

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

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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GAUDEAMUS IGITUR

The recent student sit-ins at the University of Cape Town provide a revealing scenario of South African politics.

First the University of Cape Town dared (it required some courage and liberal conscience) to consider the appointment of Archie Mafeje to the post of senior lecturer in Social Anthropology. Almost certainly Professor Monica Wilson, the head of the Social Anthropology department fought hard to get her former student and co-author the job.

Soon the Government got to hear of the new bud of liberty. Minister De Klerk rose quickly to crush it. It must be done, because Archie Mafeje is black. It was not against the law, the Minister said, but against South African traditions to appoint a black to the position. If the University did not stop it, he would have to take action. Meekly the Council of the University capitulated, protesting that by appointing Archie Mafeje, they would endanger the jobs of other blacks who did have academic appointments at the University. A smart student polled the blacks, and all but one agreed to take the risk of losing their jobs.

At the National Union of Students National Conference a resolution calling for protest marches and sit-ins was passed, but who thought anything would come of it.

The University Administration stood helpless before the tide. Students had before only passed resolutions, now they acted. The Administration could not handle it. Of course all "responsible members of the community" felt that the students should be "nice" and go home. The Progressive Party sold out. It just wasn't decent for protests to cause any fuss.

Then the students in Johannesburg decided to hold a protest march. They were just about to start when Big Brother John Vorster, the Prime Minister, had it stopped. And the storm-troopers of the Prime Minister came across the road, hurling paint, eggs and fruit at the marchers. A few students tried to take a protest note to the Prime Minister personally, but got their hair shaved off by the stormtroopers. A student who protested about police brutality got arrested.

And at Cape Town they kept sitting in. The Prime Minister muttered darkly about trouble makers importing revolution from Europe and America. Cited France as an example of student

excesses. Said there is freedom in South Africa, but he couldn't allow protest marches or sit-ins. There is academic freedom, but race must decide who attends the university, and that he might restrict those who teach by banning and deportation. And while you are about it, be careful what you teach.

At last the Prime Minister threatened to bust the students with his police force at 11 am on Friday, August 23rd, if they hadn't quit themselves by then.

On the night of the 22nd of August, 1,000 Afrikaner stormtroopers from Stellenbosch University arrived at the site of the sit-in. These watch-dogs of the Prime Minister demanded that the protesters come out. Senior members of Cape Town's faculty tried to persuade them to leave. At 9 p.m. the thugs gave the protesters 30 minutes to leave, before they came in to drag them out. At 9.25 p.m. the police managed to appear. After some scuffling they got the Prime Minister's battalions to return to their lair. But the stormtroopers promised to be back in the morning to finish their dirty work.

Three hours before the ultimatum expired, the protesters left the building. When the police arrived to beat them out, they found the birds had flown.

Then to cap it all, the new Minister of Police and Internal Affairs warned the Jewish community of South Africa to take a stand regarding their students. He read a list of names of South African students of Jewish extraction. A group of which as a percentage, was highly represented in the protest. He then added darkly that through the years a large percentage of listed communists in South Africa were Jews. Because of these facts he wanted to appeal to the Jewish community to influence their young people to respect authority in South Africa and not to disrupt it.

It is a bit incredible; after twenty years of fascist government, that this still happened. The young still survive. Gaudeamus Igitur.

Reproduction of a leaflet
widely distributed in
South Africa:

RE HARUMONG!

RE NTWENG!

SISEMPINI!

SISEMFAZWENI!

WE ARE AT WAR!

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

JUNE 26 1968

June 26 is our National Freedom Day. A day on which we re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

June 26, 1968, is the first June 26 since the death of our guerrilla struggle, to overthrow racism and fascism in Southern Africa.

June 26, 1968, is the first June 26 since the death of our beloved leader, Chief Albert Lutshuli.

Our Chief stated in 1964: "... No one can blame brave and just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods."

Today, the Freedom Fighters of the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People's Union are locked in battle against the Vorster-Smith forces in Rhodesia. We salute the brave and skilled sons of South Africa and Zimbabwe for inflicting heavy blows on the enemy in Wankie, Gatooma, Tjolojo, Umvukwes, Bindura, Mazos, Sinoia, Karoi, Miami, Matabeland, and near Salisbury. Our Freedom Fighters—members of Umkhonto we Sizwe—are not ordinary soldiers. They are brave and dedicated men whom the ANC sent abroad to learn the techniques of war and the use of modern arms. It was in their first contact with the South African soldiers in the Kopes of the Tjolojo—Cawunajena area that they displayed this marvellous skill of fighting. In this battle, the South African soldiers suffered severe casualties and, in addition, two aircraft were shot down. Only five Freedom Fighters lost their lives.

TORTURE AND KILLING

Threatened by the increasing striking force of the Freedom Fighters in the hills, valleys and mountains of Rhodesia, the Vorster-Smith regimes have resorted to lies, torture, killing of civilians and hiring of spies. Last year, their radio and newspapers were telling the people that they have smashed the 'terrorists'. In March this year, fighting was taking place in various parts of Rhodesia. The Vorster-Smith regimes were forced to swallow their lies. Ian Smith had to call for more South African soldiers and arms. Vorster had to supply them. Today, thousands of South African white soldiers are fighting in Rhodesia and they now make up a third of the Rhodesian military force.

Remarumong ba guso re awere dikhunya re gaele palo nengeng ya rona ya kolologo.

Re ntwane! Jaaka mashola re zaele palo re rihantle, re rihemvane ekeologo, dikhobofa di le diateng.

Sisempini. Siva enkulufekwani njonga masasha, waibhantu wandikisi tshu.

Sisemfatwani. Njonga majoni enkulufeko siqule sagqiba ogemipo.

We are at war. We march for Freedom as soldiers, with guns in our hands.

PANIC AND DESERTIONS

Because of the fierce battles and the heavy casualties inflicted by the Freedom Fighters, there is panic among the white settlers in the areas of combat. Many of them have fled their farms to cities in the cities. Many South African soldiers were killed and injured in March, Mazen and Simolilo in March this year. Vorster knows this but he and Smith hide their heavy casualties from the public. Instead they announce a few names, and for the rest, they only inform the individual anti-apartheid concerned. This is an old trick. Ian Smith is facing problems in his army. Many African soldiers and police together with some white civilians, are refusing to join the fight against the Freedom Fighters. For this action some have been locked up, others have deserted to Botswana. Vorster and Smith propaganda claims that the African population is against the Freedom Fighters. In fact our guerrillas are being welcomed and supported by the people. In desperation the Smith forces are detaining, torturing and killing African civilians.

TODAY RHODESIA—TOMORROW SOUTH AFRICA

Vorster knows that what is happening in Rhodesia today is going to happen in South Africa tomorrow.

- That is why he is determined to save white supremacy in Rhodesia and pour in arms and soldiers.
- That is why he has intensified the terror against our people and their organisations.
- That is why he is trying to get the weak amongst us to inform on our organisations and act as spies and traitors.
- That is why he has sent spies to our organisation abroad to do the Government's dirty work by spreading lies and slander against our leadership and against our brave men of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

BE ON YOUR GUARD! BE VIGILANT!

On this day, JUNE 26, 1968

WE PAY HOMAGE AND TRIBUTE to our militant Freedom Fighters who have laid down their lives, and those languishing in Vorster's dungeons, in the cause of South African Freedom. They have not sacrificed in vain and they shall be avenged.

WE VOW to work with renewed vigour towards the attainment of freedom and human dignity in South Africa, the land of our birth, and for the glorious cause of African Unity.

WE RE-DEDICATE ourselves that so long as our country remains under the iron heel of White Supremacy, we shall devote all our energies and our lives in the determined struggle to liberate our MOTHERLAND.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE A RONA! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

"Congress and Business Ignore Brooke's Appeal on Africa"

Despite a spate of letters to the press and to himself, critical and otherwise, in response to his speech on Africa in the Senate in April, Senator Brooke does not think he has received any congressional or business reaction to his proposals for government and business to start disengaging from support of apartheid in Southern Africa. (Afro-American, 5.28.68.)

The Afro-American comments editorially: "Apparently his listeners intend to be stubborn and to continue our ill-conceived infatuation with South Africa. We must assume this since we have no word from any senator supporting the Brooke proposal... This nation has for too long had its foreign policy wagon hitched to some disintegrating, descending, white European star. Accordingly, we have been caught from time to time on the wrong side of international issues, unable to dissociate from countries unsympathetic with the American

profession of democracy for all. Our course in white supremacist South Africa in a world in which the overwhelming majority of people are non-white is the height of folly and ought to be changed forthwith."

"Resources for U.S. Presidential Campaign"

Voters who see the need to make Southern Africa an issue in the campaign for the presidency have now been provided with useful resources.

The American Committee on Africa has published a position paper on the question, endorsed by large numbers of people prominent in education, religion, welfare, politics, and sport. Suggesting that the conflict in Southern Africa could become another Vietnam, the paper warns that "a continuation of present policies may find the U.S. blundering again into an unwanted war."

The paper provides a brief resume with salient facts and figures regarding U.S. and NATO complicity in white minority domination in Southern Africa. It also proposes a number of possible U.S. initiatives towards change.

These include an end to all official aid such as the South African sugar quota and co-operation with South African nuclear development; multi-colored American diplomatic staffs in South Africa; increased aid to the U.N. Trust Fund to help political prisoners and refugees, and support for U.N. action against colonial and racist regimes, especially implementation of economic sanctions.

Copies of the paper may be obtained from The American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. (Single copies free, quantity orders \$5.00 per 100, \$12.00 per 500, and \$20.00 per thousand.)

Another possible resource is a pamphlet entitled "South Africa - An American Christian Concern?" produced by the United Church of Christ for ecumenical use, though this is aimed at more general involvement of individuals and groups in the cause of freedom in Southern Africa. It may be obtained from The Council for Social Action of the United Church of Christ, 289 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10010. (Single copies free, additional copies 7¢ each, or \$5.00 per 100.) The U.C.C. is also offering a social action kit entitled "South Africa, A Matter for Christian Action" price 50¢, from the same address.

"Vorster 'Can't Understand' U.S. Attitude"

South African Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster protests that he does not know what the official U.S. policy is towards South Africa and "can't understand" why America adopts an attitude of disapproval. This he stated in an interview published by the U.S. News And World Report (7.15.68). "Presumably it is on account of our domestic policy, which is our own affair," he said.

When the U.S. and Britain had solved their own racial problems he said he would be prepared to listen to their advice. Meanwhile he was not prepared under any circumstances to concede to the policy of "one man, one vote" which is favored by the U.S., judging from what Vice-President Humphrey had said. He added that "we" (i.e. the white minority) "make provision for political rights of other racial groups. As far as that portion of South Africa which belongs to us" (obviously the 87% of the country apportioned by law solely for white occupation and ownership) "we say we will run that portion." One man, one vote for the whole geographical area, he claimed, would certainly "lead to chaos."

Vorster explained that the races prefer to live apart because "right from the start and for generations it has been customary." In sport too, each group "stuck to themselves." "Everybody accepts this and is happy that it is so," according to Vorster. He said he had had "dozens and dozens of discussions" "...not only with the leaders of the four main racial communities but also with the ordinary people of the different communities." This confirmed his view that they accept the policy and this, according to Vorster, accounts for the "lack of tension" in South Africa.

He also attributed the "calm and peace in this country" to the fact that "we dealt very conclusively with Communist agitators and their fellow travellers..." apparently an oblique reference to the banning of the Africa political organisations and other bodies

and the vicious security laws under which thousands have been banned from all political and social life, banished to remote areas, house-arrested, imprisoned, often without trial, and often horribly tortured. "We have clipped their wings to such an extent that they are no longer the danger they were in the 40's, 50's and the early 60's." he added.

Referring to the arms embargo by the U.S. and Britain he said South Africa is able to get round it, but "fails to understand" why such action is taken, since it is important for the U.S. that the Cape sea route be kept open.

"Apartheid Exiles Rejected by U.S....."

We are informed of increased pressure of late on South African exiles in the U.S. to leave the country. The authorities are attempting in particular to be rid of African students originally brought to the U.S. under the now apparently terminated program for Southern Africans of the African American Institute.

Notice to leave the U.S. within 30 days was recently served on a Lincoln University instructor in Mathematics, Mr. S.B.I. Lefakane. (Philadelphia Inquirer 5.27.68.) According to the report, his cause has been espoused by the American Committee on Africa, which is seeking a broadening of U.S. policy on political asylum to include black Africans.

In addition, Richard P. Stevens, chairman of Lincoln's Political Science Department and a committee member of the American Committee on Africa, sent a letter to Sen. Hugh Scott (R. Pa.) on Lefakane's behalf. He commented that Lefakane "must be made a test case which will clearly establish whether the United States government can grant refuge to persons from Hungary and Cuba but ignore one of the worst cases of persecution in history."

At that stage Mr. Lefakane had applied for admission into a doctoral program at several universities. "Southern Africa" is informed that he has been accepted at Harvard and now awaits a reply to his application for a new student visa.

"New York Times Responds to Criticism of 'Terrorist' Report"

The New York Times is known to have received correspondence criticising its first prominent report of the guerilla struggle in Rhodesia. This report was headlined "Terrorists at Zambian Border Are Blasted by Rhodesian Jets," and the term "terrorist" to describe the Freedom Fighters and their activities was used 14 times over. (New York Times 7.23.68)

One letter pointed out that the Freedom Fighters had taken up arms "as a last resort" and that "the major perpetrators of terror in Southern Africa are the white settle regimes, not their black victims." The use of the neutral term "guerillas" was recommended if the New York Times could not go so far as to call them "freedom fighters."

The letter was not published but the writer recieved a reply to the effect that it would be taken into account by the appropriate editor. In the issue of August 2nd another fairly prominent report appeared, in which the freedom fighters were referred to as "guerillas" and "infiltrators." The term "terrorist" was not used.

GUINEA-BISSAU "MORE WAR THAN MOST" PART IV: "Revolutionary Structures and Future Prospects"

The success of the guerilla struggle, led by the nationalists of the P.A.I.G.C., has been paralleled by the development of an alternate or new revolutionary "economic, political and judicial structure - a new state to replace the colonial state in the liberated regions." (Amilcar Cabral, as quoted by I. William Zartman, Africa Report, November, 1967): Probing deeper, Basil Davidson characterizes the leaders of the party as having a "stout autonomy of mind and clarity along the lines of building in their native land an entirely new structure of social life, utterly different from the structure of colonial times; but also strong in determination to avoid, if they can, any kind of bureaucratic imposition, whether revolutionary in form or not." (London Times, 11.10.67.) Various P.A.I.G.C. documents and conferences have set forth the goals and processes involved in developing these new forms of social and economic organization. On the political level the party has a pyramidal structure,

the primary unit of which is the GROUP or PARTY CELL organized among small groups on the basis of occupation, residence or the extended family. Five groups create a SECTION and various numbers of SECTIONS comprise a ZONE. There are thirteen zones in a REGION and six regions in the whole country. It appears that the party structures are strongest on the lowest and highest levels. (Zartman, AR, 11.67.) On this upper plane there is a thirty member Central Committee composed of seven departments (Political and External Affairs, Defense and Security, Economy and Finance, Information and Propaganda, Control, Organization and Internal Affairs, and Cultural). Subordinate to the Central Committee are two nine-member National Committees, one actually functioning for the Guinea mainland, the other planned for the Cape Verde Islands. Thus far six National Conferences have been held, and in February, 1964 the First Party Congress.

Going beyond this party hierarchy is the actual functioning of new ideas in the fields of economics, education and social services. On the economic level that 1964 party Congress decided that if possible farming cooperatives would be created and that each family would expand their economic production. "Peoples' Stores" have been established in an attempt to prevent the war disrupting the internal trading system. In these stores local peanuts, kolas, rice, etc. are exchanged for staples and imports from adjacent territories (soaps, sugar, tobacco, etc.). A central store is located in the Southern Zone, which provide goods to branches throughout liberated areas and to itinerant traders. The war has disrupted the activities of the Portuguese trading companies which formerly exported the peanut crop, and the amount of peanuts and rice reaching Bissau and the garrisoned cities has decreased. The P.A.I.G.C. has emphasized the diversification of the economy from the export peanut production to rice, and has announced that in certain zones, particularly in the South, production has expanded from 15 to 20%. (Zartman, AR, 11.68)

A United Nations document of April, 1968 indicates that in 1965-66 the Portuguese claimed to have 184 primary schools with c. 10,400 students and 73 school posts with 5,250 students. In the liceu (academic high school) there were 390 students, and in commercial and industrial high schools c. 600 pupils. Finally 190 students were attending government training schools, mostly for police training. It was estimated by the United Nations that only 15% of the total number of school age children were actually enrolled in schools. The P.A.I.G.C. reports to have c. 20,000 pupils in their village schools, and in 1966, 200 teachers were trained in Conakry (Guinea). (John Marcum, AR, 11.67). In 1964 the party produced their first text books (Caderno Escolar). Upper students attend a secondary school for Guineans from G-B in Conakry, or leave the continent for study in eastern Europe or China. A radio transmission school opened up in early 1966 and inside G-B there are, besides the village schools, there are two "pilot primary schools." (Zartman, AR, 11.67).

Recently the crew of a British television station entered Guinea-Bissau from the south and describing medical facilities at a border hospital in Conakry found where serious cases are transported from the war zones (napalmed victims, etc.) The hospital has only 60 beds, lacks proper medicines, and refrigeration facilities. Although it does get some aid from UNICEF and the RED CROSS, very little else comes from the west or international sources. The P.A.I.G.C. has also established two major hospitals inside the territory, one in the south with 100 beds and one in the north. Nurses aides have been trained in the interior and full nursing education is being provided by Russia and Czechoslovakia. Clinics are scattered throughout liberated areas, attended by orderlies and one travelling doctor. The Portuguese Government has tried to lure back people by offering access to Portuguese hospitals, but it appears that the party even gets the support of male nurses who have left Portuguese infirmaries to join the struggle (Anti-Apartheid News, 3.68; Zartman, AR, 11.67).

All of these segments of the party's emphasis on alternate structures function to different degrees in different areas. The television crew described the functions of a guerilla unit of 50 men and their relationship with a village. The village is responsible with supplying the fighting men with food and supplies, while the military unit provides five men to help organize village affairs (education, medical, etc.). It is obvious, as Zartman indicates, that the nationalists are well aware that they must provide people with their own viable institutions and prevent the damages of war from totally disrupting their lives. He summarizes the goals as a "healthy mixture of pragmatism and idealism in an admittedly disruptive situation."

What is the future of the war in Guinea-Bissau? Rather than delve into the hazard of

describing ultimate victory, the immediate possibilities for the future have been described by Marcum and Zartman as basically those of a military stalemate or a compromise settlement. At present the P.A.I.G.C. forces are confronted with the Portuguese military strength in the cities and urban centers, a strength which can be maintained apparently indefinitely. It is conceivable that if this situation continued according to Marcum, the "nationalists could rusticate and eventually disintegrate in remote irrelevance," although constant guerilla harassment and armaments buildup by the nationalists should not be ruled out. The other possibility as cited by Zartman of a Portuguese liberalization aimed at eventually letting go of the colony seems unlikely if such a release would involve for example, free elections, when this form of political decision-making is not permitted in Portugal itself. A P.A.I.G.C. communique of March, 1968 said that the party "is quite willing at any time to lay down its arms and find a solution to its conflict with the Portuguese Government. Our only condition is that the Portuguese Government must recognize our inalienable right to self-determination." (United Nations document). Such recognition seems unrealistic in the near future. On the other hand, the Portuguese may see it politic to negotiate with non-P.A.I.G.C. forces. There are basically two opposition groups. The Dakar-based Frente para a Libertacao a Independencia da Guine Portugese (FLING) led by Benjamin Pinto-Bull contends that the P.A.I.G.C. is controlled by outsiders (Cape Verdians), Cubans, Marxists, etc. and apparently, in spite of keeping up a stream of military communiques none of which have been verified, hope to be the focus of any possible Portuguese "search for Tsombes." Another group, the Bloc Democratique de Guinee-Bissau (BDG) is an elitist organization of traditional authorities and civil servants within G-B which came together in 1967 because it was felt that Portuguese were on the way out. The group announced its willingness to join a Guinean government-in-exile if necessary and thus tried to put itself on the political blackboard.

To the dominant active P.A.I.G.C. such third party maneuvers must dim in the context and consciousness of the role of the movement in actually freeing half - two-thirds of the land from Portuguese control and in establishing a renewed life through new structures. This makes the struggle in Guinea-Bissau "more war than most."

FILM ON GUINEA-BISSAU NOW AVAILABLE FROM THE AMERICAN DOCUMENTARY FILM COMPANY, 333 W. 86th St., New York, N.Y. "West Africa, Another Vietnam?" filmed by the crew of British Independent Television (ITV). A portrait of the nationalist guerilla forces, their goals, tactics and personalities. Base rental: \$85.00 Call (212) 799-7440. 16 mm., 40 minutes, black and white.

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all of you who have sent in contributions. We ask for the

financial support of all our readers. Please send checks to:

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AT THE UNITED NATIONS**"Full Blockade Against Rhodesia Not Expected to Work"**

The U.N. Security Council has approved a sweeping sanctions resolution against Rhodesia, providing for a complete trade blockade, a ban on travel to other countries by Rhodesian citizens, an end to all airline services and all investments in the territory. The resolution also asks member states "to extend assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority", in view of the difficulties caused for Zambia by the sanctions policy.

The resolution represented a compromise between an original British draft and one proposed by Algeria, Pakistan, India and Senegal, calling for the use of force to bring down the Smith regime. (Johannesburg Star, 6/1/68).

After the vote Lord Caradon, the British delegate, cautioned against any expectation of immediate results. In addition, a senior official of the U.S. State Department, Mr. Thomas McElhiney, until recently head of the State Department section dealing with Rhodesia, has admitted that it is not expected that the new sanctions will be effective.

The statement was made when Mr. McElhiney appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for approval of his new appointment as Ambassador to Ghana. He said America supported the new sanctions because it underlined world disapproval of the Smith regime more firmly than before. He pointed out that the entire world community, "except for one or two members" was united against the Rhodesian regime. (Johannesburg Star 7/20/68).

The U.S. has now applied a virtual embargo on its remaining exports to Rhodesia. The Dept. of Commerce has announced that in future it could only authorize exports intended strictly for medical, educational, or humanitarian purposes. An executive order is expected by President Johnson to cover remaining U.S. imports from Rhodesia, dealings by American citizens in Rhodesia and also, probably, air travel to Rhodesia. U.S. exports to Rhodesia in 1965 totalled \$22 million and last year, \$3,700,000. (Johannesburg Star 7/20/68).

The reason why even these sanctions will not work is that they do not include Rhodesia's main ally, South Africa. It is well known that the embargo on oil could have brought down the Smith regime in a matter of months after Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, were it not for the ample supplies of this commodity made available to Rhodesia through South Africa.

Britain has, however, repeatedly ruled out any economic confrontation with South Africa. With an investment in that country of about \$2,408,000,000, comprising 64% of South Africa's foreign investment, it is not foreseeable that Britain will support any action which could seriously threaten South African stability. For this reason it is extremely doubtful also whether Britain desires any radical change in the countries on South Africa's borders.

But meanwhile Britain continues her shadow boxing with the Smith regime, to satisfy Afro-Asian pressures. Her African policies have the consistent support and connivance of the U.S. apparently in exchange for British support for the disastrous U.S. policies in South East Asia.

"Shocking Prison Report Rejected by South Africa, Ignored in U.S."

The South African Government has sent a message to the UN rejecting a 420 page report on the treatment of political and other prisoners in South Africa. The report was made by a special working group of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations.

The message alleges prejudice against South Africa, arguing that "the central point at issue was neither the South African prison system nor indeed any question of human rights at all" but that "certain states, members of the United Nations, have elected to wage a political campaign against South Africa in the organization." (Johannesburg Star 5/25/68).

The six member U.N. working group has since decided to ask the government of South Africa if it could be allowed to visit the country to investigate prison conditions and contact trade union organizations. (Johannesburg Star 6/29/68) Such permission is unlikely since South Africa has refused to cooperate with the investigations from their inception, on the grounds that they constitute interference in her internal affairs. A former request for the group to visit South Africa was refused.

The working group was therefore obliged to receive evidence outside South Africa only. Sworn testimony was heard from over 20 former political prisoners in London, Dar-es-Salaam, and New York. The first witness was an American, Mrs. Marie Louise Hooper, Director of the South Africa Program of the American Committee on Africa, concerning a brief spell of imprisonment without trial in South Africa, presumably for her connections with the subsequently banned African National Congress and its now deceased leader, Nobel Prize Winner Chief Albert Luthuli. The second witness was a South African Methodist Minister, the Rev. Gladstone Ntlabati, at present a Ph.D. student at Harvard.

The conclusions of the working group were that prison conditions in South Africa "fall short, lamentably, of all international and civilized standards"; that there exists "gross discrimination on grounds of race in the treatment of detainees and prisoners" and "open discrimination against political prisoners" as opposed to common-law prisoners, that "detainees have been submitted to physical and psychological torture" and "had cruel and degrading physical treatment inflicted on them on a massive scale." The procedures and methods of the Security Police are found to be very similar to, if not identical with, those reported to have been used by the Gestapo under Hitler's Nazi regime of Germany.

It is felt that "for persons opposed to apartheid, South Africa is tending to become a vast prison house," It is described in the report as "a police state," with laws and methods increasingly resembling those adopted under fascist regimes. Certain elements were also found corresponding to the acts described in Articles 11 a), b) and c) of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

The testimony contained in the report has received wide coverage in the world press, e.g. in British newspapers. It appears, however, to have been buried in silence by U.S. news media.

The U.N. group was told of insanitary conditions and poor diet. Assaults, whippings and other violence against non-white prisoners was described as common, with minor assaults "almost part of the routine". Women who said that they had washed prisoners' clothing reported that it was often impregnated with blood and ointment. One form of discipline that is common is the "carry-on". This means that warders are given the simple order, "Carry on!", which is the signal to assault prisoners at random, with fists, batons, sticks and pick handles. Political prisoners were often put in the worst jails, and witnesses agreed it was official policy to treat them more harshly than other prisoners. They were invariably placed in the lowest, i.e. C and D categories, reserved for the most hardened and vicious criminals convicted for violence, murder or rape, and allowed minimum privileges or none at all.

Those detained under the notorious 90 day (later 180 day) law providing for arrest and imprisonment without trial and in solitary confinement reported particularly harrowing experiences of mental and physical torture. Miss Gillian Jewell, a white university lecturer in French language, described how she was held in solitary confinement for three months. One of the methods used against her was to work on her guilt feelings concerning the suicide of her twin sister. After six weeks, she said, she went completely insane and remained so till her release when she had to receive psychiatric treatment.

Albert Louis Sachs, an advocate of the Supreme Court who had defended many persons accused of political offences, and was therefore in possession of much confidential information, described how he was deprived of sleep and how a team of six interrogators dealt with him in groups of two, working continuously in four hour shifts round the clock for days. He eventually collapsed and fell

off his chair. Cold water was thrown on him and he was picked up and placed on the chair again, but he collapsed once more. This was repeated a few times. When he recovered a little he wanted to throw himself out of the window, but was prevented.

Mention was made of one political prisoner, Suliman Saloojie, an Indian, who did fall or jump to his death from a seventh floor window during interrogation. It is assumed he committed suicide, but more than one U.N. witness indicated he thought some of the circumstances were suspicious. Abdul Jasset, also an Indian, said he had received letters from Saloojie's widow stating that the body on examination, had shown signs of severe physical torture. "His finger nails and toe nails were pulled out; his hair was pulled out;...his fingertips had been burnt," according to a letter that was quoted. Mrs. Saloojie has been refused even a one-way exit visa, it is suggested to keep her from telling the story to the outside world in person.

"Vorster Allegedly 'A Party to Torture'"

Mr. A.L. Sach's testimony to the U.N. working group included allegations that the South African Prime Minister, Mr. J.B. Vorster, is himself a party to the torture of political prisoners, together with the head of the Security Police, Major General von den Bergh. According to Mr. Sachs, von den Bergh had said in a press interview that the reason why the police had so many successes had been the understanding established between himself and Mr. Vorster while the two of them were in prison together. (They were detained in the same prison during World War II for pro-Nazi sympathies.)

When Mr. Vorster became Minister of Justice, he said to the police, "Tell me what powers you want and I'll give them to you." He immediately promoted von den Bergh, then a mere captain, over the heads of many others, to the head of the Security Police. The 90 day law was soon passed as a result of police discussions with Mr. Vorster. He has moreover personally protected the police from any public inquiry into allegations of torture of those arrested under this law.

Mr. Sachs said he became convinced from the behavior of the police who interrogated him that they acted on the highest authority, i.e. von den Bergh and Vorster themselves. The similarity in the methods used in widely separated parts of the country certainly bears out such an interpretation. On his release Mr. Sachs had tried to arrange an interview with Vorster through the Bar Council in Cape Town but received an abusive letter back from the Minister, who refused to see him. When Vorster became Prime Minister after the death of Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. Sachs pointed out, he gave up his general portfolio as Minister of Justice, but retained his special position as Minister responsible for the police and Minister for Security.

"U.N. Warned: South Africa Seeking N-Weapons"

Two African nations, Zambia and Sierra Leone, have warned the U.N. General Assembly that South Africa is moving towards becoming a nuclear power.

Chief Mapanza, the Zambian Ambassador to Cairo, said certain Western powers, including West Germany, were assisting South Africa in its nuclear development. The Sierra Leone Ambassador to Washington, Mr. A.K. Hyde, noted in the Assembly that France, a nuclear power and major supplier of arms to South Africa, had not taken part in the preparation of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. If South Africa acquired such arms she could set off a "holocaust in Southern Africa". The U.S.S.R. has already accused South Africa and West Germany of working secretly on the development of atomic weapons.

South Africa has accentuated such fears by refusing to sign the non-proliferation treaty. Mr. Mathys Botha, the South African representative at the U.N. has replied that "it is simply not possible from a technological point of view for South Africa to be engaged in the manufacture of nuclear weapons." He said the reason for not signing the treaty was that international inspection of industrial installations could lead to industrial espionage. But a British official has pointed out that South Africa could always object to the identity or nationality of any inspector. Western powers are reported to be disturbed

by South Africa's non-cooperation in the treaty, as it jeopardises plans to make all Africa a nuclear-free zone. (Johannesburg Star 5/25/68; Johannesburg Sunday Times 5/26/68).

"U.N. To Be Asked To Support Aid To Freedom Fighters"

Hearings of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid in London have concluded with a communique suggesting inter alia that the General Assembly be asked to adopt a resolution calling for the African Freedom Fighters to be recognised as prisoners-of-war under the Geneva Convention.

The communique makes the point that "responsibility for the liberation of Southern Africa rested primarily with the people of the region" and that international assistance should be in the form of "political, moral and material support," including humanitarian projects giving aid to the victims of apartheid, and education and training to those needing it.

The committee chairman, Anckar Maraf of Guinea, said in a press conference after the final session that the interpretation of "material support for liberators" was up to the member states of the U.N., but he thought arms came within the scope of the description. (East London Daily Despatch 6/27/68).

The groups appearing before the committee included the U.K. and French Anti-Apartheid Movements, the World Campaign for the Release of S.A. Political Prisoners, the British Council of Churches, Amnesty International, the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa and the South African Congress Alliance (African National Congress, Colored People's Congress, S.A. Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats and S.A. Congress of Trade Unions).

Mr. Joseph Matthews of the African National Congress stressed the importance of "legitimising" the guerrilla struggle through the U.N. He said his people did not want to be "liberated" by either the Soviet Union or the United States. Nor did they want their destiny to be bargained over by these countries. If the Soviet Union wanted to make a contribution to the freedom struggle it should supply its excellent Kalashnikov rifles to the freedom fighters, he said. The chairman said there had been no attempt to bargain on the freedom of Africans.

Other suggestions in the final communique were as follows:

*More detailed evidence should be made available to the international community regarding charges that certain countries are supplying arms to South Africa in contravention of the Security Council resolutions.

*A complete and effective embargo on all trade and economic relations with South Africa constitutes the only peaceful way of inducing the S.A. Government to abandon apartheid.

*All U.N. member states should place effective restrictions on the flow of immigrants, particularly skilled and technical personnel to South Africa.

*That a bar be placed on all cultural, educational, sporting and similar exchange between South Africa and U.N. member states.

*That there be a U.N. register of all persons imprisoned, banned or banished in South Africa in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

*That greater attention be paid to educating world public opinion regarding apartheid and the movement to oppose it. (U.N. Press Release 7/23/68).

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

"20 Years of National Rule: The White Man Comes First"

The editor of Die Beeld, Schalk Pienaar, reflected on what has happened since 1948 in the May issue of New Nation, a South African journal of fact and opinion: "When it came to power 20 years ago, the Nationalist Party was

far more than a political party...It was the political front of the Afrikaner national movement...It represented a white nation on the continent of Africa seeking to end the colonial era. The intensity and heat that marked our politics in the first decade of Nationalist Party rule, even up to the early 60's, reflected a revolution: South African politics were being recast in the mould of Afrikaans national thought. Of necessity this meant a head-on collision with English-speaking South Africa...This aspect of the conflict ended with the proclamation of the Republic in 1961. Whatever lingering hard feelings there were and still may be in the opposition camp, this victory of the National Party, of Afrikaner political thought, is complete and irreversible.

"A secondary issue that was soon to become the major one relates to color politics...Helped by occurrences elsewhere in Africa, the National Party has managed to impose Afrikaner thinking on race relations on the rest of the society to a very marked extent...Separate freedoms, partition, call it what you will, is the logical conclusion of Afrikaner apartheid thinking. To what extent it has progressed towards its objective may be debated; but that it has progressed beyond the point of return is not debateable. The statistics of the ballot box and the very tone of our politics tell us that after 20 years the National Party is in no visible danger of defeat. It is furthermore obvious that any take-over will have to be by a party that has incorporated the basic tenets of National Party and Afrikaner political thought."

Pienaar's article is a good example of the kind of political discussion that takes place inside of South Africa, the kinds of issues that preoccupy South African whites. However, the remnants of the English-Afrikaner collision of which he writes still exist and the "lingering hard feelings" can often be so significant that they overshadow even the black-white crisis. In spite of its victory, Afrikanerdom still reveals a high degree of insecurity. Examples illustrate:

"A remarkable campaign has been launched to prevent Afrikaners from cooperating too extensively with the English. The argument used is that if this were to happen, the Afrikaner's ideals, traditions and convictions might perish. One wonders why it is assumed that the English will swallow the Afrikaners, rather than the reverse; none the less, it is understandable that Afrikaners should be eager, and even anxious to preserve their identity and their heritage" (Johannesburg Sunday Times 7/7/68).

"The Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk of the Southern Transvaal was warned to beware of the liberal influence of its English-speaking members...The Rev. J.P. van der Merwe said that the influence of English-speaking members may be a threat to the Afrikaner culture and language in the future. 'Where will the increase of the English-speaking membership lead to?' he asked. 'Most English people are known to be liberal minded.'" (Johannesburg Star 6/15/68).

The concern for Afrikaner purity helps to explain the fact that it is the National Party that has conceived and carried out apartheid. Apartheid is a tribal policy, a policy that claims to be constructed for the preservation of that which is genuinely unique in each "nation" in South Africa. The Afrikaners themselves are a very tribal people, concerned about their cultural preservation. Thus it is no surprise that the policy that they have adopted for the whole nation is also a tribal policy.

In spite of the exclusive nature of Afrikanerdom there is one issue on which the vast majority of whites in South Africa agree: the necessity to maintain white supremacy and the need to be absolutely united in the face of black opposition. An editorial in the June 8th Star condemned the calling of "terrorists" by the name of "freedom fighters" and went on to say, "Would a Britain in her present state, or an America still living with the nightmare memories of Vietnam, try to counter the Communists, or would they consider their easier course to be to out-do the Communists in militarily assisting the black states? Whatever the precise developments might be in the event, the

dangers are there, and Mr. Vorster and the Government are certainly right to prepare South Africans for the military demands that would be made on all here should the escalation...actually come about."

Further, concern for Africans in South Africa is generally tolerated if that concern also, or primarily, enhances the position of the white. Thus, for example, when the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUSCA) is attacked by the government for being leftist, for tending towards a multiracialism, the defense of TUSCA does not stress the fundamental right for all workers to organize for their own protection. No, TUSCA's defense is stated in terms of what is in the interests of the white workers. Because Africans make up such a large percentage of the labor force, it is very much in the interest of the whites to be concerned about the Africans. (Johannesburg Star 6/8/68) Concern for Africans is only acceptable if it can be shown that it is to the benefit of the whites.

The National Party came to power twenty years ago. A society predominated by the above concerns is the society that National Party has helped to create. One can only expect more of the same from continued rule by that party.

"South Africa: Not Qualified for Independence"

Mr. M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development has announced that it will be a long time before independence is granted to the bantustans. For independence, many conditions are needed: "administrative experience, a reliability and responsibility in financial matters, honesty in public matters and a democratic approach." (Johannesburg Star, 6/8/68) If one were to apply these same qualifications to South Africa, however, it would seem that she herself is not qualified for independence. Where is the financial responsibility when the wealthy Europeans receive free education and the poor Africans must pay? Where is the financial responsibility when increases in pension and welfare facilities favour the whites: grants for children in institutions and for foster parents are as follows: R600,000 for whites; R300,000 for coloured; R53,000 for Indians; and R50,000 for Africans? (Johannesburg Star 6/15/68)

Is this honesty in public matters: The Government has recently moved people in the middle of winter to a new location, Stinkwater, east of Pretoria. The Government says that Africans are better off than they were before, "they have borehole water, better hygiene and lower rents. But they are living in tents which seems a poor exchange in this weather even for their former shacks and they are now so far from their work that some of them are at home only between 9 p.m. and 3 a.m. They are to build houses for themselves out of the material salvaged from their old slum. So this isn't even slum clearance. It is slum transplantation. The only evident advantage is that it will be farther away and harder to see. No problem is solved. It is merely swept under the carpet." (Johannesburg Star 6/22/68) Is this an improvement? Is this honesty?

And finally, does THIS represent democracy in action: The Prime Minister had the following message for the students at South Africa's Police college: "It is more than disrespect for law and order that we are witnessing... In many cases it is a complete contempt for law and order. That cannot, and never will be tolerated in South Africa and it is the task of the South African Police to see that it does not happen." (Johannesburg Star 6/29/68) Or is this democracy: Robert Sobukwe, sentenced to three years imprisonment in 1960 for incitement against the pass laws, at a time when his organization, PAC, was non-violent and lawful, is still in prison. He has never been sentenced for terrorism, treason, or crimes against the State. Yet his term is extended year after year, this time by a Minister of Justice who does it with a "clear conscience because 'I know that the powers that are seeking our downfall are gathering their forces to destroy us and are at this very moment assiduously looking for a star to give lustre to their nefarious schemes.'" (Johannesburg Star 6/15/68). And even more fundamental, if a nation must earn its right for

independence by practicing a democratic approach, when have all the people of South Africa, black and white, been allowed to choose their leaders and to direct their own future? South Africa can not pass the very test that she says must be applied for independent bantustans.

"South Africa Prepares"

Over the last six months, in fact dating to the first public recognition of fighting in Rhodesia, the press in South Africa has become increasingly cognizant (no doubt with government approval) of the potential of the armed revolutionaries throughout southern Africa north of the Republic. The South African reaction of the fighting in Namibia, Rhodesia, and the continued wars of liberation in Mozambique and Angola have been, in brief, the following:

1. The long-range military build-up of the state and the insitutions of a quasi-governmental armaments, munitions corporation. There are even rumors of extending military service from 18 months to 4 years.
2. The supply of military equipment and men (police) to struggles in Rhodesia and reportedly in Mozambique.
3. The growing hawkish opinion and government threats to this effect that "counter attacks should be launced on guerilla bases in Zambia." (South Africa Daily Dispatch, 7/12/68).
4. The internal press reports which instill the fear that the "guerillas are just around the corner".

To indicate that "subversive elements" are everywhere in South Africa, a July 7th report in Dagbreek en Landstem, an Afrikaans Sunday paper, described the playing of a tape recording in Johannesburg on a June 26 African Freedom Day program sponsored by the African National Congress. It appears that the tape was played and broadcast onto the streets, and that leaflets of the ANC have been distributed by mail and by hand, even in Durban. Dagbreek claims that the "Bantus are being bombarded with more propaganda than what they are able to digest." And that "...the playing of the tape-recordings is the most challenging step taken by the ANC so far since 1963-65 when the Government put an end to its activities." The article went on to say that technicians from China help maintain a radio transmitter in Dar-es-Salaam, where programs are broadcast by SWAPO in Afrikaans. Thus it concludes, "the propaganda campaign is well-organized." The excerpts from the Dagbreek article were published in ANC journals to emphasize their own growing strength in South Africa (see enclosed sample of leaflet), but such reports must be viewed from the two ends of the political spectrum. From South Africa's propagandistic vantage point, all is geared toward creating the mood for greater external offensive action, be it in Zambia or elsewhere through mobilizing increased internal fear of imminent disruption. A Chicago Tribune article of July 6th, datelined Johannesburg, announced the death of nine Pan Africanist Congress guerillas in a battle with the Portuguese troops while en route to Kruger National Park. Confidence prevails, ("So far not one guerilla has been able to reach South Africa") although as quoted by the NY Times, the South African Minister of Defense has stated, "We must have no illusion about the strength of the liberatory movements." What these various trends will produce, particularly in relation to Zambia, is as yet uncertain.

CABORA BASSA AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Perhaps nothing is more illustrative of the increasing polarization and alignment of forces in the Southern African area than the projected Cabora Bassa hydroelectric scheme in the Tete Province of Mozambique. In recent months FRELIMO has issued a communique (Frelimo Press Conference, March 25, 1968) on the significance of this project in the general context of their struggle and South African and Rhodesian government publications have made reference to the importance of the project to them. (News from South Africa, and Rhodesian Commentary, April 1, 1968)

The Cabora Bassa gorge on the Zambezi River is approximately 125 miles northwest of the city of Tete. The surrounding region is reputedly one of the richest in Mozambique--mostly in minerals, but also in its agricultural and cattle-raising potential. The projected dam--its cost estimated at from 350 million dollars to 500 million dollars--could have a power output greater than that of Kariba or the Aswan dam, at full capacity about 17 billion KWH. It will take approximately five years to complete.

This project could mean a lot to South Africa. It is reported that the Republic hopes to link the grid to its planned nuclear power stations to be built in the '70's. In News from South Africa Prime Minister Vorster is quoted as stating in Assembly that agreement had been reached with Portugal for electricity from the project to be led to Irene near Pretoria. He added that this agreement reflected the good relations and understanding that existed between Portugal and South Africa despite different domestic policies. The Rhodesian Government paper, Rhodesian Commentary reported that a fact finding team headed by Dr. John Graylin, Chairman of Rhodesia's Export Council, had visited the dam site. The report further indicated that "Geographically and industrially Rhodesia is well placed to undertake substantial business in all phases of the five-year construction of the L 125m hydroelectric project in the Cabora-Bassa gorge on the Zambezi River."

Who is financing this project? Not surprisingly it is a group of American, Western European, and Japanese economic interests:

A) A Franco-American Consortium (Morrison-Knudsen, Compadec (France), General Electric, Brown-Boveri, Compagnie des Forges de la Loire, Compagnie Electro-Mecanique de France).

B) A Franco-Italian Consortium (Gruppo Industriale Electro-Mecaniche per Impianti a L (Estero (Italie) and Creusot-Jeumont, Schneider (France)).

C) A Franco-German Consortium (Siemens and Compagnie Generale D'Electricite having as associates, Anglo-American Corporation (South Africa).

D) A British Consortium (Associated Electrical Industries, The English Electric Co.).

E) A Swedish-Japanese Consortium (A.S.E.A. Swedish), Hitachi, Mitsubishi, and Toshiba) (From Frelimo Communique)

What are the implications of this for the liberation movements? Of primary importance is Portugal's intention to import one million settlers from Portugal to settle and hold the area against incursions of freedom fighters. Already there are South African troops reported in the area (Frelimo Communique, also "Africa's Unreported War" U.S. News and World Report, June 10, 1968) Thus Frelimo has announced the opening of its military front in this area. Perhaps the words of their communique announcing this best state the implications of this phase of the struggle for all of Southern Africa:

"The importance of the opening of this front of armed struggle is not limited to our country. It is also important in the general context of the struggle in the Southern Africa. Suffice it for us to recall that Tete shares borders with Zimbabwe, where our Zimbabwean brothers, at this very moment, also pursue their liberation armed struggle with the racist minority which usurped power, and that Portugal is its chief ally. Our struggle in Tete is therefore a concrete manifestation of our solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and a direct contribution to their victory. The same applies in South Africa;

suffice it for us to mention the words of the administrator of Natal province, T. Gardner, just one week ago, on the 18th of March this year. He said, "There is no doubt that the battles waged in the 2 Portuguese territories...are more important for South Africa than those faced in the Middle East...if Portugal was to be made to withdraw the 80,000 men which it maintains in Mozambique and Angola, the Northern borders of South Africa would be wide open to terrorism and we would find ourselves involved in an armed conflict within a few months, perhaps within weeks..."

 STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS

As this Survey was being typed
 we received news that

200 to 300 students were expelled from Fort Hare University College

Fort Hare is one of three "tribal colleges" for Africans.

This large an expulsion means that over half the student body participated in the sit-in that lead to this action.

Details are scarce---a full report will be in next months Survey.

The presidents of the Students Representative Councils from the English-speaking universities are meeting in Durban to decide what to do.

The Minister of Police said that no protest action will be tolerated.

STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN SOUTH AFRICA**"Bonnie and Clyde" vs. "Africa Addio"**

"Bonnie and Clyde" can do their shooting wherever they like - as long as it is not on the screens of South African cinemas. Helen Suzman, lone representative of the Progressive Party in the SA Parliament, said she'd seen it overseas and thought it "brilliantly acted." She said SA audiences were mature enough to view it. Not so, decided Interior Minister, Mr. Le Roux, who himself had not seen it. He was confident that its ban was in order.

While a good picture like this had been banned, another one, which was one of the most savage Mrs. Suzman had come across, had been allowed in. This was "Africa Addio" which depicts racial hatred and cruelty to animals. (Star Weekly Edition, Joburg 11/5/68, and New York Post, May 22, 1968)

African Ambassadors in China have protested to the British Government in Hong Kong against the showing of the "infamous, savage, malicious and anti-African" film "Africa Addio", according to a statement issued by the Tanzanian Embassy in Peking. (The Standard, Dar es Salaam, 6/17/68)

Among other recent films rejected in South Africa were "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner", "The Graduate", and "In the Heat of the Night."

'Pop Singer Rejects S.A. Contract'

Pop singer Scott Walker turned down an offer worth \$35,000 for a nine-day tour of S.A. in protest against that country's racial policy. The 24 yr. old American born singer, now living in Britain, objected to the clause in the contract which read: "The promoter reserves the right to enforce the artist to perform to a completely European, completely Coloured, or to a segregated audience entirely at the promoter's discretion."

Walker commented: "I want nothing to do with apartheid - either seeing it in action or helping it. They cannot expect me to do things that conflict with my conscience however much they want to pay me." (The Star, Joburg, 6/29/68)

S. A. to Pirate Musicals

A controversial "piracy clause" in the S.A. copyright law will be invoked for the first time in a request to present three American musicals. The Johannesburg Operatic and Dramatic Society is asking for permission to show "West Side Story," "Fiddler on the Roof," and "Man of La Mancha," all on August 12th.

The authors and composers of these musicals are boycotting S.A. to protest the apartheid policy. The S.A. "piracy clause" authorizes the tribunal to rule that plays may be produced there without consent of the copyright holders. (Buffalo Evening News, 6/13/68)

University of Cape Town Drops African Lecturer

Mr. Archie Mafeje was appointed to U.C.T. in May, as senior lecturer in social anthropology; he is an expert on African urban conditions. A request from Senator Jan de Klerk, Minister of National Education, called upon the University Council to rescind its decision of appointment.

The U.C.T. Council issued a press statement protesting against "the government's intervention" in university affairs, stating that "the candidate whose claims, on academic considerations, were deemed to be the strongest, was chosen. He happened to be an African."

Senator de Klerk considered the appointment of a non-white lecturer as "tantamount to flouting the accepted traditional outlook of South Africa." (Sunday Times, Joburg, 7/9/68)

Wrecking Family Life - Editorial, 7/6/68
Port Elizabeth Evening Post

"On Monday, South Africa again celebrates the sanctity of the family. For many people in South Africa, however, Family Day will be a hollow mockery. In this country, whose government professes to be Christian, the law gives officials the right to crush family life day after day, with a mere signature.

Family is the strongest influence in the life of an individual. A reasonable family life helps the individual to useful work and citizenship. As is well known, when family life is broken up countless social ills result. Politicians, as well as church leaders and social workers, remind us of this regularly. Churches emphasize the value of the family. But how many Christians in South Africa pause to find out about some of the effects of apartheid laws on family life?

Influx control laws increasingly decree that the man only shall be allowed to work in towns, on a contract basis. In Langa, Cape Town, last year, 22,000 African men were living in 'bachelor' quarters. Two-thirds of them are married men who have no hope of living with their wives. The few who may be able to have wives with them are not allowed to bring children home from school in the Transkei. Relatives, even if old and ill, may not live with them. The African old and the ailing are sent to 'resettlement' camps, to die with no relative near.

The regulations give vast powers to officials. The evil social effects are incalculable, over and above the unhappiness of the individuals directly affected. Homosexuality, prostitution, disease, and crime are increased by this breaking up of families.

Voters who consider themselves responsible and informed, and who wish to help assure their country's future, will think of these things on Family Day - and on other days."

No Student Unrest for Lesotho

Mr. Anthony Manyeli, Minister of Education of Lesotho, has just completed a two-month tour of American educational institutions. He is leaving for home with some firm ideas on the roots of the recent student troubles. "The children have so much freedom here, even in the primary schools. They do just what they like. They grow up with that mentality and then their teachers and progressors cannot handle them."

Mr. Manyeli was sure that this state of affairs could never come to Lesotho. "It is quite opposed to our tradition and our way of life. Children have to show respect to their elders. Even the eldest of my own children, who is 21, still has that respect."

Mr. Manyeli is returning to Lesotho with promises from nine universities and colleges of places for Basuto students. One of them, the University of Arizona, indicated it would sponsor a dozen or more students. (Joburg Star, July 3, 1968)

It is interesting to note that in 1966 there was extreme unrest on the campuses of the Universities of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland which broke out as a result of the low standard of food served in the canteen, but increased as deeper grievances were brought to the surface. It culminated in the boycott of certain classes as a protest against unsatisfactory teacher-student relationships. The students were sent home a few weeks prior to the Christmas vacation, ostensibly because of the shortage of water, a chronic problem in Lesotho.

Alan Paton Delivers Address at Witswatersrand University "Day of Affirmation of Academic and Human Freedom"

Dr. Alan Paton, leader of the disbanded Liberal Party, told students that if they dropped politics, they might as well drop living. "It was the intention of our legislators not that our students should eschew politics, but that they should take a lively interest in them. It was because the students of the Afrikaans language universities took a lively interest in politics that the Nationalist Government came to power.

Paton, cont.

He continued, "South Africa has been called a land of fear and that is true; but it is a land of great courage also. Politics is life, politics is living, politics is your present future, with politics are bound up indissolubly your ideals and your beliefs." It is right, he said that NUSAS should concern itself with the pursuit of justice, freedom and truth. (The Star, Joburg, 6/8/68)

Dr. Paton urged students not to stop dreaming about ideals like human rights although those ideals might seem unattainable. He posed the question of whether there was any point in affirming a belief at a time when it could not be realized, and said, "The important question is whether we should go on dreaming it." (Daily Dispatch East London, 8/6/68)

NUSAS Conference Notes - June 1968

Among the motions passed at the annual Congress which attracted particular attention was one on terrorism. NUSAS expressed 'horror' at acts of violence but said, in its resolution, that it believed that government policies fostered acts of terrorism by suppressing a large section of the population. (Rand Daily Mail, 8/7/68)

The Congress also passed a resolution calling for all parties in Vietnam to make a determined effort to negotiate a settlement, and condemned the U.S. for its manner of conducting the war - particularly the bombing of the civilian population and the use of gas, napalm, and defoliation spray and called for the withdrawal of American troops. It also condemned the Vietcong for action against civilian groups in the South.

The Congress passed resolutions against censorship; condemned racial re-classification; the 1968 Political Interference Act; the second 5 year house arrest of Mrs. Helen Joseph; the refusal to grant Robert Sobukwe an exit permit; surveillance and photographing of participants at a recent peaceful protest in Grahamstown; the refusal of Pretoria City Council to allow a mass protest march against the Government's silence on teachers' salaries and the migratory labour system. (Sunday Express 7/7/68)

Mr. Duncan Innes of Cape Town University, was elected next president of NUSAS. Dr. Alan Paton was elected honorary president.

NUSAS no longer had a right to exist, said the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. Blaar Coetzee. The sooner the leftist organization was banned, the better it would be. (Die Volksblad, 7/11/68)

South African Students Condemn New Apartheid Bills

In South Africa, every timid step toward racial harmony seems to be met with increased Government repression. Apartheid was recently imposed on buses in Durban where it had not existed before. Now, sweeping new legislation threatens to separate the races even further. Speaking out against the Separate Representation Of Voters Amendment Bill and the Improper Interference Bill, John Daniel, Acting President of NUSAS, said that even though the Bill did not affect the students or NUSAS directly, it would radically change political life in South Africa and thus necessarily concern today's generation in the near future.

"We regard these Bills as detrimental to the future welfare of all South African citizens," Daniel said. "The Improper Interference Bill is an authoritarian measure, a curtailment of the right of free association and a further violation of the right of citizens to put into practice nonracial political principles. . ."

Earlier this year, Daniel had protested that the 'political climate' in South Africa was causing a serious emigration of leading scholars and some of the most promising students at English-speaking universities. He pointed out that at least 40% of former presidents of the Students Representative Councils at Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Natal, and Rhodes Universities in the last ten years have gone overseas to live or continue their studies with no intention of returning. The reason is the lack of academic freedom in

our universities and the atmosphere of intimidation and uncertainty created by banning and deportations." ... "As students we must determine to keep alive the spirit of dissent and, in so doing, speak out when injustices are done. This will involve participation in protest, Even though it may seem hopeless to protest, students should never forget that it is their duty and that thousands are heartened every time they speak out."

"Remedy For Subversion?"

"A Nationalist Senator recently suggested in the Upper House that university students should be required to take an oath of allegiance before starting their studies 'to ensure that they did not behave subversively'. This, he said, would 'prevent activities which corrupted a university and helped communism.'

"It is not surprising - though it might be considered illadvised - that the President of NUSAS, bearing in mind the Senator's remarks, should have commented that students at the English-speaking Universities would refuse to take such an oath. Such a suggestion, he said, was 'a reflection of that super-patriotic mentality which regards any criticism of the government as treasonable'.

"A contributor to the letter page of the Cape Times has condemned this attitude of Mr Daniel as 'arrogance', and referred to the United States custom of starting the day in every school with a 'Salute to the Flag' which is a pledge of loyalty.

"It might, however, be pointed out that the alleged motive of introducing such an oath detracts from its value. There is a vast difference between children at school taking an oath (or a pledge) in order to develop a sense of patriotism, and adult students at a university taking an oath, under compulsion, to prevent them from indulging in 'subversion'. And what is subversion, anyway?" (Civil Rights Newsletter, Cape Town Vol. XV No.5, May 24, 1968)

CONCERNING NAMIBIA

"Recent Events: In Namibia"

Early in July the London Daily Express and the Morning Star reported invasions of freedom fighters in the Caprivi Strip and South West Africa proper. "Some South Africans were killed and two police helicopters crashed during the chase through semi-desert bush country...Prime Minister J. Vorster warned earlier this year that South Africa would not hesitate to hit at the source (Zambia) of the terrorist problem if he thought it necessary." (Express 7/1/68)

In May there was a quietly ominous demonstration at the Augustineum College. The school, a long time center of undercover political activities, was moved from Okahandja to Windhoek early this year as a showcase of education for non-whites. On May 6th, 100 students marched without permit into a neighboring township and were turned back "when about 12 policemen in three police vans put up a roadblock to stop them...Without incident the students turned around and returned to the college." (Windhoek Advertiser 5/7/68) The events surrounding the demonstration are unclear. In a letter described in Namib Today (SWAPO publication, May-June, 1968), a student traced the unrest to a questionnaire given to the students by a man said to be an American. The students were unwilling to fill out the questionnaire. The students also may have been involved with the refusal of Windhoek residents to move out of their homes into a new segregated location. In April seven students were expelled after having been forbidden to meet in groups of more than four. The students were eventually hoping to take their grievance to the Administrator of SWA. Since that time, reportedly half the student body has been expelled.

"In Pretoria"

A "Development of Self-Government for the Native Nations in South West Africa" bill was introduced to the South African parliament on April 5th. This bill would divide the African population of SWA into six (Damaraland, Hereroland, Kaokoland, Okavangoland, Eastern Caprivi, and Ovamboland) or more racial "homelands". Speaking against the bill, the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graff, discussed the difficulties of moving large groups of people and the "lack of viability of the areas concerned". For example, according to the Odendaal Report, 90% of the Damaras live outside the area which is supposed to become Damaraland. (Windhoek Advertiser, 5/10/68) Yet, with all likelihood, the bill will pass.

Simultaneously with the consideration of the "Self-Government for Native Nations" bill, the South African government has taken more steps toward complete control of SWA. The Tanzania Standard (4/6/68) reports:

South Africa is to take over certain administrative powers from the South West Africa Administration, including the education of Africans, it was announced...in a White paper presented to Parliament today. The changes especially affect the Coloured population...Administrative authority for the Coloured groups will be transferred to the State Coloured Affairs Department. The Territory's coloured population will also be granted representation on the proposed Coloured Representative Council--the "Coloured Parliament"--which is to be established in South Africa.

Both of the above actions can easily be seen as a hurried consolidation of power for the South African Government in South West Africa. Now is the time to take advantage of the hesitation of the U.N. and the African freedom fighters.

"At the U.N."

After considering the report of the U.N. Council for SWA, the General Assembly in June proclaimed (by a vote of 96 to 2 with 18 abstentions, U.S. included) that SWA should henceforth be known as "Namibia". It also gave the Council the responsibility to:

- A) render technical and financial assistance to Namibia,
- B) organize a training program for Namibians so that they will be prepared to take on the leadership of their country,
- C) continue its consultation on the problem of travel documents for Namibians.

The General Assembly called the SWA problem a "grave threat to international peace and security" and concluded with the usual condemnations, reiterations and recommendations. (U.N. document A/RES/2372 (XXII))

"Economic Affairs"

Mining: Despite official condemnation of the South African presence in SWA, Western powers, the U.S. included, cynically affirm the status quo as they continue to increase their heavy investments in S.W. African mining concerns (47% of SWA's income comes from mining and mining output doubled in volume from 1963-1966). In its June 18 report, the Office of the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia views SWA on "the threshold of another boom period."

The big hunt now is for copper. At present SWA's biggest copper mining concern is the American Tsumeb Corporation, but the following American concerns are now looking: Keenecott of America, Rio Tinto, the American-backed Navarro Exploration Co., and New Wellington. Caltex has been given concession to probe the Atlantic coast for offshore oil, and attempts to locate inland oil are being intensified.

A New German involvement in SWA is the purchase by Kloeckner & Co., Duisberg, of a major shareholding in the SWA Lithium Mines. And Japan has increased its imports from SWA by 7 times since 1966. Tin mining is expanding

to the point where SWA will soon be able to meet all the tin requirements of South Africa.

Transportation: Transportation between SWA and SA will be expedited by a road built from Johannesburg to Windhoek direct across Botswana. Also under consideration is a rail-link which would connect the port of Walvis Bay with Rhodesia.

"South West Africa: Books"

In the June-July issue of Africa Today Elizabeth Landis reviews three recent books on SWA. The first, South-West Africa, by Muriel Horrell (South African Institute of Race Relations, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg, 1967), is a general handbook with chapters on demography, education, wages and income, land distribution and proposals for future "tribal homelands". Miss Landis has high praise for this book, placing it in the "long series of distinguished publications by the South African Institute of Race Relations, all of which deserve to be better known in the U.S." Miss Landis also speaks highly of South West Africa and its Human Issues, by John H. Wellington (Oxford, 1967). It is a human geography text which includes a study of demography and the history of the territory from the time of the German regime through the decision of the International Court. Wellington concludes his study with a call to abandon discrimination and work toward effective participation of non-whites in the administration of South West Africa, "the age old cry," as Miss Landis says, "of men of good-will for simple decency."

In contrast to the first two books, the last, South-West: the Lost Frontier in Africa, by Eschel Rhodie (Twin Circle Publishing Co., N.Y. and Voortrekker Press, Johannesburg), is "blatantly propagandistic". Much of it reads like "information service hand-outs", and the logic is often sloppy or twisted in the lengthy discussions of SA's relation to the international community and its resolute stand against communism. In short, Miss Landis finds Rhodie to be "an apologist for the present Nationalist government of South Africa and a fairly incompetent one at that."

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