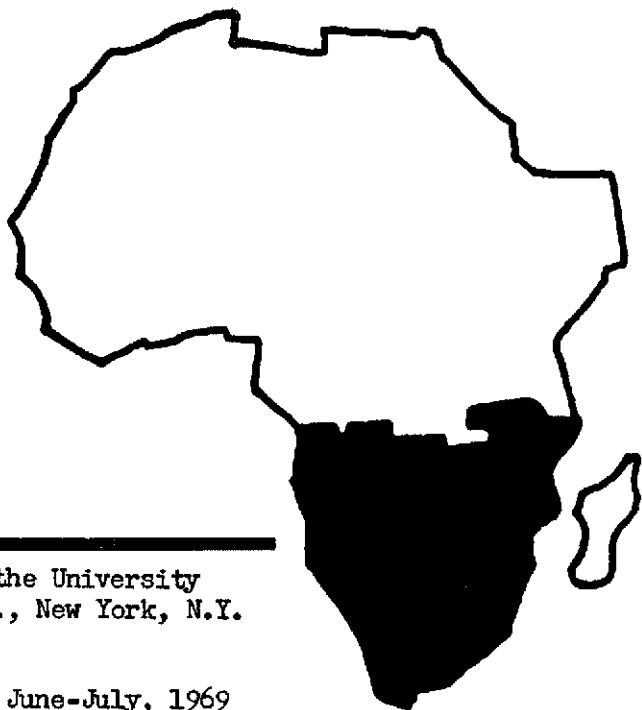


# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

Published by the Southern Africa Committee of the University  
Christian Movement, Room 752, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.  
10027

Vol. II, No. 6

June-July, 1969

### CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. Editorial: "Guerrillas 1969"	2
2. INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	
Doctors Take Courageous Stand	3
Wanted: "Pure Whites"	3
Prison State	3
Bureau of State Security: Times Editorial	4
3. SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE WORLD	
Senghor and the Portuguese: A Luso-African Commonwealth?	4
No Non-White Tourists to South Africa	4
Congressman Friedel Learns a Lesson	5
Holiday Inns Moves Ahead	6
Moves to End U.S. Sugar Quota to South Africa	6
Seaport Ban Kept for the Present	7
The Rhodesian Lobby Acts	7
East and Central African States Manifesto on Southern Africa	7
4. THE UNIVERSITY WORLD AND SOUTHERN AFRICA	
Another U.S. University Sells Chase Manhattan Stock (Madison, Wis.)	8
South African Medical Students	8
"Political" Teachers Threatened	8
400 Turfloop Students in Protest March	9
Rhodesian African Students Stop Mayor Dancing	9
Rhodesian Students Protest Referendum	9
5. THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA	
United Presbyterian General Assembly Resolution	9
Presbyterians Send All-White Team to South Africa	10
Episcopal Church's Demonstration and Resolutions	10
United Church of Christ Synod and Resolutions	11
N. G. Kerk Bars Africans From Funeral	12
Commission Established to Study Christian Council Message	12
Intimidation of UCM in South Africa by Special Police	12
Police Stop Church Service	13
600 Lutheran Congregations Removed	13
Oliver Tambo of the ANC Addresses World Council of Churches	13

6. INSIDE RHODESIA	PAGE
Constitution-making	14
Britain Severs Formal Ties with Rhodesia	14
Sanctions Busters Go Under Cover	14
7. THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE	
ZANU Re-organization	15
FRELIMO Central Committee Meeting	15
The Historic ANC Conference	17
8. AT THE UNITED NATIONS	19

EDITORIAL

"Guerrillas 1969"

In their 1968 survey, the South African Institute of Race Relations have provided a short synopsis of guerrilla activity in Southern Africa. It seems worthwhile to sketch some of these events, keeping in mind that the sources are mainly South African newspapers and statements by members of the South African Government and its police.

First let us take South West Africa. It seems that after many arrests, only eight of the guerrillas who invaded the territory in 1967 had escaped arrest. But there were still hundreds of men waiting to enter. Some had entered the Caprivi Strip and Katima Mulilo areas. At first the band had come in heavily armed, but now they came in unarmed, avoided clashes with the police and tried to influence the chiefs and people, urging their cooperation, by exploiting anti-white feelings. A total of 101 agitators had been arrested, one of whom hanged himself in his cell. These arrests were due to an extensive informed network.

In May 1968 twelve highly trained and well-armed P.A.C. men, who were escorted by five COREMO guides, fought a small battle with the Portuguese at a small center on the road and rail route from Salisbury to Beira. The band had hoped to enter South Africa near Pafuri. Three were killed and a few captured. Others fled. Three Portuguese officers were killed and all but two of the band were captured.

In Rhodesia in January 1968 some guerrillas entered and most were rounded up. At the end of February a large group of about 100 men crossed the Zambezi River between Victoria Falls and Lake Kariba. About 30 members of the group were A.N.C. men. During March and April combined air and ground operations were directed against these men. The Rhodesian air force bombed and destroyed a large well-equipped base on a cliff top. Fifty-five of the guerrillas, and it is possible that others, died in the bush. Six whites were killed and seven wounded... It appears that the guerrillas gave cash rewards to those tribesmen who helped them. Some of the invaders got back to Zambia. Their leader, Moffat Hadebe, had hidden in the bush for seven months before he was captured.

Another wave entered in July near Chirundu. There were several running battles. Twenty-five guerrillas were killed and others captured. One South African white was killed and five wounded. The Head of the South African Police reported that thirty-five A.N.C. men had been killed in Rhodesia, these included a few colored men and about 50 had died in the bush in 1968.

And that is the South African side of the story.

"It was not necessary to develop the Bantustans before repatriating to them the 3,807,465 Africans who are superfluous in the White urban areas. This is because they are actually illegal aliens in the White homeland who have only to be repatriated." (Mr. Froneman, Deputy Minister of Justice, South Africa, Rand Mail, 3/28/69)

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

## Doctors Take Courageous Stand

In the April, 1969 issue of the newsletter, it was reported that many non-white doctors had threatened to resign due to the discrepancy between their salary and that of their white colleagues. Referring to this, the Minister of Health stated at the time that the discrimination in salaries would remain forever.

Yet barely a fortnight later non-white doctors, as a direct result of their threat, received spectacular increases in pay.

The doctors handed in their resignations in March when long awaited pay increases still left Coloured and Indian doctors with only 55% of the salary of a white with exactly similar qualifications. For the Africans (in this three-tier system) it would be a 52% disparity. (The authorities subsequently refused to re-appoint 9 of these doctors. Johannesburg Star, 6/14/69)

Some related statistics: African interns will earn \$3,500 compared with \$1,700 before; while the salaries of Coloured and Indian chief specialists and professors go up from \$7,700 to \$11,000.

What perturbs the Government is that the doctors were not interested in pay rises as such - they wanted nothing less than parity for the same training and experience. For a country riding the crest of an economic boom the extra \$480,000 a year is easily enough found. But the doctors are viewed as just another section of the labor force, who must receive inferior pay for identical work simply because race is the decisive factor. There can be no question of completely equal pay being granted. For once you admit the rate for the job, where will it end? Nurses, schoolteachers, firemen, dustmen, policemen, a never-ending clamor of demands for equal pay for equal work!

There is a slight dent in the armor of apartheid. But the white man has still a long way to go before he accepts the notion that it is not somehow degrading to receive the same pay as his black brother. (Sunday Times, London)

## Wanted: "Pure Whites"

According to the South African Deputy Minister of Immigration, four steps are taken

to make sure that prospective immigrants to South Africa are "pure whites:"

First, the prospective immigrant is required to state in his application form that he is "pure white".

Second, very clear photographs of the prospective immigrant and his closest kin must be submitted with the application.

Third, the prospective immigrant must appear before immigration officials overseas with experience in recognizing whether people are White.

Fourth, on arrival in South Africa the prospective immigrants are carefully scrutinized by well-trained immigration officials.

If there is the slightest doubt the immigrants permits were withdrawn and they are returned to their countries of origin.

In reply to a question, the Deputy Minister said that 41.7% of the emigrants over the past 8 years were South African citizens. About a third of these had left for other countries in Africa and as such were not lost to the African continent but boosted the White man there.

## Prison State

Mr. Pelser, Minister of Prisons in South Africa, gave the following fact about prisons in answer to questions in the House of Assembly:

From July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968, 635,000 people of all races were jailed in this country - 13,800 Whites, 77,000 Coloureds, 2,300 Asiatics and 541,000 Africans.

Of these nearly half (277,000) were in for less than one month, which illustrates the enormous use made of imprisonment for trivial offences. Of these 235,000 were Africans, 780 Asiatics, 36,000 Coloureds and 4,000 White.

The daily average of prisoners in custody during the year was 80,500 (63,000 Africans, 13,500 Coloured, 3,000 Whites, 450 Asiatics). This daily average had increased from 73,000 in the previous year - a growth of 10% in one year. The rate of growth is on the increase.

Commenting on these figures, Mrs. Suzman said that proportionally South Africa has six times the British prison population. She added that the annual report of the Commissioner of Police shows that "more than 900,000 people were taken to court over the period relating to documents. What an indictment to the system!" (Johannesburg Star, 6/7/69)

The New York Times carried the following editorial on June 17: (reprinted with the permission of the New York Times)

### South African 'Justice'

While trying to maintain the trappings of proper legal procedure, South Africa's Nationalist Government adds steadily to its arsenal of police-state laws and practices. Legislation now in Parliament would make the country's notorious security police immune from any effective public scrutiny.

The Bureau of State Security is already shrouded in secrecy, but the new bill provides severe punishment for any disclosure of a "security matter," specifically including any matter related to security police activities. No evidence could even be given in court if the Prime Minister or anyone designated by him declared it prejudicial to state or public security.

The timing of this move to give security police even greater immunity is not accidental. It is unquestionably related to the Government's seizure last week of the passport of Joel Carlson, an eminent white civil rights lawyer, and to the trial of Laurence Gandar and Benjamin Pogrund of The Rand Daily Mail on charges of publishing false information on prison conditions.

Mr. Carlson is involved in a case which has produced sensational evidence of the use of electric shock torture by security police. This corroborated one Rand Daily Mail disclosure as well as some testimony at the Gandar-Pogrund trial.

James Lenkoe, a Lesotho national, was seized by security police at his home near Johannesburg and his wife was later notified that he had hanged himself in his cell. She contacted Mr. Carlson, who obtained a second post-mortem which aroused the suspicion that Mr. Lenkoe had been electrocuted. Now an eminent American pathologist, Dr. Alan Moritz, has told an inquest that beyond reasonable doubt an injury on Mr. Lenkoe's body was caused by electric shock.

However the court cases turn out, this much is clear: Mr. Carlson has lost his passport because he was too skilled, even when up against monstrous laws and the apartheid system, in protecting the rights of Africans and exposing police barbarism. Messrs. Gandar and Pogrund have been brought to trial not because their disclosures were false but for serving as alert and courageous critics of a tyrannical regime—and thus serving the cause of press freedom everywhere.

"Among urban White South Africans who agree completely with Government policy, the highest concentration is in the least-educated group."

(Johannesburg Star, 5/14/69)

# Southern Africa and the World

## SENGHOR AND THE PORTUGUESE: A Luso-African Commonwealth?

In an interview with Christian Science Monitor correspondent Russell Warren Howe, President Leopold Senghor of Senegal made several comments on the future of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. He called on Portuguese Premier Caetano to negotiate with the African nationalists in order to "lead to internal autonomy [for African states of Guinea, Angola, Mozambique] that would progressively become independent within a Luso-African commonwealth with which Brazil might be associated." Senghor added that he had strong feelings on this issue because some of his ancestors came from Guinea-Bissau and his name is probably Portuguese. He said: "We believe in peace. We support the nationalists in their fight because they are ready to negotiate and would accept a compromise solution, because they approve the idea of gradual independence and because they would accept a Luso-African commonwealth." He asserted that it was to Portugal's benefit to compromise with the nationalists in order to retain economic advantages in Africa. On other "colonial questions" Senghor called on France to join in the Arms embargo against South Africa, and envisaged French African pressures to half the trade. (CSM, 5/19/69)

## Is It Official Now? No Non-White Tourists to South Africa.

A travel agency in Johannesburg is reported to have received a letter from the South African Department of Interior announcing that foreign tours which include non-whites will not be admitted to South Africa. Although the government has apparently made one exception, for tourists who arrive by sea, it is with the qualification that they must return to the ship at night, travel as a single group during the day by motor coach, use facilities (restaurants) only if permission is obtained, and where necessary get the approval of the Department of Community Development.

A South African tourist journal, Travel and Trade, protested the new stated policy on purely economic grounds. The editors asserted that the Government has "no alternative but to change its attitude to non-White visitors and make them as welcome as anybody else--or see the nation economically strangled." Travel and Trade naturally stuck to a non-political stance and simply called attention to the changing patterns of international tourism and called the government's policy "completely unrealistic in the light of today's trends in tourism." The journal cited examples of a few American travel agencies and tourist bureaus unwilling to deal with South Africa because of her racial policies. One Chicago tourist agency was quoted as saying: "Eight per cent of my clients are non-White, and I would never dare to try to organize a 'Whites only' tour." (Cape Times, 5/8/69)

The Minister of Tourism for South Africa, Mr. Frank Waring, has turned down a request for Robben Island - used in the past as postal station, leper colony, lunatic asylum, defense post and now as a prison for all "enemies of the state" (read opponents of apartheid) - to be converted into a tourist paradise.

He referred to it as a "wild-cat scheme" and as a proposal "completely beyond my imagination." The plea came in the Assembly May 5 from Mr. Lionel Murray (U.P., Green Point) in whose constituency Robben Island falls.

Mr. Waring said that from a defense and police point of view, Robben Island was not a pleasure resort.

As a result of this new articulated government policy on non-white tourists, the U.S. government, ad agencies and others can have little excuse now for continuing to allow American travel agents or South African travel agents to function under the guise of naive non-discrimination in this country.

#### Congressman Friedel Learns a Lesson?

Congressman Samuel Friedel (Dem.-Md.), who was the only member of Congress to travel to South Africa via the inaugural flight of South African Airways in April has agreed to hold hearings (Friedel chairs

the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee's Subcommittee on Transportation) on a proposal (backed by Congressman Charles Diggs, Dem-Mich., and others) to amend the Federal Aviation Act. The amendment calls for the denial of permits to airlines whose countries have discriminatory policies which might affect American visitors. (Baltimore Sun, 5/28/69) Friedel is not undertaking the future hearings with much enthusiasm, however, and in a statement said he had "some reservations about the wisdom" of Diggs' approach and defended his trip to South Africa because of his "intense curiosity" about the country and exclaimed regret at Diggs' inability to get into the country as parallel his own inability to enter Jordan because he is a Jew. In South Africa, he admits, there is a terrible racial situation, but he returned "more convinced than ever that we must intensify our peaceful efforts...to cause change in the repressive practices now in use in South Africa ... I am also equally convinced that it is important to keep open our lines of communication and to continue to keep in touch with and to encourage those people in South Africa both white and colored who oppose the apartheid policy." But, Congressman Friedel, does keeping in touch mean travelling by South African Airways?????

More than 160 prominent Negroes of varying political philosophies joined May 27 in a show of unity to deplore U.S. approval of landing rights for South African Airways at Kennedy Airport. Among the signers of a statement criticizing the U.S. for having granted the South African government request were Harry Belafonte, Whitney Young, H. Rap Brown, Mayors Carl Stokes, Richard Hatcher and Charles Evers, Roy Campanella, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. Kenneth Clark, Muhammad Ali, Arthur Ashe, James Forman, A. Philip Randolph, Julian Bond and seven black U.S. Congressmen. In their petition they complained that allowing South African Airways to fly to New York was an insult to the 20 million+ black Americans. They said that the government-owned airline's main purpose was to improve South Africa's image among Americans, to gain public acceptance of its policy of apartheid, and to increase the number of American (white) tourists.

(New York Post, 5/27/69 )

# Moves to End Sugar Quota

The following cartoon and "Letter to the Editor" appeared in the Johannesburg Sunday Times, May 4, 1969:



"I was very upset about the reference by Brickman to the Portuguese and Angola on the front page of your Supplement on April 27. For your information, or shall I say for Brickman's information, the Portuguese have always been in Angola, Mocambique, Guinea, etc., and these will belong to us until the end of the world. We are fighting for it because others want to take our property. Please do not compare us to the Russians, Americans or Chinese." Carlos Alfonso, P.O. Box 2762, Johannesburg. And the response: "Brickman, an American artist, also referred to the Americans in Vietnam, and we do not think he intended the reference to be taken seriously. Insofar as Brickman's drawing may have offended any of our Portuguese readers, we offer them an unqualified apology."

## Holiday Inns Moves Ahead

Holiday Inns has acquired four sights in Natal Province for building new hotels involving a total of \$7 million. But the managing director, Fred Gottgens, said the four hotels "would be only a start as far as Natal was concerned" (News from South Africa, 5/21/69). It is obvious that Holiday Inns, in spite of more and more evidence of South Africa's discriminatory policy towards tourists, is proceeding apace to get her hotels up and ready for the white tourist onslaught.

Protests should be sent to Holiday Inns, Inc., Executive Office, Memphis, Tennessee, and exhibited whenever one enters a Holiday Inn!

House and Senate bills have been introduced by Sen. Edward Kennedy (Dem.-Mass.) and Jonathan B. Bingham (Dem.-N.Y.) respectively to forbid a sugar quota allocation to South Africa in the future.

In a letter seeking support from House colleagues, Rep. Bingham wrote: "I believe it is morally wrong for the U.S. to continue a program under which South Africa has, in effect, received over \$11 million in subsidies over the past three years."

The quota was also attacked at a hearing of the House sub-committee on Africa two days before the introduction of the bills. The chairman, Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (Dem.-Mich.), criticising state and agriculture department officials for permitting the quota to continue, said he could not see how the U.S. could subsidize South Africa through quotas that provide higher prices for sugar than the world market, while South Africa continues to practice apartheid. He observed that the U.S. has condemned South Africa's racial policies in proclamations, and then goes right on supporting its economic development.

Tom O. Murphy, Director of the sugar policy staff of ASCS in the Department of Agriculture, disputed the amount South Africa has received in subsidies. He said his calculations are that South Africa has received \$19 million since 1962 as the differential between the U.S. price of \$6.50 to \$6.75 per hundred-weight compared to the world market price of \$3.90.

Defending executive policy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Julius L. Katz told the sub-committee that although the U.S. Government opposes South Africa's racial policies, it does not believe it is in the national interest to suspend "lawful trade" with South Africa. He argued that the sugar laws of 1965 gave South Africa a quota on the same basis as other quotas, which was reward for the maintenance of a reliable supply at a time when the world market was upset by Cuba's low production under Castro.

In his reply, Rep. Diggs rejected government arguments in favor of the quota by pointing out that the same Sugar Act that has stringent requirements for U.S. labor standards tolerates the abusive labor situation in South Africa. He suggested that a change in the law to reallocate the South African quota to other African nations would be far better for U.S. foreign policy. (Journal of Commerce, 4/16/69)

SEAPORT BAN KEPT FOR THE PRESENT

# Manifesto on Southern Africa

U.S. Navy ships are to continue to avoid South African ports, except in emergency, at least while the Nixon Administration is reviewing its worldwide strategic policies. This was recently reported by two House liberals, Reps. Benjamin S. Rosenthal (Dem.-N.Y.) and Donald M. Fraser (Dem.-Minn.), who had received letters to this effect from William P. Rogers, Secretary of State, and Melvyn R. Laird, Secretary of Defence. The two representatives have promised to keep up public pressure to prevent a "backslide" on this issue after the review is completed.

The ban came into effect following an outcry in early 1967 about a stop-over in Cape Town by the aircraft carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt. Since then American navy ships, including many travelling to and from Vietnam, have made calls in Mauritius, Malagasy and the Portuguese territory of Mozambique.

The present assurance that the ban will not be lifted for the time being follows an open letter to Cabinet members on April 22 by 33 House Democrats asking what the policy of the new administration would be.

## The Rhodesian Lobby Acts

The Rhodesian Lobby is beginning their campaign to reduce sanctions on Rhodesia by the U.S. government. Columns have appeared in the Chicago Tribune and by James J. Kilpatrick describing how it would be in the best interests of the U.S. to remove sanctions on chrome imports from Rhodesia. The strategy of the Rhodesian Lobby is to get sanctions reduced one by one so as to soften up official and legislative opinion by the time of next year's British general election. The Tories, seen as "soft" on Rhodesia, are predicted to win that election, and shortly thereafter a sell-out settlement with Ian Smith is likely.

Letters supporting the maintenance of severe sanctions on Rhodesia, including chrome, should be sent to the President and to your Congressman. Letters supporting the other point of view are already coming in from the South and Southwest U.S.A.

THE FIFTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA STATES, held in Lusaka, Zambia April 14-16, 1969, issued a 24-point Manifesto on Southern Africa. It was reprinted in the New York Times as a half-page ad on April 25. The Manifesto, available from the Zambian Embassy, is excerpted below:

"By this Manifesto we wish to make clear, beyond all shadow of doubt, our acceptance of the belief that all men are equal, and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, religion, or sex. We believe that all men have the right and the duty to participate, as equal members of the society, in their own government. We do not accept that any individual or group has any right to govern any group of sane adults, without their consent, and we affirm that only the people of a society, acting together as equals, can determine what is, for them, a good society and a good social, economic, or political organization.

"On the basis of these beliefs we do not accept that any one group within a society has the right to rule any society without the continuing consent of all the citizens. We recognize that at any one time there will be, within every society, failures in the implementation of these ideals. We recognize that for the sake of order in human affairs, there may be transitional arrangements while a transformation from group inequalities to individual equality is being affected. But we affirm that without an acceptance of these ideals - without a commitment to these principles of human equality and self-determination - there can be no basis for peace and justice in the world.

"Our stand towards Southern Africa thus involves a rejection of racialism, not a reversal of the existing racial domination. We believe that all the peoples who have made their homes in the countries of Southern Africa are Africans, regardless of the colour of their skins; and we would oppose a racist majority government which adopted a philosophy of deliberate and permanent discrimination between its citizens on grounds of racial origin. We are not talking racialism when we reject the colonialism and apartheid policies now operating in these areas; we are demanding opportunity for all the people of these States, working together as equal individual citizens, to

work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live together and work together to build a harmonious society.

"To talk of the liberation of Africa is thus to say two things, First, that the peoples in the territories still under colonial rule shall be free to determine for themselves their own institutions of self-government. Secondly, that the individuals in Southern Africa shall be freed from an environment poisoned by the Propaganda of racialism, and given an opportunity to be men - not white men, brown men, yellow men, or black men.

"On the objective of liberation as this defined, we can neither surrender nor compromise. We have always preferred, and we still prefer to achieve it without physical violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence; we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the States of Southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors. This is why the signatory states participate in the movement for the liberation of Africa under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity. However, the obstacle to change is not the same in all the countries of Southern Africa, and it follows therefore, that the possibility of continuing the struggle through peaceful means varies from one country to another."

## Demonstration

August 26

For details see the section on the Liberation Struggle

# THE UNIVERSITY WORLD and SOUTHERN AFRICA

## Another University Sells South African Bank Stock

A protest by the African Students Union at the University of Wisconsin was cut short when the Finance Committee of the University's Board of Regents announced that it had sold its 3,300 shares of Chase Manhattan Bank Stock. In the wake of Princeton and Cornell's sale of similar bank stock, it has become evident that mounting black and student pressures have resulted in the disposal of some controversial stocks. All the universities have denied acting out of moral or political considerations, and there are admittedly economic reasons for dropping bank stocks; yet it appears that several years of university-centered activity has borne some fruit.

## South African Medical Students

The Association of Medical Students of South Africa (AMSSA), the representative body of medical students at South African universities, came out in full support of non-White doctors in their struggle for higher pay. And the South African Medical Journal, published in Cape Town, made an appeal for "open-hearted talks" on discriminatory salary scales for non-White doctors. At a meeting of the national executive of AMSSA in Johannesburg May 8, a motion was unanimously passed expressing the view that "there could be no place in medicine for discriminatory salary scales on racial grounds." (Rand Daily Mail, May 8, 1969)

## "Political" Teachers Threatened

Minister of National Education in South Africa, de Klerk, said in the Senate on May 6 that any teacher who indoctrinated children politically would be kicked out of the service. The Minister, who was speaking in a debate on an Opposition motion criticizing his policy, said it was wrong for a teacher to say to a child that he should belong to one political party or another. If senators had any information about teachers guilty of this type of indoctrination they should report the matter to him, and he gave the assurance that those people would be dealt with.

It is clear that de Klerk's intention is not to allow freedom of political choice, just as the law against sowing racial hatred is not designed to eliminate racism. When a Nationalist



says someone cannot say anything insulting to the races, he means that blacks cannot say anything against whites. Similarly, when a Nat says that teachers must not indoctrinate students in favor of a political party, he means that teachers must not favor any party other than his own, the one in power, - the Nationalist.

400 Turfloop Students in Protest March

About 400 students at the University College of the North (Turfloop), one of only three tribal colleges in South Africa, marched on the rector's office May 7 to protest the college's refusal to allow them to affiliate with NUSAS (the National Union of South African Students) or the UCM (University Christian Movement). These two student organizations are now banned at all tribal colleges.

The President of NUSAS, Duncan Innis, said that the student demonstration at Turfloop had made a "glaring mockery" of the South African Government's claim that students at the tribal colleges were happy with conditions there. "Not many months ago, Fort Hare students declared their dissatisfaction with conditions at their college. Now Turfloop students have done the same. These tribal colleges are a disgrace to the name of education in South Africa and no amount of distortion can smother this fact." (Rand Daily Mail, 5/8/69)

Rhodesian African Students Stop Mayor Dancing

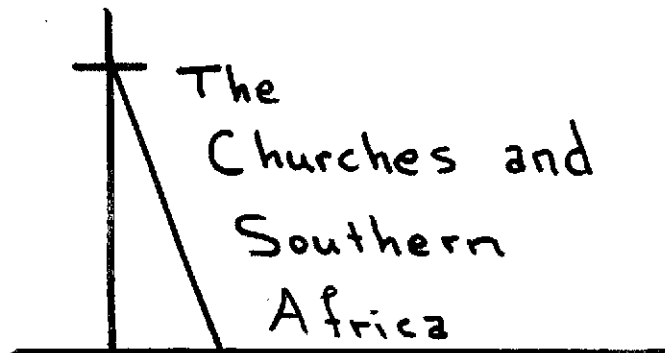
African student demonstrators prevented Salisbury's woman mayor, Mrs. Alderman F. Chisolm, from attending the University College of Rhodesia's charity rag ball in April. Mrs. Chisolm said the demonstrators about 100-strong, were protesting a statement she made in Salisbury at the opening of the 12th annual congress of Rhodesian industries. She had said that the most suitable people should be educated and trained to take key positions and a system of trade schools developed to teach people skills which would be of use to them and the nation. She told the congress that she was "firmly of the opinion that when you have a mass of people with a primitive background and your policy is to take a proportion of them through to a university education with reckless haste, it is wrong in

principle and could be disastrous in consequence." (Rand Daily Mail, 4/15/69)

Rhodesian Students Protest Referendum

Students and faculty at the University College of Rhodesia who planned a four-day protest on the campus in mid-May have met with some opposition from their fellow students. The students planning the protest were aiming at the Government's referendum plans for a new constitution. The protest has the full support of the college principal, Prof. Terence Miller.

Those students who were against the protest said that they feared reprisals against all students and feared for the future of the university. (Johannesburg Star, 5/14/69)



United Presbyterian General Assembly in Austin, Texas Issues Policy Statement

The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has been making resolutions relating to Southern Africa for some time now, and the most recent ones to come out of the General Assembly (held in Austin, Texas in May 1969) were:

1. "The General Assembly calls upon all United Presbyterians and individual congregations to focus attention in intercessory prayer, study and action upon the mounting dangers of the present situation in Southern Africa, particularly in the Republic of South Africa, in order that the influence, fraternal concern and moral support of the United Presbyterian Church be made available to our Christian brothers, the vast majority being black, who are suffering oppression in Southern Africa.

2. "The General Assembly directs the Council on Church and Race, in cooperation with the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations and the Council on Church and Society of the Board of Christian Education, to form an inter-agency Task Force on Southern Africa, with adequate staff services and budget, and with broad representation from the church and the community at large, with the following responsibilities:

A. to explore what the implications of the struggle against racism in the United States mean for the struggle against racism in Southern Africa.

B. to plan a long-range, coordinated United Presbyterian response to racism in Southern Africa and to report to the 182nd General Assembly (1970) appropriate recommendations for more effective church education and action in the field.

C. to seek practical ways in which the churches can give immediate material and moral support to those engaged in the struggle to secure justice and freedom for the people of Southern Africa and to cooperate with American-based movements working for the same ends, such as the American Committee on Africa and the Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Fund.

D. to coordinate efforts in Washington and at the United Nations, to bring the policies and pronouncements of the United Presbyterian Church with respect to Southern Africa emphatically to the attention of government, to press for more effective sanctions by the United Nations, the United States and other governments economically involved in Southern Africa, against the white-dominated and colonial regimes and urge our own government to make credible its rhetorical denunciations of the policies of South Africa by concrete, diplomatic and economic pressure to force meaningful change in the apartheid system.

E. to examine the corporations and banks from which Boards, Agencies and Institutions now purchase goods and services or in which they have investments to ascertain what if any connec-

tions these firms and banks have in Southern Africa; to inquire of such firms what their present policies and practices are with regard to racial discrimination in Southern Africa; and upon finding racial discrimination to apply effective pressure for change. Firms refusing to make changes will be reported to the proper Boards, Agencies and Institutions who shall immediately initiate action to withdraw from business dealings and to divest themselves of investments in these firms.

3. "The General Assembly calls upon the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations and the other Boards and Agencies of the Church, to affirm the above concerns through greater utilization of Black United Presbyterian leadership in the Church's relationships and involvements in Africa.

4. The General Assembly directs the Task Force on Southern Africa to report annually to the General Assembly through the Council on Church and Race.

#### Presbyterians Send White Team to South Africa

The Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church recently sponsored the visit of a five-person white team of Americans to South Africa. The team members were from a San Diego Presbyterian Church. The team's visit was administered by the Commission's Office of Youth Relations, and the team left for South Africa on June 22.

In light of Presbyterian resolutions (2) and (3) above, it seems strange that this all-white team was sponsored by the Commission without the advice, counsel or consent of the Southern Africa Task Force, or specifically of the Presbyterian black clergymen!

#### Episcopal Church Demonstration and Resolutions

On Friday, May 23 a number of people gathered outside the beautiful Episcopal Church Center on 815 Second Avenue in New York City to have a "street testimonial" meeting about Southern Africa. The Episcopal Church has for some time been attempting to form a strategy of action and involvement relating to Southern Africa, and has reached conclusions far out-stripping other church boards in their significance and intent. In particular, the following is from the text

of the Executive and Finance Committee Resolutions on Southern Africa:

"Resolved that this Committee does not conclude that the involvement of the banks participating in the consortium credit to the Republic of South Africa is positive in helping to promote the activities listed below:

- Education of Africans;
- Development of family life;
- Labor-management relations and the collective bargaining process;
- Increased skills of the African labor force and integration into higher levels of leadership;
- Equalization of wage scales, pension provisions and social security;
- Hospitalization and other benefits;
- Breaking down of the pass law system and other restrictions;

and therefore directs the Treasurer of the Executive Council to terminate the involvement of this Council with the said banks (except overseas missionary accounts and those only until other media of exchange can be obtained).

"AND be it further resolved that with respect to any bank participating in the consortium this action by the Executive and Finance Committee shall take effect immediately after the next annual renewal date of the line of credit in question, provided that such bank shall continue its participation in such line of credit thereafter;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Executive and Finance Committee offer all assistance in its power which may aid the banks to understand the significance of the proposed action in the eyes of this church and the profound concern which led to it."

(The total amount in the account in question of the Episcopal Church is \$2.6 million.)

For further questions, write:

Mr. Bill Johnson  
 Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa  
 14 West 11th Street  
 New York, N. Y. 10011  
 phone: 212/477-0066

United Church of Christ Synod and Resolutions

Monday, June 30, in Boston, Mass. 1,000 United Church of Christ churchmen assembled from around the country at the UCC General Synod to discuss the work of the church and the social issues of our time.

In a full debate at the Synod, a resolution was passed to remove investments and funds from all banks doing business with South Africa. Sponsored by the UCC Committee for Racial Justice, the resolution received particularly vigorous opposition from William Triebur, Vice President of the Federal Reserve Bank and Head of the Pensions Board of the Church. However, Triebur's assertions that economic development was the answer for South Africa, and that business had no right to make foreign policy independent from the government, were met by strong opposition on the floor. This action by the UCC joined an increasing number of churches and universities who have taken stands against banks lending money to the apartheid government of South Africa.

A Johannesburg Anglican minister, who has barred women with skirts above their knees from his church, recently expelled five women during worship because their knees showed. He stated that Christian men had come to him and told him that they were being drawn into temptation by women in short skirts. A Christian girl had no right to play the part of a temptress and often had to go against the demands of fashion to live by the Bible. Mr. Sexby (?) denied that his ban had depleted the size of his congregation, but he did admit that most of his choir had left. He had received a number of congratulatory telephone calls, mostly from Afrikaans-speaking people.

Rand Daily Mail, 4/15/69



N. G. Kerk Bars Africans From Funeral

Eight African men and a woman were barred by a Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk minister (South Africa) from attending the funeral service of a white man, because Africans were not generally admitted to the church. The services were for 35-year-old Dennis Hoft. The firm for which he worked closed their offices to enable all staff members to attend the funeral. Mr. Hoft was well-liked by his workmates, especially African members of the staff, who contributed to a large wreath for his casket.

The secretary of the company telephoned the minister of the church, the Rev. S. D. van der Merwe, to find if the Africans could attend the funeral service. He said this could not be done. An appeal was made to him to allow the Africans to enter and stand at the back of the church, and again he said this could not be allowed. Asked if an exception could be made in this case, as the Africans concerned had been particularly fond of Mr. Hoft, Mr. Van der Merwe said he could not make an exception.

Commission Established to Study Council Message

The controversial Christian Council "Message to the People of South Africa" (see text of the "Message" in the Sept. 1968 issue of this newsletter, pp. 13-15) that has caused such an uproar in South Africa, will be studied in depth by several commissions which will publish reports on their findings.

The project includes commissions to study the educational, economic, social, legal and political significance of the "Message", which rejected apartheid on theological grounds. It has been organized jointly by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute, but the commissions, when appointed, will operate independently of these organizations. Their work will be coordinated by Mr. Peter Randall, Director of the project, who was formerly assistant director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Mr. Randall said he expected the work of the commission to take from two to three years but that interim reports would be published from time to time. "The message showed a new departure in South African thinking when it suggested that the solution to our problems lay in closer association and cooperation between the races - not in increased separation."

University Christian Movement of Southern Africa Intimidated by Special Police

In an interview with the Rand Daily Mail (May 8, 1969), Father Colin Collins, who was formerly a Secretary of the Catholic Bishop's Conference until he was given leave to take up the full-time post of General Secretary of the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa (UCM/SA), said that a concerted process of intimidation was being conducted against members of the U.C.M., "which is purely a Christian, non-violent organisation of young people with basically the same aims as its six founding Churches." Following are some excerpts from his interview, reprinted with permission of the Mail:

● White student members of the U.C.M. have been interrogated and intimidated by members of the Security Police.

● At least 30 non-White members of the U.C.M. — most of them African student leaders — have been interrogated in the past two or three months. Some have been questioned up to 10 times.

● Parents of student members of the U.C.M. have been intimidated by the Security Police, questioned about their children's activities and threatened by the police.

● A non-White member of the executive of the U.C.M. in Natal claims that he was asked to pass on information to the police.

● Some other members have been approached to become paid agents and have been intimidated in the process.

● The bursary of at least one non-White student has been rescinded because of his membership of the U.C.M.

● Intensive Security Police interrogation has followed shortly after any visit by Father Collins to a non-White university campus.

● Senior Security Police officers exerted pressure on a religious educational institution so that it withdrew permission, previously granted, for the U.C.M. to hold its annual conference at the institution in July.

Father Collins said that if the U.C.M. was considered a threat to the security of the State and more knowledge was officially wanted about it, he was prepared at any time to meet Mr. Vorster, Mr. Muller or Lieutenant General Hendrik J. van den Bergh, Security Adviser to the Prime Minister.

All documents, the U.C.M. constitution and other matters could be examined and discussed at length — including the aims and objects of the organisation.

"My office is open to any one at all times. Why must informers and spies and Security Police be used to hound, intimidate and threaten in order to obtain information which is absolutely freely available?"

Father Collins told me yesterday in his office in Braamfontein, Johannesburg: "I am angry, shocked and sickened by this blatant intimidation of U.C.M. members — young students, who in all earnestness believe that it is right to belong to a non-racial, Christian movement in which they can worship God in a free and contemporary manner and fulfil what they believe to be their Christian duty."

Because of interrogation of White students — and because of the resultant pressure applied by "alarmed" parents — many White U.C.M. members, including some executive members, had resigned from the organisation.

"I am deeply resentful and sick and tired of the attitude of the authorities towards the U.C.M. and of the ludicrous insinuations and the threats that have been made against it.

"First, there is the constant intimidation, the following, the spying, the paid informers and the nerve-racking interrogation."

"Then in September last year, Mr. Vorster said that the movement was being investigated — and now Mr. Muller, Minister of Police, speaking at Calvinia last week, claims that the movement is 'subversive', 'scarcely Christian,' and that a 'good deal more' will be heard about it this year."

"Indeed, I hope that a good deal more will be heard about it — as a Christian youth movement which is being hounded into the earth for goodness alone knows what distorted reasons."

Father Collins said that members of U.C.M. were interrogated by the police at the colleges and at White universities about the

"power behind the scenes" of the U.C.M., about its activities and about the people connected with it.

"Wherever I go, it is automatic that, very soon afterwards, the Security Police are there questioning students about my presence, the reason for my visit and what I said.

"Activity of informers is also evident. Everything that is said or done is reported back to the police. We have clear evidence of this from interrogations, during which the police often reveal what they know.

"In fact, if we already have so many informers among our members, then, as others fall out following intimidation, I predict that at some stage our entire non-White and part of our White membership will be made up entirely of Security Police informers."

The U.C.M. is banned on the campuses of Fort Hare and the University College of Zululand. Its position at Turfloop is still under consideration.

Leaders of the six churches — the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Congregationalist — which subscribe to the U.C.M., plan to

see the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, to appeal against the bannings and to find out the reason behind them.

"It is hoped, at the same time, that the whole question of police intimidation will be gone into with the relevant authorities," Father Collins said.

Earlier this year the executive negotiated with the St. Francis College at Mariannhill, an African secondary school, to hold the annual conference there in July. The school authorities agreed.

"Within 24 hours the Special Branch were on the scene and persuaded the authorities not to allow us to use the school."

Dealing with Mr. Muller's statement that the organisation was "subversive" and "scarcely Christian," Father Collins said:

"The Security Police have been so active that they should have been able to make it clear to the Minister that the movement is not subversive and is opposed to violence."

Father Collins said he believed the Government was so antagonistic to the movement because it was, perhaps, the last really multi-racial organisation in South Africa.

### 600 Lutheran Congregations Removed

Some 600 Lutheran congregations in the Province of Natal, South Africa, will be "drastically affected" by a massive resettlement program planned by the Government under its Separate Development policy, a Lutheran World Federation missions official has indicated. Dr. Carl-Johan Hellberg commented that the program could have "catastrophic consequences" for the programs and activities of Lutheran and other churches.

According to a recent announcement in South Africa, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) has said more than two million Africans in Natal will have to be resettled and rehoused in the next five to ten years. An account in the Natal Mercury said: "This mammoth program is urgently necessary to provide new centers of employment for hundreds of thousands of workless Africans, squatters and labor tenants on White farms, to clear black spot slums, and to create the new residential settlements that are part of the vital effort to rehabilitate the impoverished and eroded rural areas." Dr. Hellberg commented that the reasons given for the program are "open to question"... "The real purpose is to separate Africans from Whites." He said that the description of the resettlement sites as "impoverished and eroded" is "more than accurate--they are mostly barren, desert lands."

### Tambo of the ANC Addresses World Council

Mr. Oliver Tambo, head of South Africa's banned African National Congress, spoke to the World Council of Churches conference on world racism. He urged the Council to support black guerrillas in the armed struggle against racial tyranny. Africans, he said, were engaged in a desperate struggle for survival in the southern part of Africa. "You call them terrorists," he said. "I call them the standard bearers of the forces of freedom, the sworn enemies of racial tyranny and colonial exploitation. You call them Communists. I call them the true leader of the crusade for a world community."

Mr. Tambo appeared on the same platform with Anglican Bishop Trevor Huddleston, an

### Police Stop Church Service

Police broke up a multiracial church service near Pietersburg, South Africa and arrested ten student members of the University Christian Movement. They have been charged with entering a Bantu Trust area without permission.

The ten students at the University of the Witwatersrand and Johannesburg College of Education were attending a service in the Anglican church at Sovenga - a township adjacent to the University College of the North at Turfloop.

About 50 Turfloop (African) students were at the service, conducted by Mr. Charles Simkins, chairman of the UCM at Wits. The movement has been banned at Turfloop and this is one of the grievances students have submitted to the college authorities.

The students charged were part of a group of 22 UCM members who travelled to the university college for a joint service and a meeting on education with UCM supporters at Turfloop.

The Rev. Colin Collins, General Secretary of the UCM, and the Rev. Willemjan Van der Laag, the UCM Travelling Secretary, led the group. Neither of the ministers had charges against them. (Rand Daily Mail, 5/8/69)

opponent of apartheid in South Africa where he ran a mission before being exiled.

Mr. Tambo urged delegates to agree that revolutionary hordes in South Africa were the vanguard of Christianity. He also urged World Council members to "throw their moral and material resources behind the struggle for the defeat of racism and in support of those who seek, by the sacrifice of their lives, to establish a world society of peoples free from hunger, disease and ignorance - rich in the variety of its colors, races and creeds. (Times of Zambia, 5/23/69)

tax bill, that day is a long way off", the British Tribune writes. Of course that tax base will continue to be at a low level because of the bad lands, bad education, discriminatory hiring and wages that separate Africans from whites.

Britain Severs Formal Ties With Rhodesia

Britain, at last, has cut off all formal diplomatic ties with Rhodesia by her acceptance of the resignation of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia. The British Mission in Salisbury will be withdrawn and Rhodesia House, London's Center for Rhodesian Diplomacy will be closed down. "Nothing was to be gained now by keeping a British Mission in Salisbury, and nothing by letting the Rhodesian regime retain its privileges in London. To complain (as Sir Alec Douglas-Home did in the House of Commons) that the British Government has 'removed the last point of contact' is mistaken: there has been no effective contact for many months. One might as well keep contact with a brick wall." (New York Times, 6/24/69)

# INSIDE RHODESIA

Constitution-Making

Friday, June 20, 1969 - An historic day in the life of Rhodesia!

New Constitution passed - Smith talks of November 11th as the date for the Declaration of a Republic!

History was made in Rhodesia on June 20 as voters flocked to the polls and in a vote of five to one in favor of a Republic, and three-out-of-four in favor of a new apartheid style constitution, indicated where they wished the future of Rhodesia to lie. Prime Minister Ian Smith voiced hopes that this would have an effect on world opinion and the world would accept that Rhodesians were determined to attend to the affairs of that country themselves.

November 11, the anniversary of Rhodesia's illegal Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was cited as a possible day for the formation of that Republic. (London Observer, 6/22/69)

Of course Mr. Smith refused to mention that in the "democratic country" of Rhodesia where the Africans outnumber whites 18 to 1, that 18 voters in every twenty were white! Mr. Smith's valid referendum can only stand as a symbol of the racial separation and discrimination which he seeks to intensify. "When if ever the Africans pay as much income tax as the Europeans, they are to be allowed half the representatives. Since at present black Africans pay 2% of the total

Sanctions Busters Go Under Cover

Forced to use increasingly devious means to operate since U.N. sanctions, "sanctions busting" headquarters in Europe have set up an office under heavy disguise in Paris. Just enough legal camouflage to satisfy the French government has been set up by a 61-year-old Frenchman, a cotton dealer from LeHavre. Money for a "Tourist Bureau" and a desk for the promotion of Franco-Rhodesian friendship is paid for by money from "Rhodesians and Friends of Rhodesia", the June 22 London Observer stated. The same article goes on to point out that this same office was used for sanctions busting before France complied with U.N. sanctions, and now the front of a "Tourist Office" is being used to cover for the same activities. In fact, instead of tourist posters on the office walls, there is a Telex machine in a corner "to pass on information", the Frenchman admitted.

Rhodesia is known to have similar "front" organizations in Geneva.

Ever wonder why sanctions fail?

Please note our new address!!



# The Liberation Struggle

extension has been made since UDI.

Mr. Lardner-Burke disclosed that the number of people being held in restriction without trial continued to drop - it stood at 211 in April, but the number of political detainees - 140 - had decreased by two during the past three months.

## FRELIMO CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING (from Mozambique Revolution, Mar.-Apr. '69)

The Central Committee of FRELIMO met in ordinary session from April 11-21. (FRELIMO is the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique). The agenda included the discussion of the main problems of the struggle. The work of the different departments was analyzed exhaustively, lines of orientation were drawn up for each one and their respective programs of action were approved. But something completely new happened at this meeting, distinguishing it as an historical landmark in the development of FRELIMO: like a fresh wind there appeared a completely new element of criticism and self-criticism, resulting in the elimination of erroneous conceptions enabling us to lead some misguided comrades back to the correct revolutionary line, and to re-establish a sense of reciprocal confidence among us.

For example, one of the most active representatives of one group was Lazara Nkavandame, Provincial Secretary of Cabo Delgado, member of the Central Committee, responsible for the Commercial section in the province. He was opposed to the strategy of a protracted war. According to him, FRELIMO should concentrate all forces in Cabo Delgado, drive out the Portuguese from that province and proclaim its independence. We thought at first this position stemmed from ignorance, or from a distorted outlook of our real situation as being confronted with the enormous military power of the colonialists. But then we started receiving complaints from the people of Cabo Delgado. They said they were being exploited - the value of the goods they received from FRELIMO in exchange for their products was scandalously disproportional. These accusations were directed against Nkavandame who was in control of the commercial section. Things then became clear; it was not ignorance. Nkavandame and his group had a precise objective when they demanded independence of Cabo Delgado alone. What they really wanted was to substitute themselves for the Portuguese colonialists in exploiting

## ZANU Reorganization Conference Meets in Lusaka

A special review conference of all members abroad of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has reaffirmed the party's commitment to topple the white-minority regime of Rhodesia, and has accordingly carried out sweeping reorganization of the party's top leadership, in order to make ZANU a more effective fighting body.

The conference of 100 delegates met early in March to set up a seven-man supreme council headed by Herbert Chitepo. This Council will be responsible for all the policy and administrative decisions of ZANU until such time as their President Ndabaningi Sithole and his Central Committee colleagues in jail and detention inside Rhodesia, are in a position to resume active leadership.

Sithole managed to struggle a message to the conference from Salisbury Prison - it urged African Freedom Fighters to intensify the struggle for liberation, and to remember that "while other people and other countries might help us as much as they can, ultimately we are the people responsible for the actual liberation of the country."

Running more or less concurrently with this conference in Lusaka was a summit conference of the East and Central African States which issued the Manifesto reprinted earlier in this Newsletter.

(Zimbabwe Review, 4/19/69 and Washington Post, 4/18/69)

The New York Times of April 17 and the Zimbabwe Review of April 19 reported that the Rhodesian Minister of Justice, Law and Order, Desmond Lardner-Burke, warned that guerrilla operations against the whole of Southern Africa would probably be stepped up in the coming year. For this reason, Parliament extended the nation-wide state of emergency for another 12 months. This is the 15th time



our people. Similarly, the preoccupation with a quick victory, before the people were politically mature: because then they would oppose resolutely any form of exploitation. The development of the struggle, the existence of liberated areas had thus made appear a specific category of persons - the exploiters of the people.

Certain other comrades, opposed the correct solution because of their empirical conception of nationalism. This made it impossible for them to distinguish our friends from our enemies. For them, all Mozambicans of African origin were "Nationalists", and as such should be accepted in our movement, without any investigation of their political orientation, or of their possible connection with the enemy. Thus, when enemy agents like Mateus Gwenjere appeared in our midst perpetrating a series of actions aimed at destroying FRELIMO, these comrades opposed any action by FRELIMO against them, or at least abstained, alleging that "they are also nationalists." Thus the enemy, taking advantage of our contradictions and erroneous conceptions, could strengthen its action against us.

Through criticism and self-criticism each one of us vowed to correct our conceptions and behavior that do not conform to the exigencies of the Revolution. This is why we say that this meeting of the Central Committee had extremely important results, and has opened a new page in the history of our struggle for National Liberation.

The Central Committee concluded that it was necessary to establish a collective leadership, able to assure the efficient direction of our organization and principally to ensure the dominance of the political line correctly defined by the Second Congress of FRELIMO.

Today, the Struggle for Liberation extends throughout one-third of our country; large regions are free from colonial domination where the people are building a new life. The total situation in our country is characterized by the continuous extension of the armed struggle to larger and larger regions; an armed struggle which is a people's war and a prolonged war, an irresistible stream able to sweep out of our country all the vestiges of the colonialist and imperialist domination.

President Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane was the man of this struggle, assimilating completely the political and ideological exigen-

cies of the people's war, he affirmed himself as the ardent defender of the interests of the great masses of the Mozambican people. In this combat he taught us how to define clearly the essential objectives of our struggle, and how to know the real enemies-- which are the colonial domination and the exploitation of man by man, as well as tribalism, regionalism, and racialism; he taught us that it is necessary to place the principal emphasis of our struggle on the fight against all exploiters, independent of their color, to distinguish the fundamental from the secondary, and to direct against the real target, the fire of our weapons.

President Mondlane was the active fighter for African solidarity, making Mozambique an integral part of militant Africa, and in particular a part of the armed struggle of the people of Portuguese colonies and of the whole of Africa. (See Special Memorial Issue of this Newsletter, February 1969.)

#### OTHER DEVELOPMENTS in FRELIMO

(1) FRELIMO is now headed by a Presidential Council consisting of three members, Uria Simango, Samora Machel, and Marcelino dos Santos. Uria Simango is the coordinator of the Presidential Council, which has joint responsibility for overall leadership.

(2) Combats continue in Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete provinces. From the reports in Mozambique Revolution it was apparent that fighting was most active in Cabo Delgado and Tete.

(3) On March 15, three more Portuguese deserters turned themselves over to FRELIMO. Eusebio Martinho da Silva, Jose Antonio Ferreira da Mata, and Jose Augusto Lopes, deserted from the Portuguese post at Mocimboa da Praia. They said they had seen a pamphlet by Fernando dos Santos Rosa, a previous deserter whose statement FRELIMO had distributed, telling how he had been well treated.

(4) New York Times, June 23, reports a barge carrying Portuguese troops sank in the Zambezi River. 108 of the 150 men aboard were missing, and 30 vehicles were lost. It was reported as an accident. Given the Portuguese tendency to repost some battle statistics as accidents, one wonders...maybe...



THE HISTORIC ANC CONFERENCE

(Summary Notes from the African National Congress of South Africa meeting in Morogoro, Tanzania in April, 1969 as recorded in Mayibuye, No. 10, May 1969:)

The Conference of the ANC of South Africa held in April at Morogoro was an historical landmark in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. Without doubt it brought about a qualitative change in the organizational content of the struggle. The new framework and structure derived from the conference reflects the method of struggle which history has for some time imposed on the South African Liberation Movement - a People's Revolutionary War.

In the early 60's the Congress Movement, after long deliberation, recognized that all avenues of peaceful change in South Africa had been closed; that the peaceful protests of the people were increasingly being suppressed by brutality; and that the only path to change open to the people was to answer fascist violence with revolutionary violence. With this realization we set up Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of Congress, whose task was to lay the basis for the armed struggle. Efficient repressive measures of the South African racist regime, however, virtually destroyed the military structure of Umkhonto, which created a vacuum which, with commendable initiative, has been filled by the External Mission of the ANC.

In the course of time it became clear that the External Mission was not organizationally geared to undertake the urgent task of the People's War. As the External Mission attempted to play this vital role, many weaknesses began revealing themselves, weaknesses inherent in the contradiction between organization and method of struggle. Gradually these weaknesses became magnified and harmful, affecting discipline and morale; unhealthy tendencies crept into the Congress. This is the background to the Morogoro Conference.

The basic and fundamental issue facing Conference was structural reorganization to create the necessary framework for more vigorous prosecution of the armed struggle. In a truly revolutionary manner, Conference faced up to the problem without fear or hesitation and in a constructive spirit. It is a reflection of the seriousness and dedication of the

ANC to the liberation of our country that there were no voices of discontent, there was no bickering, there was no petty jockeying for positions or power, that even those called upon to give up their position in the cause of the revolution did so without question in a magnanimous and generous spirit and pledged their loyalty to the struggle. The overriding theme of Conference was UNITY.

Opening of Conference

The delegates to Conference were welcomed by TANU youth (Tanzania African National Union) in their national dress, singing revolutionary songs. Present as fraternal delegates were representatives of the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, of the All African Trade Union Federation, of the TANU and its youth wing, NUTA, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZAPU, etc. There were fraternal delegates from as far away as the UAR, Somalia and Guinea.

Comrade Oliver Tambo officially opened Conference (ANC's President-General). The theme of his speech was UNITY - unity of Africa, and of the Liberation forces still struggling against oppression. George Magombe of the OAU Liberation Committee extended hearty congratulations and pledged full support of the OAU for the armed struggle. Brief messages were given by representatives of the other Liberation Movements present.

The Main Sessions of Conference

Mr. Tambo pointed out certain developments which made Conference different from previous conferences:

- (1) The death of Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the ANC
- (2) The commencement of the armed struggle in 1967;
- (3) The increasing repression of our people by the fascist oppressors;
- (4) The organizational problems arising from the launching of the guerrilla struggle.

This last was the most vital problem facing conference. It was clear that ANC must undergo a streamlined organization change. For example, the National Executive Committee should be reduced in number from 23 to 9. The principle of departmentalization and specialization in the conduct of the struggle was similarly approved. The President called upon all members of ANC to cast their eyes southwards, to prepare to go home.

Members of the National Executive Committee elected at the conference are:

Comrade Oliver R. Tambo, Acting  
President-General  
Comrade A. Nzo, Secretary-General  
Comrade J. B. Marks  
Comrade M. Mabidha  
Comrade Moses Kotane  
Comrade Joseph Matthews  
Comrade T. T. Nkosi  
Comrade W. Mokgomane  
Comrade M. Filiso

A resolution was passed that the ZAPU/  
ANC Alliance must be strengthened and steps  
taken to form alliances with other libera-  
tion movements; namely FRELIMO (Mozambique),  
MPLA (Angola), SWAPO (South West Africa),  
and PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau).

---

---

July 21, 1969 marks the second anniversary of the death of Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

On July 21 there will be the inauguration in Oslo and in New York City of the international Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Fund.

For information, write:

The Rev. Gladstone Ntlabati  
Chief Luthuli Memorial Fund  
Suite 217  
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

#### NEW BOOKS ON ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND GUINEA-BISSAU

The book completed by Dr. Eduardo Mondlane shortly before his assassination is now out. Entitled The Struggle for Mozambique, it is published as a paperback in the Penguin African Library. Already available in U.K., it should be in U.S. bookstores by late summer or early fall. Read it!

In the same Penguin series is The Liberation of Guinea by Basil Davidson, the author of many books on African affairs, who was in Guinea with PAIGC last year. This is the first book in English to deal at length with the revolution in Guinea.

A detailed and scholarly study of the development of nationalism in Angola was also published recently. The first volume of John Marcum's book The Angolan Revolution deals only with the period from 1950 to 1962, but its perceptive analysis sheds light on today's situation as well. It is published by M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.

---

#### SOUTHERN AFRICA: A TIME FOR CHANGE

The Methodist Church has published an excellent comprehensive survey of Southern Africa for the American public. Filled with articles on various topics, illustrated by graphic photographs, the magazine includes the following:

"Roots of Revolt"	-	by Senator Edward W. Brooke (Dem.-Mass.)
"A Nation Torn Asunder"		
"Sharpeville Massacre"		by William R. Frye
"A Case for Disengagement"		by Arthur J. Goldberg/George M. Houser
"A Long War Ahead"		by Eduardo Mondlane/William Minter
"A Revolution Almost Forgotten"		by John Marcum

Available for \$1.95 from Friendship Press, Room 753, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.  
(Bulk Rates Available)

# At the United Nations

## South Africa at the United Nations

In a recent article in South African Scope, a South African propaganda organ, an article was included by Ambassador M. I. Botha, South Africa's United Nations Representative "explaining" her plight in the U.N. Botha concluded in this article that South Africa's enemies were frustrated by her inherent strength drawn "above all from the moral principles which guide it in all its relations both external and internal". Botha curiously went on to say that since South Africa knew the humiliation of foreign domination, it was strongly opposed to the domination of any one nation over another. He neglected to point out, however, that South Africa is built upon and thrives upon the economic domination of all non-white groups in South Africa by the minority white power structure. Botha continued in this article to applaud the South African solution to the race issue in which "all the nations in South Africa should be free to develop as they themselves may wish to develop, borrowing what they will and rejecting what they will from the experience of other nations." Again Botha neglected to add that the concept of "different nations" in South Africa is a white one superimposed over the African population. In fact, no non-white political party has ever advocated the South African policy of apartheid, yet Botha, in all his concern for self-determination for non-whites, refuses to acknowledge that their conscious choice was a fair share of the South African society, not forced separation.

No, Mr. Botha. We continue to be unconvinced by your honeyed words that all is peace and joy in South Africa - the facts speak so much louder than your words.

## A N I S S U E T O A C T O N RHODESIAN REFERENDUM DEMANDS A RESPONSE

The Rhodesian Referendum results obviously indicate that Rhodesia is moving toward an apartheid future. America apparently is refusing to take this fact with any degree of seriousness as evidenced by her abstention in the Security Council on a firm Afro-Asian resolution on Rhodesia. It is also sadly obvious that the John Birch "Friends of Rhodesia" are rejoicing in Rhodesia's new stand and are pushing America's administration to reassess her Rhodesia policy in favor of Smith. This lobby must be countered!

Write your Congressmen, Mr. Fulbright, and President Nixon, urging that

- (1) America withdraw all remaining consular relations with Rhodesia
- (2) America affirm its commitment to a strengthened sanctions policy
- (3) America condemn the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia to combat African freedom fighters

# DEMONSTRATION

In July 1966, the International Court of "Justice" at the Hague passed a pro-South Africa verdict in the case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia asking that the United Nations, rather than South Africa, take over the temporary administration of South West Africa. At that point it became clear to the people of Namibia (South West Africa) that all the dreams and hopes of achieving independence by peaceful means and through action by the United Nations had vanished. Since that time South Africa has totally taken over South West Africa and extended apartheid completely as another provincial territory. On August 26 of 1966, patriotic forces of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) launched an armed struggle which bears the brunt of effective resistance against any oppressive political system. August 26 has, ever since, been designated as A DAY OF SOLIDARITY with the people of Namibia, and is commemorated as such around the world.

## DEMONSTRATION

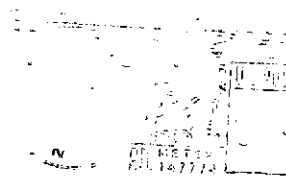
On August 26, at 11:00 a.m.  
 In front of the United Nations  
 Culminating in front of the  
 South African Mission to the U.N.  
 at 300 East 42nd Street, New York

## FUND RAISING EVENT

On August 26 at 6:00 p.m.  
 At Fordham University, Lincoln Center  
 Participation by African Ambassadors  
 and others

COME AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS

Southern Africa Committee  
 University Christian Movement  
 Room 752 (New Room Number!)  
 475 Riverside Drive  
 New York, N. Y. 10027



*[Handwritten signature and scribbles]*

- Moved, left no address
- No such number
- Moved, not for ...
- Addressed to ...