attacked they will defend themselves." The audience cheered, and Vorster he was warning countries and placing the responsibility "on the shoulders of the country which allowed this type of aggression." Virtually all South African and international press interpreted Vorster's words to mean that South Africa had sent a military patrol into Zambia which borders the Caprivi Strip, although in his speech he did not mention any particular nation's name.

A day later at the U.N. Zambia submitted a letter calling for a meeting of the Security Council to "consider a series of serious incidents and violations of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of Zambia, by the forces of the fascist Government of South Africa." Zambia cited the South African incursion from the Caprivi, and during the debate in the Council the Ambassador from Zambia, Vernon Mwaanga, said that the South African Army had entered with speedboats and helicopters. But as Zambia pursued action at the U.N., Vorster was deep in a row with his own country's press saying that they had misquoted him. Although the P.M. was cagey in answering questions and did not categorically deny that the South African troops had gone into Zambia, on October 7, Police Minister Muller said that the police "did not enter the territory of any foreign country" but rather did follow-up work after the mine explosions. Vorster after castigating the press announced a meeting with them to be held Oct. 20 to discuss the media and state security. The South African newspapers universally condemned the ambiguity of the government in this "hot pursuit" case, and even pro-government press did not retract its stories affirming the South African action.

It was reported in the Star of October 9 that a SWAPO spokesman in Dar es Salaam had claimed responsibility for the landmine explosion. The speaker stated that all such SWAPO guerrilla actions had been and are being initiated from within the territory of Namibia.



ZAMBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA



On October 12 the Security Council passed a weak resolution which called on South Africa "to fully respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia," and warned that if South Africa refused to comply, the Council would meet again in accordance with the provision of the U.N. Charter. A stronger African backed resolution had included a condemnation of South Africa but could not muster enough votes. Ambassador Mwaanga expressed bitter regret at the Council's "mild reprimand" considering the seriousness of South Africa's aggression, but said his delegation would accept the resolution as "the barest minimum." He commented that the Security Council was obviously not really concerned about African issues, but that Zambia's real victory came when 47 states had supported the Zambian complaint that South Africa's actions were criminal acts of aggression. He also added that "one day we will be strong enough not to require your assistance."

Vorster's action relating to the Caprivi incident must be seen in the context both of the situation in Namibia where South Africa is involved in a heavy international political situation, and in the context of South Africa's relations with Zambia. Just this year South Africa revealed so-called secret correspondence with President Kaunda of Zambia, a sign, some believe that South Africa had discovered it had failed in attempts to control Zambia. It is clear that Muller's denial of any South African pursuit was a reaction to Zambia's appeal for U.N. action. And the attempt by Vorster to turn his bungling into a confrontation with the press can only be interpreted as a maneuver to prevent a realization that South Africa can no longer successfully control events in Namibia. The South African accusation against Zambia, repeating oft quoted earlier warnings, and the revelation of action are interesting in that they defy two fundamental principles of South Africa: one that South Africa believes in non-interference in others' affairs, and two, that South Africa poses no threat to the peace. Both principles have been contradicted before but hardly so blatantly. And we will no doubt see more in the future. (New York Times, October 6,8; Guardian, London, October 6, 7,8, 11; Times, London, October 6,8; Christian Science Monitor, October 15; International Herald Tribune, October 8, Washington Afro-American, October 16, Star, Johannesburg, October 9; U.N. press releases and Security Council documents. All 1971.)

Vorster jibes at Kaunda over new party.

REPRINT

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS London

THE FORMATION of the United Progressive Party by Zambia's ex-Vice President, Simon Kapwepwe, has brought into the open political tensions in Zambia that have been simmering for some time. In normal circumstances the formation of a small opposition party, supported by a few of Zambia's political elite, and unable, unless President Kaunda decides differently, to seek electoral support until November 1973, would not present much of a threat to the ruling United National Independence Party.

But there are three special factors in the present situation. One is that Kapwepwe himself is no political lightweight. He was one of the most important figures in the nationalist struggle and has a considerable political following in the Northern Province and amongst Bemba workers on the Copperbelt. Kapwepwe's complaints about the mismanagement of Zambia's economy are a double-edged weapon because they expose him to charges of equal culpability while he was in office, but his charges of corruption in high places are less easy to parry.

Although the Doyle Commission, which reported last June, cleared seven Ministers and civil servants from charges of embezzling development funds and satisfied itself with the comment that their action was "merely a highly discreditable and dishonourable transaction for persons in their high position", many Zambians feel that Kaunda has condoned their behaviour by lifting their suspension from office even before the findings of the Commission were made known.

Next the UPP has struck an alliance with Harry Nkumbula's African National Congress, a long-established opposition party deriving its support largely from the Tonga-speaking Southern Province. In many ways the alliance is surprising. Kapwepwe has been a bitter enemy of Nkumbula for many years, and helped to organise the splinter group from the Zambian ANC that eventually emerged as the governing UNIP.

Finally there is the clear likelihood that the rent in Zambia's political fabric will be exploited by South Africa. President Kaunda has explicitly accused the two opposition leaders of receiving money from Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa. Predictably Vorster has denied this, though not without including a jibe directed at Kaunda whose power, he asserted, would have been unrivalled had he responded favourably to South Africa's "friendly" overtures over the last couple of years.

Too much as yet should not be made of this threat to Kaunda's authority. UNIP militants are not the only popular resources he commands—and many are pressing for a banning of the new party. Mr. Lewis Changufu, Minister of Home Affairs, has already drawn the analogy to the short-lived United Party set up by Mr. Mundia three years ago, which was dissolved (and sank without trace) in response to the violence of its supporters and the counter-violence of UNIP activities. But Zambian politics is a finely balanced affair, and Ministers may find that they have unleashed popular passions which they are in no position to control. With South Africa waiting on the sidelines only too ready to exploit internal dissension, the next few months may provide dangerous moments for President Kaunda.

REPRINT OF SEAN GERVASSI ARTICLE, "POVERTY, APARTHEID, and ECONOMIC GROWTH"
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