



THE SHOALS of GOOD HOPE

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With this issue we start mailing our Newsletter to all who share our concern over the destructive force of Apartheid in the southern African continent. Future letters will be sent out from time to time, telling of articles and reports, or describing current activities of PCOSA. Your comments and suggestions, or material for incorporation, are welcomed, as we wish to unite people who seek to be informed of racial conditions in southern Africa, and to urge our country to take effective steps toward supporting freedom, justice, and equality based upon universal suffrage.

Ralph Hagopian, Editor

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

With the Middle East crisis absorbing the energies and concerns of most internationally minded persons, perhaps a glance at these developments in the context of South Africa may be of interest. As numerous political scientists and historians have pointed out, no event in 1967 involving two or more nations can be seen outside the overall world situation.

The Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly held this spring was called with regard to the United Nation's gaining de facto control over South West Africa. The Middle East crisis has given South Africa a reprieve from this undesired spotlight of opposition. With the crisis, the 1500 vessels which normally passed through the Suez Canal each month now must go around the Cape of Good Hope, and hence become dependent upon South Africa and Rhodesia for refueling, repairs, and supplies. The Durban, Natal, officials have announced preparations for meeting these massive needs. In the United States a Department of the Interior letter released on the 28th of June, 1967, notes that 5 million barrels of oil a day must be transported around the Cape. Rhodesia has taken on the task of supplying meat for all of the vessels. Thus South Africa's role in the 'free' world has become increasingly of critical value.

South Africa needs no urging to discover weaknesses in the United Nations, the body which has on several occasions condemned the policy of South African

Apartheid. Prime Minister Vorster, in speaking to the South African Senate during the week following the outbreak of war in the Middle East, declared South Africa would not pay her prorata share of United Nations costs incurred in interference in South Africa's domestic affairs. He suggested the U.N. would have done well to have paid more attention to tensions in the Middle East instead of disturbing the peace and stability of southern Africa.

Dr. H. Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, also addressing the Senate, stated: ".... we have now apparently reached the stage where the U.N. is powerless to preserve peace and the big powers will again have to intervene to try and achieve peace and to prevent this war (Middle East) from assuming global proportions. The closure of the Suez Canal again emphasizes the importance of the sea route around the Cape." Continuing the stress the value of South African ports to the western world, Dr. Muller insinuated that the West should not hinder normal usage and development of shipping, i.e., should not impose economic sanctions of any kind against South Africa. (STAR, 10 June, 1967).

South Africa seems to be cultivating a deliberately ambiguous position in terms of present Middle East developments. On the one hand, she has commenced a major campaign toward improving relations with other African nations. This frees her from being committed to the pro-Israel stand of Western countries, and provides her independence with some leverage. On the other hand, she is demonstrating that she is available for cooperation with the West, if her interests are served thereby. Over 200 South African Jewish youth went to Israel to work in the Kibbutzim. Many South Africans seem to identify with the Israelis in terms of being surrounded by hostile multitudes of uneducated peoples. The Minister of Defense, Mr. P. W. Both, for instance, compared the equipment of the Israeli Air Force to that of the South African, to find them similar. Particular attention was paid to the French equipment, and its performance and durability. France is the only Western nation flagrantly refusing to enforce the U.N.-agreed arms embargo against South Africa.

The argument that the 'free' world needs South Africa will certainly find response in the Western world. South Africa acts and thinks as the West. Is it not, therefore, more sensible to depend on her, rather than on irate, nationalistic, Communist-influenced Arabs? The United States and Great Britain find their position increasingly difficult. The State Department of the U.S. has decided not to participate on the South West Africa Council set up by the United Nations, and to hold its own negotiations with the South African government. This decision may well have been influenced by the positions of African countries on the Middle East crisis. Algeria declared war on Israel, and Algeria is the home base for the banned African National Congress and for much of the guerilla training of South African terrorists. The support of the Eastern bloc to the Arabs and the Africans in both these issues may well be setting the stage for the conflict in southern Africa to become ideological and racial, with the West increasingly being moved into the camp of the white minority. The Africans have little use for Western verbal condemnations of Apartheid. Are they to be left with no choice but between Apartheid and Communism?

Thus, the Middle East crisis has placed the existing government of South Africa in a much stronger economic and political position in the 'free' world. How the West meets the challenge put to her by South Africa will greatly influence the development of events in that area in the time to come. Will black Africa be forced to look to the East for aid against Apartheid? Or will the West take the economic chance of ending support of the white racist government, to gain the sympathies, good will, and economic potential of all Africa? The problem will not be easily solved, but it must be faced, for a decision will be demanded by both sides - soon.

Nancy van Vuuren
June, 1967

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA*

On May 19th the General Assembly adopted, by a vote of 85 to 2 with 30 abstentions, a resolution establishing an 11-member United Nations Council to administer the territory of South West Africa, until independence, on a date to be fixed in accordance with the wish of the inhabitants, and requesting the Council to be based in the Territory, and to enter immediately into contact with South African authorities to lay down procedures for the transfer of the Territory. It will be remembered that in October, 1966, the U.N. terminated the mandate by which South Africa had received from Britain the right to rule the Territory, and in the course of which had virtually annexed it. Since 1966, therefore, South Africa has been in the Territory illegally.

She has, however, announced her intention to remain, and to resist U.N. administration -- by force, if necessary. This presents the United Nations with the problem of implementation. The member nations are unfortunately divided, from one extreme (mainly Latin America) which blissfully assumes South Africa's willingness to comply despite her announced policy, to the other extreme (African-Asian) which calls for direct military confrontation, and action against any states that violated the United Nations recommendations. In the light of the U.N.'s manifest inability to take forceful action in other areas of the world (see article above), it would seem that South Africa will continue her occupation of South West Africa by armed police and soldiers, and her administration of that land for some time to come, while the rest of the world continues to debate.

* Taken from the United Nations Monthly Chronicle, Vol. IV, No. 6 (U.N. Office of Public Information).

THE THREE ENCLAVES

The Reporter, June 29th issue, carries an article by Noel Mostert which examines the situation of three recently-independent countries, two of which (Lesotho and Swaziland) are surrounded by South Africa, and one, Botswana, which serves as a buffer to the Black African nations to the north. The positions of these countries is unique, since they are all heavily -- if not totally -- dependent on South African economy. All three have a customs union with South Africa, use South African currency, and have South African advisors scattered throughout their administrative departments.

Lesotho, the poorest of the three, exports 95% of its male working force to South Africa. The land is too dry and exhausted to support extensive agriculture. Britain still provides about 60% of the country's budget. Last Christmas, Prime Minister Jonathan avoided a coup from the left-wing opposition, and deported eight South African refugees who were implicated, and continues to maintain a leading (if somewhat insecure) position with his conservative National Party. South Africa is backing construction of a huge hydro-electric plant, plus light industry, although these will not be operative in the immediate future.

Swaziland is the richest of the enclave. Its altitude provides it with climate for industries in pulp, sugar, and citrus. It has a rich iron ore mine, and a railway to the sea. Furthermore, it is a resort area for the rich whites from Johannesburg. The tone is very colonial: 10,000 whites own half the land, and 370,000 Swazi own the rest.

Both Lesotho and Swaziland have traditionalistic populations and forms of government, with rising dissatisfaction among those groups which side with the Organization of

African Unity, centered in Ethiopia, and calling for their cooperation in harboring refugees from, and guerillas en route to, South Africa.

In contrast, Botswana, the largest country, with a meat industry of its own, seeks a "neutralist" position regarding force against South Africa, Rhodesia, and South West Africa, but does not hide its opposition to the position on Apartheid. President Kama is married to a white London former typist, whose activity in welfare work has won her the people's admiration. Whites as well as blacks serve in the House of Parliament, and relations seem to be easy-going between the races. It is hoped by such men as Alister Sparks, foreign editor of the Johannesburg Rand Daily Mail, that Botswana can provide an example which will calm the fears of South African whites in being outnumbered; the "fear of Black domination, Black chaos, and Black vengeance".

If Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana survive the transition to full reforms in education, agriculture, and industry with their present moderate minded policies, perhaps the very "hostage" position which the Organization for African Unity charges, might be more creative than one would think.

GEORGE M. HAUSER - TRIP TO AFRICA

George M. Hauser of the American Committee on Africa reports on his May 11 - June 10 tour of Black Africa, and interviews with twenty-two liberation leaders in a mimeographed report circulated by the Committee. He finds that the liberation movement is hopelessly splintered, although some alliances are forming around two poles, depending upon the source of their financial assistance: Russia and Eastern European countries, or China. While the two alliances are careful not to displease their patron bodies, the leaders claim their position is not primarily idealogical. Both are, however, increasingly violence-oriented. The non-violent movement has been almost abandoned, and the future seems to hold the prospects of guerilla warfare, such as has begun in Angola, where the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile claims to be fighting on four fronts, and holding 250 square kilometers. Long and violent struggles and riots will take place, rather than a single cataclysmic struggle.

Hauser feels the U.S. should take a position of neutrality between the liberation movements, reverse its growing policy of cooperation with South Africa under the influence of her white-washing propaganda, by unilateral economic disengagement, and end the sugar import quota. Mr. Hauser also calls for increased contributions to the Defense and Aid Fund, which helps alleviate hardship among the families of those who are in prison, and also helps with correspondence courses for political prisoners.

excerpts from
YOUNG AFRICANS CRITICAL OF THE UNITED STATES
from the N. Y. Times, June 27, 1967
Benjamin Welles

" A 12,000-mile tour of twelve African nations, including talks with chiefs of state, cabinet ministers, business men, labor leaders, journalists, and students, indicates these main focal points of criticism:

1. The U. S. role in Vietnam is widely resented as intervention by a great white power against a small Asian nation far from its shores.
2. The U. S. is criticized for not using more "muscle", economic or other, to persuade

the white-racist regimes of Rhodesia, South Africa, Portuguese Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, to accept the principle of eventual African majority rule.

3. The U. S. Government, notably Secretary of State Dean Rusk, is accused of giving Africa low priority in its foreign planning, and United States aid, now running at a total of approximately \$195 million a year, is considered inadequate.

RAND DAILY MAIL DEFENSE FUND

On June 29th the government of South Africa reopened procedures against the RAND DAILY MAIL by arresting Laurence Gandar, editor, and Joel Mervis, editor, of the SUNDAY TIMES, and of Leycester Walton, managing director of South African Newspapers, and Benjamin Pogrund, author of the articles. In June and July of 1965 the articles describing prison conditions in South Africa were printed in the two papers, with the resulting stream of police raids, arrests of persons giving evidence, and trials.

PCOSA, in support of the London-based Defense and Aid Fund Campaign for Release of Political Prisoners, is, therefore, planning a FREE PRESS - FREE PEOPLE week of activities for November 7-11. In conjunction with this, the RAND DAILY MAIL DEFENSE FUND has been established, to assist in the costs of the court proceedings, and to give much needed moral support to those suffering in South Africa for opposition to the Laws of Apartheid, and for speaking out for human rights. The events being planned include:

Presentation of "Lost in the Stars," The Broadway production of Alan Paton's CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY.

Movie: SABOTAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Jazz Concert - for Freedom in South Africa.

Panel Discussion on Freedom of the Press.

Panel Discussion on the Social Responsibility of Industry and Business.

Final details on the activities will be issued in the next newsletter, to be published the end of September.

CONTRIBUTIONS NEEDED!

The Pittsburgh Committee on Southern Africa must have funds to cover mailing and other expenses.

If you would like to be on the PCOSA mailing list, please send \$2.00 (or more), made out to the Pittsburgh Committee on Southern Africa, to:

Miss Virginia Bortas, Treasurer
Bigelow Apartments
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219

I would like to contribute, and receive the Shoals of Good Hope

Signed _____

Address _____
