

# 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

#### "A White Olympus"

There is a danger that the Olympic Games in Mexico will be a white man's tournament. South Africa has been readmitted and as a result thirty-six countries have withdrawn to date. The Organization of African Unity has called on all African states to boycott the games. Once again world harmony has foundered on the South African rock.

This country, which humiliates its black people, segregates and reduces them to second class citizens, is a symbol of oppression to all blacks. A symbol of the white man's tyranny over them. It is a crime against humanity to them and they are the victims of the crime. Each time that the participation of this villain in the world community is raised, the world divides into the brothers of the oppressed and the allies

of the oppressors. It is happening over the Olympics, it has happened before, and it will happen again, as long as South Africa remains a living model of the white man's oppression of black people.

Now let us turn to two arguments which are used to justify the admission of South Africa to the Olympic Games. The first argument runs as follows: that as South Africa has made a concession by agreeing to send a multi-racial team, the opportunity must be grasped. Acceptance will encourage South Africa to make further concessions until the whole edifice of apartheid is undermined. This is completely false reasoning. Anyone with an understanding of the South African situation realizes that there will be no real concessions. Any real change would undermine everything the Afrikaner stands for. It would hamstring his fanatical crusade. It is like hoping to lure Nazis from anti-semitism.

This leads to an interesting parallel. In 1936 Hitler made a great "concession" to world opinion. He decided to allow foreign Jews to compete in the Olympic Games in Berlin. The "concession" was accepted and the Games were a great triumph for the Third Reich. Hitler's prestige soared. And anti-semitism continued unabated towards its final solution. It should have taught people to be wary of "concessions" from racists.

The second is a much more potent argument. The Investigating Committee which visited South Africa says that the great majority of the black sportsmen are prepared to compete in the Games under these terms. Now surely if the blacks themselves wish to compete why should the outside world forbid it? But it is this very question which reveals the evil of life in South Africa. In South Africa if the black man wants anything, he must degrade himself by gathering the scraps that the white man will give him. He must lower his moral breeches. If he wants a job, he must go to town and leave his family to see them for only two weeks a year. If he wants to go to the Olympics, he must go on the white man's terms. This is the tragedy of South Africa. The black man has no real choice. He must choose to be a scavenger and take what he can get. The dilemma is not at the gates of the Olympic Games, but in South Africa itself. There the question of acceptance must be answered.

#### COMPANIES INVOLVED IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE TARGET AT PLACEMENT CENTER

Santa Barbara, Cal., Feb. 5 (Liberation News Service) - - Students at the University of California in Santa Barbara are demanding that recruiters from companies who invest in South Africa be banned from using the university's job placement center. The students - - acting through the Associated Students Legislative Council - - cite the university's non-discrimination policy.

A joint student-faculty committee investigated firms using university facilities for recruitment. The findings show that over one-third of the firms have major investments in South Africa, thus lending support to the racist regime. Because of this assistance to South Africa, and because of the discriminatory hiring practices used there, the student-faculty committee recommended suspension of "their privileged activities" on the California campus.

The ultimate decision on the matter must be made by Chancellor Cheadle, who has already consulted a lawyer. If he accepts the demand, the reaction from the firms will surely be great, but inaction could pave the way for turmoil on this otherwise complacent campus. The students have threatened to close the job placement center in

protest if the demand is not met, and there is already work being done to contact other campuses in the California university system to present the same demand throughout.

-- from Hubert Jessup  
Isla Vista ARGO

DR. CHRISTIAAN BARNARD: "Man of the Year"

One could not write about South Africa's propaganda in recent months without focusing on Dr. Christiaan Barnard. The most recent issue of "South African Scope" has his picture on the cover with the caption "Man of the Year". Everything coming out of the South African Information Service lately is strangely unbalanced with news about various operations in South African hospitals and money being raised for medical research. This overemphasis on one tiny segment of national life shows how frantically South Africa thinks she needs some respectable image to present to the world. Medical science turns out to be very amenable to South Africa's propaganda needs. It is clean, humane, apolitical, technologically sophisticated, in short, eminently respectable. Thus, more than anything else, the flood of news releases about Dr. Barnard, the progress of the patients, the other surgical feats, indicates South Africa's neurotic search for respectability.

The inflated publicity has resulted in the unreal if not absurd attempt to transform this one doctor into the creator and bearer of prestige of the entire country. South Africa has tried to play out Barnard's surgical innovation into a sign of health for the nation. One sees this in the attempt to explicitly relate the heart transplant to the traditional sign of South Africa's health, economic prosperity for whites. Thus on the front page of "News from South Africa", January 24, there is a statement by a South African artist who on making a large donation to the "Chris Barnard Fund for heart and organ transplant research" says, "In my opinion, what Prof. Barnard and his team have done for South Africa's prestige alone is worth millions of Rands--and I should know, because I have come across the fantastic ignorance about our country in my travels around the world." So Dr. Barnard becomes not a figure in the history of medical science, but a mask which is held up before the world as the true face of South Africa. Of course the mask makers have a tough job, one comparable to that of trying to maintain that a true understanding of the United States is to be found by looking at Carl Yazstremski rather than at the Vietnam War.

The one element that the Barnard material adds to South African propaganda is novelty in what is otherwise a wasteland of predictability. Perhaps this is one of the clues for distinguishing between real events and what Thomas Merton has called "pseudo events" which are the stuff of propaganda. Propaganda is ordered by themes which remain constant and are essentially unrelated to events. This takes either the form of false interpretation (Every Day in Every Way Things are Getting Better for Africans in South Africa) or it can take the form of reporting actual events like the opening of a new factory in the service of a pseudo interpretation of it, namely, the stability of South Africa. The material provided by the heart transplant was a test of how subtle the South African Information Service could be in using a new event to serve their permanent themes. They failed. They transformed it into a thinly veiled national prestige magnet thus making it a pseudo event instead of a real one. Their permanent themes obtrude all too clearly and the event itself loses its integrity. Of course the Information Service is under too much pressure to take novelty seriously. Their job is the impossible one of demonstrating the truth of statements like the following one in Prime Minister Vorster's New Year message:

"It can now be accepted that the volume of opinion is steadily growing not only that South Africa should be given a chance to prove itself, but the question is posed more and more whether it is not just possible that South Africa might have found the solution to one problem, the race problem, which the rest of the world has not yet found."

This is truly a permanent theme.

#### EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

##### "New Draft Universities Amendment Bill Considered"

The prognosis for the continued existence of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa (UCMSA), the only two remaining inter-racial student organizations in South Africa not yet banned, is bleak. Sir Robert Birley, ex-headmaster of Eton who returned to Britain last year after three years as visiting professor at a South African university, reported that a new Bill to give the Nationalist Government effective control of the universities is now being considered. He says: "In short, the Bill gives the Minister of Education the right to lay down conditions for universities; if they are not complied with, he can withdraw or withhold their annual subsidies from Parliament." (London Times, January 10)

This means in effect that the Minister of Education can put forward any requirement or demand he likes. For instance, he could rule that no university can have an integrated society on campus. As the Johannesburg Star says, "This does not mean that he will necessarily impose tyrannical conditions on universities. But it does mean that he or his successors will be in a position to." (January 13, p. 11) This could have some very important bearing on the two remaining integrated "university societies" - - the NUSAS and the UCMSA.

##### "Re-Evaluation of Bantu Education"

The January 20 Johannesburg Star has called for a re-evaluation of Bantu Education on a "rational basis." This re-evaluation is based on the fact that at present the funds for it are limited by a fixed parliamentary grant unrelated to requirements. Bantu Education is not compulsory in South Africa, as is white education, so there is no obligation on the State, as there is in respect of Europeans, to see that there is enough of it.

The result is that the provision of African schools and teachers is far behind the demand and this fact is dramatized every January when thousands of young African children are refused admission to school, or having passed through the lower primary schools, cannot get into the far fewer higher primary ones.

In attempting to justify an increased government subsidization of Bantu Education, the Star says: "Education...increases their productivity which is essential if inflation is not to flare up again, it makes them trainable and adaptable which is necessary if they are to fit at all into the kind of world into which we (and the Bantustans) are moving, and it is probably the only thing that will stop their population exploding." (Star, January 20, 1968)

##### "The Outcome of 14 Years of Bantu Education"

The first classes of Africans who received their formal education entirely under the Bantu Education system (Bantu Education Act passed in 1953) are now graduating, and the success of Bantu Education may be measured by the following figures: "Out of nearly 2,000 (Matriculation examination) candidates throughout the country who

wrote last month only 485 passed - about 24 per cent." (Star, January 27) It should be remembered that these shocking results come only from the "cream" of the African crop, for only the elite ever reach Matric level.

#### U.S. ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The curtailment of direct investments in South Africa has caused little slowdown in American activity there. Under the new balance-of-payments program, American firms are not barred from raising dollars for expansion within South Africa or in other financial markets. Fully realizing the meaning of this development, Gordon S. Berglund, vice-president of Walter E. Heller & Co., a large, Chicago-based finance company, recently visited South Africa in connection with his company's interests in Fordom Factoring (Johannesburg Star, Jan. 27). Walter E. Heller has established seven overseas finance companies (e.g., Heller Factoring Espanola) and its consolidated balance sheet for 1966 shows assets of \$554 million. Berglund felt that no "new" American company which did not have foreign currency credits abroad could establish themselves in South Africa. Pointing out that his company did have ample foreign currency credits, his visit would certainly indicate Walter E. Heller's desire to finance American expansion in South Africa. Leaving no stone unturned, Berglund praised the South African economy as being well controlled, according to the Star.

#### "Cement in South Africa"

In the December, 1967 issue of this News Survey, an item appeared concerning the Carleton Centre, a proposed hotel (Africa's largest) and office complex to be built in Johannesburg. It is South Africa's largest building project to date: its underground parking facilities will hold some 4,000 cars alone. The bids have now been submitted by three local construction companies with overseas associates, one French and two American (Johannesburg Star, January 20). The two lower bids were submitted by Murray and Roberts (SA) in association with W. S. Bellows Construction Corp. (Houston) and by LTA (SA) in association with George A. Fuller Co. (New York), \$52.78 million and \$53.48 million respectively. Two weeks to a month will be required by the Carleton Centre management to decide who will get the bid. In the meantime, however, it might be instructive to reflect upon the following. George A. Fuller, now a privately held company, is an international construction outfit on the order of Brown and Root, the "famed" Texas company (Cf. "Building Lyndon Johnson," Ramparts, Dec. 1967). Fuller is owned and operated by a "Dallas-dominated group" which took control during the summer of 1965 (Business Week, 4/10/65). This was an unusual event in the light of the general trend of private companies going public. In this case, William V. Lawson, then and now president of Fuller (and son-in-law to the then chairman, Lou R. Crandell, who backed the shift), and Cloyce K. Box, vice-president, led a 4-party syndicate which bought the company from the stockholders for \$15.8 million, a "real bargain" for a company that had landed \$266 million worth of contracts in 1964. Sources close to the parties which bought Fuller explain that the change was intended to detach its operations from any responsibility toward stockholders. The company would also avoid the "full disclosure" rules of the Security and Exchange Commission--disclosures about its operations and costs (Wall Street Journal, 6/4, 8 and 7/1/65). Fuller's construction operations have included contracts throughout Latin America, especially in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. It was awarded a \$19 million defense contract for building space vehicle launching sites at Merritt Island, Florida, and many New York City contracts, including a \$60 million high-rise, middle income housing development (with Gotham Construction Co.) and a \$30 million contract for Manufacturers Hanover Trust's lower Manhattan operations center (WSJ, 12/1/64, 3/1/65, 8/12/66). The

winner of the bid for the Johannesburg project will be responsible for construction of the entire complex which will be built according to detailed computerized programs, according to Mark Shute, general manager of the Carleton Centre.

Preliminary research into the other Texas firm, W. S. Bellows, revealed only its address, noted below. It may be a subsidiary of a larger corporation.

#### "Cahora Bassa Dam: Mozambique"

A recent front-page article in the Wall Street Journal (Jan. 30) on Salazar as "The Last Colonialist" once again confirmed the economic and strategic importance of the Cahora Bassa dam to be built on the Zambezi River in Mozambique. The dam, as big as Egypt's Aswan dam, will be capable of generating 18 billion kilowatt hours of power annually, one half of the output going to South Africa. The power grid would also include Malawi, Rhodesia, Zambia and some lesser areas. The political and strategic importance of this project has caused officials sympathetic to its scope to begin thinking of a southern Africa common market (WSJ, 9/20/67). Construction is to begin in early 1968, the first step being a road for heavy transport from Tete to the dam site. Near Tete the Champallimand Portugese group of companies will build an aluminum plant which will utilize power from the dam and raw materials from Malawi and Mozambique (Rand Daily Mail, Nov. 29, 1967 quoting the Standard Bank Review for November). Now, how does all of this dam business relate to the U.S.? This project will cost about \$760 million, which is half the amount Salazar reportedly wants to spend for all Portugese colonial activities during the next three years. (22.7% of his budget already goes to support 100,000 Portugese troops in Africa.) Salazar will have to raise the vast amount elsewhere and, in late November of last year, Portugal asked for bids on the entire project. Five international consortiums entered bids, and the contract will be awarded in late March (N.Y. Times, Nov. 11, '67). One of the consortia is composed of Morrison-Knudsen, General Electric and a French Company, Compadec. Morrison-Knudsen, with U.S. Steel, completed a \$75 million bridge over the Tagus River in Lisbon last year, the largest construction project ever undertaken by Portugal.

Other consortia have been formed by French and Italian firms, French and West German firms, Swedish and Japanese firms, and British firms. The project is scheduled to take five years to complete.

An interesting, and important, sidelight to this Cahora Bassa project may be the role played by the World Bank. An article by John von Ahlefeldt, financial editor of the Rand Daily Mail (Dec. 1, 1967) raises some doubts concerning future loans to South Africa from that source. (Since the major client for electrical power from the Cahora Bassa will be South Africa, a loan to the project may be viewed as an indirect loan to South Africa.) Von Ahlefeldt points out that the World Bank loans usually go for construction of dams and electrical complexes, and the Bank has lent South Africa more money than any other African nation. But he speculates that if Robert McNamara is approved as president, the World Bank may "adopt a tougher line on South Africa because of its politics." Of course, the charter of the Bank prohibits it from getting involved in politics, but hydroelectric dams meant to tie politically diverse regions together by an electrical grid which will then spawn industries drawing upon common resources and markets--these regional and inter-national hydroelectric projects have very serious political consequences. Therefore a loan by the World Bank is participation in a project with important political consequences, which we hope to point out in future News Surveys.

#### "Oil and Advertising"

In another Portugese colony, Angola, the Gulf Oil Corp. is spending \$125 million to exploit an oil strike in the offshore Cabinda fields, and expects to produce 150,000 barrels a day by 1970 (WSJ, Jan. 30). Another oil company, Caltex, jointly

owned by Standard Oil Co. of California and Texaco, Inc., has launched an extensive campaign in Johannesburg papers and magazines (L.A. Times, Jan. 8). One ad reads: "Ahead of Caltex lies lonely years of search and, perhaps disappointment--or the discovery which will free South Africa, for all time, from dependence on outside oil supplies." The political significance of this ad is certainly not lost on any sanctions-conscious South African! The Los Angeles Times article, longish and well-balanced, by Stanley Meisler, had this obvious bit of political wisdom: "In short, business involvement in South Africa produces a pro-South Africa lobby in the United States. This could restrain the U.S. government if it ever wanted to get tough with South Africa." (If the conditional tense be removed from his statement, we probably have the true picture today.)

"Englehard: Why is This Man so Happy?"

Our old friend, Charlie Englehard, is at it again. In the annual review of his American-South African Investment Company (Asaic), chairman Englehard was encouraged about the future of South Africa's gold mining because of more "revolutionary" methods of extracting ore and recent S.A. moves against inflation (Johannesburg Star, Jan. 27). Englehard has been the only man in South Africa or anywhere else to express optimism about the future of S.A.'s gold mining, but that may have something to do with his investment company's ownership of some \$47 million worth of gold mining shares, or 68.2% of his company's portfolio. This portfolio showed a significant increase in its already large holdings of Palabora Mining, the large copper and magnetite mining company partly owned by American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining, both American companies. This increase seems to be a hedge against the day when Englehard's optimism will concern copper, and not gold.

Inquiries: Walter E. Heller and Co., main hdqts., 105 W. Adams Street, Chicago, Ill. 312/346-2000; New York office, 200 Park Avenue, 212/973-2300.  
George A. Fuller Co., 595 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 212/355-2700.  
W. S. Bellows Construction Co., 716 N. York, Houston, Tex. 713/228-6651.  
Morrison-Knudsen, 633 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 212/697-0900.  
General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 212/751-1311.  
Gulf Oil Corp., 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 212/582-3300.  
California Texas Oil Corp., 380 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 212/697-2000.  
Charles Englehard, Englehard Industries, 113 Astor Street, Newark, New Jersey 201/242-2700.

#### SOUTH AFRICA'S "OUTWARD POLICY" AND ITS INTERNAL RAMIFICATIONS

The "outward policy" of South Africa is having different repercussions on various groups of people--within South Africa and outside--and is subject to a variety of interpretations.

Spotlight on Africa, the newsletter of the AAAA (American-African Affairs Association), a rightist group in the United States, has elaborated on "South Africa's Good Neighbor Policy" in a "personal appraisal by the editor" in its February issue. The editor notes that South Africa's turning outward and extending the hand of friendship to African states is on the basis of mutual respect and tolerance and non-interference in each other's affairs. The technical aid that S.A. can offer is seen as a beneficial aspect of such a policy and four proposed hydroelectric projects in the Southern African area are given as concrete examples of such aid-- (1) the Cahora Bassa project in Mozambique; (2) the Cunene River project at the border of Angola and South West Africa; (3) the Okavanga River proposal in Botswana and the Transvaal and the Oxbow scheme in Lesotho.

Robert Gardiner's statement that S.A. should participate in the E.C.A. is given as an example of Black Africa's reappraisal of S.A. Other diverse sources are quoted--such as Harry Oppenheimer, Dr. G. M. E. Leistner, head of the Economics Department of the Africa

Institute and the Rt. Rev. Edward Crowther (in his American Scholar article) to demonstrate that S.A.'s new outward policy, based on its economic potential, is hopeful. Mr. Oppenheimer, in particular, is quoted as saying--"Change in South Africa, if it comes, will be effected by closer international contacts, not by an enforced isolation."

To turn from the AAAA news bulletin for a closer look at the Rt. Rev. Edward Crowther's article in the winter issue of the American Scholar-- "South Africa's New Look: a Détente Cordiale," he indicates that South Africa's new policy is a "ray of hope" to the outside world and should be encouraged. Somewhere in the new sports policy and links with black African states "could be the miracle drug that stops the cancer of apartheid."

There are dissenting voices on the hopeful aspects of the "new look" within South Africa--from such a spectrum of opinion as the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Nationalist paper, Dagbreek, and the South African Observer, edited by Mr. S. E. D. Brown, a right-wing critic of Prime Minister Vorster and the government.

The latest edition of "A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa" takes note of Mr. Vorster's "out-going" policy towards other African States and the less rigid attitude in international sports, but, rather than reducing the rigidities within S.A., "apartheid within the country has been intensified." In support of this contention, the following measures are listed--"more rigorous provisions have been introduced in the Population Registration Act, which will empower the Government to direct labour-intensive industries away from the metropolitan areas to the borders of the Bantustans. Control of the influx of Africans into White areas, particularly the Western Cape, has been intensified and there is a threat of the withdrawal of urban residential rights from Africans who until now have qualified." (Johannesburg Star, Jan. 27)

The Nationalist paper, Dagbreek, would agree that the new policy has little internal effect on apartheid saying "One Black Diplomat cannot make South Africa's whole apartheid policy collapse." A government spokesman, Dr. Carel de Wet, Minister of Planning, confirms this, saying that "the admission of a Malawi diplomat to South Africa is within the framework of Government policy of exchange of diplomats with African states and would not affect South Africa's domestic policies." (Johannesburg Star, Jan. 27) Mr. Dirk Richard, writing in Dagbreek (Jan. 28), however, notes the disagreements within the Nationalist party over the "outwards policy". He states that "It sometimes seemed during the recess (of Parliament) that not all Parliamentarians and speakers felt equally enthusiastic about the outwards policy" and that "Integration is a spectre which easily gets loose in the Afrikaner mind."

An example of such a mind, apparently, is that of Mr. S. E. D. Brown, editor of the South African Observer, who writes--"what little could be seen of the outward policy can already be seen--and what we can expect once Black diplomats start arriving and once our new sports policy gets under way--is sufficient to indicate quite clearly that adaptations, concessions and deviations from, and negations of traditional policy will inevitably become the order of the day--and lead inevitably to integration, and to the ultimate crumbling of the entire policy of separate development." (Press Digest, No. 3)

Some indication that the new outward policy might even be seen as giving a basis for fuller implementation of separate development is seen in the tortured logic of the following selection from Die Nataller (Dec. 29, 1967) as cited in the Press Digest: "In 1967, South Africa had shown that it was no longer prepared to be 'the polecat of the world' but wished to play a fruitful role on a continent and in a world which was predominantly non-White. The Nationalist Party had shown that it would not hesitate to give courageous leadership in this matter--even at the price of lapses in its own ranks. South Africa had reached a stage where separate development could be fully implemented. Account must be taken of the following circumstances: the White and non-White groups would always remain economically intertwined; it would never be possible to sort out the population groups to such an extent that all would live and work in their own homeland; a part of every group would remain settled in South African territory under White control, but any attempt to build up one mixed people was doomed in advance; legislation alone could not stop eventual miscegenation--non-White support for separate development



could only be achieved through full recognition of their human dignity."!!

The opening of Parliament in February will undoubtedly lead to further discussion of South Africa's new/old image--with a renewed battle between the verkrampptes and verligtes foreseen.

### "Botswana and Lesotho"

The paper, Dagbreek, indicated that S.A. will not exchange permanent diplomatic representation with Botswana, Lesotho or Swaziland (quoted in the Johannesburg Star and AMAX news summary, Jan. 29, 1968). These enclaves, then, merit closer attention as to the links with S.A. that are already there and are becoming intensified as well as to what potential, if any, exists for these areas opening up links with countries outside the Republic. The Johannesburg Star, for example, noted that President Kaunda has flown to Botswana for secret talks with President Khama before flying on to Tanzania for the East Africa Economic Community talks (Star, Dec. 2, 1967).

The Nov. 1967 issue of Race Relations News featured a report on Botswana by Mr. Peter Randall, Assistant Director of the Institute for Race Relations, who had made a 1,500 mile tour of eastern Botswana. One of the impressions he had in Francistown was the talk of hoped for industrial expansion. He added that "several sites have been bought by South African and Rhodesian firms who hope that 'Made in Botswana' labels will enable their products to slip through sanctions and embargoes."

Roan Selection Trust is becoming a visible force in the area. The company has signed an agreement with the Botswana government to exploit copper and diamonds in the north. They have bought up all the available houses in Francistown. The American Metal Market confirmed this expansion of RST into Botswana. A spokesman said that they were ending prospecting operations in Rhodesia and transferring a number of technical personnel to Botswana.

The IRR report goes on to state that the imbalance of trade in Botswana is partially alleviated by the remitted earnings of migrant Botswana workers in S.A. In 1965, 32,319 men were recruited; returning migrants brought back R306,000 to the area and men remaining in the Republic deferred R836,000 out of their wages to be collected in Botswana on their return.

The situation in Lesotho, in regard to its dependence on the Republic as a source of employment, is even more desperate. The Johannesburg Star of Dec. 2 estimates that one-fifth of the total male population of Lesotho is employed in S.A. There are more Lesotho men working in the gold and coal mines than from any other foreign country. Remittance payments and voluntary deferred payments of these Sotho migrants brought R2,148,309 to Lesotho in 1966. As the report states, this is a vital factor in the country's delicately balanced economy.

The problem of developing new power supplies in Lesotho to encourage industrialization, with control of the power firmly in South African hands, is being approached from several angles. There is in progress an attempt to extend some of S.A.'s power into Lesotho by erecting pylons that will carry an 88,000 volt line from Ladybrand (in S.A.) to Maseru. A sub-station is being built on Riverside Farm, "the nearest point on the South African side of the border to the present Maseru power station." (Star, Dec. 2, 1967) There is also the Oxbow scheme--mentioned in the AAAA February newsletter, which would provide water and power for development in Lesotho and augment South Africa's water supply in the Vaal Dam region. In the same breath, the newsletter goes on to say that "Dr. Anton Rupert of Capetown, the head of the Rembrandt international tobacco empire, has taken a year or two off to become an unpaid industrial adviser tonewly independent and bitterly poor Lesotho."! (Spotlight on Africa, Feb. 1968)

SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES

"Zambia Appeals Urgently to Johnson for Arms Aid"

In a highly significant article on "White Africa vs. Black" (The New Republic, 1/27/68) South African journalist Stanley Uys cites Basil Davidson (writing in the London Sun) to the effect that President Kaunda has written to President Johnson asking for arms aid - a letter which Davidson believes might one day be seen as a key document in African history. "In this letter," writes Davidson, "it was explained to President Johnson that threats to Zambia of bombing and armed raids from the south --now much discussed in Portugal and Rhodesia along the lines of Israel's 'lightning deterrent blow against the Arabs'--must be met by counter-deterrents. Things being as they are, a new 'balance of terror' must be created along the Zambezi River frontier. If they strike at us," this letter argued in so many words, 'they must know that we can strike back.' And a request was made, I was told on excellent authority, for deterrents in the form of ground-to-ground and ground-to-air weapons."

As Stanley Uys points out, Zambia has already experienced incursions from across its frontier with Rhodesia. "Recently," he writes, "President Kaunda accused South African helicopter pilots of violating Zambian territory and army personnel of landing 'several times' in Zambian territory." South Africa has warned Zambia against allowing guerilla camps on its territory, but Zambia denies this. "Confessions by captured guerrillas to this effect," it says, "have been made under torture," according to Uys.

Davidson, Uys writes, firmly believes that S.A., Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique will become involved in an ever-worsening conflict with African states, notably Zambia and Tanzania, that at this point the African states will turn to the East for help, while the four white-ruled states will turn to the West, and the West, finally, will have to choose which side it is on. He characterizes U.S. policy as inconsistent and fluctuating. Black nationalist forces in Portuguese Guinea allege, for instance that napalm and phosphorous bombs marked "Made in U.S.A." have been dropped on African villages. The U.S. denies that the weapons it supplies to Portugal are for such purposes, but it is difficult to see to what use they could be put by Portugal except to deal with revallion in its African territories.

"Moral Noises, but Nothing Concrete"

Despite expressions of concern by U.S. churches, senators, congressmen and government officials regarding the plight of the South West African citizens tried as terrorists by South Africa, there has been no change in U.S. policy, according to South African Methodist the Rev. Kenneth N. Carstens, writing in Christianity and Crisis (2/5/68) on "Terrorism in South West Africa." He charges that "the big powers remain unwilling to give effect to their decisions on South West Africa in the U.N. They make moral noises but do nothing concrete--except continue to invest in and trade with this racist society."

The article points out that "if the big powers had dealt more firmly with South Africa through the U.N. in the 1950's, the prospect of enforcing international controls now would not be so bleak. A decade hence we shall be saying the same about the 1960s since there can no longer be no doubt that racism and suppression in Southern Africa gets worse, not better, when left to its own devices."

Dealing with the argument that economic and military measures to enforce the rule of law are "not practical," Mr. Carstens makes the point that the policy of the U.S. and other major trading partners of South Africa in blocking such action is what makes it "not practical."

"As for the horror expressed when such measures are suggested," he continues, "this merely exposes our hypocrisy. If South Africa's victims in South West Africa had been white instead of black, if their oppressors had been Communists instead of fascists, and if such vast sums had not been invested in the status quo, there would have been forthright action long ago." He accuses all four major powers in the U.N. -- the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain and France -- with possessing the means but lacking the will to bring order to Southern Africa.

#### "Furor in S.A. Over Humphrey's African Visit"

V. P. Humphrey's statements in Addis Ababa last month in favor of majority rule and self-determination in Southern Africa have raised a storm of reaction in pro-government newspapers in S.A.

Die Transvaler (1/8/68) said Mr. Humphrey was a fellow-spirit of Mr. "Soapy" Williams and Senator Robert Kennedy whose mouths were full of human rights and equality but were blind to the fact that it would be catastrophic to ignore deep-seated differences between human beings. America's pampering of non-white states had not hitherto helped it. By contrast American strategists agreed that the much-calumnated Republic of South Africa would stand on the side of the West in a test of strength with the communist bloc. The tragedy was that this knowledge would not yet penetrate the White House.

Die Burger (1/8/68) commented that the Vice President's visit at this stage and identification with the aspirations of the Zambian government made it appear as though he were encouraging terrorist acts in Southern Africa. His reference to the trial of alleged terrorists in S.A. reinforces the impression. The paper said that what was wrong in Vietnam, Latin America and elsewhere was equally wrong in Southern Africa.

Die Vaderland (1/11/68) said Mr. Humphrey's statements showed again that the USA had turned its back on the white man in Southern Africa...its Department for Foreign Affairs had decided that the white man in Africa was a burden and an embarrassment that the USA had to shake off. Many newspapers ascribed Humphrey's visit and remarks to the coming U.S. Presidential election.

Opposition newspapers responded to this outcry with qualified support for the Vice President or advice to the pro-government press to "cool it".

The Rand Daily Mail (1/10/68) said South Africa's reactions showed the extent to which communication had broken down between the official outlook in the Republic and the prevailing views in the Western world. Discrimination on a massive scale would remain a permanent feature of S.A.'s life and until she could show that this would not be so, S.A. would continue to suffer from the credibility gap between preaching and practice.

The Johannesburg Star (1/10/68) expressed surprise over the furor and pointed out that Mr. Humphrey had said nothing American leadership had not said before. Implying that Mr. Humphrey's words did not mean that any action would be taken by the U.S. to change the situation, the newspaper characterized the U.S. approach to Southern Africa as "cautiously restrained" and as "consistently opposing the use of force or sanctions against South Africa" (our emphasis).

#### "South African Reaction to Dollar Ban"

President Johnson's balance-of-payments policy curtailing further U.S. direct business investments not only to most of Europe but also South Africa (cf. previous issue p. 14) has been calmly received by the South African press. The fact that

South Africa had been placed in the same category as the more developed Western countries was taken by Die Burger (1/3/68) as a compliment. The prohibition would have no important detrimental consequences for the South African economy but the incidental advantage that it would help South Africa in the fight against inflation, according to this paper.

According to a report from Washington in the Johannesburg Star (1/13/68) the general conclusion is that political considerations may have influenced the decision, but U.S. officials are insisting that it was primarily motivated by economics. Joseph Steme, writing in the Baltimore Sun, has said that South Africa is regarded as a highly industrialized nation with strong monetary reserves that can easily withstand the loss of new American investment capital. He conceded, however, that the decision "touches one of the most sensitive issues in U.S. policy towards Africa. For years the growth of American-owned industries in South Africa has been an irritant to black-ruled countries and to groups in this country opposed to white minority rule and the apartheid system." Steme reports that "in many echelons of government there are officials who have been unhappy over Washington's deliberate policy of neither encouraging nor discouraging American investment in South Africa."

Since capital already invested in South Africa cannot be withdrawn and investment can continue from the lucrative profits accruing from shares already held, a temporary restriction on new U.S. investment will have little or no effect on the booming South African economy. If, however, the restriction were to remain permanent with regard to South Africa when generally lifted, this would constitute a telling moral and political blow against apartheid, which could also weaken its economy through the undermining of confidence in the political stability of the country. Even so, such action would not be decisive in bringing about change without accompanying trade sanctions, something which white South Africa fears more than any other eventuality.

#### "Goldwater on Rhodesia"

Although still insisting on the neutral, non-political nature of his Southern African trip ("to meet the people, photograph the wonderful scenery and wild life - possibly even to the end of doing another photo-book") Senator Barry Goldwater has lost no time on returning to the U.S. to make far-reaching political comments concerning Rhodesia through the medium of the "American-Southern Africa Review", the mouthpiece of the rightist American-Southern Africa Council (see last issue, pp. 2, 3). He expresses his profound disagreement with and outrage against U.S. support for U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia. "Rhodesians, all of them, regardless of race, creed or color, are worthy of our support and not our enmity. I call them friend. I wish my government would do the same," he concluded. Goldwater has not a word to say, however, against the denial of human rights and apartheid-type restrictions which the Smith regime is increasingly imposing on his black Rhodesian "friends" since its illegal seizure of independence.

#### "U.S. Policy Toward Southern African Exiles"

The question of the U.S. attitude to Southern African political exiles and opponents of the white racist regimes is raised by the recent action of the Immigration Services in giving permanent residence status to Chief Rhodesian representative Kenneth H. Towsey, although Rhodesian passports are not valid in the U.S.A. (Radio announcements on March 5 said that Ian Smith himself was refused a visa to the U.S. for a college speaking engagement here on the basis of our non-recognition of his country's--and therefore his passport's--legitimacy!) Towsey previously had not been given assurance of re-entry privileges into the U.S. and was without any

recognized status in the U.S.

Special favors seem now to have been given Towsey following intervention in Towsey's favor by Senator James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.). Towsey, Deputy Secretary of External Affairs for the Smith regime, appeared before the Immigration Services Traffic Control Division for consideration, accompanied by one of Sen. Eastland's aides. Eastland also recently intervened for a Rhodesian businessman and a Rhodesian food importer who were stranded abroad without U.S. passports. The U.K. and African representatives protested the new status. (Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss. Jan. 5; Africa: A F-P, Jan. 6)

By contrast, official policy is to date to refuse to commit itself one way or the other in regard to Southern African political exiles in need of asylum. Such as have found their way into the U.S.A. as students or visitors have not been deported on the expiry of their visas, but neither have they been granted permanent residence status or work permits. The Immigration Services postpones any decision, leaving such persons to continue with no recognized status in the U.S. This is still the position of the group of black South Africans who entered the U.S.A. in 1964 for the Broadway production of "Sponono" but refused to board a plane back to South Africa when their visas expired. Aided by the American Committee on Africa and the Workers Defense League, it was argued at various hearings that their case fell within the provision of Section 243(h) of the Immigration and Nationality Act that "no person shall be deported to a country where, in the opinion of the Attorney General, he will be subjected to physical persecution."

Those who have entered the U.S. as students on scholarships from the African American Institute (see last issue, p. 10) are being led to understand that their presence in the U.S. after the completion of their studies is unwelcome. They are urged to return to Africa within three months after the completion of their studies, disregarding the fact that they cannot return to their homelands at the present time, nor easily find suitable employment in other countries of Africa. There is no indication that they are informed of their rights under the relevant Act.

This contrasts radically and obviously with the open-door policy towards exiles and refugees from Communist countries, notably Hungary and Cuba, who happen, incidentally, to be white.

In addition, a number of opponents of the white regimes in Southern Africa who have addressed meetings in the U.S. and made known the plight of their homelands are known to have been subjected to harrassment by the Immigration authorities. Whether the authorities act on information received from the home country of these individuals or on reports from U.S. security agents (or possibly both in collaboration) cannot be determined, since no reason is given for the summons and interrogation of these persons concerning their political views, activities and associations throughout their lives. Either way, the impression is given that the long arm of the police state, as well as its eyes and ears, follow them wherever they go, even in the ostensibly freedom-loving United States of America.

#### AT THE UNITED NATIONS

##### "Walkout at United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to Protest South African Presence"

New Delhi, February 2. The African nations, joined by delegations from Asia, Latin America and the U.S.S.R. used the second UNCTAD conference as an occasion to protest South Africa's apartheid policies. Over three-quarters of the 1,500 delegates walked out of the second session, leaving delegations from the U.S., Britain and other Western industrialist countries to listen to the South African delegation's defense of its presence at the conference.

Algeria indicated in the plenary that it would take steps to try to exclude South Africa from the conference and future conferences (New York Times, 2/3/68). (New York Post, 1/16/68)

"U.N. Exposes 'Cruel' Prisons of South Africa"

A United Nations working group has recently released a report concluding that South African prisoners and detainees suffer inhuman prison conditions, torture, racial discrimination and other violations of human rights guaranteed by international law.

The report claimed that S.A. has become "a vast prison house for persons opposed to the policy of apartheid."

The South African Mission to the U.N. of course claimed that the "allegations were politically inspired" and that this was an interference into domestic matters.

"Medical Discrimination in S.A."

St. Louis Committee on Africa plans to present a report on South Africa's discrimination in medicine to the United Nations.

Using the historical occasion of the Blaiberg heart transplant as a focus, Dr. A. W. Wolfe, a leading anthropologist from Washington University, commented on the tremendous discrimination in medicine in S.A. In his report Wolfe stated, "it is little wonder that most Africans do not live long enough to derive any benefit from such magnificent feats as make white doctors famous."

In his report "Medical Care in South Africa: 1968" he pointed out that S.A. refuses to release any health data pertaining to her 12.2 million black Africans. African doctors receive a salary only 2/5 that of their white counterparts, and the opportunity for more African doctors to fill in a tremendous medical need is growing dimmer.

In the study, to be presented to U.N. Secretary General U. Thant, Wolfe reminded America that heart transplants "will not change the basic injustice of medical care in South Africa."

"Human Rights Commission of the U.N. Looks at  
Reports of Racial Discrimination and Treatment of Prisoners  
in South Africa"

In their discussion of human rights in South Africa, Mr. Canji, the special Rapporteur summarized by saying: "The prevailing situation in Southern Africa... is an affront to humanity." Only Europeans enjoyed the rights of citizens, he continued, and only if they remained quiet about apartheid, while non-Europeans were subjected to "a condition of slavery." For instance, salaries for most Africans are far below the poverty datum line.

In comments on the police state character of South Africa, he declared: "The police are free to arrest, to torture, and to kill opponents of apartheid under the Terrorist Act with no restraint. It is essential that world opinion must be aroused urgently to take effective action to stop this brutality." Because the situation has become so bad, "The African liberation movements have decided that violence is the only means to achieve their legitimate rights." Mr. Canji endorsed the appeal of the International Commission of Jurists that "Freedom fighters should be entitled to the protection of prisoners of war."

In a discussion of the terrible prison conditions and brutal treatment of prisoners in South Africa, the Commission urged South Africa to "conform with civilized standards." Member states were asked to publicize the torture and ill treatment of South African prisoners and to try in some way to "help alleviate the inhuman situation."

"Council for South West Africa Makes a Statement"

In a statement on January 23, the United Nations Council for South West Africa stated their regrets that South Africa had not complied with the General Assembly request to discontinue the illegal trial and to repatriate the South West Africans concerned. The Council deplored the statement of the South African Prime Minister that "South Africa would not allow anything or anybody to interfere with the trial."

In a unanimous resolution of the Security Council meeting of January 25, South Africa was condemned for its illegal arrest, deportation and trial of the 37 South West Africans. The Council also invited all states to exert their influence to stop the illegal and unjust trial.

GUINEA-BISSAU: "MORE WAR THAN MOST" - PART I

On January 29, the President of Portugal, Rear Admiral Americo Thomaz, began a ten-day visit (his first) to Portugal's West African "overseas province," so-called Portuguese Guinea. President Thomas' "mission of sovereignty" has been featured in the press as a symbol of Portugal's determination to stick it out in her turbulent colony, where she is probably closer to an African nationalist military defeat than in any of the other African colonial possessions. In spite of the economic and military liabilities and risks inherent in such a hardheaded policy, the Thomaz mission supports the Wall Street Journal's statement that Portuguese planners still think in terms of holding the colonies for another 500 years! And yet, because of the mounting success of the military strength and strategy of the African nationalists under the leadership of the P.A.I.C.C. (Partido Africana da Independencia de Guinea a Cabo Verde), Senhor Thomaz' journey may just usher in the beginning of the end of Portuguese rule in West Africa.

The small country of Portuguese Guinea (to be renamed Guinea-Bissau upon independence from Portugal), wedged between Senegal and Guinea, has been called "the one country in West Africa with neither independence, nor a promise of it," but the one which "may be the first to gain independence by war." (Christian Science Monitor, Russell Warren Howe, 1/12/68). Such a victory, won on the crest of African guerrilla energy, would have immeasurable repercussion throughout the rest of Portuguese colonial Africa and southern Africa, only comparable to the effects of the Algerian triumph in the early 1960's. For this reason it is imperative to follow carefully the developments in Guinea-Bissau, both to understand the nature of revolution in the African context, and the international political and economic factors which threaten and retard its successful culmination.

The bare statistics about Guinea-Bissau are revealing. A small country of only 13,984 square miles (about the size of Delaware, Maryland and Rhode Island lumped together), the African population consists of between 530 thousand upwards in some estimates to 800 thousand, while the European inhabitants number a miniscule 3,000 at most. (There are also 50,000 or so Guinean refugees for Guinea-Bissau in southern Senegal, under U.N. supervision.) But bolstering the white side of the picture are between 20 and 35,000 Portuguese troops, imported into the territory during the past five years to counter the growing success of African and island (Cape Verdes, Bissagos) population against the regime. (In 1964 only 8,000 Portuguese troops were stationed in Portuguese Guinea.) The mobilization of these troops is yet another indication of Portuguese determination to hold the colony, a policy which is based not on the economic benefits derived from this poor country (Portuguese Guinea has a balance of payments deficit of almost \$4 million - New York Times, 1/15/68), unlike the rationale behind holding Angola and Mozambique. Rather it is for psychological and strategic reasons that Lisbon is fighting so hard.

Going beyond the statistics, it is the geography of the nationalist movement which is most impressive. It is one whereby military pressures and strategy on the part of P.A.I.G.C. have pushed settlers and contained Portuguese troops in the few major urban areas, offshore islands and about 40 isolated rural garrisons, while the nationalists control as "free zones" from one-half to two-thirds of the land. (See William Zartman, "Guinea: The Quiet War Goes On", Africa Report, November, 1967.) Basil Davidson, the noted British Africanist, asserts in a November 10 article in the London Times that: "...it may now be accepted that the Portuguese no longer have any hold on four-fifths of their land frontiers or about half their coast line, now firmly in guerilla hands." (Davidson visited Guinea-Bissau in October and travelled with P.A.I.G.C. commanders along the coast and into parts of the interior.)

Why such success on the part of the guerilla forces when three years ago only 15% of the rural area was liberated? What has been the Portuguese response to P.A.I.G.C.'s success and the growing isolation of colonial control? How is the international community (particularly the NATO powers and South Africa) coming to rescue their ally? What is P.A.I.G.C.'s program for countering these alliances and building the economic, social and political foundation for an independent country? What is the speculation about the war in the coming months?

### BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS

Hundreds of resolutions from the United Nations, churches, civil rights groups, student groups, and Southern African committees have asked for national and individual boycotts of South African goods. One area in which this is fairly easy is food and liquors. Alternatives to South African products are readily available. Arguments for boycott are many. They include: (1) the belief that we must dissociate ourselves morally from what we consider to be a very inhuman and vicious system; (2) the belief that the purchase of South African goods supports apartheid by making the economy strong; (The theory that a growing economy will break down apartheid is shown to be false by the stiffening of oppressive laws and apartheid policy over the past ten years, at the same time as the economy has rapidly progressed.) (3) the recognition that many African leaders have advocated sanctions as one of the few peaceful solutions left to convince the South African Government to change its racist policies; (4) the recognition that American pronouncements in the U.N. are considered mere lip service by the Third World since American business continues to make high profits (15-25%) by the exploitation of black South African labor; (5) the belief that South Africa will not budge from its apartheid policies unless it knows the world community will pinch the country where it hurts - - in the pocketbook; (6) the recognition that economic boycott will destroy South Africa's belief that the West sees it as the "last stronghold of western Christian democracy against encroaching communism," a theory they strongly propound in their propaganda material.

The following products constitute a partial list of South African goods. This list can be used in various ways:

- (1) For a personal boycott of South African foodstuffs.
- (2) To be distributed to various concerned groups with whom you are associated.
- (3) To be forwarded with an appeal to local supermarkets and food chains to stop stocking these products.

Fresh Fruit: Cape Fruit, Golden Jubilee, IMPI, Outspan, Cape Grapes

Jams and Marmalades (including peanut butter): Avalon, Cape Hill, Dwars River, EIMO, Fairest Cape, Golden Hawk, Gold Reef, Hugo, Honeysuckle, Hardings Delight, IXL, IMCO, JAX, KOO, Travers Arcadia, Mountain View, Rockhill, RAYA, RFF, SIMBA, Summerglow, Southern Pride, Summit.



Canned Meats: (including sausages and ham) APEX, Armour Star, BEK, Baynesfield, CYMRO, CHAMP, Double Crown, Eskort, Glenryck, Honeycure, Hennys, Jongeberg, Maconochie, ORYNX, PRIMA, PRELS, RANCH, Stormy Petrel, Union, Winray.

Canned Fish: (including crayfish and pilchards, often sold as "Products of South West Africa) Atlantis, Carnation, Calmex, Cape Pride, Corsair, Glenryck, Jolly Roger, Siren, Stormy Petrel, Twinfish, Winged Wheel, Winray.

Cheese: (includes cheddar and process chese sold by the pound)

Eggs: (These are individually stamped "South African" but may be displayed or sold from containers marked "Imported" by some grocers.) Blue Flag, Cockfighter, Farmers Union.

Wines: (mostly sherry, but some table wines, including hock, dessert, port, and brandy.) Burgoyne's Veldt, Burgoyne's Paarl Amber, Chateau Libertas, Alto Rouge Red Wine, Grumbergen Stein, Safari, South African Hock, South African Burgundy, La Gratitude, Landdrost, Nonsuch, Bitter-Sweet, Golden-Cream, Whistle-Dry, Nigger-Brown, Krissen-Dry, Krissen-Cream, La Residence, Thenni Skraal, Wonder Club, Hermitage, J.V.R., J.V.R. Liqueur, Van Der Hum Liqueur, SAWFA Fine Old South African, Essay 3-Star South African, Rembrandt, Richelieu, Oudemeester.

#### JAPAN: DEVELOPING NEW LINKS

Japan's trade with S.A. continues to spiral upwards as shown by the S.A. estimates of trade with Japan for 1967: (figures for first eight months of 1967)

S.A. exports to Japan:	ca.	\$ 149 million
S.A. imports from Japan		\$ 102 million
Balance of trade favorable for SA		\$ 47 million

Compared with a total 1966 balance of trade favorable to SA: \$5.9 million.

There are certain specific cases which are worth mentioning. During the first half of 1968, Japan agreed to import 164,000 tons of South African sugar. Japan is the largest annual buyer of South African sugar, buying about 350,000 tons per year. Japan is also the largest importer of South African iron ore and manganese. This is an increasing need, estimated at a growing rate of 10% per year. The estimated Japanese ore needs for 1968 are 56,500,000 tons from international sources. In addition, according to U.N. Security Council reports, Japan remains the biggest non-African buyer of Rhodesian goods. Japanese automobiles, Toyotas in particular, are available in both South Africa and Rhodesia.

A Japanese industrial group is to develop iron ore reserves in Mozambique. The Sumitomo Metal Mining, Sumitomo Coal Mining, and Sumitomo Trading Companies are combining and have asked the Japanese Ministry of Finance for permission to invest in Mozambique. Sumitomo is one of three major Japanese industrial groups --the other two: Mitsui and Mitsubishi. This is the first time Sumitomo has turned to Africa as a source of metals.

#### FRANCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

One of the factors complicating the British use of effective sanctions and pressures in southern Africa is the growing French presence there. With both cultural and economic goals, the French clearly have sought new markets and outlets for French goods and services.

This was highlighted during the last 60 days with the British refusal (in Wilson's acquiescence to his rebellious "left wing" parliamentarians) to provide South Africa with the naval frigates, submarines, and other military equipment to which S.A. thought she was entitled through the "Simonstown agreement." S.A. let it be known she could augment her needs through French sources, where she already has placed an order for several "Daphne class" submarines (Financial Times, 12/18, London). Previously the South African government has obtained French Alouette helicopters and French Mystere jets. Rhodesian-purchased French helicopters were used recently in the spotting of African infiltrators in northern Rhodesia.

French interests seem to be involved in the struggle in Nigeria, where French-speaking pilots are found flying arms to Port Harcourt from Lisbon. These arms are obtained in Paris (it is reported) by the Biafran arms agent, a French national. Although the French are in danger of losing potentially valuable markets in Federal Nigeria or in all of Nigeria if the Federal forces are triumphant, some see in the covert backing of Biafra an attempt to obtain potential future concessions to Biafran oil resources - now dominated by Shell and British Petroleum. The French State-owned oil company SAFRAP has sent representatives to the Federal capitol to scuttle rumors that there exists official backing of Biafran troops. Some of the Biafran mercenaries are reported to be French. (Problemes Africaines et du Tiers Monde, No. 426, 25 Jan. 1968)

French petrol may be reaching Rhodesia. This was highlighted in December by the encounter of the British Royal Navy Frigate Minerva and the French tanker Artois nine miles out of Port Beira in Mozambique. The U.K. frigate is the agent of the blockade of Beira, the chief port for Rhodesian petroleum supplies before UDI. After refusal of the Artois to "heave to" and submit to inspection, the frigate fired several salvos ahead of the Artois. The Artois' captain Renaud radioed that "General De Gaulle might like to hear of a French vessel being sunk by the Royal Navy" and proceeded into Beira where he discharged his cargo of JP 4 (jet fuel) and petrol. He claimed all this was not destined to Rhodesia.

The Artois is one of a series of American and UK ships which deliver fuel and crude oil to Beira. Officially this fuel is for domestic consumption in Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal, South Africa. The crude oil, however, is processed in the Portuguese state-owned refinery in Lourenco Marques, where unofficial sources say most Rhodesian petrol originates. It is brought to Rhodesia by rail. The refinery officially advertises that 75% of its products are for "the export market."

The British have accused the French of supplying most of the Lourenco Marques refinery crude input, but Portuguese Foreign Minister Nogueira says that U.S., UK, and French ships all regularly visit Mozambique with refined and crude oil products, therefore proving the blockade useless. (Financial Times, London, January; Southern Africa, Dec. 25.)

In Angola, French and SA-UK financial interests are moving to exploit oil resources. Exploration is to be managed by the Societe Nationale des Petroles d'Aquitaine (SNPA) of France, which will hold a 40% interest in the holding company. Ten per cent of the investment will be provided by the Enterprise de Recherches et d'Activites Petrolieres (ERAP).\*\*\* Anglo-American of South Africa, Ltd. will provide 50% of the capital. Exploration will begin early in 1968 with aerial surveys. One-third of the exploration will be off-shore. (Southern Africa, Dec. 25)

\*\*\*SNPA is a world-wide organization with interests in natural gas (Lacq, France), oil (El Gassi, Algeria and Rainbow Lake, Candado), as well as chemicals and plastics. In terms of distributed profits, it is the largest French petroleum company.

ERAP is a French state organization which controls oil production of almost 400,000 barrels per day in the world. It is involved in petroleum exploration in the Middle East and North and Western Africa.

In South Africa proper, the French are participating in the development of S.A. refining facilities at the Sasolburg, where the S.A. government operation SASOL (South African Coal, Oil and Gas Company) provides around 12-15% of the national needs in petroleum products by coal extractive processes. The new company will be known as the Total Refining (S.A.) Ltd. The parent company of Total Oil Company, S.A. Ltd. is the French Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, which supplies around 10% of the South African market (International Herald Tribune, Paris). Total refining will have 30% of the shares of the new refining unit at Sasolburg. SASOL itself will retain a controlling 52.5% and the supplying company (National Iranian Oil Co.) will hold 17.5% of the shares.

In full production, the new facilities will supply around 20% of South African petroleum needs. At present 85-90% of all South African petroleum needs are supplied by major foreign oil companies - e.g. Shell, BP, Caltex, Mobil, Total, etc. A feature of the new refining facility is use of 65% local components - a high for most South African technologically proficient industries.

French and U.S. companies also participate in the major S.A. push to replace dependence on foreign (Venezuela and Mideast) petroleum sources. Off-shore exploration on the East Cape Coast is guided by the Total consortium, while the West Cape Coast is under exploration by the ESSO group. (New explorations for oil continue near Bloemfontein, where drillers are going as deep as 12-15,000 feet in search of this valuable commodity. Southern Africa, Dec. 25)

French investment in Southern Africa continues apace. In addition to participation in a new auto works in S.A., the French airline UTA continues to feature S.A. tourist programs and trade. During 1969, S.A. expects a visit from the FRANCE, the longest ship in the world, as part of the effort to strengthen S.A.-French ties. (Southern Africa, Dec. 25, Jan. 1)

French supplies also are reaching Rhodesia (e.g. Moulinex Appliances), and the largest French textile manufacturer is rumored to have made an important sale to Rhodesia, where good French cloth now is in abundant supply.

The Zambian government, taking note of the questionable French position in southern Africa, has asked France which side she is on. A statement may be forthcoming from President Kaunda soon concerning France and other breakers of sanctions against the Smith-regime.

#### AFFECTS OF ANTI-APARTHEID OPINION

##### "The Bank Campaign"

In the campaign of the Committee of Conscience Against Apartheid continuing action is noted as church-related agencies encounter international banking practices.

(1) Word has been received in New York that the World Student Christian Federation, a world-wide body with over 70 national affiliates, has voted to withdraw the accounts which it has held at First National City Bank for over half a century. This final action has been taken following one and a half years of study of the particular issues involved in such action, and following study by Federation member movements of the racial and political realities of the apartheid policy of the South African government which threatens world peace.

(2) In early February the Methodist Board of Missions was informed that First National City Bank has renewed its share of the "floating loan" agreement directly to the South African government. (It is thus to be assumed that the other nine banks have also renewed their participation in the consortium, though they are not prone to

announce it publicly.) In accordance with previously publicized action, the Mission Board has informed FNCB that it is withdrawing a \$10 million investment portfolio lodged at FNCB as a first step in protest of the renewal of the consortium loan.

(3) It can be expected that the National Council of Churches, the United Presbyterian Church (Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations), and other agencies will have to do more than pass statements now, since the banks have again repeated their tacit approval of the South African Government's apartheid system in favor of economic gain.

### "South West Africa: Trial"

The outcome of the illegal South Africa trial in Pretoria of 35 South West Africans has aroused ample editorial comment in the internationally recognized New York Times. At least four times in the past several weeks the Times has raised its editorial pen to deplore the continuing illegal (according to the U.N.) actions of South Africa in South West Africa, in this case regarding alleged liberation activities of 35 men. (Originally there were 37: one died, awaiting trial in Pretoria; one is ill and will be tried when he is better.) One wonders if such editorial commentary, combined with actions by numerous lawyers and religious organizations, U.S. concern expressed at the U.N., had any influence on Justice Ludorf's ruling out the death penalty for the 30 convicted of the alleged terrorism.

Ludorf caused considerable surprise in the Supreme Court by noting that the crimes were committed before enactment of the Terrorism Act, under which the accused had been charged, and therefore he did not intend to impose the death sentence. In rendering the verdict, he said: "In my view, it has been proved that the accused, because of their level of civilization, became easy, misguided dupes of Communist indoctrination. Had it not been for the active financial and practical assistance which was received from the Governments of Moscow, Peking and other countries, they never would have found themselves in their present predicament. I also think that had it not been for the loud-mouthed moral support and incitement by representatives of foreign countries, and persons who published S.W.A.P.O. newsletters, who have absolutely no respect for the truth, the accused would never have embarked on their futile and ill-conceived exploits." (New York Times, 1/27/68)

It seems obvious that Justice Ludorf was fully aware of international opinion on the trial when he sought to repudiate Toivo ja Toivo's statement before the court as meant for "international ears only". The editorial published on February 11, 1968 reads:\*

## South-West Africa Injustice

There is one long-run certainty about the life sentences South Africa's Supreme Court has inflicted on nineteen South-West Africans under the vicious, retroactive Terrorism Act: They will breed more terrorism and Communism than they deter.

When Justice Joseph Ludorf convicted the defendants two weeks ago, he barred the death penalty out of concern that the law had been passed long after the alleged "terrorism" had been committed and the defendants jailed. This concern did not deter him yesterday from giving life sentences to the nineteen and twenty-year sentences to nine others.

Justice Ludorf said the crimes were so grave he was obliged to impose such sentences without considering the ages, marital status or number of dependents of the convicted. But the truth is that all

the acts of terrorism of which these men were charged resulted in a single death and not one of the defendants was even accused of participating in that particular incident.

This is typical of the burlesque of justice that has at every stage marked this miserable affair—condemned by the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly and by lawyers and religious organizations around the world.

The convicted are residents of a country South Africa has never owned. They were arrested in South-West Africa, hauled a thousand miles from their homes to South Africa, and held in solitary confinement for as long as 400 days while the Pretoria Government enacted the law under which they then were elaborately tried—in a language only a few among the 37 original defendants could understand.

"We find ourselves here in a foreign country," said defendant Toivo Herman Ja Toivo, standing unafraid before Justice Ludorf, "convicted under laws made by people whom we have always considered foreigners."

Then he added: "No South African will live in peace in South-West Africa, for he will know that his security is based on force."

White South Africans, and especially those who live in South-West Africa, will have occasion to remember those words.

\*Reprinted with permission from the New York Times.

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Dear Readers:

We must apologize for the tardiness in the publication of this issue of the Survey, which came about due to illness of several Committee members involved in the editing and typing of it. March's issue will probably follow this one fairly closely, but we hope to be on a regular schedule of mid-month distribution very soon.

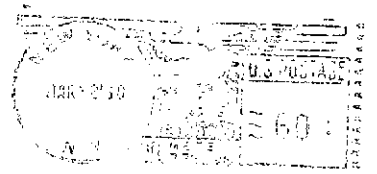
The Southern Africa Committee of the UCM welcomes your comments, suggestions, and contributions.

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SPECIAL NOTE

March 21 commemorates the eighth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, and at various university centers throughout the country there will be special programs, demonstrations, and/or commemorations. If further information is desired, please write the UCM Southern Africa Committee or the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. Rhodesia's recent decision to execute the three African "terrorists" is an indication that the kind of violence and terror that characterized Sharpeville continues to characterize the minority white racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa.

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



Dr. and Mrs. William Haver  
P.O. box 20770  
Dar es Salaam  
TANZANIA

10027