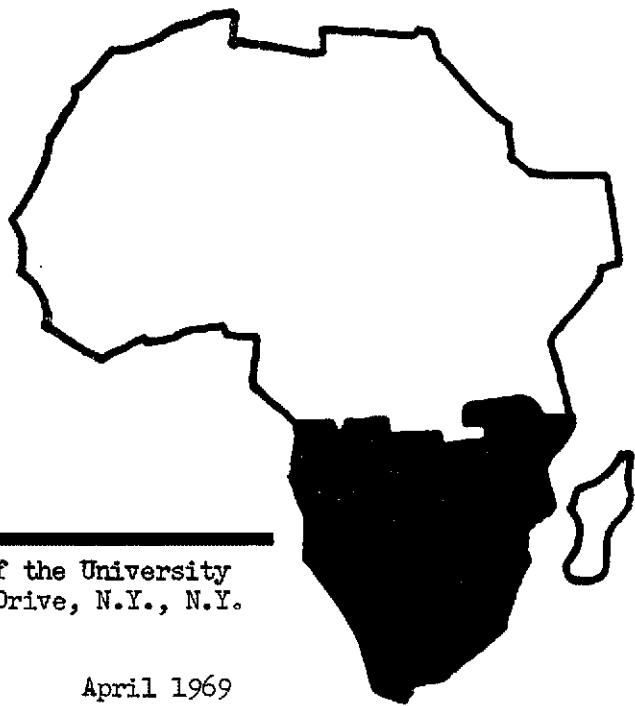


# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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**EDITORIAL**

**"Ten, Twenty, Thirty Years On"**

Incredible as it may seem, students in South Africa are protesting for the return of Academic Freedom on the tenth anniversary of the promulgation of the law which heralded a decade of suppression in South African education. It is incredible because they fight on, after ten years of continuous losses, a growth in power of their enemies and when most of the students who rally today have lived their entire lives under the racist Nationalist Government.

It is commonly known that South African universities are segregated racially. There are Universities for Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites. But what is less commonly known is that the White universities are segregated by language into Afrikaans and English medium institutions. The Afrikaans universities have always been closed. Racially exclusive and intellectually choked by narrow Calvinism, they have solidly supported the suppression of their fellow South Africans in the cause of Afrikaner tyranny. They were formed to protect a culture and people from the harsh glare of reality and enlightenment and recently to protect South Africans from the triple "heresies" of Liberalism, Humanism and Communism.

On the other hand, the English universities grew within the western European tradition, with its convictions of the justice and benefit of Academic Freedom. They admitted all students irrespective of race, were secularly controlled institutions and have become the only serious opponents of the Government within the white community. Ten years ago they lost their right to admit students irrespective of race, under the Extension of University Education Act. Since then they have lost the right to employ as teachers people named as communists by the Government, have seen some of their faculty banned and forbidden to teach or enter their laboratories without any trial or evidence presented against them. They have been forbidden to employ non-whites as teachers. Their student leaders have been banned, had their passports removed, and have even been tried for blasphemy. Under the repressive regime there has been a steady emigration of both faculty and graduate students. Certain studies have had to be curtailed, hamstrung by Government restrictions and even self-limited lest the studies lead to the persecution and gaoling of individuals and lest the Government use the information to increase the efficiency of its tyranny. The loss of these freedoms is leading to the slow death of the English Universities.

The protests began on the 8th of April at Witwatersrand University (Johannesburg) as students stood in silent vigil while Lord Butler, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, gave a lecture on Academic Freedom in the Great Hall. On Thursday the 10th, at 7:20 a.m. the police made their first move against the students. Six students who were protesting on a traffic island outside the university were arrested. Thirty police with two dogs performed the arrest. In response, after a meeting 300 students occupied the island for the afternoon. Later when only 30 students remained, 200 police with dogs surrounded the students and gave them five minutes to move. After a chorus of "We Shall Overcome", they left. On Monday the 14th students distributed 80,000 pamphlets in the city center, and 19 ended up under arrest for distributing pamphlets on railway property. On Tuesday night as six girls and four men mounted their vigil around the Academic Freedom torch, they were attacked by 100 members of the South African Army. On the 16th the University closed to mourn its loss of freedom.

Similar protests were mounted around the country.

It all seems so small. Such small protests. But you have to be brave to do even this in the face of fascists, and you can thank God you are white because that does restrain the Government's repressive hand. It is incredible. The flame of freedom still burns in these students after ten lonely years. Gaudeamus Igitur.

## SOUTH AFRICA SWALLOWS NAMIBIA AND THE WORLD STANDS BY

On April 1, the South West Africa Affairs Bill, which virtually incorporated South West Africa as a fifth province of South Africa, took effect. The beginnings of this take-over could have been seen a year ago when arrangements were made for all the important governmental functions to be shifted from South West Africa to South Africa. White settlers in South West Africa, or Namibia as it has been named by the U.N., opposed the bill since its enforcement would mean the end of their power in the territory, but there was never any doubt that the bill would be passed.

As far as the Namibians are concerned, it is an Apartheid government whether it rules from Windhoek or Pretoria. Yet the Pretoria take-over is an especially evil blow to the Namibians for two reasons. First, it is the Pretoria government which has begun to carve up Namibia into "bantustans;" and second, that the Pretoria government is actually getting away with the take-over confirms suspicions that Namibians have long held that the U.N., i.e. the world, doesn't really care what happens to them.

And what is happening in the U.N. is also confirming those suspicions. In 1966 the U.N. decided to terminate the mandate under which South Africa had controlled South West Africa since World War I. The U.N. subsequently took responsibility for preparing the territory for independence and gave it an African name: Namibia. However, the U.N. has never even succeeded in entering Namibia. Afraid of over-commitment, it has simply aimed occasional admonitions at South Africa. The Security Council Resolution adopted March 20 falls into this pattern. A special meeting of the Council had been called by representatives of 46 African and Asian states who hoped this time to do something about the "deteriorating situation in Namibia." But by the time a resolution was adopted, the strong words had all been cut out. South

Africa's presence in Namibia was not called "an act of aggression." There were no threats of force or mandatory sanctions. The resolution does condemn South Africa for destroying "the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia." It "declares that the Government of South Africa has no right to enact the South West Africa Affairs Bill. . . . Calls upon the Government of South Africa to immediately withdraw its administration. . . . invites all states to exert their influence in order to obtain compliance;" and finally says that if South Africa fails to comply with the provisions of the resolution, "the Security Council will meet immediately to determine upon necessary steps or measures with regard to Namibia, and perhaps they are right. If this is the case, then the U.N. (and the world) has betrayed Namibia; there's no question about that.

### QUOTE OF THE DAY

"Under the pretext of peaceful and legal protest, in the interests of the maintenance of academic freedom, students are being incited to actions which could easily lead to all manner of irresponsible conduct, disorder and disregard for the law.

"My advice to students is that they should not allow themselves to be influenced by these agitators, and that they should carry on as usual with their studies.

"These agitators definitely do not have the interests of the students at heart. They have their own objectives.

"As has often been stated, it is the duty of the Government to maintain law and order, and firm police action must therefore be expected when there is transgression or defiance of the law."

Mr. S. Muller

Minister of Police, South Africa

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Student Protests: Tenth Anniversary of the Loss of Academic Freedom

Students began daily demonstrations on April 7th which will reach a climax with mass meetings and a mass protest on April 16th at four universities. The protests are directed primarily at the legislation 10 years ago which closed South Africa's universities to non-white students and the establishment of separate "ethnic" colleges for non-whites. The protests are also directed at the deportation of white student leaders last year, and the suspension of 3 African students from the Fort Hare (Ethnic) College during the past eight months.

The governing council at the University of Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) has agreed to shut down the entire university for three lecture periods (about 3 hours) on April 16th. The other participating universities in the demonstrations are Cape Town, Rhodes (Grahamstown) and Natal (Durban and Pietermaritzburg). None of the Afrikaans language universities, whose students are mostly government supporters, are taking part in the demonstrations.

A New York Post article reports that protests had been planned at the start of the academic year, March 3rd, "but after meeting with Interior Minister (and Minister of Police) L. Muller, and receiving 'assurances' from him regarding student passports, deportations, and police 'intimidations', student leaders called the protests off." Muller, however, warned them publicly that he would not allow them "to follow the example of students overseas and cause unrest." Another cabinet minister said "the government would not hesitate to call out the Army."

Mr. Duncan Innes, President of the National Union of South African Students, replied to these warnings: "We know now where we stand. We cannot expect the right to express our points of view without fearing retribution of the most vicious kind. Yet our points of view will continue to be expressed."

Mr. Innes continued: "The fact that our universities now exist for white students only, that non-white students now receive an inferior education to white students, that the new legislation naming these

tribal colleges as full universities, is the most absurd piece of legislation yet passed in the country regarding education." (New York Post, April 7, 1969)

<u>Some Statistics</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
Population in South Africa	3½ m.	12½ m.
Universities	8	3
Percentage of students to Total Population	1.6	.00043
Ratio of government spending per pupil	8	1

Professor Resigns Over University Autonomy

"The most honorable course for the University of Cape Town to take now--after the South African Government's refusal to sanction the appointment of an African, Mr. Archie Mafeje, to the university's lecturing staff--would be to close down, as some German universities did during Hitler's regime." Professor Maurice Pope gave this advice when he resigned as Professor of Classics at Cape Town University over the Mafeje case. (Mr. Mafeje, a South African-born African, now in England, was appointed a senior lecturer in the department of social anthropology last year, but when the government heard of this threatened legislation to veto it. The Council of the University then rescinded the appointment.)

Professor Pope said that "Cape Town University could no longer call itself an international university, because its council had said it would in future appoint only white persons to academic posts."

This resignation again focuses attention to the question of university autonomy since the legislation in 1959 which prohibited the admission of non-white students to South African universities, except under Government permit--for example in medical faculties. (The anniversary of this law is being commemorated April 16th by nation-wide student protests, see above article.) The English-language universities waged a tremendous but unsuccessful campaign at that time to regain their academic freedom. "Now the Government has made it clear that it wants the same principle to be strictly observed in staff appointments. It tolerates the appointment of African lecturers in the African languages departments of universities, and it appears to be willing to allow the one or two other non-white lecturers already occupying posts at

white universities to remain, but there-  
after no more Africans must be appointed."  
(The Observer, London, March 9, 1969).

### "Instant Universities"

Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) has opposed in the House of Assembly what she has termed "instant universities" being created out of non-white ethnic colleges "while a Minister would retain tight control of the institutions under the guise of granting them academic autonomy." Mrs. Suzman has called for an independent inquiry into the matter which most feel unnecessary since the bill only calls for "academic advancement", and not the creation of integrated universities.

A Nationalist Party spokesman, Mr. J. Engelbrecht, clashed with Mrs. Suzman over the issue of student unrest. He said "there was a world pattern of student unrest, fanned by communist agitation, neglecting studies for politics." Such bodies as NUSAS had their own thoughts on the matter, he said: "We know what problems we have with them."

Mrs. Suzman lambasted him, saying that he had indulged in "slap-happy lumping together of liberals and communists." She suggested that one of the reasons for student unrest "might be that they were treated as schoolchildren."

Mrs. Suzman said "the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. Botha, would have tight control over Fort Hare's council, senate, staff and students; the autonomous powers held by the White universities were excluded from the bill. The Minister would have indirect control over aspects which should be left to the university--things like syllabi, the raising of loans, and acceptance of gifts. The right to decide who would be taught was 'non-existent' because Fort Hare would be able to admit only Xhosas, and sometimes other Africans--with the Minister's approval. The Minister would control the staff, negating the university's right to decide who would teach; he would have the power to act on staff matters over the head of the council."

Mr. Engelbrecht felt very moved by the fact that the establishment of Fort Hare University "was also proof of the interest taken in the Xhosa people by their

guardians, the White people of South Africa." Fort Hare indeed "proves White interest" and aggression. (Rand Daily Mail, March 14, 1969)

### Education in South Africa

"The Government claims that it is doing as much as it can to the standard of black education in South Africa. Then how do they account for the fact that in ten years from 1958 to 1968, the enrollment figures at Fort Hare increased from 438 to 451, which is a total of 13, while two of our white universities, Witwatersrand and Cape Town, increased by 3,521 and 2,432 respectively over the same period of time? The Government is doing practically nothing for black education when compared to what they are doing for white education.

"Last year there were 74,330 students studying on South African campuses. Of these, 65,745 were white and 8,585 were non-white. That means that of all these students only 11.6 per cent are non-white, although there are four times as many non-whites in South Africa than there are whites."

Duncan Innes, President, NUSAS

### Limehill Revisited

A new location for Africans, Limehill, has been the center of much attention because of the alleged inhuman conditions in which the Africans are forced to live. A team of 4 doctors visited the area and made a report, highlights of which follow:

"...We do not know the exact numbers of confirmed typhoid cases that have occurred in the past year. However, we do know that in three weeks, five cases which were seen were substantially confirmed and in four weeks, nine further cases were suspected.

"In a normal healthy community, acceptable incidence of typhoid is nil. Thus in a community the size of the Limehill complex, to have 5 cases confirmed in three weeks--ignoring for the moment the

suspected cases--would in any medical sense be called very serious...

"There was a large number of pelagra and kwashiorkor cases in relation to the total population. There were also significant numbers of early vitamin B deficiency, scurvy and rickets. Impetigo and scabies were also common. These are infectious skin diseases which flourish in poor, dirty surroundings.

"Pneumonia, bronchitis, tonsilitis and otitis media were also present in significantly large numbers. These last four illnesses are serious especially if not treated early, and adequately. As it is, two of the cases of pneumonia died...

"We would like to indicate that we consider the maternity facilities totally inadequate by present-day medical standards...

"From the disease we saw it is self-evident that the water and waste-disposal facilities are inadequate...

"The final factor in human life of concern to the doctor is the family unit, life as a whole. Significantly the majority of patients were women and children. We understand that the men are to a large extent in other areas. We would indicate that this is unsatisfactory and a further factor in continuing the vicious cycle of disease, poverty and ignorance." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Jan. 31, 1969)

### Africans Barred From Trade Union Council

The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) has finally made the move to limit its membership to registered trade unions. According to South African law, African unions cannot be registered and they will thus be ineligible for membership in TUCSA. (Johannesburg Star, 2/22/69) A serious dilemma faced TUCSA. To remain open to African bodies would have meant the withdrawal from TUCSA of other unions, including many of the highly organized white unions and a few coloured unions. This decision comes at the end of a very long struggle. Since 1966, 14 unions resigned because of African membership in TUCSA. These included the powerful Typographical Workers' Union, the Electrical Workers Association, the transport unions and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers and the Amalgamated Society of Building Workers. To have kept TUCSA open to Africans would have meant the end of the Council. (Rand Daily Mail, Jo'burg, 2/17/69)

The decision to exclude Africans, however, means that the majority of workers in South Africa will have absolutely no representation in the Trade Union Council, since the majority of workers in South Africa are Africans.

### Inequality in Wages: Doctors Walk Out

The salary scales for doctors - as in all professional and other employment - differ considerably for whites and non-whites. The government's justification for this difference has been that non-whites have a lower standard of living to maintain and therefore do not require equal pay.

Because of this, South Africa may face the greatest medical crisis in its history. The total non-white medical staff of King Edward VIII Hospital - the largest non-white hospital in the country - have resigned. They are protesting against the enormous discrepancy between their salaries and the salaries of their white compatriots. This has been followed by resignations of non-white doctors throughout the country. Country doctors have been requested to refrain, where possible, from sending patients to King Edward. These resignations will take effect May 31st. (Jo'burg Star, 4/19/69)

One of the doctors who resigned pointed out that he is earning R250 (\$350) a month. His white compatriots, with the same training, same responsibility and subject to the same rules, earn in the region of R350 to R400 a month. "That tired old argument of the Indians' lower standard of living is claptrap", he said. (Rand Daily Mail, 3/14/69)

Examples can be drawn from any segment of the South African economy to illustrate the discrepancy in wages between white and non-white workers. The gold mining industry has been absolutely central to South Africa's growth and development. It thus serves as an appropriate example. The total number of persons employed in mines and works in South Africa during 1967 was about 659,000, of whom 81,000 were white and 578,000 non-white. Of this total the gold mining sector employed just more than 60%. Total annual wages and salaries to all employees in the industry reached a record level of R400 million in 1967, of which R278 million was paid out to whites and R122 million to non-whites. Expressed in terms of monthly salaries, whites in the industry received R285 and non-whites R18. (South African Foundation TEMPO, No.68)

In the mining industry, the skilled jobs are reserved for whites. In an area where whites and non-whites do essentially the same work--teaching--the figures follow a similar pattern. A white matriculant starts off teaching at R1,920 annually, a coloured at R1,320 and an African at R900 annually. (Progress, Jan. 1969)

### Conflict Within the Nationalist Party

A common element in South Africa over the past many months has been the infighting among Nationalists. Some have seen this as the beginning of the end of Afrikaner rule in South Africa. Others totally discount its significance. There is no doubt but that the solid integration of the Nationalist Party, the Afrikaans Churches and cultural organizations, and the Afrikaans Press, is not so solid anymore. The political leaders have strictly warned the churches and cultural organizations to attend to their own affairs and not to meddle in politics. Prime Minister Vorster has told the Press that it is not their task to determine Party policy. (He made the illuminating statement that "The Nationalist Party did not own the Afrikaans Press, although it was owned by Nationalist shareholders and it was controlled by Nationalist directors.") The Afrikaans Press has taken sides in the conflict between the "verligtes" and "verknagtes." Die Beeld, for example, one of the biggest Nationalist papers, has strongly attacked "Current Affairs", the political comment program of the South African Broadcasting Corporation that takes a very pro-government conservative line. Certain elements within the press seem determined to push the government away from the far right.

In order to place these realities in perspective it is helpful to remember several factors that both contribute to and explain the conflicts. First, there is a very bitter circulation battle taking place between two major Afrikaans papers, Dagbreek and Die Beeld. This competition contributes to the publicizing of the conflict. There are in fact real differences in the Party. Some want to broaden the party's base and include more and more English speaking whites. Others feel that this would dilute Afrikanerdom and thus weaken the Party. There is independent

thinking being done by Afrikaner intellectuals. There is not unanimity on foreign policy.

Perhaps the most important fact is that the Nationalist Party is strong and feels itself to be invulnerable. Thus it can handle without too much concern the disagreement present within it. In fact, the conflict may be more of an indication of party strength than of weakness. (Jo'burg Star, 3/22/69)

### Flight of the Coloureds

The Coloureds, who presently number about 1.5 million people, have, over the years, lost more and more of their rights. At one time they voted in the Cape on the Common Roll. This right was denied them but they were represented in Parliament by white representatives. Then they lost their white representatives. In place of this they were given a Coloured People's Representative Council which does not have any real power. (Jo'burg Star, 2/17/69)

Finally, during the no-confidence debate in Parliament, Prime Minister Vorster admitted that there could be no special homeland for Coloureds and that whites and Coloureds would have to live in two nations in one country. He said: "That is the dilemma of South Africa, for which our children will have to find a solution."

What Vorster has admitted is that the Government has no solution to the Coloured situation. All apartheid can offer them is a "parliament" with no territory, a "prime minister" with no country to rule, and a people with statelessness as their natural state. (Jo'burg Rand Daily Mail, 2/10/69)

### Taxes

In 1967 a married African man with a taxable income of R650 would have had to pay a tax of R7, while a married White, Coloured, or Asian man with the same taxable income and no children, would have been assessed for nothing in the Cape, R2.79 in the Transvaal, R4.65 in Natal and R6 in the Free State.

(Race Relations News  
January 1969)

## A CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Over the next several months more and more will be heard about the important International Conference in Support of the Peoples of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa held in Khartoum, Sudan from January 18 through 20, 1969. Sponsored by the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization and the World Council for Peace, the conference revolved around the important strategy questions concerning the activities of liberation movements and the necessity of world-wide support for their struggle. The conference attracted representatives from over 50 countries and spokesmen for the six African liberation movements most concretely involved in armed guerrilla warfare today. These movements include The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) of Guinea-Bissau; the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) of Angola; the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) of Mozambique; the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) of Rhodesia; the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa; and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia.

Peter Heller, in a summary article reprinted in the SWAPO Information Bulletin (Vol. 2, #3, Feb-Mar, 1959) reports that the Conference first analyzed information about the territories in question before moving on to the issue of support for the movements. The discussion of the Portuguese territories pinpointed the movements' successes in the conduct of guerrilla warfare; in Angola where fighting has continued since 1961, the MPLA cited operations in 15 provinces; in Mozambique FRELIMO controls large liberated areas in the two northern provinces and has strong activity in a third; and in Guinea-Bissau, the PAIGC controls over half the territory. In all regions the movements are establishing new administrative, economic, medical, and educational structures. In South West Africa (Namibia), SWAPO has recently conducted heavy raids in the northeastern portion, the Caprivi Strip, where South Africa has located military bases; and since 1967 ZAPU and ANC have combined in an alliance involved in guerrilla activity in Rhodesia.

In the formal Conference resolution, the most significant conclusion was that "Portugal represents the weakest link in the colonialist-imperialist circle and that the intensification of the international struggle against Portuguese colonialism and fascism is a matter of urgent priority," in particular noting "the needs created in the newly liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies." In addition this resolution cited South Africa as the "main pillar in Africa for the maintenance and support of colonial and racist regimes and the increasing threat emanating from this danger for the whole of Africa," and expressed solidarity for the freedom fighters and peoples in all of the territories.

Probably even more important for its international impact was the list of practical measures recommended by the Conference, which were transmitted by Mr. Robert Resha of the ANC to the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid in a Special Session held in New York on March 17-18, 1959. Given that these suggestions represent the most concrete call by these liberation movements for various types of moral and material aid, they are reprinted in full: it should be noted that although some of the measures refer to possible action to be taken by governments, many of them call specifically on Non-governmental groups to respond to needs of the active liberation movements.

### Recommendations

Suggests the following practical measures:

(1) Recommends that the AAPSO, WCP and other interested organizations cooperate in establishing in each individual country special national committees for the furthering of the scope of this Conference and the implementation of its decisions. Anti-apartheid movements and committees supporting the struggle in the Portuguese colonies should be broadened so as to be able to carry out the decisions of the Conference. All existing committees and those to be established should coordinate their activities according to the special conditions in each individual country, including the establishment of special committees on special issues.

(a) To undertake an intense campaign for publicizing the struggle of the people of



the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa, the needs of the national liberation movements and the atrocities of the colonial and racist regimes by issuing bulletins, films and books, by carrying out cultural and political manifestations; using all the national public media, i.e. press, radio and television.

(b) To celebrate the solidarity days of the national liberation movements by mass demonstrations.

February 4	Angola
March 17	Zimbabwe
May 25	Africa
June 26	South Africa
August 3	Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde
August 26	Namibia
September 25	Mozambique

Where possible to invite representatives of the national liberation movements to be present during these celebrations.

(c) To press the U.N. Association in each country to popularize the United Nations resolutions regarding colonialism and help the anti-colonial movement.

(2) Requests all governments of the world to recognize as the sole official and legitimate authorities of the respective countries the following fighting movements: MPLA (Angola), PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau), FRELIMO (Mozambique), ANC (South Africa), SWAPO (South West Africa), and ZAPU (Zimbabwe).

(3) Stresses the necessity for the establishment of offices of the abovementioned liberation movements in all countries where it is possible.

(4) Recommends visits of representatives of liberation movements to all possible countries. It also stresses the necessity for visits of delegations of AAPSO, WCP, interested organizations and personalities to the liberated areas at the request of the liberation movements.

(5) Recommends the boycott of all Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African goods.

(6) Urges all national committees to expose the involvement of NATO in all the colonialist, neo-colonialist and racist activities in Africa.

(7) Requests the national committees to put every pressure on their respective governments for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions regarding Zimbabwe, South Africa, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies.

(8) Urges the intensification of all possible measures for the isolation of South Africa, and Rhodesia, in all spheres (political, economic, cultural and social).

(9) Calls upon all governments to apply all possible measures for the political, economic and diplomatic isolation of Portugal.

(10) Requests the AAPSO and the WCP to furnish the national committees with copies of the United Nations resolutions connected with all colonial problems.

(11) Recommends the issuing of a special bulletin for exchange of experience, information and listing of communication routes for dispatch of material aid.

(12) Requests the Ad Hoc mobilization committee to take the necessary steps for the convening in Western Europe of a Conference on the Portuguese colonies, to be held under the broadest sponsorship of all anti-colonialist forces.

(13) Calls for a campaign for the release of all political prisoners.

(14) Calls for a campaign so that the prisoners taken in the course of the current national liberation struggle, should be considered as prisoners of war and be treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

(15) Recommends that international and national organizations involved in assisting families in liberated areas or those who are destitute due to the national liberation struggle, should do so with the cooperation of the national liberation movements mentioned above.

(16) Requests the national committees to collect material to aid the national liberation movements, especially funds, vehicles, medicines, clothing, blankets, food-stuffs, etc.

(17) Stresses the necessity of medical services in the liberated areas and calls upon governments, international organizations and national committees to organize the enlisting of doctors and para-medical staff for service in those areas.

(18) Emphasizing the importance of training cadres for the national liberation movements, this Conference requests the countries to which there will be applications from the national liberation movements to consider them with the proper attention and to expand the training facilities.

(19) It calls upon governments, international organizations and national committees to assist in financing these training facilities.

(20) It calls upon friendly governments to accept travel documents issued by the national liberation movements. Also to provide passports or travel documents to the cadres of the movements mentioned in paragraph (2) for use in all other countries of the world.

Arms Sales Ban Sought

"South Africa, accustomed to being cold-shouldered in its attempts to buy weapons, is facing an arms embargo in reverse. An Angolan trade union organisation in exile, the L.G.T.A., has claimed that South Africa is delivering arms to Portugal for use in its African colonies or provinces. Its appeal to the Organisation for African Unity to stop the supply has been circulated worldwide by the Brussels-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions." (Jo'burg, Rand Daily Mail, 3/18/69)

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

U.N. Criticizes Chemical Bank for Support of South Africa

On March 18 and 19, 1969, the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid held four sessions with representatives of American non-governmental organizations (NGO's) to help formulate a common strategy toward South Africa. Sessions were spent discussing economic sanctions, aid to the liberation movements and strategies for change from the American scene.

Ironically, on the very day that speeches were being made outlining the scope of American business and banking support for apartheid, Chemical Bank published the following ad in the New York Times:

"This Man Arranged One of the Largest Ore Deals of All Time"

"For three long years, he persuaded, he created, he planned. His plan--to convince the South Africans to build their own blast furnaces for converting raw ore into pig iron. Then, simultaneously, convince the Japanese to start importing pig iron from South Africa.

"His global matchmaking paid off. His achievement--one of the largest trading deals of all time.

"Chemical Bank was at his side.

"We put our 115-nation International Division at his disposal. We supplied letters of credit. We came up with vital information on local politics. And strategic economic and logistic advice. To say nothing of the money it took to close the deal.

"Today, the American Capitalist is an international capitalist. He needs a bank with worldwide capability. His bank is Chemical Bank."

Nothing could have displayed Chemical's support of South Africa more graphically. This ad was immediately read into the record of the U.N. session and Chemical's part in the

\$40 million floating credit arrangement noted. However, more was to come! Several NGO's noted that Chemical was the bank of the U.N. and had a branch on the fourth floor. African diplomats in the Special Committee flung up their hands in embarrassed laughter and immediately joined in passing a resolution asking the Secretary General to review Chemical's right to be the Bank of the U.N. in light of her support of South Africa.

The majority of the NGO's signed a telegram to Chemical protesting her "blatant and repugnant support" of South Africa. Mr. Renchard, Chairman of Chemical's Board sent a 3-page telegram in reply, stating that Chemical was operating where the State Department allowed them to. Furthermore he stated that although Chemical was opposed to apartheid on moral and economic grounds, he felt that persuasion was used in family disputes and should be used to change South Africa's attitudes.

Apparently Mr. Renchard has not read South Africa's history and is unaware that persuasion has been tried for twenty years, the sole result has been increasingly harsher apartheid legislation. Or more unpleasant, perhaps Mr. Renchard's reply is simply honey coating the plain fact that Chemical is eager to make huge profits, at any human cost.

For those readers unpersuaded by the "persuasion argument" of the Chairman of Chemical's Board, write Mr. William Renchard, Chairman, Chemical Bank New York and Trust Co., 20 Pine Street, New York, N.Y. stating your opposition. The U.N. may stop its business with Chemical.

WITHDRAW YOUR OWN ACCOUNT SENDING A LETTER OF EXPLANATION.

#### Committee of 24 Adopts Resolution on Southern Rhodesia

The Special Committee of 24 on the ending of colonialism, at its meeting on 26 March, unanimously adopted a resolution expressing concern at the steps being taken by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia to entrench its policies of separate development "under the guise of a so-called new constitution."

The Committee also expressed its "profound indignation" at the recent trial and conviction of the Rev. N. Sithole, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union

(ZANU), and the continued detention, imprisonment and assassination of other nationalist leaders in Southern Rhodesia.

It called upon the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to take immediate measures to secure the release of all political prisoners and to prevent the introduction of the so-called new constitution.

However, in a negative response to a planned trip of the Committee of 24, the U.S. recently stated that it would not send a delegate to the scheduled meeting in Africa (New York Times, 4/5/69), because they were an extravagance of doubtful value. Although the annual tour to hear heads of Southern African Liberation Movements is an expensive one, much of America's opposition seemed to center on the fact that the U.S.A. becomes the focus of criticism on these trips. America's support of Portugal's "dirty war" in Africa was often condemned on such tours.

While America feels the expensive tour of Africa useless, African spokesmen have said that the mere presence of the U.N. on African soil is an encouragement to leaders of the liberation movements.

#### INSIDE RHODESIA

#### Who Next.....?

Chimurenga, a ZANU special bulletin, puts forward suspicions in the Feb. 24th edition, that further trials of ZANU leaders might be in the offing, following that of their President, Sithole. There are at present 25 members of the executive and central Committee in Salisbury in prison. They have been detained there for the past 4 years without trial.

The suspicions are based firstly on the fact that the detainees have not been allowed to see or talk to one another since the removal of Mr. Sithole last November. Mr. Sithole and Mr. Mugabe (who is still in jail) were joint authors of a document denouncing the Fearless proposals, which was smuggled out of Salisbury jail. They suggest that this denunciation could have been reason for the "frame-up" of Mr. Sithole two weeks later, and for his subsequent trial and conviction. Secondly, all the African guards at Salisbury remand Prison who were accused of "corruption" following the Sithole trial have either been transferred

or fired. White officers now guard the prison.

A young warden at the prison, Newton Marango, who refused to give evidence incriminating Mr. Sithole, has been removed to an unknown place of detention. He is accused of smuggling subversive literature and oral instructions from the prisoners to outside contacts.

### Coloured Zimbabweans and the New Constitution

The proposed new constitution for Rhodesia makes provision for 2 voting rolls --one for whites, Coloureds (mulatto) and Asiatics, and the other for Africans.

According to the Zimbabwe News of 11 March, the rank and file members of the Euro-African (Coloured) community are "overwhelmingly against taking any part in the settler-sponsored scheme that would turn them into allies of colonial oppression." There has as yet been no statement from the official leadership of this 14,000 strong section of the community.

This anti-collaborationist trend among Zimbabwe's Coloured population is thought to be due firstly to the 1968 Municipal Residential Act. This prevents all non-whites in Rhodesia from residing in certain areas, and is said to have greatly affected the political outlook of most of the Coloured community.

Secondly, "most feel it is about time that this community, born of black mothers and white exploiters, identified its interests with those of the black African majority--so it looks as if the regime's plans to use Coloureds for its own political ends will not succeed after all."

### THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

#### Father Nelson and Limehill

Father Rodney Nelson, a Roman Catholic priest who has been working in the Limehill area, has been taken in for interrogation several times by South Africa's Special Branch. At one time, as he was on his way to conduct a funeral in the Limehill area, he was stopped at the entrance by a Detective-Sergeant

Oosthuisen of the Security Branch. Father Nelson said: "Oosthuisen told me that I was the cause of all the trouble in Limehill and that I was inciting the people against the Government. I told him I was late for the funeral and could not stop. But he continued and said that unless I stopped my nonsense, I would be removed from the area." (Sunday Times, 1/26/69)

At a multi-racial gathering in St. Mary's Anglican Cathedral in Johannesburg, Father Nelson spoke commemorating the removal of Africans to the Limehill resettlement complex on Jan. 29. He said that there was much more typhoid in the area than official figures showed. "I can assure you there has been an abnormally high death rate," he said. (Rand Daily Mail, 1/30/69) "Some people say this is normal." Father Nelson said he had taken to making telephone inquiries about the sick at Dundee Hospital because many of their relatives could not afford the \$1.40 it would cost them to go to the hospital by bus. "People will say I am an instigator," he said. "I leave it to Almighty God to judge my fate - and I have already had hints as to what my fate may be."

After Father Nelson's address, 80 people, each representing one of those who had died at Limehill, went up the aisle and faced the congregation while names of the Limehill dead were read.

#### Methodists Rebuff New York Bank for Giving Aid to South Africa

The United Methodist Church's Board of Missions (USA) announced its intention of severing relations with First National City Bank. The latter (along with Chase Manhattan and 8 other banks) is a member of a consortium extending credit to the Union of South Africa.

The Board, which held its annual meeting in Oklahoma City in mid-January, made clear its opposition to "white racist minority governments" in Southern Africa through its statement of "Recommendations Regarding Southern Africa Concerns." In the unanimously adopted recommendations, the Board declared its intention to search for other ways to channel its funds overseas than through these banks. The denomination has already removed a \$10 million investment portfolio from the bank and deposited it

elsewhere.

The action of the Methodist Board, representing the largest group of Protestants in the U.S.A., was a follow-up to their announcement of two years ago opposing the credit arrangement these banks extend to the South African Government. At that time the Methodists undertook negotiations with the banks involved in order to "convince them that their continued financial dealings with South Africa only helped to bolster the government's apartheid policies." Two years of dialogue with the banks have proved unfruitful, and the Methodists have begun taking steps to end their support of these banks. (Oklahoma Journal, 1/14/69)

#### Pretoria Priest Victim of Harrassment

Father Roy Knifton, a minister at St. Wilfrid's Anglican Church in Pretoria, who is also Chaplain to Anglican students at the University of Pretoria, was the victim of harrassment in mid-January. A large number of goods which he had not ordered were sent C.O.D. to him at all times of the day and night. The goods ranged from three cars to a large assortment of flowers and a load of manure. The police, told by one irate firm delivering baby goods, are investigating the matter. The Rev. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute, was the victim of a similar hoax earlier in January when he was inundated with goods and services he had not ordered.

It is thought that this may be the same hoaxer, for Father Knifton's "views on race" coincide with those of Mr. Naude, and he is sympathetic to the Christian Institute.

Asked whether the hoaxer could have been a student from Pretoria University where he carries out his duties, Father Knifton said it was possible but not likely, as the university was still closed for the recess. "I am most sorry for the firms which have been put to all this trouble," said Father Knifton. "Some were rushed, others came from as far away as Harteveespoort Dam and Johannesburg, and some called after office hours. I am also concerned for the state of mind of the person involved, because he must be in some way disturbed." (Sunday Times, Jo'burg, 1/26/69)

#### Ten Clergymen Denounce Vorster's Liberalism

Ten ministers of religion, in an unequivocal rejection of present Nationalist leadership in South Africa, have put their names to a series of letters to the Hoofstad, a "verkramptes" newspaper. Their principal argument against the present Nationalists, and especially Vorster, is that they do not properly reflect true Afrikaner Nationalism. They feel that Vorster's desire to unify Afrikaner and English South Africans is a threat to their religion as well as to their way of life.

"In the past our nation believed that God in the first instance did not work with large numbers, but with a small band who lived and worked, and if necessary fought, in faith. However, recently a gradual and dangerous shift in emphasis has taken place. More and more the guarantee for our future existence is seen in the unity of larger White numbers. And to bring large White numbers together under the same spiritual and cultural roof, Christian principles must be stressed, twisted, and eventually even replaced."

The ministers with this letter in no uncertain terms rejected Mr. Vorster's ideal of larger White unity and a closer cooperation between Afrikaans and English. (Sunday Times, Jo'burg, 2/2/69)

#### SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES

##### Re-Opening of House Probe Into U.S./South Africa Relations

Mr. Charles C. Diggs, the newly appointed chairman of the Africa subcommittee of the House of Representatives, has declared his intention to re-open the investigation into U.S./South Africa relations suspended two years ago without producing a report.

A key role is expected to be played by Mr. Melvyn E. Benson, an American secret agent in World War II. Mr. Benson has spent seven years as an agent to an American soft drink company in different parts of Africa, including two years in South Africa. He will have considerable influence on the general management of the investigation and on the selection of those called to testify. (Johannesburg Star, 3/11/69)

## U.S. Continues to Stall

### U. N. Action on Namibia

A statement of Mrs. Riba E. Hauser, the U.S. Representative at the 25th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on Feb. 24, 1969, follows the predictably monotonous pattern of U.S. responses to the situation of Namibia, the South West African trust territory which South Africa has annexed and incorporated into its apartheid system.

The statement expresses compliments and appreciation to "our very distinguished Rapporteur, Professor Banji," whose extensive report on the implementation of apartheid in the territory has, according to Mrs. Hauser, been read "with intense interest." There are suitable lamentations over the "people suffering terrible injustices in Southern Africa" and over the intensification of the system which is the cause of their misery, over the "notorious Terrorism Act and in particular the prosecution of the 37 Namibians under this Act." "None of us can fail to be impressed with the magnitude of the problem which confronts us..." says Mrs. Hauser. Her delegation "warmly supports" the near unanimity of the international community "in condemning apartheid as inhuman..."

At this point it is more than likely the honorable delegates were nodding sleepily. What next? Coming to "a very novel idea" of Professor Banji's that a Judicial Committee be established for Namibia... "We think that it would be a course of wisdom to avoid a hasty and possibly divisive debate on the proposal now." (Read: "The Namibians have been awaiting action by the U.N. for the last 25 years, but what the hell, they can wait for this side of eternity while the U.S. continues to ponder the "wisdom" of doing anything about it.")

Anything more? "My delegation noticed that the Special Rapporteur...has drawn attention to the question of the application of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians to the events occurring in Namibia." To this Mrs. Hauser added "an idea for the contemplation of my colleagues on the Commission..." something on which they could act "right now." They could "initiate right away a study and analysis" (in spite of the exhaustive study and analysis already accomplished by

Professor Banji and applauded by Mrs. Hauser) to determine "to what extent... the conflict in Namibia (is) of such a character that the Geneva Conventions-- in whole or in part--apply and thus bind South Africa as a party" considering that the relevant article applies "when the conflict is not of an international character," and "Another question...might be... Would it be possible and desirable for the United Nations to accede to the Geneva Conventions as a 'power' in accordance with Article 155 of the Convention..." (Legal quibbles about who are fighting whom, on which Mrs. Hauser is profoundly obtuse.) She "would not expect that my government or any other government would be able to take a position with respect to the substance of either of the questions which I have posed until a thorough and responsible study has been completed."

As for Professor Ganji's proposal on measures for the dissemination of information to the peoples of Southern Africa on the evils of apartheid, the U.S. delegation considers existing channels sufficient. As for concrete help for the victims of apartheid and their families, the U.S. Government "would support resolutions appealing for assistance..." But there was a discreet absence of any promise that the U.S. might actually assist.

So much for the current U.S. style of "direct action" (special 1969 Nixon model). It is predictable that the Namibians will prefer their own styles. They have long since ceased to hope for any useful ones from either the U.S. or the U.N. (Quotes from U.S. Information Service Press Release, Geneva)

### Tourism

The South African Tourist Corporation is in the process of launching a major tourist campaign. Satour is sending 250,000 Americans letters and brochures, 25% of whom are Presidents of multimillion dollar corporations and 40% of whom earn more than \$40,000 per year. Promotional kits are being sent to U.S. travel agents also. It is obvious what kind of clientele South Africa wants. (South Africa Digest, 2/28/69)

South African Airways doubled her profit in the year 1967-68 to \$10.5 million, with the largest increase in passenger growth on overseas flights. It is no wonder that the Airways feels the time is ripe to exploit

the American market by instituting direct flights to the U.S. (News from South Africa, March, 1969)

### Protest

Architects' Resistance, a national radical organization of young architects, organized a March 21 demonstration in front of the offices of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill to protest the architectural firm's contract to build Carlton Center in Johannesburg, South Africa. According to the South African Information Service data the U.S. firm is on a massive project. Carlton Center will cost \$93.8 million, and upon completion in 1971 will include a 50-storey office building, 30-storey international class (whatever that means) hotel with 600 rooms, an exhibition hall, shopping plazas, and a basement parking lot for 2,000 cars. The construction will involve 2,000 workers drawn from Europe, New Zealand, Australia, Poland, Hungary, Germany, and of course the U.S. and Canada. Skidmore, Owings and Merrill is one of the most prestigious American firms with multiple corporate connections, and its participation in a large planning and construction project reiterates the trend of greater American investment in apartheid.

### Skyjack Defense

Thirty pilots and stewardesses have enrolled in karate courses with encouragement from South African Airways, the promotion organ Trade and Travel reports, to defend against sky hijacking. (Los Angeles Times, 3/13/69)

### FRELIMO ATTACKS CONTINUE

The latest FRELIMO communique report continuing fighting in the last few months. Most recent reports from Cabo Delgado Province refer to attacks in early February. The most important of these involve the Muidumbe Nangololo Road which the Portuguese are trying to repair. Attacks on 25 January and 7 February destroyed several military trucks. Portuguese soldiers returning the next day to

try to collect the survivors were also attacked. In the region of Macoti on 30 January, FRELIMO launched a large-scale attack on the camp of Ntandola, destroying it completely. Two bridges on the road from Ntandola to Muidumbe were destroyed in the same action.

Reports from Niassa and Tete Provinces came in more slowly. Reports from January actions in Niassa refer to an attack on a train between Catur and Novaguarda (7 Jan.) and an attack on the Portuguese camp at Mandalawe, in which the camp commander was killed. Reports from Tete from December and early January refer principally to mines on the Furacungo and Malute Roads. Ambushes launched when Portuguese patrols attempted to arrest villagers are reported from the Shimutanda and Cumbuzi regions.

The FRELIMO bulletin, Mozambique Revolution, of January-February, 1969 contains a tribute to the late President of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, and an account of a visit by seven Dar-es-Salaam university students to the areas under FRELIMO control. The students commented on the unexpectedly high level of activity and called upon East Africans to give more support to FRELIMO's struggle in Mozambique.

### PROF. D. C. S. OOSTHUIZEN: A Personal Tribute

Dr. D. C. S. Oosthuizen, Professor of Philosophy and Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, died of a heart attack on Good Friday.

Known affectionately as "Daantjie" - the Afrikaans diminutive of Daniel - he was trained as a Dutch Reformed Church minister, but took a doctorate in philosophy instead of a parish and came onto the Rhodes faculty in 1958. He was born an Afrikaner - in Graaff Reinet - and knew the Afrikaners, but these tribal labels fall away and are almost forgotten when a man has the courage to become such a man as he became, the courage to attain and accept such fullness of the stature of the truly human as he attained and accepted.

Daantjie conformed to none of the stereotypes of greatness. One had to linger with him awhile or see him in action to perceive that one had been in the presence of a truly great man - and yet one of the humblest, most unassuming and outwardly unimpressive men I have ever known. He was also one of

the most authentic human beings and one of the most quietly effective and, not fearless (he was too intelligent and perceptive to not know fear), but courageous opponents of apartheid I have known. He was one of those few whites in South Africa of whom it can be said that he lived with absolute integrity as a citizen - as well as in his personal and professional life - and that he did so with delightful humor, keen wit, a light heart and a humble spirit.

Deeply loved by his friends and grudgingly respected by his enemies, he was one of the few to get the better of the Special Branch (South Africa's political police). In 1965, when the S.B. tried to call him in for interrogation for the fifth time that year, he not only outsmarted them but also exposed their mode of operation and made them appear bumbling idiots in the presence of the Rhodes Vice-Chancellor. They never tried to interrogate him again. They were also embarrassed several times because of the watchful eye he kept on their ridiculous but sinister cloak-and-dagger activities in the quiet, historic little university city of Grahamstown.

Late last year some Americans had the privilege of meeting him while he was in the United States towards the end of his sabbatical leave. His visit was like a breath of fresh air, like a glimpse of reality through the eyes of one who, knowing all too well how harsh and bitter life can be, knew also, and believed, that life is good as well, and affirmed the belief that good is greater than evil, not in pious slogans but in who he was, in how he lived his life and gave himself to others. He reminded us that there are still a few whites in South Africa who hold justice more dear than their own comfort and safety.

He will be remembered by every fair-minded person who knew him, and honored with love, gratitude and respect. Apartheid has lost an implacable, courageous and resourceful foe, but the Beloved Country will remember this one of her noblest sons.

Kenneth N. Carstens

(Note: Kenneth N. Carstens is a Methodist minister from South Africa.)

A CURRENT SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

MONTHLY REVIEW, March, 1969

Special Issue on Zimbabwe, Exploitation and Liberation:

- Mwana Wevu, "Partners in Plunder"
- Davis M'gabe, "The Beginning of Guerrilla Warfare"

From International Defense and Aid,  
104/5 Newgate Street, London EC 1, England  
Two important short booklets:

South Africa: The Violence of Apartheid  
by A. Sachs (A Study of legal "apartheid", statistics, concentration of race laws, offenses, criminal action, etc.) 60¢

Why Minority Rule Survives: survey of Rhodesia 30¢

RAMPARTS, April 1969

Donald Barnett's article on his visit to Angola with MPLA forces. Barne is an American anthropologist. Interesting for the detail given, it is one of the first reports to come out on the "eastern front" opened up by MPLA in 1966. (After some years of less activity, access through Zambia to eastern Angola has made possible a major expansion of the fighting by MPLA.

Mozambique and Liberation, by Glyn Hughes.  
Monthly Review, December 1968. 75¢  
116 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

First Issue, 308 Stewart Ave., Ithaca, N.Y.  
Contains articles on Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, and U.S./Portuguese Relations.  
Published by Cornell Univ. S.D.S. 25¢

Unit on Apartheid, a short resume' of U.N. action related to apartheid, published by the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid. Initiated to "promote wider dissemination of information on apartheid and the activities of the United Nations organs towards securing its elimination." If you wish to be on the mailing list, write Mr. Enuga Reddy, 35th floor  
Special Committee on Apartheid  
United Nations Secretariat  
New York, N. Y. 10017



STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS

South Africa's most famous political prisoner, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, will be released from Robben Island prison before 30th June, it was announced on 24th April (AFP and Reuters, 4/25/69).

prison sentence for a political offense, provided Parliament approved such detention every twelve months. He is the only person to have been held under this law; his seventh year of detention without trial would have had to be approved by Parliament again before 30th June.

Justice Minister Petrus Pelsler said that Sobukwe, detained without trial since 1963, had been informed of this and that he would be released as soon as possible, subject to such restrictions as will be deemed necessary for the safety of the state.

The announcement has taken most people by surprise, despite some renewed discreet activity on the matter in recent months. Appeals for his release from such organizations as the United Nations, the British House of Lords, the NAACP and others, have met with no response in the past. Some observers interpret the action as another attempt to promote a "smiling image" abroad by Prime Minister Vorster - who, having secured Sobukwe's detention when Vorster was Minister of Justice, had told the press that he intended to hold Sobukwe "until this side of eternity!"

Mr. Sobukwe was the President of the Pan Africanist Congress, a lecturer at Witwatersrand University (Johannesburg) and a Methodist lay preacher when he was jailed for three years in 1960 on a charge of incitement for leading demonstrations against the hated pass laws (see editorial in our March issue on the Sharpeville Massacre).

(A special packet of materials on South Africa entitled the "Sharpeville Packet" is available from the UCM for \$1.00 and contains more information about Sobukwe and the Pan Africanist Congress.)

Just before his sentence expired in 1963, the Nationalist Party rushed one of its most notorious laws through Parliament - the General Law Amendment ("No Trial") Act of 1963 - which empowered the state to hold a person indefinitely without trial after the completion of a

NOTICE TO READERS

Readers are urged to continue sending their contributions to the Southern Africa Newsletter fund in the University Christian Movement.

In June 1969 the University Christian Movement national office will no longer exist, and the Southern Africa Committee will have to raise funds for mailing this newsletter from our readers.

WE URGE YOU TO SEND ANY CONTRIBUTION TO US  
IN ORDER TO ENABLE US TO CONTINUE WRITING  
AND DISTRIBUTING THIS NEWSLETTER

Send your contributions to:

UCM Southern Africa Committee  
Room 758  
475 Riverside Drive  
New York, N. Y. 10027

Southern Africa Committee  
University Christian Movement  
Room 758  
475 Riverside Drive  
New York, N. Y. 10027

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April 1969