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- SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
RESOLUTION ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION,
Hammanskraal in the Transvaal, 5 August, 1974

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA
- For a Free Southern Africa -
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FEAST OF
ALL SAINTS 1974

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for
SOUTH AFRICA

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1974

African liberation movements have wrested their countries free of Portugal's 500-year-old grip on Africa. Portuguese troops have left Guinea-Bissau and the PAIGC government is in complete charge. In Mozambique, FRELIMO dominates a ruling executive and in June 1975 Portugal withdraws altogether; South Africa is making conciliatory and cautious noises to her new neighbor. Angola still is uncertain but the colonialist hold is broken and Portuguese soldiers and African freedom fighters join in guiding Namibian exiles to safe harbor in Zaire and Zambia. Ian Smith's Rhodesian regime in Zimbabwe bumbles on - with the roof about to fall in.

Namibia's future is cast dramatically into focus. The South African usurper is touting an "all options open" scheme in a scramble to stave off the inevitable. A NEW YORK TIMES 12 October report from the United Nations quotes the South African Foreign Minister, Hilgard Muller, as saying: "If we are honest, we must accept full independence should the people of South-West Africa so decide in the exercise of their right to self-determination" - an outcome no doubt at variance with what the Namibian people and the United Nations Council for Namibia conceive to be full independence. On the same day, Stanley Uys, writing from Cape Town in THE LONDON OBSERVER, tells of discussions "at the highest official levels" in Windhoek to partition the country, making the area known as Ovamboland (thrown together with southern Angola) into a separate state, continuing the bantustanization of other parts of the country, and with the whites retaining the remaining (and richest) two-thirds, with the option of becoming a sovereign state linked to South Africa.

Pretoria is preening an accommodatory image externally. Vorster sent a three-man consultative team of one African (Transkei Chief Kaiser Matanzima), one Coloured school principal and one Indian professor along with his UN delegation to the current session of the General Assembly in New York - a device which gulled no one. A powerful move to cast South Africa out of the UN is now in the lap of the Security Council and the Special Political Committee has recommended that African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress representatives be seated with observer status.

Inside, South Africa is cracking down as savagely as ever. Twelve leaders of the South African Students Organization and the Black People's Convention were arrested following late September demonstrations by SASO and BPC hailing FRELIMO. The National Union of South African Students has been declared to be an "affected organization", cutting off foreign funds (three-quarters of NU-SAS' operating income).

The South African regime's most unhinged reaction was to the resolution on conscientious objection of the South African Council of Churches. A Defense Bill imposes a fine of \$14,000 or 10 years' imprisonment for anyone encouraging draft resistance, a potential threat to South Africa's white conscript army. The churches in South Africa have one last chance to stand up and to resist the apartheid regime.

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SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES RESOLUTION ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

The South African Council of Churches meeting at Hammarskraal in the Transvaal, on 5 August 1974 adopted a resolution on conscientious objection. This occurs at a time when South Africa, which conscripts able-bodied young white men for military service, is becoming more and more isolated from allies and as the pressure of African liberation armies grows close to its frontiers.

The Religious News Service reports that the resolution was adopted in two parts, a preamble and a list of recommendations. A majority of the 63 voting delegates endorsed each part at SACC's 1974 conference.

We urge all to send messages of support to:

South African Council of Churches
P. O. Box 31190
Braamfontein
Johannesburg
South Africa

The full text of the resolution follows:

PREAMBLE:

The National Conference of the South African Council of Churches acknowledges as the one and only God Him who mightily delivered the people of Israel from their bondage in Egypt and who in Jesus Christ still proclaims that He will "set at liberty those who are oppressed" (Luke 4:18). He alone is supreme Lord and Saviour and to Him alone we owe ultimate obedience. Therefore "we must obey God rather than men" in those areas where the government fails to fulfill its calling to be "God's servant for good" rather than for evil and for oppression (Acts 5:29; Romans 13:4).

IN THE LIGHT OF THIS THE CONFERENCE:

- 1 - Maintains that Christians are called to strive for justice and the true peace which can be founded only on justice;
- 2 - Does not accept that it is automatically the duty of those who follow Christ, the Prince of Peace, to engage in violence and war, or to prepare to engage in violence and war, whenever the state demands it;
- 3 - Reminds its member Churches that both Catholic and Reformation theology has regarded the taking up of arms as justifiable, if at all, only in order to fight a "just war";
- 4 - Points out that the theological definition of a "just war" excludes war in defense of a basically unjust and discriminatory society;

(continued over)

- 5 - Points out that the Republic of South Africa is at present a fundamentally unjust and discriminatory society and that this injustice and discrimination constitutes the primary, institutionalized violence which has provoked the counter-violence of the terrorists or freedom fighters.
- 6 - Points out that the military forces of our country are being prepared to defend this unjust and discriminatory society and that the threat of military force is in fact already used to defend that status-quo against moves for radical change from outside the white electorate;
- 7 - Maintains that it is hypocritical to deplore the violence of terrorists or freedom fighters while we ourselves prepare to defend our society with its primary, institutionalized violence by means of yet more violence;
- 8 - Points out further that the injustice and oppression under which the black people of South Africa labor is far worse than that against which Afrikaners waged their First and Second Wars of Independence and that if we have justified the Afrikaners' resort to violence (or the violence of the imperialism of the English) or claimed that God was on their side, it is hypocritical to deny that the same applies to the black people in their struggle today;
- 9 - Questions the basis upon which chaplains are seconded (appointed) to the military forces lest their presence indicate moral support for the defense of our unjust and discriminatory society.

THE CONFERENCE THEREFORE:

- 1 - Deplores violence as a means to solve problems;
- 2 - Calls on its member Churches to challenge all their members to consider in view of the above whether Christ's call to take up the Cross and follow Him in identifying with the oppressed does not, in our situation, involve becoming conscientious objectors;
- 3 - Calls on those of its member Churches who have chaplains in the military forces to reconsider the basis on which they are appointed and to investigate the state of pastoral care available to the communicants at present in exile or under arms beyond our borders and to seek ways and means of ensuring that such pastoral care may be properly exercised;
- 4 - Commends the courage and witness of those who have been willing to go to jail in protest against unjust laws and policies in our land, and who challenge all of us by their example;
- 5 - Requests the South African Council's task force on violence and non-violence to study methods of non-violent action for change which can be recommended to its member Churches;
- 6 - Prays for the government and people of our land and urgently calls on them to make rapid strides towards radical and peaceful change in our society so that the violence and war to which our social, economic and political policies are leading us may be avoided.

Nixon 'Tilt' in Africa Bared

STRATEGY, From A1

pro-self-determination policy toward Africa that was first set by the Kennedy administration.

"Where did this (tilt) occur?" asked one State Department official. "I think the proof is hard to find. I think it is a credit to us that we were able to maintain the policies that existed for a decade basically intact."

Others argue that with the escalating sweep of the black independence drive in Africa in recent years, any retrogression in U.S. support for it, or even holding to a stand-pat position, amounted to a backward "tilt."

In any event, disclosure of the contents of NSSM 39 brings to public sight strategic assessments of the competing U.S. interests in Africa.

The charge of U.S. "tilt" toward the minority white governments of Africa was first aired last week by columnist Jack Anderson, and independently by Washington freelance writer Tad Szulc, writing in Esquire magazine. Both

quoted from NSSM 39 and other sources. Anderson made available to The Washington Post a copy of NSSM 39.

This intergovernmental study, 71 pages plus appendices about half as long, is dated Aug. 15, 1969, the year that President Nixon entered office. A presidential decision order based on the secret study was issued in early 1970, variously reported as January or February.

"According to several sources, the recommendation for a "selective relaxation" of U.S. policy toward southern Africa's white governments was made by Kissinger, primarily based on what was known as "Option Two," the second of five choices offered for a new policy.

The report is based on "the policy dilemma within the U.S. government" over what is described as "the inherent equivocation" in American policy.

This was perceived as the problem of how to protect American "economic, scientific and strategic interests" in

Africa while maintaining "political credibility" for declared U.S. policy in such a way that "the political costs will not be excessive."

The policy choice made by the White House was reportedly based in considerable part on the following premise from Option Two in the strategy review.

"The whites are here to stay (in southern Africa) and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the Communists."

"We can, by selective relaxation of our stance toward the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states (a total of about \$5 million annually in technical assistance to the black states) help to draw the groups together and exert some influence on both for peaceful change."

"Our tangible interests form a basis for our contacts in the region, and these can be maintained at an acceptable political cost."

The region involved in the study comprises Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Southwest Africa (Namibia), Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana.

The report underscored that "some four million whites in South Africa, Namibia (Southwest Africa), Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique" (the latter two Portuguese territories) "dominate 30 million blacks."

In the United States, the report cautioned, "although Congress as a whole does not show substantial interest in southern Africa, an increasing number of congressmen and senators are concerned about our relations, particularly

with South Africa, and are willing to support resolutions or inquiries about U.S. policy."

"The problem" for U.S. strategy, said the study, which was prepared by the National Security Council Interdepartmental Group for Africa, bluntly was this:

1. Our interests in the white states to the degree they are seen as at least tacit acceptance of racism affect our standing with African and other states.

2. The prospect of increasing violence in the area growing out of black insurgency and white reprisal could jeopardize our interests in the future."

The secret review described U.S. interests in the region as "important but not vital."

They include, the report said, U.S. investments, "primarily in South Africa, (which) total about \$1 billion and our trade yields a highly favorable balance of payments advantage."

The United States, it was emphasized, "has an important interest in the orderly marketing of South Africa's gold production which is important to the successful operation of the two-tier gold price system" (then, but no longer, in effect).

Strategically, the report cited the geographic importance of the southern African region, "particularly with the closing of the Suez Canal and the increased Soviet activity in the Indian Ocean."

"The U.S. uses overflight and landing facilities for military aircraft in the Portuguese territories" (of Angola and Mozambique, which also provided the United States with port facilities) "and South Africa," the report noted.

American facilities in South Africa also included "a missile tracking station . . . under a classified agreement," plus a U.S. space-tracking facility — which in 1973 was ordered to be closed down, in stages.

Secret Memo Bares U.S. 'Tilt' in Africa

By Murray Marder

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Nixon White House under the direction of Henry A. Kissinger when he had the single hat of presidential national security affairs adviser. But no matter what the report recommended, or what the White House did about it, the State Department insisted there was no "tilt" of American policy toward African white supremacy governments.

Less officially, State Department sources are making a more sophisticated attempt to dispel the "tilt" charge out of concern over the consequences that it could have here and abroad.

In view of the conservative, pro-business attitude in the Nixon White House, these sources contend, there actually was "little change" in the

An unprecedented inside look at how Nixon administration strategists grappled with the conflicting goals of U.S. economic-strategic interests vs. African self-determination has now become available. The basic secret report, known as National Security Study Memorandum 39, never intended for public disclosure, is certain to have international and domestic repercussions.

On Friday, the State Department officially declined to discuss the report, prepared un-

See STRATEGY, A1, Col. 1

U.S. Denies 'Tilt' in Policy Toward Africa

By Murray Marder

Washington Post Staff Writer

The State Department formally denied yesterday that U.S. policy in the early 1970s "tilted" toward white-supremacy regimes, but declined to discuss if Henry A. Kissinger recommended a "tilt."

In private, however, many American officials conceded that the Nixon administration did give higher priority to dealing with existing regimes than it gave to their challengers in Africa, as in Greece and other regions of the world.

The latest charge of a policy "tilt" by Kissinger in Africa was aired yesterday by newspaper columnist Jack Anderson. He reported that Kissinger, then President Nixon's national security affairs adviser, recommended in January, 1970, that the President "tilt toward the white supremacy nations" of Africa, in selecting options from secret National Security Study Memorandum 39.

With the Ford administration in a running clash with Congress over charges that U.S. policy has been "tilted toward Turkey" by Kissinger in the Cyprus crisis, the State Department is doubly sensitive about any charges of policy bias. An official denial of a new "tilt" charge therefore was almost inevitable.

In addition, the State Department is anxious to demonstrate that current U.S. policy is supportive of new black-ruled governments that are also emerging in Portugal's African territories, since the Portuguese coup last April which ended Portugal's long dictatorship.

"The United States is pleased by the progress that has been made in the decolonization of Portuguese Africa," Donald B. Easum, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, told a House subcommittee on Tuesday. Until the April coup in Lisbon, the United States was widely charged with giving only lip-service to the cause of decolonization in Africa in the name of "stability."

State Department spokesman John F. King said yesterday that "obviously I am not in a position to tell you what might have been recommended" by Kissinger, before he became Secretary of State last year.

"The fact of the matter," said King, "is that there never was a matching decision paper that touched on those options" set forth in the secret national security study in 1970.

One of the charges in the Anderson report was that Kissinger won out, for a time, in a clash with William P. Rogers, then Secretary of State, over keeping the U.S. consular office open in white-ruled Rhodesia despite world sanctions against that country. Another series of charges was that Kissinger urged covert encouragement of U.S. trade with white-ruled South Africa, and increased military contact with that nation. Kissinger favored a "quiet loosening" of

the U.S. arms embargo against Rhodesia in South Africa.

King said these accusations are "in the never-never land of what someone might have considered to be option."

The United States, he said, "maintained the United Nations Security Council resolution on the arms embargo against South Africa, even though it has not been mandatory" and also an arms embargo "on weapons for Portuguese African colonies."

Also, he said, the United States "discouraged American businessmen from investing in South West Africa," and "we have always deplored as abhorrent the practice of apar-

theid in South Africa." King said, "We have abided, to the extent that we have been able, to the U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia."

The policy of exempting Rhodesian chrome imports to the United States, authorized in 1971 by an amendment sponsored by Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Ind.-Va.) was "not our idea," said King, referring to the executive branch.

The Rhodesian chrome exemption, which exposed the United States to furious attacks from black Africa, actually was only lightly opposed by the Nixon administration at the time. President Ford,

when he was House Republican leader, strongly supported the Byrd amendment, but as President, Mr. Ford has declared support for attempts under way in Congress to repeal the amendment.

"On the whole," King contended, "when you take into account what the track record has been over the years, it takes a little straining to say that we have tilted toward the white regimes of Africa." Other officials, in private, conceded that the Ford administration is endeavoring to counter the widespread impression of a "tilt" in U.S. African policy in recent years.

THE WASHINGTON POST Saturday, Oct. 12, 1974

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See also Tad Szulc's article tucked away amongst longer pieces and all the pictures in the October issue of ESQUIRE, beginning on page 48. And Jack Anderson's columns of mid-October. Refer to ECSC's Pentecost bulletin on the NATO contingency planning for defense of Southern Africa.

Write: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Washington, D.C. 20520

- : Your senator, Washington, D.C. 20510 (or at the home office)
- : Your congressman, Washington, D.C. 20515 (" " " " ")

DEMAND CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS OF U.S. POLICY AND PRACTICE IN AFRICA.

Please send ECSC copies of the replies you may get.

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NAMIBIA

COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA WINS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

Sean MacBride, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, was on 8 October awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1974.

The 70-year-old former secretary-general of the International Commission of Jurists and chairman of Amnesty International was cited for his "many years of efforts to build up and protect human rights all over the world".

The selection of the one-time IRA leader and foreign minister of Ireland (he shares the Prize with former Japanese Prime Minister Sato) is a recognition of his personal life-time commitment and is another indication of the increasing prominence of Namibia in the eyes of the world.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1974



U.N. Body Acts on South-West Africa's Resources

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Sept. 28—The United Nations Council for Namibia, an 18-country group concerning itself with South-West Africa, decreed today that the South African territory's animal and mineral resources must not be exploited without the council's consent.

The council said any resources exploited without its written permission "may be seized and shall be forfeited" and held in trust for the people of the territory.

The League of Nations mandate held by South Africa over South-West Africa was terminated by the United Nations in 1966, and the United Nations council was set up to look after the territory's affairs. In 1968 the United Nations renamed the territory Namibia, for the Namib, a coastal desert strip. The United Nations actions have not been recognized by South Africa.

The council's decree stated that any vehicle, ship or container found to be carrying resources from South-West Africa "shall also be subject to seizure and forfeiture."

The United Nations council has no enforcement powers and must rely on member states of the world organization for implementation. It is composed of Burundi, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Turkey, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

South-West Africa has a common frontier with South Africa,

which has been governing the territory since World War I. Virtually all communications between South-West Africa and the outside world pass through South Africa, which has defied United Nations efforts to dislodge it from the area.

Although the council cannot enforce its decree, it will have to be taken into consideration by concerns based in countries other than South Africa that are active in South-West Africa. United States companies have some mining ventures in the area.

The chief products of the thinly populated but potentially rich area are diamonds, lead, zinc and other minerals, cattle and sheep. Fisheries are also important.

The United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Sean MacBride of Ireland, said yesterday that the decree on resources was the first instance of legislation by the council.

Mr. MacBride, a former Irish Foreign Minister, declared in an interview that the population of South-West Africa was probably much higher than all available statistics indicated.

"I estimate the African population to be more than one million," Mr. MacBride said. "Whenever a census is taken, many Africans just take to the bush for fear of a head tax."

The latest South African data, published last month, give a population of 850,000, including 90,000 whites.

The United Nations commissioner said he believed the white population, which dominates the territory, was com-

posed of 50,000 Afrikaners, 35,000 Germans and 5,000 persons of British descent.

South-West Africa was once a German colony, and its capital, Windhoek, has retained the flavor of a German provincial town.

South Africa informed the United Nations earlier this week that the National Party of South-West Africa, representing almost the entire white population, had decided to start interracial talks on the territory's constitutional future.

The initiative coincided with an African-led move in the United Nations to expel the

South African delegation from the world organization's General Assembly.

Yesterday, the assembly's Credentials Committee voted to recommend unseating of the South African delegates.

The Council for Namibia, in another action, approved a plan to establish an Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, Zambia. The institute is to provide blacks from South-West Africa with education and training to "strengthen all their efforts, including those on the political level, in the struggle for freedom" and to teach them administrative skills.

NAMIBIAN PATRIOTS

VISIT U.S.A.

A SWAPO delegation of Namibians who have recently gone into exile arrive in New York in late October to attend the current session of the UN General Assembly.

John Otto, who endured the first Terrorism Trial in 1967/68; Andreas Nuukwalo, SWAPO Youth League leader who was flogged with 16 strokes last year; Netumbo Nandi; and two women, nurses Taati Ithindi and Ulitala Namweya will swell the liberation movement's representation at the world body.

"SAPS - STAY HOME!"

South African Police who had been invited to take part in a Police Olympics in San Francisco from 28 to 30 August 1974 have been dis-invited.

San Francisco Chief of Police Donald Scott wrote the South African consul in that city that the "consensus in the Police Department" was that it "regrets it must withdraw the invitation to the South African Police to participate in the Police Olympics because of difficulties expected and the implications that would be drawn".

National concern brought letters and telegrams in to Mayor Joseph Alioto's office. Strong opposition developed in the Bay Area. Negotiations between the consul's office and civic groups failed to persuade the South Africans to decline the invitation. Protest rallies resulted in plans for disruption of the athletic contest.

The decision to dis-invite was made public on 7 August. The full text of Chief Scott's letter to the South African official was not released, however. The invitation to the 30-man SAP team was disclosed on 11 July by Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, an invitation eagerly accepted by the South African government which faces ostracism by nations of the world because of its racist policies and police state methods.

The South Africans had tried to improve the image of the SAPs by including a token African sergeant, a Coloured detective and an Indian constable on the team, a move hailed by Minister of Police (Prisons and Justice) James Kruger: "Our team will not only consist of the best sportsmen but also the best that South Africa can muster."

The American dis-invitation is a body blow to sports-mad South Africa, which since 1968 has been excluded from the Olympic Games. Its chances of being allowed to participate at Montreal in 1976 are slim. The cancellation is a public slap in the face to the Pretoria government as it desperately reaches out for friends, especially the powerful USA. South Africa's once-thought impregnable position at the tip of the continent buffered by white-controlled countries is fast dissolving.

State President J. J. Fouche, opening Parliament in Cape Town on 2 August, stated: "The terrorist threat continues to create problems for South Africa, which necessitate the presence of members of the police force and the defence force on our borders" and spoke of speeded-up plans to meet the possible spread of low-intensity guerrilla war. Minister Kruger announced a new system of sending policemen to the borders or to support the Rhodesian regime for voluntary 12-month spells of duty, as police sources made public the 11th admitted death of a South African constable in Zimbabwe.

Lt.Gen. Nolan Loxton, SAP chief deputy commissioner stated: "Every man in the force, except those over 50 or who can produce medical certificates that they are in regular need of doctor's attention, will be given a turn to do border duties."

