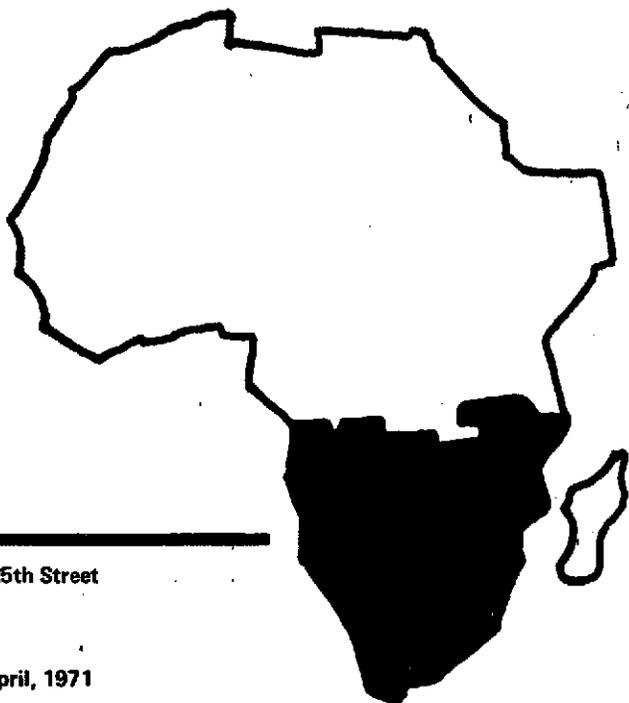


# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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### CONTENTS

### PAGE

1.	FEATURE ARTICLE: "Angola: Seeing for Oneself" by Basil Davidson (from West Africa)	2
2.	INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	5
	Facts About the Immorality Act	5
	The Bantustan Policy	5
3.	INSIDE NAMIBIA	6
	Etosha Park: Homeland for Animals or Africans?	6
	Recent SWAPO Releases	7
	South African Workers in Namibia	7
4.	INSIDE ZIMBABWE	7
	Secret Talks Still Going On	7
	Deported at Last	7
	Demands Deportation	8
	Conspiracy Against Africa	8
	Job Reservation Must Come	8
5.	PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES	9
	Muskie and the Portuguese	9
	Strike, Bombs in Portugal	9
	Political Trials in Portugal	9
	18 Mozambican Nationalists Dead in Prison	10
	Cabora Bassa and the War	10
6.	ACTION NEWS AND NOTES	11
7.	U.S. and SOUTHERN AFRICA	17
8.	AN ANALYSIS OF G. KENNAN'S VIEW TOWARDS SOUTHERN AFRICA, by David Robinson	18
9.	THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA	20
	Episcopalians Urge General Motors to Leave South Africa	20
	Police Harassment of Church People Continues	21
	More Churchmen Ordered to Leave	21
	Rhodesian Churchmen Protest Bill	22
	World Council to Visit South Africa?	22

10.	<b>DEFENSE</b>		23
		British Arms Sale to South Africa is Consummated	23
		Move to Lift Blockade on Rhodesia	24
		Arms from Italy	24
		Strong Military Support from France	24
11.	<b>ECONOMICS</b>		26
		Boeing U.S.A. Donates \$40,000 Towards "Whites Only" University	26
		Government Decides to Allow Coloureds in Building Trades—Whites Threaten Strike	26
		Myths and Facts	26
		Whites Only Tourist Boom	27
		Vast Expansion Planned in South Africa for General Motors	27
12.	<b>THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS</b>		27
		E.C.A. Meeting in Tunis	27
		O.A.U. Liberation Committee Meets in Moshi, Tanzania	28
13.	<b>AT THE UNITED NATIONS</b>		28
		Reaction to British Decision on Arms Sales to South Africa	28
		U.N. Rights Team Reports Genocide of Africans	29
		Purge of Church Workers in South Africa	29
14.	<b>INTERNATIONAL PRESS COMMENTARY ON THE "POLAROID EXPERIMENT"</b>		29

## FEATURE ARTICLE

# Angola : Seeing For Oneself

## REPRINT from West Africa

by BASIL DAVIDSON

The Portuguese-South African offensive alliance—and it can now be called "defensive" only by a misuse of language—is an admitted factor on the African scene far outside southern Africa itself. Portuguese-South African intervention in the Ojukwu secession war has given Nigerians some bitter reasons for knowing this. Frustrated in Nigeria, the alliance nonetheless continues elsewhere. In considering its actual strength today, a large part of the answer must be sought in the Portuguese African colonies. Is Portugal winning or losing its stubborn wars against the nationalist movements there?

Crucial among these colonies is the vast south-west African territory of Angola. Larger than France, Italy and the two Germanies added together, though inhabited by fewer than six million people, Angola has great potential economic importance. Beyond that, it has great strategic importance for the Portuguese-South African alliance and thus for the whole cause of African independence. If the Portuguese can kill nationalism in Angola they will render a tremendous service to white South Africa as well as to themselves. On the contrary, if they fail in Angola they will undermine their own dictatorial regime and knock the props from under white South Africa's influence and ambitions in the rest of the continent. West Africans, above all Nigerians, thus have reason to pay careful attention to what is happening in Angola.

What is happening is that the Portuguese are being slowly but steadily defeated by Angolan guerrillas. Does this sound optimistic? It is a conclusion based on study of Angola since the 1950's; on the evidence of the Portuguese as well as of the nationalists; and on a journey of inspection of many weeks through Angola during the present dry season, a journey from which I have just returned.



Having only six weeks or so, I knew that I could walk no more than 300 miles along guerrilla lines of communication inside the country. (In the event I walked a little more than that). This could show me only a very small part of an enormous country. The essential thing, therefore, was to choose a critical politico-military sector: not necessarily a characteristic sector, in other words, but one that would be crucial to a serious judgment of guerrilla success or failure. Taking all the evidence into account, it was fairly easy to make this choice beforehand.

Given that the most effective movement in Angola was pretty certainly the MPLA (and I was to find that the MPLA is, in fact, the only effective movement), the choice had to be in eastern Angola. This was because the MPLA is debarred from all use of the Congo/Kinshasa frontier by President Mobutu. The MPLA's "outside communications area" is therefore Zambia and Tanzania. Its supplies have to come from Indian Ocean ports through Tanzania and Zambia into the eastern provinces of Moxico and Cuando Cubango.

Of these two provinces, Moxico is the more important for geographical and population reasons. So it was obvious that I should choose some part of Moxico in order to find out what the guerrillas were doing with these supplies, and generally to test their claims. But Moxico is a very large place. Which part to select?

Other strategic considerations provided the answer. Any effective guerrilla movement in eastern Angola must have two principle objectives. The first would be to secure a far-reaching general control of the countryside outside the Portuguese fortified towns, so as to form a strong internal base area. The second, more important in the long run, would be to use this internal base area as a means of pushing guerrilla influence and control further to the west. Eastern Angola is for the most part sparsely populated and poor in natural resources; not for nothing

have the Portuguese called these eastern districts (Lunda, Moxico, Cuanda Cubango) "the lands at the end of the world." But the central districts (Bie and Malanje) are relatively rich and highly populated, while the districts to the west again, west of the Atlantic watershed and bordering the ocean, constitute the Portuguese "colonial heartlands."

So I chose the central area of Moxico as my target. For it is above all here that one should be able to test the MPLA's dual claim: to be well established in the East, and to be in active penetration of the Centre. Having got so far in my calculations, I fixed on the little fortified town of Muie as my furthest western point, for Muie lies 100 miles on a direct line from the Zambian frontier. There and back on a wide circuit, I thought, would be about as far as I had the time for. And so it proved.

Having secured the necessary agreements I walked through eastern Moxico with Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, until he left to begin a journey to Rome. I then continued with the local commander, an MPLA doctor, and an escort of local guerrillas as far as the outskirts of Muie, which I reached near the middle of June. I walked westward on a wide southward-curving route whose details I must keep to myself, and I returned by a different route. Walking occupied about three weeks, apart from another two weeks for halts and talks with guerrillas at various levels of command and action, and with village groups encountered on the way. Most of the time we walked in daylight, moving from the locality of one guerrilla detachment to the next, and then onward again, and sleeping at night in makeshift bivouacs in the forest. There were many meetings with village people who have taken refuge from the Portuguese under forest protection of their guerrilla sons, brothers or husbands. Occasional clashes with the Portuguese took place within easy earshot, and others further away while I was there; I also saw something of guerrilla action in mining roads still



Dr. Agostinho Neto, leader of the M.P.L.A., who accompanied author through eastern Moxico.

used by Portuguese ground convoys.

The life is harsh. Like their village people, the guerrillas are short of all essential supplies, from modern weapons down to medical supplies and blankets to guard against the biting cold of dry-season nights spent in the open. But their morale is generally good and so is their discipline. They are undoubtedly right in claiming to have a strong internal base area in Moxico, and to be using this for penetration further west.

They believe that they firmly hold the long-term strategic initiative. Everything I saw and heard confirmed the truth of this belief. Holding that initiative, they conclude that they are slowly winning; again one may agree that they are right. The pace at which they can make good this victory will turn on their capacity to reorganize their forces into more effective strike-units; on their political skill in mobilizing mass support in the Centre and West as they have already mobilized it in the East; and, not least, on the enlargement of outside supplies of modern weapons and other necessary things. These are formidable problems. Yet they are no more formidable than other problems already solved by the MPLA.

Fighting for national independence from Portuguese colonial rule, the guerrillas of Angola are strongly established in wide eastern districts, and are pushing steadily into the central and western "heartlands" of the Portuguese settlers and business interests. But who exactly are these guerrillas?

They are the men and women of the *Movimento Popular por a Libertacao de Angola* (MPLA), formed in clandestinity inside Angola in December 1956, almost wiped out by the Portuguese after the risings of early 1961, and then reformed again in exile during 1962-64. Led in person since 1962 by Agostinho Neto after his escape from detention in Portugal, the MPLA today is a national movement supported by ethnic groups in all parts of Angola. (In Moxico, for example, where I was myself, more than nine-tenths of local guerrillas are men of the Mbunda, Luchaze and Nengu peoples of that district; in Lunda they are men and women of the Chokwe and Lunda peoples; in Cuando Cubango they are men and women of still other ethnic groups.)

Its leadership is impressively serious and responsible. Some are intellectuals by formation, notably Neto himself, a former medical doctor and a poet of moving eloquence; others are men and women of little or no formal education, but whose life of active self-sacrifice over the past ten years has given them an admirable understanding of the world. If I sound dogmatic in these statements it is because I have lately had good cause to test their sincerity and determination, having walked through Angola with several of them under conditions, so typical of guerrilla warfare, where the true characters of men are soon made clear.

All these men and women have been through difficult years. Thrust out of the Congo-Kinshasa Republic in 1963, their little movement of that time was little more than a handful of exiles. Patiently, they set about rebuilding their strength. They began guerrilla warfare in the small Angolan enclave of Cabinda, north of the Congo estuary, using this as a battle-training ground. In 1966 they opened operations in the vast eastern District of Moxico; in 1968 in Lunda; in 1969 in the central Districts of Bie and Malanje.

Yet two other movements make claims to activity in Angola—Holden Roberto's UPA with its "Revolutionary Government-in-exile" (GRAE) at Kinshasa, and Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in the east. Both deserve attention by reason of their far-reaching claims. Holden's movement claims to have many thousands of guerrillas

active in many parts of Angola; while Savimbi's movement even goes as far as to claim to control "about half the country" and to have its central committee based in the central district of Bie. What can be said about these claims in 1970?

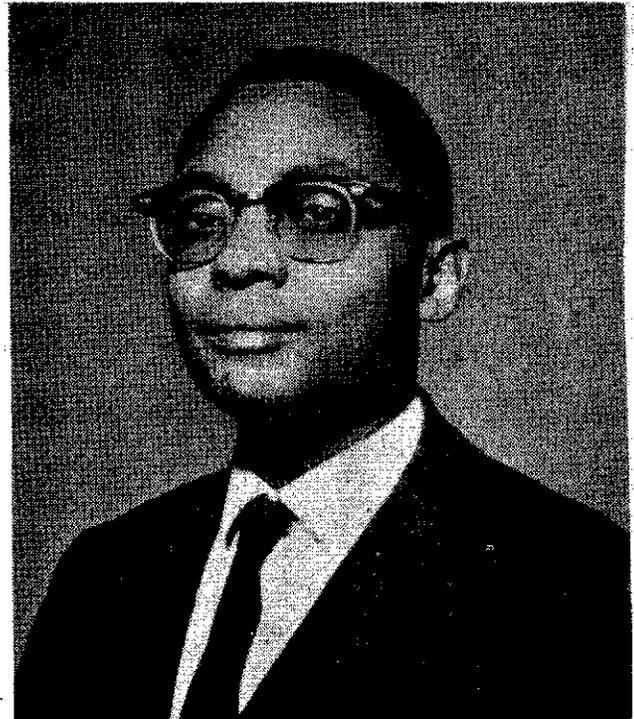
On Holden's movement there is little one can learn in the east, except that it is altogether absent there, and seems never to have been present. Otherwise it is common ground to all observers that Holden retains a small "army" in the western Congo-Kinshasa Republic; occasionally but rarely uses this for hit-and-run raids across the Angolan frontier; but concentrates his main effort on preventing the MPLA from making any use of the Congo-Kinshasa frontier. In this he is strongly supported by President Mobutu; and Holden and Mobutu are to this extent (and it is not a small one) very useful to the Portuguese command.

I hasten to add that this is only what the Portuguese say themselves. Thus the veteran war reporter Fernando Farinha, writing in the Portuguese news-journal "Noticia" last February 21, repeats that actions in the north are only against the MPLA, but goes on to argue that "we are wrong to worry about the MPLA in the north. The UPA has undertaken the job of eliminating them." If it is clear from other Portuguese reports that the UPA are incapable of doing this, it is similarly clear that the UPA are no kind of threat to Portuguese security south of the immediate frontier area.

Holden also has a few hundred guerrillas holed up in forest country some distance from the northern frontier. Recent eye-witness reports by sympathetic foreign visitors make it clear that these, no matter what Holden's claims may be, have little or no offensive capacity even on a very small scale. Both the nature of the terrain in this northern country of the Kongo people, as well as their long history of anti-colonial resistance, would lead one to expect these units to be effective and expanding. Portuguese reports, as well as the aforesaid visitors' reports, make it obvious that they are neither.

Mario de Andrade of the MPLA

(from Africa Report)



One must conclude, I think, that Holden's movement today is little more than an affair of millennial dreams and ethnic separatism. Living in the Congo Republic, Holden's relation to Angolan nationalism could be compared with that of Ojukwu's relation to the Nigerian national movement—supposing that the Ivory Coast had a common frontier with Nigeria, and that Ojukwu had a few hundred "Biafran" guerrillas holed up in the forests of East-Central State.

The position of Savimbi and UNITA is more obscure. Given his vast propaganda claims, I had expected to find many signs of UNITA's presence in the key areas of Moxico District. I expected this all the more because these areas lie right across lines of communication which Savimbi and his men must use and follow if they are to reach Savimbi's home district at Bie—and, incidentally, to make good their propaganda claim to have their central committee based in Bie.

I found no sign of any UNITA presence, whether military or political, in these crucial eastern and central forests. What I did find were many bitter memories of his agents' activity here during 1966-67. These agents were evidently welcomed by the Mbunda of Moxico (not to be confused with the Mbundu of Bie) when they first came, because they promised firearms. These firearms were

never delivered. But following on that promise—and on one or two occasions with firearms borrowed from SWAPO (South West African People's Organization)—several actions were launched against the Portuguese.

These UNITA actions were launched with bows and arrows and magic incantations. They wretchedly failed. A member of my little escort party, a young Kasakelle from the south-west, was one of a party of forty men under UNITA inspiration who attacked the post of Cuanger in 1967; only he and three others survived. Anger and disillusionment followed.

Setting aside their manifestly absurd propaganda claims, one may safely conclude, it seems to me, that UNITA today is little more than a distraction in the MPLA's rear-communications areas of Western Zambia. Here Savimbi's agents continue to organize supporters among Angolan refugees, though this activity is against the stated will of the Zambian government, while Savimbi himself lives secretly in Lusaka and some other places in Zambia. (He has to live there secretly, because he was expelled from Zambia in 1968, partly for his breaking of the Zambian ban on organizing Angolan refugees and partly on suspicion of being a CIA affiliate.) His agents still try to penetrate the frontier into Moxico, but, so far as I could tell, with little or no success.

## INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

### FACTS ABOUT THE IMMORALITY ACT

More than four people were charged per working day under the Act last year. Between 1958-1968 at least ten white men were reported to have committed suicide during or after prosecution. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 27, 1971)

### THE BANTUSTAN POLICY

#### The Myth of Separate Development

(This is Part Two of an article examining the policy and its effects on the African population of South Africa. See the March SOUTHERN AFRICA for Part One. )

#### The Official Policy

The Government's own supporters have expressed doubts about the capacity of the Bantustans, even in the distant future, to absorb the whole African population. In reply to these criticisms, the government has defined its aims and responsibilities along the lines of three statements by Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, M.P. (formerly Deputy-Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission and Deputy Minister of Mines, Justice, and Planning):

"We are trying to introduce the migratory labor pattern as far as possible in every sphere."

"The white State has no duty to prepare the homelands for the superfluous Africans because they are actually illegal aliens in the white homelands who only have to be repatriated."



Camera Press-Pix

*This is apartheid:* The ruins of his home behind him, an African sits in desolation amid the few belongings he can take with him. He is one of thousands of Africans evicted under the Group Areas Act.

"Removal of Africans from the white areas is not dependent on the development of the Bantu homelands, except that housing facilities should be made possible for them."

### All Labor to be Migrant

The Government's justification for separate development as a kind of partition, under which the different racial groups will live and work within their own national frontiers, has been superseded by their new theory which, in effect, seeks to separate political and civil rights from the persons who exercise them. Under the Bantu Citizenship Act (February, 1970), every African has been made a citizen of one of the homelands, where he will exercise civil and political rights. However, since the great majority will be unable to make a living there, they will be allowed to work in "white South Africa"—but as migrant laborers only.

This policy was plainly stated by Dr. P. Kornhof: "I am not afraid to say that the . . . African males from the homelands have no rights whatsoever in South Africa. Their rights are in their own homelands, and they are in South Africa only to sell their labor."

It is therefore official policy to continue African migrant labor rather than to separate the black and white economies.

Already about 900,000 Africans, formerly residents in the "white" areas, have been forced to leave, and return as migrants. Adult males must apply at a labor bureau in their homeland for recruitment on contract for a maximum period of one year. On the expiry of each contract, or if they lose a job, they must return to their homeland, spend one compulsory month with their families (but without earnings), and then rejoin the queue for recruitment.

Plans for further large-scale removals have already been announced. Thus 600,000 Africans, now settled with their families and working in the Eastern Cape Province, are to be removed to the Transkei and the Ciskei. This will destroy all settled African communities in the Eastern Cape: only adult workers will be allowed back as migrant workers, housed in "bachelor" barracks or "Bantu female quarters" in locations serving the areas where their labor is needed. Similarly, 100,000 Africans are to be removed from Natal to various homelands, because their existing presence is said to interfere with the area's watershed serving local white farmers.

### Family Break-up

Around every major city African family accommodation is being demolished to make way for single workers'

accommodation. For the great majority, this existence represents the BEST the future can offer, for life in the homelands represents unemployment and the barest subsistence existence until the next employment contract can be found. For many, therefore, life in these barracks will represent the whole of a working life, with brief, anxious periods at "home" between work contracts, until, no longer fit for work, they become superfluous to the needs of the "white economy" and are sent "home" finally.

For all but a small minority of Africans who can find work in or around the homelands, normal family life is impossible. All African women and children, denied by law the right to live with their breadwinner, are to be supported by male emigrants who, again by law, must spend one month in every thirteen with their families. In practice, wages are insufficient to support an African in a white town as well as his family in a Bantustan. One consequence is that men tend to find wife-substitutes, and support for families tends to dry up.

In the homelands, women increasingly resort to prostitution and illicit brewing in order to support their families; or themselves seek employment, leaving their already fatherless children with foster parents. The rate of illegitimacy is very high.

### No Rights to be Anywhere

Not only settled urban African families are being removed to the homelands. Africans born on white-owned farms, who lose their jobs, may go only to a homeland; there, being landless, they must join the queue for recruitment as migrants without their families. Squatters and "labor tenants" are being "cleared" from white farms under the Physical Planning Act of 1967; over 200,000 are involved. They, too, join the queues at the labor bureaux in the homelands.

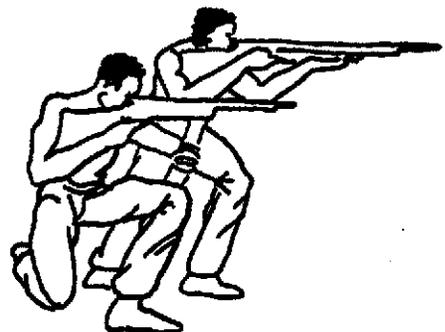
The clearance of "Black Spots"—i.e. areas farmed by Africans in the midst of white farms—further adds to the enforced influx into the homelands. By the end of 1968, 119 "Black spots" had been "cleared," uprooting 83,619 people; a further 280 areas have been scheduled for clearance.

The predictable result of this policy is even more unemployment among Africans, especially because of the government's own laws of job reservation that restrict Africans to unskilled and semi-skilled labor. In a rare moment of insight, South Africa's Prime Minister B. J. Vorster has made the following prediction: "The greatest danger confronting South Africa is not so much the threat from outside her borders, serious though that may be, but mass unemployment and disturbed race relations." (X-Ray, London, Vol. 1, No. 5, Nov. 1970)

## INSIDE NAMIBIA

### ETOSHA PARK: HOMELAND FOR ANIMALS OR AFRICANS?

A cynical battle over the future of the Etosha National Park in Namibia is being fought between the South African Ministry of Bantu Administration and Development and the South African Wildlife Protection and Conservation Society. The latter organization is trying to protect part of the Etosha Park which the Bantu Administration would like to convert into African homelands. The Wildlife Association, whose main concern is to preserve rare animals and beautiful views, claims that the areas which are to go to Bantu homelands are desert areas



where people "will have to fight for survival." The Bantu Administration, on its part, claims to be enforcing the moves in the best interests of the Bantu people. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 9, 1971) Whichever side wins, the Africans are sure to lose.

## RECENT SWAPO RELEASES

The January-February, 1971 issue of **NAMIBIA TODAY** carries a summary of the progress of SWAPO (South West African people's Organization) in the year 1970. SWAPO reports having its guerrillas operating over most of northern Namibia, including the areas in which the Portuguese and South Africans are planning their Kunene River scheme and including the two "Bantustans" which have been created by the South African Government largely for the purpose of controlling the Namibian peoples. According to SWAPO, "a permanent organization of combat has been created in the northern and western regions" and the following military operations have been carried out in the last year:

Successful ambushes against the enemy forces	.....125
Enemy camps destroyed or attacked	.....75
Enemy vehicles destroyed	.....115
Enemy agents executed	.....27
Total deaths of the enemy forces	.....256
Enemy spies arrested and detained by the freedom fighters	.....49

SWAPO also reports progress within Namibia. Some of the political struggles listed are as follows: in January, 1970 a strike for better working conditions, higher wages and freedom to choose jobs in which over a thousand workers in a Walvis Bay fishing factory participated; another strike among workers of a uranium prospecting company near Rehoboth; and student strikes in the Ovamboland Ongwediva Secondary and Teachers' Training College.

Finally **NAMIBIA TODAY** reports SWAPO's participation in important international meetings: at the United

Nations, in Rome, in Pan African Women's and Pan African Youth Movement activities. In December, a SWAPO youth delegation visited liberated areas in Guinea (Bissau) with PAIGC militants.

In another recent release (Jan. 29, 1971) SWAPO commented on the South African Government proposal to the World Court for a plebiscite among the people of Namibia. The idea was not rejected completely, but SWAPO demanded that South Africa must first release all Namibian political prisoners, do away with the Bantustans, and take other measures which would ensure that the Namibian people were really able to choose freely. SWAPO's release concludes: "We would like to reiterate that as long as South Africa remains in Namibia, SWAPO would continue to wage the armed struggle—indeed to intensify it until Namibia is free and independent."

And SWAPO also released a letter smuggled out of the South African prison on Robben Island over a year ago. The letter, from 38 Namibian prisoners, describes the prisoners being "made to do hard labor in spite of severe cold, diseases, broken limbs, and exhaustion." "We are convinced," the letter said, "that no human being can do this type of work for years without losing his self respect and interest in life." (Guardian, Jan. 9, 1971)

## SOUTH AFRICAN WATERWORKS IN NAMIBIA

Work on the Portuguese/South African Kunene River project (see Southern Africa, October 1970) has begun with the construction of a canal which will fill water needs to Oshakati, an important town in Ovamboland, until, with the completion of the Kunene dams, the whole area will be provided with water: The canal now under construction will lead from Calueque, which is on the Angolan side of the Kunene.

A second undertaking is an aerial survey which will relate to the possibility of the construction of a huge dam on the Okavango River. This project, named Mbambi Dam Basin, would, if built, result in a dam stretching well into Angola and costing about \$140 million. (South African Digest, Feb. 26, 1971, and News from South Africa, Sept. 25, 1970)

# INSIDE ZIMBABWE

## SECRET TALKS STILL GOING ON

Secret negotiations between the British Government and the Smith regime are still going on. Prime Minister Smith was quoted as saying, "Both sides agreed they would say nothing in public, and wisely so I believe, because if you try to negotiate in public your negotiations are doomed to failure." (Daily News, Feb. 20, 1971)

According to the South African news magazine **Newscheck** (Oct. 30, 1970), the British Government is making an attempt "to arrange as unspectacular a setting for the talks as possible" in contrast to former Prime Minister Wilson's very visible profile. **Newscheck** further suggests that since Rhodesia has survived sanctions the Tory Government moves are just "pro forma." Britain is already quietly removing many of the legal barriers between her and her former colony. According to the statement by the British Foreign Secretary, Douglas-Home, the British Government "did not expect to put any sort of time-limit on the called-for transition to majority rule." This, according to **Newscheck**, is "the obvious loophole through which a settlement might slip." (**Newscheck**, Dec. 1971)

For his part Smith has started to tone down his speeches on racial questions. He is said to have lectured in

Fort Victoria, a rightwing stronghold, on dangers of "racial arrogance." The Daily Telegraph (U.K.) took note of the fact that Smith's Foreign Minister, Jack Howman, told a meeting of the Rhodesia Front "to avoid ill-considered actions or words on racial issues."

More than the talk is the fact that the regime is delaying two pieces of legislation which should have been debated during this session of Parliament. The Property Bill that would have allowed a given number of white property owners in any area to petition for the removal of any Asian or Coloured (mixed blood) peoples living in the area, and an Enabling Bill that would have enabled the regime to set up separate parks South African-style, have been put aside for the time being. Smith can afford to wait until he gets his go-ahead from Britain to embark officially on apartheid-style legislation.

## DEPORTED AT LAST

One of the few white people who have stood with Africans and denounced the Rhodesian Government for a long time has finally been deported. Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock was physically put on a plane out of Rhodesia early this month, not to return to the land where he has lived and worked for the last 21 years, as long as the present regime maintains control.

A former social worker in London, Guy Clutton-Brock went to Rhodesia 21 years ago as a missionary and

became a citizen of Rhodesia. He supported the first formation of an African nationalist organization in 1957. When the African National Congress was banned in 1959 he was the only white man among the several thousand Africans who were detained without trial. When he left detention, he helped form an integrated cooperative farm society outside Salisbury called Cold Comfort Farm. For that he was deprived of his citizenship and deported from Rhodesia.

Later Mr. Clutton-Brock said that there are about 40 members of the Cold Comfort Farm Society who are in trouble. He added, however, that "there are people in Rhodesia who have been detained for 12 years without trial."

The chairman of the Cold Comfort Farm Society, Didymus Mutasa, has been detained without trial. The secretary of the Society, Arthur Chadzingwa, was found guilty the other day of remaining a member of a banned organization (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 20, 1971).

The World Council of Churches has submitted a claim for the proceeds of the forthcoming sale of the farm. (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 13, 1972) The claim was made in a letter signed by Dr. Eugene Black, former president of the World Bank and now secretary general of the W.C.C. He said that the Council had provided about \$70,000 for setting up the 36 hectare farm.

#### DEMANDS DEPORTATION

A British-born political science lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia, Tony McAdam, is demanding his passport and a one-way visa out of Rhodesia following a brush with that regime. Mr. McAdam was listed as a co-editor of a recently published African nationalist magazine called "The Struggle." After the magazine went on the streets the security police visited Mr. McAdam and took away his passport and warned him of possible prosecution. Mr. McAdam says he has asked his lawyer to ask for a one-way exit permit out of the country because he can "see no point in coming to White Rhodesia. It's been very frustrating. Rhodesia is a racially sick society. Work here is becoming increasingly futile."

#### CONSPIRACY AGAINST AFRICA

ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) has expressed concern over a meeting that is now taking place in Salisbury, Rhodesia. According to a statement in the Standard of Tanzania (Feb. 19, 1971) ZANU reported a secret meeting of top security men of Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and South Africa. ZANU accused the four racist regimes of "plotting against the continent of Africa." It called on all the people of Africa, and in

particular of colonized Africa, to exercise greater vigilance. "This meeting must be regarded as a dangerous and hostile act against Africa," said the statement.

#### JOB RESERVATION MUST COME

"Many employers have taken advantage of loopholes in the law. . . . Unskilled Africans have been employed to do skilled work for which they were not qualified," complained president of the Trade Union Congress of White Rhodesia, Howard Bloomfield. "If these abuses continue on an increasing scale, the European artisans may well have to ask for job reservation." What Mr. Bloomfield is really saying is that the situation is ripe for legalizing what the unions have been practicing for many years. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Apprenticeship Act standards for craftsmanship in all industries and crafts are set by white unions. All the unions except three are closed to Africans and therefore no African has ever qualified even to be a plumber. The three unions which are open to Africans, the Typographical Union, the Mine Workers Union, and the Amalgamated Engineers' Union, all have a factional vote clause for semi-skilled and unskilled members and no African has become a full member yet. For the last 50 years Rhodesia has been importing workers and investing in transporting and training white workers because the unions will not allow training or hiring of Africans on all good-paying jobs. Because of the country's need for labor the unions have never been able to put this situation into law. The tide is now turning and the unions want to make sure the country shall never have "skilled" African workers for all time. They would rather stop the country from expanding than let an African earn a reasonable wage at a job which he has been doing for generations, and which he knows as well as the white artisan, especially in the building industry.

#### POSTSCRIPT ON THE TANGWENA PEOPLE

The people of Tangwena, in the eastern mountains of Inyanga, have finally lost their battle to remain on the land of their forefathers. The Rhodesian regime announced (Standard of Tanzania, Jan. 16, 1971) that there were now "no illegal tenants at Gaeresi." Gaeresi is a ranch in the Inyanga mountains for which ownership is claimed by a white and which the Land Tenure Act states belongs to whites; but which the people of Chief Rekayi Tangwena have known as their home for many generations, long before the white man came to Rhodesia. Chief Tangwena attempted to fight the mass removals of his people through the courts, but was ultimately physically removed by force.



Discrimination in education is the most clear-cut and widespread form of racism in the cultural sphere, according to the

Special Study. This is a view of an African school in Soweto in South Africa, where race separation is strictly imposed.

# PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

## MUSKIE AND THE PORTUGUESE

According to a New York Times dispatch from Lagos, Senator Edmund Muskie told a conference assembled by the African American Institute that the U.S. should try "as hard as possible" to persuade Portugal to give up her African territories. Given the history of such "persuasion" under the Kennedy administration, it would be unwise to see in this any political change from America's tacit support for Portuguese colonialism. Muskie's "director of foreign policy development," W. A. K. Lake, formerly worked on Kissinger's staff, and is reputed to have close ties with supporters of South Africa and Portugal.

## STRIKE, BOMBS IN PORTUGAL

Portuguese protest against the colonial war continues active on several fronts. Eight students at Coimbra were arrested on February 16 for participating in a protest meeting against the trial of ten people charged with belonging to MPLA. The following day nine thousand students went on strike at the university. The campus was patrolled by some 300 police.

On March 8 the Portuguese Government announced that a fire started by saboteurs at the Tancos military air base had destroyed at least 11 aircraft and a hangar.

## POLITICAL TRIALS IN PORTUGAL

Rev. Mario Pais de Oliveira, a Portuguese priest on trial for having opposed the colonial wars, was acquitted by a political court in Oporto. The acquittal came as a surprise, and was viewed as a victory for the liberal Catholic forces and the liberal Bishop of Oporto, Dom Antonio Ferreira Gomes.

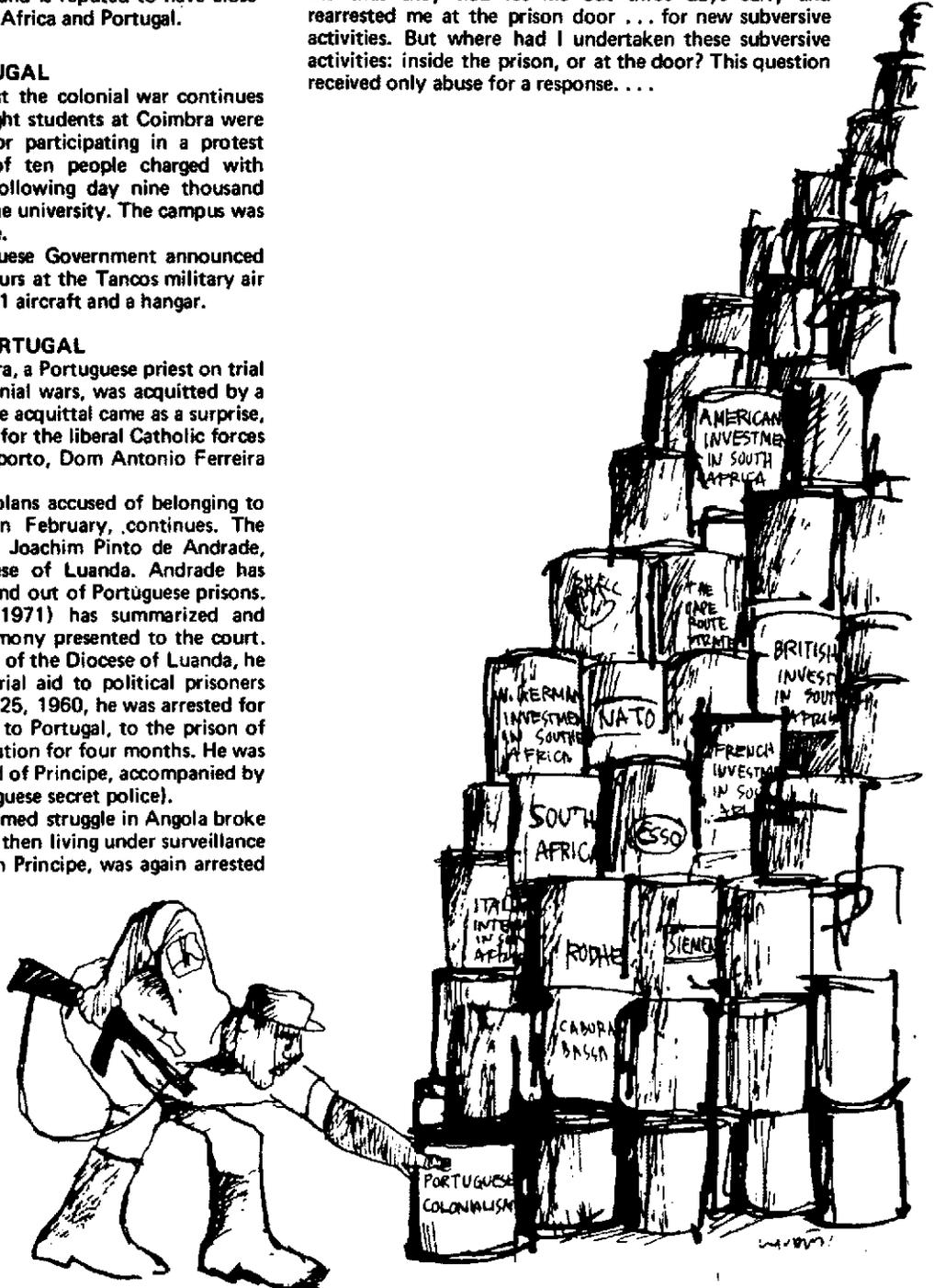
But the trial of ten Angolans accused of belonging to the MPLA, which began in February, continues. The central figure in the trial is Joachim Pinto de Andrade, ex-chancellor of the Diocese of Luanda. Andrade has spent the last ten years in and out of Portuguese prisons. AFRICASIA (1-14 Mars, 1971) has summarized and reproduced part of his testimony presented to the court.

In 1960, while chancellor of the Diocese of Luanda, he attempted to provide material aid to political prisoners and their families. On June 25, 1960, he was arrested for the first time. He was sent to Portugal, to the prison of Aljube, and was kept in isolation for four months. He was then transferred to the island of Principe, accompanied by an agent of PIDE (the Portuguese secret police).

In February, 1961 the armed struggle in Angola broke out. On April 25, Andrade, then living under surveillance with the Catholic mission in Principe, was again arrested

and taken to Lisbon, kept for several months in prison, and then transferred to the monastery of Singeverga, and forbidden to leave it. In July, 1962 he was again arrested and taken away from the monastery.

"On January 5, 1963 I had completed 177 days of preventive detention, without any charge. There were three days left to reach the maximum time permitted by the law. I was released but . . . immediately arrested at the door of the prison of Aljube and transferred to Caxias. On January 8, led to the PIDE headquarters, they informed me that they had let me out three days early and rearrested me at the prison door . . . for new subversive activities. But where had I undertaken these subversive activities: inside the prison, or at the door? This question received only abuse for a response. . . .



"After 180 more days, I sent a letter of protest to the director of PIDE and copies to the Ministers of Interior and Justice. My attorney, Antonio Alcada Baptista, asked for a "habeas corpus." On August 14 I was once again set free, but with my residence fixed in the town of Ponte do Sor, Portalegre district. I was placed under the guard of the G.N.R. (Republican National Guard). January 24, 1964, I was once again arrested. . . .

"On June 3, 1964 I was released, but taken to Vilar do Paraiso, having for a residence the seminary of Boa Nova. I was watched day and night. . . . Pope Paul VI intervened personally with the President of the Portuguese Republic, and I was allowed to move freely within Portugal. I was still forbidden to return to my country or to go outside Portugal. On October 10, 1967 I settled in Lisbon and enrolled in the Faculty of Law. On April 7, 1970 I was arrested for the sixth time."

Joachim de Andrade's only offense, said his lawyer on the opening day of the trial, is to be "black, Angolan, educated, and not servile." AFRICASIA's headline reads that "the trial of Joachim de Andrade is the trial of all the people of Angola in struggle for their independence."

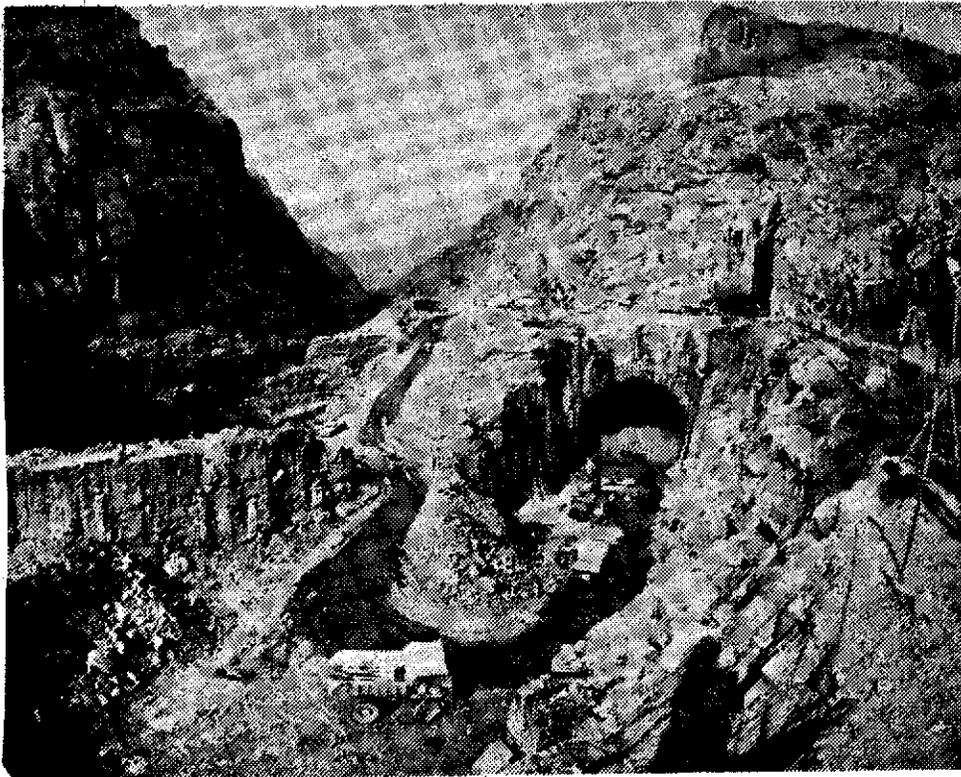
#### 18 MOZAMBICAN NATIONALISTS DEAD IN PRISON

From sources close to the Portuguese authorities, it has been learned that 18 African nationalists, mostly intellectuals, have died in prison after two months of torture inflicted by agents of the Portuguese political

police. Among the victims is a leader of FRELIMO, Joel Monteiro, who was arrested in 1964, while organizing the FRELIMO underground in southern Mozambique. Condemned by the Supreme Military Court in Lisbon in 1966 to 5 years in prison, he created a movement to resist the "rehabilitation" program put into practice by the political police in 1968. Three months ago at Machava prison, located 10 km. from Lourenco Marques, the police searched his cell and discovered a list of names, messages, and material considered "subversive." Among the 26 prisoners on the list, 8 have gone over to the service and decided to "collaborate" with the authorities. The other 18 are dead. (Le Monde, Jan. 30, 1971)

#### CABORA BASSA AND THE WAR

Portuguese claims to have ensured the security of Cabora Bassa seem increasingly hollow. The Portuguese claimed in February to have eliminated the FRELIMO units near the dam and south of the Zambezi. But in March Portugal accused Zambia of responsibility for "kidnapping" 11 Portuguese who were working for the Zambezi Valley Agricultural Research Department. Portugal blames Zambia for the prisoners taken by FRELIMO, and has threatened to close her transport facilities to Zambia, which is still dependent on those routes for transport of copper. (New York Times, March 6, 1971)



#### MOZAMBIQUE DAM WORRIES U.S.

Nixon policymakers are divided over a dam in Mozambique that will bring the South African issue to a boil. The Export-Import Bank has been asked to finance a \$55 million transformer system in a big dam the Germans and Italians have started for the Portuguese. The power is already contracted for sale to South Africa, which prompts some U.S. diplomats to warn against involvement. But General Electric is pressing to furnish the equipment; so Secretary of State William P. Rogers faces a tough decision. (Chicago Sun-Times, March 21, 1971)

# Cabora scheme takes shape

# ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

## SCOTTISH M.P.'s BACK UNIVERSITY DRIVE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT

2,100 signatures have been collected on a petition calling for the immediate liquidation of Edinburgh University's South African investments (see Southern Africa, March 1970). Included among the signatories were 20 Scottish M.P.'s. At a Glasgow university the student association ended its business with an insurance company because of its South African ties. (The Guardian, Jan. 21, 1971)

## A COOKED GOOSE?

Complaints are being brought to the British Race Relations Board against Thomas Cook and Sons' offerings in South Africa which, in conjunction with BOAC and South African Airways, advertise holidays at whites-only places in South Africa (The Guardian, Jan. 21, 1971).

## ACTION NOW NEEDED ON SUGAR QUOTA

In 1971 it is necessary for Congress to pass a new Sugar Act. Therefore it is the time to call for an end to the subsidy to South Africa made by the sugar quota system. The final adjusted quota offered to South Africa in 1970 was 57,000 tons, worth approximately \$5 million! The South African Sugar Association has already begun its lobbying against any change (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 6, 1971), as portended by an amendment to the act proposed by Jonathan Bingham (Dem.-New York) in the House and Edward Kennedy (Dem.-Mass.) in the Senate. This amendment calls for the revocation of the quota and its reallocation to independent African countries. Support for this action is needed now.

Representative W. R. Poage (Dem.—Texas), conservative chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, is to hold hearings on the issue, and Bingham and Congressman Ogden Reid (Rep.-New York) have been asked to testify. Support letters and telegrams should be sent to your Congressmen and Senators, with copies to Congressman Jonathan Bingham, 133 Cannon House Office Building, Congressman John Dow (Dem.-New York), member of the Agriculture Committee, and Senator Edward Kennedy, 432 Old Senate Office Building.

## BBC HIT

Trade unionists in Leeds, England have attacked the British Broadcasting Company for banking at the controversial Barclays Bank which had numerous links with South Africa and with the Cabora Bassa project. (The Nationalist of Tanzania, Feb. 9, 1971)

## NEW BRITISH COMMITTEE TO STOP ARMS SALES

In early March, after the British Government's announcement to sell helicopters to South Africa, an ad hoc group called the Committee Against Arms for Apartheid was formed. The Committee plans to encourage action beyond words, to mobilize Commonwealth countries and local British groups to intensify opposition to the sales. (Press Release, March 5, 1971)

## CYPRIOIS FUND DRIVE FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The Cyprus African National Committee has launched a campaign to raise funds to equip a 10-bed field hospital for the PAIGC. The group is headed by Dr. V. Lyssarides, the personal physician of President Makarios, and an

executive member of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization. (Standard of Tanzania, Jan. 20, 1971)

## POLAROID WORKER FIRED—CAMPAIGN MOVES AHEAD

Caroline Hunter, spokeswoman for the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement (P.R.W.M.) and until recently a chemist at Polaroid, was "dismissed" from her job on February 24 after having been suspended two weeks earlier. (New York Times, Feb. 25, 1971) The Polaroid management move came on the heels of accelerated activity on the part of the P.R.W.M. Caroline Hunter and another former Polaroid employee, Ken Williams, had appeared before the Special Committee on Apartheid at the United Nations and called for an international boycott of Polaroid in rejection of the "Polaroid Experiment." The campaign by the black workers had begun to receive considerable press coverage in the U.S. and South Africa, and these ripples as well as defensiveness of Polaroid President Edwin Land, culminated in the firing of Miss Hunter. Although Polaroid has refused to comment and only stated that her dismissal was "for conduct detrimental to the best interests of the company," Caroline said "It is just further proof of the racism that exists at Polaroid. At Polaroid they say that if my rights interfere with their profits that they can suspend those rights, as they did with me. I intend to continue to work on the boycott." (New York Times, Feb. 2, 1971)

Support for the Polaroid boycott has developed in several quarters on a national scope. In Washington, the Black Jaguars have initiated a city-wide call to boycott Polaroid products (Third World, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1971). The P.R.W.M. organizing in Washington has also resulted in a decision by Congressman Charles Diggs, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on Africa, to hold hearings on the Polaroid issue in March or April. The work of the Polaroid Workers has been supported by a new Africa sub-committee member, Congressman Ron Dellums (Dem.-Calif.). (Guardian, New York, Feb. 27, 1971) In California, students connected with the Research Group for the Liberation of Portuguese Africa at the University of California (Riverside) carried the campaign to camera stores in downtown Riverside where store owners allowed anti-Polaroid posters to go up; one of the store owners commented, "... we're with you. We don't like Polaroid either—we lose money on every one of them." (Press-Enterprise, Jan. 24, 1971) The stores have not removed the products however. In Riverside the group has called for action with the following points:

1. Don't buy any product with the brand name POLAROID.

2. Send letters of support for the boycott to: Edwin H. Land, President, Polaroid Corporation, 549 Technology Square Plaza, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

3. Spread the word about the boycott among your friends.

4. Activate yourself: do research, write pamphlets, draw posters, distribute leaflets, picket stores selling POLAROID products, write letters to POLAROID regional offices and sales representatives.

5. Join the RGLPA; or start your own research collective.

There have been several rallies in Cambridge, particularly in the black community, in response to Caroline's being fired, with plans for more in-depth community work.

## TWO ARTICLES ON POLAROID:

"Polaroid Apartheid: Pull Tab, Wait 60 Seconds," by Daniel Schechter, RAMPARTS, March, 1971.

"The Polaroid Approach to South Africa," by George M. Houser, CHRISTIAN CENTURY, Feb. 24, 1971 (copies available for 5 cents from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016).

## BLACK CHURCHMEN MOVE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Black Unitarian Universalist Caucus (B.U.U.C.) held its annual meeting in Cleveland and announced plans to call for proxies held by people in Gulf, G.M. and Polaroid in order to work against apartheid. The B.U.U.C. also passed a resolution supporting the boycott of Portuguese products by the Congress of African Peoples, and the demands of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement. (Christian Century, March 3, 1971)

## INTERNATIONAL MEETING FOCUSES ON "COLLABORATION" WITH SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIMES

In Dar es Salaam in early February, representatives of the West German International Cooperation Committee, the Dutch Angola Comite', British Anti-Apartheid Movement, and French National Committee of Support for the Liberation Struggle in the Portuguese Colonies met together with Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) officials and others to discuss facts about and actions against relationships which support apartheid and colonialism in southern Africa. This "working group" particularly condemned NATO countries for supplying arms to Portugal, and denounced the French for arms sales to South Africa, underlining the use of French helicopters in anti-guerrilla warfare. (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 10, 1971) The meeting also scored the Cabora Bassa Project, especially West German involvement, Portugal's role in the International Coffee Agreement, African countries interested in "dialogue" with South Africa, the acceleration in Japanese investment, and various other national links (citing countries such as Israel, Belgium, Italy, Brazil, Argentina, Switzerland, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries). The two projects which emerged from the meeting included campaigns by countries within the NATO alliance but more sympathetic toward African liberation to raise the issue there, and working against British arms sales to South Africa. (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 11, 1971)

## UNIVERSITIES AND ANTI-CORPORATE CAMPAIGNS: CORNELL, COLUMBIA, OBERLIN TAKE ACTION ON STUDENT LEVEL

On February 25 the Student Senate at Cornell University adopted a Southern African Investments Bill which recommends that the University Treasurer (or an appropriate official) request specific information (eight questions) about practices in the employment, training, supervision, unionization and developmental fields in Southern Africa from six companies in which Cornell holds more than \$11 million worth of stock. The companies are Gulf Oil, G.M., Ford, First National City Bank, Texaco, and Mobil Oil. In addition, the bill stipulates that if the corporation fails, "as interpreted by the Senate body, to give a positive and satisfactory response . . . or does not answer in one month, then the Treasurer should be directed "to take necessary action to introduce into a meeting of that corporation a motion that either this condition(s) should be corrected immediately, or all subsidiaries and agents in Southern Africa should cease operation: he should be directed to vote Cornell's shares in favor of this motion," or support other similar

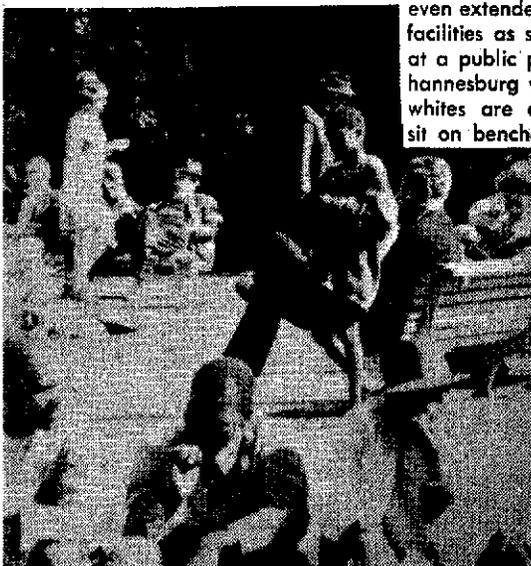
motions. Finally, if such motions fail, the Treasurer should introduce the motions at future meetings. The bill also recommended that Cornell should not buy any more stocks in the cited corporations or others "similarly involved in the support of apartheid and colonialist governments of Southern Africa." The University Trustees were to consider the bill in March. The final Senate version eliminated an earlier draft which called for the sale of stock in said companies if conditions were not satisfied.

At Oberlin College in Ohio, a newly formed Committee on South Africa has worked steadily to insert the Southern Africa corporate issue into various campus forums including the Committee on Social and Political Concerns, the Student Senate, and Student Concerns Committee. The Student Senate has allotted the Committee some research funds. Oberlin has stock in 34 companies functioning in Southern Africa. There has been discussion in the Social and Political Concerns Committee, which has held meetings on "social investment," of establishing more student involvement. The Committee on South Africa is holding a fast on March 23 with monies going to the liberation movements; it is also circulating a campus petition to the Board of Trustees to use Oberlin's shares in G.M. and Gulf to vote for various resolutions being presented at the annual meetings. (Oberlin Review, Feb. 20, March 5, 1971)

Finally, at Columbia the all University Senate will consider a resolution calling for the use of Columbia's almost \$2 million worth of stock in Gulf to vote for resolutions opposing Gulf's role in Southern Africa.

At the University of Michigan the State Regents reversed a decision in October, 1970 of the Student Services Policy Board deciding that firms which function in South Africa will be allowed to recruit on campus "but not for employment in countries where discrimination is enforced." (Wall Street Journal, March 16, 1971) This action effectively undermines the resolution which called for no company which works in South Africa to recruit in the liberal arts and education division of the University. The resolution said that "no corporation where discrimination is legally enforced on the basis of race, color, creed, or sex, for example, South Africa, shall be allowed to use the services of the OSS Placement Office." (See Southern Africa, Nov.-Dec. 1970, p. 31)

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



## PROPOSED CAMPUS ACTION ON GULF

### Gulf on the Campus: A Call for a Campaign

Some 39 universities are among current Gulf stockholders (see list below). This makes them partners in Portugal's colonial wars and beneficiaries of the present U.S. policy of support for Portugal.

Members of the university community, especially students and faculty, have therefore a particular responsibility for:

- (1) exposing Gulf's role in Africa;
- (2) investigating their own institution's complicity in Gulf's colonial profits;
- (3) educating the university community about the liberation struggle in southern Africa;
- (4) insisting that Gulf get out of Angola and Mozambique.

The campaign may proceed on three levels:

#### (1) PRESSURE ON GULF

(a) the return of Gulf credit cards by individuals. If a Gulf office or other central point exists, group return of cards, statements, and publicity are possible;

(b) protests against campus recruitment by Gulf and allied companies in line with United Nations condemnation of corporate support of colonialism;

(c) demand that Gulf products be removed from use and from sale on campus;

(d) counter appearances if and when Gulf (or Portuguese) officials speak (i.e. to business schools about corporate responsibility, or to schools of international studies or diplomacy) to raise questions, distribute leaflets, etc.;

(e) delegations to, pickets, and demonstrations at Gulf stations or offices;

(f) publicity (which is education, since few Americans understand U.S. involvement) can be secured by letters to the editors if news columns fail; take advantage of any news of Portugal and/or the colonies to follow up by letter; get the campus paper involved;

(g) ask for support of campus organizations in all activities;

(h) prepare for the annual stockholders' meeting (below).

#### (2) PRESSURE ON THE UNIVERSITY

Secure facts about university involvement: check the university stock portfolio; membership of the Board of Trustees for interlocking directorates with Gulf or Mellon interests.

Build a campus campaign to support the demand that Gulf withdraw from Portuguese areas of Africa:

(a) by petition of individual signatures;

(b) by organizational endorsements especially by groups such as the student council, black student union, faculty senate, and the like;

(c) by enlisting the campus press as far as possible to secure educational articles as well as action news;

(d) by an educational campaign utilizing school resources where possible;

(i) campus seminars and teach-ins on the U.S. and the Portuguese colonies and similar topics;

(ii) use knowledgeable African students, particularly any from the Portuguese colonies, as speakers in seminars, in general planning;

(iii) find out who else has specialized knowledge, such as church people, black scholars, etc.

Act on university involvement:

(1) by asking to appear before the next or a special meeting of the university trustees;

(2) by finding out what committee or individuals have specific responsibility for investments (i.e. look at the Treasurer's office);

(3) by approaching individual trustees, especially those with specific responsibility.

### UNIVERSITIES & COLLEGES WITH GULF STOCK

Senator Lee Metcalf (Dem.—Mont.) recently published a list of selected colleges and universities owning stock in public utilities, fuel companies, and oil companies. The following own shares in Gulf Oil:

College or University	No. of Shares
California Institute of Technology	39,384
University of California (Berkeley)	75,000
Clark University	4,000
Columbia University	66,841
Cornell University	94,993
Dartmouth College	49,534
Duke University	11,073
Emory University	30,880
Harvard College	671,187
University of Illinois	1,758
University of Illinois Foundation	2,234
Indiana University	474
University of Kansas	3,727
Lehigh University	25,004
Macalester College	7,726
University of Maryland	2,320
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	96,056
University of Michigan (End)	21,240
University of Michigan (Retirement)	10,288
University of Montana	40
Mount Holyoke College	14,942
University of North Carolina	7,889
Northwestern University	107,567
Notre Dame University	37,266
Oberlin College	28,912
University of Pennsylvania	47,749
University of Pittsburgh	279,116
Pomona College	5,908
Princeton University	271,856
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	74,457
Smith College	28,404
Swarthmore College	10,306
Syracuse University	3,000
University of Texas	118,436
Tulane University	20,640
Vanderbilt University	19,190
University of Virginia	14,400
Case Western Reserve University	12,000
University of Wisconsin	4,000
Total:	2,319,802

(Taken from the Congressional Record of Dec. 28, 1970, p. E-10753.)

**(3) GULF'S STOCKHOLDERS MEETING—APRIL 27, 1971**

A focus for the entire Gulf campaign, which is broader than the campus and includes church groups and others working to support the liberation movements, is the annual stockholders' meeting on April 27. The approach will be spearheaded by church groups that hold large blocs of stock and others who will demand Gulf's withdrawal from Angola.

The Southern African Task Force of the United Presbyterian Church has presented resolutions which have been placed on the shareholder's proxy form.

All stockholders are strongly urged to contact the Southern Africa Committee immediately for further information on the stockholders' meeting and plans to challenge Gulf.

If the university is a stockholder (see list p. 13) a campaign can evolve around the use of that stock in relation to the April meeting. As part of the campaign, members of the university could be urged to:

- (1) participate in demonstrations planned;
- (2) represent, ad hoc, the unrepresented university; or
- (3) make demands on university representatives present;
- (4) help publicize the Gulf campaign.

Any campus events related to the campaign can be used for FUND-RAISING:

- (1) meetings, seminars, and the like should have collections taken, rather than admissions;
- (2) sale of literature, etc., can also raise funds;

(3) collection cans can be used at demonstrations or in general;

(4) special fund-raising events (parties, concerts, bazaars, with tie-ins, etc.) can be arranged to raise money not only for campaign expenses but to support the needs of the African liberation movements.

**Aids Available for the Campaign:**

From the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, more information about Gulf, Portuguese colonialism and U.S. policy, the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea is available. Write for:

- (1) "Why We Protest Gulf's Operations in Portuguese Africa" (\$.05 each)
- (2) "Allies in Empire: the U.S. and Portugal in Africa," a special 36-page issue of Africa Today (\$.50 each)
- (3) Sample stickers on Gulf (free)
- (4) Literature list on Southern Africa (free)

From the Committee for Returned Volunteers, 840 West Oakland, Chicago, Ill. 60657, more information on Gulf Corporation and liberation movements:

- (1) "Gulf Corporation—A Report", a survey of Gulf on a global scale (\$.50 each)
- (2) "Luta—Struggle: Voices of African Liberation" (\$.35 each)
- (3) "Gulf Kills" buttons (\$.25 each)

From the Liberation Support Movement, P. O. Box 15210, Seattle, Washington 98115, information on the liberation struggle in Angola. Write for their literature list.

**Distribution of people in South Africa**

NATION	Area						Average annual increase (per cent)*		
	Republic		White areas		Bantu homelands		Republic	White areas	Bantu homelands
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970			
Whites	3 088	3 779	3 064	3 761	24	18	2.11	2.14	-2.9
Coloureds	1 509	1 996	1 494	1 983	15	13	2.94	2.97	-1.5
Asiatics	477	614	471	611	6	3	2.65	2.73	-4.9
Bantu	10 928	14 893	6 827	7 975	4 101	6 918	3.25	1.62	5.56
Zulu	2 864	3 970	—	—	—	—	3.44	—	—
Xhosa	3 063	3 907	—	—	—	—	2.55	—	—
Tswana	1 150	1 702	—	—	—	—	4.14	—	—
Sepedi	957	1 596	—	—	—	—	5.43	—	—
Seshoeshoe	1 291	1 416	—	—	—	—	0.96	—	—
Shangaan	507	731	—	—	—	—	3.86	—	—
Swazi	339	487	—	—	—	—	3.82	—	—
Venda	242	360	—	—	—	—	4.19	—	—
South Ndebele	291	230	—	—	—	—	3.6	—	—
North Ndebele	—	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other Bantu	224	314	—	—	—	—	3.56	—	—
Total	16 002	21 282	11 856	14 330	4 146	6 952	2.99	1.92	5.49

SOURCE: 1. Department of Statistics, Population Census 6th September, 1960, Volume 7, No. 1.

2. Hansard, No. 10 (21st September to 25th September, 1970).

\* Compilations by BEPA.

# SHARPEVILLE COMMEMORATIONS: A Summary

## CAMBRIDGE

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, Africa Research Group, Committee of Returned Volunteers, Community Change, and the newly formed National Movement Against Apartheid sponsored a noon rally on March 22 in Tech Square where Polaroid was indicted "for the crime of murder and genocide on black people." The evening before, the film "Phela-Ndaba" (End of the Dialogue) was shown at a mass meeting.

## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Columbia Institute for Human Rights posted pictures of the Sharpeville Massacre.

## UNITED NATIONS

The Special Committee on Apartheid called upon groups and every "concerned person" to observe March 21, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. A donation center for contributions to the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa was set up in the N.G.O. lounge of the U.N.; Secretary-General U Thant reiterated his previous call for an arms embargo against South Africa, called for an amnesty for all political prisoners, and intensified public action. The Special Session of the Special Committee on Apartheid was held with international representatives of anti-apartheid groups.

## DETROIT

Detroit Youth Against War and Fascism commemorated the 11th anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville with two days of activities designed to expose the role of U.S. banks and corporations. On Friday March 19, five groups of two-five people leafletted five branches of the Bank of the Commonwealth, recently bought out by Chase Manhattan Bank (New York). Hundreds of leaflets were distributed to customers and passers-by explaining how Chase Manhattan has lent millions of dollars to the fascist South African Government.

At 4:30 p.m. the five groups and other friends gathered in front of the main office of the Bank of the

Commonwealth. Carrying signs saying: "Jail Rockefeller," "Free South Africa," "Racism Pays for the Bank of the Commonwealth," etc.

On Saturday March 20, two groups of 4-5 people picketed outside two camera outlet stores that carry Polaroid camera equipment. Carrying signs and handing out leaflets, the demonstrators exposed the fact that Polaroid sells the equipment that is used to make the passbooks that blacks must carry at all times in South Africa. The demonstrators called for a boycott of Polaroid products in accord with the international boycott called by Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement in Massachusetts

## WASHINGTON

Fifty or more demonstrators gathered near the South African Embassy protesting South Africa-U.S. links. Speakers included Ken Williams of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement.

## NEW YORK

The Pan African Students Organization in the Americas and the Student Organization for Black Unity sponsored a "Day of Solidarity with the people of Angola" on Wednesday, March 17, and a "Day of Solidarity with the People of South Africa" on March 21. The latter included a stadium rally at Mount Morris Park in Harlem with South African speakers and representatives of the organizing groups. The SOBU Newsletter carried special articles on Southern Africa, calling March 15-21 "National Southern Africa Week."

## NEWARK

A rally and fund-raising event was organized by the Rutgers University (Newark) Black students, on Sunday March 21, with several South African speakers.

(This listing is not exhaustive, but represents only those commemorations about which we have received information.)



Sharpeville, March 21, 1960 — Africans Running From Apartheid Bullets

## NEWSOM SPEAKS AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The following is a leaflet which was distributed when David Newsom, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, spoke at Northwestern University on December 7, 1970:

### MEET DAVID DUNLOP NEWSOM

Born in California, 1918; served in the U.S. Navy, 1942-46

Newspaper reporter, 1938-41

Promoted U.S. State Department interests in: Karachi—Oslo—Baghdad—London

Experienced in "handling the Arab Situation" for the State Department

- Baghdad, Public Affairs Officer
- USIS Officer
- In charge of Arab Peninsula and Iraqi affairs
- Libya: Ambassador "Extraordinary"
- Director, North African Affairs

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs since 1969. Visited South Africa and its "hostage states" in November 1970. Consulted with South African Foreign Minister.

Newsom claims that "Black Americans aren't interested in Southern African affairs"

-How many Black groups have you addressed while in office as Africa Secretary?

-How many Black groups did you address in South Africa?

(By the Ad Hoc Chicago Committee for a free Southern Africa)

### MEET THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Napalm and Phosphorous bombs marked "Made in U.S.A." dropped by Portuguese imperialists from U.S.-supplied Harvard T-3 and T-6 bombers.

Black-out in U.S. racist press about news from African countries, and U.S. policies in colonialist-dominated areas

Over 400 U.S. corporations invest \$750 million in South Africa, supporting the racist government and making huge profits off the backs of Black Africans.

Now "Handling" Southern Africa for Nixon:

- negotiated deal to sell South African government Lear Jets ("for civilian uses only"??), in direct violation of U.N. arms embargo against South Africa
- \$3.1 million in Pentagon sales to South Africa in 1969

What new "deals" did you work out with South Africa's fascist regime, Davey? More planes? More military aid? More capital investments? or More U.S. TROOPS if requested? (or was it "advisors"?)



Young Victims of Apartheid

# U.S. & SOUTHERN AFRICA

## ANALYSIS OF SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY

Ken Owen of the Star Bureau in Washington (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 13, 1971) has been able to trace a major shift in U.S. policy towards southern Africa over the last two years.

In April, 1969 Kissinger's staff produced what came to be known as the Kennedy-Morris paper advocating a more conservative policy towards southern Africa than had been followed by the previous administration. William Witt of the State Department then replied with a paper advocating greater attention to the views of independent African governments and possible progressive isolation of South Africa. Kissinger then organized a December (1969) meeting of the National Security Council in which he laid out five possible policy options.

View No. 1 (or the "Dean Acheson View") favored treating South Africa like any other sovereign state, thereby not discussing its domestic affairs.

View No. 2 (or the "Communication View") sought to bring South Africa into greater contact with the West and independent Africa, while condemning apartheid on moral grounds.

View No. 3 was a continuation of the previous administration's policies and was the view favored by the State Department.

Views No. 4 and No. 5 called for stronger actions and confrontations to change the Southern African regimes and were never seriously considered. Upon seeing that it was losing ground, the State Department put up View No. 3A, which advocated a six-month delay while the department sounded out African governments about a possible change in policy.

The President and the National Security Council opted for View No. 2 and the expressions of the new policy have become increasingly clear since. In Nixon's "State of the World" message of February, 1970 the President said that southern Africa's problems were based "in the psychology of both Black and White," and the Administration began tacitly supporting Vorster's "Outward Policy." In November, 1970 the U.S. recommended to the African states that they undertake increased dialogue with South Africa. In January, 1971 the sale of Boeing 707's (see Southern Africa, March 1971) to Portugal was announced.

## HAREWOOD TRIP

Judge Richard Harewood, a black lawyer and member of the Circuit Court of Chicago, recently visited Cape Town as the guest of the South African Foundation after a cruise on the Queen Elizabeth II. According to Die Vaderland (South Africa), Harewood stated that South Africa had made some progress on the race problem and that the future solution of it lay in dialogue between South Africa and the black states of the African continent.

## VANDENBOSCH BOOK AND OPINION

Through the University of Kentucky Press Amry Vandenbosch, Prof. Emeritus at the University of Kentucky, has just published "South Africa and the World" in which he says that South Africa will be forced to modify its apartheid policies or face a recession or return to a largely agrarian society. He does not think that South Africa can afford to withdraw from the U.N. but thinks that the African states are in no position to menace the country militarily and that the Western powers should reject mandatory sanctions. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1971)

## TESTIMONY BEFORE DIGGS PANEL

In recent testimony before Rep. Diggs' Africa Subcommittee, Assistant Secretary Newsom called apartheid "abhorrent." South African Ambassador Taswell responded by reminding Americans that they have their own racial problems and should not therefore criticize South Africa. Congressman Diggs then stated that, "the South Africans always come up with that line about America's race situation, after our officials attack apartheid. But it is irrelevant. . . . We admit we have racial problems. But the point is that racism is not our official policy, and our Government rejects it." (Rand Daily Mail, Dec. 10, 1970)

## AFRICA TRIP

Congressmen Diggs and Dellums (Dem., Calif.), the two black members of a five-man group visiting Africa as part of the House Subcommittee on Africa, only made a transit stop in Johannesburg before going on to Kinshasa. They apparently had not applied for visas for South Africa. Their three Republican companions (Edward Derwinski, Illinois; Herbert Burke, Florida; Irving Whalley, Pennsylvania), however, did stop off for a visit in Johannesburg. (New York Times, Feb. 23, 1971 [from Agence France-Press])



Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., new House Subcommittee on Africa chairman, is holding a series of hearings on southern Africa issues.

## AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Five members of the House Agricultural Committee recently visited South Africa, including the KWV winery of the Western Cape, as part of "an extensive world tour designed to acquaint themselves with the most important agricultural products" of certain countries. They were W. R. Poage, Chairman (Dem., Texas), T. G. Abernethy (Dem., Mississippi), G. A. Goodling (Rep., Pennsylvania), W. Mayne (Rep., Iowa), and E. de la Garza (Dem., Texas). (South African Digest, Jan. 15, 1971)

## U.S. POLICY DISCUSSIONS AND NIXON'S "STATE OF THE WORLD"

In the recent hearings before the House Subcommittee on Africa, Franklin Williams, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Waldemar Nielsen, President of the African American Institute, argued for much stronger U.S. actions against the white regimes of Southern Africa, including such measures as recall of the Ambassador to South Africa and several of the consuls, closure of U.S.I.S. offices, ending the sugar quota, and denying visas to athletes such as Gary Player as long as Americans like Arthur Ashe are refused permission to visit

South Africa. Nielsen and others believe that pressure should be applied first to Portugal. Rep. Ogden Reid (Rep., New York) recently said that the U.S. has no policy on southern Africa "except getting by" and helped collect about 50 signatures from Congressmen urging the Conservative Government of Britain to refrain from any further arms sales to South Africa. Carl Rowan wrote after his recent trip to South Africa that many American executives in South Africa actually applaud the apartheid system.

Other influential political leaders and administration spokesmen oppose any change in U.S. policy. Rep. Poage (Dem., Texas), Chairman of the House Agricultural Committee, thinks the U.S. is already "meddling too much in Africa." George Kennan, in the January issue of Foreign Affairs, and Assistant Secretary Newsom have recently argued against any actions that would "isolate" further the South African regime. (New York Times, Feb. 25, 1971)

In his "State of the World" address, President Nixon reiterated U.S. abhorrence of "racism," U.S. commitment to economic sanctions against the white regime in Rhodesia and U.S. refusal to "associate" herself with any "violent" solutions to southern African problems. (New York Times, Feb. 26, 1971)

# Analysis of G. Kennan's View towards Southern Africa

by David Robinson

## HAZARDOUS COURSES FOR THE U.S.?

Any article about southern Africa, written by an American "expert" on East-West and Europe-centered relations and published in Foreign Affairs, is of unusual interest. Particularly when the U.S. Administration appears to be shifting its policy towards that area, as expressed in the sale of "executive-type" aircraft to the South African Government and Army (Financial Times, Oct. 28, 1970) and of Boeing 707's to the Portuguese Government (for troop transport to Africa; International Herald Tribune, Jan. 6, 1971). Consequently George Kennan's foray into southern African questions ("Hazardous courses in Southern Africa," Foreign Affairs, Jan. 1971) bears careful scrutiny.

His final proposal—the abandonment of even a verbal commitment by Western powers to majority rule—coincides with the change in Administration perspective.

Kennan's argument is a familiar one. His perspective is "world stability" and the interests of the Western powers, his focus is South Africa. Apartheid is, of course, abhorrent and absurd, but the situation is exceedingly complex. No military, economic, or other pressures on the white rulers of the area can succeed in changing the situation for the better, according to Kennan, and would only make the African suffer first. The material situation of the Africans has improved, he says, and is considerably better than that of Africans in the independent countries. Contact with the West and the complexities of continued economic development—particularly the scarcity of skilled labor and the imperative to take Africans into positions—will force the whites to liberalize their regimes. The West should therefore abandon its denunciation and allow the white rulers to work out the destinies of their areas.

## U.S. Must not get Involved

The article thrives on omission. The most obvious is the absence of any documentation: no footnotes, no references of any kind. Perhaps writers in "Foreign Affairs" are exempted from the criteria of normal scholarship. More interesting is the fact that Kennan scarcely mentions Mozambique—where Portuguese rule was most atrocious and where the liberation struggle is most advanced, and Rhodesia—the one instance where the U.S. has followed the initiatives of the U.N. and the independent African countries by applying economic sanctions. Kennan omits any discussion of present Western involvement in southern Africa in the form of investment, trade, arms sales, defense arrangements. This allows him to exploit present inclinations to reduce commitments: America should NOT "get involved" in southern Africa, but rather leave "the people to work out their own solutions. Kennan refrains from identifying the present situation as disorderly, violent and hostile; for him repression is a form of stability. This permits him to talk of political and economic pressures as INDUCING disruption, violence and polarization. Finally, Kennan neglects the history of southern African protest against white rule, allowing him to paint the movement for change as external and its protagonists as outside agitators or malcontents.

In South Africa, the economic situation of the urban African is declining, not improving as the author would have us believe. Any apparent increases in African income in certain sectors have been offset by inflation. The percentage difference between white and non-white earnings has increased sharply in manufactures (from 440% in 1962 to 485% in 1967—Financial Mail, South Africa, Sept. 6, 1968) and in gold mining (from 1,450% in

1951 to 1,750% in 1966—Financial Mail, South Africa, May 10, 1968). In fact, the real wages of African gold miners are quite possibly BELOW what they were in 1911. The education situation of Africans, Kennan notwithstanding, is abysmal. In fact, the per capita expenditure for African children has DECLINED, from R17.08 (\$23.91) in 1953-54 to R14.48 (\$20.27) in 1968-69 (while costs per white child in the latter year varied from R191 (\$267.40) in the Transvaal to R285 (\$399.00) in Natal (Survey on Bantu Education, 1964; Star, Johannesburg, June 21, 1970).

#### Prosperity and White Supremacy

And so on. The basic reality is that all South African whites and their investors in the West, of whatever political language, are committed to the twin goals of prosperity and white supremacy and are ready to achieve them by whatever mix of economic integration, apartheid ideology and apartheid practice proves feasible (see Frederick Johnstone, "White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today," African Affairs, April 1970). The key to success is the maximum possible exploitation of the non-whites. The job color bar may be flexibly administered to allow some non-whites into skilled positions, but they will never acquire any economic power because the essential prerequisites—the right to organize, the right to establish residence in an urban area, the right to an adequate education—are proscribed by law.

In South West Africa Kennan urges the Western powers not to support the U.N. mandate to take over the area. He assumes that apartheid is workable there, that the African majority are happy because of their relative isolation from the whites and that educational standards are relatively good. The reality of the territory, as Ruth First describes it (in SOUTH WEST AFRICA) is

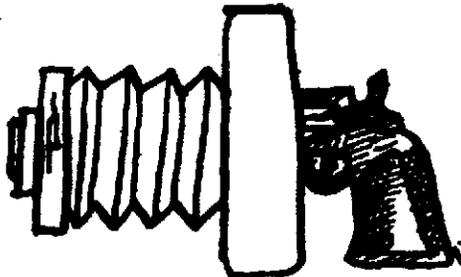
"government of the people, by government officials, for the labour recruiter." The so-called "indirect rule" of the impoverished north equals the control of Bantu Affairs Commissioners, no development expenditures and a labor reserve for the enterprises of the south. In 1958-59, while the Government was spending over \$117.6 on white pupils, it was spending only \$36.40 on Africans within the Police Zone (south) and LESS THAN \$5.60 ON AFRICANS LIVING IN THE NORTH!

#### "Tolerant racial policies. . ."

Kennan's greatest praise is reserved for the Portuguese areas, where "relatively tolerant racial policies . . . break the bipolarity between the north and south. . ." Clearly he has not consulted the millions of Angolans and Mozambiquans forcibly transported to the New World, nor the millions forced into labor schemes in their homeland. While the legal aspects of forced labor were ended in 1960, the reality of it has continued in the form of tax requirements, police seizure and a pass book system similar to that of South Africa. Literacy is only about 5% in Angola and 2% in Mozambique. And the presence of 150,000 soldiers in Africa, draining half of the annual Portuguese budget, hardly argues for Lisbon's popularity. (See Africa Today, July-August, 1970)

Kennan's argument works only for those who accept his stereotypes—of Africans, Afrikaners, and capitalism. For him Africans (or "native Bantu," in his words) are satisfied by material goods, rural homelands, and tribal education, unlike the "strong and vigorous" people of mixed blood who have opted for white standards. They are, in the last analysis, "inscrutable"—Kennan, like Polaroid, would not consider consulting the ANC, SWAPO, or the MPLA to obtain African opinion—and consequently can be spoken for by their white rulers or Western apologists writing in Foreign Affairs. The

## POLAROID AND SOUTH AFRICA A NEW PAMPHLET



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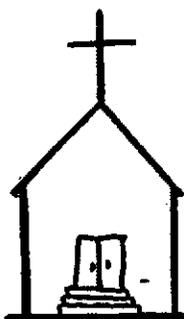
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Afrikaner also has his "inscrutability," but his takes the form of a particularly "unique" and appealing history which mixes "national" and "religious" components "as in the case of Israel." This makes him rigid and hypersensitive to any outside criticism and results in the economic absurdity of apartheid. Kennan thereby ignores the increasingly powerful and sophisticated urban Afrikaner, with his strong business orientation and enlightened or "verligte" perspective, and has no sense for the capacity for change of a man like Vorster, nor for Vorster's ability to manipulate the ideology of apartheid for his own ends. Strange that such an "expert" should not understand the manipulation of ideology. For Kennan, capitalism—whether national or world—has no political or value connotation and inevitably exerts a liberalizing influence. Has he forgotten the links between European expansion and the industrial revolution, on the one hand, and the African slave-trade and New World slavery, on the other? or the ties between northern capital, white conservative politicians and Negro labor in the post-Reconstruction South? or the alliance of capitalist interests with oppressive oligarchies the world over, today?

### Capitalism Thrives

The reality of southern Africa is quite the opposite of Kennan's picture: it is repressive, violent, disorderly, a modern slavery; capitalism thrives on the high profits from low labor costs; white rulers are fully enlightened, extremely powerful and quite ruthless. Regardless of the origin of the particular European fragment—Dutch, English, or Portuguese—and regardless of the different names of the professed policies, apartheid, "multiracialism," and the like, the white regimes of southern Africa are fundamentally committed to the same thing, white supremacy, and are moving increasingly close in the planning of common defense against African resistance. With the help of expanded Western investment during the 1960's, especially that of the United States, they have vastly developed their military and police capability, sentenced the non-whites to inferior education and made them transient, poor, and rightless in both urban and rural areas. The West, and particularly Kennan's own country, IS involved, NOW, on the side of VIOLENT and RACIST oppression, and every dollar of investment, every ounce of trade, and every sale of a plane adds to the African's burden.



## THE CHURCHES

## and SOUTHERN AFRICA

### EPISCOPALIANS URGE GENERAL MOTORS TO LEAVE SOUTH AFRICA

The Episcopal Church has announced that it is requesting General Motors Corporation to proceed "to an orderly winding up of its present manufacturing operations in the Republic of South Africa."

General Motors, according to the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, has investments in South Africa totaling approximately \$125 million, including extensive manufacturing facilities." The Domestic and Foreign Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. holds 12,574 shares of General Motors stock, currently valued in excess of one million dollars. In addition, the Society owns \$440,000 principal amount of debentures of General Motors Acceptance Corporation, a wholly owned subsidiary of General Motors; and the Pension Fund holds 44,523 shares of General Motors stock and 13,400 shares of GMAC stock.

The decision follows closely on the heels of resolutions by the United Presbyterian Church (U.P.U.S.A.) questioning Gulf Oil's support for the colonial regime in Angola. The move by the Episcopal Church is another in a long history of attempts to change the situation in southern Africa, beginning with the 1958 Lambeth (Episcopal) Conference where all racial discrimination was condemned. In 1964, Episcopal Churchwomen called on the U.S. Government, through the United Nations, to support U.N. recommendations to bring about changes in

apartheid. The 1964 Episcopal General Convention called on the U.S. Government to increase efforts to persuade the South African Government to end racist laws and practices, and the December, 1965 Executive Council urged economic sanctions against the break-away Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith.

In June, 1966 the Executive Council asked diocesan councils and vestries to "consider the moral dilemma in which we are placed by our present investments in South Africa." The following year a study was made to review the church's economic involvement in banks and corporations which do business in southern Africa. Subsequent Executive Councils passed a number of resolutions and actions culminating in the General Motors statement.

Hopefully the coming years will see an increased number of church actions attempting to persuade the U.S. corporate elite not to gain their profits from such avowedly, constitutionally racist regimes as those in Southern Africa. Below are some major denominational involvements with General Motors in particular.

Recently Mr. Frank Angle, G.M. director of overseas labor relations, visited the Port Elizabeth G.M. plant (above), at which time the corporation chairman, Mr. James Roche, announced that General Motors had no intention of withdrawing from South Africa. However, Mr. W. G. Slocum, managing director of General Motors (South Africa) claimed in a February statement that G.M. was in the forefront of progressive change for all

employees. Mr. Slocum's comments follow closely on the recent new deal by the American-based Polaroid company for its non-white staff in South Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 27, 1971)

#### Major Denominational Holdings in General Motors and G.M.A.C.

	Stocks &/or Bonds	Value
The American Baptist Convention	35,000	\$2,419,375.
Christian Church (Disciples)	8,500	\$474,407/\$587,605
Lutheran Church in America	70,000	\$207,375
Protestant Episcopal Church	70,597	\$869,177
United Church of Christ	20,105	\$178,269/\$218,592
United Methodist Church	30,334	up to \$1,676,166
United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.	116,142	up to \$9,166,969

#### POLICE HARASSMENT OF CHURCH PEOPLE CONTINUES

There have been reports of a widespread series of raids against church people in various parts of South Africa. The Chief of the Security Police, Brig. P. J. (Tiny) Venter, confirmed that the Security Police had searched certain offices in Johannesburg and elsewhere in connection with the investigation being conducted into the activities of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. French-Beytagh (see Southern Africa, March 1971).

In addition to the Dean's Anglican Cathedral offices in Johannesburg, the city office, and another church official's office, security men also visited the offices of the South African Council of Churches, the University Christian Movement, and the Education Information Center.

In Cape Town ten security officers, led by Capt. A. J. Niekerk, searched the offices of the Ecumenical Center in Mowbray and carried out a raid which lasted several hours. They left with a number of documents. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 27, 1971)

In addition to banned literature, "liberal" statements, and other kinds of documents and files, police are said to have seized every document concerned with assistance to dependants of political prisoners. The result may be that the over 1,200 families maintained by such aid may starve.

As usual, the police raids occurred in a series of well-executed and synchronized dawn and early-morning visits. They removed a lot of files from the Port Elizabeth office of the South African Council of Churches, as well as from the Natal regional council of the United Congregational Church in Durban. Meanwhile, in Cape Town six security men also visited the offices of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

Organizations and individuals raided by the security police included: the Christian Institute in Johannesburg and Cape Town; the South African Council of Churches; the University Christian Movement; the Dean of Johannesburg's church and office, and that of his secretary, Miss Laura Clayton; Mr. John Turnbull, churchwarden at the Anglican cathedral; Mr. Neil Harrison, diocesan secretary; Mrs. Joan Webb, a part-time secretary at the cathedral; Mrs. Helen Joseph, currently under house arrest; Mr. N. I. Robinson, assistant editor of the Johannesburg Star; Mr. Benjamin Poggrund, night editor of the Rand Daily Mail; Mr. Taffy Adler, vice-chairman of the Students Representative Council of Wits University; Mr. Basil Moore, Methodist minister related to the U.C.M.; Mr. F. Rodseth, chairman of the Education Information Centre, and the offices of NUSAS.

The security police have admitted that the raids occurred in relation to the court case against the Rev. French-Beytagh. The Dean appeared briefly before a Johannesburg magistrate on February 26. In a hearing that lasted less than two minutes, the Deputy Senior Public Prosecutor, Mr. P. A. J. Kotze, applied for a postponement of the case, "for further investigation," until May 28. It is clear, however, that the raids are part of a strong government campaign against "liberal" church people in an attempt to intimidate them and purge them from the South African scene.

#### MORE CHURCHMEN ORDERED TO LEAVE

Several more churchmen have been ordered to leave South Africa, bringing the total to over 40 in the last five years. The Rev. Francis E. Horner, a Presbyterian minister in Springs and joint editor of his church's newspaper, the Christian Leader, has been told he will have to leave the country when his temporary residence permit expires at the end of May.

A Roman Catholic research worker for the Christian Institute, Mr. Mark Collier, had his South African passport seized by police February 27. He was interrogated by the security men and his passport was handed over to them. Also, Father Richard Llewellyn of St. Mary's Cathedral was served with a deportation order giving him one month's notice to leave South Africa. Another priest, not yet identified, has been served with a deportation order.

Commenting on the police raids and deportation orders, Dr. Bruckner de Villiers, the liaison officer for the Christian Institute, said: "This is an obvious purge of the church by the Government. What we foresee is that churches which are largely dependent on overseas workers will be hardest hit—and these are the English churches. . . . The more vicious effect will be that if churches want to remain in the government's good books, they will have to be silent. They dare not speak out, and this becomes a kind of tacit approval. . . . If this intimidation is meant to demoralize, I cannot see them succeeding in the long run. The Church has never been successfully bucked in 2,000 years." (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 27, 1971)

Mr. Howard Trumbull, an American church worker in Durban who was one of the persons suffering under the recent rash of security police raids, has also been served with a deportation order. The Trumbulls have until May 28 to leave the country. He is the 16th church person against whom the government has taken action in the recent rash of raids. The Trumbull daughter, Pamela, will have to interrupt her career at Entabeni Hospital nine

months before she was to write her final examinations. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 27, 1971)

The Rev. James L. C. Paulsen of the Roman Catholic Church in Port Shepstone has been ordered to leave South Africa by the end of March. Also, a British-born Anglican priest who crossed the South African border into Swaziland was refused re-entry into South Africa. The Rev. Colin Davison (see Southern Africa, March 1971) had been arrested last year during an illegal protest march through Johannesburg to demonstrate against the detention of 22 Africans under the Terrorism Act. He holds a South African permanent residence permit. (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 3, 1971) He finally did cross back into South Africa on March 1, after the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Theo Gerdener, announced that he would be allowed to return. However, he feels very insecure about staying in South Africa at this point, and feels sure he will be served with deportation orders at any moment.

#### RHODESIAN CHURCHMEN PROTEST BILL

Thirteen heads of Rhodesia's major churches recently issued a joint statement condemning the proposed Residential Property Owner's Protection Bill.

The bill, designed to evict black people from white residential areas, is due to come before Parliament in the next session. In their February 10, 1971 statement, the churchmen branded the proposed legislation a "racial segregation bill" and said minority racial groups, like Asians and persons of mixed race, would be doomed to "racial ghettos." They urged Parliament to refuse to consider the bill. (East African Standard, Feb. 11, 1971)

#### WORLD COUNCIL TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA?

In a recent statement, Prime Minister B. J. Vorster said he would "consider allowing a deputation of the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.) to come to South Africa for a specific purpose to give the South African Council—who assured me they are violently opposed to the contribution of the W.C.C. to terrorists—an opportunity to confront the W.C.C. with this abhorrent decision and thus enable them to make recommendations to their respective churches regarding their future relationship with the W.C.C." The general secretary of the South African Council, John Rees, said there was "general gratification" at the Prime Minister's statement. Mr. Rees thought it unlikely, however, that the talks would lead to a break with the W.C.C. since churches affiliated with the Council have already decided to retain their membership. (Religious News Service, March 18, 1971)

In the meantime, the Central Committee of the W.C.C. unanimously accepted its Executive Committee's decision to grant \$200,000 to 19 organizations combatting racism. The 120-member policy-making body ended its meeting in Addis Ababa in late January. Miss Pauline Webb, the Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, flew to Johannesburg shortly afterward and was refused entry into South Africa by the government authorities.

"On arrival at Johannesburg Airport the authorities examined my travelling documents, then I was given 24 hours notice to leave the country," Miss Webb said. She had gone to South Africa as a lay trainer at the invitation of the South African Methodist Church and under the auspices of the Methodist Church of England. She has now returned to W.C.C. headquarters in Geneva. (Daily Nation, Jan. 28, 1971)



# DEFENSE

## BRITISH ARMS SALE TO SOUTH AFRICA IS CONSUMMATED

On February 22, Prime Minister Edward Heath announced that the long-expected decision to resume selling armaments to South Africa had been made. Heath's announcement covered only those arms which he said his government was "legally obligated" to sell, namely spare parts for naval equipment and 7 Westland Wasp helicopters which would fly from British-made frigates already in South Africa's navy (New York Times, Feb. 23, 1971). Within an hour of Heath's announcement, South Africa responded that she would be delighted to place an order for those items (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 24, 1971). The helicopters involved are worth about \$24 million, and it is uncertain when they will be delivered, since the Wasps are no longer in production and South Africa would have to accept used ones or wait two years for new ones to be built.

### "Legal Obligations" Carried Out

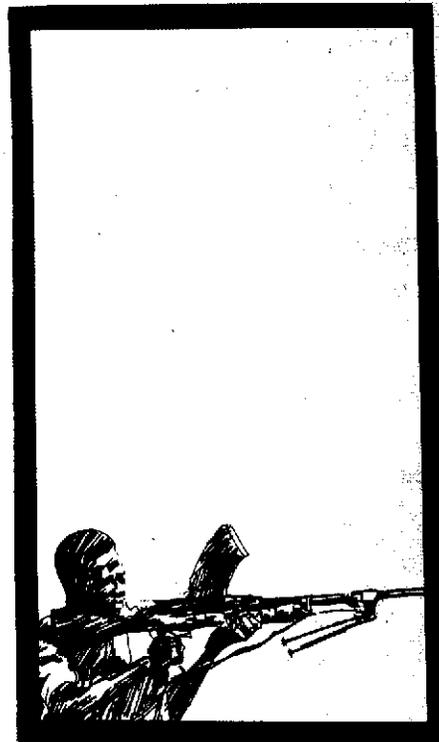
Heath's announcement came on the heels of a much heralded "White Paper" drawn up by the Conservative Government's top legal advisors. Although the previous Labor Government had come to the opposite conclusion, the Conservative's White Paper concluded that "the extent of Her Majesty's Government's existing legal obligations . . . arising from the Simonstown Agreement is to permit" the supply of sufficient Wasp helicopters to equip three anti-submarine frigates and such replacements as were necessary to maintain the original equipment (Guardian, London, Feb. 5, 1971).

Clearly, Heath's concern for legal niceties is beside the point, for he has made no mention of Britain's legal obligations to abide by the mandatory United Nations

arms embargo against South Africa and has refused to be limited even by the "obligation" of the White Paper. When announcing the arms sale, he said that "as far as any further sales to South Africa are concerned, we must reserve our own judgment and *judge the matter in relation to British interests*" (New York Times, Feb. 22, 1971; emphasis added). South Africa itself has made a mockery of the legality of the Simonstown Agreement, since it is obligated under that agreement to keep the naval base at Simonstown free from racial discrimination. Sir Alec Douglas-Home has claimed that South Africa is fulfilling those obligations. The Agreement specifically rules out any bar to recruitment on the grounds of color; any racial discrimination on rates for jobs of equal value; and security-of tenure for non-Europeans. The South African reply to charges that these rules are being broken is usually that the appropriate "Coloured" labor is not available. That they are not available is because in 1968, under the Group Areas Act, 1200 Coloureds were removed from Simonstown to Slangkop, ten miles away (Guardian, London, Feb. 5, 1971).

### Commonwealth Threatened

Reaction to the resumption of arms sale has been swift. Heath did not even wait for the first meeting of the Commonwealth study group, set up at the Singapore Commonwealth conference in January to investigate security in the Indian Ocean, and it is now questionable whether it will ever meet. Nigeria immediately withdrew after Heath's announcement, leaving Kenya as the sole African member (East African Standard, Feb. 25, 1971). Officials of the O.A.U. in Addis Ababa had condemned the sale as an "affront to free Africa." An official of the O.A.U. Secretariat said "the chips are down at last and



Britain has revealed its true anti-African face" (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 24, 1970).

Newspapers in Zambia, Kenya, and Nigeria have called for retaliation against Britain, some to the extent of withdrawal from the Commonwealth. Nigeria's West African Pilot said "the only reasonable and honorable course open to African nations is to quit the Commonwealth." The Kenya Daily Nation warned: "if no Commonwealth nation quits the study group over the issue, and the reaction in Britain is minimal and short-lived, the Conservative Government will then embark on broader commitments of arms sales to South Africa—probably in stages so as to keep British and Commonwealth opposition down to a minimum" (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 25, 1971). General Amin, head of the Ugandan Government, however, said that Uganda would not quit the Commonwealth and would have to study the decisions made by Dr. Obote. (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 24, 1971)

#### Tacit Support From U.S.

Regrettably, there has been no official U.S. criticism to the British announcement. State Department spokesman Robert McCloskey simply reaffirmed U.S. intention to adhere to the 1963 Security Council resolution, but he declined any specific comment on the British decision (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 24, 1971).

South African media, both pro- and anti-government, have been jubilant about the decision. "Die Volksblad" (pro-government) wrote that "a sympathetic ear can be expected from the Heath Government when South Africa finds it necessary to make known further needs for the protection of the Cape route." The South African Broadcasting Corporation "Current Affairs" commentary, which reflects official government thinking, praised the swiftness of the Wasps transaction. The commentator said it was evidence of a "new approach by London to the Simonstown Agreement and more generally of a new mood in Anglo-South African relations" (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 25, 1971). "Die Burger" wrote that "There can be no doubt that this limited step is the beginning of fuller military cooperation between South Africa and Britain."

It would appear that the South African appraisal of the situation is correct. It would be foolish to assume that Heath has been willing to risk dissolution of the Commonwealth for such a limited sale; rather one must assume that this is the first step in a gradual program of increasing military ties with South Africa.

#### MOVE TO LIFT BLOCKADE ON RHODESIA

There are also indications that Heath would like to end the blockade of Rhodesia through the port of Beira. Defense Minister Lord Carrington has investigated the possibility of abandoning the Beira patrol (which costs Britain annually \$6 million), but the Foreign Office has intervened to point out that the embarrassing result of such a move might be that the Russian navy would volunteer to replace Britain. Apparently, the Beira patrol will continue for the time being (Sunday Nation, Feb. 28, 1971). But it is clear that Heath has decided that Britain's interests lie more strongly with South Africa than with all the rest of Africa. As the conflict between white and black Africa intensifies, Heath will undoubtedly continue to cast Britain's lot with the white regimes.

#### ARMS FROM ITALY

The Toronto Globe and Mail, in reporting the extent of French arms sales to South Africa, has brought to light the extent of Italian participation in arming South Africa

as well. Italian activity is particularly serious because it is developing South African self-sufficiency in arms production. South Africa has bought 85 MB-326 jet trainer—light tactical aircraft—from the Italian firm AerMacchi, which has established a plant in South Africa where these aircraft are now being turned out under license. Named "Impala," they are a handy counter-insurgency aircraft with short take-off and landing, a top speed in excess of 500 miles per hour, and the capacity to carry about 3,000 pounds of weapons. Italy has also supplied South Africa with light transport and communication aircraft, the Piaggio P 166 and the Partenavia P 64. The latter is also being built in South Africa where it is called RSA 200.

Such establishment of arms production on South African territory would substantiate a commitment made by James Fouché in a speech he delivered to the South African Parliament. The Parliament's president, Fouché outlined a ten-year program for maintenance of "satisfactory arms supply and modernization of existing military bases." Manufacture of armaments would "cover a wider field, to the general economic advantage of the country and the expansion of industry." (East African Standard, Jan. 30, 1971)

#### STRONG MILITARY SUPPORT FROM FRANCE

In its December, 1970 issue, the *Revue Française d'études politiques africaines* published an extensive analysis of French ties with Southern Africa, by Francois Chenu and Michele Noel. The following excerpts are translated from that article.

"France, like the other Western countries, has to concern itself with its image with African governments. This is the reason why, in all its declarations, France vigorously condemns South African racism. (France has also contributed to the U.N. Fund for the victims of apartheid).

When Vorster left South Africa for the first time since he became Prime Minister (in 1966) to come to Europe, he limited the trip to the countries giving him significant support, Portugal, Spain, France, and Switzerland."

#### Support for South Africa

"What does France get from this collaboration? First of all, it supports exports of military materiel: The South African air force has Mirage jets, Alouette and Super-Frelons helicopters, and Transall military transports (made in cooperation with West Germany). The South African navy has ordered three Daphne-type submarines. For the land army, South Africa has for some time manufactured Panhard tanks under French license. In the French-South African cooperation it is also important to underline the convergence of views on the subject of gold, each of the two countries supporting a re-evaluation of the price of this metal.

In 1966, following U.D.I., the U.N. General Assembly decreed selective sanctions against Rhodesia. France abstained from voting. In May 1968, the U.N. decreed total sanctions, and France associated itself with this vote. . . . France has always been violently opposed to the extension of sanctions to South Africa and Portugal (in order to make sanctions against Rhodesia effective)."

#### Support for Portugal

"At the U.N. France has always abstained from voting against Portugal. . . . France has therefore adopted a clearer position with respect to Portugal than South Africa. . . . France exports much military material to

# British arms 25 will make a great contribution to South Africa's way of life.



With guns, planes and tanks on their side, it's easy for 3½ million whites to push 15½ million blacks around. Do you really want this country to help them do it?

Portugal, of the same type as that furnished to South Africa: frigates and Daphne submarines, Alouette II and Alouette III helicopters, machine-guns, military air transports Nord-Atlas 2502, Panhard tanks, and heavy transport vehicles. The Compagnie des Petroles d'Aquitaine is involved in geological exploration in Angola and in northern Mozambique. Above all, France plays an important part in the ZAMCO society, which has charge of the construction of the Cabora-Bassa dam.

Portugal furnishes 350,000 workers to the French

economy. France now has a military base in the Azores, and buys all the uranium of the Portuguese colonies. These facts clearly show the solidity of the ties that now unite France and Portugal.

In 1971, the successful visit of Portuguese Foreign Minister Rui Patricio to France, and the explicit refusal of France to withdraw from the Cabora Bassa scheme, indicate that French support for Portugal is still very solid."

## ECONOMICS

### BOEING U.S.A. DONATES \$40,000 TOWARDS "WHITES ONLY" UNIVERSITY

According to the Johannesburg Star (February 13, 1971), Boeing Aircraft in the U.S.A. has just given the University of Witwatersrand (in Johannesburg) \$40,000 for a chair in aeronautical engineering. This was the first donation made toward a goal of \$350,000 set by the university's appeal committee.

What articles about Boeing's gift fail to mention is that the University of Witwatersrand is a university for white students only. Even if an African wanted to study aeronautical engineering, the government would not allow him to study there. In addition, if an African received such a degree he would find it tremendously difficult to get a job, since he is forbidden by law to hold a "white" job or supervise whites. Boeing's gift not only discriminates directly against those who most need education—the blacks—it is also another clear example of a U.S. firm supporting the white South African power structure.

### GOVERNMENT DECIDES TO ALLOW COLOURED IN BUILDING TRADES—WHITES THREATEN STRIKE

More than 400 white building workers meeting in Pretoria unanimously decided to strike if the Government persists in its plan to allow Coloureds into formerly White-only jobs on the Rand and in Pretoria. In a speech, Mr. Gert Beetge, secretary of the powerful white union, described the Government move as the thin end of the wedge and warned that the same policy would soon be applied to other trades.

Coloureds worked more cheaply and this would result in a lowering of White living standards and Whites being frightened away from the trade, he claimed. Employers, too, would suffer because, said Mr. Beetge, the quality of work done by the Coloureds was inferior and their productivity lower. When the first Coloured appeared on a building site the Whites should down tools immediately, he stated.

The 450 workers present shouted a loud "Ja" (Yes) when Mr. Beetge asked if they were prepared to strike if all negotiations failed. "That's what I like," he said. "I will lead men, not girls."

In a meeting a week later, Mr. Beetge stated succinctly: "It is not because of a labour shortage that firms want to employ non-Whites. It is because they want cheap labour." (Rand Daily Mail, Feb. 18, 1971; Johannesburg Star, Feb. 25, 1971)

### MYTHS AND FACTS

MYTH: The Africans are benefiting in proportion to the growing prosperity of South Africa.

Poster below and on preceding page were published by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.

# 20 Men Digging a Ditch

NOTHING UNUSUAL BUT.....

Two of them are capable fitters. One is a motor mechanic. Others are experienced brickies, carpenters, and welders.



They're not digging the ditch for fun. They're doing it for £5 a week. They're black, and they live in South Africa - under apartheid.

**FACT:** In 1911, the average African mine worker earned about one-twelfth of the salary of a white miner. In 1966 he earned one-eighteenth.

In 1960, Africans (who represent about 70% of the population) received 26% of the national income; and their income per capita represented 11.2% of the white income per capita. By 1969, Africans' percentage of the national income had fallen to 18.8%; and their income per capita represented only 8% of that of Whites.

**MYTH:** In terms of their basic needs, Africans are well off.

**FACT:** In Soweto, Johannesburg's African location, 68% of the families live below the official poverty line, which is criticized for being too low to include many necessities. The average monthly shortfall was in most cases 20% of the minimum essential requirements.

Soweto represents one of the most prosperous areas for Africans. In at least one reserve, over 50% of all babies born die before the age of five.

**MYTH:** African real incomes are rising.

**FACT:** African wages rose by 2.5% in the first ten months of 1969. The increase in consumer prices over the same period was 3.4%.

In the Bantustans, annual income per capita rose from \$67 to \$74 over the last 15 years. Prices rose by 3%–3.5% per annum. (X-Ray, December, 1970)

#### WHITES ONLY TOURIST BOOM

South Africa estimates she will have 500,000 tourists annually by 1978. South Africa had approximately 350,000 visitors in 1970. (South African Digest, Feb. 5, 1971) The tourist industry not only stimulates the South African economy but provides a source of foreign exchange.

#### VAST EXPANSION PLANNED IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR GENERAL MOTORS

Bill Slocum, the managing director of General Motors in South Africa, has confirmed "significant expansions" for the G.M. assembly operation in Port Elizabeth, already the largest plant of its kind in Africa. In the next six years anywhere from \$21m. to \$35m. are expected to be plowed into the plant.

These expansions will be concentrated on in-plant manufacture in order to conform with the South African

Government's local content program. This program demands that 66% of all cars in South Africa be built with local products; it thereby strengthens and diversifies the South African economy.

G.M. has also received a recent order from the South African Government's railways department for 50 locomotives worth \$16.5 million. Delivery will be made between June, 1971 and October, 1973. Such locomotives could obviously serve a key military function in time of war, yet they do not come under the present U.S. arms embargo. (Newscheck, Oct. 2, 1970 and South African Financial Gazette, Oct. 30, 1970)

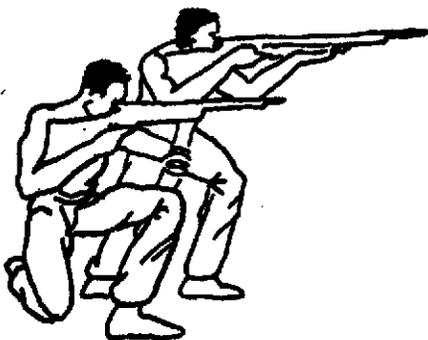
#### Supervising Harvard's Investments

A special committee at Harvard University recommended on March 4 the appointment of an officer to oversee the "non-financial aspects" of the university's investment policy.

The committee head, Robert W. Austin, a professor of business administration, noted that "maximization of return is a matter of sheer necessity in this era of spiraling costs. . . ." The committee report, however, qualified this policy by saying the university had "an obligation to be a good corporate citizen of the community in which it lives," noting this as sufficient ground for permitting an investment that falls short of maximum return.

The committee further suggested that certain investments ought to be avoided as socially undesirable, but no general guideline was suggested. As examples, the committee suggested that the university might not invest in tobacco, because of the medical case against it; in corporations in South Africa, because of that nation's "reprehensible" policies; or in corporations that practiced "racial and other insidious forms of discrimination."

## THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS



#### ECA MEETING IN TUNIS

In early February, the Ministerial Conference of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa considered the question of admission for the liberation movements from Portuguese Africa. The movements have had an observer status since 1966 when Portugal was excluded from the U.N. Economic and Social Council. At the Tunis meeting FRELIMO and PAIGC representatives spoke and pointed to the fact that their admission as full ECA members made sense as they were responsible for large portions of liberated Mozambique and Guinea. Several African states supported that position, but there were some problems over the interpretation of General Assembly texts on admission as well as over the complex of Angolan movements. Namibian membership (it now has an associate status) was also discussed. (The Nationalist of Tanzania, February 11, 1971; Jeune Afrique, March 2, 1971)

## O.A.U. LIBERATION COMMITTEE MEETS IN MOSHI, TANZANIA

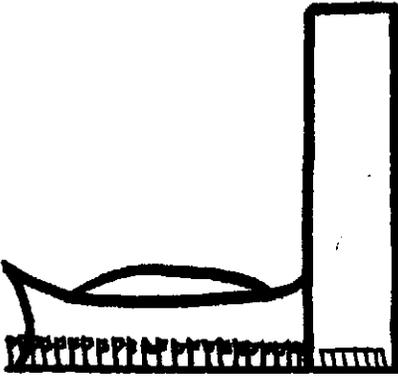
"The longer it takes to liberate the remaining African territories, the more entrenched the enemy becomes. . ." said Tanzanian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. E. Elinawinga at the last meeting of the OAU Liberation Committee in Moshi, Tanzania. Mr. Elinawinga, current chairman of the 11 state Liberation Committee, reiterated the necessity for doubling assistance from independent countries to the liberation movements, and that victory against the Portuguese was realizable in the near future. Mr. Katema Yifru, the Ethiopian Foreign Minister announced that "Africa had no choice but to fight for its complete liberation." (The Nationalist of Tanzania, February 16, 1971)

The meeting concerned itself with two basic agenda items: the Committee's budget for 1971/72 and political issues relating to different movements. The attendance by senior officials was high, and representatives of eight of ten recognized liberation movements also came, in addition to observers from eight African countries. (Guardian, London, February 16, 1971) Specifics included the unity proposal presented by acting president of ZAPU, James Chikerema, for a ZAPU-ZANU front, but internal ZAPU questions were also apparent. Also a proposal came from the Pan Africanist Congress for an organization "like the Palestine Liberation Front" with the African National Congress. (Guardian, London, February 13, 1971) Also the arms issue, intelligence and security were on the agenda.

The Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, George Magombe, said that the material aid provided by the Committee would naturally be allocated to those movements engaged in actual fighting. The Nigerian delegate, Mr. Olu Sanu, stressed the necessity for more fighting and less talking, and informed the group

that Major-General Gowon had shown interest in an approach which would include more material support and advice from member states. (The Standard of Tanzania, February 17, 1971)

A more lengthy analysis of the Liberation Committee appeared in the Guardian (London). It pointed out that the Committee of 7 appointed at the OAU Summit Conference in 1969 with the task of examining the role and structure of the Liberation Committee has not as yet reported its findings, and thus states are unsure of their relationship to the Committee. The chairman of this subcommittee, Senegal's Ambassador to Ethiopia, Mr. Yousouf Sylla, cites lack of cooperation from African states as one reason his subcommittee has been slow in its work. The committee's report is due at the June OAU Meeting. The evidence of the dissatisfaction with the Liberation Committee is reflected in the fundamental budgetary situation whereby of a possible 41 member states contributing to a special liberation fund, there are some states which have never given (Malawi, Sierre Leone, Senegal), some which have not given in a long time, some which owe arrears of considerable amounts, and only three which are fully paid up (Tanzania, Zambia, Uganda). The estimated amount actually given is between \$960,000 and \$1,200,000, as opposed to a figure double that amount which is given in theory. Fifty per cent of the budget is allocated to movements from Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). Dissatisfaction with the movements themselves is one contention put forth by states who have not contributed to the Liberation Fund, but the liberation movements also question the sincerity of the African states. The Guardian quotes one liberation leader as saying, "Independent Africa continuously assures us of its support—and then expects us to fight with words." (Guardian, London, Feb. 20, 1971).



## AT THE UNITED NATIONS

### REACTION TO BRITISH DECISION ON ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

The decision of the United Kingdom Government on February 22 to supply helicopters and spare parts to South Africa provoked comments from several United Nations bodies.

In a statement by Secretary-General U Thant on February 24, it was said: "In resolutions 181, 182 and 191 of 1963/1964, the Security Council solemnly called upon all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types, military vehicles, and equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa.

"In resolution 282 of 23 July 1970, the Security Council called upon all States to observe strictly the arms embargo against South Africa and to strengthen the arms embargo "by implementing fully the arms embargo against South Africa unconditionally and without reservations whatsoever."

"The United Kingdom Government announced on 22 February 1971 its decision to sell to South Africa a number of helicopters and spare parts for military equipment formerly supplied by the United Kingdom.

"It is reported that this decision followed the advice of the law officers of the United Kingdom Government that the United Kingdom was obligated to supply helicopters to equip three anti-submarine frigates, which the United Kingdom had supplied under the Simonstown Agreement, and to replace initial equipment and stores for all the ships supplied under the Agreement and other equipment needed to maintain their efficiency. The law officers added that the Agreement did not place any general and continuing legal obligation on the United Kingdom Government to permit the supply of arms to the South African Government.

"The United Nations Council for Namibia stated at its meeting on February 25, 1971: "The Council wishes to record its regret regarding this decision which in its view is contrary to the provisions of Security Council resolutions calling upon all States to refrain from sale of arms and ammunition to South Africa. . . . The United Nations Council for Namibia shares the concern of the majority of the Members of the Organization since South Africa, in defiance of the United Nations, not only continues its illegal occupation of the Territory, but also carries out the same policies of apartheid and minority rule in Namibia.

"The Council is convinced that any measures which strengthen the South African police and armed forces will inevitably aid South Africa in its suppression of the Namibian people's struggle for freedom and independence." (U.N. Press Release GA/4367)

On March 1 the Commission on Human Rights adopted a Resolution in Geneva appealing to international public opinion to protest against attempts to violate Security Council resolutions imposing an embargo on sale of arms to South Africa. The vote on the resolution was 25 in favor to none against, with 6 abstentions (Austria, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and United States). The resolution was sponsored by Ghana, India, Mauritius, Pakistan, Senegal, United Arab Republic, and United Republic of Tanzania (U.N. Press Release HR/615).

#### U.N. RIGHTS TEAM REPORTS GENOCIDE OF AFRICANS

An investigating team of six persons appointed by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights has reported that "elements of genocide" are indicated in the "forced removal of Africans" from their homelands in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. The report also stated that "Portugal had conducted mass executions of civilians and of persons suspected of opposing the regime and had carried out collective punishment against the civilian population" in Angola, Guinea (Bissau), and Mozambique (U.N. Press Release WS/491).

The six-member group had been investigating the situation in Southern Africa for four years. The latest report was drawn up after a trip to Africa and Europe in 1970 for four months, during which time they heard 146 witnesses. It recommends that a "full and thorough investigation" of the "forced removal of the African population in 1968 in the Caprivi Strip of eastern Namibia take place. The report further cites forced removal of Africans to barren lands in Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese destruction of Senegalese villages along the border of Guinea (Bissau).

The U.N. Council for Namibia reported that in 1968, South African police killed 46 Africans and arrested 17 others and that 1,000 Africans were removed to Zambia in 1969 from the Caprivi Strip.

The team called for immediate action by Britain to stop the removal of Africans to barren lands and giving this former African land to white settlers.

Other sections of the report included:

—a proposal that the World Health Organization analyze chemicals supposedly being used against African croplands in Portuguese-administered territories. The report states that Dr. Anna Wilson commented that "she had an analysis made of the composition of the chemicals used by the Portuguese authorities and claimed that the chemicals came from the Federal Republic of Germany." (The Times, London, Feb. 25, 1971)

—that the conditions for non-white political prisoners in South Africa are inhumane, resulting in 340 deaths in jail reported in 1968-69. Freedom fighters were also being shot on the spot. The report urges humane treatment and refugee status by U.N. Member States for freedom fighters.

—suggestions that U.N. specialized agencies "be contacted to ensure that national liberation movements receive educational and health assistance in the zones under their control."

#### PURGE OF CHURCH WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A Petitioner, William Johnston, President of the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, told the Special Committee on Apartheid on March 10, 1971, that South African authorities were in the process of purging church workers in that country as part of an effort to silence dissent and opposition to apartheid in the white community in South Africa. He stated that the laymen's group he had helped form in 1956 was presently concerned about "the intense South Africa wide security police activity" centered around the trial of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, Gonville A. French-Beytagh (U.N. Press Release GA/AP/211).

Mr. Johnston stated, "It is obvious that the South African authorities hope this time to silence once and for all not only dissent within the churches but throughout the entire white community and to reinforce control over black and brown South Africans as well. The security police are conducting a reign of terror at a new and heightened pitch."

The Petitioner asked that a team of observers from the United States go to Johannesburg to see the trial of the Dean and to show the Government that "Americans care." He commented that other activities of his group included pressure on churches to examine their economic involvement in corporations such as Polaroid and General Motors, which are doing business in southern Africa. The group also produces a quarterly bulletin, which has been banned in South Africa.

## INTERNATIONAL PRESS COMMENTARY ON THE "POLAROID EXPERIMENT"

#### FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICANS

"Mr. Hirsch said Polaroid and Frank & Hirsch [Polaroid's distributors in South Africa] had no intentions of violating South Africa's race laws. . . . The type of senior position he envisaged African employees holding was that of supervisor over various sections of African staff. . . . Polaroid suggested that the scheme should run for a one year trial period, but according to Mr. Hirsch it is likely it will run indefinitely." (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1971)

"At least some sense has been injected into all this boycott madness. The decision by the Polaroid Corporation to reject demands that it ban the sale of its products in South Africa, and instead to use its position here to work for social improvement, is a most welcome

development. This is in fact what Senator Robert Kennedy urged South African-based companies to do after his visit four years ago. . . . If Polaroid's initiative catches on now, it could transform the sterile boycott movement into something far more constructive. . . . The perspicacity of this decision is testimony to the corporation's experience in the field of American race relations. . . . The value of this [the Polaroid move] lies in the example it sets. It shows that much can be done within the apartheid system and the law to improve the lot of non-Whites. Other companies—especially American companies here—will now have to follow suit or be prepared to share some of the stigma of apartheid and racial exploitation. And if they do follow suit a movement could develop that would amount to an

economic and ultimately a social revolution for our non-White population." (Editorial, Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1971)

"Six major American-based companies in South Africa have indicated that they are unlikely to increase any aid they might give to African education as a result of last week's decision by Polaroid Corporation. . . . However, three major companies (Ford Motor Company of South Africa, Chrysler South Africa and Caltex Oil South Africa) . . . would give no comment on the possibility of action in the light of the Polaroid decision." (Rand Daily Mail, Jan. 19, 1971)

"State Department officials say the Polaroid Corporation has adopted an 'interesting and constructive' policy to improve Non-White working conditions in South Africa. . . . The officials hope other American companies will follow Polaroid's lead." (Rand Daily Mail, Jan. 20, 1971)

"We in South Africa are used to the 'holier than thou' approach. We know there are those who like to confess South Africa's 'sins' in public and thereby to save their own souls. . . . Strange, it is not, that they should want to come to a country which 'alone articulates a policy exactly contrary to everything Polaroid stands for.'" (News from South Africa, Jan. 22, 1971, quoting the South African Ambassador to the United States, H. L. T. Taswell)

"We are certain that it is not simply humanitarianism and altruism that has induced the Polaroid Corporation of America not to withdraw its products from the South African market. . . . One can assume that South Africa is a good outlet for these products and money has a way of talking pretty loudly in such matters. . . . Still the decision is an important victory for level-headedness and common sense. . . . In South Africa we often hear accusations, from South Africans as well as others, that non-whites are paid too little in comparison with whites. . . . That is so, but usually the point is made in such a way as to suggest that it is the Nationalist Government's fault. . . . Meanwhile there is nothing on earth which forbids the Progressive ladies of Houghton from keeping a smaller proportion of their husband's income for themselves and from paying their servants more; just as little as a big company (like Polaroid) will be prevented from setting aside a larger part of its profits for the welfare of its non-white employees." (Rapport, Jan. 17, 1971; Afrikaans Editorial)

"The American Polaroid Corporation proposes to use part of its profits in South Africa to make study bursaries available to non-white students. . . . We assume that the Corporation has given the matter proper consideration. . . . Its generous contribution to education in South Africa might later on bring upon it the accusation in other countries that it is discriminating against some countries financially. . . . (Die Transvaler, Editorial, Jan. 19, 1971)

"And it would be interesting to see if Polaroid's own Black militants feel like continuing their world-wide boycott in the remote likelihood that it is so successful that it hits their own jobs." (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 23, 1971; N.B.: the spokespeople for the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement have been suspended by Polaroid as of Feb. 11, 1971—see Southern Africa, March, 1971)

"I'll tell my buddies back home what a ball we had in this country. Imagine how excited they'll be when I tell them about our visit to a Soweto . . . speakeasy." (Post, Johannesburg, Dec. 13, 1970; in an article entitled "Pass-Camera bosses hear Soweto"

## FROM THE UNITED STATES

"... P.R.W.M. will enforce an international economic boycott against Polaroid until they COMPLETELY disengage from South Africa or until South Africa is liberated in the name of her peoples. . . . P.R.W.M. calls upon all right-on thinking people to boycott all Polaroid products until Polaroid is forced out of South Africa. . . . We see the South African apartheid system as the symbol of the many 'inhumanities' in the United States. We cannot begin to deal with racism in Polaroid or the U.S. until Polaroid and the U.S. cease to uphold and support apartheid. Black people in South Africa are enslaved and dehumanized in order to insure the security of apartheid and the capitalists' margin of profit. . . . We demand that we no longer be used as tools to enslave our brother and insure corporate profits. The P.R.W.M. and our black brothers in South Africa have dedicated their lives to the struggle of the oppressed peoples." (Press Release of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, Jan. 12, 1971)

"Other companies are saving. 'If Polaroid can't make it, none of us can,' founder Land told his employees. 'The world is watching us right now.'" (Newsweek, Jan. 25, 1971)

"P.R.W.M. pressure on Polaroid for change was countered by the pressure of some 260 U.S. companies in South Africa which love the status quo. These companies see apartheid as good for business, theirs. . . . P.R.W.M. has tackled one company. Black groups—schools, colleges, churches and community—have over 200 other companies from which to take a pick—and tackle." (column by Simon Anekwe, Amsterdam News, New York City, Jan. 2, 1971)

"Wyman [Vice President of Polaroid] admits selling the I.D.-2 system to Portugal's African colonies. Negotiations are underway for sales to Quebec province, on the heels of the Emergency War Measures Act there. Admitting its potential repressive uses, Wyman said, 'When do the potential bad uses of a product outweigh the good? . . . You [can't] shut the door by a series of moral decisions. . . . Polaroid is no model equal opportunity employer, as it claims. The management has consistently fought unionizing attempts. . . . The company's confidential studies show that blacks are paid 22% less than whites and receive fewer promotions. . . . There has been some resistance by white workers to the P.R.W.M. but some support has also come forth. . . . James R. Killian, Jr., one of the Polaroid directors, is also on the board of directors of A.T. & T. and G.M., both with substantial investments in South Africa. Polaroid deals heavily with Morgan Guarantee Trust Company and the Chemical Bank; both banks have loaned money to the South African Government. . . . One other reason Polaroid has chosen to remain in South Africa is to avoid establishing a precedent in breaking with such governments and capitulating to workers' demands. . . ." (Guardian, New York, Jan. 30, 1971)

"The most disgusting meeting I had during my visit to South Africa was not with any South African official who sought to justify apartheid. It was a luncheon given by Howard Boessneck, president of the American Society, who invited in 16 Americans who head South African subsidiaries of American companies. . . . It was clear that most of the bigwigs of American business in South Africa could easily qualify for charter membership in the John Birch Society. . . . In the eyes of the businessmen I saw, Polaroid had committed heresy by pledging to 'take a number of steps with our distributor . . . to improve . . . salaries and other benefits of their nonwhite

employees'... There is a grave question whether Polaroid will be permitted to do significant business in South Africa after taking this public stand. . . . But how many American companies care enough to join Polaroid in this move? The likelihood is that virtually all will opt for business as usual, hoping that American blacks go on sleeping and never really lower the boom of boycotts, pickets and other protests." (Carl T. Rowan's column, Evening Star, Jan. 20, 1971)

"But some of the same people who deplore South Africa's treatment of its nonwhites express puzzlement over some of the anti-South Africa proposals. . . . What earthly good will it do, for example, for Polaroid to pull out of the country? What many Americans and probably most black Americans, feel cannot be weighted in terms of pragmatism. It comes closer to this: I resent the fact that a country that has racism as its 'official policy' should be in good standing with the country I call home. . . . When it is proposed that the United States curtail diplomatic relations with South Africa, the pragmatic answer is that it would be counterproductive to drive South Africa out of the family of nations. . . . From this viewpoint, it is a little like dealing with the family of uncertain morals across the street: Don't cut them out and thereby confirm them in their worst habits; rather, continue your association with them, hoping that your good influence will change their questionable ways. . . .

Fine, but when it turns out that the folk across the street are running a whorehouse, you're smart to cut them loose. . . . Now no one contends that apartheid would lessen if American business (and American government) went away. . . . Detached sophisticates take the view that the United States has no right to sit in moral judgment of South African apartheid. . . . But black Americans can ill afford to be detached on the question of the savage oppression of 16 million nonwhites. . . . At some point, some of us are saying, the United States must put aside the good neighbor myth. . . . It may not change the people across the street, but it would vastly improve the atmosphere at home." (William Raspberry's column, Washington Post, Jan. 21, 1971)

"Every so often, somebody comes up with an idea so bold—courageous—so electric in its appeal that it brings you up short and almost forces you to applaud physically. We feel that way about Polaroid's 'experiment in South Africa' . . . We must admit that Polaroid's experiment, with all its various implications, gave us pause. For obviously, the concept of the plan is tricky. . . . The propriety of actively running counter to government policy in another country . . . is debatable, to say the least. . . . On the other hand, companies and business in general have been roundly criticized for their alleged lack of social consciousness and moral fiber. On balance, then, we're glad to see Polaroid making this experiment, even

[Continued, p. 32]

**DEAR READERS:**

Do you know anyone who is becoming increasingly aware of the situation in Southern Africa and the on-going struggle for liberation?

Do you know anyone who is not aware, but would be interested and committed if they were?

We want SOUTHERN AFRICA to reach more people so that understanding and commitment will increase.

Please help us, and them, by sending us their names and addresses (with zip codes, please!) in the space provided below, and we shall send them a sample copy of SOUTHERN AFRICA. Then, if they wish, we will add their name to our mailing list.

In addition, if you have lists of members of local organizations who might want to receive the news survey, please send them on to us: Southern Africa Committee, 637 West 125th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

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with all its debatable aspects." (Chemical and Engineering News, editorial, Jan. 18, 1971)

"Asked whether the programs announced in the aid would be carried out within the framework of apartheid, the Polaroid spokesman said, 'They will have to be done within the framework of South African law.'" (New York Times, Jan. 13, 1971)

#### FROM BRITAIN

"Mr. Wates said he was 'delighted' with Polaroid's decision. . . . It had given him 'great hope' that other firms might follow Polaroid's example and, if all did, it would certainly result in the collapse of apartheid. . . . But a check at the London headquarters of some of the bigger British companies operating in South Africa showed that most firms are willing to continue to do business as usual." (Star, Jan. 15, 1971)

#### IS SOUTHERN AFRICA WISCONSIN'S BUSINESS?

A new illustrated pamphlet available from the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, 306 N. Brooks St., Madison, Wis. 53715. With postage, \$.50 each; \$4.00 for ten copies.

## Attention Readers!

IF ANY OF OUR READERS HOLD STOCK IN GULF OIL CORPORATION or know of individuals, universities, churches, etc. who hold stock, remember that the United Presbyterian Task Force on Southern Africa has four resolutions relating to Gulf's involvement in Angola and its support of Portuguese colonialism that will be voted on by Gulf shareholders at the spring meeting. For a full explanation of the Presbyterian Task Force position, write for a copy of their proxy statement from the Project on Corporate Responsibility, 1609 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Available from the Southern Africa Committee for \$.25, a limited number of the 100th Anniversary Issue of South African Outlook, a liberal South African journal. Articles in this issue include those by Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, and Edgar Brookes.

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