

SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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EDITORIAL

One of the most well-known thoughts of Mao Tse Tung reads: "Every Communist must grasp the truth: political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Every capitalist and communist has grasped this truth. Men in the Pentagon, in the Kremlin, the Colonels of Greece and the objects of our attention: those men in Pretoria. When 4 million whites must hold 30 million blacks in cruel subjugation, a lot of guns are necessary to keep the political power in the hands of the minority. Added to this the white forces are diluted over an area about the size of the United States, which increases the need for sophisticated weapons.

The Portuguese are fortunately members of NATO and find that organization a

steady supplier of the arms they need to keep the blacks down. South Africa, not blessed with this grace, must beg or make what she needs. The French, Italians and West Germans find this a lucrative opportunity and send large shipments of arms to the South. On the other hand, Britain and the United States, responding to world pressure, enacted an embargo against South Africa. Unfortunately this honorable face is a corrupt facade. British firms find ways around the sanctions, and near home, revealing words from the Congressional Record E8502 October 15 Coughlin (R., Pa): "First it is with some surprise that I see we are still selling arms to South Africa - in direct contravention of our own arms embargo imposed in 1963. A State Department spokesman told me that this ban is rigidly enforced. Apparently the State Department has not been told."

Yes, America, those racists are kept in power by the barrels of your guns.

RHODESIA or ZIMBABWE

No Middle Ground in Africa

PART I (Background Article)

(Reprinted with permission from the Africa Fund, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.)

Summer, 1969

Three and one-half years after its unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) from Great Britain, the white minority regime of Rhodesia has been given a mandate by referendum vote of its unrepresentative electorate to prevent African majority rule forever.

Twice since 1965 the British had offered compromises to postpone majority rule if provision were made for African advancement. But Britain's original refusal to use force against the rebellion, and the ineffectiveness of international economic sanctions, left her no leverage to influence Rhodesia's future.

The United Nations, under pressure from its Afro-Asian block, will probably continue its sanctions policy. But it will not stop the sanctions' breaking of Rhodesia's neighbors, South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique, or change the unwillingness of the major powers to circumvent them.

The constitution approved by the referendum gives the African majority token representation, carefully controlled. It estab-

lishes a police state. And it legalizes discrimination against Africans, moving toward apartheid.

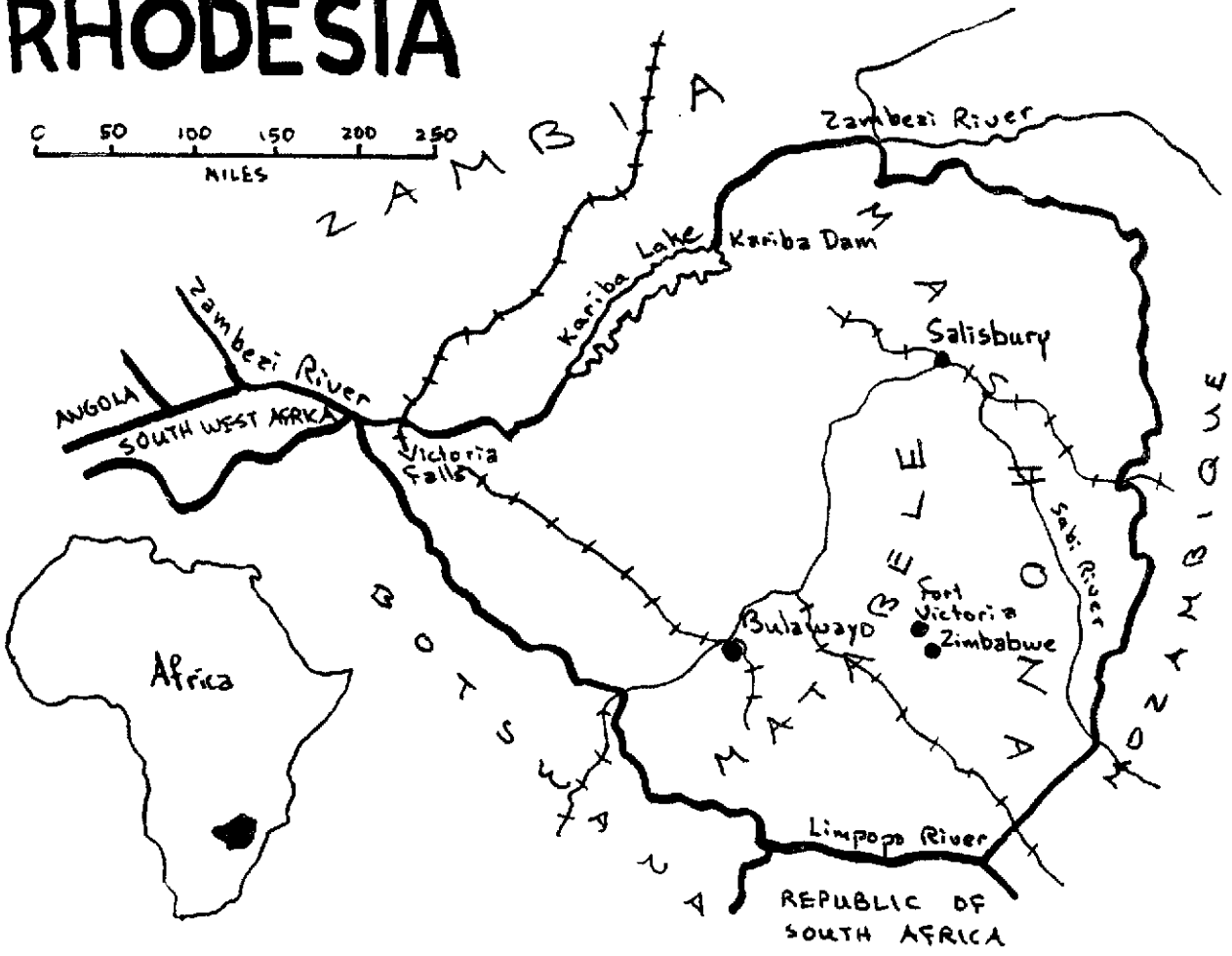
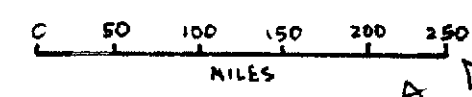
The African majority now has no recourse excepting its own strength. Britain was responsible, but failed. Most of the world opposed UDI and opposes the new constitution, but the United Nations is unable to prevent the temporary victory of white reaction. Both the African nationalist parties, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union, are engaged in guerrilla warfare against the regime, and in underground organization of the people to fight for independence.

The June referendum has polarized the issue: Rhodesia versus Zimbabwe. On the one side the entrenched white minority, backed by South Africa, the Portuguese empire, and their international allies. On the other, the liberation movements, sheltered by Tanzania and Zambia, in need of material aid from wherever they can get it.

The Myth of Rhodesia

The last official estimate (July, 1969) of population in Rhodesia showed 260,000 whites (Europeans) and more than 5,000,000 black Africans, with 20-25,000 of Asian and mixed origin. The African population is increasing at three times the rate of the European. This indicates the general condition of southern Africa - white minority rule over a much larger nonwhite population.

RHODESIA



Rhodesia, however, is a much more artificial situation. Three quarters of the white population have been in the country less than twenty years - a post-World War II immigration. One quarter have been there less than ten years. About a third of the white population are of South African origin. When the nationalist movements refer to "settlers" they aren't talking in historical terms. They refer to people who have come in, in their own lifetime, to take their country away from them.

The whole of white history in Southern Rhodesia goes back only 80 years - one lifetime. Until 1922 it was ruled by a British commercial company. In 1923 the white minority received self government while the British parliament retained control of external affairs and a veto on discriminatory legislation.

Federation and Independence

In 1953, under strong British influence, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland federated, and both political and economic advantage accrued to Southern Rhodesia, the most

economically developed area. In the tide of nationalism that was sweeping Africa, the Federation was destroyed and both Nyasaland (Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) obtained their independence as separate states. Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the only section with a sizeable white population, repulsed its own moderates who would have increased African participation in government; moved steadily right, and demanded independence under white minority rule.

This southern Rhodesia is a landlocked country in southeast Africa, about the size of Colorado. It is bordered by Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa, and Botswana. The Zambezi River forms the boundary with Zambia, and the Limpopo with South Africa. Although more than half of Rhodesia lies in the tropics, it is mostly a high plateau and therefore its climate is subtropical or milder, rather than tropical. Prior to UDI, agriculture accounted for about 15 per cent of the gross national product; tobacco

and meat were among the primary exports and sugar export was growing. Asbestos was also an important export, and Rhodesia is among the very few world producers of chrome.

UDI - the Unilateral Declaration of Independence

Rhodesia under the conservative Rhodesian Front with Ian Smith as Prime Minister declared its independence from Britain on November 11, 1965. No nation has formally recognized Smith's government as a legal state and the United Nations accepted the British proposal for economic sanctions against the rebellion which have been strengthened each year. They have not, however, been extended to sanctions' breakers, South Africa and Mozambique.

Internal Developments Under UDI

Legislation. The intent and direction of the Rhodesian government has been clear since the organization and victory of the Rhodesian Front party in 1962. Discriminatory and repressive legislation predates UDI, and the British never exercised their then unchallenged right to veto discriminatory legislation.

The Land Apportionment Act, which reserved 36 million of the best of the 96 million acres for the 5 per cent who were Europeans, dates from 1930. (The new constitution raises the 36 to 44 million.) But the Property Owners' Residential Protection Act is UDI legislation. At the request of 50 per cent of the area's property owners, a neighborhood may be racially restricted so that individuals or groups are removed from homes, schools, hospitals, or other institutions. The Municipal Amendment Act of 1967, also the fruit of UDI, permits the segregation of public facilities (parks, swimming pools, entrances to public buildings, and the like) by local ordinance. The Constitution Amendment Act of 1966 made possible legislation giving new powers to tribal courts and extending the coverage of African customary law (thus moving towards separate legal systems for African and European, a direction now endorsed in the constitution). Significant in view of the use of chiefs as representatives of the African community is the fact that the Minister of Internal Affairs was given power to appoint and dismiss tribal chiefs, who are government paid. The Constitution Amendment Act also provided that laws establishing detention and restriction could not be struck down by the courts as

unconstitutional, and the new constitution now specifies this.

The Law and Order Maintenance Act and the Unlawful Organizations Act both pre-date UDI but were strengthened immediately before the Declaration. These "emergency regulations" forbid African gatherings, meetings, or demonstrations. The Minister of Justice was given the power of preventive detention under which thousands of Africans were held without charges or trial. Major African political parties were banned. Censorship powers over press, radio, publications, and public utterance were strengthened. Under the Amendment to the Citizenship Act, the Minister may deprive a person of citizenship if he has shown "that his continuance as a citizen is detrimental to Rhodesia."

Legal Status. Internationally, the Ian Smith government has no status. But it has been since November, 1965, a de facto government without British interference and it has received the stamp of legality from its own courts. The Rhodesian court decisions arose from appeals taken on behalf of 32 black Africans sentenced to death as "terrorists." An appeal for the defendants was carried up to the British Privy Council, the highest appeal court in the Commonwealth. The Privy Council ruled in July, 1968, that the Smith government and all its actions were illegal. But on the following September 13, three Rhodesian judges, sitting as the court of appeal of the Rhodesian High Court, ruled that the Smith government was the only legal administration. Both sides took the argument the ultimate step. The Queen reprieved three prisoners whose execution had been announced, and the Smith regime hanged them. Led by the United Nations, the world protested in vain.

Political Prisoners and Detainees

Estimates of the number of people imprisoned, detained, or restricted for political purposes under the tyrannical laws vary widely because of the secrecy of police action, the attempt to keep prisoners incommunicado, the lack of a free press or of concerned organizations able to check on what is happening. Figures given to United Nations bodies by supposedly informed individuals have varied from 630 to 40,000. Some political prisoners are in prisons, many more in the camps specially set up for political offenders; others may alternate. Nine such

camps are known. Conakudzingwa and Whawha have particularly bad reputations. Their location is semi-desert, difficult of access. Camps contain huts and barracks constructed of corrugated iron sheets, ovens by day and refrigerators by night. A 40-foot by 18-foot barracks houses 20 to 30 prisoners; a hut houses four and these are said to be overcrowded. Ventilation and sanitation are bad or lacking. Prisoners have to find their own water, prepare their own food (raw food is provided but no utensils), and renew clothing when that which they wore at arrest wears out.

Access to them, personal or by correspondence, is severely limited and often prohibited; families may not know where prisoners are. Since the prisoner is usually the family breadwinner, he often leaves behind a destitute family as an additional worry.

Imprisonment in the regular conventional prisons has its own hardships, as political prisoners are treated with greater severity than others. Torture of prisoners, particularly under questioning, has been reported in detail and in a very large number of cases to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. Guerrillas are treated most brutally, and this is part of the reason for the continuing campaign to secure for them treatment as prisoners of war with access by the Red Cross.

Leaders of both the nationalist movements (ZAFU and ZANU) are in prison or restriction, as are most members of their Central or Executive Committees. ZANU President Ndabaningi Sithole was taken from Salisbury prison late in 1968, and after charges were changed several times he was convicted in February, 1969 of incitement to murder Ian Smith and two other Cabinet officers. Sithole was sentenced to six years' imprisonment at hard labor.

Education

Although voting qualifications under the new Ian Smith Rhodesian constitution are no longer tied to educational qualifications, education nevertheless remains important as an indication of the Rhodesian view of the role of the Africans. Rhodesia since UDI has boasted of her performance in education; i.e. the government publication "African Advancement in Rhodesia" (April 1966) applauds: "Rhodesia's impressive record in African education, which is unequalled in the Commonwealth,

is taking another great leap forward."

A comparison of educational policies and expenditures in Rhodesia and Zambia has been prepared by the Central Africa Research Office of London. The comparison is particularly apt because the countries are neighboring and had a long political association and, before self-government, similar educational policies. Their African populations are both around four million, with Rhodesia's the larger. The analysis covers the years 1964, when Zambia became independent and Smith became prime minister of Rhodesia, through 1967.

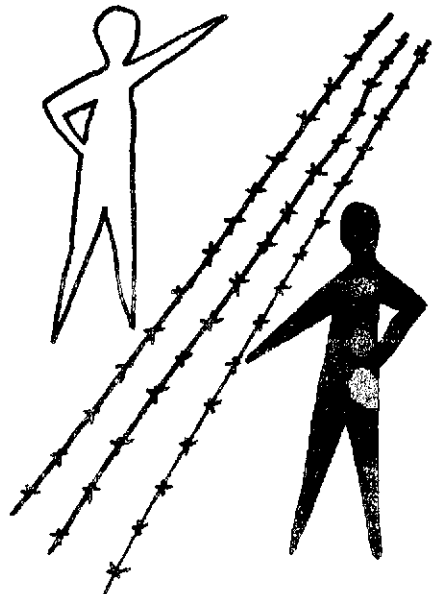
Both educational budgets rose:

	<u>1964</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968 projected</u>
Zambia	\$17.64 m.	\$57.4 m.	\$67.2 million
Rhodesia	33.32 m.	40.6 m.	42. million

but a minimum of 40 per cent of the Rhodesian expenditure was for nonAfrican education. Rhodesia stressed primary school education:

	<u>1964 enrollment</u>	<u>1967 enrollment</u>
Zambia	358,342	538,342
Rhodesia	610,268	664,706

Zambia started considerably behind Rhodesia, but in March, 1968, she was able to announce that there was a place in Grade I for every child aged 7, two years ahead of schedule. Rhodesia expects to provide primary education for every child by 1970. At present an estimated 210,000 African children of primary-school age cannot attend school.



The great difference begins to show in secondary schooling. The Rhodesia Herald of February 2, 1968, reported that 26,000 of 33,997 African children who passed primary school examinations would not find places available in the secondary schools. Secondary schooling is available for all European children, about 22,000. Starting from almost the same point, Rhodesia and Zambia diverged:

African Secondary School Enrollment

	<u>Rhodesia</u>	<u>Zambia</u>
1963	7,045	7,050
1964	8,846	10,986
1965	11,495	14,715
1966	13,587	23,104
1967	15,640	35,197

In Rhodesia, a European child has a 1:125 chance of entering the University College; the African child's chance is 1:6,000. Zambia has built a University whose first 300 students entered in March, 1966; in 1967 there were 536, in 1968 an estimated 770; by the mid-seventies, 5,000 are programmed.

Rhodesia is also moving to reduce African educational opportunities further. At the end of 1965, private schools in European areas were instructed by government circular to stop taking African pupils. A government report early in 1966 suggested that Africans should be given school books "in which African customary respect for elders and traditional behavior patterns upholding social order are shown to emerge as moral examples," suggesting the philosophy of South Africa's Bantu education. Parents of white children who cannot afford school fees are excused from payment. But although in theory poor African parents could also be excused, so few places are available compared with the number seeking to enter that those with cash in hand get in. (Fees are for books, school uniforms, a school building fee which varies locally, and the like.) Ten times as much is spent on educating a European child as on an African.

Labor

Most of the African people are subsistence farmers, but the total working population of the country - that is, those who depend on wages - is about 700,000 or 17 per cent. A breakdown of the major classifications shows:

<u>Employment</u>	<u>1963 average wages</u>	
	<u>African</u>	<u>European</u>
in agriculture	241,334 \$187.60	\$3,474.80
in mining	50,153 \$322.00	\$4,300.80
in manufacturing	97,350 \$507.20	\$3,841.60
in construction	48,933 \$420.00	\$3,774.40

Of the total number of workers, 13 per cent are Europeans and 87 per cent Africans. More recent figures are available for over-all average annual wages. They increased during the year 1967 by 4.5 per cent for Africans, to \$386.40, and by 2.2 per cent for Europeans, to \$3,810.80.

The labor movement in Rhodesia began to take shape following World War II but the first Industrial Conciliation Act, of 1945, did not include African employees. Following the organization of African workers and strikes, particularly on the railroads and in the mines, a new Industrial Conciliation Act passed in 1959 did recognize African unions, although it excluded agriculture, domestic, and government workers, the largest number.

Discrimination persists, however. Unions may establish separate branches for African members. Unions that were already recognized at the time the Act was passed have preference and they are, of course, the European unions; a second union is not recognized. (The registrar under the act can refuse recognition even without reason.) In unions where Africans are or may become a majority, their vote counts only as one third, to prevent them from controlling integrated unions; arbitration is compulsory and nonregistered unions cannot participate.

The most severe anti-union legislation, however, is that in the general security legislation. A permit is necessary for a meeting; most meetings are banned on Sunday when workers have free time to meet, and a union's legal challenge to this failed for lack of funds. Strikes are banned (under the Law and Order Maintenance Act) in essential services, defined to include transport; electric; production, supply, delivery, and distribution of food, fuel, and coal. It is a criminal offense to use an opprobrious (jeer or boo) epithet to a nonstriker. It is sabotage, punishable by 30 years or death, to endanger, interrupt, or interfere with any essential service; or with free movement

of any traffic, land, water, or air; or to cause substantial loss to a person or the government. Behind all is the old, but still enforceable, Marshall Servants Act which provides that an African who fails to carry out the instruction of his employer may be prosecuted criminally.

An estimated 230 trade union officers are at present imprisoned or detained without charges under the UDI government's emergency powers.

(Part II in December issue - next month.)



Vorster's Cell of Horrors

(Guardian, London, reprint -- Aug. 30, 1969)

Desmond Francis is 31, a South African Indian who now teaches in Zambia. On January 2, 1968, he was detained by the Rhodesian security police after he had crossed the border, and handed over to the South African authorities. He remained in solitary confinement for 14 months. He has just given evidence to the United Commission of Human Rights in Geneva on his experiences.

The stunning thing now is that he can talk

about them with such honour. Although he has been involved in the publishing of a magazine called "Freedom Fighter" in South Africa, and his name was clearly on the list under the Rhodesian immigration's counter, this was the first time he had been picked up. His only object in crossing the border was to arrange for his mother to travel to Johannesburg where she still lives.

The torturing started after six days, when he had been transferred to Bulawayo. He was chained by leg irons and constantly handcuffed. He was beaten and his head was ducked in a bucket of water. When he refused to answer questions about his connection with the African National Congress the policeman promised that he would "play tennis with his testicles."

The torturing continued over the next two days. He was beaten, a lighted paper was held to his testicles, and he still has the scars where a hot iron was held to his thigh. He had tried to commit suicide with a broken bottle at the beginning, but was stopped. He pleaded not to be sent to South Africa. He arrived there on January 18.

He arrived in the afternoon, having had no food since breakfast, and the same night was taken to Pretoria by car, constantly questioned on the way about the ANC and allowed no sleep. They arrived at about 4:30 a.m., and, he remembers, "they immediately set on me like wolves."

He was beaten incessantly by four detectives and had a bone in his cheek broken with a cane. He was blindfolded with a wet towel and forced to sit crouched with a stick under his knees and over his arms.

Electrodes were applied to his ears and the shock which went through his head was so strong that the chattering of his teeth cut his tongue to ribbons. At noon it stopped. They offered him fish and chips and he laughs to remember that he was not hungry.

Over the next fortnight, they got his statement out of him to the accompaniment of constant beatings. He actually signed it with a rough canvas bag over his head and his nerves shattered by the firecrackers the police were letting off all round him. He was excreting and vomiting blood, and in intense pain. The prison doctor gave him ointment for bleeding piles and when he returned promised a shot of penicillin which

never arrived.

They left him alone then until the end of May. He had no books, although he repeatedly asked for a Bible, and his three meals a day were cut down when he asked for more food. He met other prisoners during the five-minute exercise session he had four or five days a week. On May 21 he got the electric shock treatment again, this time suspended from a water pipe. He was asked if he wanted to be a martyr like Gandhi, his family was insulted, he was kicked the length of a room between his own personal torturer, a man called Dupreez, and another.

He could not understand why. Then he was given a letter from his wife which ended: "Tom: of love from us all, especially your exasperated and devoted wife," and he thought he understood. His wife is English and he says they just can't bear to see this sort of marriage working.

In July, after he had been allowed to write once to his wife and had finally got a course of drugs to treat his internal bleeding, he was told he had the choice of 24-hour house arrest in South Africa or applying for an exit permit for Zambia. He chose the latter but his letter was not sent. They were not, they told him, in a hurry to get rid of him.

They weren't, either. It was January 20 of this year by the time he heard that the permit had been granted. By then, though, the South Africans wanted him to give evidence in a trial of people he had never heard of. They persuaded him kindly, they told him that he could marry one of his "own kind" and stay in South Africa if he cooperated. In February they took him to Pietermaritzburg, where the trial was to be held. They told him they knew how to deal with coolies. "I was dead scared," he remembers, "that Dupreez would come and beat me up again."

Oath Refused

He stuck his ground. He refused to take the oath when he was eventually called to give evidence, and he told the judge that he had been tortured. He was released five days later, on March 4. They threw him out in Durban, where he knew no one, with no money. The British authorities got him back to Zambia where he spent five months recovering both mentally and physically.

It cost, he now knows, not less than \$2,400 to get him out. During his entire detainment he never saw or heard from a lawyer, but he knows they were working constantly for his release. He couldn't have made it without International Defence and Aid footing the bill, and one of the things he wants to get across now is how vital this sort of help is. People do not, he says wryly, want the lawyers supplied by the State because they are not exactly concerned to defend you.

He can say now, and mean it, that what he suffered was nothing compared to what he knew was going on around him. He at least had a cell to himself, when others were crammed six to a cell with only one lavatory bucket. He thinks too that he was one of the last to get out, that under the new law to bolster the Bureau of State security there will no longer be even the hope of recourse to the courts.

One of the things that kept him sane was talking with other prisoners at night through the cell windows, and living out their hopes of release and their eventual freedom with them. Now, he thinks, there will be nothing to look forward to, and the singing at night and the sheer beauty of being able to say "good morning" to the other human being who brings your breakfast will not be enough.

He wants people to know, too, about the South-west Africans who were recently sentenced as terrorists. He cannot believe they were terrorists. He knew them all in prison, from the two younger brothers under 25 who are going to be imprisoned for the rest of their lives, to the father of a family of 11 who was not allowed any communication with them at all.

Unbreakable

They were ordinary, gentle people, he says. He remembers how when they all managed to get pencil stubs from the prisoners proper and lavatory paper at the same time, they would pass each other simple sums up and down the cells. "They were so anxious to improve their education - nothing could stop them," he says.

They could not be broken by a policy dedicated to reducing people to the level of terrified animals, to making them what he calls an "unperson." Neither could he. Even after 14 months of it he was making notes in court and telling the judge about the torturing.

DEFENSE

Zambia Gets Missiles

Zambia is buying a missile defense system with the help of Canadian and Indian advisors in order to partly off-set a South African air base now being built in the Caprivi Strip, about 60 seconds flying time from the Zambian village of Sesheke. The missile defense will be sited in this village.

"We are not fighting anyone but we must have sufficient equipment to be able to do so if necessary, to defend our airspace and ourselves. The base opposite Sesheke is a source of great worry. It is not there, in the middle of nowhere to defend anything. It is aimed at the independent African States," said President Kaunda in an interview with the Christian Science Monitor (10/8/69).

"It has been left to Tanzania, Zambia and to some degree the Congo to bear a very heavy responsibility on behalf of Africa. Geographically we cannot escape this responsibility: but we need a commitment from the rest of Africa that these countries come to our assistance in case of aggression."

Troop Build-up in Southern Africa

In a recent report "The Military Balance 1969-70", published by the Institute of Strategic Studies, the following defense figures were disclosed.

South Africa has 29,700 regular servicemen and 85,500 under full mobilization (almost all are drawn from the white population). In addition it has a 22,300-strong citizen's force under training at any one time, and about 60,000 men in reserve.

The Army has about 200 tanks, plus several hundred armoured cars and personnel carriers.

The Air Force is 5,000-strong with a 3,000-strong citizen force. It has 230 aircraft, including light jet bombers, Mirage fighter bombers with air-to-surface missiles, Mirage interceptors and Vampires.

The police are 23,700 strong with 12,000 reservists. There is also a volunteer militia, the Kommandos, numbering 58,000.

Rhodesia has 3,400 regular troops. The British-South Africa police has 6,400

troopers and 28,800 in reserves. The rebel air force has a regular element of 1,200 men with 4,000 in reserve. Like the army, the air force is heavily dependent upon reservists and the majority of the ground personnel servicing regular units are reservists or non-white civilians.

In addition to these troops, Portugal has 148,000 men under arms, of which 25 infantry regiments and three paratroop regiments are stationed in Africa. The report does not state what proportion of the Portuguese air force's 17,500 men and 100 combat aircraft are in Africa.

South Africa spends R272 million (about \$372 million) on defense, Rhodesia R15.4 million (\$23 million) and Portugal nearly R300 million (\$420 million - about half their national budget and split mainly among their three African colonies).



NAMIBIA

South African Occupation of Namibia: A United Nations Impasse

No one was surprised when October 4 passed, and South Africa had not budged from Namibia (formerly South West Africa). To the U.N. Security Council Resolution adopted August 12 which set October 4 as the deadline for South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, the only South African response was a September 26 letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The letter, addressed to Secretary General U Thant, stated that on no account would the Republic "abandon the peoples of South West Africa." The longest and most comprehensive reply ever given to the U.N. on the South West

Africa issue, "the letter dealt with all the more salient aspects of law and fact relating to South West Africa and stressed the practical impossibility of and the 'catastrophic consequences' for the people of South West Africa if South Africa were to withdraw from the administration of the territory." (News from South Africa, #39, Oct. 1969)

What is to happen now is uncertain. The Security Council had pledged to "meet immediately" if South Africa did not withdraw on Oct. 4. As of Nov. 8 this "immediate" date has not yet been set.

However, throughout October, both the UN Council for Namibia and the Fourth Committee labored many hours over the Namibian problem. During the Fourth Committee hearings, petitioners pointed out the distortions and falsifications of the South African letter and discussed the lack of political and economic freedom in their country. They pointed out that Bantustans were being created against the will of the people and that the purpose of the Bantustans was to keep the various groups of Namibians servile, isolated and economically weak. They pointed to studies which show that education for African children almost invariably terminates after the first four years. And they reviewed briefly the history of armed struggle to regain control of their country, of the "terrorism trials" and of the situation which has forced thousands of Namibians to flee into Zambia.

Mt. Gottfried Geingob of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) made several concrete proposals to the Fourth Committee. Most of these proposals were also incorporated in the ten vaguely-worded recommendations which were submitted in the Oct. 24 report of the Council for Namibia. Summarized, these ten recommendations are as follows:

1. The UN General Assembly should request that the Security Council meet immediately on the matter of Namibia.
2. States should refrain from all dealings with the South African government.
3. All states should insure that their nationals and companies refrain from new dealings with South Africa; that companies already involved should pay royalties to the Council.

4. Action should be taken against South Africa since it has violated its obligations.
5. Steps should be taken to suspend South Africa's rights in the specialized agencies of the UN.
6. States should assist the Council in providing travel documents for Namibians.
7. States should cooperate with the Council.
8. States should provide moral and material assistance for Namibian nationalists.
9. The government of South Africa should respect the Geneva Convention of 1949 with respect to prisoners of war and protection of civilian persons in time of war.
10. States should endorse the Council's proposals.

"Independence" for Namibia - A U.N. Cop-out?

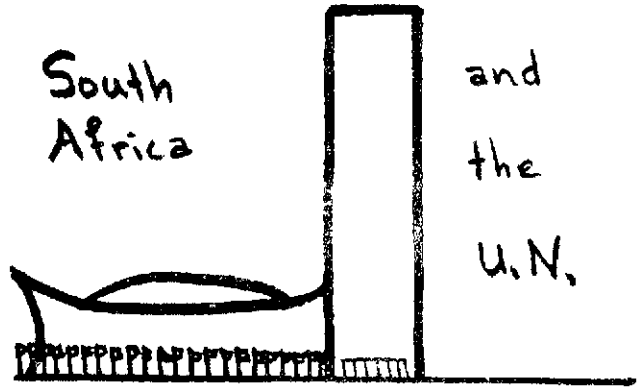
A recent editorial in Namibia Today, publication of the SWAPO, discusses the possibility of a declaration of independence for Namibia which would represent a U.N. cop-out. We quote from the editorial:

"Faced with the reality of the U.N. impotence, in the face of South Africa's continued defiance, some member nations would like to wash their hands of the Namibian issue. The possibility of a U.N. - South Africa confrontation, more real now than it was ever before, has scared some out of their wits. Others - the western powers with vested interest - will not risk any confrontation which would mean the end of their vested interest. Still others have to sing to the tune of their masters for obvious reasons.

"So, the declaration of a bogus independence will be welcomed in certain quarters. It would be a clever way for the U.N. to shed its responsibility. It would then be easy to say: 'We are not responsible for you any more. You are free now.'

"We reject any U.N. declaration of independence as long as the world body has not established itself inside Namibia, as long as the Council for Namibia remains in New York, as long as it is done without the consent of the people of Namibia. Those who toy with this idea must cast it aside for what it is worth - impractical and unacceptable.

"If the U.N. is seriously committed to the fulfillment of its responsibility to the people of Namibia, then it should consider the use of force as the only effective way to expel South Africa from Namibia. Nothing less, nothing more."



In its October 7 report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid in South Africa expressed the view that the U.N. could currently make its most effective contribution to the situation in Southern Africa by providing material assistance "to the oppressed people of South Africa and their movement for liberation in their legitimate struggle." Accordingly, it has recommended that the Assembly request Member States to contribute food, clothes, medicine and educational materials and make financial grants to "the organizations and institutions recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU)." Member States would also be asked to provide facilities "to the liberation movements to disseminate information on their legitimate struggle to the people in South Africa and in other countries," and to provide travel documents as well as employment and educational opportunities to South African refugees.

Economic Exploitation in Namibia

The July-September issue of Namibia Today also carries a survey of recent economic exploitation by foreign interests. Among American companies discussed were TEXACO, Falconbridge of Africa Ltd. (associated with Falconbridge Nickel Mines of Canada), and American Metals Climax. But the most important new involvement by an American corporation is that of U.S. Steel, which is to exploit a new copper belt said to cover 500 square miles in Southern Namibia.

Immigrants Wanted

(S.A. International, Oct. 1969)
According to Dr. C. P. Mulder, Minister of Immigration, South Africa needs 12 - 13,000 skilled workers a year, in addition to her own people, to maintain the 5½ per cent annual growth rate which is essential to stable economic growth. This means an average of 30-35,000 immigrants a year. Or the country could accept a growth rate of three per cent and with it retrogression and unemployment. Or, he added, South Africa could give 12-13,000 non-whites the status of skilled workers. This would cut across basic matters like job reservations and the industrial colour bar.

Major General Sir Francis de Guingand, President of the South Africa Foundation, had an hour-long private discussion with President Nixon at the White House on 26 September. Sir Francis is going on to Australia and New Zealand from the United States before returning to South Africa.

Recruiting more immigrants, Sir Francis?

Interesting Tidbits

The London-based finance group, Lonrho (for Rhodesia...), has registered itself in South-West Africa with authorised capital of R40 m (\$56 million!).

General Motors has announced that it intends exporting motor-car components from its South African factories.

Approximately 80% of all U.S. citizens in Rhodesia are missionaries. The U.S. Consul in Salisbury says it must remain there "to protect U.S. citizens." So we know why the Consulate must be there. Why do the missionaries need to be there?



Mobil



**Atlantic
Richfield
Company**

Oil and water don't mix. That's petroleum for apartheid.

Today South Africa depends almost entirely on imports for its oil supplies.

Mobil, Standard Oil of California (Caltex), and Esso control some 44% of the market for all petroleum products in South Africa. Mobil and Caltex also own two of the country's three major refineries.

Our brands keep apartheid rolling.

We have taken the lead in oil prospecting so as to bolster the security of white rule. So have other companies like Gulf, Amoco, Atlantic Richfield, Tenneco and Chevron.

The map below shows you exactly where each company has staked its claim to apartheid. A Southern word for segregation.

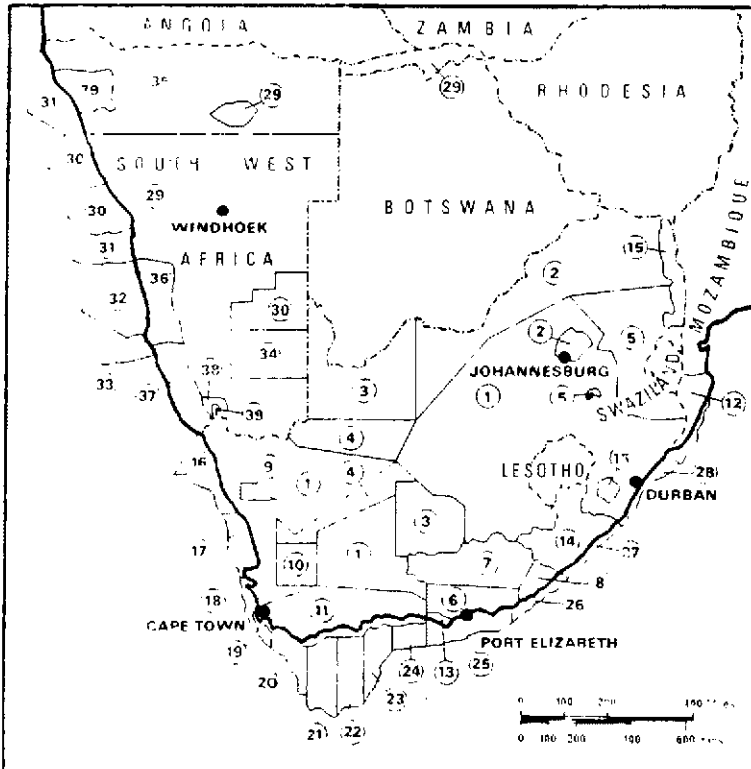
Recently the South Africans announced their first oil strike by an offshore rig drilling with American know how.

United States policy on apartheid is to work through the United Nations. That's why we're ignoring the 1963 UN resolution urging member states to refrain from supplying oil to South Africa.

The State Department also questions South Africa's legal right to administer South West Africa. But Shell, Gulf and Chevron have taken up oil leases there offered by the South African government.

So when you see our brands, remember, apartheid keeps the tiger in your tank. Where he belongs.

EXPLORATION AREAS



EXPLORATION LEASEHOLDERS

SOUTH AFRICA: ONSHORE

- 1 SOEFOR
- SOEFOR Sub-leaseholders
 - 2 Arco Exploration
 - 3 Karroo Basin
 - 4 MAH Hilson
- 5 Rock'n Development
- 6 HM Mining
- 7 Karroo Petroleum
- 8 CF and DE Stalheert
- 9 JJ Van den Heever
- 10 GT Gas Jon
- 11 Midlands Oil
- 12 Zululand Oil
- 13 Zidokamma Oil
- 14 (Transkei)
- 15 (Game Reserve)

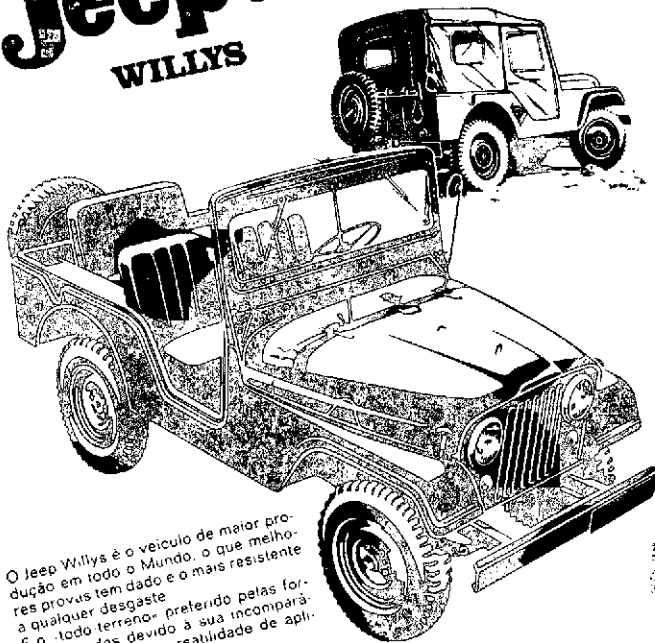
SOUTH AFRICA: OFFSHORE

- SOEFOR Sub-leaseholders
 - 16 Esso Exploration and Production
 - 17 Karroo Basin
 - 18 Capricorn
 - 19 Karroo Petroleum (West)
 - 20 Amoco
 - 21 Atlantic Richfield
 - 22 Caltex
 - 23 Fluor International
 - 24 Superior Highland Tenneco Cities Service
 - 25 Total (CEP)
 - 26 Mobil Total Shell BP
 - 27 Karroo Petroleum (East)
 - 28 American Pacific

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

- 29 SWAFOR
- SWAFOR Sub-leaseholders
 - 30 Shell BP
 - 31 Gulf Oil
 - 32 Chevron Diamond Mining
 - 33 HM Mining, Syracuse, Woodford
 - 34 De Beers Consolidated Mines SNPA
- 35 Etosha Petroleum
- 36 Diamond Mining
- 37 Consolidated Diamond Mines
- 38 Imkor
- 39 Transkei

o nome
que tornou universal
Jeep o veículo todo terreno
WILLYS



O Jeep Willys é o veículo de maior produção em todo o Mundo, o que melhores provas tem dado e o mais resistente a qualquer desgaste. É o "todo terreno" preferido pelas forças armadas devido à sua incomparável resistência e versatilidade de aplicação.

C. SANTOS, S.A.R.L. Lisboa — Av. da Liberdade 29-41
Paris, Coimbra, Braga, Faro, Oporto — Agentes em todo o País

This Willys ad was taken from the Portuguese army journal, Jornal do Exército, April, 1969.

Kaiser (Willys) Jeep Corporation "is now the world's largest manufacturer of tactical military vehicles" (Business Week). It has subsidiaries around the world, including Portugal and South Africa. A large shipment of jeeps was exported from the United States to Angola in 1963. More recently, in July, 1968, the South African plant of Kaiser received an order worth more than \$3 million from the Portuguese government.

A translation of the ad: "The name that made the all-terrain vehicle universal...Willys Jeep is the vehicle with the largest world production, the vehicle that has shown the best test results, that is the most resistant to wear...It is the 'all terrain' vehicle preferred by the armed forces because of its incomparable resistance and versatility of application."



Economic
Involve-
ment
in
Southern
Africa

U.S. Investment in Portugal's Colonies

The current list of U.S. Companies investing in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea is short. This does not mean that U.S. investment is insignificant. Three factors must be borne in mind.

(1) The economies of these countries are almost completely underdeveloped. Total National Product in Angola was less than one billion dollars in 1967; per capita annual income was estimated at less than \$180. Almost any investment is 'significant' in terms of its impact.

(2) Most U.S. investment in these areas is very recent--post 1965 when investment and profit repatriation restrictions were eased by the Portuguese government in an attempt to stabilize her own poor economy, drained by her wars in Africa, and to even gain direct support financially and materially for those wars. This increased investment came long after the inception of the people's fight for freedom from Portuguese domination. Oil concessions are frequently close to or in areas of conflict.

(3) Investment tends to be concentrated in a very few fields--almost exclusively extractive industries such as oil and other minerals; very little in the manufacturing industry, some in distribution--and this will probably grow fast as trade with the U.S. expands.

U.S. Investment in Angola

Caterpillar Tractor, Peoria, Ill.
Distribution.

Cyanamid International, Wayne, N.J.
Distribution.

Diversa, Inc., Dallas, Texas
Was granted 35 year concessions 1967/68
for diamond exploration and development.

Allis Chalmers, Milwaukee, Wis.
Unconfirmed U.N. report that Allis
Chalmers is conferring with Lobito Co.
re: pre-industrialization of iron con-
centrates. Also distributor of machinery.

American Home Products, New York
(Fort Dodge Laboratory)
Distribution.

General Tire and Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio
Participated with Portuguese firm MABOR
in establishing a tire and air-compressor
factory in Luanda. 1967 capital expendi-
ture on the plant accounted for 19% of
new industrial capital that year in Angola.
(Primerio de Janeiro, 7/10/68; U.N. A/7320:
African Development, March 1969; S.A. Finan-
cial Mail, 8/15/69; Congressman Diggs' Report.)

Gulf Oil Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Cabinda Gulf, Luanda)
Oil prospecting and production. First
concession was 1957, first oil strike, 1966.
Estimated expenditure to end of 1968 was
\$125 million. Current production (mid 1969)
is 30,000 barrels of oil per day. Gulf has
an agreement with the Portuguese government
for an unlimited portion of production to
be supplied to that government if 'military
or political' needs dictate this. Also
prospecting for phosphates, potassium, etc.

Inter-American Capital Corp., New York.
In 1965 and 1966 made large loans for inter
alia establishment of a textile factory and
power station. Has also helped finance major
construction projects, e.g. Luanda Airport,
and, via associated corp., Evans and Dell,
has supplied equipment and construction
material used. (U.N.)

General Electric.
In 1967 granted a \$1.2 million credit loan
to Lobito Mining Co. which is operating
Cassinga Mine (iron)--this project being
largely financed by Krupp of Germany. Loan
was for the purchase of 30 diesel locomotives.
(Export-Import Bank granted loan of
\$7.9 million at same time for same purpose.)
(U.N.)

Mobil Overseas Oil. Co., New York.
(Mobil Oil Portuguese, Luanda)
Largest distributors of fuels. They are
planning construction of 15 million esc
oil storage and processing plant by the
end of 1969. (Bank of Portugal; Congress-
man Diggs.)

Offshore International, Houston, Texas.
Has been involved in much of the oil-drilling
work of Cabinda Gulf.

Tenneco, Wilmington, Delaware and Houston, Texas. (Tenneco, Angola) Granted prospecting and mining rights for sulphur, gypsum and anhydrite in December 1968. Also trying for oil rights. Must invest \$300,000 before mid 1970. (S.A. Financial Mail, 8/15/69; Standard Bank)

Texaco, New York. (Texaco Africa Ltd., Luanda) Granted oil prospecting concessions in January 1968 and January 1969 in partnership with South African and other groups. These have contracted to invest \$15 million in prospecting by 1975. Also large fuel distributor.

Universal Tobacco (S.E.T.A.) Invested, with Portuguese interests, in Sociedade Exportadadao de Tabacos de Angola. Has marketing monopoly for major Angolan tobacco grower co-ops.

Diamond Distributors of New York (West Angolan Diamond Co., 73% controlled by D.D.) Reported concession granted in 1969 for diamonds and other precious stones. To invest over \$3 million in next 8 years. (Government Gazette)

Oil
Other U.S. corporations reported in the oil race are Union Carbide and Standard Oil of California.

Indirect Investment

Several South African groups, notably Anglo American, are heavily involved in Metropolitan Portugal, Angola and Mozambique. There is thus indirect U.S. investment via the South African corporations, e.g. Charles Engelhard is a director of Charter Consolidated (an Anglo subsidiary) which controls Beralit Tin and Wolfram in Portugal. He is also a director of Anglo American South Africa and North America--and the Anglo American/Oppenheimer/De Beers interests control Diameng, the huge Diamond mining industry in Angola which is the greatest single employer (29,000) in Angola, and second most important earner of Foreign Exchange.

U.S. Investment in Mozambique

California Texas Oil Co., New York (Caltex Oil S.A., L.M.). Fuel distribution.

Clark Oil and Refining Corporation
see Skelly Oil/Sunray consortium.

Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. (Firestone Portuguese). Announced that it intends to build one hundred thousand per annum capacity tire factory.

Gulf Oil Co. (Mozambique Gulf Oil Co.) In 1958 granted joint concession with Pan American Oil Company. By 1967 spent \$22 million. Renewed contract in 1967 agreeing to further major expenditures. (Financial Gazette 7/19/68; African Development, U.N. May 1969)

Hunt International, Dallas, Texas. Placid Oil (Hunt Oil Co., L.M.) December 1967 granted 3-year coastal oil concession.

Pan American International Oil Co., N.Y. (Mozambique Pan American Oil CO.) See Gulf.

Skelly U.S.A., Tulsa, Oklahoma (linked to J. Paul Getty). See DX/Sunray consortium.

Sun Oil Co., Philadelphia, Pa. (Sunray Mozambique Oil Co.) Consortium with Skelly and Clark. Prospecting since 1967. Recent report estimates current drilling program costs of \$6 million to \$7 million. (Wall Street Journal, 9/25/69)

Socory Mobil Oil Co., N.Y. (Mobil Oil S.A., L.M.) Distribution.

Texaco Inc., N.Y. (Texaco Africa) Coastal oil prospecting concession January 1968.

Charles Pfizer International, N.Y. (Laboratories Pfizer de Mocambique). Distribution of pharmaceuticals.

Singer Co., New Jersey (Singer Sewing Machine, L.M.) Distribution of sewing machines, household and other machinery.

Continental Ore Corp. Via European links. Fluorite prospecting.

U.S. Investment in Guinea

Esso Exploration
New Contract granted in 1965.

South Africa Casts Greedy Eyes Toward U.S.

Early in 1970 the U.S. will be visited by an 11-man Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce trade mission for the purpose of developing the U.S. as an export market for South African-manufactured goods (S.A. Digest, 10/10/69). It is obvious that this is only another big step in the direction of trying to cement good economic relations with the U.S. Hundreds of major businesses in America have factories, outlets, offices in South Africa. But increasingly South Africa is attempting to establish the U.S. as her market.

This trade mission has been preceded by some major inroads in the area. For example, South Africa participated for the first time in the 1969 Oklahoma State Fair in Oklahoma City. Sept. 22 w declared "South Africa Day" at the fair, and Oklahoma Governor Dewey Bartlett visited the exhibit and made some 'official' pronouncements. In early October South Africa is to have a similar exhibit in the Texas State Fair at Dallas. Estimated visitors at these two fairs total 4.5 million, a large segment of Americana to be 'favorably' introduced to South Africa! (S.A. Digest, 10/10/69)

This is part of an over-all effort by South Africa to look more to the markets of "developed", industrialized countries rather than the poorer, underdeveloped ones. "South Africa's exports to Canada during 1968 increased by six per cent from the year before and totalled \$37 million. The largest single export commodity was raw sugar, sold to the Canadian refineries for about \$15 million." (Canada Telegram, 7/24/69) There are countless Israel trade delegates in South Africa, and increased trade between the two countries is promoted by the South African businessmen and A. Ben-Joseph, Israel's trade consul in South Africa, and has embarked on a major sales promotion plan. (Jewish Exponent, 9/19/69)

Such economic moves serve to cement South Africa's racist regime in power, and to further stabilize both her economy and her minority government. Her economic growth rate in 1968 was second only to that of Japan, and more than double that of the European Free Trade Agreement countries (News From South Africa, 10/22/69). The Gross National Product of S.A. has increased nearly sixfold in the 20 years of Nationalist Party rule; the real production per person has more than doubled.

Rhodesians Arrested in New York

Three Rhodesian students were charged with disorderly conduct Nov. 7 after they took part in a demonstration at Kennedy Airport. The several dozen students were protesting the departure of a Pan Am flight chartered by the right-wing American organization called "Friends of Rhodesia." The organization, characterized by the students as "an ill-willed group of Americans who see black men only as slaves," chartered the flight in defiance of official U.S. lack of recognition for the racist Smith regime in Rhodesia. It is felt that most of the "Friends of Rhodesia" have economic investments in Rhodesia that might be hurt somewhat if sanctions against that country were applied by the U.S. as recommended by the U.N.

The Swedes and Southern Africa: Two Threads

Several news items about Sweden and Southern Africa have appeared lately. First there was the announcement that Swedish cooperatives have dropped their boycott of South African goods because of undercutting by rival businesses and the increase in imported S.A. goods over the past six years when the boycott began. The national cooperatives director, Harry Hjalmarsson, admitted that once the novelty of the boycott dissipated the support groups for the action reduced their activities, and the Swedish left became more involved in Vietnam actions (Los Angeles Times). But coming on the heels of this backsliding, was the fury caused by Portugal after it was known that the Swedish Social Democratic Party had contributed to FRELIMO and the PAIGC. In Luanda, Angola, masses were organized to demonstrate for a boycott of Swedish goods; an interesting reversal of Portugal's stated "no sanctions policy" used to justify her sanctions-breaking vis-a-vis Rhodesia in the past. (Washington Afro-American, 10/25/69)

The Gold Situation

Under the "two tier" system of gold prices instituted by major nations in March 1968, the private market price is permitted to fluctuate according to supply and demand, while the official price for dealing between nations remains at \$35 an ounce. The South

African government handles all sales of South African gold, and when it is able to dispose of gold on the free market at premium prices, it pays a premium to the mining companies. The government seeks to make the payments in a way that veils gold sales, so that analysts have difficulty tracing transactions. (Wall Street Journal, 8/28/69) Gold production in 1968 in South Africa was at a record \$1,103 billion (New York Times, 8/28/69). Increasing industrial demands for gold, however, have used gold faster than it can be dug up, according to South African producers. If this is the case, the price of gold on the free market could go above the current London price of \$40.95 an ounce, and would put further pressure on the official \$35 an ounce price to rise. However, some other gold experts in South Africa say that enough gold is produced for demand, it's just being hoarded by speculators. In 1968 Europe consumed 41% of the supply of the metal, with the U.S. taking a 16% bite. (Wall Street Journal, 9/11/69) Most of the gold went into jewelry. Some people in Washington are saying that gold once again could be a threat to the international monetary system. What worries them is that despite the agreement between central bankers not to add more newly mined gold to their reserves, some are doing so through the ordinary operations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). When any other country makes a drawing which includes South African rands in the bundle of currencies, it is the normal practice for the drawing country to convert these rands into gold. Since March 1968 something like \$100 million of newly-mined gold will have been added to the monetary reserves. What is especially clear is that with the problem coming up of finding the extra gold subscriptions to the IMF which increased quotes will require, gold is going to become a subject again in the next few months and the Nixon administration will have to show its hand. (The Economist, 10/11/69)

An ad in the Wall Street Journal placed by South Africa in the hope of promoting more U.S. investment, states the following:
 "Business practice, the respect for private enterprise are all on the American pattern. South Africa is a relatively young country still strongly imbued with the spirit of sturdy individualism and self-reliance of the American pioneer. The business climate will be congenial to Americans. They will miss nothing except television. The large distances and comparatively small concentrations of population make it an expensive luxury in a country which is hastening to get on with more important things."

Some American Businesses in South Africa

Name any ten major companies that come to your mind, and it's almost certain they will have plants or holdings of some kind in South Africa...General Motors, Gulf Oil, Ford, General Electric, Texaco, Bethlehem Steel, etc. Of particular interest recently, however, are U.S. Steel and Honeywell, Inc.

Honeywell, Inc. of Minneapolis, Minn. and the National Fund Investments Corporation (NFI) jointly formed a new Honeywell Computers South Africa. Honeywell Computers will act as a marketing and servicing organization for all Honeywell electronic data processing equipment. (News From S.A., 10/22/69)

One of the world's biggest companies, U.S. Steel Corp., has made a significant entry into the South African economy, and there are already plans for expansion. Its investments, through the Anglo-Vaal Group, add increased legitimization to the scandalous mineral/government linkage, and further exploit the African people whose slave labor brings the mineral out of the ground. (News from S.A., 8/27/69)

South Africa's Exchange Earners

Gold is South Africa's first and largest monetary exchange earner, and serves more than any other export to stabilize and undergird that government both politically and economically. Second to gold is wool. Recently Mr. Kenneth Marriner, President of Marriner and Co., in Lawrence, Mass., visited South Africa as a guest of the South Africa Wool Commission. Mr. Marriner urged South Africa to continue producing and exporting fine-grade wool because the demand in the U.S.

Barnard Told to Shun Politics

Dr. Christiaan Barnard, the pioneer in heart transplant surgery, has fallen out of favor with many South Africans because of his calls for greater racial tolerance. He has often voiced criticism of racial prejudice and apartheid. Be careful, Christiaan, or you will be rejected!

was high (S.A. Digest, 10/24/69). The third largest exchange earner for South Africa is tourism, which last year reached a record 300,000 foreign visitors, compared with 275,000 in 1967. It brought in \$140 million in 1968 (News From S.A., 10/3/69).



The U.S.A. and South Africa

Congressmen and South African Airways

Congressman Charles Diggs, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, has long been involved in pressuring government agencies on the question of U.S. ties with South Africa.

Recently he received a letter from the Bureau of Enforcement of the Civil Aeronautics Board, in which the CAB committed itself to a policy concerning advertising by South African Airways. The letter stated that "where South African Airways advertises facilities in South Africa (i.e. golfing, swimming, motor, shopping, hotel, etc.) 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."

The CAB further reported that although counsel for SAA maintains its advertising is not "misleading," SAA will discontinue advertising facilities in South Africa "which may not be available to persons of all races."

Although the issue in the U.S. is still far from finished (i.e. the question of whether or not the very presence of SAA, a branch of the South African government, is "legal" given that in general no black American tourists are even granted visas to enter South Africa), Diggs' persistence on the SAA issue is encouraging.

U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa

Congressmen Bingham, Reid, Brademas, Conyers, Diggs, Fraser, Mosher, O'Neil and Whalen were cosignatories of a November 1st letter sent to the Presidents of the ten banks involved in the consortium loaning \$40 worth of credit to the government of South Africa. The Congressmen urged the banks to "abstain from participation in any continuation of such a line of credit for the apartheid regime in South Africa." They cited the moral issue, the fact that the loan has not altered South Africa in any positive way, that such assistance is a symbol of "American collusion with apartheid", and that continuation of the loan may further alienate Americans who are opposed to apartheid. Letters of support to these Congressmen should be forthcoming.

Diggs' Trip to Southern Africa

From August 10-30, Congressman Charles C. Diggs (Dem.-Mich.) and Lester Wolff (Dem.-N.Y.) visited Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania. It should be recalled that Mr. Diggs had planned to include South Africa in his trip, but the Study Mission to Southern Africa was only granted a limited visa; the condition being that he not do any public speaking while inside the country. These pre-conditions were unacceptable to Congressman Diggs and therefore the group did not enter South Africa.

The report of the Study Mission outlines the situation in Southern Africa, including the liberatory movements. It lists companies which invest in the area, summarizes AID programs, and contains the Rhodesian Constitution, the Lusaka Manifesto, and the Arusha Declaration. It outlines what is termed a new foreign policy for Africa, calling for the following policy changes:

(1) Revocation of the South African sugar quota and its transfer to independent African countries (note: a sugar amendment along these lines has been submitted by Congressmen, which differs from earlier proposals only in the re-allocation of the quota to African nations, not to Western hemisphere countries).

(2) Relocation by the end of 1970 of U.S. tracking stations in South Africa.

(3) American initiative for U.N. sanctions against South Africa if South Africa does not leave South West Africa by the end of 1970.

(4) A re-evaluation of U.S. policy toward granting visas to South African government

officials and athletes given black Americans' exclusion from South Africa.

(5) Legislative action to provide "disincentives" for U.S. investment in South Africa and Rhodesia.

(6) The removal of U.S. diplomatic mission from Rhodesia.

(7) The discouragement of American tourism in South Africa and Rhodesia.

(8) The discontinuation of military aid to Portugal until she issues a "declaration of intent" to decolonize Angola and Mozambique.

(9) An increased economic plan to aid Africa planning inconjunction with independent African states; and

(10) The acceptance of all political refugees from Southern Africa to the U.S.

For a copy of this Report ("Report of Special Study Mission to Southern Africa"), write to staff consultant Melvin Benson, 2170 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.)

U.S. Naval Ships in Capetown

The Christian Science Monitor reported on 9/22/69 that Cong. Diggs had urged the Defense Dept. to maintain its ban on U.S. naval ships landing for refueling in Capetown, South Africa, after he had heard that the ban was being re-considered due to the retirement of six oil tankers by the Navy. The relationship between U.S. ships landing at Capetown and the retirement of some oil tankers seems irrelevant, and as Diggs reminded Secretary of Defense Laird, the ban was imposed because of "discrimination against black members of the armed forces of the United States by South African law and custom."

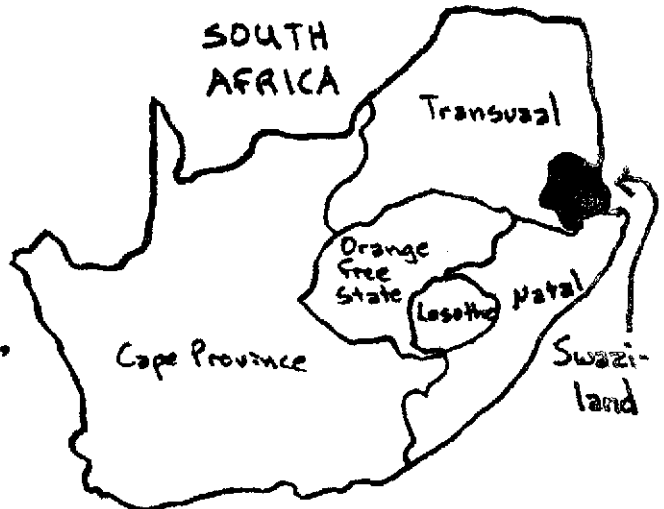
SAA - Aid to Gun Running

A South African importer of small arms (revolvers, pistols, shotguns, rifles and ammunition) has found a new route for his goods. Since the initiation of a new South African Airways route to the United States via Rio de Janeiro, Mr. Eric Horvitch has made several trips to Brazil and from there to Argentina to buy arms from these arms' embargo breakers. Hurray for South African Airways! (Johannesburg Star, 10/25/69)

Recruiters and Apartheid: A Report from the Santa Barbara Campus

The issue of barring recruiters of American corporations functioning in South Africa has

been under consideration for several years on several campuses as a way to constructively relate American corporate involvement to Southern African racism. A special report, including a summary of the history of the University Placement Center at University of California - Santa Barbara and new approaches toward the legality of pressing for the end of all recruiters from said companies, was printed in the Santa Barbara campus paper, El Gaucho, Friday, Oct. 24. For copies of this article and further information, write to Martin Legassick, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara.



REPORTS FROM SWAZILAND

Rich But Not Free

In a Sept. 30 article in the Afro-American Willie Givens discusses the difficult relationship of Swaziland with its white minority dominated neighbor countries, South Africa and Mozambique. His article concludes:

"One of Africa's richest nations, Swaziland may not have the trained men to explore their vast wealth. But while they attempt to prepare these men, much care has to be taken so that foreigners do not exploit them.

"The country's mineral wealth includes one of the world's five largest asbestos mines and iron ore resources estimated at some 47 million tons. There are also gold, tin, silver, mica and other minerals.

"In recent years, the country developed a multi-million dollar timber and pulp industry, a railway link out of the landlocked country to ports in Mozambique, hydro-electric power

and tarred roads.

"But with all this, they still have to depend on South Africa, which provides much of the trained manpower needed to mine the mineral resources. Also, about 10000 Swazis hold jobs in South Africa and their currency is the South African "rand."

"Unless drastic measures are taken to train natives immediately, unless they develop their own currency and provide jobs to attract their people, Swaziland might yet depend on racist South Africa, despite criticisms from other African nations."

Swaziland Expels South African Fugitive

A South African political fugitive, Mr. B. M. Yengwa, who has been ordered to leave Swaziland, will not be sent back to South Africa. Swaziland will do all it can to get him transit through South Africa or Mozambique to any country of his choice.

Mr. Yengwa, a former member of the banned African National Congress, went to Swaziland five years ago and has been practising as an attorney in Manzini. He was a member of the national executive of the ANC and was its youth leader in Natal. He was declared a prohibited immigrant on May 29 and ordered to leave Swaziland by August 31.

He asked for more time to get his affairs in order and the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Mfundze Sukati, gave him until Dec. 31. Meanwhile, the International Commission of Jurists took an interest in Yengwa. Its secretary-general wrote to the Swaziland Government. Swaziland's reply, sent to Geneva on behalf of the Prime Minister, makes it clear that Swaziland will not return Yengwa to South Africa but will give him a refugee's travel document and try to persuade South Africa or Mozambique to give him transit facilities to any country of his choice. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 8/29/69)

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

MORSGAT: Another Limehill

For ten months, beginning December 1968, more than 100 families have been living in a tent settlement at the side of a dirt road. They were moved off proclaimed white land, bounded by three small towns in the Transvaal Province. The name of the "village" is Morsgat, literally translated as "Mess Hole". These families have been resettled on land earmarked for "Tswanastan", a so-called independent area, part of the government's plan for separate development.

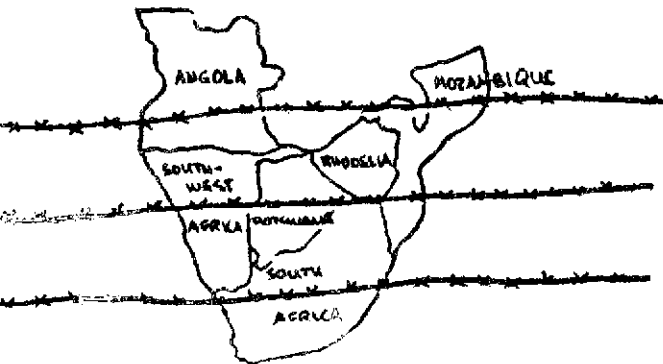
The Johannesburg newspaper, The Rand Daily Mail, began investigating this settlement - grown in size to 300 families (1200 people) - three months ago and published their findings on October 25th.

What follows are some of the findings and impressions recorded by the investigating team.

Before their removal to Morsgat, the bulk of its inhabitants lived in a village of 120 stone and mud huts which had been standing there for almost 25 years. It took three weeks to cart away the families and their belongings by government trucks to the new tent settlement. They were allowed to take all their moveable possessions but not "cattle, goats, pig, sheep or donkeys". The families were supplied with tents and a small marked out plot of land. Other than this the village was bare. No sanitation, no running water, no electricity. Nor are there adequate shopping facilities nor medical services. The busfare to the nearest clinic costs R1.10 (about \$1.50 - the average weekly income being R3.50 to R4 or \$5 to \$5.60). During the winter months some of the inhabitants went to live with relatives in nearby towns to escape the bitter cold.

The villagers were told that they could build their own dwellings; however they must pay for their own bricks (a sum of R80 or \$112) and other materials. As the average family income is R3.50 to R4 (the wage of a laborer at the local quarries), building a home is out of the question. (Significantly, building of houses began soon after the Daily Mail began its inquiries.)

The plight of a typical family was outlined: the father of three small children earned R4 per week. His wife used to work seasonally on farms surrounding Chachalaza (his previous home), but now in Morsgat there is no



work for her. He still works in Chachalaza but the round trip busfare is R1.80. He can therefore only visit his family once every two weeks at the weekend.

A borehold, about 150 yards from the nearest tents and about a third of a mile from the furthest, has been the settlement's sole source of water from the outset. Two taps are attached to a water tank into which the water is pumped. Long queues form at the taps and "you have to wait hours before you can get water and you get hungry waiting". But the quality of the water is the main complaint and to which the people attribute the high rate of stomach ailments. The site of the tank is clean, but an unpleasant smell exudes from the tank itself. This comes from a layer of green slime, which covers three-quarters of the water surface inside.

No sanitary pit had been dug before the families arrived. There were still none. "We started to dig pits" said a resident, "but they (the white authorities) told us to stop. They promised us lavatories, but we haven't seen them yet. Now we use the veld (brush land)." "The stink is terrible after the rains", said an elderly woman.

The removals have forced a new social pattern onto the families. Whereas before they had something approaching an integrated family life, they are now separated. Morsgat is really a settlement of women and children who receive intermittent weekend visits from their menfolk.

According to the reporters, the main feeling is not so much one of bitterness and frustration as of hopeless resignation, shown by this snatch of conversation with a laborer:

"What is it like living in Morsgat?"

"It's not so bad."

"Not bad to live in a tent for nine months, summer and winter?"

A short laugh, a shrug of the shoulders.

"You get nothing by complaining - it's their country."

But fear predominated. Most were afraid to give information or comment or even be seen talking to strangers.

The government official who is the work manager and acts as Superintendent of Morsgat, says he doesn't know why the newspapers should be interested in Morsgat. "It is a lovely place," he says.

The existence of tents were at first denied by the Department of Bantu Administration. This was later admitted, but the investigators were told that it was not yet possible for the Administration to provide information on conditions in Morsgat. However, by the end of the investigation, two brick houses had been completed; 32 were at roof height; 16 had walls and the foundations for another 42 had been laid.



News from Rhodesia

Rhodesians Admit Fear of "Terrorist" Infiltration Into African Townships

A reporter in Salisbury noted Rhodesian Security chiefs' fear of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) infiltration into African townships in an Oct. 14 article in the Daily Telegraph. The article reports that Security chiefs have noted a change in tactics from large-scale direct fighting in the Zambesi Valley to infiltration by groups of two or three into African urban areas near Bulawayo and Salisbury. One Rhodesian back-bencher gave a stern warning to be on the lookout against such activities since he said "History has shown that where

15-20% of local support is forthcoming for these groups nothing can stop a revolution."

The report was interesting since Rhodesian officials often claim that they have all guerrilla activity well under control and most Africans support the Rhodesian Front.

One Step Closer to Apartheid

The Rhodesian Government published its controversial Land Tenure Bill on Oct. 15 which sets out the areas of the country in which whites and Africans may live and own or occupy property.

There will be no immediate eviction of any one racial group which is living in the "wrong" area, but the Bill would appear to foreshadow further legislation on the South African apartheid pattern.

As in the new republican constitution which is being debated alongside it in parliament, the Bill makes no differentiation between whites, Asians and Coloureds. It merely describes European areas as those in which the interests of Europeans are paramount, and the same definition is applied to African areas.

One section of the bill will allow the government to legislate to keep Asians and Coloureds out of white suburbs - a subject of much heated debate in the ruling Rhodesian Front for years. The bill, given its first reading in Parliament Oct. 15, will give Rhodesia's 230,000 whites marginally more land than the 4,800,000 Africans. A total of 44,952,900 acres is to be reserved for whites, with the Africans getting 44,944,500 acres.

The Bill makes it an offense for whites or Africans to sell or lease land in their areas to a member of the other race, or to allow them to lease land in their areas without special authority. (New York Times 10/15/69)

American trade with Rhodesia dropped from \$33 million in 1965 to \$3,700,000 in 1968.

Rhodesia Another Vietnam

Representative Charles Diggs (Dem.-Mich.) opened a probe of U.S./Rhodesian relations today (Nov. 6) with the warning, "The Rhodesian situation may turn into another Vietnam."

Representative Diggs, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, said he is "particularly concerned" that the U.S.

continues to maintain a consulate in the former British territory. Diggs was the only subcommittee member present, and was concerned that maintaining the consulate would cause the U.S. to be identified with the Smith regime, which is highly unpopular in black Africa and is the object of mandatory U.N. sanctions.

The first witness before the committee, David D. Newsom, newly appointed assistant secretary of State for African Affairs, unintentionally buttressed Rep. Diggs' warning. He said in his opening statement:

"A continuation of the Rhodesian regime's present policies and course may well lead to increasing racial tensions and possibly widespread violence."

Mr. Newsom said the decision on the U.S. Consulate cannot be allowed to drag on indefinitely. The Rhodesian Parliament is currently drafting a new charter which is expected to go into effect next spring, at which time Rhodesia will formally become a republic.

At that time, Mr. Newsom said, the U.S. will be forced to drop the theory that the Consulate is accredited to Britain rather than to Rhodesia. "The whole question of our policy there will take on a new dimension," he said.

The Evening Star of Sept. 26, 1969 indicates that despite Diggs' hearings and warnings, "someone in the White House apparently scoffs at the notion that morality - racial, social or otherwise - ought to be a big ingredient in foreign policy. They assume that you go with power, and obviously the whites in Rhodesia have the power. They say you go with strength, and obviously the economic interests who want U.S. relations with Rhodesia to continue have more strength in Washington than do the weak, divided African countries that look with so much anger and disquiet on what is happening in the southern end of their continent."

Portuguese Premier Marcello Caetano submitted a bill to the U.N. Security Council for \$27.4 million in a letter made public Oct. 17 for losses he claimed the Portuguese African territory of Mozambique has suffered because of the Council's mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia. He noted that Portugal seeks "adequate compensation" for losses in the first half of 1968 and for previous losses aggregating \$40.8 million because of the effect on Mozambique. (Washington Post, 10/18)

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project in the world, and ESCOM (Electric Supply Commission of South Africa) has agreed to buy up to 4,000 megawatts of power on a long-term contract."

The article continues, "The South African contract will be financed by Escom. The Industrial Development Corporation is lending Portugal \$28 million in addition and the South African Government will provide up to \$49 million in the first four years of commercial operation of the Cabora Bassa project." Small wonder that three battalions of South African troops are already in Tete and that "Salisbury officials see Cabora Bassa as the key to a 'white redoubt' economic-defense union." (CSM, 10/6/69) With every step toward the completion of the dam, the strategic importance of the area in which it is being built grows apace.

The Portuguese Territories

Construction Begins on Cabora Bassa

If everything has gone according to plan, work on the Cabora Bassa dam in the Tete province of Mozambique began in October. Construction is still in the hands of ZAMCO, an international consortium chaired by Mr. E. T. S. Brown who is a director of the South-African Anglo-American Corporation. By March 1975 ("a year behind an earlier schedule because nationalist guerrilla activity has delayed the building of access roads" according to Russell Warren Howe in an Oct. 6 Christian Science Monitor article), transmission lines coming 850 miles from Pafuri in Mozambique to the Apollo sub-station at Irene outside Pretoria, will deliver up to 1200 megawatts of power.

In an article in the October "News From South Africa," the future stages of the project are outlined as follows:

"By the time the third stage is completed at the beginning of 1979, Cabora Bassa's south power station will be capable of delivering a maximum of 1,750 megawatts at the Apollo sub-station. The project will be rounded off with the building of the north power station--not yet tendered for--that will bring the final generating capacity to 4,000 megawatts and make Cabora Bassa the fifth biggest hydro-electric



Useful Exercise in Portugal?

On Oct. 26 Portugal elected 130 delegates to the National Assembly. The New York Times headed their editorial "Useful Exercise in Portugal," commented that it was Portugal's "most open and contested election in four decades", and concluded by noting that Portugal might become under Caetano "a less embarrassing member of an Atlantic alliance formed for the defense of freedom" (NY Times, 10/28/69).

In the election, in which the only legal party, the National Union, won all 130 seats with 88% of the vote cast, the abstention rate among registered voters was nearly 40% - in Lisbon 51%. The registered voters, in turn, are only approximately 20% of the total population. Thus, about 10% of Portugal's population voted. These figures do not include the population of Portugal's "overseas provinces", theoretically an integral part of Portugal, in which the percentage of registered voters is miniscule. In Mozambique the opposition candidates were disqualified because they could not prove Portuguese citizenship.

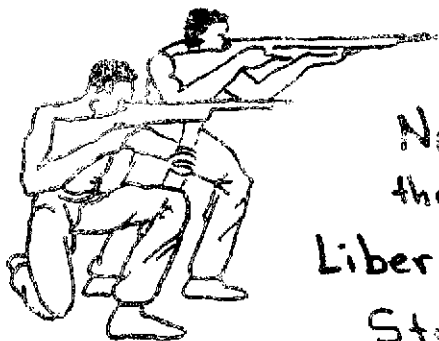
The restrictions imposed on the election, "which the opposition considers worse than those under Dr. Salazar" (NY Times, 10/24/69) included the forbidding of outdoor campaigning, the use of public buildings, and the use of radio or TV, while police had discretionary authority to close any meeting considered to involve incitement to subversion, disobedience, resistance, or insult to authority. The balloting system used, placed upon each party the responsibility to get their ballots to the voters before the election; they cannot be distributed in or near the polling place. Even the New York Times admits that one could not quite call the election "genuine."

Nevertheless it has provided an opportunity for allaying the embarrassment of the West, with the full cooperation of the news media. Most blatant propaganda was a syndicated article (London Financial Times - UPI) headlined "After One Year of Caetano Rule, A Freer Portugal Goes to the Polls" (Milwaukee Journal, 10/12/69). But in the New York Times as well, those reading only the headlines would gain the impression that democracy has come to Portugal at last, and even that its problem with Africa might soon be solved. Radio reports simply referred to "the first free election in Portugal in 40 years." It appears that Caetano's attempt to create a

"new image" is succeeding, at least in the United States.

Portuguese Casualties as reported by Portuguese communiques (April 29 - June 28, 1969). From Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, Oct. 1969.

	<u>Killed</u>	<u>Wounded</u>
Guinea	61	(not given)
Angola	67	142
Mozambique	139	(not given)



Notes on the Liberation Struggle

1. New York Times, 10/7/69 - R. W. Apple, Jr., visiting Dar-es-Salaam, notes concerning FRELIMO: "Independent analysts agree that the organization, whose collapse was predicted in some quarters after Dr. Mondlane's death on Feb. 3, appears far from disarray. Nor do they believe that the widely publicized defection of Lazo Kavandame...has had a decisive impact on the movement's morale or on its efficiency."

2. Times of Zambia - Steve Valentine, after spending four weeks with a guerrilla band of UNITA in Angola, comments that "guerrilla activities in Angola are on the threshold of a new period of escalation which will make it increasingly difficult for Portugal to hold on to the central African territory." Valentine was impressed by the strict discipline among the guerrilla units, and the strong support for them by the local people. Most of the arms were NATO weapons captured from the Portuguese, most prominently Belgian FN automatic rifles, and American-designed G-3's made in Portugal under license. He predicts that the showdown in Angola "is closer than anyone suspected", and concludes by noting that if UNITA* and MPLA* were to unite, their action against the Portuguese would be even more potent.

*UNITA - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

*MPLA - Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

3. Vie Nuove (Italy), 9/18/69) - "The Participation of Women in the Liberation struggle of Guinea Bissau" by Bruno Crimi. The author points out the changes in the status and role of women brought about in Guinea by the liberation struggle.

Suggestion for Action

After reading a recent report in "Southern Africa" about the new chain of Holiday Inns in the Republic of South Africa, Clinton Marsh, Director of the All-Africa Council of Churches, wrote the following letter to Holiday Inns. We would encourage readers to write similar letters to Holiday Inns opposing her new line of inns in South Africa, a line which almost certainly will bear "Whites Only" signs above the "Welcome" sign on the front door.

Dear Sir:

Only a couple of days ago my wife and I were discussing our plans for a coast-to-coast trip on our return to the USA in a few months and I mentioned how easy it would be to have Holiday Inns plan all the accommodations across the country. Today I learn of the thrust of your company in South Africa and suddenly the picture changes.

I am an American Negro and the South African system which not only refuses me a visa to visit that country, but which bases its prosperity on an exploitation hardly matched in recent history, should not be aided in its exploitation and you and I should not profit by aiding it.

I would urge you to do more than cursory exploration of the social issues involved, in spite of the favorable climate for profits. I urge this on two grounds: (1) the simple moral and ethical issues which are involved and which you may discover with even a small effort to learn the true nature of the South African society; (2) enlightened self-interest, which suggests care about identifying one's self with a regime that is destined to be the "pole-cat of society" in the years ahead.

The refusal of the South African government to allow me even a transit visa to pass through the Johannesburg Airport is only the most trivial of my contacts with South Africa. In our agency we seek to assist the churches of South Africa to provide some kind of subsistence aid to the families of men who are snatched off the streets, from their jobs or homes and thrown into trialless detention sometimes for years. On the other hand we try to aid those who have fled in fear from their homelands and that paralyzing fear that grips those for whom innocence is no defense, and who are refugees across the continent.

With the knowledge gained through this kind of relationship, when I read the propaganda that sucks in naive Americans and listen to the South African radio, I simply want to vomit!! And when I see the "Innkeepers of America" dipping their hand in the bloody till, I cannot but share my views with you.

You are doubtless aware that several of the Protestant denominations in the USA are changing investment policies and facing industrialists and investors with the moral implications of investment in South Africa, which involves acceptance of its hideous policies. You and I have come to peaceful terms on the problems of America's apartheid so that on my recent visit to the USA I used your Inns in all parts of the country. I hope that you will not place yourself on the wrong side of the world-wide struggle now shaping up - a position that will damage your image and your business in the USA and place you in the eyes of the world as a collaborator with the fi dish anomaly that is South Africa.

Sincerely yours,

Clinton M. Marsh
All Africa Conference of Churches

(Letter addressed to
Holiday Inns Executive Office
Memphis, Tennessee)

Southern Africa Committee
University Christian Movement
Room 752
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New York, N. Y. 10027

November 1969

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