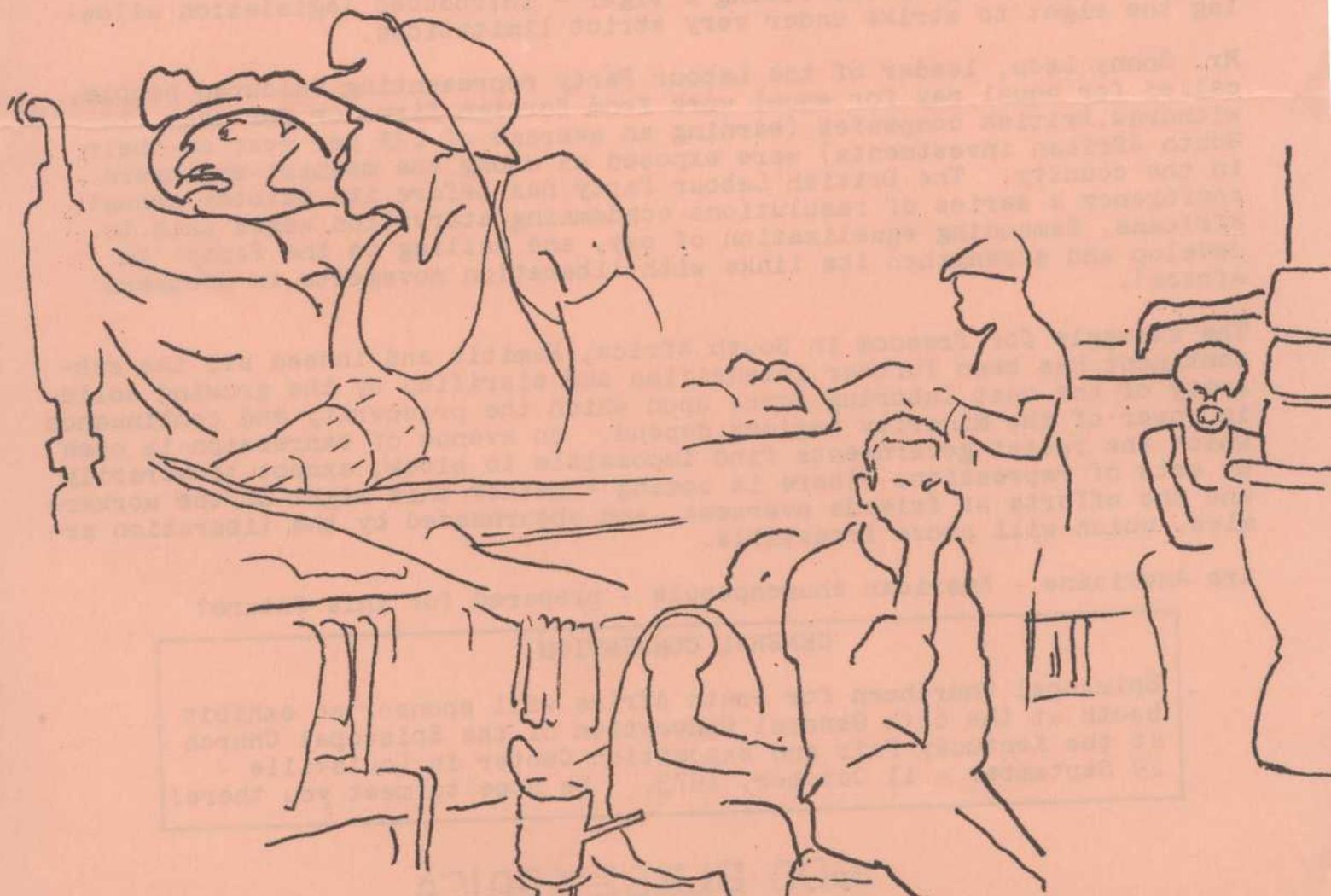


SUMMER 1973

IF YOU DO NOT LOVE



YOUR BROTHER



WHOM YOU HAVE SEEN

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

PENTECOST

1973

Labor unrest continues in South Africa as African, Coloured and Indian workers unite and become more determined to better their wages and working conditions. The African National Congress in SECHABA reports that 250,000 went on strike over the recent period - out of an 'economically active' black and brown population of six and three-quarter million - despite arrests, imprisonment, dismissals and greater police harassment.

Recurrent strikes and press disclosures of low African wages (4 out of 5 workers received wages below the Poverty Datum Line) embarrassed white employers into increasing pay for some employees. Pressures mount from skillfully though not overtly organized workers, from black and brown leaders including those in the bantustans, from overseas. The Vorster regime - realizing it was riding a tiger - introduced legislation allowing the right to strike under very strict limitations.

Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party representing Coloured people, called for equal pay for equal work from foreign firms or for them to withdraw. British companies (earning an average of 12% per year on their South African investments) were exposed as among the meanest employers in the country. The British Labour Party has before its October annual conference a series of resolutions condemning starvation wages paid to Africans, demanding equalization of pay, and calling on the Party 'to develop and strengthen its links with liberation movements in Southern Africa'.

The struggle for freedom in South Africa, Namibia and indeed all the sub-continent has been further intensified and clarified by the growing solidarity of the vast laboring force upon which the prosperity and continuance in power of the minority regimes depend. An avenue of expression is open which the racist governments find impossible to block, except temporarily by acts of repression. There is coming together this might of the workers and the efforts of friends overseas, and spearheaded by the liberation armies, which will prove irresistible.

Are Americans - American churchpeople - prepared for this future?

GENERAL CONVENTION

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa will sponsor an exhibit booth at the 64th General Convention of the Episcopal Church at the Kentucky Fair and Exposition Center in Louisville - 29 September - 11 October, 1973. We hope to meet you there!

GOD BLESS AFRICA

TERRORISM TRIAL: THE PRETORIA SIX

"The police would not believe I was pregnant. They believed it after a doctor saw me and pressed his hands with his full weight on my stomach until I screamed with pain. They were very ugly. They would not believe I was married. They threatened to kill me and my baby unless I confessed to something."

- Marie-Jose Moubarris

The South African regime has again used its catch-all Terrorism Act, for the three-month trial of a multi-national group of 6 black and white men which ended with their conviction on 20 June 1973. Four South Africans - Ranka Theophilus Cholo, 45; Justice Mpanza, 34; Petrus Temba Mthembu, 37; and Sandi Gardener Sejaka, 30, were sentenced to 15 years in prison. A naturalized Australian born of Greek-French parents in Egypt, 34-year-old Alexandre Moubarris, received 12 years. John William Hosey, 23, an Irish citizen, was sentenced to 5 years.

The men had been detained incommunicado by the security police since last July. Moubarris' attorney revealed in court in April how his client, after a few days in prison, had attempted to kill himself by battering his head against the wall of his cell 'and had nearly succeeded'. Hosey's advocate stated in court his client too had been tortured. The South Africans, who were represented only by court-appointed lawyers, did not have the benefit of this kind of legal diligence.

Mrs. Marie-Jose Moubarris, 24 years of age and four months pregnant, was arrested with her husband, held in solitary confinement under interrogation until November and then deported to France, without having been charged. Her release brought for the first time news of the detained Pretoria six. Another aspect of the wide range of South Africa's Bureau of State Security - BOSS - came to light when Mrs. Moubarris told of being confronted in prison with documents and photographs from their London apartment. A forged letter to Alexandre Moubarris' mother caused her to turn over the key to a man obviously a South African police agent. Scotland Yard stated it could not determine by whom the flat was ransacked.

The men - except Hosey - were convicted of conspiring with the African National Congress to incite violent revolution in South Africa, of undergoing military training and agreeing to bring in arms and train others in 'warfare and subversion'. Hosey was sentenced for possession of illegal documents and failing to prove beyond a reasonable doubt he did not intend 'to embarrass the administration of the State'. He only can appeal.

The South African police state engaged in a major publicity effort, building up to a public announcement of an international terrorist plot and an ostentatiously guarded courtroom. Lt. Gen. P.J. (Tiny) Venter, chief of security police - advanced from brigadier since he ran the Johannesburg office when Dean G.A. French-Beytagh was arrested and tried under the Terrorism Act in 1971, praised 'dedicated detectives, black as well as white' - South Africans all against the world.

Marie-Jose Moubarris, living near Paris with her new baby son, Boris, and John Hosey, Sr., a labor union leader in Britain, are pressing a campaign not only for the husband and son but to Free All South African Political Prisoners.

GUARD HER CHILDREN

NAMIBIA

The Namibian people on 1 and 2 August handed the South African usurper in their country its most stunning defeat to date - by boycotting an election.

Only 1300 of 50,000 eligible voters cast their ballots in an election for 21 seats on the Legislative Council of Ovambo, South Africa's showpiece bantustan in the Ovamboland region of Namibia. South African authorities and members of their front Ovambo Independent Party made intense efforts to turn out the vote and failed dismally. Only OIP candidates stood for these seats; the 35 remaining members of LegCo were appointed from among chiefs and headmen supporting South Africa. The Ovambos comprise 45% of Namibia's population of over three-quarters of a million, and the widely-heralded elections were crucial in South Africa's scheme to compartmentalize the nation and to appear to be granting self-government.

The boycott was a striking victory for the South West Africa Peoples' Organization and the Democratic Co-Operative Development Party, which were denied permission to hold meetings. Both strongly advocate independence for Namibia as a unified country. However, defiant rallies principally sponsored by SWAPO's Youth League were well-attended in Ovamboland and elsewhere. A crowd of 1500 assembled at Katutura township outside the capital of Namibia, Windhoek, for a pre-election rally held by the nine-organization National Convention. Two people voted there, barely 50 of all the hundreds of migrant workers outside Ovamboland. Jannie de Wet, South Africa's commissioner general for 'Indigenous Peoples' admitted to a NEW YORK TIMES reporter, "They want Namibia".

The police reacted by detaining 13 people during the week before elections, bringing to 25 the number of SWAPO leaders arrested since 1 May. On 17 August, police attacked a SWAPO Youth League meeting at Katutura, killing one man during gunfire and arresting over 200.

SWAPO guerrilla fighters grow in strength and daring in the Caprivi Strip east of Ovamboland, and in June Theo-Ben Gurirab and Peter Katjivivi, the SWAPO representatives at the UN and in the Americas and in Britain, visited the troops in the field, despite South African guns and helicopters and the frantic efforts by security police to locate the leaders.

The National Convention from its headquarters in Windhoek issued the text of a Constitution which called for the unity of Namibia and for a struggle for 'total and complete independence'.

On 14 August, Ann Lowell, US secretary for deported Bishop Colin Winter and daughter of the rector of St. John's, Locust Valley, New York, the Rev. Canon Howard Lowell, and Mrs. Lowell, was expelled from South Africa and refused entry into Namibia, the latest American so treated by the usurper.

The Organization for African Unity, meeting in Addis Ababa in May, called for termination of the year-and-a-half discussion between the Secretary General and South Africa in the decades-old contention between the UN and the usurper over Namibia. Attention is now focused on the September meeting of the Security Council which must make a decision on this matter.

GUIDE NEW LEADERS

From 1962 to 1970 the USA lavished an herbicide called "Agent Orange" on Indochina, more than 100 million pounds on Vietnam, destroying crops sufficient to feed 600,000 people a year. Moreover, Agent Orange may have brought genetic damage to future generations of the Vietnamese. Prolonged outcry in this country and around the world, and a National Cancer Institute study evidencing abnormal fetuses in mice following administration of herbicides, ended this chemical warfare.

The chief ingredient of Agent Orange is a substance called 2,4,5-T, which in 1970 the US Department of Agriculture forbade to be used along waterways, around homes and recreational areas and on food crops. Last year the Environmental Protection Agency banned the dumping of Agent Orange and other chemicals into the ocean.

In 1970, 2,4,5-T was removed from control of the State Department Office of Munitions Control and relegated to the Department of Commerce as a civilian commodity. That same year there was a drastic rise in sales of US herbicides to South Africa (up to \$2,736,000, double the year before); and to Portugal (a sixfold jump in one year to \$344,000). In 1970, Portugal's aircraft began dropping chemicals on cassava, sweet potatoes and other staple crops of Africans in Angola and Mozambique in an effort to cripple the peoples' support of liberation armies. This chemical warfare has been extensively documented by the Washington Office on Africa and the American Committee on Africa.

Representative Charles B. Rangel (D-NY) has introduced these bills:

H.R. 8573 - "The Herbicide Export Control Act of 1973", to halt all exportation of 2,4,5-T herbicides.

H.R. 8574 - "The Chemical Warfare Prevention Act of 1973", to ban the exportation of all herbicides to Portugal and the Republic of South Africa.

Your letters and telegrams urging passage are needed, particularly to these members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, at -

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

Wright Patman, chairman	(TEX)	Bill Frenzel	(MINN)
John B. Conlan	(ARIZ)	Leonor K. Sullivan	(MO)
Clair W. Burgener	(CALIF)	Joseph G. Minish	(NJ)
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AMERICAN PEOPLE

NO NEUTRAL GROUND, by Joel Carlson. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$8.95

"Our opponent submitted that there was no need for urgent relief. The police would deny that they were indulging in any kind of torture, and even if the handwritten statements of the detainees alleging torture were true, that torture was over and done with and subsequent to the event, the detainees had been brought to court and tried. What may have happened to them in the past could not be used as a basis for asking the court for relief for what might happen to them in the future. He said that he opposed an interim order, even one made without prejudice, as it would only cause the government bad publicity."

This is the perverted world of South Africa's courts in 1970 toward the end of Joel Carlson's 20 years as an attorney in his homeland. The State had suddenly, mid-trial, dropped charges under the Suppression of Communism Act against his 22 clients - including Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela imprisoned for life on Robben Island - and had immediately re-arrested them in court under the Terrorism Act, an exercise personally directed by South Africa's master of terror, security police Lt. Col. Theunis Jacobus Swanepoel. Testimony by state witnesses, handwritten statements by prisoners, evidence from prior trials, had confirmed the use of torture on detainees being held incommunicado by the security police. Carlson and his team of advocates had applied to the Supreme Court in Pretoria for an order that no illegal treatment be used. State's attorney made the above argument; the judge agreed with him. Carlson went on nevertheless to win the second case.

Joel Carlson learned firsthand how functionaries of Native Commissioners Courts sold black pass law offenders to white farmers; he exposed this practice. He defended people picked up in police sweeps which to this day account for South Africa's 1,000 per day arrest norm. NO NEUTRAL GROUND relates one effort after another to battle for human rights in the face of the spreading power of the security police and their corrosion of the legal system. The forensic processes described are gripping. Overall there is the horror.

Carlson tells of his struggle to show - with a second post-mortem - that James Lenkoe did not hang himself while in detention, but by the slender thread of a tiny burn mark on the deceased's toe, that he died under electric shock torture at the hands of Swanepoel and his gang. The judge ruled he committed suicide. And, it seems, James Lenkoe was mistakenly detained.

Carlson is best known as the lawyer for the 37 Namibians tried in 1967/68 under the Terrorism Act. They escaped that law's death penalty; most are on Robben Island. Over and above his legal dedication, Joel Carlson, the agnostic, served as pastor to the prisoners and their families, a role the churches in South Africa made no untoward effort to assume.

Joel Carlson's home was firebombed, his car and office shot up, his family the recipients of continuous phone threats, a bomb concealed in a book fortunately didn't explode. In 1971 he and his family left Johannesburg and came to the USA. He is here to warn and guide us.

NO NEUTRAL GROUND
GIVE HER PEACE
GIVE HER PEACE

OUR BUTCHER ALLY

Atrocities committed by Portuguese forces in Mozambique have been documented by sources which could not be ignored by the Western press and politicians, directing attention to our NATO ally's African wars.

On July 10, Fr. Adrian Hastings, a Roman Catholic priest-teacher at the ecumenical College of the Ascension, Birmingham, in a front-page article in THE TIMES, London, stated that Portuguese troops have been 'carrying out the systematic genocidal massacre' of Africans suspected of helping guerrillas of the Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO.

"The security forces feel free in the knowledge that there are no journalists for hundreds of miles and the victims know no European language. But the Spanish missionaries in the area obtained detailed information and themselves buried many of the victims."

Photographs have appeared in the Western press showing Portuguese soldiers beheading guerrilla fighters. The Portuguese prize photographs of severed heads stuck on poles and send them home on postcards as souvenirs.

FRELIMO, from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, told of massacres in Mozambique going back to 1960, when 500 people were slaughtered because they demonstrated for independence. A former major in the Portuguese Air Force, now a member of the Front for National Liberation, a freedom organization in Portugal itself, said at a press conference hosted by a Labor MP in London, that in 1961 50,000 to 80,000 people were killed in Angola, many by bombs dropped from aircraft supplied Portugal by NATO. Rhodesian military personnel cooperated with the Portuguese in many massacre areas.

Two Spanish priests, who raised the issue of the butcheries with church and state authorities, have been detained in solitary for over 18 months in the capital of Mozambique, Lourenco Marques. (They were arrested in January, 1972 in Rhodesia and handed over to the Portuguese.) Fr. Hastings was given his information by the Burgos Fathers in Spain. A series of massacres, 'for ghastliness each rivaling that of My Lai', took place in the Mucumbura area. Over 400 people were destroyed at Wiriyamu on 16 December 1972:

"Following a bombardment, soldiers who had been transported by helicopter invaded it with ferocity, began ransacking the huts, and the massacre of the people followed immediately. One group of soldiers got together a part of the people in the courtyard to shoot them. The villagers were forced to sit in two groups, the men on one side and the women on the other. By means of a signal, a soldier indicated whom he wished, either man or woman. The indicated person stood up, separating himself from the group. The soldier shot him. Many children at the breast and on the backs of their mothers were shot at the same time as their mothers."

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The soldiers asked a pregnant woman named Zostina the sex of her child. "I don't know," she replied. "You soon will", they said. Immediately they opened her stomach with knives and extracted her entrails. Showing her the fetus, they said: "Look, now you know." Afterwards the woman was burned.

The report refers to the presence of officers of the Directorate-General of Security, DGS, successor to the infamous PIDE, the Portuguese secret police, reliably connected by Interpol investigation with the 1969 assassination of the founder of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, and with last January's murder of Guinea-Bissau leader, Dr. Amilcar Cabral.

The White Fathers, long-time missionaries in Africa, issued a 400-page report in Rome divulging intimate knowledge of atrocities. Many of the priests visited the ravished villages, helped bury the dead and gave succor to the few survivors. Most of the hierarchy in Mozambique would not countenance their reports, but the bishops of Tete and Joao Belo were said to have witnessed the immediate aftermath of the butcheries. Pope Paul VI in Castel Gandolfo denounced 'the atrocious attacks perpetrated by inhuman and organized delinquency'.

The Portuguese government and its military commander in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga, denied the atrocities and said Wiriyamu did not appear on maps. Experts pointed out many hamlets are not recorded. More confirmations poured in, including evidence of a massacre at the village of Chawola near Wiriyamu. A mid-July state visit to Britain by Portugal's Prime Minister Marcello Caetano to cement a 600-year alliance between the two countries was the occasion for demonstrations in London and angry exchanges in Parliament. Foreign Secretary Sir Alex Douglas-Hume called the priests' report questionable because it was based on hearsay. Opposition leader Harold Wilson denounced the December massacre as a 'most outrageous and bestial atrocity'. Caetano promised that his people would conduct an investigation.

Increasingly strong liberation armies, using up-to-date weapons from Russia and China, face 160,000 Portuguese troops provided with armature from NATO allies in the so-called 'overseas provinces' - Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Colin Legum in THE OBSERVER of London writes of Portugal's predicament. Its casualties last year were 1200 to 1500. In Mozambique, FRELIMO's warriors have penetrated with rockets the perimeter of the Cabora Basso dam hydro-electric complex in Tete Province, the region of the massacres. Portugal is the poorest country in Europe. Over 1,500,000 of its 8 million population work abroad; 120,000 emigrate each year; 80,000 young men have fled to avoid military conscription; half its annual budget goes to the African wars. Its hardline elements are for standing with Rhodesia and South Africa to fight against a 'Communist takeover' of Southern Africa. Legum considers 'Portugal stands poised for an historic choice' - commitment to enlarged wars in Africa or abandoning them for membership in the European Economic Community.

A decade and more of struggle has hardened in combat and firmed in political governance the liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique, and in Guinea-Bissau whose people, led by the Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, PAIGC, are on the verge of declaring their independence - having won three-quarters of their country from the Portuguese. Angola and Mozambique will follow suit in the future - but with what more butchery by Portugal, our NATO ally?

SENSITIVITY

"Our attitude to violent, uninformed and prejudiced criticism is this: Whoever stops our work attacks the living church in its struggle for renewal."

- Dale St. John White

South Africa's regime - puritanical and prudish as well as racist-operates on many levels to crush any individual or organization it considers to be a threat. A vast array of laws, many vesting irrevocable powers in the executive and the police, reach across the country and codify, control and punish Africans, Indians and Colored people and those whites who would make contact with them on any basis approaching the egalitarian.

Those elements of the churches, universities and social institutions at variance with 'the South African way of life' receive particular attention. The Schlebusch Commission, 6 Nationalist Party and 4 United Party members of Parliament, was set up to scrutinize such bodies as the National Union of South African Students, the University Christian Movement, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. Its report on NUSAS saw the banning of student leaders. UCM was harassed out of existence. Some officers of the Race Relations Institute and the Christian Institute have refused to testify. The Schlebusch Commission moved onto the nation's most prestigious religious association, the South African Council of Churches, by extending its inquiry into the workings of the Council's Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre.

Wilgespruit was founded in 1948, the year the Nationalist Party came to power, by 6 ex-chaplains who had taken part in the struggle against Nazi Germany. The Centre, 13 miles from Johannesburg, has grown into a vibrant place promoting works camps, interdenominational conferences, leadership and sensitivity training for South Africa's complex, rapidly industrializing society bearing the special onus of racism, and above all as a place where people of all kinds can meet face to face, person to person.

The Schlebusch Commission's politicians, schooled by years of approving repressive legislation and shackled with a fear and security mentality, gave an interim report in April. They pontificated that the Centre and its activities were pseudo-christian; that it was 'an institution working towards radical fields and acts under a cloak of being connected with the Church in a Christian ecumenical way'; that both Christians and non-Christians alike attended; that a set line of political thought was pursued.

Eminently suspect was Sensitivity Training, the T-group, an exercise in group dynamics imported into South Africa by Anglican churchmen from the USA 10 years ago, which caught hold and spread, the multi-racial and interdenominational gatherings of which early on drew the attention of the authorities. THE JOHANNESBURG STAR reports that security police Lt.Gen. P.J.Venter said the T-groups 'were being used to undermine the social and political order by a "sort of terrorism of the brain" and "Such training reduced race inhibitions and led to a questioning of established norms, authority and official race divisions"'. .

The threat of banning under the Suppression of Communism Act hangs over Wilgespruit's director, Anglican priest Dale St. John White, and his wife, Laetitia, both South Africans. The Council of Churches set up its own committee of inquiry; there is disagreement over the way Wilgespruit is run. The regime is skilled in ways of applying pressure to induce others to do its own work.

SECRET BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Leaked confidential documents disclose that a United States bank is the secret assembler of \$210 million in direct loans to the South African government and its agencies since late 1970. It was in November 1969 that a three-year campaign by religious, university and anti-apartheid groups in the USA forced the dissolution of a \$40 million revolving credit to the South African government by 10 of this country's most prestigious banks.

The Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches received internal documents of the European-American Banking Corporation, a New York - chartered banking institution jointly owned by 6 of the largest banks in Europe. EABC's officers admitted the validity of the documents when confronted by the Rev. Donald Morton, a South African in exile and a consultant to the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, Professor Sean Gervasi, economic research officer at Oxford University and Judge William H. Booth, the president of the American Committee on Africa and member of the boards of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa. EABC has loans and deposits of almost \$1.1 billion, one of the top 70 US banks.

One loan of \$20 million went to the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), wholly state-owned and accounting for three-quarters of the country's steel production. THE FINANCIAL MAIL of Johannesburg reported in May that EABC has proposed another loan - of half a billion dollars - to ISCOR for construction of a rail line to the Indian Ocean.

Eleven US banks took part in two loans totaling \$70 million, most of them operating through off-shore subsidiaries. Three of the loans, \$50 million each, were handled through EABC's branch in Nassau, capital of newly-independent The Bahamas, which has an international banking industry generating \$12 million in salaries and fees, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Rev. Dr. W. Sterling Cary, president of the National Council of Churches, has sent a message to Bahamian Prime Minister Lynden O. Pindling pointing out that the banks use the new black nation as a transmittal base for funds that help the apartheid regime in power and free from international economic pressures.

These are the participating American banks. Call on them to withdraw from the loans:

CENTRAL NATIONAL BANK
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, ILL 60603

CITY NATIONAL BANK OF DETROIT
Penobscot Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

FIRST ISRAEL BANK & TRUST COMPANY
579 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF LOUISVILLE
216 South 5th Street
Louisville, KY 40202

MARYLAND NATIONAL BANK
10 Light Street
Baltimore, MD 21203

MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK & TRUST COMPANY
11 South Meridian Street
Indianapolis, Ind. 46204

REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK OF DALLAS
Pacific & Bryan Streets
Dallas, Texas 75201

UNITED VIRGINIA BANKSHARES, INC.
900 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

WACHOVIA BANK & TRUST COMPANY, INC.
3rd and Main Streets
Winston-Salem, N.C. 27101

WELLS FARGO BANK, N.A.
464 California Street
San Francisco, California 94120

EUROPEAN-AMERICAN BANKING CORPORATION
10 Hanover Square, New York, 10005

THE STATE DEPARTMENT ON
RHODESIAN CHROME

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 18, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the ground under arguments defending the Rhodesian chrome amendment has been crumbling steadily ever since Congress passed the amendment in 1971. Convincing evidence has shown that the amendment makes no sense from the standpoint of national security and is actually damaging to the American economy.

Now we have a statement in which the Department of State effectively refutes five frequently heard arguments in favor of the amendment.

In a recent letter to our colleague from Michigan (Mr. VANDER JAGT) the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs says of the Rhodesian chrome amendment:

In my four years as Assistant Secretary the exemption of Rhodesian sanctions has been the most serious blow to the credibility of our African policy.

With the evidence against the amendment mounting with the passage of time, its proponents have little left now but an irrelevant contention that we should uphold this violation of international law so as to show the world that the U.S. Congress is a power superior to the United Nations Security Council. Surely Members of Congress do not propose to base our laws on such irrational ground. The United States, like any other country, regularly binds itself to international obligations for its own benefit and for the benefit of the world at large. Surely the Congress does not want to make a practice of going back on the word of two Presidents just to prove that it is tough. It is time for us to recommit ourselves to international social justice, law, and order by again adhering to the U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia that we freely accepted for 4 years.

With the permission of Mr. VANDER JAGT, I include the letter to him from Assistant Secretary of State David D. Newsom in the RECORD at this point:

JUNE 12, 1973.

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR GUY: Following our conversation the other evening at the British Embassy, I felt that some further comments on the Rhodesian chrome issue might be helpful to you. The standard arguments in favor of an exemption from the sanctions for strategic minerals and my comments on them are as follows:

1. We need the minerals for national defense purposes. If this argument had validity at any time it would seem to be negated by the fact that we are currently requesting the Congress to release chrome from our stockpile. The other major mineral imported from Rhodesia, nickel, is being reduced to zero in the stockpile. It is also pertinent to point out that of our total chrome imports only 10% goes for direct defense purposes.

2. Rhodesian sanctions have increased our dependence on the Soviet Union. We purchased approximately 30% of our metallurgical grade chrome from the Soviet Union before sanctions because Soviet chrome ore is the richest in the world. The exemptions under Rhodesian sanctions did not decrease the dependence on Soviet chrome, the imports of which have even increased. Chrome is also available from South Africa, Turkey and Iran.

3. The Soviet Union raised the price of chrome because of Rhodesian sanctions. The price of chrome actually went up because of a general rise in the price of minerals worldwide related only marginally to Rhodesian sanctions. Iran was the first actually to increase its price. We have always paid something of a premium for Soviet ore because it is of the highest grade.

4. Our exemptions represent only a small portion of Rhodesian trade since others are not obeying the sanctions. Imports of strategic minerals from Rhodesia in 1972 amounted to approximately \$13 million, in 1973 so far more than \$8 million, representing nearly 5% of Rhodesia's trade. While the percentage is small, the psychological impact is great and the foreign exchange helps Rhodesia in the area where sanctions have hurt the most. In our relations with the Africans, unfortunately it is the fact that we are legally breaking sanctions which is highlighted. The Africans have been slow to put the spotlight on other sanctions violations although they are now moving to do this more effectively.

5. Sanctions are not effective. It is true that sanctions are not totally effective, but they are the one element pushing the Rhodesians to negotiate and to make a settlement. Moderate Africans within Rhodesia urge that sanctions be continued even though they may themselves be hurt by them.

In my four years as Assistant Secretary the exemption on Rhodesian sanctions has been the most serious blow to the credibility of our African policy. While you and I in our travels may not encounter strong expressions on this subject, our Ambassadors in certain key countries emphasize the importance of this issue in the basic attitudes of these countries toward us. The fact that we have in African eyes chosen to go counter to a mandatory Security Council resolution and have for our own purposes weakened sanctions suggests to the Africans that we do not attach importance to the institutions and issue of significance to them. The impact is greatest in countries where we have very specific interests, such as Nigeria and Kenya, and is greatest among the youth who are the coming generation in Africa.

I hope the foregoing will be helpful to you as you contemplate the issue now once more put before the Congress.

Sincerely,

DAVID D. NEWSOM,
Assistant Secretary for African Affairs.

REPEAL
the BYRD
AMENDMENT

Two bills have been introduced in Congress -

H.R. 8005 - sponsored by Congressmen Donald Fraser, Charles Diggs, 93 others.

S. 1868 - sponsored by Senator Hubert Humphrey and 24 co-sponsors.

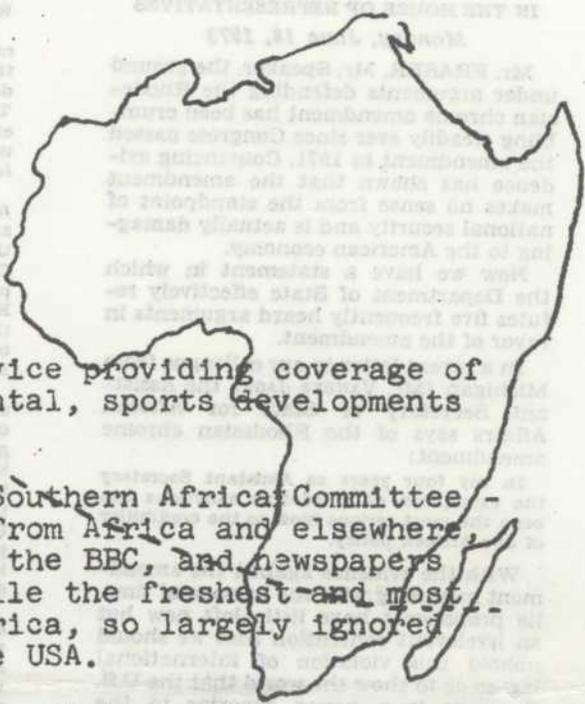
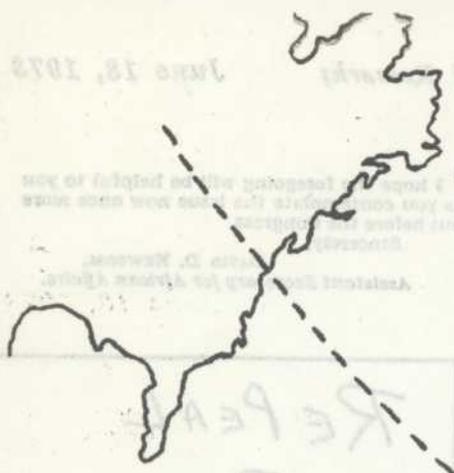
- which are intended to repeal the so-called Byrd Amendment, and halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome, and so restore the United States to a position of abiding by its treaty obligations to the United Nations.

LET YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN KNOW HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT PASSAGE OF THIS LEGISLATION.

For further information:

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA
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