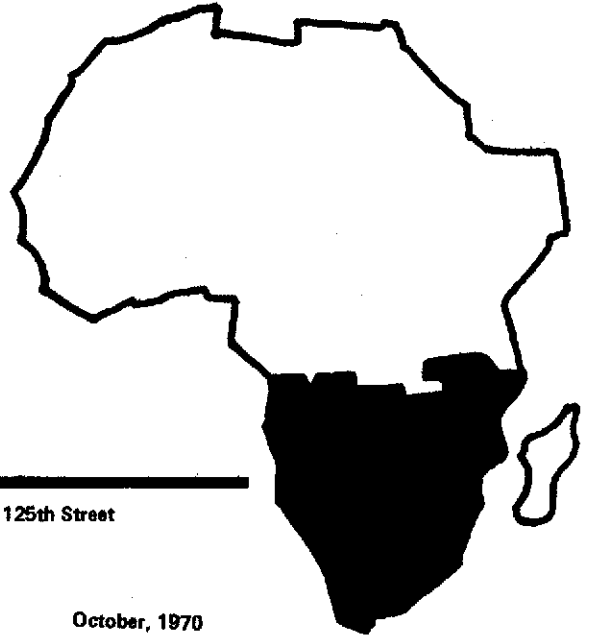


SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion



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WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG) PROTEST THEIR LACK OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND THE EXTENSION OF APARTHEID TO THE UNIVERSITIES.

EDITORIAL GUNBOATS—A GAME FOR OLD IMPERIALISTS

Before their election to office in June 1970, the Conservative Party in Britain had committed itself to resuming arms sales to South Africa. Almost as soon as the election result was announced, the South Africans were knocking at the door, demanding their guns. It was very embarrassing. It drew such a lot of attention. Sensing a massive adverse reaction, the new government retreated and said that a final decision had not yet been taken.

The second round began recently when delegations of Commonwealth leaders and from the Organization of African Unity visited Edward Heath, the British Prime Minister, to try to persuade him to stop the arms deals. Mr. Heath got very hot under the collar and shouted and banged on the table. Shouting at Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia and leader of the O.A.U. delegation, that they were trying to push Britain around. It was very embarrassing. A British diplomat was sent round the next morning to try and suggest that there had been a misunderstanding.

Why do the British want to sell arms to South Africa? According to the Foreign Minister, Sir Alec Douglas Home, the Russians are threatening to take over the Indian Ocean and with it the vital Western trade routes round the Cape. The

Minister of the Navy, Mr. Peter Kirk, suggested that the threat is exaggerated. Britain wishes to defend her interests in Southern Africa. Unfortunately for them they have about an equal interest in Black Africa and that interest is growing faster. A certain contradiction appears when one tries to defend both at the same time. It should be pointed out that the French have been successful in this double-dealing and are at present the major arms suppliers to South Africa.

The South Africans wish to buy the arms, because if the British supplied them this would suggest approval of apartheid, confirmation of the red threat idea by which they can blackmail the West and hence increased respectability. It is part of their outward policy to gain friends internationally. A by-product would be a redressing of the unfavorable trade balance that has developed with France.

Selling gunboats and aircraft to South Africa is so natural for a British Imperialist. Dreams of old glory can be imagined as the British and their former colony push the Russians out of the Indian Ocean. Nice white South Africans are so much more reliable than communistically inclined Blacks. It is an out-of-date game which would disgrace any leaders. It is a sell-out to racism.

FEATURE ARTICLE An Afrikaner Against Apartheid

by Breyten Breytenbach

The following article by Mr. Breyten Breytenbach, a prominent Afrikaner poet and painter, now in exile in Paris, has been prepared and published pursuant to a request by the Special Committee on Apartheid of the U.N.

In contributing this article, Mr. Breytenbach wrote:

"You have asked me to write as an Afrikaner against Apartheid. I cannot pretend to tell you anything which hasn't been said before and certainly often more eloquently. Having been made so frequently, the remarks I repeat may even seem trivial. But some wounds need to be lanced again and again, lest they become just festering sores.

"We know that the stench of death emanates from South Africa. Over here, many of those who keep a nose to the political winds may not smell it for them, South Africa is an obscure corner at the back of the mind and the majority of the dead—those of the unpronounceable Xhosa or Pondo or Zulu names—are faceless with blackness; and anyway, politicians are not notorious for the keenness of their olfactory organs, nor are these always kept clean. But those doing the dying will never get used to it. They will never get used to apartheid either. That, after all, is why they're dying. It

is a simple reality which bears repetition. And the dying—be it by bullet, gallows, prison, or hunger—will continue until apartheid is crushed.

"The least one can do then is to define again the framework of the South African struggle."

South Africa is undoubtedly a racist state—maybe the first one in history, and certainly the only present one, which was born out of and founded on racial discrimination, with racial discrimination as the bedrock of its constitution, striving for an increasing racial discrimination. Just as undoubtedly the government in power is supported by the quasi-totality of the white minority on its race policies, I am convinced that racism itself, can only be eradicated once those who practise it, have been denied the power and the means of doing so.

Apartheid is not simply an illogical system of racial discrimination based on the fear which is generated by it, operating in a far-off "trouble-spot"; it is the natural outcome and fulfilment of a particular economic and political system: the concentration of all power in the hands of a distinct, fairly homogeneous minority—in this case

the South African whites and the Afrikaners in particular. It exists because the world allows it to. It flourishes—accepted, supported, fed, armed, saved, if necessary—because it WORKS to the profit of South Africa's trading partners and foreign investors. It is white power in action—the grip of the leech.

In its present state, South Africa is a colonialist (and colonizing) outpost, an aberration. Geographically, culturally and by its population, it is part of Africa and the Third World, with which it must be integrated, economically first of all. As long as she is protected militarily and sucked white economically by the capitalist powers, all racial unrest can only be to THEIR advantage. Racial unrest creates the conditions for oppression and it is exactly the oppressed slave labour that provides the animating force of the South African economy. When the West doesn't smell the death coming out of South Africa, it is because it is also the odour of a profitable turnover of investments.

INESCAPABLE TRUTHS

Some unpalatable, but inescapable truths will have to be faced: crushing apartheid means destroying the South African whites as a class. Destroying them as a class means the destruction of their power, their isolation, their State. It means the destruction of their usefulness to the West. There is no other way. There can be no possible co-existence with apartheid. To kill the Afrikaner as a white, will only be an attack on the IMAGE of his system: it will leave the roots intact. Apartheid will not be cracked from the inside by whites with changed hearts. The hyena will not disgorge his plunder—he will die with the meat in his jaws first. At present, humanistic dissent within the community is stifled. To the extent that dissent invigorates any community, it can ultimately be accommodated to the satisfaction of the sensitive—who in any case are becoming less so, since apartheid is also supposed to take the poor out of sight. If liberalism were to prevail in South Africa, it would only modify the present set-up, in that it would be better adjusted to the needs of the same powers who profit from the situation now. At most, this will hide the true face of apartheid behind a more humane mask.

The only people who can affect a radical change are the oppressed ones themselves: the black and brown South Africans. To be oppressed and exploited does not mean that one will, therefore, find the just way of throwing off the chains. The first prerequisite for this is a clear identification of the enemy. The struggle is against a class which embodies a particular KIND of system, which is in turn an outgrowth of a particular set of attitudes and assumptions: free enterprise, the profit motive, exploitation, etc.—the attitudes which spawned colonialism and imperialism. This class can only be fought with an alternative to their power, to their system—to my mind the only possible one: a revolution towards socialism.

The conflict will spread over the whole of southern Africa. The forces of reaction must be fought where they are and at this moment, the South African army and police are on active and occupying duty in Rhodesia, Namibia, the Caprivi Strip and probably in parts of Angola and Mozambique. They exert effective control over Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. They have Malawi at their back

and call, and pose a serious threat to Zambia and Tanzania.

LET MAJOR POWERS DECLARE THEIR HANDS

It can only be to our advantage to have the major powers declare their hands frankly. In trying to use powerful, but insincere allies, we are allowing ourselves to be maneuvered by them and for their purposes. One doesn't steer a tiger. The Third World too must recognize the alternatives clearly and act accordingly, if they wish their claims of independence and fraternity to have any validity at all.

What can be done? The liberation forces must be strengthened and aided; the powers whose collusion with white South Africa constitute its means of survival must be pointed out. The West's upholding of the Pretoria regime is drawing it into the conflict, giving it a stake to defend. The West is hostage to its own greed. The real threat to world peace in southern Africa comes from its continuing economic support of the South African government.

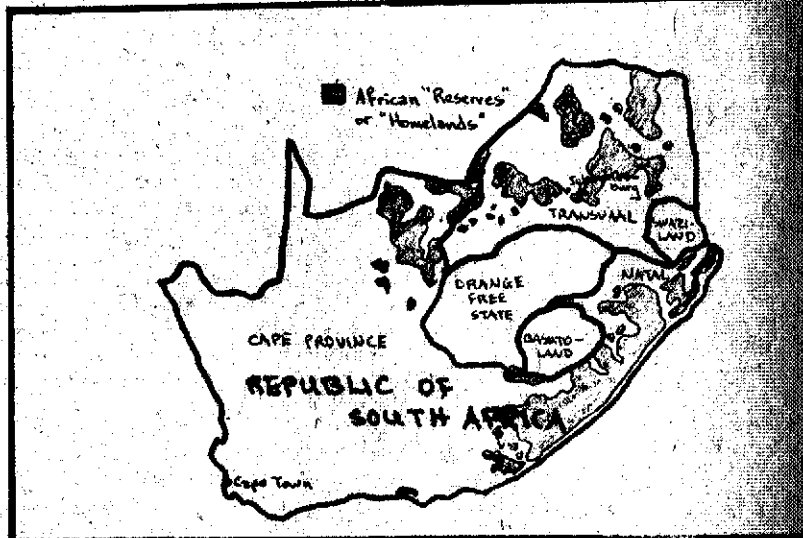
We must have no illusions. Why should capitalism become humanistic? Pigs don't ever learn to fly. France, by her deeds, has made her position admirably clear. It is one of utter cynicism and disregard for the South Africans—ultimately even for the Afrikaners, who are just being helped along to their own suicide. Britain has shown her old colours by her handling of Rhodesia, by her announced intention to resume the arms trade with South Africa.

These States—and others—may split hairs about offensive and defensive weapons, about the possible internal and external uses thereof, but it comes down to the arming and reinforcement of the white man's insistence in southern Africa—and conceives of this existence only at the expense of the non-European.

These States may split hairs about their foremen and overseers splitting a country and its people; they are quite literally splitting it. These States are South Africa's concubines of respectability, her little spoons may be, however long and golden, but with the devil. The lives of the men and women sacrificed to beat Nazism and fascism, not so long ago have not authorized their governments to hawk the implements of death to the South African racists.

Some say that we should point to these powers that they are betting a losing horse, at peril to their own one day. We should reject this argument. The South African people are not up for sale or barter.

In leaning over backwards not to offend these powerful states—our deference, for instance, to the United States, where some are still so completely in neo-colonialist pockets—are harming our cause, because we are basing it on falsehoods. We owe it to the people fighting on the terrain not to betray them by playing dubious expedient political games, thinking that we can outwit those whose vested interests have shaped the world for centuries.



The people in the countries which support white South Africa must be informed of what is being perpetrated in their names. This is the task of all anti-colonialist forces in the respective countries. The deepening struggle against capitalism and neo-colonialism in the Third World must alert the people of the "motherlands" to the policies of their governments.

END COLLABORATION WITH SUPPORTERS OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA

Those in Africa who collaborate with the supporters of white South Africa, must realize that they are compromising their own freedom. Apartheid is a constant aggression, undermining Africa, coarsening and brutalizing human relationships everywhere. The people of Madagascar and other "free" Third World states, must

know that they are being poisoned for the sake of some tinned food, that they too are instrumental in keeping the Africans in South Africa down—and the white man is laughing, as well he might. If this selling out is just a deal between white power and its local lackeys, then the people of these countries must ask themselves where the struggle for human dignity starts; they must understand that it hasn't stopped—not for us and not for them.

I AM AN AFRIKANER AGAINST APARTHEID

To return to your original request: at a time when South Africans are once again on trial for their lives in Pretoria—because they couldn't conceive of their lives as those of dogs and slaves—and it is the imperative of freedom itself, which is being tried; when the people are daily being up-

rooted, hounded and shuffled, as if they were units on the monopoly board? at a time when white soldiers and pilots and sailors, after having been trained by European experts, are doing their dirty killing far beyond South Africa's borders—and are actually covered by those pink hands thrown up in mock horror at apartheid, in international councils; at a time when South Africa's premier and ministers can visit Europe with impunity, while South Africa continues sitting in the United Nations; at a time when newly disguised colonialist powers reassert their hold over Africa—at such a time, it ought to be necessary to affirm one's opposition to apartheid.

I am a South African—white and Afrikaans-speaking, it's true—and like the majority of my compatriots, against apartheid, against the Afrikaners as the ruling, capitalistic, elitist and racist class.

AN INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA

Berkeley: A number of people in Britain still don't fully understand what the issues are over the sale of arms in South Africa.

Kaunda: South Africa is a minority-controlled country; she has spread her tentacles to South West Africa; she has troops in Rhodesia; she is spreading her influence to Angola and Mozambique, which are Portuguese territories; South African leaders have directly threatened independent African States like Zambia, Tanzania and the Congos. In view of all this we began to wonder whether our friends the British—or shall I say, the people we have always considered to be our friends—really care about us when they want to sell arms to South Africa. We find it difficult to appreciate what it is that the British Government is getting at.

What do you think of the World Council of Churches' plan to give money to the African liberation movements for non-military purposes?

Up to the time that Sweden declared that she would, on humanitarian grounds, help the liberation movements by giving them medical supplies, it was only the Communist countries that were prepared to help the African liberation movements. By contrast, the Western countries are supporting the European minority groups in Southern Africa through very heavy investments. This gave some Africans the idea that only the Communist countries are our friends.

I do not agree with this. I have said publicly that I doubt the genuineness of these Communist countries' interest in African independence. When the enslaved African countries



are free, the Communist countries will naturally want to influence them. Again, I have often said that some of the Africans who go for military training to the Eastern bloc countries are bound to come back confirmed Communists. But who is to blame for this? Must we blame these Africans who are looking for independence, when twice in our lifetime we have been told it is right to defend freedom even by world war? Yet the Western countries seem to expect our people to continue to be oppressed by European minority groups and do nothing about it.

So you see, the move by the World Council of Churches is, in my opinion, an excellent thing. Also, as a practicing Christian, I cannot see a better force in the world to counter the Communist influence in this area. We don't want a preponderance of Communist or of any other influence. We want to be free to make our own decisions. But the people who condemn the World Council of Churches are really saying that only one group—that is the Communists—should be left to influence events in this part of the world.

Which is the greater threat in your eyes as Head of State of an independent African country—Soviet submarines in the Indian Ocean or the South African military base in the Caprivi Strip?

To me the military threat is not the Soviet Union, nor China. The threat here is South Africa. The Caprivi Strip is only a few miles from here. In April a South African Cabinet Minister said publicly the 'Communists' in Tanzania were going to be dealt with from the Lilongwe Airport in Malawi, which was going to be used as a base for South African planes; and that the 'Communists' in Zambia would be dealt with from the Caprivi Strip. Mr. Vorster himself has said that he would hit Zambia so hard that she would never forget it. Only two or three weeks ago he was saying in Parliament that they would pursue these guerrillas to any country that was giving them a place to rest.

As for us, we know we have no camps here. We have refugees, and the United Nations has been informed and the High Commissioner for Refugees comes to see these camps. They are legitimate, yet we know that South African planes fly over Zambia twice a day. If this is not provocation and intimidation, what is? Our own villages on the borders with the Portuguese have been bombed from both Angola and Mozambique. Our people have been killed. NATO weapons have been used. We have shown these weapons to American, British and French Government representatives here. These facts speak for themselves and we know our enemies. And if our friends are going to help our enemies, how can we consider them friends?

Supposing Mr. Heath were to convince you that it was in Britain's vital interest to defend the Cape route, would you accept the possibility of Britain's placing warships of her own at Simonstown rather than letting South Africa have arms?

I cannot comment on that without knowing precisely what the proposal was. But I would say on the question of strengthening British interests, that I feel quite honestly this is a very short-term way of looking at things. British interests would, in my humble opinion, be better served by changing her politics and establishing new trade links with independent African States. That is where the future lies.

But I must also say that there is going to be trouble in South Africa, in Angola and in Mozambique, because these countries are under minority rule. Let me ask: Which British

person would like to be ruled by the Germans?

Are you equating the freedom fighters in Southern Africa with the subjugated people in Europe in the war?

Precisely. We have protested vigorously against the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. In fact I was surprised that the Western countries protested only for a few days, then stopped. It has been left to us, the small Powers, to prick the conscience of Russia.

Some people in England feel that Britain is blamed for proposing to sell arms to South Africa, whereas France has got away scot-free with openly supplying them with arms for a long time.

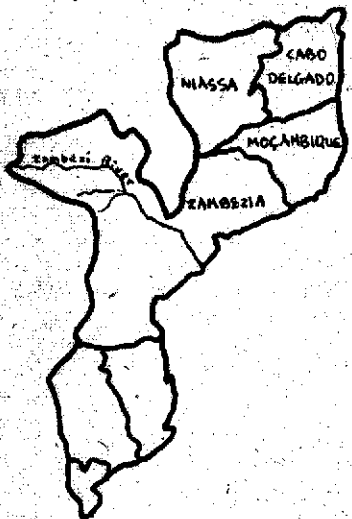
This is not true. In 1968 I condemned France at a meeting in Lusaka of my own party's national council. Before that I had written to President de Gaulle on this issue. I have continued to write to Mr. Pompidou and we have continued to speak about it in Zambia publicly.

I think that the majority of the people in England, and possibly even in the Conservative Party, would feel that the price of wrecking the Commonwealth would be too high to pay for selling a few arms to South Africa.

In the Commonwealth we are learning to live together regardless of our colour. We have one common language, English. We have a common legal system. The Commonwealth must not founder on this issue of selling arms to a racist regime that is threatening some Commonwealth members. Britain is the founder of this Commonwealth and we praise her for that.

But how am I going to explain to my people that we are in the same Commonwealth in which the leading partner is selling arms to our enemies? How about my own conscience? No, if anyone is going to destroy the Commonwealth, it will be the British Government.

[Reprinted with permission from the *London Observer*]



THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

DAKAR AND LISBON:
SENEGAL TURNS AWAY FROM
BISSAU

For some time now, Portugal has responded to the increasing success of the liberation movements by attacking the neighboring African countries which give aid to them. This strategy has involved recently a systematic and partially successful attempt to intimidate Senegal, one of the countries which has in the past permitted PAIGC access through its territory.

Together with Guinea (Conakry), the major external base of PAIGC, Senegal has enabled PAIGC to have access to the fighting zones and liberated territories from all sides of the small territory of Guinea (Bissau).

Portuguese attacks across the border have failed to intimidate Conakry, but in Senegal, in spite of complaints filed with the United Nations, such attacks seem to have rekindled the desire for compromise with Portugal. President Senghor, whose support for the liberation struggle has always been tempered by his attraction to a model of African-European relations similar

to that of the Portuguese, has recently stated that he "has nothing against the Portuguese," that his name is of Portuguese origin, and that although he must defend the territory of Senegal, he would hope that France might be able to arrange a diplomatic solution between Senegal and Portugal. The activities of PAIGC in Senegal have been severely limited, with passage of arms forbidden, PAIGC hospitals in Senegal closed, and even the transit of food supplies and medicines made difficult. Meanwhile, Senghor has proposed a peace plan which would involve gradual independence for Guinea (Bissau) in the framework of a luso-African community. The PAIGC, which already rules more than 3/5 of the country-side, regards such a plan as a step backwards. (For more information on this subject, see the article by Aquino de Braganca and Rene Ross in AFRICASIA, 3-30 about 1970.)

General Antonio de Spínola, the Portuguese Governor of Guinea (Bissau), attempting to take advantage of the situation in Dakar, has broadcast an appeal to cadre of PAIGC going from Dakar to Conakry to come to Bissau instead, and give themselves up, forgetting their doubts that the Portuguese flag "is the standard of liberty and progress" (*Noticias de Portugal*, 7-18-70).

But the war continues, with PAIGC attacks on Portuguese bases, and, on the rivers, military boats. *PAIGC Actualitas* (mars, avril, mai 1970) reports that the Portuguese army has been forced to abandon Ganture, a camp in the south, and reports as well attacks in the south, east, and north on some thirty camps. Portuguese air attacks also continue. On one of the bombs can be read "Bomb, Fire, 750 Lb. . . Property U.S. Air Force." A helicopter shot down on March 7, 1970 is an Alouette II, and bears the inscription "Fabrication Francaise."

PLOT IN GUINEA

President Sekou Toure of Guinea yesterday announced the discovery of a plot to oust his regime and the arrest of foreign mercenary troops. He said they had been trained in the Portuguese West African territory of Guinea-Bissau by 'Black Jack' Schramme, former Belgian mercenary commander in the Congo. (*Observer*, 9/27/70.)

The Hudson Institute and Its Flying Think Tank

The following is an extract from a paper included in the Hudson Institute report: "Angola: Some Views of Development Prospects." The author is William D. McGulgan, a Hudson Institute consultant formerly with the Stanford Research Institute. [See SAN, Sept. 1970]

Since there is concern by many people that their investments in remote areas might be lost through nationalization, here are some very tentative ideas on the kinds of industries which may or may not be taken over.

A. EXAMPLES OF TAKE-OVER-PRONE INDUSTRIES:

1. A diamond mine, particularly in the region of an unfriendly border. It is very easy for Africans to get the idea that it is their country and that they don't need any help in digging these things up.
2. Unprocessed foods. The communist bloc nations are always in need of food, stand as a constant threat to exchange shoddy goods for these products. Again, the black man doesn't have much need for the whites.
3. Dams, hydropower. These are fixed, standard, and symbolic. By taking charge, the black man can sit under a tree, listen to the hum of the generators and feel terribly independent. If anything needs fixing, the Russians are always ready to help.
4. Refineries for standard items like petroleum or sugar. Unless they are designed with things like special catalysts, the communists will help them grab it.

5. Ores, particularly for strategic metals such as manganese, chromium and platinum. Russians can be counted on to generate shortages of these in the free world.

6. Simple, widely available technology, such as plants for cellulose fertilizer or tobacco.

B. EXAMPLES OF LESS TAKE-OVER-PRONE INDUSTRIES:

1. A fishing industry with floating canneries but chartered to work in coastal waters.

2. Any food industry requiring quality control, health certification and marketing by whites.

3. Any technically based industry with high obsolescence rates and a high engineering content. Examples: Pharmaceuticals, specialty steels, engineering construction.

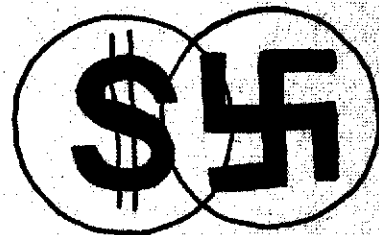
4. A nuclear power plant, and plants whose power depends on reactor materials which are peculiar to the United States.

5. A satellite broadcasting system with transmitters and programming in Portugal.

6. Almost any industry whose books and banking are done outside the country. A satellite system, for example, can enable the accounting to be done in Portugal.

My impression is that the past policies on investment in Angola may have biased things in the wrong direction. They have caused minimum investments to be made in the country, they keep the bulk of the cash flow general by Angolese products away from Angola. They keep labor rates at the lowest possible level, and leave blacks with the kinds of activities which are easiest to take over.

By contrast, it would seem more desirable to me if the industries were integrated enough for Angola to begin supplying some of its own needs; and were designed so the whites and blacks really needed each other. I propose that this calls for more factories which can turn out finished products, and where whites retain control of such things as quality control, marketing, design, and finance.



ON RESEARCH FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

During our brief tour I did not have the opportunity to visit any of the institutes which were mentioned in the plan for Angola. Since research is extremely important to economic development, and since a few things were suggested by the listings, a few comments might be useful.

First about budgets. I infer there is a total budget of about ten million dollars, spread over about ten institutes and about six years. The resultant average is not likely to come up with anything very good or very original. This surmise is not because I have any disregard for small efforts. Rather, the programs are likely to suffer because the groups are isolated from each other and from competition as well as from the potential market.

Their organization is also unclear. Not internally, but in the way they relate to the potential entrepreneurs who ought to be picking up anything that is discovered. I have the feeling, and perhaps quite unfairly, that these funds may be more of a subsidy for some school and a few professors than a serious and directed investment in the future.

BOMBS HIT PORTUGUESE RHODESIAN OFFICES

August 29, 1970--The Portuguese embassy in Washington, and the Rhodesian Information Office a few blocks away, were both extensively damaged by bomb blasts. A message from the "Revolutionary Action Party" was found near a door of the Portuguese embassy. The message read: "We are an African people and we are at war with all nationalistic institutions, organizations and governments that conduct and lend support to the exploitation and oppression of African people around the world--Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe shall and will be free." The Secret Service is investigating the bombings.

NEW DISCOVERY BY GULF OIL

"A new oil discovery in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda was announced during the second quarter. The new find is in a thick limestone section about 10 miles offshore where shallow oil zones have been recently developed. Although the full extent of the

discovery will not be known until additional wells are drilled later this year, a production test flowed 32-degree gravity oil at a rate exceeding 5,000 barrels per day. Average production has been increasing steadily since Cabinda Gulf Oil Company started producing oil late in 1968. Reaching 33,500 barrels a day in 1969, production continues to increase and 92,900 barrels a day were produced in June." The Cabinda production therefore is now surpassing Gulf's production from Canada (92,200 daily average barrels).

REPRINT: "THE WOMAN WITHOUT ARMS"

Laurinda Katoyo has no arms: they were blown off by the bullets of the Portuguese. Yet this sister is fighting in the heart of the armed struggle against colonialism in Angola. This is her story. It first appeared in AFRICASIA, March, 1970 and then in MPLA INFORMATION, June, 1970. It is translated into English here for the first time by the Africa Research Group.

Like in Vietnam, the tactic of "taking the fish out of water" is used here in Angola as the French had also done in Indochina and Algeria. It's the latest thing used by the Portuguese for psychological warfare: they burn the villages, destroy the towns with napalm, massacre the guerrillas and push the people towards the huge barbed camps set up near their fortified bases. Laurinda's story follows:

My husband and I came into the forest when we heard of the arrival of our comrades, so we could help them in the liberation of our country. In the forest, we lived well; we grew our own

food and gave some to our soldiers. But sometimes the *tugas* (Portuguese colonialists) launched ambushes when we were far from our villages at work.

They would shoot at us or throw grenades. We would flee towards the village, where there were militia to protect us. Sometimes they captured three or four people and tried to force them to tell where the guerrilla bases were. But the people preferred to die rather than denounce their comrades, in spite of the tortures of the colonialists.

One day the *tugas* came to our village. It was at dawn. Some of us were still sleeping. My husband was sick. When we saw them they were already in the village. They fired shots and threw grenades. We didn't even have time to hide in the bush. Later on the planes started dropping napalm bombs. My husband, struck by a bullet, fell dead. I was hit in one arm by a bullet. Another bullet tore off three fingers of the other arm. My friend Maria was struck in the leg.

Meanwhile, the others had taken refuge in the brush. We were along. Maria died later in the day. I stayed there, stretched out on the ground for several days without eating or drinking. My head burned with a fever, my wounds having become infected. On the fifth day, help came. I heard people talking, calling. I wanted to answer, to tell them I was there, but no noise came out of my mouth.

Finally they found me, the rotting corpse of my husband at my side. I heard the comrade say, "She is dead too;" but the medic said "No, she's breathing, she's still alive."

They took me to Chilela in some kind of a stretcher. They all thought I was going to die on the way. I had to stay four weeks on the base there



because the river was flooding and a week before a comrade had drowned trying to cross.

Finally they got me to the medical center, and from there I was sent to Zambia. I stayed in the hospital a long time. And there I lost my other arm which had rotted.

When I was well again, the rains had passed. I asked to be allowed to leave. The doctor refused. Leave to go where? To do what? he asked me. I told him I wanted to go back to Angola to help my comrades.

The doctor didn't say anything after that. He called the medic to tell him that I could leave. When I got back, I asked the comrades to let me work. Now I can no longer go out and work in the fields. But I make sure that the children without families are taken care of.

SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS PROTEST TRAIN DISASTER

On October 31, police armed with submachine guns broke up an infuriated crowd of black Africans protesting a railway crash which cost the lives of 12 blacks and injured 100 others. The accident occurred when a crammed passenger train taking workers from the all-black township of Soweto to Johannesburg crashed into the rear of an equally crammed train. Shouting "Why does it always happen to our trains?", a crowd of about 5,000 blacks gathered around the wreckage and threw stones at railway officials and policemen. With the aid of guns and dogs, the police prevented the blacks from surging forward around the bodies sprawled along the track. (N.Y. Times, 11-1-70)



CIGARETTES TOP AFRICAN STATES' BOYCOTT LIST

Carreras Rothmans, one of Britain's biggest cigarette exporters, has been chosen as the first target for a developing African boycott of European firms with large trading and financial interests in South Africa.

Four African Governments—the Sudan, Libya, Algeria and Tanzania—have either put Carreras' products on a blacklist or are about to do so. Their best-known export lines are Craven King Size and Dunhills.

The Foreign Office and Board of Trade have ordered an inquiry into this boycott. A spokesman for Carreras Rothmans told me that so far they had been officially notified only of a boycott ordered in the Sudan.

HELPING THE ARTS

They have placed their case before Sudan officials. 'We think that the action taken against us arises from a misunderstanding that we are owned or tied up with Rothmans of South Africa,' the spokesman said. 'The true position is that we are owned by shareholders in Britain and have no trading connections with Rothmans of South Africa. We manufacture some of their products under licence in the U.K.'

The power behind Rothmans of South Africa is a 54-year-old Afrikaner scientist, Dr. Anton Rupert, who resigned his lectureship at Stellenbosch University in 1948 and in 10 years turned himself into one of the world's

biggest tobacco manufacturers. He claims that one out of every 50 cigarettes smoked throughout the world comes from one of the 25 factories owned by him in 15 countries. His products are sold in 160 countries.

CONFRONTATION

Dr. Rupert is an architect of South Africa's policy of seeking coexistence with African and other Third World countries. He is the unpaid economic advisor to Lesotho's Prime Minister, Chief Jonathan Leabua. His firm spends heavily in helping to promote the arts and sport.

The boycott of Carreras Rothmans follows closely on a hitherto unreported decision taken earlier this month at the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, where it was agreed to set up a working party to investigate all the European firms which have extensive trading interests in South Africa as well as in other parts of the continent.

The working party's findings could mark the beginning of an extensive boycott of British and other firms trading with South Africa. Speaking of this possibility to the OAU conference, Tanzania's President, Julius Nyerere, said African States should not be afraid of telling countries trading with South Africa that 'if they continue being on the side of our enemies they are not on our side.' (London Observer, 27 Sept.)

STUDENTS

BLACK STUDENTS BREAK AWAY FROM NUSAS

John Sprack, who was elected President of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) in July 1967, and departed three months later, discusses the implications of the growing rift between black and white students in South Africa. [Reprinted with permission from Anti-Apartheid News, October 1970].

In the past, the British National Union of Students has given financial support, reported to amount to several thousand pounds, to the National

Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

Over the past few years, NUSAS has drifted slowly but surely to the right. This tendency has been matched by a growing wish on the part of black South African students to detach themselves from what is, in essence, a white dominated organisation.

The organisation which is now gaining ground rapidly among the 9,000 black students in South Africa is the South African Students' Organisation (SASO). Its president is Mr. Barney Pityana of Port Elizabeth. His application to the government for a passport had earlier been refused, and this

means that he will be unable to take up a scholarship at Durham University as he intended. This act of petty spite on the part of the South African government may prove to be unwise. SASO under Mr. Pityana's leadership shows promise of becoming an effective force for unity among black students in their fight against apartheid.

Speaking on behalf of the 100 delegates who met in Durban, in July, under the SASO banner, Mr. Pityana said: "Blacks are tired of standing on the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and by themselves."

In one year of existence, SASO has gained 3,000 members, spread over most of the black South African campuses, and totals about one-third of the black student population. Its meteoric rise has coincided with the stagnation of NUSAS.

NUSAS has about 27,000 members, 90 percent of them white, and virtually all of them from the large English-speaking campuses. Its membership is open to students of all races, and its policy is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Members of NUSAS have been active in protest against the apartheid system. A number of them have been fined for illegal marches aiming to bring to public attention the imprisonment without trial of African leaders.

But NUSAS' effectiveness in opposing apartheid has always been curtailed by the nature of its membership. Most of them are white, and most support the status quo.

Last year, NUSAS leaders went on a deputation to see Mr. Lowrens Muller, Minister of Police, in order to plead for a respite from Special Branch interference, and to request preferential treatment for certain student leaders who had been deported or had their passports withdrawn. Their representations appeared to ignore the estimated 10,000 political prisoners in South Africa. They also seemed to divorce the real, but relatively minor deprivations which student leaders were suffering, from the far more repressive conditions, under which the black majority of the country have to live.

Early this year, NUSAS, after making the routine condemnation of apartheid in sport, refused to condemn the proposed tour by an all-white South African cricket team to England this

summer. More recently, they invited Dennis Healey to come to South Africa as their guest. (When Healey was in the Labour cabinet, he was notable for his conciliatory attitude towards apartheid. It was he who led the abortive cabinet revolt in favour of supplying arms to South Africa). Healey delivered the seventh "Day of Affirmation of Academic and Human Freedom" address in Durban on September 17. In announcing the visit, Neville Curtis, recently elected for a second term as NUSAS President, commented, "We believe Mr. Healey will have much of interest to tell us. He has a high regard for human freedoms."

Criticism of NUSAS' gradual move to the right came from two guest speakers at their recent Congress in Eston, Natal, during July. The official opening speaker, Mrs. Fatima Meer, a Durban Indian sociologist, criticised the organisation for its lack of "firm ideological commitment."

Tony Klug, International Vice-President of the (British) National Union of Students was even more scathing when he spoke during the closing stages of the Congress.

He stated: "The NUS is convinced that there is no hope of a legal solution to South Africa's race problems and has pledged its support for the liberation movements." He was particularly concerned with the apparent frivolity of the majority of the delegates (mostly white) which he explained in terms of their loss of direction. This he felt was in any case inevitable: "With most white students belonging to the pro-apartheid Afrikaanse Studente Bond, with the virtual withdrawal of black students from NUSAS, NUSAS is today no longer a national union, but in trying to remain so, it forces itself to appeal to the conservative mass of white students and this is destroying its political relevance."

The emergence of SASO could be an extremely important step in the struggle of black people in South Africa to liberate themselves. The first indications are that it is proving very effective. Over 100 students took part in its recent Durban council (this was as many delegates as were at the NUSAS congress, and NUSAS has nine times as many members). At Turfloop, where SASO is strongest, 700 students marched on the Rector's office in early June, in protest against the

authoritarian set-up at the college. (Only 10 members of the student body did not join the march.)

It is against this background that the formation of SASO must be seen. Accusations of black racialism directed against it by white liberals are at best insensitive, at worst malicious.

Charles Sibisi, SASO's vice-president and international relations officer, stated in Durban recently: "What we want is not black visibility but real black participation. In other words, it does not help us to have several quiet black faces in a multi-racial student gathering which ultimately concentrates on what the white students believe are the needs of black students." The SASO executive would, however, keep open contact with white students, he said.

NUSAS PRESIDENT ACQUITTED

The President of NUSAS, Neville Curtis, and three University of Cape Town students were acquitted last month on charges of incitement. The charges arose out of demonstrations in May against the continued detention of 22 Africans under the Terrorism Act. At that time, Mr. Curtis led a student march downtown in defiance of a ban imposed by the Cape Town City Council. The State alleged that this constituted a violation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953. In a 3-day trial, the State failed to prove its case when, in a rare show of ineptitude, the head of the student section of Security Police incorrectly identified the four defendants from police photographs of the demonstrators. (*NUSAS Newsletter*, No. 22)

JOHANNESBURG DEFENDANTS ADMIT GUILT

The State has withdrawn the charges it had laid against 30 whites, including 17 students, for alleged offenses in terms of the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Acts. These charges, like those lodged against the Cape Town students, arose out of demonstrations last May when 357 protesters defied a government ban and marched on police headquarters to demand the release of African detainees. The State accepted an offer by the defense to pay a \$100 admission of guilt fine in return for the withdrawal of the charges.

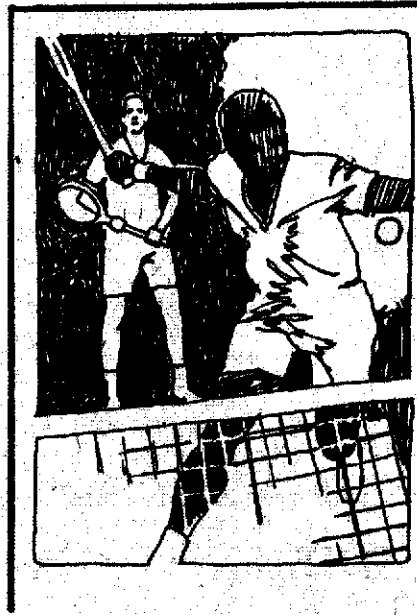
NUSAS REFORMED

The National Union of South African Students has considerably altered its organizational structure after a lengthy period of re-assessment. The 'new' NUSAS will be less overtly political than in the past and will concentrate far more on cultural and welfare programs. To this end, NUSAS will consist of three major departments to deal with welfare, education and cultural interests. The new constitution states that the organization will use as a policy guide the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights—previously the Declaration had been the basic policy of the organization. In making these changes at its recent Congress, a motion to dissolve the organization was defeated by 42 votes to 15. The movers of the motion claimed that the organization was no longer capable of fulfilling its aims and that it represented only a small body of English-speaking students and was unrepresentative of Black and Afrikaans-speaking students.

The Deputy President of the British National Union, Mr. Tony Klug, attended the Congress as an observer and during his address to the meeting expressed his Union's support for all liberation movements operating in

Southern Africa. The Congress dissociated itself from Mr. Klug's remarks. (See reprint above.)

Neville Curtis was re-elected President of the organization for another year at the Congress. Mr. Curtis has been the main architect of the changes in NUSAS.



S P O R T

COMMONWEALTH GAMES FEDERATION ATTACKS SOUTH AFRICA

At its recent meeting in Edinburgh, the Commonwealth Games Federation adopted a resolution deploring racial discrimination in sport and called upon all white members of the Commonwealth to sever all sporting links with South Africa. The resolution, sponsored by several African nations, was aimed at Britain, Australia and New Zealand, all of whom maintain close links with South African sport. The 1974 Games are to be held in Christchurch, New Zealand and Mr. Abraham Orida, President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, said of the decision that he hoped New Zealand would do nothing to precipitate problems about African attendance at the Games. Several African nations have already threatened to boycott the Games if New Zealand continues to maintain sporting links with South Africa. (*Toronto Globe and Mail, July 27, 1970*)

D E F E N C E

SECRET FRENCH ARMS DEALS WITH SOUTH AFRICA EXPOSED

For some time it has been general knowledge that France has been fulfilling much of South Africa's defense needs. However, exactly what was being sold to South Africa was not known. The Observer (Oct. 18, 1970) published an important exposure of the exact relationship between France and South Africa.

South Africa's virtual dependence on France for the more sophisticated arms and weapons systems used for its internal and external defence is revealed in a confidential dossier which the Organisation of African Unity delegation will take with them to Paris for their confrontation with President Pompidou this week.

Not only does the dossier bring to light the size of French arms sales, but the dramatic success of French industrialists and bankers in exploiting contacts arising from these sales to achieve a breakthrough into the economy of the apartheid Republic.

Arms deals between the two countries are, as far as possible, kept secret. In many cases they are routed through intermediaries like Switzerland or Djibouti, French Somaliland.

But more important than their arms sales, is the French contribution towards helping Mr. Vorster's regime to acquire both the technology and the capital to expand South Africa's capability to provide their own sophisticated military needs.

It is now known that in June 1968 credit guarantees were given to the Thomson-Houston-Hotchkiss-Brandt Company through the French Bank for Foreign Trade, BFCE, for the

study, application and production of a radar/ missile defence system, for environmental tests, and complementary research of maintenance in South Africa.

The contract was valued at 352.5 million francs, of which 50 million francs were subscribed by the French Government.

This contribution to South Africa's internal and external radar network is additional to the 5 million francs worth of radar equipment supplied in January 1967, and the 1.8 million francs worth of supplies in November 1969.

South Africa's internal defence relies heavily on the use of Panhard armoured cars. These are mostly manufactured, under French licence, in South Africa.

In May 1968 France sold 20 AML armoured vehicles for eight million francs. The engines for the Panhard are shipped either directly, or through Djibouti, French Somaliland. In March 1968 250 4HD engines were sold for 4.2 million francs.

The French also sell gun parts for field weapons used in South Africa's internal defence system. In August 1969 a gun parts contract worth 9.8 million francs was sold through the intermediary of Switzerland.

In May 1968, a ground-to-air missile system was supplied at a cost of 54 million francs. In April 1968 120 torpedoes were sold for 33 million francs.

South Africa's Air Force is now largely based on French aircraft. It flies at least 81 French helicopters.

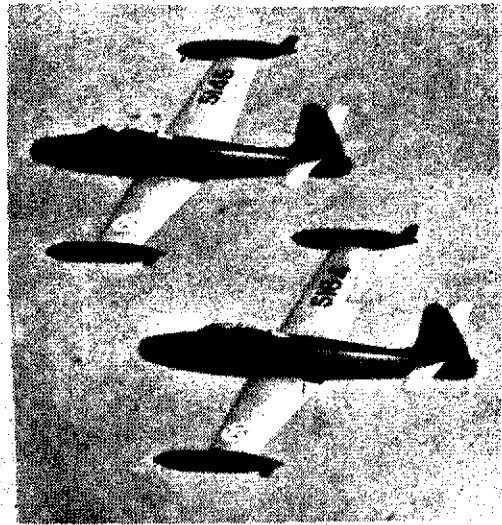
In 1967 the French component of the SA Air Force included: 40 Sabre interceptors; 16 3 CZ Mirage fighter bombers equipped with air-to-ground missiles AS 30; two squadrons of 3-E2 Mirage fighters (nine million francs each); three 205 Mysteres; 16 SA 3210 Super-Frelons helicopters (three engines); five Alouette jet helicopters; and a few Transall transport aircraft.

Between the summer of 1967 and June 1969 the following aircraft were supplied: 16 SA 3210 Super-Frelons helicopters (124 million francs); 19 Alouette III helicopters (2,500,000 francs); 20 SA 330 manoeuvre helicopters with their equipment (110 million francs), February 1969; nine Transall aircraft (137 million francs), June 1969; Mirage III aircraft (between 10 and 20); four III B Mirages; and 47 Matra 530 (15 million francs).

Further contracts have been signed for the delivery of replacement equipment including: three airframes for a Mirage III DZ (26 million francs), November 1967; equipment appliances for Mirage III (three million francs), September 1967; three jet engines ATAR delivered January, February and March 1969 (4,400,000 francs); and the supply of replacement parts for ATAR jet engines, December 1967, November 1968, January 1969 (six million francs).

France's sale of three Daphne submarines, each armed with 12 torpedoes, was kept secret. But there are still many items which remain on the secret list.

Prolonged negotiations between the two countries for the sale of French processes to build three nuclear power stations are believed to have come to an end.



U.S. and French aircraft with Portuguese markings fly in the skies of Mozambique

FACTS AND FIGURES on SOUTH AFRICA

The following information relates to racial discrimination in South Africa and is based on material gathered by the United Nations from a wide variety of sources.

population

	1960 Census	Mid-Year 1969 (Estimate)	
		Number	Per cent
Whites	3,080,159	3,728,000	19
Coloured	1,509,053	1,959,000	10
Asians	477,047	591,000	3
Africans	10,927,922	13,340,000	68
Total	15,994,181	19,618,000	100

african reserves

According to the South African Government, the Africans who constitute 68 per cent of the population have rights only in the scattered reserves, the so-called homelands which are now less than 12 per cent of the area of the country and will eventually be expanded to cover 13 per cent. It claims that the rest of the country is "white area".

The Government claims that the Africans constitute eight or nine "nations" and that the reserves are their "homelands". These "homelands" constitute scattered pieces of land, as follows:

Ethnic group	Population (1960 census)	Number of separate pieces of land in the reserve	Total area of the reserve (in morgen): 2.12 acres = 1 morgen
Xhosa	3,045,000	2 (Transkei)	3,980,647
Zulu	2,867,000	17 (Ciskei)	1,035,903
Swazi	334,000	29	3,585,212
North Sotho	971,000	3	519,057
South Sotho (Witziesshoek)	1,283,000	3	1,947,277
Tsawna	1,149,000	1	50,000
Tsonga		19	4,330,135
(Shangaan)	511,000	4	890,716
Venda	246,000	3	935,800

Only 5,100,000, or about 31 per cent of the Africans live in the reserves; the remainder live in the so-called white areas.

living standards decline

During the no confidence debate in the House of Assembly in February 1969, the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, said that the standard of living of the African people

in the reserves had either remained static or had fallen in the last 15 years. He recalled that the Tomlinson Commission had estimated in the mid-fifties that the *per capita* income in the reserves was 48 rand (\$67.20); of this 25.8 rand (\$36.10) was earned in the reserves and the remainder was obtained from people working outside the reserves. Another estimate indicates that at present the *per capita* income of Africans was 53 rand (\$74.20), of which 22 rand (\$30.80) was earned in the reserves. Taking the value of money into account, the standard of living of the people has fallen.

In the last six years, new jobs in industry have been created for less than 1,000 Africans in all the reserves in South Africa.

More than 40 per cent of the economically active men in the reserves are absent at any given time, working in the mines, factories, farms and homes in the "white areas".

During 1969 about 41,700 Transkeian Africans were employed in the Transkei; 155,400 were away as migratory workers.

The Transkei is so short of resources that of the Transkei Government's total budget of 20,344,000 rand (\$28,483,600) in 1969-1970, only 5,269,000 rand (\$7,376,600) is derived from Transkeian sources. The rest is covered by grants from the Central Government.

segregation and forced removals

A Population Register is maintained by the Department of the Interior, in terms of the Population Registration Act, in respect of every person in the country. All persons are classified into racial groups. Records in respect of Africans are maintained separately and cards for each person are filed numerically. Records of all others are maintained collectively. By 1968, the records covered an estimated 10.2 million Africans and 7.5 million others.

More than half of the entire Indian population of South Africa has been forcibly removed as a result of the "group areas" decisions. It is estimated that 2 million Africans will have to be resettled and rehoused in the province of Natal alone during the next five to 10 years.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party Member of Parliament, commented in February 1970:

... when the (Group Areas) Act was introduced in 1950, the then Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges, said that equal sacrifices would be required from all sections . . .

"But the truth of the matter is that white greed has motivated much of the implementation of the Act, so that the best business and residential sites could be handed over to the whites."

income, taxes, and government expenditure

The average white *per capita* income is about 95 rand (\$133.00) per month; for Africans it is about 7 rand (\$9.80) per month.

According to the 1966 statistics of the South African Department of Internal Revenue, 2,746 persons earned more than 20,000 rand (\$28,000) of taxable income. Of these, 2,738 were white, four Asian, two coloured and two Africans.

Africans, the poorest section of the population, are taxed more heavily than whites.

All African men over 18 years have to pay a fixed annual tax of 2.50 rand (\$3.50), plus a local tax of one rand (\$1.40) for every dwelling hut or unit. They are also liable to tribal levies. Whites do not pay these taxes and levies.

All Africans are liable to income-tax if they earn more than 360 rand (\$504). Whites do not pay income-tax on earnings of less than \$1,050 if single and \$1,400 if married. Africans get no tax relief for dependents.

Whites obtain refunds if the deductions are higher than the tax; Africans are entitled to no refunds unless the Secretary for Bantu Administration is satisfied that the circumstances of any particular case would warrant a refund.

Among the economically active whites in 1960, 18.5 per cent were engaged in professional, technical and managerial occupations, and 18.9 per cent had school leaving or matriculation certificates.

Among the economically active Africans, only 1.7 per cent were engaged in such occupations and only 0.1 per cent had school leaving or matriculation certificates.

In August 1969, the salaries of non-white medical staff in the Cape Provincial Hospital service were raised by 20 per cent to 37 per cent following protests against racial discrimination. The new salary scales, fixed by law, remain discriminatory, however. The new top salary scales in the various grades are as follows:

	Starting salaries		
	White	Coloured	African
	(in rands; one rand equals \$1.40)		
Intern	3,480	2,760	2,400
Medical Officer	7,200	5,700	5,100
Senior medical officer and specialist	8,400	6,300	5,700
Medical superintendent and senior specialist	9,000	6,900	6,300

In the Cape Province, a white nursing sister's commencing salary was raised in October 1969 to 2,040 rand (\$2,856) a year. A coloured nursing sister earns 960 rand (\$1,344). Their training is the same and there are standard qualifying examinations for both. Their duties are the same. Discrimination in pay is, therefore, based solely on grounds of race.

The wages of non-white workers in the various industries and in Government service are only a fraction of the wages earned by whites.

Industry	Average monthly earnings, 1968-69			
	Whites	Coloured	Asians	Africans
	(in rands; one rand equals \$1.40)			
Mining	297	62	76	18*
Building construction	282	98	135	45**
Wholesale trade	245	171	94	48
Retail trade	130	51	82	38
Banking institutions	205	56	72	53
Building societies	229	77	107	49
Public Service	211	100	127	36
Provincial administrations	198	49	67	32
Local authorities	230	71	50	38

health & medical services

The birth, death and infant mortality rates in 1967 were as follows:

	Birth rate (per 1,000)	Death rate (per 1,000)	Infant death (per 1,000 live births)
Whites	22.9	9.0	24.1
Asians	30.0	7.6	54.7
Coloured	43.3	15.7	136.8

(Similar statistics are not maintained for Africans.)

In 1969, for the first time, a South African insurance company offered disability insurance to professional and semi-professional Africans. The premium for Africans is 50 per cent more than the premium for whites because, according to the managing director of the company, Africans suffer a far higher mortality rate.

In 1967, there were 69,261 tuberculosis cases in South Africa, as follows:

Whites	1,244	Asians	1,150
Coloured	8,116	Africans	58,751

Kwashiorkor, a disease caused by malnutrition, affects mainly the Africans and coloureds. The incidence of the disease in 1967 was as follows:

Whites	7	Asians	12
Coloured	1,046	Africans	9,675

In South Africa, malnutrition is the cause of death of one coloured and two African children every 35 minutes. A survey conducted in 1966 indicated that almost half of the children born in a typical African reserve die before reaching the age of five years.

There are only about 150 African doctors in the Republic of South Africa.

The number of medical students in mid-1969 was as follows:

Whites	3,283	Asians	323
Coloured	136	Africans	149

In July 1969 the Department of Bantu Administration and Development sent a circular to municipalities that African doctors who applied for facilities in African townships in white areas (that is, outside the reserves) should not be granted these facilities lightly. African doctors who were already established in the townships would be encouraged to offer their services in the so-called homelands.

education

The *per capita* expenditure on education for African children is less than one eighth of that for white children.

While the Central Government and the provincial administrations spend almost 238 million rand (\$333 million) on white education, they spend only 14.5 million rand (\$20.3 million) on African education.

White and coloured school children receive free textbooks from the school authorities; African children in secondary and high schools are required to pay for school books.

Degrees and diplomas received at the end of 1968 (or early in 1969) were as follows:

	Degrees		Diplomas	
	Post-graduate	Bachelor's	Post-graduate	Non-graduate
Whites	2,296	6,245	931	1,268
Asians	50	208	48	33
Africans	46	172	32	113
Coloured	12	85	16	28

In 1968, there was only one qualified African engineer in South Africa and only three were training for this profession.

*Including cost of food and other benefits provided to the miners.
**In building construction, Africans are generally provided with free accommodations.

The Johannesburg Municipality's Non-European Affairs Department estimated in 1967 that 68 per cent of the families in Soweto, the African area of the city, had incomes below the estimated minimum family budget.

social disruption

South Africa's crime-rate increased 216 per cent between 1950 and 1966.

The percentage of people murdered in South Africa increased by 377 per cent over 16 years, and the number of persons imprisoned increased from 284,000 in 1955 to more than 500,000 in 1967. There are only 80,000 persons in prison at any one time.

South Africa has one of the largest average daily prison populations in the western world, more than double — in absolute figures — that of Britain with a population of 55 million against South Africa's estimated 19 million.

Hundreds of persons are prosecuted each year under the Immorality Act (section 16) which prohibits sexual intercourse between whites and non-whites.

repression

At the end of 1968, a total of 1,019 persons were serving prison sentences in South Africa under the four main security laws, as follows:

	Whites	Coloured	Asians	Africans	Total
"Sabotage Act" (section 21 of General Law Amendment Act of 1962)	11	17	14	374	416
Suppression of Communism Act	6	2	—	34	42
Unlawful Organi- zations Act	—	2	1	527	530
Terrorism Act	—	—	—	31	31
	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>966</u>	<u>1,019</u>

In addition, a large number of persons were detained without trial.

censorship

In 1969, the South African Publications Control Board prohibited 616 imported publications and 63 local publications. In the six years since the institution of the Board, from 1963 to 1969, a total of 4,402 publications were prohibited.

It was estimated in June 1969 that there were some 13,000 prohibited publications, including those banned by the Censorship Board before the Publications Control Board was created in 1963.

It is an offence to disseminate or reproduce the utterances or writings of (a) listed communists; (b) other banned persons; and (c) exiles listed by the Minister of Justice.

The writings or speeches of about 750 persons are thus banned in South Africa.

military establishment

South Africa now possesses military equipment worth more than 2 billion rand (\$2.8 billion).

The South African budget estimates for defence increased from 40 million rand (\$56 million) in 1959-1960 to 271.6 million rand (\$380.24 million) in 1969-1970.

The strength of South Africa's Defence Force, including average number of members of the Citizen Force who are under-military training, is estimated at 39,700, as follows:

	Regular	Citizen Force
Army	5,700	22,300
Navy	2,500	1,200
Air Force	5,000	3,000
Total	13,200	26,500

When fully mobilized, South Africa's armed forces (including men who have completed Citizen Force training) would total 85,500. In addition, there are about 58,000 part-time militia.

police force

The authorized strength of the South African Police Force has increased from 20,588 at the end of 1948 to 34,437 at the end of 1969. The number of generals in the police force increased during that period from two to 45.

foreign investment

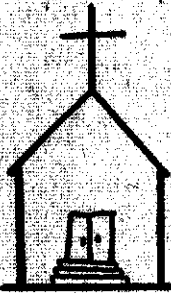
By the end of 1968, total foreign investment in South Africa was \$6,416 million. Of this, 31 per cent was in manufacturing industry. Foreign interests controlled 22 per cent of the country's manufacturing industry.

Foreign investment in South Africa increased from 2,790 million rand (\$3,906 million) at the end of 1956 to 4,583 million rand (\$6,416 million).

The source of foreign investment at the end of 1968 was as follows:

Sterling area	— 2,867 million rand
Dollar area	— 675 million rand
Western Europe	— 864 million rand
International Organizations (International Monetary Fund and World Bank)	— 138 million rand
Other	— 39 million rand
Total	4,583 million rand

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA



CHRISTIAN CHALLENGE

Christian ministers have often been prominent in the campaign against apartheid in South Africa. In the 1940's the Rev. Michael Scott was imprisoned in South Africa for defying the Group Areas Act. In the 50's Bishop Ambrose Reeves decided to close the Anglican Church Schools in his Johannesburg diocese rather than accept the discriminatory provisions of the Bantu Education Act, and Father Trevor Huddleston, now Bishop of Stepney, identified himself with the African people of Sophiatown, who were forcibly removed from their homes near the center of Johannesburg because they constituted a "Black spot" in a White area. Throughout the sixties the pressures mounted against individual Christians, as against others, who have stood out against the injustices of apartheid, and they have faced deportation like Bishop Mize in South West Africa, or Father Traber

and others in Rhodesia. Nationals like Dr. Beyers Naude of the Dutch Reformed Church have been ostracized by their own communities. Under the leadership of these men and many others most Christian churches have become increasingly outspoken in their condemnation of apartheid wherever it is applied.

However, in the face of increased political pressure against the churches in South Africa by the defensive and hostile government, Christians within that sad country seem to be less willing to take dangerous or risky stands against apartheid on the basis of their religion.

The focus of resistance has now moved from South Africa to Rhodesia, where the Land Tenure Act threatens the work of the churches. Roman Catholic Church leaders in Rhodesia were the first to warn the Smith government of the dangers of implementing legislation "contrary to Christian faith." A pastoral letter, signed by the Archbishop of Salisbury, the

Most Rev. Francis Marell, and the four Catholic bishops, said that since the Referendum in June 1969 the Church's worst fears had been realized and laws had been passed which precipitated a most serious crisis for the Church in Rhodesia and was bringing to an end the understanding and co-operation which had existed previously between Church and State.

The Government declined to comment on the statement. The Rhodesian Herald (Mar. 24) said that the Church stood to lose all its legal rights if it refused, as the pastoral letter had indicated that it would, to comply with laws which limited its freedom to deal with all people regardless of race. A Church spokesman had said that the Church would refuse to register as a "voluntary organization" under the new Land Tenure Act. A Jesuit priest, Father Randolph, has pointed out that non-compliance with the Act could lead to loss of all legal rights, and if the Church's African tenants were not re-registered under the Act, they could, after a period of six months, become liable to eviction.

When delegates from Christian churches in seven Southern African countries met on April 27 they urged Rhodesian churches to defy the Land Tenure Act. A unanimous resolution was passed (see *Southern Africa, June-July 1970*) and forwarded to the heads of Rhodesian churches, who met the following day. A statement issued after the Rhodesian church leaders met announced a decision to unite in their defiance of the new laws. Signatories to the statement represented the

Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, the Salvation Army, and various Evangelical churches.

Perhaps because of strong church denunciation of the Land Tenure Act, Rhodesia's Prime Minister recently announced that he had agreed to amend it to enable the churches to continue their non-racial work on mission land without having to apply for State permission.

The major denominations had decided to defy the provisions of the Land Tenure Act by refusing to register as "voluntary associations," despite the risk of prosecution. They said that registration implied that the State had the right to withdraw permission for multi-racial Church activities. (*East African Standard*, 8/27/70)

HYMNAL CALLS SAINTS AND APOSTLES "BAAS"

Members of Malmesbury Dutch Reformed Church (Coloured) in South Africa are going ahead with a protest over their apartheid hymn book despite church officials' warnings. The protest is over the use of the word "Baas" (commonly used by Africans when referring to their white masters or bosses) when referring to the Saints and Apostles. So far 700 signatures have been put to a petition protesting use of the hymnbook. Malmesbury Sendingkerk is the last of 200 Coloured D.R.C. churches being forced to accept the controversial apartheid hymn book. (*Post*, Feb. 15, 1970)

DETENTION DISMAYS METHODISTS

Delegates of the Methodist Church of South Africa recently came out

strongly against the long detention of people in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 6-24-70)

In addition, Mr. B. de Villiers of the Christian Institute of South Africa has urged church leaders everywhere to condemn detention without trial. Mr. de Villiers is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa; he made his statement in August at the World Alliance of Reformed Churches meeting in Nairobi. When the World Alliance meeting opened, it was addressed also by Miss Margaret Kenyatta, Mayor of Nairobi, who urged the Alliance to continue to show the world the right way by "struggling to provide true freedom." (*East African Standard*, 8-27-70)

SOUTH AFRICA SEEKS TO OUST PRIEST

A Roman Catholic priest who preached against apartheid has been ordered to leave South Africa by the end of August. The Rev. David Shanahan, a 29-year-old Irishman, received the orders to leave the country in a letter from the Secretary of the Interior.

In response to the order, the Rev. Shanahan decided to attempt to become a permanent resident or citizen of South Africa so he could not be expelled on the basis of being an alien. To date he has not yet left South Africa. (*New York Times*, 9-23-70)

CATHOLICS SAY "NO" TO ARMS

The Roman Catholic Church in Eastern and Central Africa was opposed to the British Government's proposal to sell arms to South Africa. A resolution condemning any sale of the weapons was passed at the Eastern and Central African Bishops' Confer-

ence in Lusaka in August. (*East African Standard*, 8-29-70)

BRITISH COUNCIL SUPPORTS FREEDOM FIGHTERS

The recent World Council of Churches support for the non-military work of the liberatory movements of Southern Africa (see *Southern Africa*, Sept. 1970) has caused a storm of reaction along a rather varied spectrum. The Presbyterian Church of South Africa has refused to withdraw from the World Council of Churches, even though Vorster has threatened South Africa's churches if they do not. The most recent positive reaction to the WCC support is from the British Council of Churches. Soon to be released is a radical report on "Violence in Southern Africa" which will outline the BCC's reaction and action.

The working party report backs to the hilt the World Council's line and calls on Christian organizations around the world to raise funds to assist African liberation movements. It accepts the validity of the concept of a 'just rebellion' and claims that the resistance and liberation movements in Southern Africa are engaged in such a rebellion.

The report is likely to embarrass many church leaders. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ramsey, is known to be anxious about the effect its recommendations may have. Dr. Ramsey is president of the British Council of Churches and is visiting South Africa in November.

The working party, set up two years ago to produce a Christian assessment of the problem, does not commit either the British Council or its member Churches. It was chaired by Mr. Philip Mason, until last year the director of the Race Relations Institute.

INSIDE RHODESIA

RECOGNITION BY BRITAIN?

The thorny question of how Britain will deal with Rhodesia continues to be a source of concern to persons with an interest in Southern Africa. In this connection, Sir Alec Douglas Home's evasive answers do little to placate, much less offer hope to, those who oppose the present unhappy state of affairs. ZAPU's representative in London warned: "Her Majesty's Government, in order to guarantee what to them will be an "honorable" act, will enter into secret arrangements with

the regime against the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people. The regime is, of course, not very optimistic about the possibility of a loud declaration of recognition by any government at the moment, but what it needs, and what will be forthcoming from the Conservative administration, is such resumption of economic relations as will create a viable economy and an easy access to armaments. These factors will strengthen the existing military cooperation between the South African and Rhodesian regimes against our partisans." (*Third World Reports*, July 1970) In August, the British Government categorically denied a London

newspaper report that Britain had decided to end the Royal Navy's patrols at Beira. (*EAS*, Aug. 6, 1970)

The Heath administration's oft-repeated statement, namely that any settlement with the rebel regime would have to be within the context of the five principles set out by Britain, is "not quite the same as saying that Britain will not recognize Rhodesian independence UNTIL it adopts a constitution which is in strict conformity with the five principles..." as was pointed out by Roy Lavis with typical British understatement. (*London Times*, as reproduced in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, Aug. 8, 1970)

MORE CARS FOR RHODESIA

Renault and Alfa Romeo have joined the ranks of sanctions-busters by sending their cars in the form of kits, to be assembled inside Rhodesia, a method used by a number of French, German and Japanese car exporters since 1968 to circumvent sanctions. "This latest coup by the Government will bring sighs of relief from harassed potential car buyers," says a press report. (*Rhodesian Commentary, Sept. 1970*)

The international community waged a successful battle against the intransigence of the rebel regime by forcing Rhodesia and South Africa out of the Commonwealth Medical Association. The Association, in a statement on the expulsion, said: "Conditions in the medical associations of South Africa and Rhodesia are inconsistent with the aims and objectives of the . . . Association." It went on to point out that the medical associations of the two countries refuse to mix blood for transfusion purposes between the members of different racial groups, and they maintain separate hospitals and medical schools. While indignant Rhodesian doctors are quick to point out that medical apartheid is not as strict as in South Africa (indeed many of them deny that it does in fact exist), the difference at the present time is not one of kind but only of degree.

FIFTY AWAIT EXECUTION

To consolidate its grip on Rhodesia, the Smith regime has systematically and ruthlessly imprisoned, detained and/or otherwise restricted its political opponents. The Publicity Secretary of the African Peoples Union, giving testimony before the U.N. Ad Hoc Committee on Human Rights in Lusaka, said fifty freedom fighters were awaiting execution in the Salisbury Central Prison (*DN, Aug. 15, 1970*).

Lord Alport denied reports that he was visiting Rhodesia in an official capacity. Alport, who served as Wilson's special representative in 1967 to try to settle the constitutional impasse, stressed the private nature of his present trip. "Whatever I learn on this private tour will be my own business for use as someone who has done a good deal of writing and broadcasting on Africa during the last few years." (*DN, Sept. 9, 1970*)

PROSPECT OF TRIBAL COLLEGES EMERGES

Inside Rhodesia, belief is gaining ground in political and academic circles in Salisbury that the Rhodesian Government is planning to establish a separate university for Africans, based on the South African pattern. Recent disturbances at Salisbury's multi-racial University College, involving mainly African students, have led to demands by right-wing critics of the Government for separate development in the field of higher education. (As we all know from the South African experience, the euphemism "separate development" is all separation and as little development as possible.) The main obstacle thus far, according to reports, has been the cost of actually setting up a separate university college and also of finding sponsorship for its degrees. (It will be recalled that in the very near future, all Rhodesian degrees will no longer be conferred by London or

Manchester Universities and that this was one of the causes of the recent disturbances at the University College.) According to the *Daily Nation* of Aug. 10, the first steps towards the goal of separate educational institutions based on race have already been taken. A team of education experts from South Africa recently visited the teacher-training college at Gwelo and their brief, now in the hands of Government and university officials, investigated the feasibility of turning the college at Gwelo into a University College conferring bachelor of education degrees (not hitherto offered). A recently retired Secretary for African Education publicly hinted that the matter of awarding B.Ed. degrees at Gwelo was "wholly within the Ministry's thinking." It has been suggested that the significance of South African experts being called in lies in the proposal that the new institution should be affiliated to the University of South Africa.

ECONOMICS

MORE LIBERAL POLICY ON AFRICAN LABOR?

The debate seesaws in South Africa over the use of African labor in urban areas. This debate is seen by some in South Africa as a crucial contest in the future of apartheid. These analysts contend that if the government gives in and asserts that Africans have a right to work in the "white cities" that the grand design of apartheid, the "homelands" policy to remove as many Africans as possible to Bantustans and only keep a minimal number of African workers in the city, has failed. In fact, the ultra-right-wing in South Africa, the ideological purists, fear the same thing.

In many ways the debate is misleading. Apartheid is based on a belief in white supremacy and the belief that whites should be allowed to make all the rules of the game. Whether the government affirms the right of Africans to work in white cities or not, that central belief will not change.

"Liberal" hopes were dampened recently when the Minister of Labor,

Mr. Viljoen, said: "an undiluted flow" of African workers to the cities would not be permitted. Critics said this policy on restricting African labor would have serious economic consequences on South Africa's growth and expansion. Critics contend that South Africa's most dire problem is her shortage of skilled labor and non-white manpower must be utilized to overcome this shortage.

Prior to Mr. Viljoen's comment, critics hopes had been raised by a proposed compromise with industry by Dr. Diederichs, the Minister of Finance.

Diederichs had proposed that if the industrialists aided the government in the execution of its Bantustans and border area program, then more African workers would be allowed into the urban areas. (*Rand Daily Mail, 9-9-70*) Symptomatic of the serious questions being asked about the skilled manpower shortage is the fact that a recent survey of American businessmen showed that only 40% think the South African economy is very healthy, compared to 75% in 1969.

A further damper on liberalized labor policies was recently provided by the government in other ways as well. Recently the government decreed that in the border area of Rosslyn, job reservation in the motor industry must be made more rigorous. This means that 20% of the labor force must be white. For Chrysler in Pretoria, 30% must be white and 40% Coloured. In May 1969, Chrysler's plant was only 37% white or Coloured.

The *Financial Mail*, a major business magazine in South Africa, said this decree placed "another massive obstacle in the path of African advancement, as well as a heavy additional burden on the industries concerned" (*FM*, 9-4-70). It seems clear that the South African government is willing to inhibit economic growth to stop a substantial compromise on apartheid. This most recent decree is seen by many as an attempt to placate right-wing white unions.

Add to this the government declaration to push Africans and Coloureds out of certain jobs in shops and offices in "white urban" areas and there are very few recent signs of relaxation of restrictive labor laws.

ATTACK ON DISPARITY OF WAGES

Mrs. Helen Suzman, the sole Progressive M.P., recently criticized the growing gap between the salaries of white and Non-white civil servants, teachers, and nurses. She stated there could be no justification for paying different salaries to people with the same qualifications.

Mrs. Suzman criticized the argument that Non-whites have a lower standard of living and therefore require less, saying "Non-white people live at lower standards because they are paid lower wages, not because they wish to."

Recent pay increases for civil servants had given Whites \$450 more a year and Non-whites \$48 more a year.

In regard to teachers, Mrs. Suzman pointed out that a White teacher might earn \$5,180 a year in a certain grade, while an equally highly skilled Coloured teacher earned \$3,780 and African teachers \$2,800.

THE MINING INDUSTRY

A quick glance at the mining industry in the economy has been provided by a Johannesburg Sunday Times survey in South Africa. The following points are included, reproduced from the South African Digest, a right-wing news review:

In less than 100 years the mining industry has set up the basis of a powerful integrated economy in South Africa. Out of it has grown the manufacturing and construction industries which today contribute over R2,500 million each year to the country's gross domestic product (\$3,500 million).

The mining industry forms the biggest single market in South Africa, the survey continues. Last year, the country's mines bought supplies valued at over R535-million from South Africa's industries and farms.

Today the mining industry employs about 650,000 people of all population groups. Allowing for the families of these mineworkers, over two million people throughout South Africa are tied to the industry. Salaries and wages approaching R400 million are distributed among the people. [The majority of the 850,000 are Africans, employed as unskilled laborers and paid below subsistence wages.]

Another contribution is the tax payment of over R200 million a year to the Government.

The real importance of the mining industry lies in its vital contribution to export earnings. Last year the industry exported minerals worth R1,240 million, including a R840 million contribution by gold.

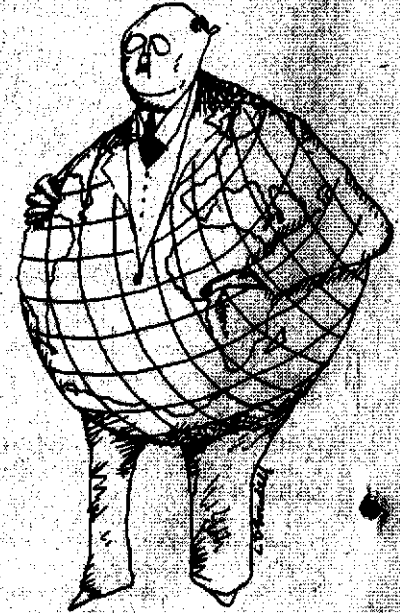
The industry contributed a massive 52% of all South Africa's foreign exchange earnings of R2,372 million last year. (*South African Digest*, 9-11-70)

Such a review of course neglects to mention certain salient facts. For instance, Dr. F. Wilson, a South African economist, contends in a book soon to be published that the real buying power of an African mineworker in the 1890's exceeds his buying power in 1970, as the rise in wages has not been in keeping with the rise in cost of living.

NORTH AMERICAN MINING GROUPS OPEN OPERATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Three of the largest mining groups in North America, one of which ranks among the biggest companies in the world, have opened South African offices in the past few months. The newcomers include the world's biggest lead/zinc mining company, Consolidated Mining and Smelting, based on Montreal. The other two companies are Utah Mining and Construction Co., and T.G. Exploration, a subsidiary of Texas Gulf Sulphur.

Details of any concessions granted to these companies so far are not available; but it is known that T.G. Exploration is operating near Uitenhage, where it is understood to have a 50,000-morgen concession. Consolidated Mining and Smelting's SA subsidiary, Eland Mining, is opening a Windhoek (Namibia) office, a decision which directly opposes the wishes of the U.N. Council on Namibia.



It is clear that at this stage the companies do not intend to take SA partners into their exploration efforts. But this does not preclude a South African share at the mining stage.

However, more details are available about another U.S. group planning a South African operation: ARMCO, the giant mining and engineering concern. While no local mining office has been established by ARMCO, Johannesburg sources say the company will invest about R30 million into new South African mines (about \$42 million) — mainly chrome producers, and almost certainly on the rich Merensky reef in the eastern Transvaal. (*Newsweek*, Aug. 21, 1970)

JAPAN HOPES TO BUY SOUTH AFRICAN COAL

The Japanese steel industry may turn to South Africa as a new supply of coking coal in the wake of miners' strikes and price increases in the United States.

A Japanese mission recently returned from a one-month tour of South Africa and reported to Prime Minister Eisaku Sato that Japanese industry will soon face a serious shortage of coal. The mission reportedly requested political considerations in accelerating imports from South Africa.

Earlier this year the Japanese industry contracted to import two million tons of coking coal from the Transvaal Coal Owners Association (TCOA). Mr. R. A. Lee, chairman of the TCOA, who signed the agreement, said this gave South Africa its first opportunity to enter the international coal market as a major exporter under long-term contracts. (*Johannesburg Star*, 8-29-70)

G.E. SUBSIDIARY AWARDED GOVERNMENT RAILWAY CONTRACT

General Electric's subsidiary in South Africa has just been awarded a \$24 million contract by the South

African government to build the largest and most powerful diesel electric locomotives to go into service in the Republic.

Contracts such as this illustrate the close business relationship between companies like G.E. and the South African government. If G.E., for instance, was either publicly or privately critical of South Africa's apartheid system, it might jeopardize future contracts. As a result, "good corporate citizens" in South Africa are forced out of self-interest to be "silent citizens" cooperating in as full and friendly a way as possible.

In addition to the content of the locomotives will be up to 40% locally made, with all the steel used in the units locally made. The local content program is an economic program designed by the government to strengthen, diversify and make self-sufficient the South African economy. G.E.'s contract is but one more step in making that design a reality. (*South African Digest*, 6-19-70)

ANOTHER LINK WITH ISRAEL

Another link between South Africa and Israel was forged last week with the signing of a financial credit agreement between the two countries.

The signing of the agreement to establish a line of credit for R10,700,000 between Israel and the Republic, was the culmination of negotiations for the establishment of a line of credit for the export of capital goods from South Africa to Israel. [\$1=R1.4]

As a result of the establishment of this line of credit, South African exporters will be able to offer extended credit terms to Israeli importers, while receiving the full cash price once delivery has been effected in Israel. (*South African Digest*, 7-31-70)



LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

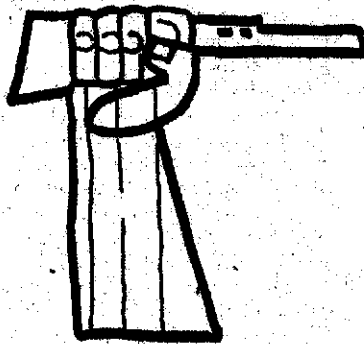


SEPTEMBER IN LUSAKA

The Southern African liberation struggle was the unanimous central focus of the early September Lusaka Summit Conference of 57 non-aligned nations. Although more press attention was paid to the Zambian arrest of 16 reporters at the beginning of the meetings than to the substance of "Third World" concerns, it is interesting to tie the Southern Africa focus with the year and the location of the meeting. As the *Baltimore Sun* put it, "Delegates are meeting here within range of South Africa's French-built missile system, the Rhodesian and South African artillery at nearby Chirundu and probably within occasional view of South African spy planes overhead." (9-7-70) It was this reality in addition to the traditional disarray of other political issues, which invigorated Southern Africa. President Kenneth Kaunda, described as "engaged in a personal crusade" in Southern Africa (BS, 9-7-70) reflected the majority opinion when he condemned western powers and Japan for investments in and arms sales to minority regimes; and stressed the importance of non-collaboration with the Cabora Bassa scheme and the concrete pressure for granting captured guerrillas a prisoner-of-war status under the Geneva Convention. The Lusaka Conference followed on the heels of the Organization of African Unity Addis Ababa summit where commitment to the liberation struggle (although often undefined in terms of African member nation commitment) and mounting pressure against arms sales to South Africa were prominent issues. At that OAU meeting, Kaunda as Chairman of the gathering together with the foreign ministers of Algeria, Cameroun, Mali, and Kenya were appointed to visit the major European capitals to protest breaks in the arms embargo including the major supplier, France. Similar commitments emerged from the broader non-aligned Lusaka group, including a resolution which called for a diplomatic and trade embargo against South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia; the refusal of landing rights and port facilities to airlines travelling to or from these countries (a suggestion

made by Haile Sellassie, which would affect 15 airlines, including Pan Am, El Al and airlines from Malawi and Madagascar—*Baltimore Sun*, 9-9-70); and more effective support for the liberation movements including perhaps a special fund for the victims of apartheid and racism. (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-12-70)

The final resolution was reported to be toned down from original proposals, and the lobbyists for the French cause managed to have France removed from the limelight for its violation of the arms embargo (France



was roundly condemned at the previous OAU meeting). (*Washington Post*, 9-11-70) The Guyana delegation gave flesh to the support liberation resolution by pledging annual contributions to the movements. (*Washington Post*, 9-10-70) The liberation movements' spokesman was Dr. Agostino Neto, President of MPLA, although there was some dissent on the part of the PAC delegation and others. (*Daily Nation*, 9-11-70)

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TESTIFIES TO NEED FOR ARMED LIBERATION

The Ad Hoc Committee on Human Rights is a United Nations committee which has for several years been recording and reporting on the violation of human rights in Southern Africa, particularly among prisoners and trade unionists. Meeting in early August in Dar-es-Salaam, an ANC spokesman,

Duma Nokwe, is reported to have described the policy of genocide of the South African regime in alliance with NATO powers and Japan, and concluded that the armed revolution was justified in light of this policy and because South Africa threatened the rest of Africa and the world with her expansionist military and commercial policies. He called resolutions at the U.N. ineffectual because the major powers "actively and clandestinely help the South African regime to flout the U.N. resolutions with impunity." Mr. Nokwe, the Director for Political Affairs, said the U.N. should help the liberation movements and they should participate in U.N. discussions. (*East African Standard*, 8-8-70; *Standard of Tanzania*, 8-8-70)

GUERRILLA SHOWS SCARS FROM JAIL

A guerrilla fighter stripped off his shirt before the U.N. human rights team in Dar-es-Salaam in August, displaying scars on his back which he alleged were inflicted by the knives of Portuguese officials in a Mozambique jail.

Mr. Muarabu Shauri, a member of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), was testifying about prison conditions in Mozambique to an ad hoc group of experts of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, meeting during a world tour.

He told them he had first been arrested in 1957—before FRELIMO was founded—because he had sold fish across the border in Tanzania and because he was suspected of subversive activity.

In prison he had been beaten 40 times with a wooden mallet. In 1964 he was re-arrested on suspicion of being a member of FRELIMO, and put in prison in Mocimboa da Praia, northern Mozambique.

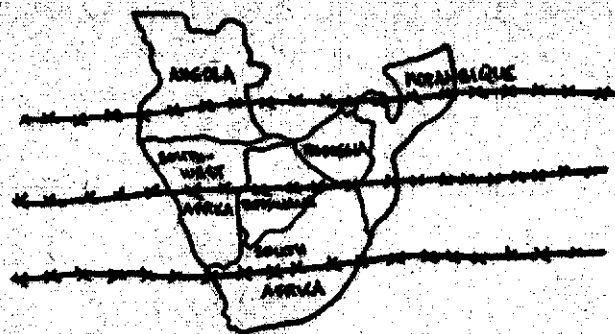
There, he alleged, he saw pregnant women prisoners cut open and killed. On another occasion six prisoners were hanged, and while they were being hanged they were whipped by prison officials.

It was here that his back was cut with knives. He showed the experts his scars.

He also claimed that prisoners were forced to run two miles over sharpened sticks from the prison to the sea, where they bathed. They were completely naked, and village women were invited to come and see the spectacle, he said.

In 1966, he was moved to Lourenco Marques. In that prison there were 150 prisoners in a cell, and he alleged they had to sleep on top of each other.

Later he was sent to Limpopo prison, where prisoners had to perform forced labor for 12 hours a day, with only a 30-minute break for lunch. He added that in northern Mozambique—part of which FRELIMO claims to control—the Portuguese organization of provincial volunteers bombed fields of millet and maize. (*East African Standard*, 8-10-70)



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK AMERICAN VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Carl T. Rowan, journalist and former U.S. Ambassador to Finland, recently returned from a trip to South Africa. He was refused service by a white taxi driver, but according to the *Johannesburg Star* he was not upset, saying, "I have been through incidents like this in my own country on countless occasions." (8-29-70)

Rowan was surprised at the warmth of the reception he received from white South Africans who support a government that is as inhuman to Africans as is the South African Government and had this to say about the strange paradox. The white South African, according to Rowan, has an inward shame about what exists because "intellectually they sense the wickedness of apartheid and they do not want the entire world to regard them as race-crazy ogres. . . . A foreign black is not a threat to them because he will go away. For South African blacks, the white has a gut level fear. Rowan concludes: "There is an intellectual commitment of civility and gentility versus (a) glandular concern for survival, and out of the collision has come the most intimidating, offensive array of laws, decrees and regulations this side of Moscow." (*The Evening Star*, 9-4-70)

Rowan came away pessimistic about change. "So efficient is the police state apparatus in this country, so pervasive are the physical controls on personal movement and contacts, so harsh are the prohibitions against

non-white action, so shrewd are the white tactics of divide and rule, that virtually no one here believes a successful revolt is possible. . . . If there is any bloodbath in South Africa in the foreseeable future it will be the blood of black men being spilled. For despite the shame and world-wide revulsion of the massacre of Africans at Sharpeville 10 years ago, no one here doubts for a moment that any non-white rebellion would again be put down ruthlessly by guns blazing from tanks, helicopters and all the other death-dealing devices of the most powerful military machine on the continent." (*The Sunday Star*, 9-13-70)

EDITOR CALLS SOUTH AFRICA SICK

Mr. Donald Woods, editor of the *East London Daily Dispatch*, gave the annual Day of Affirmation address at the University of Cape Town. He had the following remarks to make about South Africa: "In South Africa we have more alcoholics than policemen. We Whites are the world's leading drinkers of hard liquor, the world's heaviest smokers, the world's most frequent divorcers, and the world's most lethal drivers. These are the statistics of tension. . . . Tuberculosis kills 40 South Africans a day and 2/3rds of all our citizens suffer from malnutrition. More than 20 percent of our people require psychiatric treatment and 25 South Africans die every day through criminal violence." He

called for a new kind of patriotism that was not based on "my country right or wrong." (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-12-70)

BANTUSTAN DEVELOPMENT

The Transkei, the most advanced of all of South Africa's Bantustans, will be given added powers according to Mr. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. In 1963 the Transkei was given "partial internal self-rule" having responsibility for the governmental departments of Agriculture/Forestry, Justice, Roads and Works, Education, Interior and Finance. Now, the added departments will be those of Police, Prisons, and Health Services.

When asked for details, Botha refused to give them. And he refused to give any kind of time-table, saying, "Every day, every moment we do everything that is practically possible. . . . Independence must come when the time is ripe. . . . we cannot give the hour and the day." The other homelands will be developed as the Transkei has been. However, Botha did say that political independence for the Bantu homelands was not dependent on these areas achieving full economic viability. (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-12-70)

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

A policeman who was convicted for assaulting three African prisoners with a hosepipe, after which an African woman died, is not being fired, but is being kept on the police force. (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-5-70)

The following advertisement appeared in the October 19, 1970 *Wall Street Journal* under the prominent face of a smiling African. For the REAL trust about black capitalism in South Africa, continue to read *Southern Africa, A Summary of News and Opinion*. We can't afford an ad in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Habakuk Shikwane Is a Black Capitalist

And so are Richard Maponya, Benjamin Salinda, Ephraim Tshabalala and hundreds of other Bantu in South Africa. Unlike some of his fellow black entrepreneurs who have already made their first million, Mr. Shikwane is still working towards that goal. But at 43 he owns Africa's largest cane furniture plant and will soon be exporting to Europe and the United States.

The Bantu Investment Corporation put Habakuk Shikwane in business. In the past decade the BIC has assisted more than 1,000 other black businesses with direct loans and approximately 2,000 through commercial credits. It has helped establish a large number of bus services, 26 savings banks and anticipates spending a further \$145.6 million on black homeland development in the next five years.

The road to independence for South Africa's eight Bantu nations is not reserved for politicians. The BIC and other corporations are promoting black capitalism in these homelands with direct financial assistance. And private enterprise—South African and foreign—are doing so indirectly through border industries and in the homelands on an agency basis. This is where many Bantu capitalists first acquire their skills.

Further information can be obtained from: The Director, South African Information Service, 655 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10021.

URBAN AFRICANS RESIST TRIBAL SEPARATION

The Soweto Urban Bantu Council is protesting the government's refusal to allow individual council members to represent individual Africans who have problems, for example with the Influx Control Laws. The Government's position is that the Council's work is to deal with municipal matters only. An African in trouble must rely for help on a tribal council. That is, the individual tribal territorial authorities were free to appoint urban representatives to deal with members of each individual nation.

This policy is stated by Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. Piet Koornhof. "It is the policy of the Government to develop the various Bantu peoples into self-governing nations in their own areas. . . In the White areas, members of these individual nations are regarded as visitors where they are permitted to perform such labour as is made available to them. No country can allow citizens of another to enter that country at will."

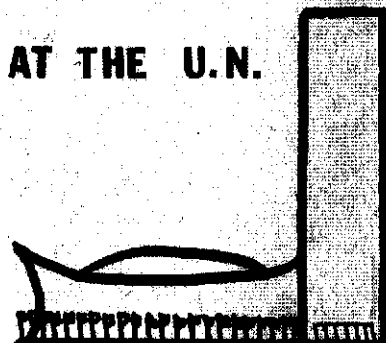
The members of the Urban Bantu Council are threatening to quit the council and return to the old location advisory boards if the government insists on its position. (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-5-70)

JOB RESERVATION

The Government's policy of job reservation leads to some very difficult and conflicting situations. African brick layers are using garden trowels rather than builders trowels to lay bricks. This allows Africans to do the job that they would not be allowed to do if they used "artisan" tools, which are the tools of skilled (read white) laborers. (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-12-70)

In theory, Africans are allowed to perform every kind of job within the Bantu homelands. However, the white Mineworkers Unions are protesting the use of Africans in positions ordinarily reserved for whites (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-5-70), even within the Bantustans. When questioned about this contradiction, the Government has refused to give a clear-cut answer about the specific case in question. It has affirmed that in theory there are no limits on the progress of the Africans within the homelands. However, the Minister of Bantu Administration had the following qualifying remark to make: "We believe that there must be organic growth from bottom to top. We don't believe that Bantu must simply be pushed to the top." (*Johannesburg Star*, 9-12-70)

AT THE U.N.



An article in the *East African Standard*, 9-3-70, quoted the Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgaard Muller, as saying that South Africa might withhold part of its annual contribution to the United Nations if the U.N. continued to make funds available for "illegal purposes." Dr. Muller stated, "Where funds are made available for illegal purposes, we shall withhold a proportionate share from our annual contribution. We shall not contribute a single cent towards these wild ventures, be they directed against us or other States."

"Nor is South Africa prepared to expose the peoples committed to its care to terrorist aggression. We shall continue to apply all our endeavours towards providing security, prosperity, and happiness for all our peoples," Dr. Muller stated.

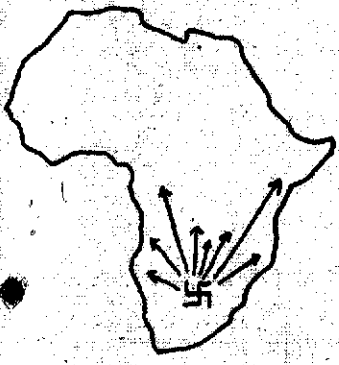
Dr. Muller pointed particularly to the Committee on Colonialism, which "is naturally in the vanguard of those who call for the U.N. to render material assistance to the terrorists operating against the peoples of South West Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories." He concluded that the U.N. should not be working to

reduce the integrity of its member states by directing hostile propaganda toward them in the hope of subverting some of their citizens.

The statement by Dr. Muller was made prior to the opening of the General Assembly of the U.N., at which time Secretary General U Thant expressed deep concern over the "persistent use of kidnappings, physical brutality and torture in many parts of the world." He mentioned in particular the inhumane situation of apartheid in South Africa and urged Member States maintaining political and economic relations with South

Africa to act accordingly to eliminate the "intolerable situation" of apartheid.

In the first week of debate in the Assembly, Sir Dawda K. Jawara, President of Gambia, said that the U.N. should consider expelling Portugal and South Africa from the U.N. and should consider the use of force against Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia. Joachim Hunlede, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo, concurred that arms deliveries to South Africa should end and that NATO should cease assistance to Portugal.



THE KUNENE RIVER SCHEME STRENGTHENS PORTUGAL-SOUTH AFRICA TIES

On the Kunene River, which is the border of Namibia and Angola, work has begun on a waterworks scheme similar, although smaller in scope, to the gigantic Cabora Bassa complex in Mozambique. In both cases the South African and Portuguese governments are cooperating in order to promote common political and military, as well as economic goals. In both areas thousands of white immigrants are being encouraged to settle in order to develop the land, and in both areas electric power will be generated in order to facilitate industrial development. Speaking specifically of the Kunene project, Christabel Gurney writes in the September *Anti-Apartheid News*:

"South Africa's main interest in the scheme is a political one. It can be argued that it will contribute to the development of Ovamboland, etc. South Africa's second Bantustan, and as evidence of South Africa's good

NAMIBIA, LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND

faith in promoting 'separate but equal' development in Namibia. In fact it seems that Ovamboland will receive only the crumbs of the scheme. According to a South West African Water Affairs Department brochure, water from the Kunene will not help Ovamboland's two main population groups which number about 121,000. A U.N. Committee investigation finds that it will benefit only 27,000 people there."

The scheme also forms an important part of South Africa's defensive strategy. Like the Cabora Bassa, the Kunene complex gives South Africa a way of tightening its relationship with Portugal and an excuse for military buildups in areas which are near frontiers with African nations where guerrilla activity is likely to be launched.

U.S. INVESTMENTS STILL STRONG IN NAMIBIA

An article in the August issue of *African Development* discusses the realities of the current U.S. policy to discourage investment in Namibia. The article begins as follows:

"Despite President Nixon's recent move to officially discourage investment in South West Africa, the international mining and oil companies are swarming to the country.

"The President's announcement which came late in May, unattached to any specific investment project, was explained by David Newsom, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who said that the U.N. mandate has been terminated and that South Africa no longer had any sovereignty over the territory.

"This obviously implies a tougher

line in U.S. policy in general and ties in neatly with the resolve to go ahead and build the Zambia-Botswana road link despite South African protests."

The article continues by summarizing some of the important foreign mining interests in Namibia. A brief list of major American corporations now involved in exploring or exploiting the territory must contain Gulf Oil, Chevron Oil, Syracuse Oil, Woodford Oil and Gas, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Getty Oil Co., Kennecott Copper, and finally the Tsumeb Corporation, 29 percent of which is owned by American Metals Climax. Its mine at Tsumeb is the largest lead mine in Africa and Tsumeb's net profit in 1967 was over \$26 million.

The article concludes: "Thus even if the Americans report that their investments have only been \$55 million over the years, recently drying up into a "mere trickle," the international and South African countries have more than filled the gap. SWA is a classic case of a country being rapidly exploited while under total foreign rule.

"The U.S. Government decision will not affect any companies that have already invested in SWA and will not put a brake on new investments. All the government can do is warn the companies making investments that it disapproves of their activities.

SOUTH AFRICA TURNING ON HER NEIGHBORS

Swaziland will become the first of South Africa's "neighbors" to integrate its electric power system with that of South Africa. The transmission link between Swaziland and South Africa is due to be completed in 1972 after which the electrical systems of

Swaziland and South Africa will run parallel. Swaziland will be able to draw on South Africa for any shortfalls created by the demands of her rapidly expanding mining and industrial sectors. This arrangement is seen to be sufficient for the rest of the decade. Looking further into the future, the Swaziland Electricity Board is considering building a major coal-fired steam power station to utilize the country's extensive deposits of coal.

Even more serious than the implications for Swaziland's dependency on South Africa is the view held in South Africa (at least) that connecting Swaziland's network with South Africa's is the first step in developing a Southern Africa power grid incorporating the Cabora Bassa scheme in Mozambique with the Kunene (joint South African-Portuguese scheme on the Angola-Namibia border. See "The Kunene River Scheme Strengthens Portugal-South Africa Ties," this issue), the Orange River scheme, and ultimately the nuclear power stations proposed for the Cape. Retaliation could be quick and bloodless—the flick of a switch could plunge a recalcitrant country into darkness. (*Johannesburg Star*, 8-22-70)

OAU: SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENCE COULD BE FELT

The voting pattern of Lesotho and Swaziland at the OAU showed what

one could expect—a lack of freedom to vote with most of the African nations on issues relating to arms sales to South Africa and the Portuguese, and to white Rhodesian and South African oppression. A resolution condemning French, West German, and British "actual or intended" arms sales to South Africa was passed by the Council of Ministers' meeting on August 30, despite the abstentions of Lesotho, Malawi, and Madagascar (and five others). Both Lesotho and Swaziland had reservations about the ministerial draft resolution on Portugal (condemning continued NATO support and congratulating Italy and Sweden for withdrawing from the Cabora Bassa scheme); declaring African opposition to any Rhodesian government not based on majority rule; calling on the U.N. Security Council to ensure strict application of economic sanctions against Rhodesia; and asking that the U.N. be especially concerned with enforcing its decisions on Namibia. Even the moderate, generally legalistic OAU positions are too strong for South Africa—voting through its neighbors—to accept. (*Africa Research Bulletin, political, social and cultural series*, 9-15-70)

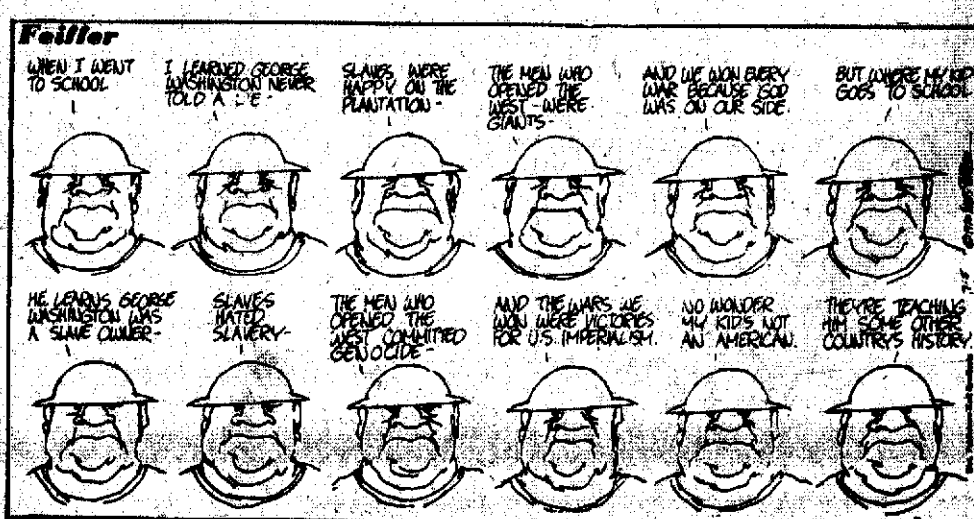
AID FLOWS TO CHIEF JONATHAN

The resumption of British aid to Lesotho after several months of suspension pending an evaluation of Chief Jonathan's coup and regime has had two effects. It prepared the way for other countries to resume aid, par-

ticularly in the face of the drought affecting the country, and it took the pressure off Jonathan to make peace with his political opposition, many of whom are still jailed.

The British announced in August (during the General Election campaign) that in 1970-71 it would give up to \$2.82m in budgetary assistance and \$2.04 m in development aid. The announcement was accompanied by an assurance that both forms of aid would be continued for the next three years at levels discussed by the two governments' representatives. The U.S. increased the amount of Food for Peace aid for Lesotho from \$1.1m in 1969-70 to \$4.9m for the current fiscal year and stated that a request for even more aid would be sympathetically heard.

The argument that the food is apolitical, that hungry people must be fed, overlooks the way in which this food will be given to the people. Food given to the Lesotho government is distributed through a government department, often under the personal supervision of politicians. Thus aid given in the form of famine relief is a powerful political tool. The channeling of food aid through private agencies (which also would not have required diplomatic recognition) would be less likely to be seen as direct international support of the Jonathan regime and all it stands for. (*Tanzania Standard*, 7-8-70; *Africa Bureau Statement on Lesotho*, *Le Monde*, 8-12-70)



SOME RECENT EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL ACTION REGARDING SOUTHERN AFRICA ISSUES

The following advertisement appeared in the *Concord Monitor of New Hampshire* on October 16, 1970. Could anything be further from the truth?

In response to the ad, the Rev. Charles D. Broadbent (Conference Associate Minister of the New Hampshire Conference of the United Church of Christ) sent the following letter:

Rhodesia: Land of Sunshine & Opportunity

Peaceful, progressive, staunchly PRO-WEST RHODESIA is BOOMING. Endowed with abundant natural resources and a proud record in race relations and stable Government, Rhodesia has successfully managed its own affairs since 1923. This situation will continue.

Rhodesia now offers exceptional opportunity for investment and development in mining, agriculture, commerce, industry, tourism, etc., and welcomes the employment interest of qualified and skilled persons in many occupations, professions and trades. Over 300,000 tourists visited Rhodesia in 1969. Over 60,000 new settlers since independence in 1965.

Rhodesia has a magnificent climate, fog and smog unknown, excellent health and educational facilities, modern homes and cities, all sophisticated amenities, splendid uncrowded highways, magnificent tourist and wild life attractions. Come and see the great Victoria Falls, mighty Lake Kariba, mysterious Zimbabwe, historic Matopos, and completely relax in the champagne air of our Eastern Mountains. Consult your travel agent for tours including Rhodesia. No visas required for American and Canadian visitors.

Low taxes, wages high in comparison with the cost of living, private enterprise welcomed and encouraged. Special immigrant tax concessions and customs rebates. Transport assistance possible to approved immigrants. No fees charged for our services.

For further details:

a) Investment and Development opportunities, write Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Private Bag 7700, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

b) Tourism, write Rhodesia National Tourist Board, P.O. Box 8052, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

c) Immigration prospects, write Department of Immigration Promotion, Private Bag 7711, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

Rhodesian Agencies, P.B. 7711, CAUSEWAY, SALISBURY, RHODESIA.
Please send me further details on Immigration Prospects

Name Age

Address

..... Date available

Occupation

Qualifications

Married Single Children Ages

Code

(Copy)

MONITOR PUBLISHING COMPANY
3 North State Street
Concord, New Hampshire

October 16, 1970

Attention: The Editor

Dear Sir:

"Truth in Advertising" is a commendable goal for the news media. Since it is not easy for a newspaper to check every item in all of its advertising, I call to your attention a considerable misrepresentation in one published in the October 15 issue of the MONITOR boosting the country of Rhodesia as a land for settlement. The first paragraph calls attention to "a proud record in race relations and stable government." Nothing could be farther from the truth. Rhodesia is currently engaged in a harsh suppression of its majority racial group. Unrest is fermenting and indeed it is not impossible that violence will ensue even to the extent of involving neighboring African nations.

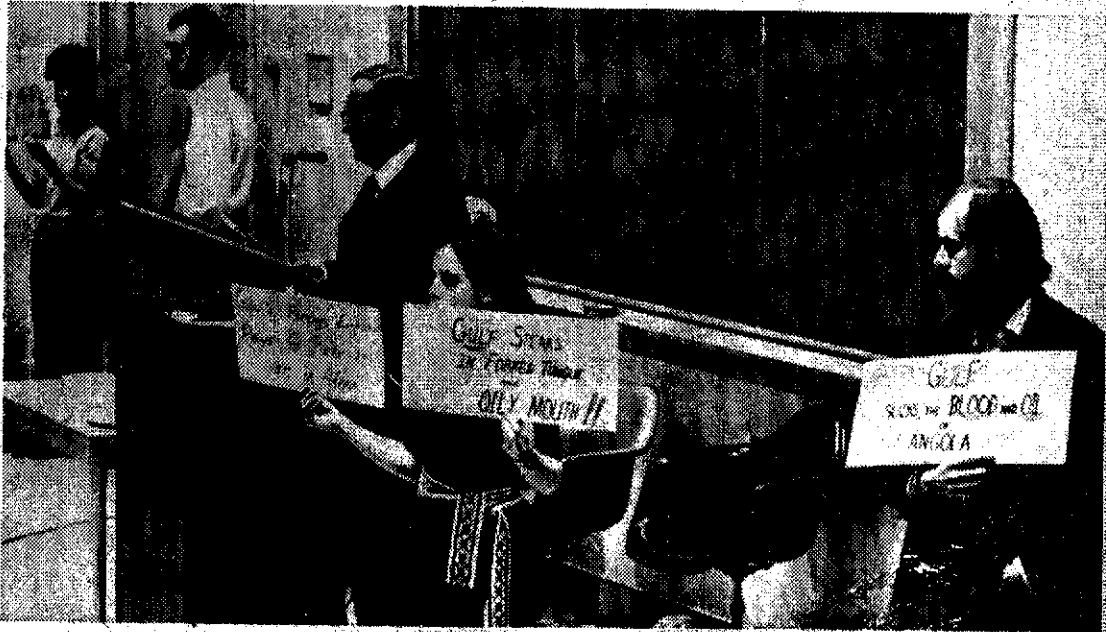
Any starry-eyed opportunist from this area who might succumb to the blandishments of this advertising would be well advised to consult knowledgeable religious and political observers before he moves with his family to what could be either an unhappy or a tragic outcome.

Your newspaper's excellent record in fair treatment and full information concerning inter-racial affairs ought not to be marred by accepting this kind of advertising.

Yours very truly,

Charles D. Broadbent
Conference Associate Minister

PRESIDENT DORSEY OF GULF OIL VISITS COLUMBIA CAMPUS AND SPEAKS TO 500 BUSINESS SCHOOL STUDENTS: MEMBERS OF THE AFRICA COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE OF RETURNED VOLUNTEERS, AND OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE LEAFLETED AND STOOD IN SILENT VIGIL DURING DORSEY'S SPEECH. (See New York Times article, November 6, 1970)



The New York Times (by Patrick A. Bolger)

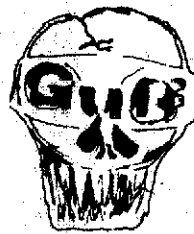
Ever since the Ohio Conference of the Church of Christ protested Gulf Oil's involvement in Portuguese Africa, Gulf's President Dorsey has stepped up his campaign to "clean-up" Gulf's public image (see Southern Africa Newsletter, Sept. 1970, p. 19). Dorsey's speech, in its polished form, and as presented to the Business School students at Columbia University November 5, was an unclever evasion of the title: "Social Responsibility of the Corporation." He dwelt on two themes as if paranoid to tackle the broad subject of his title and was especially unconvincing in fielding the questions at the end. His speech, when denuded by the observer, was about pollution and the social responsibility of the individual. He never once mentioned Angola or Mozambique (or any other Third World country being exploited by Gulf), and

he failed utterly in making the connection between the individual and the corporation, another subject best to be avoided.

As long as the extent of Gulf's social responsibility is only in the field of ecology; as long as Gulf Oil helps pay for Portuguese oppression of Africans to the tune of \$11 million (the amount of taxes and royalties paid to Portugal by Gulf in 1969); as long as Gulf's (the corporation) social irresponsibility is part of the murder of thousands of Africans a year (deaths not just by bullets but by the entire spectrum of Portuguese tyranny); as long as Gulf is in Angola and Mozambique: **WE URGE YOU TO SPREAD THE WORD. TURN IN YOUR GULF CREDIT CARDS!**



Go Gulf

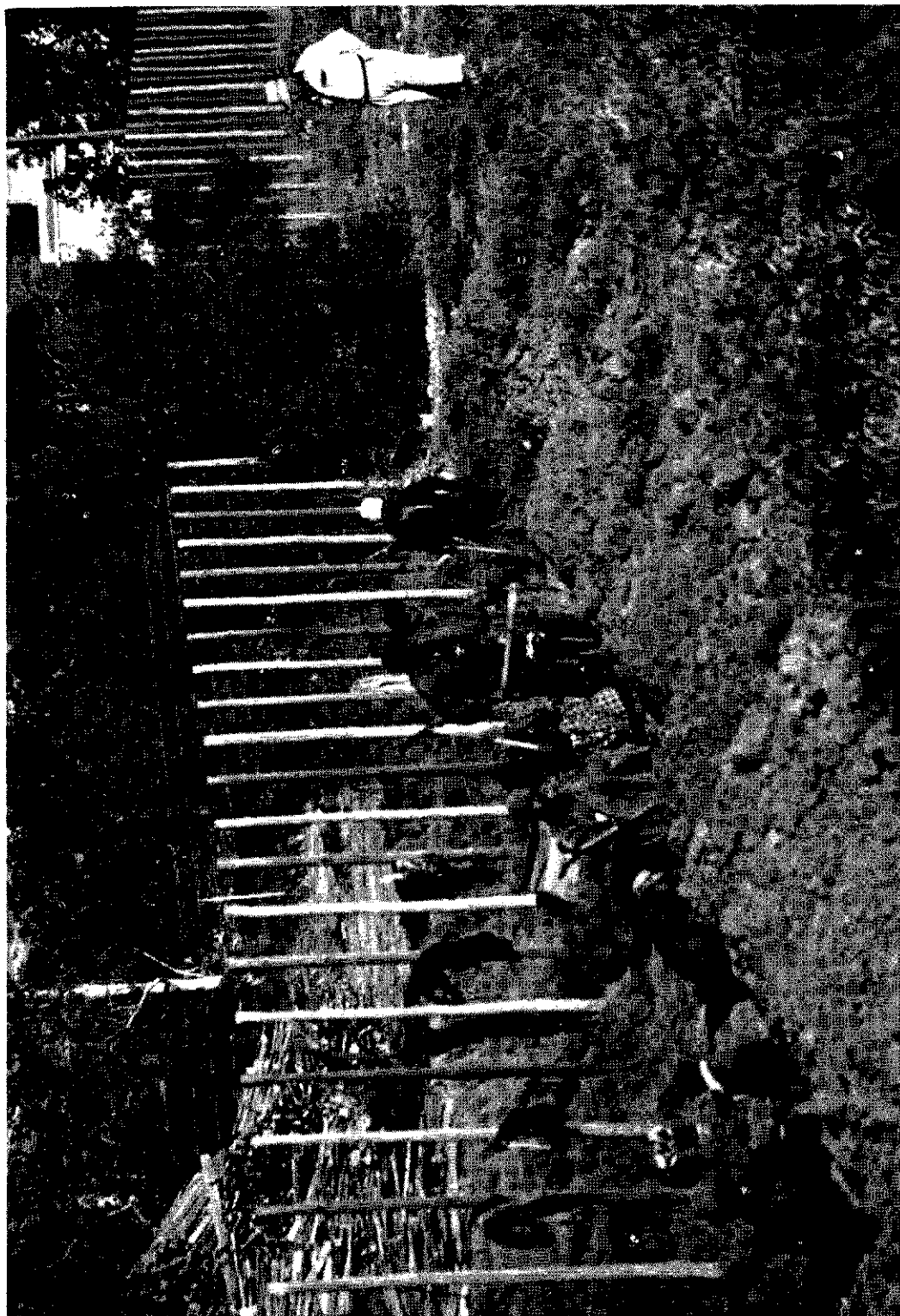


Go Gulf



Go Gulf

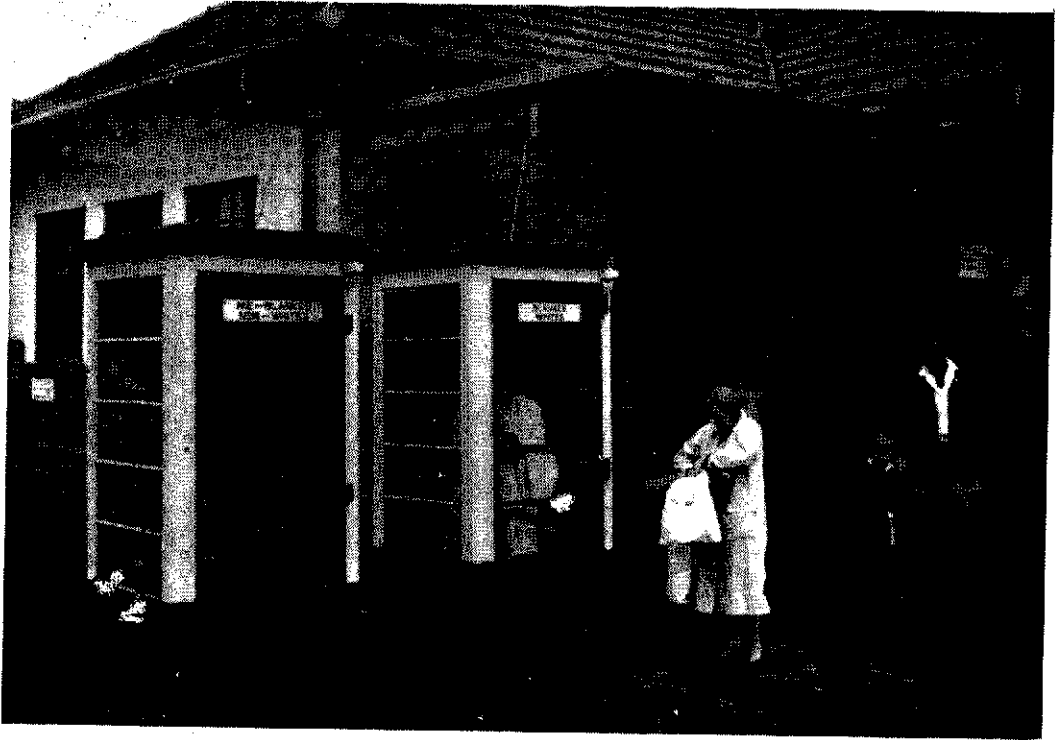
Artwork: Dave Bragin, New York CRV



It is against the law in South Africa for a black to hold certain jobs "above his station." Even when an African is allowed a profession, he will not be paid the same salary as his white counterpart. A common scene in South Africa: the white "baas" standing over his black "boys" supervising their toil. One NEVER sees a black supervising a white in South Africa--this is against the law.

(See article on "Job Reservation" on p. 22 herein)

An example of the "petty apartheid" practice in South Africa - - separate phone booths, separate busses, separate lines in the post office, separate entrances to the banks; separate stairways in the train stations, separate, separate, separate.



Southern Africa Committee
637 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

October, 1970

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