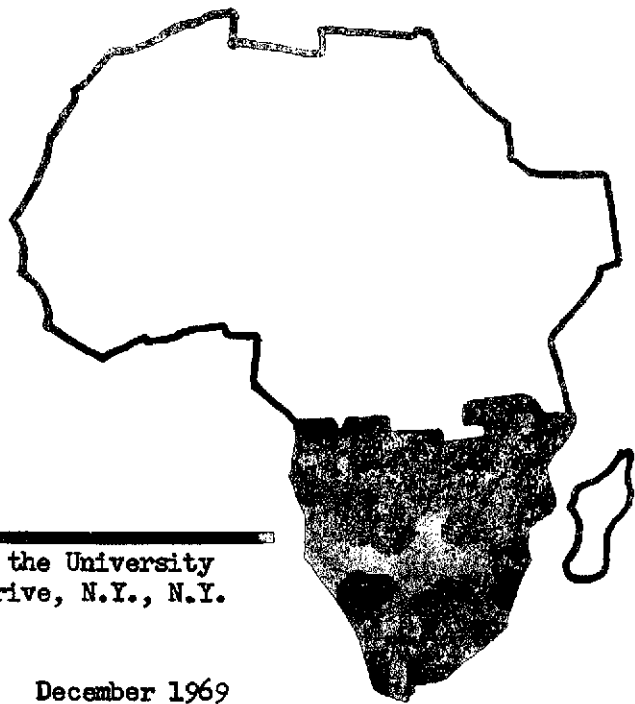


# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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**Editorial**

**"Play Up and Play the Game"**

Across the Atlantic the British are being hosts to a touring South African Rugby team. The South African team is chosen, of course, only from the white section of the population, and this has prompted demonstrations at every game with attempts to disrupt the play. Many similarly white South African teams have visited Britain before, but it is the first time that they have been opposed in this fashion.

There has been considerable international pressure to ostracise South Africa from the world sports and cultural activities. The most obvious example in sport is the lack of an invitation for South Africa to participate in the Olympic Games. However, South Africa's traditional partners in the rugby and cricket world have continued to play with her.

In Britain the traditional friendship broke down when an ex-South African of mixed descent was selected as a member of the British cricket team to tour South Africa. The South Africans refused to accept him and the tour was called off.

Isolation in sports hurts the white South Africans, but it is the fear of isolation in rugby that really hurts the South African government's supporter. To the Afrikaner, rugby is "his" game. The rugby team carries the country's prestige and demonstrates the manhood and power of the Afrikaner tribe to other nations. It is this fear which has made them accept Maoris in a rugby team from New Zealand for the first time. Now these demonstrations and disruptions in Britain are reducing their world even further as even their traditional friends recognize that they aid and abet racism when they join in sport with that racist white section of the South African population.



# Rhodesia or Zimbabwe: No Middle Ground

(Part Two)

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## International Developments Since UDI

United Nations Action - Sanctions. Following the November 11, 1965, Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the United Nations in late November asked all member nations to enact voluntary sanctions against Rhodesia. Resolution 232 of December 16, 1966, made limited sanctions mandatory:

- (1) it prohibited the import from Rhodesia of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, meat and meat products, copper, skins and leather;
- (2) it prohibited the export to Rhodesia of arms, ammunition, military aircraft, vehicles, and equipment and materials for manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition;
- (3) it prohibited the supply or provision of transport facilities for oil.

In June, 1967, a resolution reinforcing these sanctions was adopted. In May, 1968, a new resolution was adopted, imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions. These now include a ban on investment, a trade boycott, nonrecognition of Rhodesian passports, and withdrawal of all services.

The United States implemented U.N. resolutions through an Executive Order of the President. However, the U.S. consulate in Salisbury, whose continued functioning had been defended as accredited to the Queen and having no connection with the Smith regime, remains open even though the Queen's representative has withdrawn. It is reported that the consulate will function until November 11, 1969, when it is expected that Smith will proclaim a republic on the anniversary of UDI. This is an initial victory for conservative business pressure which seeks maintenance of U.S. diplomatic ties with Rhodesia and relaxation of sanctions.

Southern Africa's Economy. A large proportion of Rhodesian enterprises are subsidiaries either of South African companies, or of British

or American, French or West German companies which also have South African, and increasingly Angolan and Mozambican, subsidiaries. Thus as long as Rhodesian trade with South Africa and with the Portuguese colonies continues (and both stated that they would continue normal trade, and disapproved of boycotts), structures exist for trading abroad through third-party sanctions' breakers.

Without help from South Africa and Mozambique, Rhodesia's economy might have collapsed within weeks for lack of oil. Following U.N. action, an immediate temporary operation brought oil overland from South Africa. Then the South African subsidiaries of Shell, British Petroleum, and Mobil financed a new 100,000 gallon petrol depot at Messina, Transvaal, in easy reach of the Rhodesian border. In March, 1968, Smith could claim he had a year's petroleum supply in reserve. It is now believed that the Mozambique refinery at Lourenco Marques supplies the bulk of Rhodesia's needs, transported directly by rail; the oil must, of course, first come to that port by sea, from other sanctions' breakers.

The London Times reported in August, 1967, that two Portuguese firms in Beira were importing more than 400 cars a month for export to Rhodesia in covered trucks by night. In April, 1968, the Times reported that Rhodesia was getting spare parts for its Canberra (British) bombers and Hunter fighters including complete Avon engines, and was expecting "brand new fighters with British jet engines." These were Impalas, jet trainers manufactured in South Africa under license from the Italian firm Aermacchi. South Africa is currently producing 300, five times her own training needs, of the Impalas, which can be adapted to carry guns, rockets, or light bombs.

In similar fashion, South African and Portuguese agencies have enabled the Smith regime to continue to export its basic products: asbestos, copper, chrome, iron ore, and some sugar and tobacco. Some international trade figures are revealing. British imports from Rhodesia dropped 99 per cent in the first quarter of 1967, compared to 1966, but imports from South Africa rose 20 per cent. Japan's imports from Rhodesia dropped 99 per cent while her imports from South Africa rose 79 per cent.

Trade Discrepancies. According to U.N. reports, Rhodesia's exports in 1968 were valued at \$256 million U.S. (1967, \$264 million). Reporting countries which still traded with Rhodesia showed imports of \$75 million (\$107 million in 1967). South African imports were estimated (S.A. does not report) at \$80 million, the same as 1967. That left \$100 million not reflected in corresponding import figures in world trade-the concealed trade of sanctions' breakers.

Imports are harder to analyze. Rhodesian imports were reportedly valued at \$290 million in 1968 (\$262 in 1967), of which only \$45 million (\$65 million in 1967) could be accounted for. It is estimated that a large part of the remaining \$245 million came from or through South Africa.

The Rhodesian Economy. Despite continuing analysis of the ineffectiveness of international sanctions, they are hurting the Rhodesian economy. The value of exports dropped nearly 50% from UDI to 1969. Rhodesia's share of Zambian imports, 34% in 1965, was 6% for the first half of 1968, at considerable cost to Zambia. Coupled with the effects of drought in 1968, agriculture was hit hard and strained the national budget. Finance Minister John Wrathall told Parliament that an annual growth rate of 6% was necessary to assure "a minimal improvement in the standard of living." But economic growth in 1968 was at 3%, only a third of the previous year when the establishment of import-substitute industries created new wealth in some areas.

Employment of Europeans is perhaps a better indication of economic change. It is down in agriculture (700 workers, or 15%) and commerce (500, or 2%); up in mining (250 or 9%), manufacturing (1,500 or 9%), and government administration (1,500 or 15%). In addition, about 1,000 tobacco farmers, 1/3 of the total, have given up tobacco farming, although some may have diversified their crops and remained in farming (the remaining tobacco farmers have cut back, and are growing wheat and cotton). It is known that firms have been prohibited from discharging redundant labor, but not accurately how this effects the general employment picture. Correspondent John Worrall, expelled from Rhodesia early in 1969, wrote in the Daily Mail:

"Unemployment goes steadily up. In 1960, 647,000 Africans were employed in industry, commerce, and agriculture. Today's most conservative estimate is that this has dropped to 605,000, but a figure

of 90,000 unemployed Africans is given unofficially. Unemployment is made worse by the inability of industry, commerce, and agriculture to soak up the thousands of African school leavers. They represent a more educated and aspirant group than their tribal fathers and therefore have a more explosive potential.... Last year 26,303 African children who left primary school could not find places in secondary school and have not found work. The 13,000 or so children at Rhodesia's African secondary schools have a bleak future. Anyway, they face general discrimination against Africans in white-collar employment, made worse today by white competition for fewer jobs...."

and, he might have added, made infuriating by the government's continuing emphasis on special incentives to attract white immigration. European immigration in 1968 was 7,000 compared to 4,500 in 1965; but a downward trend at the end of 1968 is continuing.

The government is attempting to repatriate nonindigenous Africans, and an estimated 30,000 men have left since the end of 1965. They had come mainly from neighboring countries whose men have had to seek employment abroad for many years, and their return will increase the economic problems of their homelands as well as their own. This is a statistic which should affect Rhodesian African employment favorably; but the job opportunities made available by their departure will not recur.

Relations With Britain

The Six Principles. The first post-UDI negotiations between British Prime Minister Wilson and Ian Smith were held in 1966 on the British destroyer Tiger. They were not successful although the British proposals for settlement, based on the 1961 Rhodesia constitution, would have ensured continued white control for eight to twelve years. No offer to negotiate or proposals for independence were made by Britain to representatives of the black majority, nor were they invited to these talks. After Smith's rejection of compromise, and under prodding by the Commonwealth countries, the British position stiffened to support an announced minimum basis for agreement of six principles. The first five of these had been suggested originally in June, 1964 by a Conservative party

government, as a basis acceptable to Britain for an independence constitution:

- (1) guarantee of the principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule;
- (2) guarantees against retrogressive amendments to the constitution;
- (3) immediate improvement in the political status of the African population;
- (4) progress towards ending racial discrimination;
- (5) the British government to be satisfied that the basis for independence is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole;
- (6) regardless of race, no oppression of majority by minority or of minority by majority.

The Fearless Proposals. The day after the Smith regime was legitimized internally by its highest court, Smith announced his willingness to resume negotiations with Britain and Wilson, for his own reasons, was ready. Meetings on the British destroyer Fearless, in the Mediterranean, were therefore held during October, 1968. Representation from the African majority was again excluded.

The British proposals were very like those made on the Tiger, but with a major concession to Smith. His government would be legalized for the first time and, with broadened representation, would be allowed to retain power through the transitional period. Proposals for the franchise and the structure of government differed only in detail from those of the 1961 and 1965 constitutions. Wilson's proposals for keeping faith with the African majority and with the Commonwealth consisted of two provisions which he believed would prevent regressive amendment to the independence constitution: a "blocking quarter" of elected African legislators and provision for appeal to the British Privy Council. The latter was rejected by Smith as an "enfringement of sovereignty" and the negotiations fell through.

This whole legalistic approach ignored the political fact that, with Smith or another racist as head of government and a white majority in the legislature, repressive and racist measures could continue to be enacted and enforced as they had been since 1961 without reference to the constitution. Britain, however, continues to hold out the Fearless proposals as a solution whenever there may be a group in Rhodesia willing to accept them and able to assume power.

Following the referendum vote, the Queen accepted the resignation of Governor General Sir Humphrey Gibbs, and Rhodesia House in London closed, ending the last ties between the countries. The United Nations was unable to reach agreement on further action following the referendum. However, publicity is now being given to sanctions' breaking ships and some have been forced to turn back. The U.N. sanctions committee is taking a more active part but relies on the British for information.

Nationalist Opposition

The opposition of both major (banned) African political parties to the Fearless proposals explains their immediate political programs as well. Zimbabwe News, Dec. 7, 1968, carried the Zimbabwe African National Union statement, embodying the following points:

(1) That the 1961 Constitution, having been rejected by the 5 million Africans of Zimbabwe upon the sound and true reason that it represents the negation of the rights and heritage of the African people, cannot be made the basis of an independence constitution;

(2) That the only acceptable constitution for Zimbabwe is one based on the principle of ONE MAN ONE VOTE - free and unfettered by any artificial educational, income, property, or other discriminatory device or contrivance;

(3) That no racial, ethnic, religious, or other class or group of persons in Zimbabwe must claim or be granted any special privilege under the Constitution, be it social, political, economic, or otherwise, solely on account of their race, religion, etc., save that the fundamental law shall guarantee and protect the universally acknowledged individual human rights; and

(4) That consistent with the foregoing, the legislature must comprise electoral seats elected by all citizens who fulfill citizenship and residence qualifications on a common roll based on the principle of universal adult suffrage.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union statement, issued in January, 1969, was similar:

Political Developments Inside Rhodesia

(1) Immediate and unconditional release of all freedom fighters condemned to death; all freedom fighters in imprisonment and all those under detention and restriction; dropping of all charges and release of any freedom fighters under arrest;

(2) Free and unfettered conditions for Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the African people of Zimbabwe, to take full charge and conduct of all the affairs of the African people in order to bring about immediate and unqualified majority rule;

(3) Dissolution of the minority regime and all its institutions;

(4) Drawing of an unqualified majority rule independence constitution with no elements whatsoever of class, racial, or tribal distinctions or differentiations;

(5) Immediate, total, and radical reconstruction of the army, police, and administration so that these correspond with the principles and purposes of majority rule;

(6) All racist and reactionary laws must cease to have effect immediately and be expunged from the statutes.

Majority rule must take immediate effect with no transition whatsoever.

Both ZANU and ZAPU statements make it obvious that their opposition to the 1969 Smith constitution is unequivocal. Post-referendum statements from the parties are not yet available; but on the eve of the referendum, ZANU commented:

"The answer has been predetermined by a careful manipulation of the franchise qualifications and the delimitation of the constituencies. The so-called consultation of the nation is a hollow mockery and a travesty of justice."

The London representative of ZAPU stated immediately following the vote: "The referendum has no effect on what must be done to liberate our people. Their position will now get worse than before."

The combination of the Fearless proposals and the new constitution, against the background of economic sanctions and international isolation, was responsible for the development of a Centre party. It was organized by white moderates, mainly businessmen under the leadership of Pat Bashford, and campaign vigorously against the constitution and for reconciliation with Britain. Bashford, however, called in vain for one of the more prominent whites who secretly supported his position to publicly assume the leadership.

A far-right Conservative party also claimed credit for the "No" vote on the constitution.

Announcement of a new African nationalist party, the Democratic party, was made last August; it claimed roots in ZAPU and called for a constitutional conference to be attended by parties representative of the people, including the detained African leadership. Immediately following the referendum, the Democratic party united with the official African opposition in the legislature, the United People's party, to form the National Peoples Union headed by Gordon Chavanduka, a university sociology lecturer. Opposition leader Percy Mkudzu is deputy president.

There were other indications of African opposition to the constitution. Smith was defeated in only one of 50 constituencies, but that was Willowvale which contains substantial numbers of African and Coloured voters. (The Centre party reported that few of the 6,600 Africans eligible to vote actually voted.) Smith has denied the assertion of Chief Kayisa that 23 of 25 chiefs opposed the constitution at a council of chiefs' meeting on June 16.

Student opposition at the University College of Rhodesia has been forthright. Felix Muchemba, president of the Students' Representative Council, stated:

"This is a point of no return for the Rhodesian government. Shattered are the hopes for a settlement; hopes for the Fearless terms; hopes for majority rule. In view of this, the people who are against the trend of events in this country must come out and make their stand clear. People must stand up and protest. . . ."

The Future of Rhodesia

The 1969 Constitution. The Constitution which Ian Smith assured Rhodesians would "soun

the death knell of the principle of majority rule" was adopted by the minority electorate in a referendum held June 20, 1969. Out of 88,217 registered voters, 54,724 voted in favor of the constitution while 20,776 voted against it; a larger majority voted for the republic. The new document replaces the 1965 constitution which, according to a Rhodesian Front Government White Paper, had "objectionable features," particularly provision for eventual African rule and failure to guarantee retention of the government in "responsible hands."

The most retrogressive provisions of the constitution are the guarantee against African majority rule; the permanent separation of electoral rolls by race; the establishment of a police state; the codification in the constitution of division of land by race; and an emphasis on tribal divisions. Parts of the constitution including the Declaration of Rights have not been spelled out specifically. As an example, point 12 reads:

"As in the existing Declaration provision will be made that laws authorizing the taking of justifiable measures during a period of public emergency and disciplinary laws may contain provisions which are inconsistent with certain rights in the Declaration."

Other provisions are quite specific:

"No court will have the right to inquire into or pronounce upon the validity of any law on the ground that it is inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights."

The Legislature. The Head of State is named part of the legislature, though of neither house; bills are sent for his assent, but no definition of his powers in respect to legislation (veto, delay) is given.

A Senate consists of ten Europeans elected by the European members of the Assembly from candidates nominated by European voters; ten African chiefs elected by the Council of Chiefs, five from Matabeleland and five from Mashonaland; and three members appointed by the Head of State. In essence, the Senate can only delay legislation for 180 days, although it is said to replace both the Constitutional Council and the courts in safeguarding the Declaration of Rights.

A House of Assembly consists of 50 European members and 16 African members. Half of the African members will be elected by chiefs,

headmen, and Tribal Trust Land Councillors; the other eight will be popularly elected. In each case, they are divided equally between Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

African representation will rise after Africans pay more than 24% of total personal income tax (currently they pay less than 1%).\* Additional African Assemblymen will then be admitted two at a time, with the first two elected by the chiefs, the next two by African roll voters, and so on. In each case the additions will be one from Matabeleland and one from Mashonaland. The Head of State is given the duty of changing qualifications for the African voters' roll, thus making it impossible for Africans to achieve a majority.

Voting Qualifications. Two electoral rolls are retained, but they are demarcated racially, European and African. The European includes Asiatics and Coloured (only a few thousand who cannot influence the roll). Qualifications for both have been raised. European voters must now have an income not less than \$2520 or immovable property valued at \$5040 or more; or alternatively, either income of \$1680 or \$3360 in property and, in addition, four years' secondary education. African voters must have an income of \$840 a year or immovable property valued at \$1680; or either \$560 a year or \$1120 in property and in addition two years' secondary education.

Executive. The Head of State is chosen by an Executive Council consisting of a Prime Minister and other ministers. But the Executive Council will "consist of the Prime Minister and such other Ministers as the Head of State, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister, may appoint." The Head of State also appoints the Prime Minister

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\* This statement conveys the impression that Africans do not contribute to the support of the state. They pay a head tax which equalled 1/6 of total tax revenue in 1960, and naturally they contribute toward payment of company taxes, customs taxes, and excise and sales taxes which provide most of the national income. Recently income taxes have been reduced in favor of increased indirect taxation, which will adversely affect the ability of Africans to obtain additional representation.

in a confusing circular system. The Head's term of office is 5 years, and he acts on the advice of the Executive Council. His most important power, other than varying the African voters' roll, appears to be power to appoint a chief justice and other judges of the high court in which all judicial authority is vested; but he may have undetailed powers in regard to land.

The Police State. The Head of State has power to declare a state of emergency for twelve months before it must be renewed. Preventive detention and restriction are authorized (i.e. punishment without charges, trial, or right of appeal) with a tribunal to review detainees' cases each year. Provision is made for extension of existing laws permitting the regulation of telephones, mail, and broadcasting to cover newspapers and other publications. The provision of the 1965 constitution relating to freedom from discrimination by executive or administrative acts is omitted. The Declaration of Rights is weakened in other respects and particularly because most of its provisions have not been spelled out exactly and it is not clear how this will be done.

Land Division. Members of one race are not permitted to own land in another area except when granted rights under the mining laws. The division of land is roughly 44 million acres for Europeans, 45 million for Africans, and six million remaining as national land vested in the Head of State. Tribal Trust Land is also vested in the Head of State and its Board of Trustees is abolished.

The Future of Zimbabwe

The Liberation Movements. The major development of the past three years has been the organization by both banned African political parties, ZAPU and ZANU, of separate underground oppositions, including the training and employment of guerrilla forces. (The African National Congress, banned South African political movement, is cooperating with ZAPU forces.) The first reported clash between guerrillas and Rhodesian troops took place in 1966 and incidents continue to be reported although information is scant. The impact of guerrilla action can be verified by the fact that since 1967 Rhodesian troops have needed and received the support of special South African forces (called police) stationed in that country. South African organizations which send comforts to the troops are publicized in the South African

press. In spring, 1969, trials in the South African courts revealed the close cooperation of Rhodesian and South African military forces as well as something of the extent of organization and armament of the guerrillas. Defendants were arrested, or captured, in Rhodesia by either Rhodesian or South African forces and handed over to South Africa. Officers of both countries testified in South African courts.

News nearly always comes by way of the South African or Rhodesian press following the capture or defeat of one or more African nationalist guerrillas, and the interpretation that accompanies it is that of the white supremacist who is under attack. But despite this difficulty, it is apparent that Africans, with their parties banned, their leadership imprisoned, their meager remaining rights under attack and majority rule permanently enjoined, are fighting back in the only way left to them; and that highly trained and superbly equipped modern European forces have been unable to end the guerrilla threat.

Majority Rule

The result of the Rhodesian referendum has been the polarization of forces. Britain is no longer an effective factor in the situation. U.N. sanctions and international isolation have some, but not a decisive, effect on Rhodesian stability. An alternative to perpetual white minority rule through a police state has now become possible only by a victory of the African nationalist guerrilla forces, based on the dissident black majority of the country. That victory is not near. The nationalists lack training, resources, all the technical superiority that a modern state can use against them. But they have - they are - the people, and they will not forever be denied.

THE CHALLENGE OF RHODESIA  
by Ralph Zacklin

(Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 345 East 46th, New York, N. Y. 10017)

Nov. 1969, #575, 72 pages

A very recent analysis of events in Rhodesia, reviewing the constitutional history, the making of sanctions policy, and the enforcement of sanctions.





ECONOMIC  
INVOLVEMENT  
IN  
SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. Group to Join Oil Hunt

A third U.S. oil company plans to have an off-shore drilling rig operating in the Mossel Bay and Plettenberg Bay area - the scene of the most intensive off-shore oil search in South African waters - writes the S.A. Financial Gazette. U.S. National Oil, which has just completed a seismic survey, plans to have a sea-going rig operating in 12 months' time. The company will operate for Midlands Oil, a major landward concession holder with rights extending five nautical miles off the entire Cape Coastline.

This means that four off-shore rigs will be operating in the 120-mile stretch of coastline from Port Elizabeth to Mossel Bay by the end of 1970. Superior will have a rig operating off Plettenberg Bay by November 1969; Placid expects to have one in operation by the middle of 1970 and Total should have one operating by the end of 1970. In addition, Mozambique Gulf Oil will start off-shore drilling south of Beira and Sunray Oil is bringing the drilling vessel Glomar Conception into operation south of Lourenco Marques. (South Africa Digest, 11/7/69)

Hong Kong Market Good

The resident representative for Africa of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council, Mr. G. J. Connington, who is spending part of November and December in South Africa, told the press there recently that Hong Kong and South Africa should be natural trading partners, because South Africa had an abundance of raw materials while Hong Kong had none. Mr. Connington flew to South Africa from his headquarters in Nairobi to promote "healthy two-way trade between Hong Kong and South Africa."

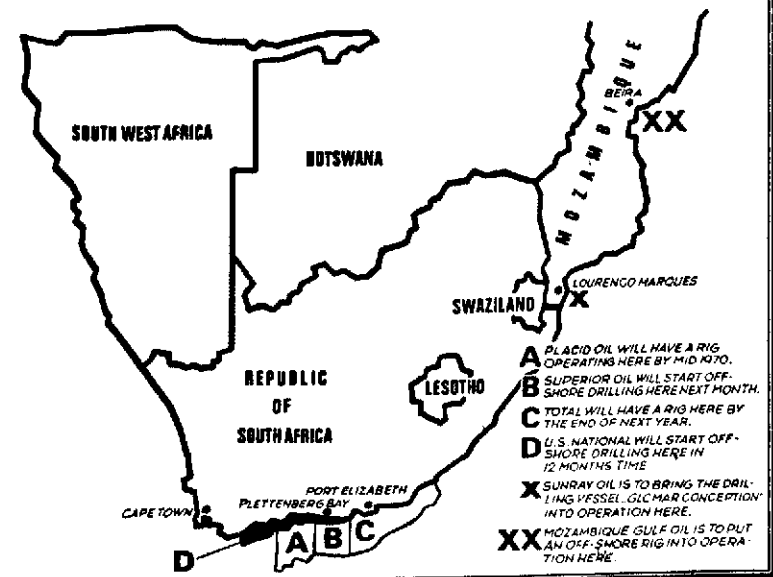
South African exports to Hong Kong, he said, were about 1/2% of the colony's total. They could, however, be increased by about 50% if South African exporters took a close look at the cost, quality and delivery of their products. (South African Digest, 11/7/69)

Chrysler Corporation in South Africa

Chrysler Corporation has agreed to provide its South African production facilities and marketing network for the assembly and sale of Colt automobiles made by Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Ltd.

In mid-October, Mitsubishi shipped parts for 312 Colt autos to South Africa for assembly by Chrysler's South African company. It was the first major step in a Mitsubishi-Chrysler agreement signed last May to collaborate in various world markets. It is understood that the two companies also are considering assembling and marketing Mitsubishi autos, trucks and buses in other markets, including Europe, South America and Australia. (Wall Street Journal, 11/14/69)

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Railways

One of the most colorful railways in Africa is Angola's Benguela Railway Company - fondly remembered as the "Aunt Sally" line by anyone who has experienced the 838 bouncing miles from Lobito Port to the Congo border. And despite the fact that "terrorists" take pot shots at the drivers, mine the line now and then, and even remove rails on occasion, these are boom days for "Aunt Sally." Since Rhodesia's UDI in 1966, Zambia has been exporting thousands of tons of copper ingots to the West Coast at Lobito via Congo-Kinshasa.

Before 1966 Benguela Railways carried no Zambian ore - nowadays the figure hovers around 150,000 tons a year. Furthermore, Angolan officials seem unperturbed by Zambia's plans for a rail link from its Copperbelt to Tanzania's East Coast port of Dar es Salaam, believing that Zambia will still want to send a large proportion of its ore westwards, especially while the Suez Canal remains closed. Some Angolans even believe that expansion of "Aunt Sally's" facilities would ultimately persuade Zambia to forget the Tanzania route altogether.

That, however, is unlikely, for the proposed "Tanzam" line is as much a political as an economic necessity. Zambia in fact could manage quite well without the Tanzania link - but that would mean total reliance on Angola and arch-enemy Rhodesia. Zambia would also like to stop lining Angola's (and thereby Portugal's) pocket.

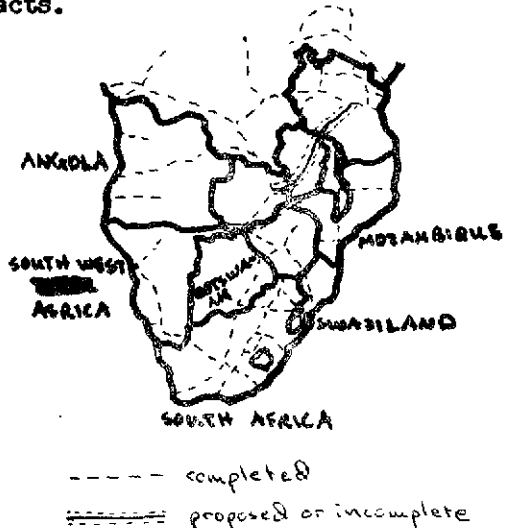
Even before Rhodesia snatched its illegal independence, Zambia wanted the Tanzam line and approached the West for the \$238 million needed for the 1,100-mile route. The West, and particularly the USA, demurred. Then the Communist Chinese stepped in with an offer of an interest-free loan and assistance. The line has been surveyed by Chinese experts, and in early November a Chinese delegation arrived in Dar es Salaam to begin the final discussions before actual construction begins. No final details have been confirmed yet, but the line will probably be paid for through a commodity credit agreement - which, some observers fear, will mean that Tanzania and Zambia will be swamped with poor-quality Chinese goods.

There is also a fear that China may have bitten off more than it can chew. For, apart

from the Tanzam line, it is also committed to a Mali/Guinea railway extension involving the laying of over 400 miles of track. This line will link Bamako with Conakry in Guinea, thereby providing Mali with an important new outlet to the sea.

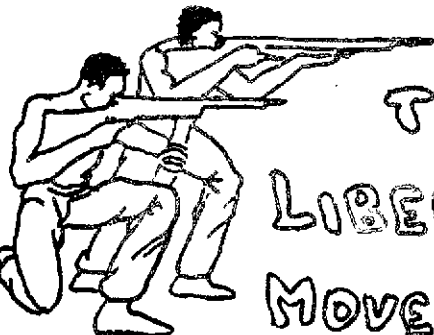
Finally, and possibly too late, the West has woken up, and is trying to make up a little lost ground in the Congo with suggestions for a Luluabourg/Kinshasa link which would offer both Zambian and Congolese copper mines an improved route to the Atlantic. At present traffic between the two cities goes mainly by the Congo's river system.

At the moment, though, the Congolese government is not convinced that it needs the line, and as yet has not even given the go ahead for a feasibility study, permission for which has been requested by various firms like Lonrho (see last month's issue, p. 11). While the terrain is not as rugged, the distance involved is about the same as the Tanzam line, and will also cost about \$238 million - plus about another \$112 million for equipment. The World Bank, it seems, might be willing to provide the loan, and now everyone is waiting for the green light from Kinshasa to herald the rush for contracts.



Care has been taken to emphasize that the project would benefit the Congo - copper could be shipped out without going through Angola, and Matadi, the Congo's main port, would receive a terrific boost. But with considerable investments in Tanzania and Zambia, companies like Lonrho will have to tread very carefully - for were the word to

get around that the railway was being suggested purely as an answer to the Chinese Tanzam, the Africans might become a trifle restive. Above all, there is nothing like a hint of the Cold War to get things moving in black Africa. (Newscheck, 11/14/69)



# THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

## ANC Leaflets Explode in South African Cities

The Freedom Fighter is not only the trained guerrilla of Umkhonto we Sizwe. "Every man, every woman, every worker, every youth can help in the freedom struggle. Wherever you are you must find a way of organising those around you. If you are careful and work cleverly you will cheat the enemy and make the task of his police and agents more difficult. All must work to end the white terror! There can be no liberation without sacrifice!"

Thousands of African National Congress leaflets were scattered in almost simultaneous explosions in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban and Johannesburg in the afternoon of Friday, November 14.

In Cape Town the leaflets burst out of a plastic bucket outside the Standard Bank in Adderley Street. The leaflets had been put in a bucket with an explosive charge and the charge was detonated. It was 5.45 pm and an excited crowd soon gathered and grabbed the leaflets.

After the police arrived passers-by were searched for leaflets and later a Security Branch officer said that possession of the leaflet was illegal.

Just before, from the roof of an entrance to a nearby railway station, a tape-recorder blared out ANC slogans. An ex-Rhodesian police officer who was driving past the station said he saw a crowd of about 50 Africans standing outside the station entrance. Through the closed windows of his car he heard a

loud voice speaking in an African language. He said, "I've seen excited crowds in my time and this was one of them. I double-parked my car and called the Railway Police. On a ledge above the station entrance they found a paper carrier bag through which ran a chain attached to something inside and locked to a pole on the ledge. The Railway Police looked in the bag and told me there was a tape recorder inside. They had to cut the chain to remove it."

In Port Elizabeth leaflets were scattered in at least two places, both near non-white bus terminals. In one of them, Strand Street, a plastic bag was thrown from a fast-moving van. The bag burst and the leaflets spilled out. Police rushed to the scene and seized some of the leaflets. But others blew away in the wind.

The same thing happened in East London. Leaflets spilled out of a plastic bag and were blown around and a crowd quickly gathered around them.

In Johannesburg leaflets were found at several railway stations used mainly by Africans.

The only police comment came from Brigadier Venter, head of the Security Police. He refused to comment when he was asked whether he thought the explosions would lead to a new series of trials and said "We have only just started investigating."

## Near Riot in Township

Three days later after the leaflet distribution there was a protracted disturbance in Langa, an African township near Cape Town. According to a police spokesman, a policeman on patrol asked a passing African for his pass-book. When the man failed to produce his pass the policeman tried to arrest him. A friend of the man without a pass joined in the struggle and tried to get a hold of the policeman's revolver. The policeman then opened fire, killing the man he had originally stopped and seriously wounding the other.

More police arrived on the scene and although it was quite a large crowd gathered and tried to prevent the police removing the body. People threw stones and bottles at the police and it took about 50 policemen to disperse them.

## Tape Recording Calls for Action

The following is part of the text of the ANC tape recording: "The time has come. This government of slavery, this government of oppression, this apartheid monster must be

removed from power and crushed by the people! Sons and daughters of Afrika, you who in your millions have toiled to make this country rich, the ANC calls upon you - NEVER submit to white oppression...NEVER give up the Freedom Struggle - find ways of organising those around you - The African National Congress calls you to be ready - to be ready for war! You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will also learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy, his spies and informers, and organise those around you. We are many, they are few.

"The ANC calls upon you to help our young men, our freedom fighters. We organise ourselves into small groups, we carry guns, suddenly we attack the enemy, we kill them and we take their weapons and we hide away...in the forests, the mountains, the countryside, the people hide the young men. Every one of you can help in this fight. Everyone can be a freedom fighter. In your factory, in your school, in the land, in your church -wherever you are amongst the people - you must find a way of organising those around you. If you work carefully you will be able to cheat the enemies and his spies and informers.

"Nelson Mandela said he was prepared to die for the freedom of his People. What do you say dear young brother, my dear young sister? Sons of Sekhuni, Sons of Shaka, Sons of Hintsa, Sons of Moshoeshe...the time has come. Freedom lovers of South Africa, the time to fight has come.

Guerrilla war has brought victory to the people of Algeria, to the people of Cuba, to the people of Vietnam. Those people did not have big armies. They were like us. Guerrilla fighters organise themselves in small groups. Suddenly when the enemy is not expecting them, they attack. They kill and grab the guns and disappear.

"There are many ways to be a freedom fighter. You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will soon learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy and organise those around you. We are many and they are few. You must have secret addresses of your reliable friends who will agree to hide you or your weapons or other freedom fighters. You must be ready to sacrifice. You must start now to find hiding places. The countryside, the bush, the forest, the mountains - these will also become your secret addresses. The time has come. The African National Congress calls upon you to organise and to prepare. Death

to racialism! Mayibuya! Afrika! Amandla! Ke Nako! Ayi holme!

(Reprinted from Anti-Apartheid News, London)

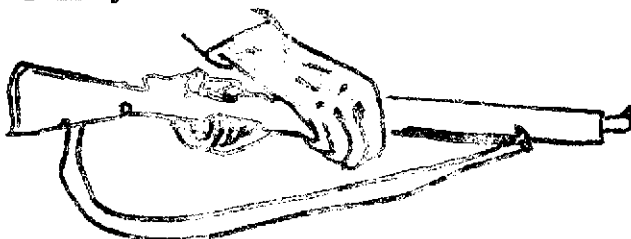
PAC LEADERS CALL ON O.A.U. FOR GUERRILLA ARMY

Potlakko Leballo of the Pan Africanist Congress said in Freetown, Sierra Leone, recently that the Organization of African Unity should recruit and train Africans to guerrilla tactics who could then be distributed by the O.A.U. to fight alongside liberation movements in Southern Africa. He clarified his statement by saying that his movement did not want African "mercenaries" but rather O.A.U. recruits organized into a people's liberation army. (New York Times, 11/30/69)

THE ANGOLAN FRONT:

Basil Davidson Reports in West Africa Nov. 1, 1969

There are an estimated 50,000 Portuguese troops committed to fight in Portugal's largest colony, - Angola. The war has now gone on for nine years, and in spite of the massive personnel, supported by bombers, helicopters and psycho-war techniques, the Portuguese appear to be in a worse military position than three years ago. Davidson cites the origins of this change as the opening of new fronts by the guerrillas in 1966, in particular the major thrust of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) under the leadership of Dr. Agostinho Neto. In addition, the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi, has been active during this period. The O.A.U. Liberation Committee supports the MPLA, and recently sent a military delegation on a tour into MPLA-held territory. MPLA's major activity is in the provinces of Moxico and Cuando Cubango in Angola's east, and the more central provinces of Malange and Bie'. Portuguese military communiques admit to MPLA activity, and a Benguela Railway Company official attributed an attack on the railway to this movement also.



Meanwhile, the progress of the Revolution Government in Exile (GRAE) stationed in Kinshasa, Congo is interpreted by Davidson to be non-aggressive and non-imaginative. There are persistent rumors of American backing to Holden Roberto's party, CIA contacts, numbered bank accounts in Geneva, etc. A Swiss journalist and photographer, Pierre Pascal Rossi, spent 46 days inside Angola in GRAE territory during the summer of 1969, and has published his account (Pour Une Guerre Oubliee, Paris, 1969). He reached GRAE territory after marching through Portuguese controlled areas which, according to Rossi, extends 250 miles south of the Congo (K) border. The GRAE area, often called the "dirty triangle," measures about 80 miles long/30 miles wide. The picture drawn by Rossi is one of a guerrilla-controlled area, cut off from the movement's center in Congo, which "continues to supply it with arms and other materials, by many days and even weeks of hard marching through enemy-held territory." In addition the guerrillas (several thousand in number) "have practically no offensive capacity."

Davidson summarizes the GRAE situation as one of survival, "waiting for the Portuguese to collapse," while Holden Roberto "maintains a political apparatus in exile, as well as some defensive foothold inside the country, so that, when others whom he sees as rivals do eventually bring about the Portuguese collapse, he can call on outside allies to support his bid for national leadership."

"...where South African Airways advertises facilities in South Africa it should at the same time inform members of the public that these facilities are not equally available to all tourists, white or non-white."

In response to this, South African Airways is discontinuing distribution of brochures and other promotional materials which make reference to types of facilities in South Africa which may not be available to persons of all races.

Spokesmen in the CAB Enforcement Division indicated that South African Airways cannot advertise South Africa in any way; they can only advertise the airline.

The issue of discrimination by South African Airways is a more thorny question since it is the consulate that performs that act in its visa-granting practices. The spokesmen agreed that the legislation amending the Federal Aviation Act might indeed be necessary.

Anti-Apartheid Victory as South Africa Drops Loan Request to U.S. Banks

South African apartheid's first major setback at the hands of a growing U.S. public opinion was revealed this week when it became known that the 10-bank revolving credit of \$40 million extended to South Africa since 1959 would not be renewed this year at the request of the South African government itself.

Pressure on the ten U.S. banks, headed by Chase Manhattan and First National City, has grown year by year as the credit became the symbol of direct U.S. support for a brutal racist police state. "It is entirely possible that the banks themselves initiated the action to terminate the credit arrangement, even though the announced procedure was from the Government of South Africa to Dillon Read & Co. (handling arrangements) to the banks," according to George M. Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa which has led the campaign for disengagement from South Africa. The banks have been feeling increasing disapproval of their policies from institutional as well as individual sources in the U.S.

A Committee of Conscience against Apartheid, headed by ACOA co-chairman A. Philip Randolph, spearheaded a drive in



The  
U.S. and  
South  
Africa

South African Airways

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The Bureau of Enforcement of the Civil Aeronautics Board has replied to Congressman Diggs' inquiries about South African Airways advertising. It is their position that:

1966 for withdrawal of accounts and business from the apartheid-supporting banks. In this, the churches took the lead. Over the years the United Methodist Board of Missions withdrew a \$10 million investment portfolio from First National City; students and faculty of Union Theological Seminary organized the withdrawal of accounts from the First National City branch near the seminary; the Episcopal Church decided to withdraw from all banks that continued in the consortium; and most recently the United Church and the United Presbyterian Church voted to end business relationships with all involved banks. Such groups as the magazine Christianity and Crisis also withdrew accounts.

Student concern about university and other institutional support for the banks and about their investments in South Africa has also grown in the past few years. Cornell dropped the banks from its investment portfolio. Princeton undertook a study of investment policy. At the University of Wisconsin, Rutgers, Brown, Antioch, University of Chicago, University of California (Santa Barbara), Boston Theological and many others, the issue was raised in various other ways.

As a result of these campaigns, questions were often raised at stockholders' meetings, in particular the annual meetings of Chase Manhattan, First National City and Morgan Guaranty in 1967 and 1968. On several occasions, demonstrations were held at the time of meetings, or to emphasize planned withdrawals. More recently N.Y. State Assemblyman Franz Leichter urged State Controller Levitt to remove funds from banks loaning to South Africa, and nine U.S. Congressmen urged in letters to the banks' presidents non-renewal of the loan.

The latest stage of the campaign this year was focused by ACOA on the presence of a branch of Chemical Bank at the U.N. headquarters. The U.N. has frequently expressed its opposition to the apartheid policies of South Africa and the General Assembly has called for the severing of economic relationships which would include such financial credit arrangements. After ACOA called the attention of U.N. delegations to the presence of Chemical, the General Assembly passed a resolution calling on the U.N. and its affiliates specifically to "refrain from extending facilities to banks and other financial institutions which provide assistance" to South Africa and firms registered there.

The banks were thus in an increasingly uncomfortable position, under attack in public, from within their own institutions, from depositors, stockholders and government officials, and in the United Nations. The highly visible credit arrangement was more trouble than it was worth. And South Africa, which has not drawn on the fund for some years, also thought it best to cut her losses in world public opinion.

"The significance of our victory in the bank campaign, with the ending of the consortium, is that an informed and aroused American public opinion can end U.S. financial and economic support for apartheid," Mr. Houser stated. "We are still only at the beginning. Most people in the U.S. do not yet know and find it hard to believe that the U.S. government actually subsidizes South Africa through the sugar quota system to the amount of some \$5 million a year, although she is not an undeveloped nation; we do not need the sugar; and there is not the shadow of an excuse for this policy. Public awareness is growing, legislation has been introduced into Congress to end this - although the President could act without Congress - and we confidently expect to end the sugar subsidy next year.

"Similarly, we are pressing the question of South African Airways, an agency of the South African government, which has been granted a Johannesburg/New York flight schedule permit in violation of U.N. policies and is being subsidized by a U.C. mail contract. Because the South African system is completely discriminatory on a racial basis, we believe that the operation of this airline is an unconstitutional attack on the civil rights of U.S. citizens, and we expect our next victory here.

But much remains to be done. U.S. investment in South Africa is growing constantly and the government's verbal opposition to apartheid and to the takeover of South West Africa are contradicted by actions that strengthen the South African state. We want total disengagement from support of apartheid and aid, instead, to the majority non-white population in its struggle against the world's most vicious racist dictatorship."

(Press Release issued by ACOA, 11/25/69)  
For further information, write ACOA,  
164 Madison Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10016



SPORTS  
and  
South Africa

In the United Kingdom the Home Office of the British Government "is drawing up a report on the anti-apartheid demonstration at Saturday's Springbok Rugby match in Swanswa, in which 22 people, including 10 policemen, were treated at hospitals and 67 people were arrested." The announcement followed a complaint to the British Government by anti-apartheid leaders that their followers received a "brutal" beating at the hands of the police and vigilante spectators. This was the most violent demonstration faced by the Springboks so far who have completed only 4 of 25 games of their three month tour. (Rand Daily Mail, 11/17/69)

The South African Rugby Tour

"Labour M.P. Mr. Hugh Jenkins, called for an inquiry, saying it was essential that both Parliament and public be informed of the facts. This is so that we may judge whether it would be in the general interest to ask the Springboks to return home and call the rest of the tour off." (Rand Daily Mail, 11/17/69)

"The Political Nature of South African Sports" might well be the sub-title of the current Springbok Rugby tour of the United Kingdom. The tour has charged debate within the governments of both South Africa and Britain.

SOUTH AFRICA REJECTED AGAIN?

While the world of sports has for some time now been sensitive to the political implications of the South African export--her sports teams, which she seeks to use to counter opinion against her domestic racial policies, the debate has forced concern to mount within South Africa as the right-wing becomes more vocal in protest over liberalization, "verligte" policies of the Vorster regime. Liberalization here consists of allowing Maoris to participate in a future tour by a New Zealand Rugby team. This of course undermines the traditional race-separateness policies, a prospect in which the newly formed Reconstituted National Party (extreme right-wing "berkramptes") may find sufficient reason to challenge the Vorster government. It is the opinion of David Winger, correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, that

New Zealand's representative on the International Olympic Committee, Mr. Lance Cross, on November 18th charged that "African and Asian countries were threatening his country with 'international sporting blackmail' because it took part in sporting events in South Africa." By this he meant that they would vote against New Zealand application to stage the 1974 Commonwealth Games at Christchurch.

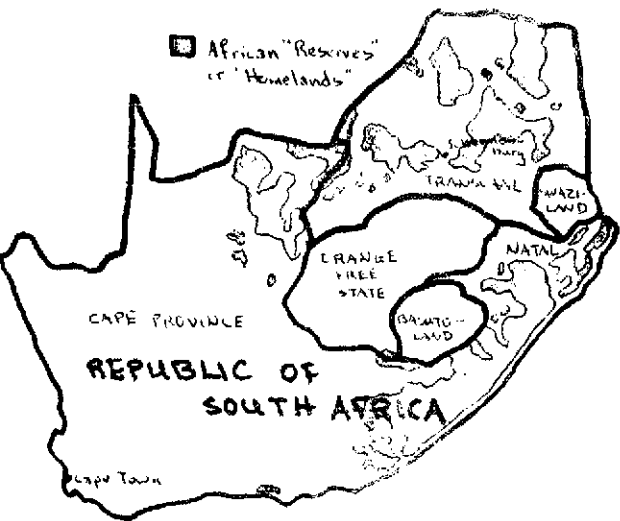
But "in Auckland last night (i.e. 11/18) the Amateur Athletic Centre delegates endorsed a recommendation by their executive that the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association should not invite South Africa to the New Zealand athletic championships next February." (Rand Daily Mail, 11/19/69)

"the country will be even more disposed to the government's verligte policies if the tourists (the Springboks) are successful and emerge unscathed from demonstrations. A boost to the country's morale could only assist Prime Minister Vorster and encourage the development of verligte policies in sport. A severe disruption of the tour, however, is likely to benefit the verkramptes. They could then argue that South African teams touring 'liberalistic' countries can expect only humiliation; that pandering to world pressure is both foolish and degrading."

A NEW FRIEND FOR WHITE SUPREMACISTS?

Reported in the Christian Science Monitor (11/13/69) was the story of Ghana's new Prime Minister, Dr. Kofi Busia, who recently questioned the O.A.U.'s policy of "no contact with South Africa." While calling apartheid "pernicious and dangerous", Dr. Busia said he would like South Africans "to come to Ghana to see things for themselves" and did not believe in not talking to those with whom you do not agree. Shades of Dr. Banda!





Michael's Mission Hospital in Tzananastan, describes how this is working out. Tzananastan fills up with resettled families, there is no livelihood worth having nearby, the men go off to distant employment and the women and children, particularly the children, often starve. In many instances they starve to death, despite all that the hospital can do, and despite the acknowledged and certainly not ungenerous financial aid that the Government gives it." (Jo'burg Star, 11/15/69)

If this is "as fast as is possible", it is quite clear who is defining the terms.

TWENTY-TWO IN A.N.C. TRIAL

Twenty-two Africans, including Winnie Mandela, wife of the former head of the banned African National Congress Nelson Mandela, appeared in Pretoria's Magistrate's Court on October 28. They were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. The Prosecutor applied for a remand to the Pretoria Supreme Court for a summary trial on December 1. There was confusion over the lawyers. Joel Carlson, attorney for Mandela and six others, was challenged by Mendel Levin who said that he had power of attorney for Mandela. An adjournment was requested to settle the matter. After the adjournment, and without consulting with him, all twenty-two said they had decided that Carlson should represent them. Carlson was expected to ask for a postponement of the trial as December 1 was too soon for him to prepare. All the accused are being detained in custody until December 1. (Jo'burg. Rand Daily Mail, 10/29/69)

The 22 are charged with being officers, members or active supporters of the ANC and of furthering its aims. Their alleged activities are said to have taken place between Oct. 1967 and June 1969 in various places including Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Umtata. It is alleged that among other things, they were looking for possible sabotage targets. A listing of their charges follows:

- That they recruited and encouraged membership in the A.N.C.;
- That they visited and arranged visits to prisons at Robben Island and Nylstroom to obtain information and instructions for the ANC;
- That they discussed with Philip Golding and Lukas Opperman plans to raise money for ANC;
- That they arranged funerals for two men under the auspices of the ANC and for speeches to be delivered to further the aims of the ANC;
- That they discussed the establishment of contact with guerrilla fighters in the event of their arrival in South Africa;

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

## Bantustans: Development and Conditions

The leader of the Opposition United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff, recently attacked the Nationalist Government for its slow development of the African homelands. He stated that unless development was speeded up greatly, the Bantustan policy would fail. In stating this view, he was expressing what experts in both parties have said for years.

Mr. Vorster, the Nationalist Prime Minister, has another view: "It is my honest belief that we must not progress in a faster tempo than these people can follow. In the circumstances we progress as fast as is possible." (Jo'burg Star, 11/15/69)

The most cursory review of the situation suggests that the Bantustans do need urgent attention and greatly speeded up development. For example, the per capita income in the homelands is only R26 or \$36 a year (Jo'burg Star, 11/8/69). Further, the Government is boasting that it has kept 1,500,000 Africans out of the so-called white towns. What happens to these Africans? The Government says that they are or will be absorbed into industries and other employment. However, as the Star editorializes, "The latest annual report of St.

That they encouraged members to listen to ANC broadcasts from Tanzania;

That they encouraged feelings of hostility between racial groups;

That they discussed the distribution or read publications of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the South African Indian Congress;

That they propagated the Communist doctrine.

An alternative charge against them is that they furthered the aims of Communism, and performed acts aimed at bringing about political, industrial, social and economic change in South Africa by promoting disorder. (Johannesburg Star, 10/28/69)

THE NEW AFRIKANER PARTY

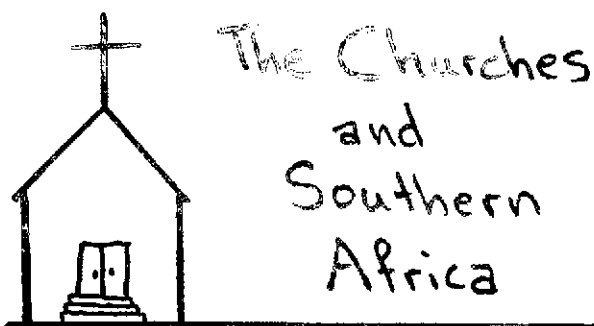
The Herstigte Nasionale Party, led by Dr. Albert Hertzog, came into being in the middle of October, after months, even years of speculation that the conflicts within the Nationalist Party were so severe that a new party would form. The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) has made it clear that it is concerned with guaranteeing Afrikaner culture only. It would recognize Afrikaans as the only official language. (Today English is also an official language.) The HNP has made the claim that it is the first Afrikaner party to be based on the "infallible word of God" and the first party to be Christian-National and unashamedly Afrikaans. (These claims are strongly disputed by the Nationalists who make the same heretical claims for themselves.) (Johannesburg Star, 11/8/69)

There is considerable difference of opinion as to how much a threat the new party will pose for the Nationalists. The Prime Minister speaks optimistically: "I say to Dr. Albert Hertzog that it is not within his power, or Sir De Villiers Graaff's power to take a single seat from the Nationalist Party in the coming election." He added that since the Nationalists took power in 1948, 13 splinter groups have come and gone and that the HNP will suffer the same fate. (Star, 11/1/69)

Die Burger, pro-Nationalist newspaper in the Cape, is less optimistic. It argues that the United Party is likely to be the winner of at least a few seats, since the HNP will cause the Afrikaner's votes to be split between two parties. A United Party spokesman predicted a swing of 6 to 8% against the Nationalist Party, but suggested that the HNP will gain at least some grass roots support.

The real threat of the HNP probably lies in two areas. First, it may cause the National Party to become less outward looking and more conservative in order to be out-flanked on the right. More serious, it will give white South Africans, as they are the only ones who vote, the impression that the real choice in South Africa is between the verligte National Party or the Verkrampte HNP. (Star, 11/1/69)

The HNP is having some difficulty organizing because Nationalist Party supporters have been continually disrupting their meetings. HNP leaders have frequently been prevented from completing their speeches by Nationalist M.P.'s as well as by regular party supporters. A recent meeting in the Pearl Town Hall was finally stopped when both microphones were put out of action. Fruit, eggs, toilet rolls, and stink-bombs were thrown onto the stage at the HNP speakers. When United Party spokesmen of the English Press have deplored this action and defended the right of free assembly, the Nationalists have immediately accused them of defending the HNP, even when they have explicitly disassociated themselves with that party's views. As the Star editorialized, this "again illustrates that Nationalists simply do not understand what the concept of free speech and assembly mean." (Star, 11/15/69)



United Church Funds Liberation Movements

In a decision uncommon for the local church scene, the Mission Committee of the United Church on the Green in New Haven, Conn. decided to forward \$1,800 to Southern African Liberation Movements. After a detailed discussion over several sessions supported by background reading, the committee agreed that the Liberation Movements were a legitimate channel for their funds. Through

this decision they supported a resolution passed by the Council for Christian Social Action and the Connecticut Conference of the United Church of Christ "supporting the legitimate claims of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau."

The committee indicated that one of the reasons for this support was the overt military support which the U.S. government provided for Portugal through NATO. U.S. military aid is either used by Portugal itself to fight African freedom fighters, or frees Portuguese arms for that purpose.

**PORTUGAL - ANGOLA - U.S. and DIAMONDS**

Portugal has decided to open Western Angola to diamond exploration and has granted the first concession to a New York concern, Diamond Distributors Inc., which will frame a company called the West Angola Diamond Company to be formed in July. This company will have rights to precious stones for 30 years in an area of 37,000 square kilometers. The company is expected to invest a minimum of \$3,200,000 by the Portuguese government. Although the company will technically be a Portuguese company under Portuguese law, technical and financial backing will come from Diamond Distributors, Inc., one of the leading firms in the U.S. specializing in rough diamonds. (New York Times, 5/13/69)

pendence. Newspaper comments in articles throughout the United States varied widely on the subject of Rhodesian independence. Disturbingly, a large number of columnists opposed the "insane sanctions policy" against Rhodesia and called for a recognition of Rhodesia as an independent national entity. A columnist in the Journal Constitution talks about "sieve-like arguments that are an insult to national intelligence" in an article opposing American support of sanctions (10/31). J. J. Kilpatrick, a well-known American supporter of the Rhodesian regime, writes in the Philadelphia Evening Star about "the worst blunder in the U.N.'s brief history." He continues his article by comparing the one party minority government in many of the black ruled African countries and the preventive detention in some of these nations, to Rhodesia and condemning the U.N. for acting on a "naked double standard of parblind hypocrisy."

Dallas and Chicago newspapers have gone to the defense of Rhodesia in the past with even more ferocity. Analysts of newspaper coverage of Africa have noted a swing to the right in the press in African reporting. Readers should take note and spend some time in peppering the press with a few facts and figures about the plight of the "silent majority" in Rhodesia and Southern Africa as a whole.

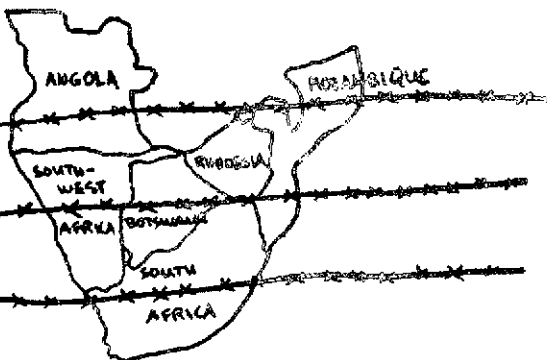
**LIBERTY LOBBYISTS TOURING RHODESIA**

A New York Times story of Nov. 16 reveals clearly the link between the American Liberty Lobby and ultra-rightists in Rhodesia who operate with a very strong anti-Jewish bias.

"Salisbury, Rhodesia, Nov. 15. Sixty-seven members of a United States conservative group known as the Liberty Lobby are touring Rhodesia on a 10-day goodwill mission.

"The Liberty Lobby, which seeks to act as a pressure group on the United States Congress, with the aim of opposing the spread of international Communism, has also sponsored a body known as the Friends of Rhodesian Independence in America.

"The visitors arrived in Salisbury last Saturday to take part in celebrations of the fourth anniversary of the declaration of independence from Britain by Rhodesia's white supremacist government. The group



**News From Rhodesia**

**FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED**

November 11, 1969, remembered mostly for the flurry of Veteran's day activities in the U.S.A., also signified the fifth anniversary of Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Inde-

is touring Rhodesia before going on to South Africa on a further goodwill mission. It is headed by Col. Curtis Bean Dall, who once was the husband of Franklin D. Roosevelt's daughter, Anna.

"Colonel Dall, who is 73 years old, is anything but an admirer of President Roosevelt's political views. The New Deal, the Yalta agreement between the great powers in World War II, and western participation in United Nations programs are anathema to him.

"He is the author of a highly critical book entitled: F.D.R.: My Exploited Father-in-Law. He said that the book had sold 100,000 copies and no action for defamation has been brought against me.

Group Claims 250,000 Members.

"Colonel Dall said there were 250,000 members of the Liberty Lobby who contributed \$12 a year. On arrival at Salisbury airport a week ago he expressed the 'warm greetings and admiration of about 100 million Americans to Rhodesia.'

"The following day members of the mission were guests at a luncheon given by the Candour League of Rhodesia - an ultra-rightwing organization devoted to the maintenance of white supremacy in southern Africa and the destruction of what it calls a 'world conspiracy of West and East, abetted by world Jewry and high finance' to set up an international government.

"The invitation to the Americans to visit Rhodesia is believed to have come from the Candour League, but Colonel Dall said that each member was paying his own expenses. Colonel Dall expressed his pleasure at the hospitality extended by the Candour League.... A lot more would 'see reason' if they had the facts, he said.

"'Americans,' he said, 'are misinformed by the distorted news in their press, which is largely controlled by left wingers who do not support Rhodesia;' he has described the New York Times as the 'cow bell for internationalists.'

"'We are going to do everything possible to bust this wide open when we get back,' he said. 'Our lobby will do all in its power to have American sanctions against Rhodesia removed.'

"Colonel Dall made no public comparisons between the racial policies of the United States and Rhodesian governments, or between racial relations in the two countries. He did say, however, that if the Rhodesian issue were put to a national poll in the United States, there would be an overwhelming majority in favour of Rhodesia's present independence structure.

"He added that Americans would also disapprove of the present United States Administration's support for United Nations mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia."

#### SANCTIONS CONTINUE

In an article in the Christian Science Monitor of Nov. 6, David Winder balanced the optimistic interpretations of Rhodesia's future with a few more sober comments. Excerpts follow:

"Rhodesia appears to have won the early political and economic rounds in its fight to consolidate its independence. That much is conceded by well-placed and Commonwealth observers here. Much less certain is Rhodesia's ability to withstand over a long period the onslaught of a deliberate international policy of attrition.

"Though sanctions are seen here as the major weapon that ultimately will erode Rhodesia's economic base, observers also do not under-estimate the cumulative effect of relentless guerrilla attacks on the borders. This, after four years of Rhodesia's declared independence, is the assessment of the country's position. For the moment Rhodesia is thought to have survived its siege with remarkable resilience. There is less agreement, however, with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's recent ebullient declaration that his country had won its battle 'decisively' and 'absolutely.'

"Some idea of Britain's apparent impotence in making quick strides against the Rhodesian economy is revealed in this editorial

comment from the Daily Telegraph, Oct. 17.

"Surveying the results of four years of sanctions against Rhodesia, and again asking parliamentary authority to continue them, Mr. Stewart could report nothing constructive, but only destruction. What is taken for granted ... is an increase of 10% this year over last in the gross national product, a rise in the level of industrial activity, greater success in diversifying the economy, and an increase in the level of real income per head of all Rhodesians from 92<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>% of the 1965 level in 1966 to 94% in 1967 and 1968."

"All these factors would seem to suggest that Rhodesians could be encouraged by this expansion in the face of restrictions. But an expert Commonwealth view is much less optimistic... "If you look at the resources of the country it should be bounding along at a growth rate of about 16%. Instead it is only 2%. This is stagnation."

"This source went on to say that 'stagnation for an advanced economy is bad enough. For a young country like Rhodesia it is a very serious position.' The point is underscored by a comparison with the growth rate of neighboring Zambia. In 1968 Zambia overtook Rhodesia, which was far ahead in preindependence days."

"With the economy relatively stagnant and with consequently more and more Africans expected to live on subsistence levels, it is thought very serious security problems could lie ahead for the Rhodesian authorities. Said a British source: 'One can't have a second-class community outnumbering the other by so much and seeing the minority living so well all the time. It must lead to internal instability.' Long range forecasts are that the new Constitution will inevitably increase pressures among African states to support 'terrorist' organizations and that events internally will also play a significant part."

journalist and a lawyer, who have been detained for over a week in Rhodesia without being accused of any offense. "These are in addition to 140 people, African almost to a man, many of whom have been held in custody for years without trial in the police state regime in Rhodesia. What is interesting and disturbing about the new cases, particularly that of the journalist, Mr. Nicholson, is that they show how police power is pervading more and more sections of Rhodesian society. Only three months ago the regime brought in new emergency regulations allowing them to punish so-called economic spies who reported on sanctions-busting. Last month, too, there were dark hints at the Rhodesian Front's Party Congress about what was called the left-wing bias of the local press and the need for yet more controls over it. It looks as though these two trends have come together to make the regime clamp down, for whatever real reason, on Mr. Nicholson... If its image is to be in any way retrieved, the regime should charge him or release him without delay."

A New York Times article of December 11 tells of the journalist's trial and sentence for 18 months imprisonment at hard labor on charges of "economic spying." Half of the term was for having violated the Official Secrets Act by collecting and recording information intended to be useful to an enemy, and half was for breach of new emergency regulations meant to protect Rhodesia from espionage while economic sanctions are in force against it.

Mr. Nicholson had divulged information on Rhodesia's methods of circumventing the sanctions, imposed by Britain and others as a result of U.N. action. He was held in detention for two weeks without charges before trial was called so that investigation could be conducted by Rhodesian authorities to find proof for charges. Mr. Nicholson said that he did not believe his activity had endangered the security of Rhodesia. The judge disagreed saying: "If Rhodesia was not able to circumvent sanctions its economy would suffer very seriously to the detriment of its inhabitants."

#### NEW MINES

Last year 37 new mining companies began operation in Rhodesia. The major South African mining houses as well as British, American, Canadian and Dutch groups were involved.

"But Rhodesia's mineral wealth could have an even more significant role to play than that of foreign exchange earner. For Rhodesia has the chrome which the United States now has

#### DETENTIONS INCREASE

In an editorial, the Guardian of London, Nov. 8, talks about two British subjects, a

to buy in increasing quantities from Russia at an inflated price. American companies own major chrome mines in Rhodesia. They are putting on the pressure in Washington for at least a partial lifting of sanctions to enable them to import their own chrome from Rhodesia.

"An official crack in the sanctions curtain from the United States could herald major changes in other countries' attitudes to sanctions." (Star, Johannesburg, 11/1/69)

# NAMIBIA

## SELF-RELIANCE FOR SWAPO

(From Anti-Apartheid News, London, 12/69-1/70)

At the beginning of November, Sam Nujoma, President of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) was in London having discussions about the progress of the struggle in Namibia (South West Africa) and about the attitude of his organization towards the United Nations, which has recently been discussing Namibia. While he was here he talked to Peter Hellyer for AA News.

For three years, since the passing of a General Assembly resolution in 1966, the UN has been the legal authority in Namibia. During that time a Council for Namibia has been set up which theoretically administers the territory.

In its most recent debate, in October, the UN again condemned South Africa for her rule in Namibia and called on her to evacuate the territory. The only real threat to the South Africans during this period has, however, come from the SWAPO guerrilla fighters who have killed over 200 South African troops in battles and skirmishes since the launching of the armed struggle in August 1966.

The UN is not a body on which Mr. Nujoma and his organization are really prepared to depend. "The stand of the United Nations is a great moral support, but we don't depend on their actions alone," says Mr. Nujoma. "We depend entirely on ourselves; independence for Namibia lies in the hands of the Namibians themselves. We will have to struggle ourselves and not rely on outside support. The Indian delegate to the UN recently suggested that the UN Council for Namibia should be replaced by a Namibian seat at the UN. As the

only organization from Namibia which has any real strength, SWAPO would probably be asked to provide the representatives. Mr. Nujoma and SWAPO, however, clearly reject this idea. "The UN should establish its presence in Namibia itself. Our people would not benefit from a Namibian seat at the UN. We don't want a government-in-exile - we would rather have a people's government in an area liberated from the South Africans. What could a government in New York do except talk?"

SWAPO has received some support from the Organization of African Unity and its Liberation Committee in the past and will receive more in the future. Mr. Nujoma does not, however, expect great support from the OAU in material terms. "The OAU is a young organization - the creation of the new African countries. It is the duty of SWAPO to strengthen and encourage OAU activities wherever possible."

SWAPO, therefore, is quite clear about the need to win their fight without massive outside support. Mr. Nujoma does, however, emphasize the need for greater moral and material support from progressive people outside Namibia - particularly in Britain, which he sees as being especially relevant to the Namibian situation because of British economic ties with South Africa.

SWAPO needs material aid, such as medical supplies, both for the guerrillas and the civilian population inside Namibia itself and in the refugee camps in Zambia and Botswana, where nearly 3,000 Namibians are living in conditions approaching starvation. It needs educational materials for the rudimentary schools which SWAPO freedom fighters are already operating in the northern part of the country. The collection of this aid Mr. Nujoma sees as having two uses - as direct aid to SWAPO in the struggle and as part of the wider mobilization of pressure against South Africa. Although SWAPO must win its own battles, he says, "it is important for us to mobilize world public opinion on our side, and to isolate the enemy."

### "WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED"

In an 83 to 2 vote, with 18 abstentions, the General Assembly approved a recommendation by the Fourth Committee (Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories) to draw

the attention of the Security Council to the "need for measures to solve the grave situation of Namibia." In voting for the recommendation, the Assembly condemned South Africa for refusing to withdraw from Namibia, and requested that all States increase moral and material aid to the people of Namibia.

Voting against the draft were Portugal and South Africa. Among the abstentions was the United States. Seymour Finger, speaking for the U.S. position, explained that his government did not support the functions of the Council for Namibia, nor did it consider the situation in Namibia to be a "threat to international peace and security."



## South Africa and Defense

"In the circumstances, would it not be useful to devote more time and energy to devising means of extending the cooperation which is so clearly to our mutual benefit?" Dr. Muller asked.

He spoke of South Africa's great regret that arms designed solely for seaward defense and for guarding the Cape route - "the jugular vein through which flows so much of Britain's life blood" - were subject to an embargo.

### SOUTH AFRICA - NATO CALL FOR COOPERATION

Of all "unaligned countries," South Africa today is "undoubtedly the most strategically important in the Western world," says the current issue of the International Defence Review.

The publication, which circulates widely in NATO circles, concludes a long article on the Republic's military strength with a call for close cooperation between NATO and the South African Defence Force. It says NATO should wake up to the fact that her "back door", South Africa, is an obvious target of Russia in her quest for world domination. The review recommends an end to all arms embargoes against South Africa as this would be economically advantageous as well as militarily necessary. It maintains that a firm pact should be negotiated between NATO and South Africa to the effect that an attack on the Republic would be regarded as an attack on NATO. NATO should demonstrate its solidarity with South Africa by holding frequent exercises in the country and off her coasts, as well as by keeping a standing naval force in the area.

The review states that although many thousands of merchant ships would use the vital Cape route in wartime, NATO powers such as Britain, the U.S. and Canada were unfortunately doing all they could to hinder South Africa's efforts to build up its defence force. That suited Russia's long term plans perfectly. "There cannot be a military leader either in Britain or America who does not violently disagree with his Government's policy over South Africa - yet these two great nations continue to rush toward potential disaster," the review says. (South African Digest, 11/7/69)

"We will fight terrorists wherever we are asked by the governments concerned to do so. Terrorism is an evil not only in Southern Africa."

(Mr. Voeter, Johannesburg Star, 11/8/69)

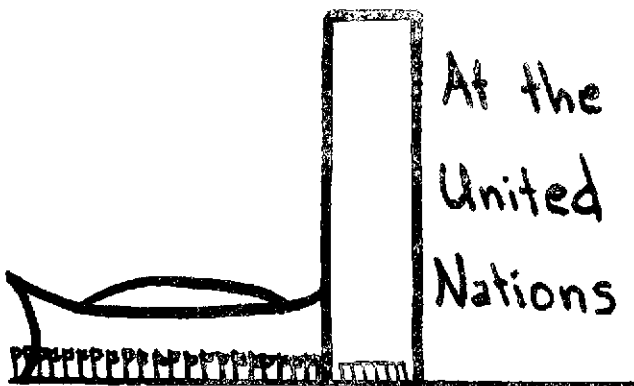
### TIES WITH THE WEST

South Africa continues to woo allies to support her cause by stimulating fears of Communist control of Africa. An article in the Nov. 7 South African Digest outlines South Africa's appeal.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, last week warned against eroding relations between South Africa and the West at a time when communist penetration into Africa was increasing. Speaking in London to the Institute for International Affairs, Dr. Muller said that apart from the fact that South Africa guarded a vital link in the sea communications of the Western world, there were other considerations that gave the West a strong interest in stability in southern Africa.

"If the Russians are making their presence felt in the Indian Ocean, their rivals, the communist Chinese, are penetrating with great assiduity and long range objective into the African continent south of the Sahara," he said.

South Africa was the leading source of many minerals of strategic significance. Trading relations with Britain were of particular importance to South Africa, which wished the long association with Britain to continue on a basis of a growing understanding and mutual respect.



At the  
United  
Nations

RESOLUTION

November 21 was an extremely busy day for the U.N. General Assembly on Southern Africa issues. Three resolutions were adopted - one on Rhodesia, one on the Portuguese Territories, and one on apartheid.

In its resolution on Southern Rhodesia (2508 /XXIV/), the Assembly drew the attention of the Security Council to the "urgent necessity" of widening sanctions against the illegal regime in Salisbury and extending them to South Africa and Portugal.

The Assembly called on the United Kingdom as the administering power to take effective measures, including the use of force, to put an end to the illegal regime, and condemned its "failure and refusal" to take such action. It also called on the United Kingdom to ensure the release of African nationalists in the Territory and the application of the Geneva conventions on prisoners of war and protection of civilians in wartime.

The Assembly called for the immediate ending of relations with the illegal regime and the extension of moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe. It condemned the policies of South Africa, Portugal and others which continued to maintain such relation, as well as the policies of States which enabled their nationals to emigrate to Southern Rhodesia.

The resolution was adopted by a recorded vote of 83 in favor to 7 against (including the United States), with 20 abstentions. America stated she voted against the resolution because of the clause asking Britain to use force.

In resolution 2507 (XXIV) on the Territories Under Portuguese Administration, the Assembly called on Portugal to act immediately to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It recommended that the Security Council take effective steps with a view to immediate implemen-

tation of the declaration.

The Assembly called for increased moral and material assistance to the peoples in these Territories who were struggling for their freedom and independence, and urged all States, particularly members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to "withhold or desist from further military or other assistance to Portugal which enables it to pursue the colonial war."

In other provisions, the Assembly condemned the refusal of Portugal to implement United Nations resolutions, its use of the Territories for violations of the territory and sovereignty of African States, and its "colonial war." It called on Portugal to cease arbitrary eviction of Africans and the settlement of immigrants in the Territories. It condemned the collaboration between Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia, as well as "the intervention of South African forces against the people of the Territories under Portuguese domination."

The resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 97 in favor to 2 against (Portugal and South Africa), with 18 abstentions.

On the Apartheid Policies of South Africa the Assembly adopted two resolutions - one dealing with the apartheid problem in general, the other with the problem of political prisoners and those under restriction for opposing apartheid.

In the main resolution - 2506 B (XXIV) - the Assembly urged increased assistance to "the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa," invited the member States to take various means for economic and other disengagement from South Africa (e.g. stop air and sea traffic to South Africa) and called upon them to observe the Security Council arms embargo against South Africa.

MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

In a resolution adopted on 20 November, the Assembly welcomed the Manifesto on Southern Africa and commended it to the attention "of all States and peoples."

The resolution - 2505 XXIV - was sponsored by 48 countries. It was approved by a roll-call vote of 113 in favor to 2 against (Portugal and South Africa), with 2 abstentions (Cuba, Malawi).

The Manifesto on Southern Africa, also called the Lusaka Manifesto, was issued last April by the leaders of East and



U.N. PRODUCES TWO BOOKLETS

- (1) "A Principle In Torment" - The United Nations and Southern Rhodesia, #69-18583. 68 pages, 75¢.
- (2) Foreign Economic Interests and De-colonization. OPI/370-69-15406. 32 pages 30¢ (an excellent rundown of the role of foreign companies in maintaining colonialism, especially in Southern Africa. Some short but excellent analysis of American companies in Southern Africa.

The following Christmas poem was written by Pat M. Cann, a young South African Roman Catholic Seminary student in Pretoria, and active member in the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa.

The union bore fruit, the seed sprouted and grew.

The womb, thrilled at her possession, closed

herself up — a jealous guardian.

Nature offered gifts: the frankincense and gold of air and nourishment, the myrrh against infection from within, or damage from without.

And still the seed did grow. The Mother's body had to change making room for this intruder for whose coming she was made.

Change is always painful, being as it is a goodbye; and this long-awaited stranger made no small demands — life within the body centred now on him and treasured laws of old gave way to new.

And still the seed did grow. The Mother's body had to change — growing — guarding, yet obeying — or rather, trying to obey For the demands were great and who could bear it?

At last the stage was reached — one could see it coming — when the burden was too great.

"The hour is at hand, and is now here, when the son must be delivered" and so delivery began — —

In the beginning it was slight, almost imperceptible,  
but the movement of expulsion had begun  
For the body had decided, and the babe, all pure, had agreed.

In the beginning it was slight, almost imperceptible,  
but the pain increased and grew of necessity.

For change is always painful, being as it is, a goodbye.

And so the pain increased and grew until finally,  
together with a cry which was so heart-rending  
that only the uniformed professionals seemed unaffected,

**NEW LIFE WAS BORN,**

and one could hear the words

"It is accomplished."

- Pat McCann  
South Africa 1968

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