

S O U T H E R N A F R I C A

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EDITORIAL "Render Unto Caesar..."

A group of churchmen have challenged the South African Government and caused them considerable alarm. Well might they be alarmed, for the challenge bites into the foundation of their world view and its value system. In their "Message to the People of South Africa" (excerpted in our last issue), these churchmen claim that South Africa's race policies and the doctrine of apartheid are incompatible with the fundamentals of Christianity, - that one cannot consistently subscribe to both views of life, and if Christians try, the Church is headed for spiritual destruction.

Lest Christians begin to think, stand up for their beliefs and challenge the evil in their country, the government lashed out with its large resources of propaganda and intimidation. The Afrikaners know their weakness. How could any reasonable man, not bewitched by double-think, fail to see the unChristian inhumanity in almost every facet of South African life, where men, not classi-

fied by the grace of government as white, are treated like so much livestock. Families are shattered as the males are used as beasts of burden, while their mates and offspring are kept away seeking out life in the reserves. Humans are herded from place to place, confined to paddocks and housed in batteries, to serve dumbly their noble lord the white man. Then in culmination, a black man is sent home for two weeks each year to service his female and keep up the size of the herd.

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(please)

Then Caesar spoke. As Prime Minister he said: "I want to say to these people, to these bishops and ministers of religion, 'Your job is to teach religion,

to teach the word of Christ. Your job is not to turn your pulpits into political platforms. Your job is not to do the work of the Progressive Party or the Liberal Party or the United Party. If this is going to be the pattern, then for the sake of your congregations, for the sake of good will, for the sake of Christianity,

I do hope that these gentlemen will have second thoughts.' Caesar wants his

cattle and Christianity had better not stand in his way.

PEOPLE WITHOUT A COUNTRY

An Opportunity for Study Abroad

In the late 1950's South Africa extended the policy of apartheid into its schools and universities. Young college students (non-white) who were aware of the threat of this action to their own possibilities for education, looked for opportunities for study abroad. Fortunately, the American Department of State decided to launch a "Southern African Students Program" (SASP) to be administered by the African-American Institute (AAI). Young dissidents in South Africa could hereby secure a good higher education abroad and hopefully return to a South African state that would be free, or to one on the verge of liberation. At a meeting with some of these students in New York in November, 1968, AAI officials admitted that this hope was a guiding factor in the formulation of the SASP.

However, we have since learned that this hope was not to come to fruition within the past 6-8 years. Since that time internal conditions in South Africa have hardened, oppression has increased, and the possibilities for non-whites to receive a good education are almost nil. Since then history has witnessed the atrocious Sharpeville massacre, the banning of all African political parties, and the systematic imprisonment, banning, or exile of all black opposition leadership. The students who left South Africa in and around 1960 are still for the most part outside South Africa, and they cannot return for fear of life, political persecution, imprisonment or torture.

No Valid Documents

Some of the students who came to study under State Department sponsorship were issued passports or were given "exit permits". In the case of the latter there is no possibility of returning to

South Africa. Our State Department gave the latter "passport waivers", which means that they were admitted without having passports or valid travel documents. Many of the students came on one-way documents issued by an independent African country such as Tanzania, Zambia or Congo. Those who had valid passports in 1960 or 1961 have since been refused renewal, and most of them now have no valid documents.

There is nothing so strange about this, except for the fact that our State Department brought these students here on an exchange visa (J-1), which stipulates that the students

"Why does your government persist in labelling me as an 'African' and nagging me to 'go back to Africa.' I am a South African, and I cannot go there because if I did they would kill or imprison me. I am unwelcome in my home country because I am black. I am unwelcome in the 'great' United States of America because I am black. Why do you think independent Africa, with all its problems, will make me welcome? If the USA will not accept me, who will?"

must leave this country when they have completed their studies and be away for a period of two years before they can apply for a change in their visa or immigration status. The requirement is simple enough to understand when one considers the importance of persons from developing countries

returning to their homeland when they have graduated. But such a stipulation for South Africans who could not return to their homeland even if they wanted to is absurd and incoherent.

Stateless and Unemployable

What has obtained is the existence of a community of persons (approximately 100) in this country who have no legal status here, no freedom of movement to go anywhere else, and no possibility of returning to their homeland. Among this community there have been several attempted suicides, and one successful one, not to mention the number of persons who must daily face the fact of being stateless, unwanted, illegal, alien, unemployable, and immovable.

The South African students in this country have organized themselves in an attempt to approach their sponsoring agency (AAI) whom they hoped would try to obtain some kind of secure legal status for them. Their attempts have been unsuccessful. To date AAI has played the role of devil's advocate for the State Department, and has even been guilty of harrassing the students, pressuring them to

leave the country (under the guise of a ridiculous "repatriation" scheme that urges their "return to Africa"), refusing to renew their student visas, being indifferent to efforts of immigration officials to intimidate them, cutting off their stipends when they have no other means of support, and in general washing their hands of responsibility for them.

What Hope?

We are concerned for these students - several hundred from the racist-dominated Southern African countries and approximately 100 from South Africa - who have been abandoned by the AAI. They can't legally work because they're stateless aliens; they can't continue schooling because they have no financial backing or because the AAI has refused to allow them to maintain their student visa status; they can't leave the country because they have no travel documents and because they are loathe to go to a strange country where their status may even be more questionable and insecure; they can't change their visa status because of a ridiculous immigration law (for which, by the way, countless other people have been exceptions).

What hope is there for these students from South Africa (and countless others from Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique)? If

you ask them, they'll tell you that they want legal status so they can work, and would prefer political refugee status. If you ask AAI why they can't be classified as political refugees, they'll tell you it's because they were originally brought here as exchange visitors and because the law that covers refugees applies only to people fleeing from communism, conflict in the Middle East, or natural calamity.

The fact is that our State Department has washed their hands of responsibility for these students whom they brought here themselves, recruited, accepted, transported, placed, examined, gave passport waivers, and have now abandoned. All State has to do is tell immigration to leave them alone, or tell AAI to give them indefinite student status, or issue them travel documents, or at least discontinue their policy of harrassment and intimidation. Why are they not covered by the new United Nations Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees that President Johnson signed October 15? Could it be because they are black?

Maybe if some of us were willing to write our Senators and Representatives about this problem, State Department would move. After all, there are only a few people involved. They could all commit suicide and hardly be noticed.

INSIDE SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Namibian Prisoners Tortured

On October 31 a suit against Security Branch interrogators for alleged torture was settled outside court a month before oral evidence was to have been heard on the claims. The court action was brought on behalf of 68-year-old Mr. Gabriel Mbindi who was arrested under the Terrorism Act and released in February after eight

months without being charged. According to the agreement, the State has paid R3,000 towards the costs of an application made last December for a court order to protect Mbindi from the police.

The application was made by Joseph Helao Shityuwete, who was at the time a witness in the "terrorism trial". It alleged that Mbindi was assaulted twice, once beaten while handcuffed to a waterpipe so that his feet barely touched the floor.

As the Rand Daily Mail points out (Nov.4) the fact that the case was settled out of court and not given a public hearing does not encourage public confidence in the humanity of the Security Branch interrogators. The Mail cited two other occasions on which such torture allegations had been settled out of court, in the words of the State: "Without prejudice and without any admissions whatever of the truth or correctness of the affidavits filed in support of the application." (Nov. 1)

The number of death sentences in South Africa has risen steadily in the past 25 years. In the two year period from July 1963 to June 1965, death sentences imposed in South Africa numbered 281 and 194 men were executed. This represented 47 per cent of the world's executions in that period, according to a United Nations report. (Race Relations News, Johannesburg, October, 1968)

Most, if not all, tortured.

At the same time Shityuwete and four of the other defendants in the "Terrorism Trial" claimed that they also had been tortured. But they didn't press the issue because, according to Richard A. Falk, "to complain about torture in the setting of the terrorism trial would inflame the prosecution and the judge. It was not in the best interests of the defendants--on trial for their lives--to assume this risk.." (The Guardian, Aug. 17, 1968) Falk, the International Commission of Jurists' Observer, said that he was convinced that "most, if not all, defendants were tortured in prison",--mainly by beatings and electric shock.

Falk also mentioned reports that up to 250 South West Africans are being held in detention secretly. (According to Ben Amathila, a SWAPO officer who reported to the UN working group on prison and work conditions in Southern Africa on September 7, there are more than 45,000 prisoners in jails in South Africa and South West Africa, mostly "for acts that are not offenses elsewhere in the world." New York Times, Sept. 2, 1968)

THE TERRORISM TRIAL APPEAL CASE

On November 23, the New York Times reported the decision of the Bloemfontein Appellate Court on the appeal case which questioned the validity of the South West Africa "Terrorism Trial".

"A South African appeals court reduced today to 20 years' imprisonment the life sentences on five men convicted of terrorism in South West Africa.

The court confirmed sentences of 20 years for six other men convicted of terrorism in South-West Africa.

The men were convicted under South Africa's Terrorism Act by the Pretoria Supreme Court last January. Their appeal questioned whether the trial court had jurisdiction in the case and whether South Africa's Terrorism Act applied to South West Africa, which South Africa holds under a disputed League of Nations mandate.

Three of the 11 judges on the appeals court dismissed all appeals. The majority led by Chief Justice L. C. Steyn reducing the sentences of five, declared the South African Constitution deprived

courts of the authority to rule on the validity of the Terrorism Act as it applied to South West Africa." Apparently the judgment has not yet been made on a separate appeal by 11 of the defendants against the severity of their sentences.

NAMIBIA'S FIRST BANTUSTAN

Mr. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education, described the October 17 opening of the newly-created "Legislative Council" in Ovamboland as "one of the milestones on the road to self-determination" (South Africa Information Service). This then was the first step in the implementation of South Africa's plan to break up South West Africa into tribal nations. The legislative body will have power over such matters as education, public works, agriculture, and health. The chief Councillor, Chief Ushona Shiimi, replied to Botha's speech saying, "The Republic of South Africa...is the greatest friend of the Ovambo nation. We say thank you for all you have done and are still doing. But we beseech you never to let go our hand" (South Africa Digest, Oct. 25, 1968).

Earlier, a mace carved from Kiaatwood had been presented to the Ovambo nation as a symbol of unification of the seven Ovambo tribes. It was also a "symbol of law and order, and, therefore, also of peace in Ovamboland" (South Africa Digest).

A 15-year-old coloured boy was fined R10 or 20 days for stealing two bottles of cold drink (soda) worth 10c. The 20-year-old white policeman who arrested him was fined R40 or 40 days plus 80 days suspended, for assaulting him in what a judge called a "sadistic way": hanged him over a door by the handcuffs, beat him until he was purple, and had his genitals twisted. (The Star, Johannesburg, 12/14/68)

The Ovambos, who number about 275,000, form almost half the African population of South West Africa. Meanwhile, the Hereros, represented by Headman Gerson Hoveka (plus Chief Hosea Kutako and four other headmen), submitted a letter to Mr. W. du Flessis reiterating their absolute rejection of the Bantustan idea. The

letter, dated August 15, was written in response to the appointment of a commissioner to implement the plan with regard to the Herero Nation (Windhoek Advertiser, Aug. 16, 1968).

One response to the birth of the Ovamboland Bantustan can be found in the recent SWAPO Information Bulletin. The article, titled "Bantustan: an Inconsequential Gesture", points out some of the important social, economic and political factors which make the viability of such a state highly doubtful.

FIGHTING IN THE CAPRIVI STRIP

Despite a confusion of widely different accounts of the fighting in the Caprivi strip, it is clear that the armed struggle there is in earnest. Recent reports of the fighting came from South Africa's Minister of Police, Mr. Lourens Muller, who according to the Times of Zambia, Oct. 14, 1968, said that

"the Republic is facing a new wave of guerrilla incursions on its northern borders... The Minister pinpointed the Caprivi Strip as the buildup area and said African nationalist infiltrators were stirring up the local population against South Africa.

The Caprivi Strip, a corridor of desolate bushland some 30 miles wide and 250 miles long, is part of South West Africa lying between Angola and Zambia, to the north, and Botswana to the south. (Reportedly a jet airfield has been built there, and the entire area is classified a prohibited area for unauthorized persons. Foreign Affairs, July, 1968.)

Mr. Muller said the guerrillas operated from Zambia and recruited volunteers among the population, who were already badly disposed to the White man.

He said the Caprivi African National Union, which had strong ties with Zambia, was being used to further the activities of the guerrilla movement.

The Minister said South Africa's policy of establishing diplomatic links with Black African states was most important for the defence of the country.

"It is essential that the goodwill of Black countries south of the Equator be

won so that they may serve as buffer states against pressure from our enemies north of the equator," he said."

Later in the month, varying accounts from SWAPO and the United Nations reported the execution of anywhere from 40 to 60 innocent Africans in retaliation for the 20 South African soldiers who had been killed by the guerrillas. There were also reports of between 100 and 400 arrests (including 5 chiefs).

All these charges have been denied by the South African government. South African Police Commissioner Major General J. P. Gouws alleged that "the number claimed as having been killed is close to those who have been arrested (Washington Post, Oct. 28). He also said "This is the sort of accusation one expects from the U.N. considering the way they feel about South Africa. I can assure the U.N. and the people of South Africa that there is no truth in the story." (Sunday Express, Oct. 27)



SOUTHERN AFRICA

CHANGES IN PORTUGAL?

Fragile Hopes Dashed

Dr. Marcello Caetano, Portugal's new Prime Minister, has been busy dashing the fragile hopes which attended his succession in September. Recent statements on African policy, and the shape of the federal budget for the coming year point to a continuation of Portugal's colonialist stance in Southern Africa. In his first speech before the National Assembly, 62-year-old Caetano staunchly supported the views of his predecessor, Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, that the guerrilla wars in Portuguese Africa were not nationalist movements, but rather communist-inspired terrorism. Such "neocolonialism", says Caetano, is a threat to the free world. "This is the reason we have to defend Guinea--in our own interest, of course, but also in the interest of Western Europe and even the Americas" (New York Times, Nov. 27, 1968). In order to continue the defense of Guinea, as well as that of Angola and Mozambique, the Liston regime will expend nearly 49 percent of its budget, an increase of 24.5 percent over last year (Washington Post, Nov. 18). Such military spending, as well as plans for internal development, will be increasingly funded by "moderate" foreign and internal loans and reproductive investments. But all of this will do little to change Western Europe's most backward nation. Defense spending will not reduce the highest illiteracy and disease rates in Europe, will not reduce the prospect of three to four years of military service in Africa for every young male, will not reduce the increasing desire for emigration of the Portuguese people. It can only serve to increase the tensions in Southern Africa.

Incursions Against Zambia

Such tension was recently reflected in reports of Portuguese incursions against Zambia. One Army patrol was ambushed near the Mozambican border, precipitating the first ground conflict between Portuguese and Zambian troops. Earlier this year, Zambian villages near both the Angolan and Mozambican borders have been attacked from the air. The Zambian representative to the U.N., Vernon Mwaanga, termed the latest assault "a very serious development" (Washington Post, Nov. 9, 1968).

Several raids by planes from either Mozambique or Angola on Zambian border villages have been reported in the past year or so. At least 9 people have been reported killed in these attacks. The Portuguese Government had admitted liability for some - not all - of these raids. A conflict has arisen over how much compensation the Portuguese Government should pay Zambia. The Portuguese Government has told Zambia that her claims are "manifestly exaggerated". However, Portugal's intention to pay compensation appears to convey a desire not to exacerbate the situation which exists with Zambia (The Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 14).

Good Intentions

Opinion concerning Caetano's affirmation of old policies remains mixed, however. Some observers view his release of Mario Soares, the exiled critic of Salazar's government, to be a hopeful sign. Likewise, they credit his promises of "revision, decision, study and planning" and "a serious administrative reform" as indications of good intention. His caution is seen as a response to likely pressures from the regime's right-wing old guard, especially the military. Such pressures will presumably obtain as long as Salazar is alive, as is suggested by Caetano's postponement of a planned visit to the African territories "while Salazar's life is still in danger" (New York Times, Nov. 28).

The more harsh critics see the new defense budget as an irrevocable indication of Caetano's personal inclinations. His support of colonialist policies as an obvious national priority rather than "merely the result of Dr. Salazar's obstinacy" is not received as the refreshing declaration of independence it was apparently intended to be. It must be said that, in the face of increasing restlessness throughout Portugal due to an awakening consciousness of decades of oppression, and in the face of the constant threat of unilateral declarations of independence from the white oligarchies in the African territories, collaboration with the conservatives in Lisbon may seem to be the only stop-gap. Dr. Caetano's maneuverability may remain something less than an inspiration to hopeful outsiders, and long-awaited changes in Portuguese policy may remain long-awaited.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

The Myth of Separate Development

The political leaders in South Africa stress, over and over again, that all segments of the population fully accept separate development, and that separate development is becoming more of a reality every day. The problem is that the facts make a lie out of such statements.

One crucial part of separate development is to be border industries. "According to the 1968 report of the Industrial Development Corporation, these industries upon which so many hopes are pinned ought to absorb 23,000 Africans a year from the mystical year 1971. In the past eight years the average has been something like a quarter of that. And instead of getting faster, investment in the border zones is getting slower..." (Star, Jo'burg, Nov. 16)

Another way of saying it, is that too many white South Africans want the "advantages" of separate development without paying the cost. They want servants, and even the Government exhortations about getting servants out of the back yards and sending them back to the Bantustans are not heeded. Far more important, for separate development to even become a remote possibility it would be necessary to invest vast amounts of white taxes in developing and diversifying not very promising territories. The white standard of living would have to go down for this to happen, and that is something that white South Africans are totally unwilling to implement (Star, Jo'burg, Nov. 30).

Blaiberg Lives a Year, Barnard is Honored

Dr. Philip Blaiberg, noted recipient of a transplanted heart in South Africa, has celebrated his first year of new life since the transplant with the noted surgeon who performed it, Dr. Christiaan Barnard. It is also a year since Mr. Louis Washkansky, the first heart transplant recipient in South Africa died, 18 days after the operation.

The famous South African surgeon who performed these and other feats has been invited by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration of the U.S.A. to consider running a tissue transplant rejection

experiment on one of America's biosatellites. Barnard has met with NASA and GE scientists at the GE space center in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania where the biosatellites are built to discuss the project. He was also guest of honor on December 7 at the annual dinner of the New York Cardiac Center held at the Waldorf Astoria. (Sunday New York Times, December 8, 1968).

Libel Case Victors Cannot Repay Loan

The Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude and Prof. A. S. Geysler, winners of a prolonged and hotly disputed libel case against Prof. A. D. Pont of Pretoria University, faced major financial problems because they were unable to pay off the large loans they had borrowed to finance the trial.

Although they won an award of \$7,000 plus costs from Professor Pont, Mr. Naude and Professor Geysler did not expect to be able to collect more than a small fraction of the costs because the 18-month libel action cost far more than Professor Pont could pay.

After it had examined Professor Pont's finances, a court ordered him to pay the damages at a rate of \$80 a month. This is not even enough to pay the interest on the amount owed, according to the victorious plaintiffs.

The libel action arose from a series of articles by Professor Pont in Die Hervormer, official organ of the Hervormde Kerk, a Dutch Reformed Church body. The articles, published in 1964-65, accused Mr. Naude and Professor Geysler of supporting Communists. (New York Times, Dec. 18)

Certain people in Randburg (South Africa) apparently live in a kind of dream world as far as the Government's policy about Bantu in white urban areas is concerned - and the awakening will be rough. The Randburgers and other urban dwellers will have to realize one thing - they cannot have plenty of servants AND whiter cities. (Dagbreek Editorial, South African Afrikaans Newspaper)

Bantustan (Transkei) Elections

In October of 1968 the people of the Transkei, the first Bantustan in South Africa, went to the polls to elect a new legislative assembly. Kaiser Matanzima's Transkei Independent Party (TNIP) won the majority of the elected seats, and this victory has been interpreted by apartheid's framers in Pretoria as acceptance of that system by the Xhosa-speaking people of the Transkei. It is therefore necessary that we look deeper into the factors involved and their implications than just a surface glance.

First it must be pointed out that at no stage in history were the people of the Transkei consulted as to whether or not they wanted Bantustans, though they often expressed their opposition in various forms of protest. A meeting of chiefs was convened in 1962, but even here Sabata Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Tembu (the largest group in the Transkei) was not allowed to voice his courageous opposition to Bantustans. The whites in power knew what was best for the non-whites. Also, it must be remembered that at least in theory it was promised that the Bantustans would eventually become democratically governed, economically viable, independent states.

The Transkei Bantustan was launched under rather inauspicious circumstances: (1) the extreme poverty and economic backwardness was such that the amount of land ceded could not possibly ever support the number of people required to locate there; (2) out of a total of 109 legislative assembly seats, 64 were to be filled by chiefs nominated by the central government. These chiefs depended on the government not only for their titles but also for their salaries. Only the unusually dedicated would dare go against the wishes of the Pretoria regime, and if any did, such opposition almost invariably resulted in the withdrawal of the chieftainship as happened in the case of the late Chief Albert Luthuli; (3) the most dedicated and progressive of the people's leaders were either in prison, in restriction, exiled or banned. Nevertheless, despite all these restrictions, the Transkei electorate voted overwhelmingly for the Transkei Democratic Party (TDP) which stood for a non-racial South Africa

and opposed Bantustans. Matanzima's TNIP won only 25 percent of the seats and was only able to form a government with the support of the nominated chiefs.

Despite the appearance of "free elections", real power in the Transkei continues to be wielded by Pretoria. All laws and decrees have to be sanctioned there. In 1966 alone almost 100 banning and banishment orders were issued against Transkei citizens. In his own capital city of Umtata, Matanzima has no hotel that allows non-whites or no bar where he can go for a cocktail.

How did the TNIP win a majority of seats in the October elections? The following analysis of factors was offered in Mayibuye, the bulletin of the African National Congress (South African liberation movement) in exile Vol. 2, No. 41, Dec. 21, 1968):

"We will reiterate the factors involved:

- (1) The strict control by the central government which has used its powers to attack opponents of the racist regime.
- (2) The increased powers and vested interests of the chiefs.
- (3) The Transkei civil service which is beginning to have a vested interest in the system and which, in an educationally backward society such as the Transkei, has considerable influence.
- (4) The understandable inability of the TDP to have any real impact has caused some people to think in terms of freedom from white rule, even if this is in a Bantustan.

It must be remembered that real opposition not only to the Bantustan scheme but also to the whole policy of racism rests not among those who are playing the parliamentary game but among the broad masses of the oppressed peasantry and the urban workers."

The President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Emilio Arenales of Guatemala, announced the winners of the first U.N. prizes for outstanding achievements in human rights. Among the six were the late Chief Albert Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize winner and honorary President of the ANC.

INVESTMENTS CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Protestors against American investment in South Africa are always confronted with two sets of doubts: First, assuming that U.S. companies and banks could be pressed to reduce their investments in South Africa, would this have any effect on the system of apartheid? (It has been estimated that \$43 million, including \$10 million withdrawn by the American Methodist Church, has been withdrawn from Chase Manhattan, First National City, and Chemical Bank of N.Y. because of the involvement of these banks with the South African government.) Second, considering that one has only so much time to give, aren't there more immediately effective ways of fighting apartheid, e.g. raising money for the armed struggle? Yet the campaign against American investment in South Africa continues. Somehow its importance has to do with its usefulness as an educational tool and its relevance to the large student issue of "university morality". Within this context it is interesting to see what has been happening on several university campuses since spring 1968.

Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

One of the most interesting situations is what might be seen as a delayed reaction at Cornell. Last spring student demonstrators and a petition signed by 1,000 urged the trustees to withdraw over \$4,700,000 worth of stock in four of the ten banks which comprise a consortium lending large sums to the South African government. They also urged President Perkins to resign from his position on the Board of Directors at Chase Manhattan. Between these April demonstrations and the close of school, the students continued to press the president and the Board of Trustees who claimed to be giving the matter due consideration. On May 8 a faculty resolution urged the trustees to "try to avoid making investments that support or seem to support the policies of the Republic of South Africa" (Cornell Daily Sun, May 9).

By the end of the semester, the trustees had voted NOT to sell their stock, and Pres. Perkins had clearly stated his position in a letter to the Sun (May 19). He argued there against playing "the game of economic sanctions" and urged more "realistic solutions", i.e. pressing "our views at all points through all available channels, consistently

and over a period of time." (During this period Perkins made Chief Albert Lutuli Scholarships available for between four and eight Southern African graduate students. Information is not available as to whether or not any students have actually been awarded these scholarships, but it is known that a few were turned down because of lack of "academic qualifications".)

So the semester ended. However, during the summer it just happened that the trustees quietly sold most of their stock in the consortium banks. And why? Economic reasons only? Matters of conscience? Fears of more demonstrations? Who can say.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

At Madison last spring, large scale demonstrations against investment in South Africa failed to bring about any tangible results. On May 17, 250 students sat in the administration building for seven hours to protest the Board of Regents decision not to sell its Chase stock (over \$200,000 worth). On May 20, a demonstration of 1,000 broke up because of rain and because of a lack of clear goals. And by the end of May, even though faculty interest in the issue was rising, the students were becoming split into factions, disagreeing about goals and tactics. So the issue died.

But (disagreements about goals and tactics still unresolved) it came up again almost accidentally this fall when the AFSC and the University of Wisconsin Institute of World Affairs prepared to sponsor "A conference on Southern African Problems and U.S. Responses." Speakers included L.E.S. de Villiers, the Director of the South African Information Service in New York and Waldemar B. Campbell of the U.S. State Department, but no black South Africans. At the last minute the Rev. Gladstone Ntlabati and Mr. Peter Molotsi were invited to present position papers. But it was too late; the day of the conference, members of the Black African Student Union passed out leaflets urging students to help them contest de Villiers and Campbell, and also denouncing American investment in South Africa. A crowd of 400 (120 were expected) refused to listen to de Villiers and Campbell. The formal conference broke up, although

the crowd stayed to hear Ntlabati and Molotsi speak on the need for violent revolution in South Africa (Daily Cardinal, Nov. 23). In the speakers' views, the bank campaign was secondary; of primary importance was the support of the armed struggle.

Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

In Princeton the issue, raised last spring, is not yet dead. Last May more than 250 students protested Princeton's investments (more than \$100 million) in American companies with holdings in South Africa. At the same time a group of several organizations presented a letter to the trustees requesting action on three proposals:

- (1) No future university investments in companies involved in South Africa;
- (2) Begin reinvesting funds so as to reward companies not investing in South Africa;
- (3) Refusal of all monies, bequests and endowments drawn primarily from profits made in South Africa.

The trustees refused, and have continued to refuse, to make a definite commitment, although there have been rumors that they would acquiesce in some way. Meanwhile, as of November, a student, faculty and administration-represented committee was still meeting to study ways in which Princeton could "combat apartheid". But the committee lacks unity, and progress is unsure.

Rutgers Law School, New Brunswick, N.J.

It was reported that sufficient pressure was applied in order to cause the Dean to request that Chase Manhattan recruiters not appear on campus this fall.

New York University, New York, N.Y.

Since Martin Luther King's death last spring, NYU has made a number of reforms with regard to its black students. But SDS has called on NYU to "put its money where its Soul is" in several pamphlets which focus on the practice of NYU to bank with First National City, and the individual investment practices of NYU's President and trustees. (Three trustees, including President Hester, are directors of Union Carbide--Rhodesia and South Africa.)

University of California at Santa Barbara

Finally students at UCSB have taken a different tack. In line with the Non-Discrimination Policy of the University of California, an important resolution was approved by the Student Legislative Council of UCSB. The final two paragraphs of the resolution read as follows:

"Whereas, a minimum of 1/3 of the corporations which recruit graduates at the UCSB Placement Center have branches and/or subsidiaries in South Africa, practice discriminatory hiring and employment, and are in direct opposition to the University of California's policies on non-discrimination,

"Be it Resolved: The ASUCSB Leg Council hereby prohibits from use of any and all University facilities, specifically the Placement Center, any company or organization which practices discriminatory hiring and/or employment practices, whether domestically or abroad."

ANNOUNCING A SYMPOSIUM ON CONTEMPORARY SOUTHERN AFRICA TO BE HELD JANUARY 10-19 AT SHAW UNIVERSITY, RALEIGH, N.C. (see agenda on pages 15 and 16)

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Apartheid as a War Crime

An extraordinary recommendation is to be considered by the General Assembly that would, under certain circumstances, classify any official concerned with the implementation of apartheid as a "war criminal." This controversial draft resolution was recently approved by the U.N. General Assembly's Social and Humanitarian Committee, by a vote of 58 to 6 with 27 abstentions (the U.S. voted no along with South Africa, Portugal and Britain).

If the General Assembly ratifies this resolution, it will have official status with the United Nations.

If passed, any South African irrefutably concerned with the implementation of apartheid could be arrested as a war criminal in a country ratifying the treaty and this person in the far future could be legally tried, if an African government took power in South Africa.

A considerable delay is imminent before this is ratified. (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 19)

Motion on Portuguese Territories Passed

On December 4, the General Assembly passed an inclusive resolution on the Portuguese territories, another in a long and largely ineffective series of legitimate condemnations of Portuguese colonialism. The resolution deplored the intensified activities of foreign economic interests which impede the realization of independence. (Taxes from these companies help solidify the financial base of the military opposition against nationalist freedom fighters. This condemnation is particularly relevant to Americans since Ramparts has just disclosed (Nov. 30, 1968) that H.L. Hunt has been handed drilling rights for natural gas deposits in Mozambique in return for Hunt's aid in defeating Mozambiquan guerrillas. Gulf Oil and a Sunray-Skelly-Clark consortium also have been given drilling rights in the South. All these companies are only charged 12.5% in royalties. American business, it seems, is supporting Portuguese colonialism much more openly.)

The U.N. resolution, as have others in the past, appealed to NATO "to withhold any assistance to Portugal which would enable her to prosecute the colonial war". It also appealed to all countries "to provide moral and material assistance" to these people struggling against Portuguese colonialism.

This most recent resolution was seen by many western diplomats as a realistic modification of extreme language in former resolutions and an attempt for more concrete cooperation between the African countries and the West in working for anti-colonialism. The resolution passed in the Trusteeship Council 96-3 (Washington Post, Nov. 22).

Crisis Over South Africa in the U.N.

A serious constitutional crisis has arisen by the decision of the 126-member Economic Committee to suspend South Africa from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The vote was 49-22 with 23 abstentions. This move still has to be approved, however, by the General Assembly.

The constitutional crisis arises because the U.N. is not entitled to establish a committee such as UNCTAD and then exclude one of its members from its activities. U Thant

has indicated a deep concern that this may be a threat to the whole structure of the United Nations. (New York Times, Dec. 7) It was a black African and Asian majority in the Economic and Financial Committee which proposed the resolution, and the Soviet Union and its allies made an amendment in an effort to avoid the constitutional issue. (New York Times, Dec. 12.

The U.S. is considering shifting four bomber bases from Spain to Portugal, with a comparably higher price tag. According to a Johannesburg Star article, "the price...would not be high, perhaps no more than some form of material support for Portugal's wars in Africa, together with industrial investment at home." Such a new bilateral tie between the U.S. and Portugal would probably initially mean a reduction in U.S. verbal condemnation of Portugal, and either a positive "neutrality" favoring Portugal, or ultimately more financial and military support for Portugal's wars in Africa.

The American/Spanish contract will expire in March, 1969. Before that time we urge every reader to send letters of petition and protest to the following people:

The Honorable Dean Rusk, Secy. of State
The Honorable Joseph Palmer II, Ass't.
Secretary of State for African Affairs
Mr. Richard Allen, Office of the President Elect, 450 Park Ave., NYC 10022
The Honorable Melvin R. Laird, 2246
Rayburn House Office Bldg., Wash. D.C.
The Honorable Clifford Case, 463 Old
Senate Office Building, Washington D.C.
The Honorable Eugene McCarthy, 411 Old
Senate Office Building, Washington D.C.
The Honorable Edward Brooke, 1251 New
Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.
The Hon. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Under-
Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Edward Holmes, Country Director, SE
Africa, Room 5528, Dept. of State, Wash.
The Hon. Clark Clifford, Secy. of Defense,
Dept. of Defense, Washington, D.C.

SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES

State Department Talks in Pretoria

What was the purpose of the visit in Pretoria this August of Mr. Joseph Palmer, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa? Top-ranking representatives of the State Department are not given to mere social calls on the Prime Minister and other leaders of foreign governments; especially if the government concerned be one with which the U.S. government is in basic policy disagreement; especially too if there has been no such meeting for a whole decade.

Perhaps to forestall speculations of a secret sellout, Mr. Palmer was accompanied by Mr. Bernard Coleman, a Negro aide, for whom apartheid restrictions were relaxed as is now general practice for diplomats from "non-white" nations.

They were met at Jan Smuts Airport by the South African Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brand Fourie and the U.S. Ambassador Mr. William Rowntree. Besides speaking to leaders in business and commerce and to leaders of the "opposition" United Party, Mr. Palmer spent two days in conference with Prime Minister Vorster and other cabinet members and with senior government officials.

"Familiarization" Tour

The visit has been casually described as part of a "familiarization" tour of the African sub-continent (Washington Post, October 22). In a statement on the eve of his departure for Gaborone by U.S. military aircraft, Mr. Palmer said there had been "opportunity for frank exchanges of views with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and others regarding the respective position of the United States and South Africa on matters affecting our relationship" (South Africa Digest, Nov. 1).

What specific matter brought Mr. Palmer to Pretoria was probably reflected in a speech by the South African Prime Minister two days after the departure of the State Department official. Commenting on the Rhodesian situation, Mr. Vorster said South Africa had always done what was necessary to bring about reconciliation between Rhodesia and Britain to make a settlement possible. South Africa's standpoint was that the matter was a domestic one between Rhodesia and Britain and that "other coun-

tries" and the United Nations should never have become involved (South Africa Digest, Nov. 1).

"Off the Boil"

State Department policy towards Southern Africa is to keep the race situation as far as possible "off the boil," off the front pages of the world press and low down on the agenda of the U.N. The U.S. government is therefore anxious to see a speedy settlement between Britain and the recalcitrant Rhodesian whites led by Ian Smith.

It is hard to see how any discussion of policy matters with Pretoria could have avoided this question. Indeed, it is reasonable to conclude that the Pretoria talks were aimed at persuading South Africa to influence her Rhodesian ally to return to legality. There may too have been some pressure on Vorster to desist from breaking the U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia.

But in his subsequent speech the South African Prime Minister adopted his usual air of injured innocence. South Africa, he said, did no more than act towards Rhodesia as "a good friend and neighbor" and towards Britain as "a country of the Western world". In other words, he could promise no change of policy in regard to Rhodesia.

Nothing Achieved

The talks then achieved nothing, apart from thawing the chilly diplomatic atmosphere between the two countries, according to political observers. Or was the visit merely part of the general Anglo-U.S. charade to create the impression that the great Western powers are "working on" Southern African problems and the international community need do nothing drastic about them?

Anxious Watch on U.S. Elections

Which way would the U.S. Presidential elections tip the scales of world relations with the white racist regimes in South Africa? This was a matter for anxious speculation in the columns of the South African and Rhodesian press many months before the primaries and conventions of the two major American parties.

Dismissing the possibilities of a George Wallace landslide, the consensus was that a Republican victory would augur slightly better for whites in Southern Africa than a Democratic one, since the former is more

responsive to business interests. Commentators warned, however, against any easy assumptions that a Nixon administration would bring basic changes in the positions taken by the U.S. Since the election it is assumed that the Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress will keep Washington policy in line with Whitehall's, which for Rhodesia means a continuation of sanctions and the withholding of recognition of the Smith government.

Otherwise, attention has tended to focus on the election of individual Congressmen in the Republican Party. The Washington correspondent of the Rhodesian Herald, for instance, balances the re-election of such staunch "friends" as Barry Goldwater against the departure of others such as Bourke Hickenlooper (Washington Post, Nov. 24).

Lowenstein's Election Headlined in Johannesburg

The election to Congress of Democrat Allard K. Lowenstein has sent a minor tremor through the white power structures in South Africa. The Johannesburg Sunday Times, the largest mass circulation newspaper in South Africa, carried a big spread on the likely Nixon administration with a 30-point deck to the effect that "Lowenstein could cause trouble". Lowenstein is the author of the book Brutal Mandate, which exposes the callousness of South African rule over the formerly mandated territory of South West Africa, which South Africa has now for all practical purposes annexed and incorporated into the South African apartheid system.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CHURCHES

Pulpits Must Not be Political Platforms

The people of South Africa would definitely take it amiss if pulpits were going to be used for political teachings, Prime Minister Vorster announced in Durban on September 23. Addressing the Natal Nationalist rally in the Durban City Hall, Mr. Vorster said he had noted remarks published in the Rand Daily Mail and attributed to clergymen, such as the following:

The Rev. J. M. Wimmer of Johannesburg said that the Government was frightened and unable to control apartheid. He told a morning congregation: "The Government, like us, cannot serve two masters and in serving apartheid it has rejected God and cannot therefore claim to be Christian."

The Rev. F. D. Davies called for the people to take a stand against apartheid regardless of consequences.

Mr. Vorster said, "I want to say to these people, to these bishops and ministers of religion. Your job is to teach religion, to teach the word of Christ. Your job is not to turn your pulpits into political platforms. Your job is not to do the work of the Progressive Party or the Liberal Party, or the United Party. If this is going to be the pattern, then for the sake of your congregations, for the sake of goodwill, for the sake of Christianity, I do hope that these gentlemen will have second thoughts. This is a serious matter. It is not idle talk by people who have not seen the inside of a church for so many years." Mr. Vorster referred to ministers as "these gentlemen who from now on Sunday after Sunday are going to preach politics from the pulpit." He predicted, "I know the people of South Africa and I know they are definitely going to take it amiss if pulpits are going to be used in this way." (Rand Daily Mail, Sept. 24)

Pastors Respond to Vorster

Prime Minister Vorster was accused of "interfering very deeply" in religion and of trying to silence churchmen who disagreed with apartheid.

The Rev. Ian Thomson commented, "Far from churchmen interfering in politics, it is politicians who are interfering very deeply in one's relations with God and man."

Bishop B. B. Burnett, General Secretary of the Council of Churches, commented: "It

For further information about which Senators and Representatives to write, and what sorts of things to say, regarding the possible location of U.S. bomber sites in Portugal, write:

The American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

For information and applications for the Southern Africa Symposium in North Carolina, write:

The Chief Albert Luthuli
Memorial Fund
859½ Hunter St., S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

is an astonishing thing that the only people who should apparently shut up on the question of social ethics are clergymen. It's balmy."

Dr. W. Bruckner de Villiers said he could not understand how the Prime Minister could say "cut it out" to people who found it necessary in terms of their Christian consciences to state "a few simple facts." Not one of the critics of the document has been able to say where it deviates from the word of Christ," said Dr. deVilliers. (Rand Daily Mail, September 30, 1968)

German Lutheran Pastor Expelled

The Rev. Hans Haselbarth, 32, has been told he must leave South Africa by the end of 1968. He is believed to be the first Lutheran missionary expelled by the South African government. No specific reason was given for the action.

Pastor Haselbarth has been informed that his visa will not be renewed at its December 31 expiration date. Under a law passed in 1967, all religious workers in South Africa must have their visas renewed at three-month intervals. Pastor Haselbarth was active in an April, 1967 pastoral conference which issued a statement saying participants "Reject the policy of separate development." (Economical Press Service, Nov. 21)

The General Council of the United Church of Canada voted last summer to request its Division of Finance to sell all United Church owned stock in the First National City Bank of New York in order "to communicate to the world the church's stand on the apartheid policy" of South Africa. The Division of Finance Secretary later announced that the stock had been sold. This is the first time a major church denomination has actually sold stock in the bank as a protest against the involvement of ten banks in a consortium in a floating loan to the government of South Africa. Other church bodies have withdrawn investment portfolios from the consortium banks, including the United Methodist Church U.S.A. Hopefully this is a precedent which other churches will follow in the near future.

- Announcing -

The Kennedy-King Memorial Forum of the Chief Albert Lutuli Memorial Fund

A Symposium on Contemporary Southern Africa:
Complexities and Prospects for Change

Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina Jan. 10-19, 1969

PROGRAM

Friday January 10

7:30 pm

Opening Address in the Shaw University Gymnasium
"Africa and America: Race and Scholarship" - Dr. Richard A. Long,
Professor of English and Director of the Center for African
and Afro-American Studies, Atlanta University

Reception following in the Ballroom of the Student Union Building

Saturday January 11 (Ballroom, Student Union Building)

10:00 am "Origins of Racism in Southern Africa" - Dr. Anthony Ngubo, South African, Professor of Sociology, California State College

SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE U.S.

2:00 pm "The Relevance of Christianity for Black People" - The Rev. Edward Ducree, Executive Director of Crisis Inc. and Upward Bound, Emory University

4:00 pm "An African Looks at the American Church, What Its Role Should be in the Southern African Liberation Struggle" - The Rev. Christof Nteta, Methodist Minister from South Africa now at Harvard University

Sunday January 12

11:00 am Forum Leaders will preach in various churches in Raleigh University Church: The Rev. Virgil Wood, Pastor and Executive Director of Opportunities Industrialization Center, Rocksbury, Mass.

2:00 pm "The Church in South Africa" - The Rev. Kenneth N. Carstens, South African Methodist Minister

4:00 pm "The Church in Angola and Mozambique" - Dr. Theodore Tucker, Africa Secretary for the National Council of Churches

8:00 pm Panel: "The Future of the Church in Africa and the United States: A Christian/Muslim/Marxist Trialogue" - The Rev. Virgil Wood, Minister John Shabazz of Mosque #12 in Atlanta, and Mr. James Foreman, Director of International Affairs of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Monday January 13

7:30 pm "The Historical Continuities in Black-White Politics in South Africa" - Mr. Jeremiah Mbata, African Studies Program, Northwestern University

Tuesday January 14 DISPLAY OF AFRICAN ART, LOBBY OF STUDENT UNION BUILDING, 2nd floor

11:30 am "The History of African Art" - Mr. Edward Cutler, Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.

7:30 pm "How the Afrikaner Views Apartheid" - Dr. Geoffrey Butler, Professor of History, Wesleyan University

Wednesday January 15

8:00 pm Benefit Concert for the Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Fund at Raleigh Memorial Auditorium - Jonas Gwangwa's "African Explosion"
tickets: adults advance \$2.50 students advance \$1.50
adults at door \$3.00 students at door \$2.00
(tickets may be purchased at the Conference on Southern Africa office in the University Union Building)

Thursday January 16

7:30 pm "A Sociological Approach to the South African Situation" - Dr. Eric Krystall, Department of Sociology, Shaw University

Friday January 17

7:30 pm "South Africa in the International Economy" - Dr. John Shingler, Assistant Professor of Political Science, McGill University, Montreal

Saturday January 18

- 10:00 am "The United Nations and Southern Africa" - Mr. George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, New York City
- 2:00 pm "Guerrilla Warfare in Southern Africa" - Dr. Martin C. Legassick, Department of History, University of California in Santa Barbara
- 4:00 pm Discussion of Lecture on Guerrilla Warfare
- 7:30 pm Rally in the Gymnasium
"The Role of Culture in the Revolutionary Struggle" - Mr. Gerald McWorter, Professor of Sociology, Spellman College in Atlanta

Sunday January 19

- 11:00 am University Church: The Rev. Gladstone Ntlabati of South Africa preaching
- 3:00 pm Panel: "American Policy Choices in Southern Africa"
- Waldemar Campbell, South Africa Desk, U.S. Department of State
- Dr. E. Jefferson Murphy, Executive Vice President, African-American Institute
- Mr. George Houser, Executive Director, American Committee on Africa
- 8:00 pm "The History of the Liberation Movements in Southern Africa"
- Mr. Peter Molotsi, New York University
- Mr. Davis M'Gabe, Columbia University

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION AND FOR REGISTRATION, WRITE:

The Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Fund
859 1/2 Hunter Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

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

December, 1968

return to ↑

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