

S O U T H E R N A F R I C A
A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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Editorial

It Tolls For Thee

Recently Bishop Dodge made an acute analysis of the tragic developments which are leading to an era of bitter guerilla war in Southern Africa. His conclusions are amply borne out by the material presented in this issue. The broad outlines of the situation are indeed depressing.

With angry, bitter frustration the Africans are turning away from the Western countries, who speak with such a hypocritical voice about democracy, equality and freedom from persecution for men of all races. The fine liberal phrases cannot gain-say sales of arms to Southern Africa, the soft treatment for the rebel Smith regime, the hamstringing of the United Nations action on South West Africa and the continued investment of Western capital in the white tyrannies. After all the words, millions are still in servitude in the racist South. The whites grow stronger, bolder and get harsher in their repression. It seems a billion reasoned words will not convert the whites to share Southern Africa with their fellow men. No democracy is allowed. The will of the majority does not prevail. There is just rock-like intransigence. The erring white brothers of the West are handled with velvet gloves. No wonder the

(Editorial: Continued)

Africans have turned away from the West. They have realized that if Africa is to be free, they, the Africans, must free themselves. No one will give it to them. They must take it for themselves. And because those who could, do nothing, there is only one path open to them: that is guerilla war.

The polarization of Africa grows apace. The charge of race hatred is building up. Each side girds its loins and a war of races comes closer. For its part, the O.A.U. has increased the funds allocated to the liberation movements. The first major battles have been fought in Rhodesia and South West Africa, while over 50,000 Portuguese troops struggle to contain the movements in Angola and Moçambique. But while the Africans fight their way south, the whites have not been idle. South Africa has committed herself in word and deed to defend the white regimes on her borders. The defenceless, former High Commission Territories, abandoned by Britain, have been whipped into line. They are forced to betray their brethren for the crumbs from the master's table.

A white Axis has been formed in the South. The forces of repression have been coordinated to destroy any popular movement. The South African police and armed forces stand ready to deliver a massive blow. Recently they rushed to the aid of harrassed Rhodesian police.

Perhaps the most critical area is the Zambia-Rhodesia border. For a number of years, the regions of armed conflict have been in the Portuguese territories on the east and west coast, but clearly at some stage the front must straddle the continent. The Rhodesian and South African whites are well aware that guerilla groups will penetrate this frontier. Prime Minister Vorster, following an Israeli model, has promised savage "punishment" raids against Zambia, if guerillas use the territory as a base. It seems certain that only verbal protests from the West would follow such a raid.

Two more tasks are tackled with Machiavellian skill. With the one hand, the White regimes draw an eminently "reasonable" image of themselves, to soothe any doubts which trouble their trading partners, while with the other, they savagely smash the last remnants of opposition in their own white camp. Thus Rhodesia fits itself to the South African mould, thus Dr. Hoffenberg and the leaders of the South African National Union of Students are crushed into silence and exile.

It truly is a hellish picture that is sketched in these pages. Yet if it is just a single point of light, at least they pull the sheepskin from the shoulders of the wolf and reveal the racists as true villains.

Growing protest at S. African ban on Dr Hoffenberg

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town, October 13

Signatures are still being added daily to the protest which has now been going on for three months, against the banning of Dr Raymond Hoffenberg. He is a lecturer in medicine at the University of Capetown, glands specialist of the main city hospital, and an internationally known researcher in radioactive isotopes.

The addition of this leading doctor to the list of 683 people already living the "twilight life" of severe restriction under the Suppression of Communism legislation (you don't have to be a "Communist" to fall under its powers) has caused the greatest public unease in years about the banning system.

It has also concentrated attention on what seems to be a deliberate Government campaign against the English-medium universities and to end all possibility of liberal influence on the leadership of the English section.

To the original list of 800 signatures published under a "no banning without proper trial" demand in a full-page advertisement in the press has come a steady trickle of additional names. Medical teachers and South African medical post-graduates in Britain, 50 American doctors, International Atomic Agency colleagues of "Bill" Hoffenberg, student and staff groups of all the English-medium universities in South Africa—all have added their protest.

(Continued on next page)

Demand for reasons

In the meantime a strong UCT delegation, consisting of the chancellor, Mr Harry Oppenheimer; the head of the council, Mr Clive Corder; the dean of the medical faculty and president of the S.A. College of Physicians, Surgeons, and Gynaecologists, Dr John Brock; and the principal, Dr Duminy, are waiting to see the Minister of Justice, Mr Pelser.

The Minister called for reasons to be sent to him in writing setting out why the university delegation wished to see him about the ban. His apparent intention is to limit the field of questioning to the UCT staff-interest in Dr Hoffenberg's restriction. But the delegation is unlikely to be satisfied with anything less than the Government's full and publishable reasons for drastically restricting this lecturer's liberty—and/or an undertaking to charge him in open court.

It is generally accepted that the Government's reason for annoyance with Dr Hoffenberg is that he was, briefly, chairman of the Defence and Air Fund, which provided for the defence of people, mostly Africans, charged with political offences. The fund was banned two years ago and a flimsy justification, asserting that it allowed some funds to be passed to Communist-front organisations, was made by Mr Vorster, then Minister of Justice.

A high point

Some people suspect, however, that it was Dr Hoffenberg's rôle as adviser to leaders of the National Union of South African Students that caused the Government to confine him as one who was "promoting the ends of communism." The Government has for some years now been harrying this liberal and non-racial student group, the most powerful in all the English-medium universities. This action reached a high point last year when it banned the head of NUSAS, Mr Ian Robertson, who was about to act as host to the organisation's academic freedom day guest, Senator Robert Kennedy.

Although it did not dare to refuse a visa to the senator, the Government has since refused visas to other academic freedom speakers invited by the English university staffs and students. One has been a distinguished American academic, Dr Clark Kerr, and another has been the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Mr Garfield Todd. Mr John Daniel, who stepped into Ian Robertson's place as Mr Kennedy's host has recently been refused a passport to take up a scholarship in America—

and his wife has been refused one, too.

The heart of the Government's hostility is the struggle by NUSAS for nonracialism on university campuses and in university societies. The late ex-Chief Albert Luthuli remained a NUSAS honorary vice-president to the end; and, although the Government has imposed apartheid on the formerly "open universities" all English-medium, NUSAS is most active in celebrating annual rededication to nonracial ideals of "academic freedom."

Government threat

When the UCT students voted overwhelmingly not to allow racially-discriminatory clubs on the campus the Government threatened to pass legislation to enforce the "freedom" to discriminate. Cape Town University Council has now revised the Student Representative Council rules to allow this "freedom"—largely to avoid an even more drastic measure by the Government.

Under the attack by the Government, pressed by parental and university council nervousness and influenced by nearly half a generation of Christian national education, the greater part of the white student body is becoming withdrawn, confused, and even "conservative." Although UCT still manages to return a mildly liberal majority to the SRC, student interest in the elections is waning, and "conservatism" is gaining ground.

In the Afrikaans-medium universities the process is seen to be going to strange extremes in already strongly Right-wing student bodies, among whom are now to be found a fair number of people who are even more racially biased than their fathers. African students (at the "Bantu universities") who don't conform are sent home, or not allowed back.

'National problem'

An American journalist investigating student attitudes in Cape Town writes: "The trend at the university may well indicate a broader national phenomenon. As Miss Margaret Marshall, outgoing national president of NUSAS, puts it: "Four years ago I was regarded as a middle-of-the-roader in NUSAS; today I am considered a Left-wing liberal. But I haven't changed my views in all that time."

Numbers of liberal university lecturers have been banned and others under threat of restriction have left the country. The recruitment of lecturers from overseas has fallen away to a thin and wholly insufficient trickle.

A woman student speaking to the same American journalist said: "The newspapers are being increasingly restricted, the radio is propaganda, books are banned, and the radicals people used to talk with are no longer permitted among us. No wonder we protest less." But protest they still do, as was shown by the campus reaction to the Hoffenberg banning.

Nevertheless, the Government's aim seems plain enough in its action against both staff members and students—to muffle if not silence the traditional liberal influences in the English universities. This, it believes, will produce an English leadership much more steeped in what is called "a more truly South African way of thinking"—and one much closer to Afrikaner nationalism.

(The above article has been reprinted with the kind permission of the Manchester Guardian, October 14, 1967.)

Editorial Notes:

Since the publication of the above article: (1) The University of Cape Town delegation has seen the Minister of Justice about Dr. Hoffenberg's banning, and came away empty-handed and silent. The loud protests of the 800 have passed away, and of the many doctors who threatened to resign, only one has done so; (2) Mr. John Sprack, President-elect of NUSAS, and due to have taken office this December, was deported.

Arrests and Death Sentences in Rhodesia

Nine Africans were found guilty of contravening the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act by possessing offensive weapons and materials in Bulawayo High Court and were sentenced to terms ranging from 10 to 15 years. (Rand Daily Mail, Sept. 28, 1967) Eleven Africans were sentenced to terms totalling 195 years in Salisbury High Court. All had pleaded guilty to illegal possession of firearms, ammunition, hand grenades, and high explosives. The eleven men, and five others, had been captured after crossing the Zambesi River. (London Times, Oct. 11, 1967)

Seven Africans were sentenced to death by Salisbury High Court on November 9. They were found guilty by Judge Lewis of murdering two African soldiers, and of illegally possessing weapons and explosives. Two men were members of the ANC and the other five were Rhodesians (London Times, Nov. 10, 1967).

Two of seven Africans on trial in Salisbury on charges of murder and terrorist activity have sought to challenge the admissibility of statements alleged to have been made by them to the police. They described the threats that they were under after capture. (One man was told he would be thrown out of the helicopter if he refused to cooperate.) (London Times, Nov. 23, 1967)

New Legislation in Rhodesia

Three major bills have been placed before the Rhodesian Parliament since the meeting of the Rhodesian Front Congress. The Municipal Amendment Bill has provisions for segregating recreational facilities; the Property Owners (Residential Protection) Bill requires Asians and Coloured people to vacate European business and residential areas, and finally there was a bill providing a mandatory death penalty for people found in unauthorized possession of arms unless the accused "can prove beyond reasonable doubt that he had no intention of endangering law and order." (London Times, Oct. 14, Oct. 27, and Oct 28, Nov. 3). The Rhodesia Constitutional Council rejected both the Municipal Amendment Bill and the "Terrorist" bill as unconstitutional. For the bills to become law, they would either have to be amended in line with the Council's recommendations or passed (without necessity of amendment) by a two-thirds majority of Parliament. Since the Rhodesian Front has an overwhelming majority in Parliament, this latter presents no obstacle.

Referring to the Terrorist bill, the Council stated that the laws were "so wide as to class as potential terrorists or saboteurs in danger of the mandatory death sentence persons who may be minor offenders with no thoughts of endangering the security of Rhodesia." The first two bills also brought a protest from two Rhodesians (one an M.P., Mr. P. Govan, the other deputy leader of the Rhodesia Action Association, Mr. Herbert Thompson) who travelled to London to express their fears of increasing apartheid in Rhodesia and ask British protection against these dangers. They were told that the Acts would be inconsistent with the five principles on which Britain would envisage a settlement. (London Times, Oct. 27, 1967)

Mr. Thomson's trip

The trip of Mr. Thomson (Commonwealth Secretary) to Africa in early November received "mixed reviews". He saw leaders from Ghana and Nigeria in Britain before he left, and in Africa conferred with Presidents Kenyatta, Obote, Nyerere, the Prime Ministers of both Lesotho and Swaziland, and the Foreign Minister of South Africa, Dr. Muller, before landing in Salisbury on November 8. In reporting on the talks between Smith and Thomson, which totalled more than nine hours, the London Times first stated that "Rhodesia Talks Start Well", then "Hopes Dwindle in Rhodesia", to, finally, "Grim Rhodesia Report by Mr. Thomson" (London Times, Nov. 9, 10 and 15).

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In the final report, Mr. Thomson said that "the difference between Mr. Smith's position and that of the British Government had proved even greater than earlier discussions had indicated." He would not clarify his statement except to say that Mr. Smith's new stand went directly against three of the six principles which both sides of the House had accepted as the basis for a return to legality. (London Times, Nov. 15, 1967) The London Times, in an editorial, said that "Conservative and Labour Governments calmly undertook to honour the six principles which are just and humane, but, like so much that is, can only be enforced by power," and closed by saying, "Britain's responsibility to four million black Rhodesians remains. But Britain has other responsibilities to people at home and abroad. In reflecting on what to do next, the Government should consider the priorities of these claims on them. Otherwise, from making too many promises, they will dishonour too many." (London Times, Nov. 11, 1967)

Censorship in Rhodesia

An announcement was made by the Board of Censors that they will examine all films, stage performances, publications, newspapers, and news media in Rhodesia. (The Board was originally established to censor the Press only.) The man behind the regime's propoganda and censorship drive is P.K. Van der Byl (son of a former South African Cabinet Minister). (Zimbabwe News, Oct. 15, 1967)

Press censorship continued as before. A news item disclosing that the Rhodesian Ministry of Education is considering proposals designed to curb multiracial school sports fixtures was censored from the "Rhodesia Herald" November 17, 1967 (London Times, Nov. 14, 1967). However, the Censorship Board is not the only body responsible for censorship. The Ministry of Education has taken action to limit the range of books on African current affairs in the libraries of government schools, and has banned the following authors: Ronald Segal, Roland Oliver, J. D. Fage, Basil Davidson, John Hatch, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, Father Trevor Huddleston, President Kenneth Kaunda, Miss Margery Perham and Colin Legum. (London Times, Nov. 17, 1967) Segal, Oliver, Fage and Davidson are authors of books published by the Penguin Africa series. Bishop Reeves and Father Huddleston are well known critics of the South African government. Colin Legum is a journalist for the London Observer.

A Country of Laws

As every loyal South African knows, South Africa is a country in which stern measures are necessary to maintain law and order. The problem is that more and more oppressive laws are being passed with less and less internal protest. This convinces many people that South Africa is, in fact, a police state and is moving rapidly from being an authoritarian state to a totalitarian one.

The most recent evidence of this is "The Terrorism Act" which was passed by the South African Parliament and signed by the Acting State President in June, 1967, but which was made retroactive to June 27, 1962. The Act defines a "terrorist" as:

- any person who intends to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic and who - anywhere - commits any act or conspires or incites, advises, encourages any other person to commit any such act;
- anyone who attempts to undergo or advises or encourages any other person to undergo training "which could be of use to any person intending to endanger the maintenance of law and order";
- anyone who possesses explosives, ammunition, firearms or weapons and fails to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not intend using these to commit any act likely to have such results as, among others - "to hamper or deter any person from assisting in the maintenance of law and order; to

promote, by intimidation, the achievement of any object; to cause serious bodily injury to or endanger the safety of any person; to cause substantial financial loss to any person or the State; to cause, encourage or further feelings of hostility between the White and other inhabitants of the Republic; to obstruct or endanger the free movement of any traffic on land, at sea or in the air; to embarrass the administration of the affairs of the State."

The Act continues that "the accused shall be presumed to have committed or attempted to commit...such act...unless it is proved beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not intend any of the results aforesaid."

In addition to this broad definition of terrorism, the Act is, by definition, made to apply to South West Africa. The international importance of this is that South Africa's legal and administrative jurisdiction over the international territory of South West Africa was declared terminated by the UN General Assembly resolution 2145 in October, 1966. This makes South Africa's legal right to incorporate the territory into a definition of the Republic of South Africa and to apply her racially discriminatory and repressive laws extremely questionable.

The first case to be tried under the Act is the trial of 37 South West Africans (now 35) which began September 11 in Pretoria. Some of the accused had been detained for 200 or even 300 days before the Act was enacted. The men on trial come from many different occupational backgrounds, including 21 laborers or "unemployed" persons, 4 peasants, 2 teachers, 1 mechanic and 1 clerk. Some of the accused are members of the Executive Committee of the nationalist South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Morris B. Abram, Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the UN said that in the trial under "outrageous ex-post-facto legislation...which violates at least ten articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," the defendants "are being tried by a foreign government whose rights have already been forfeited in South West Africa" and have been "transported 1,000 miles away from home to be tried without a jury in a foreign land." Mr. Abram concluded that "moral force - the spotlight of international conscience, mobilized by information - is the only present practical hope of those doomed men." (New York Law Journal, Nov. 13, 1967)

There is an immediate need to draw the attention of the President, Secretary of State, Ambassador Goldberg, Senators and Congressmen to:

- (1) The questionable legality of South Africa's detention and trial of South West Africans in view of the UN action (which was supported by the U.S. Government) in October, 1966.
- (2) The likelihood of a mass hanging of many of the accused unless authoritative and broad protests are made to the South African Government.
- (3) The grave implications and consequences for South Africa and the future of South West Africa and for race relations and world order if any of the accused should be hanged in view of the disputed status of South West Africa and of the utterly iniquitous character of the Terrorism Act.
- (4) The need for the U.S. Embassy and other Western embassies' officials to personally observe the public trial in Pretoria.

For further information: See an article by the Rev. Kenneth Carstens in the late December, 1967 issue of Christianity and Crisis. For a brief analysis of the Act and the trial, write to the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016. For a copy of the Act and more detailed information, write to the Rev. Kenneth Carstens, Room 666, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York, 10027.

Churches in Southern Africa

The Methodist Church in South Africa is reported to have passed a resolution at its Annual Conference deploring the Methodist Church's Board of Missions (U.S.) action threatening withdrawal of an investment portfolio from a bank involved in the consortium loan to the South Africa Government. The Board of Missions announced on September 29 that it would withdraw a stock portfolio worth \$10 million from the First National City Bank of New York, should the institution renew its part in a consortium credit arrangement with the South African government. The South African church regretted the American church's so-called interference in South African affairs. It should be noted that for any South African to applaud such action could be a criminal offense of treason (to support an action leading to sanctions). The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations) has also challenged the banks involved in the consortium not to renew their loan to the South African Government, threatening withdrawal as a consequence of renewal.

A number of U.S. denominations contributed financially to the defense of the Christian Institute this past spring. This fall several churches in the U.S. have broadened their concept of mission from defense of "church causes" to include assistance in the defense of the 36 South West African men now on trial in Pretoria under the Terrorism Act as the fight continued for their civil and human rights.

After suffering the effects of having several key church leaders deported from Rhodesia for encouraging a multiracial society, there is a report from a Rhodesian Methodist source about the start of what is believed to be the only interracial kindergarten in the country. It is for children of African seminary students and their faculty (which includes white missionaries), at Epworth Theological College (ecumenical) in Salisbury. A young African woman, a trained kindergarten teacher, conducts the school, which meets in a college guest cottage. A similar integration experiment at the Methodist elementary school in Nyadiri is being phased out because of heavy government pressure, it is reported.

Mounting Antagonism to U.S. Over Southern Africa

An urgent call to the United States to reconsider its policies towards Southern Africa has come from Methodist Bishop R. E. Dodge in the November issue of The Christian Century. Bishop Dodge, expelled from Rhodesia in 1964, writes after attending the recent U.N. Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held in Kitwe, Zambia. From this he gained an impression of mounting antagonism towards Western nations, particularly the U.S. and Great Britain, on the part of other nations of the world, for their material aid to the minority regimes of Southern Africa and their failure to support U.N. resolutions calling for sanctions. According to Bishop Dodge "it is becoming increasingly clear to African leaders and to the masses that the West is interested neither in ideals nor in reasonable goals..." Consequently, "violence is seen as the only way to achieve the goal of majority rule. Long-range plans are already under way."

Recent proceedings at the U.N. certainly support this assessment. On Nov. 1 the U.S. together with Britain and other Western nations abstained from voting for a resolution calling on the U.K. "to take immediately all necessary measures including the use of force to put an end to the illegal racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia." (U.N. Press Release)

On November 10 the U.S. voted with Portugal, South Africa, Spain, the U.K., Australia and New Zealand against a resolution adopted in the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee condemning Portugal's colonial war and aggressive acts against African states, and requesting all states, particularly the military allies of Portugal in NATO to desist from supplying her with weapons and military equipment. The U.S. representative expressed regret that Portugal had defied the U.N. charter and had allowed its territory to be used for attacks against its neighbors and said the U.S. would continue to urge Portugal to apply the right of self-determination to its African territories. He went on to say, however, that the U.S. would persist in assuming, as it had since 1961, that U.S. military equipment supplied to Portugal would not be used in these territories. This means that the U.S. not only admits supplying Portugal with arms in the past but is prepared to flout the U.N. decision and to continue to do so in the future. The U.S. excuse that arms delivered since 1961 are assumed not to be used in Africa is flimsy, for even assuming that this is strictly observed by Portugal, fresh arms deliveries enable her to divert earlier supplies, or supplies obtained elsewhere to Africa, while keeping her home arsenals well stocked.

As the representative of Frelimo pointed out, a backward power such as Portugal could not afford to purchase military aircraft, submarines and larger quantities of weapons of various types without the help it received from the U.S. and other Western countries within the framework of NATO. The war in Mozambique alone costs Portugal 440,000 per day. Reference was made too to the U.S. advisory group MAAG, the purpose of which is, according to U.S. sources, to assist the Portuguese Ministry of Defense and military services in the training and equipping of Portuguese armed forces. In addition the Cuban representative referred to the light bombers delivered to Portugal by the CIA early in 1966 for use in Africa. (U.N. Press Release)

On November 22 the U.S., U.K. and other Western nations were obviously the main, if not the only targets of a 51-nation draft resolution adopted in the Special Political Committee on Apartheid. It urges action under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter and calls for universally applied mandatory sanctions as the only means of achieving a peaceful solution. It also condemns those states, particularly the main trading partners of South Africa, and the activities of foreign financial and other interests, which were encouraging South Africa to persist in its policies, and requests these states to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council on this question. (U.N. Press Release)

Regarding South West Africa, the U.S. was for once found voting with the majority of U.N. members in October, 1966 for Resolution 2145 which terminated South Africa's mandate over the territory and claimed it as a U.N. trust territory. Since then, however, U.S. policy has been to avoid direct confrontation with South Africa in favour of "dialogue" with Pretoria. As disenchantment with the alleged "flexibility" of Prime Minister Vorster sets in, however, this is increasingly less viable, unless backed by measures such as sanctions strong enough to induce South Africa to abandon its intransigence and defiance of the world community for the past twenty years on this issue. As matters now stand, South Africa feels secure enough to tighten its grip on the territory, not only openly implementing apartheid in respect of the Ovomboland area but also in the application of South Africa's vicious security laws to the people of South West Africa. The U.S. has expressed regret at these developments and condemned the illegal trial of the 37 (now 35 since one has died in prison and another is supposedly acquitted) citizens of South West Africa under the so-called "Terrorism" Act. Mr. M. B. Abram, U.S. Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights stated before the U.N. Association of the U.S.A. on November 10 that these black South West Africans now on trial "face hanging under an ex-post-facto statute which violates at least ten articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. . ." and that the whole procedure by which they were being

tried makes a mockery of due process and the rule of law as practised in civilised countries. While such expressions of opposition to white minority rule in Southern Africa are confined to words, however, they are not likely to be taken very seriously either by South Africa or by the world at large.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

The movement towards a "greater Southern Africa," or an "unholy alliance," (depending on one's perspective) is finding expression in various forms. One is the attention that newsmakers and editors in South Africa are giving to this "new image."

Newscheck's editor, Otto Krause, in an article "Towards a Greater Southern Africa," in the Oct. 20, 1967 issue (pp. 14-18) outlined some of the possibilities he saw for a future Southern Africa (including Rhodesia, Malawi, Swaziland, Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana, Angola and South West Africa - - an area of just over two million square miles with a present population of around 40 million). Most of the article was devoted to the economic potential of such an area creating what he termed a Development Community ("To whites, it offers the security of friendship, to black it offers the security of development; and both must give.") The chief political prerequisite for this new Southern Africa is seen by Mr. Krause as "the principle of independence and its corollaries of respect for nations and of non-interference in others affairs. The notion of independence is deeply rooted in the sub-continent; it is as much part of the Afrikaaner political tradition as it is of African nationalism" Applying this to Rhodesia, Mr. Krause sees a problem in a settlement based on a Tiger constitution, for "it will merely maintain the old imperial idea of white dominance with the qualified franchise to make it look good. But this is a false doctrine, for if the qualified franchise is honestly applied, in time it must provide an African majority - and the idea of an independent white Rhodesian nation will go by the board. . . Far better than for Rhodesia to devise constitutional ways in which it could recognise that also its African people must one day gain independence and so be in line with the rest of Southern Africa." Regarding the Portuguese territories, he suggests that it may be time for Lisbon to prepare to move out - - "By starting to give independence in Africa, Lisbon would in fact fix a Portuguese presence in the sub-continent, and in keeping close connections with its former colonies - - as Britain has so carefully done - - Portugal will benefit." Thus, "separate development" begins to take on an international aspect.

The Rand Daily Mail editor, in a leading article on Sept. 30, 1967, entitled "Black Doves" speaks of the contrast between Black African hawks and doves - - pointing primarily to Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho's action at the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee in calling on Britain to come to terms with Rhodesia and recognize that international sanctions had failed (Rand Daily Mail, Sept. 29, 1967). The article goes on to suggest that this re-assessment of actions against South Africa may be taking place in other African countries as well and that the feeling may grow that the African states "have a better chance of converting South Africa, Rhodesia, and Mozambique to liberalism through cooperation and understanding rather than by boycotts and isolation." In its impact on South Africa, "the new-found friendship of some African states has been a great encouragement to South Africa, suggesting that it can have apartheid and good relations with Black Africa too." The article concludes, "Believing as we do that violence rarely provides solutions to human problems, our preference is for the doves - - with the reservation in our minds that these could still prove birds of passage."

Roy Lewis, writing in the London Times, Nov. 17, under the heading "South Africa freer to proceed on partition" sees the increasing dependence of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Malawi on South Africa as giving that nation a firmer base for continuing its development of Bantustans and encouraging them (South Africans) to "think that they may have a better case to present to the world." He sees the four countries as "in a sense Bantustans with U.N. membership - - a prospect to dangle before Chief Matanzima of the Transkei, who is periodically contumacious." He also suggests that South Africa might be willing to add the bordering Tswana and Swazi areas in the Republic to Botswana and Swaziland, respectively, under certain conditions. Again, Rhodesia presents a problem. Mr. Lewis states that "the threat to security earlier this year induced Dr. Vorster to send substantial forces into Rhodesia, perhaps more than is realized. In Rhodesia, such a commitment was valued, but there are also leaders of the Rhodesian Front who would like to join a South African hegemony, making Rhodesia part of this black-white checkerboard. Hitherto South Africa has rejected the Land Apportionment Act as an adequate blueprint for this, seeing no way in which a viable all-white area could exist as a province of the Republic amid Matabele and Mashona black states. But this view may not be immutable, particularly if Mr. Smith is more successful in maintaining and developing Rhodesia as a white state than the South Africans first thought." Mr. Lewis sees the key state in the whole process being Zambia: "If Zambia could be induced to take a line more like Malawi, a comprehensive settlement of the southern tip of Africa to the liking of its white castes might be in sight. It seems very unlikely, but expansionist South Africa is gaining useful experience of running a growing satellite block."

On the more concrete level of the implementing of some of these ideas, the following items are of interest:

Malawi and South Africa. A high-level mission headed by Dr. P. S. Rautenbach, the Prime Minister's newly appointed resources and planning adviser and chairman of the Resources and Planning Council, was on its way to Malawi (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 11, 1967). Mr. Philip Richardson, a Briton, will be the first charge d'affaires in Malawi's legation in South Africa. Malawi is the first independent black African state to establish diplomatic relationships with South Africa (London Times, Nov. 17, 1967).

Lesotho. The South African Wool Board is to offer aid to Lesotho wool producers (169,000 R over a five year period) at the request of the Lesotho government (South Africa Digest, Nov. 17, 1967).

Southern African Common Market. The President of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr. Lulfo, speaking at the organization's golden jubilee meeting, spoke about the possibility of a Southern African common market. On electrical power alone, "we can visualize a physical link-up of Kariba, Gabora Bassa, Oxbow, the Orange and Kunene." He paid tribute to the industrial predecessors in South Africa "who did such wonders for South Africa. Let us now set ourselves to do the same for Southern Africa." (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 4, 1967)

South Africa and Portugal. South African Minister for Economic Affairs, J. F. W. Haak, visited Lisbon recently and expressed the hope that in the future, trade with Portugal and the country's overseas provinces would be considerably expanded. Portugal's apprehensiveness about future economic groupings in Europe squeezing her out may lead her to feel that the present close political alliance between the Salazar and Vorster Governments should be translated into a much closer trading alliance. (New York Journal of Commerce, Nov. 16, 1967)

The reactions of other countries outside the Southern Africa camp to South Africa's expansion are also of interest:

President Kaunda of Zambia at an address celebrating the third anniversary of Zambian independence referred to the "unholy alliance" between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal and in support of this, said that South African forces had invaded Rhodesia. The President recalled that last year Zambia had raised, at the United Nations, the question of a military base being established by South Africa in South West Africa, on the Caprivi Strip very near to Zambia. Also, more recently, South African helicopters, troops and police had several times landed at Katima Mulido in Zambia near South West Africa. Zambia might have to form a civilian militia to support her army to meet these provocations from South Africa (London Times, October 23, 1967).

Mr. Vorster warned Zambia that if she wanted to try violence, South Africa would hit her so hard she would never forget it. The Prime Minister was speaking at a rally of supporters of the National Party at Rustenburg, Transvaal (London Times, Oct. 16, 1967).

Mr. Sam Odaka, Foreign Minister of Uganda said at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at Kampala that South Africa and Portugal were working out a plan of attack against African states, "a northward thrust", and that mercenaries in the Congo were part of it. (London Times, Oct. 28, 1967)

The Star's Washington correspondent reports that Washington has welcomed the new contacts with Black states established by Mr. Vorster. "But the officials' feeling is that these foreign initiatives by Mr. Vorster are of little real meaning so long as they are contradicted by 'repressive' actions on the domestic front and 'inexplicable' decisions on visas" (referring to the problems of getting visas to the former High Commission Territories by American officials in South Africa). (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 11, 1967)

BUILDING BRIDGES

On December 11, 1967 Mr. J. F. Wentzel will take up his new position as South Africa's Charge d'Affairs in Malawi and Mr. Phillip Richardson will take up a similar post in South Africa for Malawi. The increasingly close relationship between South Africa and Malawi has several important aspects; however, we want to indicate its value for South Africa's propaganda.

The fundamental theme of South Africa's projected image is its stability, prosperity and anti-communism compared to the chaos, barbarism, and communism of black Africa. While this image has the virtue of clarity and simplicity, it lacks subtlety, sophistication and is easily attacked. The Vorster regime has come to appreciate the value for its foreign image of friendly or at least neutrally dependent black countries. For the most part this new insight was a gift of the independence of Botswana and Lesotho and in this light a reinterpretation of Malawi's economic dependence on South Africa.

Of course South Africa has always had Africans who would say publicly how much they favored separate development. Chief Minister of the Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima, is reported as saying in the Nov. 22 issue of "News from South Africa," the weekly bulletin published by the New York office of the South Africa Information Service, "I have said it before, but I wish to say it again - - my Government is wholly in favor of the policy of the country, namely, separate development."

But it is much more potent propaganda for South Africa to be able to point to "mutually advantageous, mutually satisfactory" relations with independent African

states. Because these states are economically dependent on South Africa their criticism of apartheid is at best circumspect and highly qualified. South Africa is able to use its cooperation with them as examples of what is possible when apartheid is placed in the background, regarded as an internal problem, and is not seen as an insurmountable barrier to relations.

Secondly, South Africa can point to its own commitment to a policy of regionalism which is currently in vogue in most thinking about Africa. C. L. Sulzberger, in his editorial in the New York Times December 6, reports the following remarks by Prime Minister Vorster: "Economically our future and that of our neighbors are bound up with each other and we have demonstrated that neighboring states, in spite of differences in domestic policy, can cooperate to mutual advantage. The constitutional impasse in Rhodesia will come to an end sooner or later and this will eliminate the only stumbling block to southern Africa's economic cooperation."

Such words fall on receptive ears in the U.S. government and business circles. They see that this attitude is reasonable, pragmatic, non-ideological, contributing to good business and stability. They point to the absurdity of the U.S. limiting its relations to South Africa at a time when the latter is "building bridges" to overcome its isolation. Taking the obvious implication of official South African statements, the advocates of close U.S.-South African relations can say that if black African countries can have good relations with South Africa, surely the U.S. can.

UNITED STATES ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Litton Industries (Beverly Hills, California) has agreed to acquire the Denver Machinery group, a South African firm which manufactures handling equipment, industrial rubber products and power transmission equipment (Sunday Times, Nov. 19, 1967). With respect to recent Litton activity in Greece, and mention of Litton's chairman, Charles B. Thornton, as possible successor to Secretary McNamara (New York Times, November 28, 1967), this acquisition has additional importance not only for South Africa.

The South African company is actually being acquired by Hewitt-Robbins (South Africa), a Litton subsidiary whose home office is in Stamford, Connecticut. The statement issued by both managements said that "the union of the various companies under the Litton banner will provide for a broader participation in the general industrial environment of South Africa..." In a column accompanying the Sunday Times article, titled "U.S. Company Shows Faith in South Africa," the writer said, "I am confident that the purchase of Denver is the start of further rapid and extensive expansion by Litton Industries in South Africa." The writer further remarked that Litton's economists had found South Africa to have a secure future with great growth potential, and then said, "Like Litton's economists and investigators, I believe South Africa will justify the faith that the big American group has shown in this country."

Litton is the 57th largest U.S. corporation, but it is also America's largest "conglomerate," operating 18 distinct industries; e.g. Royal Typewriter Co., Wilson Marine Transit Co., Ingalls Shipbuilding Corp., American Book Co. (Fortune, June 15). One of its most recent operations may portend some further activities in South Africa. Roy Ashe, President of Litton, signed a contract with the new "colonels" regime in Greece for a long-range \$240 million investment and development program (Economist, June 3). The Papandreu government had opposed the contract, but "the recent military coup in Greece has allowed Litton to resurrect [it] almost intact." The program shows "how imaginative Litton's chairman and chief executive officer,

Mr. Charles B. Thornton, can be in finding new areas of operation for the sort of free (and free-wheeling) enterprise, whose virtues he is so fond of praising." One wonders what imaginative, free-wheeling plans he might have in mind for South Africa!

Robert M. Allan, Jr., President of the newly formed Litton International Development Corporation, a "nation-building" experiment "to help funnel private investment capital into Greece and Portugal" (Forbes, July 1, emphasis added), will be the man in charge of administering the \$240 million project. Allan's background is in the mining industry where he had been resident of Cyprus Mines Corp. (Los Angeles). Charles Thornton and a director of Litton, Frank L. King, are both directors of Cyprus Mines. The Chairman of Cyprus Mines is Henry Mudd, who is also a director of American Metal Climax, the large Southern Africa mining operation. Thus Litton is also tied to South Africa through the mining industry.

Inquiries about Litton's acquisition in South Africa should be directed to the Hewitt-Robbins Co., Glenbrook Road, Stamford, Conn. (203/273-7860). Inquiries about Litton's further activities in South Africa, Portugal or Greece should be directed to Litton Industries, 9370 Santa Monica Blvd., Beverley Hills, California. (213/329-2900).

According to the South African Information Service (November 29), U.S. Steel has acquired a 31% interest in Feralloys, Ltd. and a 30% interest in Zeerust Chrome Mines. U.S. Steel will purchase 900,000 Feralloy shares, lend the company \$2.41 million - - all part of an \$11.2 million expansion program to double production. The American company will have three directors on each of the company's boards.

Charles Englehard's British company, Englehard Industries, has bought out the gold refining business of N.M. Rothschild and Sons (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 18). The deal for Englehard, "almost certainly one of the hundred richest men in the world," will give his extensive precious metals business added prestige, and the possibility of getting "gold bars accepted as good delivery on the London market." Recently, Englehard was chairman of the Fiftieth Anniversary dinner of the Foreign Policy Association, an 800-member organization drawn from the top circles of business, law and education.

Western International Hotels has signed a contract to manage the 600-room Carlton Hotel under construction in Johannesburg (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Oct. 18). The 30-story hotel will be the largest on the continent, and will house a health club to be operated by Gary Player, the professional golfer. (In the Nov. 17 issue of South Africa Digest, Player was pictured alongside Prime Minister Vorster playing golf.) Western operates hotels in the U.S., Canada, Latin America, Japan, and Hong Kong, but this is its first project in Africa. The Carlton is part of a \$75 million project including two department stores, 150 shops, and a 50-story office building. The complex is partly owned by the Anglo-American Corporation, in which Charles Englehard has a considerable share-holding stake.

The Southwire Company of Georgia will build a production plant for an electrolytic copper refinery at Phalaborwa, South Africa (Reuters News Service, Oct. 27). The plant is part of a \$3.12 million investment for casting electrolytic copper into rod by the Transvaal Cooper Rod Co., a partnership of Phalaborwa Mining Co. and Union Steel Corp. In a letter to this Georgia company, the Southern Africa Committee questioned the moral implications of the investment, arguing, in part, that "American companies have invested over \$600 million during the same years (1961-67) in which the policies of racial separation and suppression were drafted and enforced." The letter continued, "And we hope that in the future you will reconsider your policy toward investing further in South Africa." Should anyone wish to make inquiries, write to Southwire Company of Georgia, Fertilla, Carrollton, Georgia 30117 (404/577-3280).

Sunday DX Oil Co. (Tulsa, Oklahoma) will begin work next January on a 15-million acre exploration grant it has been awarded in southern Mozambique by the Portuguese government (Dallas News, Oct. 21, 1967). Also participating with Sunray are Skelly Oil Co., Tulsa, and Clark Oil and Refining Corp., Milwaukee. Inquiries should be made at:

Sunray DX Oil Co., 907 South Detroit, Tulsa, Oklahoma (918/LU 34300)
 Skelly Oil Co., 1437 South Boulder, Tulsa, Oklahoma (918/LU 42311)
 Clark Oil and Refining Co., 8530 W. National Ave., Milwaukee, Wis. (414/321-5100)

(Next issue: Reports on Chrome exporting by Rhodesia and Gold exporting by U.S.)

MOVEMENTS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

We are "comrades-in-arms, we are facing a common enemy, fighting for a common purpose, facing a common fate, hence a combined force for a common onslaught against the enemy at every point of encounter as we march down for the liberation of our respective countries.

(Joint ANC-ZAPU communique, reprinted in ANC Spotlight, 1 December, 1967)

The most publicized (in the West at least) military thrust by organized southern African liberation movements occurred in Rhodesia during August and September of 1967. The major battles between nationalist guerillas and Rhodesia-South African government forces took place in the area to the north and west of Bulawayo from August 12 (when there was a battle at Inyantue, 30 miles south-east of Wankie) through September 22 when clashes were reported near the Zambezi River (Anti-Apartheid News, Oct. 1967).

The significance of the military confrontation and its repercussions have numerous facets. From the point of view of the movements themselves, the action was important, because (1) the African forces; an alliance of the Liberation Army of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and the Luthuli Combat Unit (This is part of Umkhonto We Sizwe - "Spear of the Nation" - the guerilla arm of the African National Congress) is, according to the words of the Acting-President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, "the first of its kind one can recall in the liberation movements." (ANC Spotlight, December 1, 1967). (2) The movement of armed guerillas into Rhodesia shattered the apparent "political calm" south of the Zambezi - a geographical boundary which had been somewhat transferred into a psychological barrier. (3) The various pitched battles were of such great intensity that the Rhodesian authorities could not apply total censorship. In reviewing the developing ideology of the revolution, one should note a more fully developed theory of the succession of political and military changes necessary for total victory. ZAPU now excludes totally the role of Britain from any settlement of the Rhodesian situation, and re-echoes the need for African self-reliance and what is termed "scientific (i.e. deliberate or calculated) violence." The summer battles have heralded the transformation of politics into the "tactics of war" and the development of a mass movement into a violent revolutionary organization. The ZAPU analysts view the future in Rhodesia as one of increased repression by the Rhodesian government (under the overall direction of South Africa, by the way), with the increased and ultimately victorious power of Africans engaged in armed struggle - meanwhile the continued deceit of the western nations will be evidenced. (Zimbabwe Review, November 1967).

A wider perspective can be gained of the events caused by the open battles and other occurrences during the same and subsequent period in Rhodesia. One observes certain factors which indicate an even greater polarization of forces. (On the one hand, the Organization of African Unity has increased its budgetary allocation to the liberation movements, and on the other show the wider power of South Africa in combatting the activities of the African parties. Upon receiving word of the battles in Rhodesia, South African police and security forces, which had long been involved in the training of Rhodesian forces, were flown directly in to join in combating the guerillas. In addition, South African helicopters were utilized, and according to the Zimbabwe Review, South African/Saracen armored cars. The government forces used all means to disperse and destroy the Africans, and rural areas were bombed. During the time it was also indicated that the two white-ruled governments' forces had worked with and bolstered those of adjacent Botswana, perhaps presaging a time when all of the enclave nations and other of South Africa's African "allies" will see South Africa in not only diplomatic and economic terms, but as security insurance as well. Or as U.S. News and World Report commented, "Worry is becoming biracial" (September 25). During November, Malawi forces (no doubt with intelligence aid of the Portuguese in Mozambique) managed to kill and capture a force of exile Malawians entering the country in a move to oust Dr. Banda - but if such "invasions" escalate or internal security breaks down, Banda may call on South Africa to help police Malawi. (South Africa - Information and Analysis, September). South Africa is prepared to counter all threats, witness the Terrorism Act, which in itself is a legislative and juridicial response to the growth of military activity on the part of the liberation parties.

In the political realm, the battles in August-September proved the impotence of Britain to respond in some forceful manner to both the threat to peace in her "colony" of Rhodesia and the fact that foreign South African forces were stationed and functioning there. They also created intensified tensions between Zambia and Rhodesia, as well as Zambia and South Africa with a vehement exchange of accusations as well as touchy border incidents.

The future of the ANC-ZAPU alliance in specific terms is unknown, but to quote Oliver Tambo, it is a truism to state that "...the fate of the people of Zimbabwe depends on that of the oppressed people of South Africa, and vice versa," or that "the fighting in Wankie and Matabeleland demonstrated the determination of the people. The fighting is bound to increase and spread, not only in Rhodesia but in South Africa itself."

AFRO-AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

There has been a growing, notable concern on the part of Afro-Americans over the past months for southern African affairs, and more particularly, for developing solid relationships with the African nationalist and liberation movements. During the past month manifestations of this feeling of rapport has appeared in the press, and in a SNCC Press release of December 5. The major points of relationships between the movements are (although not totally articulated as such):

- (1) The boycott of the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games as announced by black athletes (primarily on the West Coast) at San Jose College's Black Youth Conference on November 23, 1967. The spokesman for the group, Professor Harry Edwards, said that black Americans had to demonstrate that racism and oppression in the U.S. was comparable to that in South Africa. The differences which the group failed to indicate though are that South Africa was expelled from the Olympics in 1964 because of her policies of racial discrimination, while in the case of the Americans, they are boycotting the Games in order to stimulate international recognition of U.S. racism. Although there is a mounting fear that South Africa

through the ploy of its "New Sports Policy" will gain readmittance to the '68 Olympics, the black sportsmen have, as yet, failed to relate their boycott directly with those South African groups trying to prevent South Africa's re-entry into the Olympic Family.

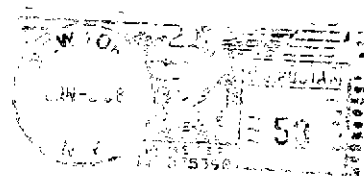
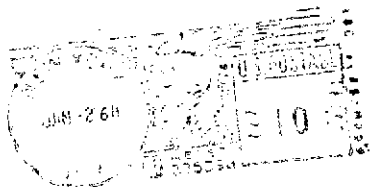
- (2) The SNCC release, as well as a November 28 New York Times article, reviewed the case of 9 former employees of Chase Manhattan Bank who were discharged in June, 1967 after having protested to the New York City Commission on Human Rights that the Bank discriminated in the fields of job promotion, training programs and work loads. The group, organized as the Organization for Self-Improvement, have throughout their publicity identified their cause with those opposed to Chase's policy of support for South African apartheid. The New York City Commission found "probable cause" for the complaints about discrimination at Chase, and the case will move from closed hearings to open ones on December 11.
- (3) H. Rap Brown, in a letter to U Thant on December 4, announced that African-American citizens "are prepared to organize and to establish the AFRICAN-AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL MILITARY BRIGADE for South West Africa" in order to serve as a U.N. Peace force in cooperation with South West African liberation movements; to insure the entrance of the U.N. Council into the Territory; and to provide "material assistance" to the movements. The letter, issued in a release, also pointed out the role of the U.S. government in oppressing South West Africans through "the presence of...American Mining Industries" there, and charged that the "U.S. Government is morally and politically involved in the problem of South West Africa." Issuing the statement of the willingness to form a brigade, SNCC acted in response to an appeal by SWANUF leaders in the Fourth Committee, and also stated their readiness to recruit fighters for South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola and South West Africa.

ATTENTION: After December 25, 1967 the address of the American Committee on Africa will be:

164 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

212/LE 2-3700

Southern Africa Committee
University Christian Movement
Room 758
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027



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