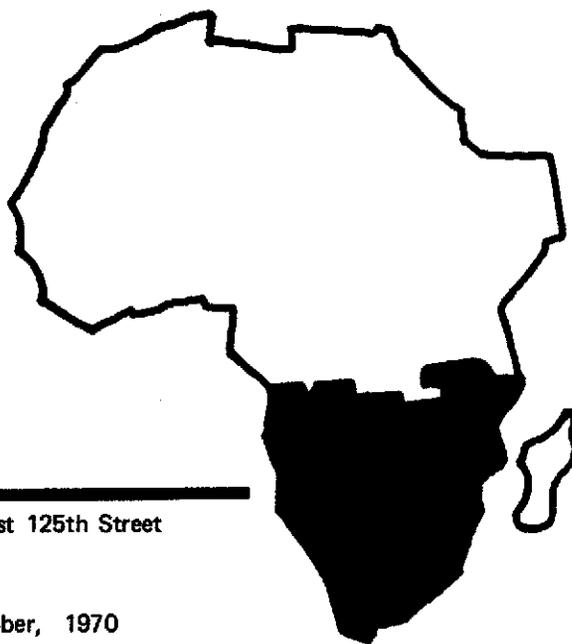


# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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## EDITORIAL

In the Transvaal Supreme Court, earlier this month, the judge, Mr. Viljoen, acquitted nineteen of the twenty accused before him. These nineteen had appeared before the court previously, after a long imprisonment. The charges had been dismissed and they were released to be immediately rearrested and held under the Terrorism Act.

This time in court the defense pleaded that the charges were substantially the same as the previous charges and as it was unjust to be tried twice on the same charge, the defendants should be released. The judge accepted the plea.

Benjamin Ramotse was the twentieth accused. On his behalf the defense argued that he had been kidnapped by the Rhodesian police, then handed over to the South Africans. As international law had been violated, the court had no jurisdiction over him. The judge rejected the argument.

In an affidavit, Mr. Ramotse says that on June 1st, 1968, he and a friend were travelling by car from Francistown, Botswana to Livingstone in Zambia. As they sought help after their car stalled, they were captured by Rhodesian soldiers who handcuffed and beat them. In a Rhodesian gaol he was stripped, beaten, given electric shocks and chained to the floor. South Africans took him to Pretoria where he met the infamous interrogator, Major Swanepoel. After Swanepoel had acquired some information he spent two years in solitary confinement.

Although born in Kimberley, South Africa, Ramotse claims he has a Zambian passport in the name of Joseph Mate, No. L/964/68, file 20. Last week the Zambian High Commission in London was not making any effort on his behalf. The Botswana High Commission was still trying to establish if he had been captured in Botswana 27 months before. The British who are legally responsible for Rhodesia plead that as they have no power to regulate the activities of the Rhodesian Security forces, they can do nothing.

As Ramotse faces a death penalty, the relevant governments wash their hands. Nobody seems to care.

## FEATURE ARTICLE

### THE HUDSON INSTITUTE AND ITS "FLYING THINK TANK" — AN AFRICAN ADVENTURE

Angola, August 27—September 5, 1969: A study team assembled by the Hudson Institute made a flying visit to Angola, criss-crossing the country by light twin-engine aircraft. They were doing an intensive survey of Angolan development prospects, at the request of the *Companhia Uniao Fabril*, and were to present their conclusions at a conference in Estoril, Portugal in October. The conclusions reached, as reported in Hudson Institute report HI-1278-RR/1, are a bizarre mixture of political reaction, technocratic zeal, and ignorance.

Anyone familiar with the background of the Hudson Institute is unlikely to be surprised at that. Hudson is the brainchild of Herman Kahn, who in 1961 left the Rand Corporation to establish his own "think tank." Kahn's reputation is built on his analyses of thermonuclear warfare, its strategy and possible results. A high proportion of Hudson's work has been on grants from the Office of Civil Defense, doing such studies as "Emergency Mobilization for Post-Attack Reorganization." In an audit of this work, the Office of Civil Defense judged most of it valueless, a rehash, and superficial. It was discovered, moreover, that virtually no financial records had been kept (see H. L. Nieburg, "The Profit and Loss of Herman Kahn," pp. 629-632, *Nation*, May 13, 1968); but never mind that. The Hudson Board of Trustees is composed of respectable, influential men; Hudson's expertise is therefore well-certified. Of the twelve trustees, nine are members of the influential Council on Foreign Relations. Included are professors from Harvard (Roger Fisher), Columbia (David Truman), and MIT (Max Millikan); businessmen such as Robert C. Sprague (Sprague Electric Co.), Harvey Picker (Picker X-Ray Corp.), and Donald P. Ling (Military Research Division, Bell Telephone). Burke Marshall (formerly with Dean Acheson's law firm, then with the Justice Department, now with IBM) is on the Board, as is Oscar S. Ruebhausen, of the Rockefeller-tied law firm Debevoise, Plimpton, Lyons and Gates. John R. Menke of the United Nuclear Corporation

is Chairman of the Board. And staff members Herman Kahn and Max Singer complete the list. How could the Defense Department refuse money to such a distinguished non-profit group?

The horizons of the Hudson Institute, however, extend beyond technical studies of civil defense and nuclear strategy. In 1968 and 1969 they produced two widely distributed anthologies: *Can We Win in Vietnam?* and *Why ABM?* Kahn has been a leader of the futurologists engaged in speculation about *The Year 2000* (title of a book edited by Kahn). Even poverty and development are now included among the institute's research topics.

The most famous "development" project of the Hudson Institute is the proposal for the creation of a Great Lakes system in Latin America, flooding a substantial part of the Amazon Valley. In Brazil the project has become a *cause celebre*, with the debate reacting strongly against this brainchild of North American technocratic thinking. Roberto Campos, the Hudson Institute's contact in the Brazilian government, former Ambassador to Washington, and Minister of Economic Planning for some time, is jokingly known in Brazil as "Bob Fields" (the English translation of his name) for his attachment to North American ways. The project, as yet unacceptable to Brazil, is seen by Hudson's staff in terms of its schema of three types of development areas in Latin America: (a) urban and (b) rural, in which projects are difficult to implement because of political opposition among the people, and (c) largely uninhabited, where large projects can be carried out with little opposition. The idea is that projects in (c) areas will eventually have major impact on the other areas as well.

Although a grant from the Sprague Electric Company had previously financed a study of the economic viability of Botswana, Hudson's first major venture in Africa was sponsored by the Portuguese company "Companhia Uniao Fabril" (CUF). CUF is Portugal's largest company, the only one listed by *Fortune* magazine among the 200 largest non-U.S. companies. It occupies a prominent position in the economy of Portugal and its colonies; in Angola and Mozambique the CUF-controlled Banco Totta-Alfianca has joined with Standard Bank of South Africa in joint operations; Chase Manhattan Bank owns a substantial share of Standard Bank.

The team that Hudson sent included four staff from the institute itself, headed by Robert Panero (Director of Economic Dev-

elopment Studies). He had previously worked on the Great Lakes project, and on the Choco project in Colombia. Nine consultants also went along, including James McCampbell (Bechtel Corporation), William McGuigan (formerly of the Stanford Research Institute), and Edmund Stillman, professor at Johns Hopkins and a writer on foreign affairs. There were four Portuguese participants, including Jose Luis Tecedeiro, General Manager of Banco Totta-Standard.

The team reported that they were "unable to find a war." They also noted that the Angolan black has "a lack of any real animosity toward the white," and that there was no "sense of frustration and hate." One of the team, a Cuban refugee, observed that "in the hotel in Lobito the rooms were quite pleasant. All the help was black and terribly polite." He went on to say that "none of the black faces gave me any feeling of insecurity or hostility or doubt and I was not afraid."

Although his team hadn't noticed the war, Herman Kahn, at the conference in Estoril following the tour, had a suggestion for using computers to help deal with "insurgency":

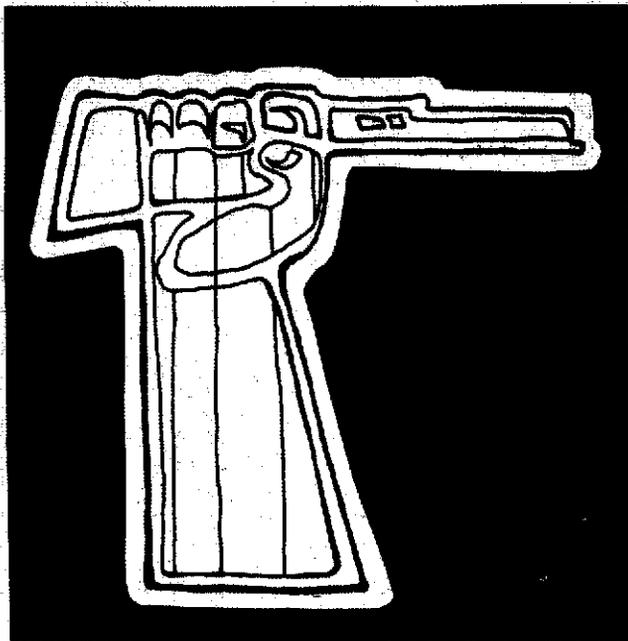
"This proposal has been turned down by the United States because it looks too authoritarian. . . . It could be done in Portugal, and a paternalistic government might well want to keep interested in every single individual. This can be put in for health purposes, for education purposes, for advancement purposes. . . . It is a tremendous research tool. . . . It is a tool which can be abused. But again, thinking of Angolan insurgency, it probably is the best police instrument known to mankind, which is both its plus and its minus. The plus is that it means one can keep down violence without being nasty and hard. The minus is that if one wants to sit rather than change (as in the book 1984) it gives one a chance for that."

But assuming that problem could be dealt with, the Hudson team laid out three scenarios for Portugal's development of Angola: business as usual, "cut and run" development, or "go for broke" rapid large-scale development. Business as usual means simply staying with present development plans. The second alternative means to "concentrate on industries which by their nature can be removed in case of trouble or cannot be operated

by unskilled native labor." As a specific suggestion, the team mentions "a large scale fishing industry with floating processing plants and facilities which in case of trouble could 'sail away'." The final alternative, most favored by Hudson, assumes the Portuguese will maintain control with no trouble, and that "premature withdrawal is irresponsible as it is a way of turning people over to control by small cliques." This option involves massive development projects, like damming the Congo River (a project they say, that "could be the first real 'bridge' between a black African state and a European province"). Other possibilities are large-scale oil refining, or cattle ranching. All would involve substantial inputs of external capital.

The team also had some suggestions for social development. One of the most intriguing dealt with the problem of breaking down rural isolation. They suggest that "exposure can show many currently isolated children just what Angola is. For example, by bringing a plane into a rural zone, a number of children could be taken to Luanda for a day. This exposure would have interesting results. We would guess these people are naturally proud of themselves and where they live. If exposed to Angola, they will also be proud of it and, as such, much less liable to subversions and distortions."

One may question how much Hudson's fantastic ideas will really contribute to Portugal's counter-insurgency and development programs. But what cannot be questioned is that they reinforce the American commitment to continuing Portuguese control in Angola. The Hudson Institute, and Herman Kahn, are respected by the policy-making and intellectual communities. Apart from the trustees, many other members of the Institute are in important positions dealing with American policy—Henry Kissinger and Daniel Moynihan, to mention two of the most prominent. Some other members one might expect to repudiate such a tie to Portugal: Ralph Ellison, the black novelist; Patricia Harris, of Howard University; Amitai Etzioni, a "liberal" sociologist. None have spoken out publicly against this project. Support for Portugal, it seems, is respectable and acceptable to conservative and liberal alike.



## LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

### A.N.C. UNDERGROUND CARRIES ON— BOMB LEAFLETS EXPLODE AGAIN

More than a dozen times on August 13 and 14, 1970 firecracker bombs which dispersed ANC pamphlets in African languages and English exploded in four major South African cities. As was the case in similar explosions on November 14, 1969, the leaflets were placed in crowded urban sections of Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. (In November, the bombing occurred in East London also). Security Police Chief Venter branded the action as "nothing more than an attempt by the A.N.C. to get cheap publicity," while Ministers of Police and Justice warned the public, particularly the newspapers which had carried stories about the leaflet explosions and even reprinted some of the ANC leaflets, that there would be a thorough investigation and that the legal implications for the media would be carefully checked. The Minister of Justice also warned that printing the ANC propaganda might come under the Suppression of Communism and Unlawful Organization Acts. It is interesting to note that

two African papers, *Die Transvaaler* and *Die Burger*, printed part of the ANC leaflets. Minister of Police Muller also assured the public that the bombings did not coincide with other "acts of subversion," and that this time the Police had clues as to the perpetrators of the "crime."

The leaflet read at the top: "THE ANC SAYS TO VORSTER AND HIS GANG. . . .

Your days are coming to an end . . . we will take back our country." The difference in the receptivity to the leaflets can be illustrated by two press quotes: Security Police Chief Venter said, "When the so-called bombs exploded and scattered the pamphlets, people who passed by largely ignored them . . ." (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 15, 1970). Mr. Samuel Nkosi, a night-watchman near the Faraday Station in Johannesburg said, "A lot of people picked them up and took them home." (*Rand Daily Mail*, Aug. 14, 1970) Who are we to believe?

(Sources: Johannesburg Star, 8/14/70; Sunday Express, 8/14/70, etc.)

#### AND BOMBINGS IN THE U.S.A.

At the Portuguese Embassy and the Rhodesian Information Office in Washington, D.C. there were explosions late in the evening of August 29. Following the occurrence, AP was directed by telephone to a mailbox where the following message was found:

"We are an African people and we are at war with all nationalistic institutions, organizations and governments, etc. that conduct and lend support to exploitation and oppression of African people around the world. Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe shall and will be freed. The Revolutionary Action Party."

An understatement by Kenneth Towsey of the Pro-Smith Rhodesian office was:

"One could only suppose from the fact that our office and the Portuguese Embassy received attention at approximately the same time that there was some kind of political motivation from people with ideological positions in regard to Southern Africa."

The story went unreported in the New York area press. (*Washington Post*, 9/2/70)

#### SOUTH AFRICA SENDING REINFORCEMENTS INTO NAMIBIA

South Africa is sending army and police reinforcements to northern South West Africa to combat increased guerrilla activity there, a

spokesman for the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) said June 27.

South African authorities were also offering rewards for information leading to the capture of some guerrilla leaders, he added. He instanced an advertisement in the June 8 edition of the *Windhoek Adviser*, which offered a 600 reward for the capture of Patrick Iyambo, described as a key man in the guerrilla war.

The spokesman said posters and bills were appearing all over the country offering similar awards for information.

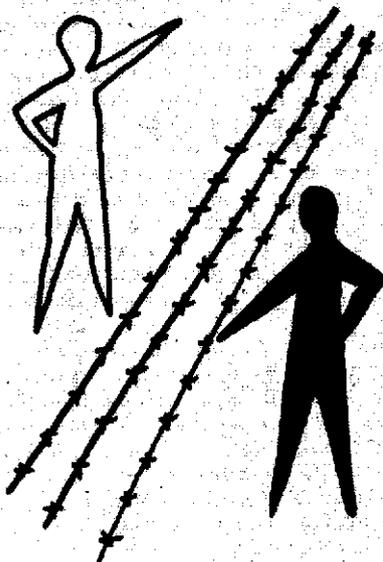
#### GUERRILLA

He added that recently South Africa seemed to have dropped the pretense that nothing was happening. The authorities admitted that six men were lost in guerrilla operations in South West Africa during January and February this year.

The spokesman also claimed that White settlers in the north of the country were becoming anxious, and said that General J. P. Gous had recently stated publicly that South African manpower was becoming strained because of operations in South West Africa.

"The silent war is becoming more noisy," said the spokesman.

(*Daily Nation*, June 27, 1970)



#### THE TRIAL OF THE 22 (See July-August SANB for background)

The 22 are now twenty and they appeared in court on August 4 under the Terrorism Act. The definition of Terrorism is so wide under this act that, the *London Guardian* stated, without any great stretch of the imagination the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, could be charged

under it. The *Guardian* states, "There are few incitements to terrorism more powerful than the Terrorism Act itself. . . . It is little wonder that many people reach the conclusion that constitutional change is impossible." (Aug. 4, 1970)

The far-reaching power of this act came up at the trial. The Terrorism Act precludes application for bail. Mr. Bizos, Defense attorney, applied for a postponement until Aug. 24. He argued that he was aware that the judge's traditional powers had been taken away by the Terrorism Act, but he intended to put certain circumstances before the court. He pointed out that a husband and wife who have 4 children were among the accused. The judge, Mr. Justice Viljoen, said that the Attorney General could be approached if there was any hardship. He said that he might be sympathetic, but the matter was out of his hands. However, the postponement was granted. (*Star*, Aug. 8, 1970)

A 59-page indictment was filed against the accused. They were charged with being members of the banned African National Congress, and/or the South African Communist Party. They are charged with conspiring to overthrow the government, undergoing training in guerrilla warfare, distributing pamphlets designed to incite a violent uprising, and committing or encouraging persons to commit acts of sabotage. They were also accused of encouraging others to murder persons who testified against the ANC or the Communist Party or who supplied information to the police. The prosecution said the background to charges was that some of the defendants conspired in 1961 to "prepare to commit acts of violence to bring about the overthrow of the state." According to the indictment, this plan was put into effect in that year and "is still in force." (*New York Times*, Aug. 4, 1970).

Since writing, 19 of the 20 were again acquitted. The 20th, Benjamin Ramotse, is to be charged separately. See Editorial.

The Minister of Police, Mr. Muller, said in the House of Assembly that he was not prepared to give particulars on the number of people held in terms of the Terrorism Act "because such information would be of value to those organizations and persons who strive to promote the infiltration of terrorists." (*Star*, 8/15/70)

#### THE BANNED, THE LISTED, AND THE BANISHED

The number of banned people in South Africa has decreased from 354 in June, 1969 to 271 at present. A significant number of banning orders expired and have not been renewed causing the decline, but an additional 99 persons have been banned in the past year alone.

There are 974 people subject to some form of punishment without trial in terms of the security legislation, apart from those detained under the 180-day law and the Terrorism Act. These 974 are banned, listed or banished. The worse sufferers, according to the *Rand Daily Mail*, are the 35 Africans banished to remote parts of the country. Last year it was revealed that two had been under banishment for 18 years and one for 15 years. (8/3/70)

#### HIGHEST DAILY PRISON POPULATION

South Africa's daily prison population is the highest pro-rata in the western world—England for example has a total population of more than 50 million people and an average prison population of 25,000. South Africa has a population of less than 20 million and a daily prison population of 88,000. There has been an increase of 62,000 over the past ten years.

The high figures result from the fact that so many Africans are jailed because of the pass laws. A huge number of Africans serve sentences of less than one month (nearly 250,000 in one year alone) and many serve up to four months (nearly 150,000). (Star, 8/8/70)

The reality of these figures was made more clear by the national chairman of the Black Sash, Mrs. Roerta Johnson. She pointed out that 4,700 breast-fed children had entered prison with their mothers, and that 187 babies were born in jail in the year 1968-69. She emphasized that if it were whites and not blacks involved there would be a national outrage, but since it was a matter that concerned Africans, the whites ignored the situation.

An aggravating factor was that if an African was jailed for longer than 3 weeks his reference book was often lost by negligent prison staff. When released he had to spend an enormous amount of energy and effort to get the document replaced. Africans jailed for 6 months or longer lost their residential rights in the area where they had formerly been living. "They just have to pack their bags and get out," Mrs. Johnson said. (Star, 8/15/70)

## THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

#### VORSTER RECEIVED IN VISIT TO LISBON

According to *Noticias de Portugal* (June 13, 1970), the visit of the South African Prime Minister to Lisbon was useful in strengthening the friendly ties between Portugal and South Africa. In his speech of welcome, Prime Minister Caetano recalled the occasion, twenty-five years previously, when he had received Marshall Smuts of



South Africa in Lourenco Marques. Caetano was then Minister of Colonies. Portugal was always ready to cooperate for common interests, the interests of Africa, of civilization and of world peace, Caetano continued. The most recent example of such a spirit of cooperation is Cabora Bassa. Vorster, in reply, spoke of the common problem of "terrorism and subversion in Angola and Mozambique, inspired by communists," and of the threat of the Russian Navy in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. He spoke of the useful cooperation initiated in the projects of Cabora Bassa and Cunene.

In a press conference the following day Vorster denied allegations that there were any problems in the construction of Cabora Bassa due to the withdrawal of Swedish and other foreign firms. ASEA, of Sweden, and English Electric, decided not to participate in the consortium. The position of Italy's Societa Anonima Elettificazione (SAE), and its South African subsidiary Powerlines, is not completely clear. It appears that export credits have been withdrawn, but that Powerlines remains in the consortium. Italy's trade union organization CGIL has requested the Italian government to order SAE's withdrawal from the consortium.

#### PORTUGUESE DEPUTIES LOST IN GUINEA

According to a dispatch from Lisbon dated July 26, a Portuguese Air Force helicopter carrying six persons, including four deputies

of the Portuguese National Assembly was lost over "guerrilla-infested" territory in "Portuguese" Guinea. The announcement stated that the helicopter was caught in a tropical gale between the town of Teixeira Pinto and Bissau, the capital of Guinea.

#### DEATHS OF SALAZAR, GALVAO

June and July saw the death of two prominent Portuguese, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, dictator for forty years, incapacitated since 1968, and Henrique Galvao, who drew world attention to conditions in Portugal and its colonies by his quixotic capture of a Portuguese luxury liner in 1961. Galvao had since his exploit been in exile in Brazil. He was opposed to Salazarist colonial policies, but refused to support the African liberation movements.

Salazar's death marked no political change, as he had actually been replaced by Caetano two years ago; but it did prompt renewed speculation about possible "liberalization" in Portugal. The *Washington Post* headlined its article "Salazar's Death Frees Caetano." The *Capital Times* (Madison, Wis.) editorialized that "With Salazar's passing it may be anticipated that Premier Caetano's government will begin to make strides toward alleviating the condition of his people at home and their colonies abroad. Most accounts portrayed Salazar as an anachronism, but they also recalled Dean Acheson's portrayal of him as "the nearest approach in our time to Plato's philosopher-king."

Salazar was buried near his birthplace, with special representatives of Portugal's close allies in attendance. Countries represented included Brazil, South Africa, France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, and the United States (represented by Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans).

Meanwhile, scattered evidence of discontent among students, liberal Churchmen, and other opposition elements surfaced. In June the Rev. Abilio Tavares Cardoso was arrested for circulating documents criticizing the policies of the government in Africa. Caetano, in a speech at the military camp of Santa Margarida, warned the nation "to be alert and vigilant against subversion in metropolitan Portugal, which could compromise security overseas." Respectable opposition leader Mario Soares, who while outside of Portugal had criticized the colonial policies and called for negotiations with African nationalists, was given eight hours to leave the country, when he returned for his father's funeral. Even the *New York Times*, which has consistently pushed Caetano's liberal image, was moved to protest, commenting that "it is dismaying that he has retrogressed from that hopeful start to the point where he cannot tolerate inside Portugal the honest dissent of men like Mario Soares."

#### ARMED STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Portugal has recently claimed new successes in its attempt to rid its African colonies of "subversion." In Mozambique the new military commander General Kaulza de Arriaga, has been pushing a new forward

strategy, designed to take over areas controlled by FRELIMO guerrillas. In a marked change of information policy, the military action is being played up in the Portuguese press in Mozambique. General de Arriaga claims that during June and July 25 guerrilla bases were destroyed and 40 tons of war material captured. A *New York Times* article (July 26, 1970) focusing on the new offensive reports the General's optimism, but goes on to observe that "the new Portuguese offensive can change the nature of the war in Mozambique but is not likely to have a decisive influence on the course of events, in the view of independent military observers. These sources believe that the Portuguese have misjudged the strength of FRELIMO, overestimated the repercussions of the murder of its leader, Eduardo Mondlane, in February, 1969, and underestimated the force of his successor, Samora Machel." In a "psychological" operation, Portuguese aircraft dropped a million pamphlets in northern Mozambique. But they suffered a psychological shock themselves when the Pope met in June with leaders from the liberation movements. *Noticias*, of Lourenco Marques, reported "a wave of amazement and pain across Portuguese territory after the lamentable attitude of the Vatican." Caetano has since had a reconciliation with the Vatican, but the impact of the meeting is still significant.

The FRELIMO Central Committee meeting of May 9-14, 1970, consolidated the struggle, electing Samora Machel as President (Acting until the full FRELIMO Congress), and Marcelino dos Santos as Vice-

President. Military operations continue in Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete, while the expansion of services such as education have expanded substantially (see "Nation Building in Mozambique," *Sechaba*, August, 1970).

In Guinea a, Portugal has succeeded in persuading Senegal to place limits on PAIGC operations, but armed struggle continues within Guinea unabated. A Portuguese communique of July 16 admitted several attacks in the previous week by PAIGC forces. In one of the attacks, the guerrillas killed 15 and wounded 41.

In Angola, Portuguese claims emphasized "growing demoralization" among the guerrillas. Portuguese use of defoliants and herbicides, reported in a recent MPLA communique, destroyed cassava and sweet potato crops in guerrilla-controlled areas. But Basil Davidson, just back from a trip in eastern Angola with MPLA, reports (in the *Sunday Times*, Aug. 16, 1970) advance rather than demoralization. Travelling in Moxico district, he found the guerrillas cheerful, with good discipline and fighting morale. One hundred fifty miles inside Angola, they reached Muie, a small Portuguese outpost in southern Moxico. Davidson reports that guerrilla control in the east is substantial, and that the push west is continuing. Davidson met supply columns on their six to eight weeks march from the Zambian border to Bie, near the center of Angola, and others on their way back. The expectation is still for a long war, but, Agostinho Neto told Davidson, "we are defeating the Portuguese. And the Portuguese know it."

#### ATTACKED FOR TELLING THE TRUTH

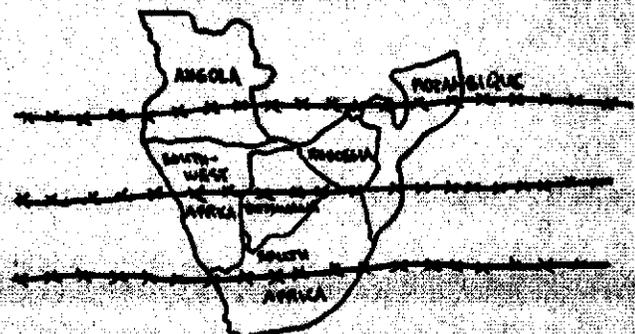
The Minister of Water Affairs, Mr. Botha, attacked the leader of the opposition, Sir de Villiers, for introducing "a new element into the argument (on economic development) that is unfair and dangerous." Botha said for the first time, as far as he knew, the United Party had argued that only 13% of the country's land was being given to 4/5 of the population. "He knows the only people it can help are the agitators against this country," Mr. Botha said. (*Johannesburg Star*, 7/25/70)

#### QUOTE OF THE DAY:

From an advertisement in *Die Afrikaans* of July 24, extolling the virtues of a spot called Banana Beach: "A lovely holiday of fishing, swimming and pleasant talk. (No servants and dogs are allowed.)"

#### CANADIAN POLICY/SOUTHERN AFRICA

For those interested in Canadian policy toward Southern Africa, an excellent booklet has been prepared by a new Canadian group called the Committee for a Just Canadian Policy Towards Africa, 571 Jarvis St., Toronto 5, Ontario. The booklet is entitled "The Black Paper—An Alternative Policy for Canada Towards Southern Africa." It is available at 70¢ a copy or 50¢ for bulk rates. It is both a lengthy and incisive critique of the present Canadian position.



## HOW VORSTER'S JAILERS

### "BROKE" ME

*John Shlapobersky, a 21-year-old student from Swaziland, was one of several hundred people arrested between May and July 1969. He was never brought to trial. Shlapobersky is now studying at Sussex University, and has married the girl friend mentioned in the story. He describes here what happened to him in a South African jail.*

On the morning of Friday 13 June last year I was attending a lecture at Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg. An administrative officer called me out of the lecture, claiming that someone was waiting to see me urgently. He knew it was the police, but even after my arrest he told nobody what had happened. The police took me to my house, searched it thoroughly, and then took me to Pretoria. They assured me that my family would be notified, but made no attempt to do so. Late that night when my girl-friend could not locate me, she contacted my mother, who was on a visit to Johannesburg from Swaziland, where we live. They searched Johannesburg fruitlessly through the night—and even inquired at the mortuary. Only in the early hours of the morning, when the police were sure my disappearance would be publicised, did they concede that I had been arrested under the Terrorist Act. (Many of the Africans similarly arrested just disappeared, and to this day their relatives don't know whether they are in detention or not.)

I was taken to the notorious Compol building, headquarters of the security police in Pretoria: I was led through long passages from room to room, each one smaller than the next. As each door closed behind me, my panic grew. I felt that I would never emerge again. My worst fears were confirmed as I walked into a tiny back room in which Major Swanepoel was waiting.

He is incredibly ugly, a short stocky man with a bull-neck and a bloated, florid face. He has tiny inflamed eyes, and heavy calloused hands that fidget all the time. The detectives who arrested me spoke to him deferentially in Afrikaans. He turned and threw a barrage of questions at me, also in Afrikaans. When I told him I did not understand Afrikaans, he cursed me in English and ushered me into an even smaller room. A crowd of other detectives followed and for about half an hour I stood facing them; with my back to the wall as they shouted, threatened and taunted me.

They made sordid jokes about my personal life and Jewish nose and frightening threats about how much they would enjoy "working me over." Although they man-handled me—pulled my hair, my beard, threw me against the wall—they were trying to intimidate rather than hurt me.

One of them produced a brick, held it over my feet, then put it on the ground softly beside me and told me to stand on it. I wanted to laugh, but he was quite serious, so I stood on it. I would remain there until I talked, they said, for the whole weekend if necessary. "Wild threats," I thought, "no one can stand continuously through a weekend." And I was very relieved—standing on a brick did not hurt, if this was all they were going to do to me. Most of the police left, and I remained on that brick for two or three hours in an agony of suspense, for I still did not know why I had been arrested or what I was supposed to "talk about."

Swanepoel and another policeman returned about 8 p.m. and then began a systematic interrogation that lasted until the following Monday night. Although I was not kept on the brick constantly, and was even allowed to sit down at times, they would not permit me to sleep. Swanepoel and his partner would question me from 8 p.m. to midnight; another pair would replace them and question me from 4 to 8 a.m. and a third pair from 12 to 4 p.m. Swanepoel and his partner then returned and the whole 12-hour process was repeated. On the Monday night I was given six hours' sleep, then awoken, and the systematic interrogation continued until midday on Wednesday, when I was taken to Pretoria Local Prison and put into solitary confinement.

On that first night, confronted with Swanepoel's grotesque, enraged face, I became a little hysterical. My confused and incoherent answers to his questions elicited a paroxysm of rage and abuse—threats against me, my parents, my girl-friend. They decided I was being uncooperative and withholding information—whenever I asked what I was supposed to talk about, the reply was: "You bloody well know, you Communist Jew." I did not know—and still don't know.

Although born in South Africa, I had grown up in Swaziland, a British protectorate. I was active in student protests, outspoken in my opposition to apartheid, and tried to maintain relationships with people classified as "non-white." I assume that these relationships were the cause of my arrest—though the police never bothered to tell me what I was supposed to have done wrong. Several of the Africans I knew were already in prison, and a number were subsequently detained.

I understood enough Afrikaans to realise, as Swanepoel discussed me with his partner, that they were trying to "break" me: and although they did "break" me, it did not leave a mark on my body. Swanepoel used his temper like a sledge-hammer until midnight, but when the next pair came on duty, they talked to me in a relaxed, human manner. I responded to them. They gave me cigarettes: on their later shifts they allowed me to sit down; and on one occasion even took me to have a shower. This "conspiracy of kindness" was designed to soften me up and make me more vulnerable to Swanepoel's tactics, to win my confidence so that they could assess my personality, plan their next moves on the basis of this, and to make me steadily more dependent on their charity, as Swanepoel became more aggressive.

I became more despondent and anguished through the night. My knees and ankles throbbed painfully, the shape of the bricks was imprinted on the soles of my feet, the yellow glare of the room was unbearable. The two detectives talked constantly, invited my opinion on various matters.

Then, from somewhere, light began to filter into the interrogation chamber. Morning was breaking. I was enthralled that even in the bowels of this appalling building, and at the mercy of men like these, the sun still came up! My spirits rose—I wondered how many other detainees had felt a similar awakening of hope with the dawn and wondered if any of my friends had been interrogated that night and were seeing the light now.

Swanepoel came in for his 8 a.m. shift. But he had softened: he was amenable. He allowed me to sit and he gave me a cigarette. I was sure they had discovered their mistake—I was to be released! I did not know that after the arrest my mother had woken the British Ambassador at 3 a.m. to notify him. He was very helpful; he phoned the police immediately to warn them that I carried a British passport, had only recently recovered from infectious hepatitis, and was not to be assaulted. I had told the police all this, but they only took it seriously when it came from the Embassy. I was taken to see a district surgeon who gave me an extremely thorough examination, and asked me if I had had any relapse of the jaundice. I said no, but tried to tell him how ill I felt after a night on a brick. He was not interested, told me it was none of his business, and turning to Swanepoel said: "There is nothing wrong with him—ride him!"

I spent the rest of Saturday on the brick. Swanepoel resumed his terrorisation, and the bizarre psychological manipulation continued. Late that night during the shift of a "soft" pair, I was sitting down

smoking a cigarette, which made me dizzy and worsened my confusion. One of them insinuated that I could not trust my girlfriend and that she might be a police spy. When I laughed in his face he hinted that I would do well to think of joining them one day. I became enraged as uncontrollably as I had become amused, and told him I was more likely to become a hangman than a spy. At this he grew sinister, and warned that I might have to do this to keep my girlfriend or parents out of prison. I replied in abusive language, so he put me back on the brick and refused to allow me to visit the toilet for the rest of his shift.

When the next pair came on at 4 a.m., we talked quietly about unrelated topics, but I kept dozing off on the chair. They jostled me or shouted whenever this happened. Swanepoel returned at 8 a.m. and put me on my feet (though not on the brick) and when he left at noon a young detective sat quietly in front of me throughout the afternoon to see that I remained standing. I can recall very little of what took place until the Monday evening, except a few isolated incidents. During Swanepoel's evening shift on Sunday, he remarked to his partner, "He is not yet broken—tomorrow morning or perhaps tomorrow evening we will find out everything."

During the course of that night I was given to understand that the interrogation would end on Monday morning, and I would be taken to prison. I could not remain awake for more than a few minutes at a time, and even when shouted at I would start, jump up and then doze off again. When Swanepoel came in on Monday morning he was more enraged than ever. He claimed he had discovered a whole new set of facts which proved that I had been involved in illegal activities, working himself up into an unbelievable rage as I stood mutely in front of him. Unless by that evening I had "talked," my girlfriend would be arrested. They hammered this point home throughout the day—but I could not take in what they were saying. I dozed off on my feet and walked straight into the wall, waking up when my face banged against it. There were roars of laughter from somewhere, but I could not quite focus my eyes to see who was laughing. It happened again and again: when I did realize what was happening, I saw that a whole mob of police had crowded into the room to watch me walk into walls. I smiled meekly, so pleased that they were happy and not angry. And then I was somewhere else and grotesque images unfolded in front of me—I was in the science laboratory back at high school, the bell was ringing—it was time to go home. "It's enough now," I said. "I'm going home"—roars of laughter from somewhere. "The experiment's gone far enough. I'm going home."

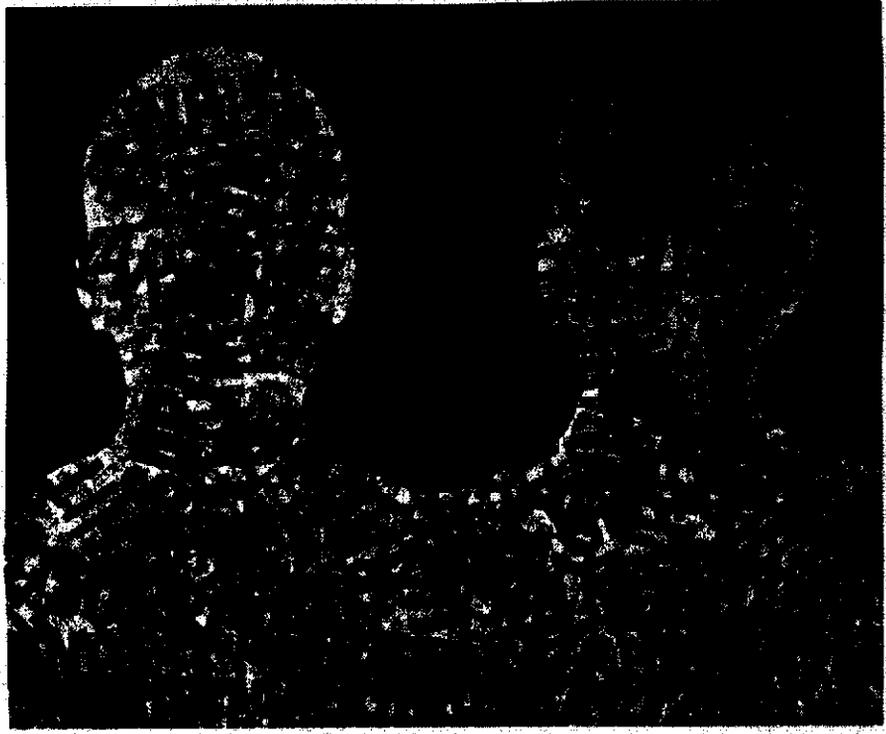
By Monday evening my orientation in time and place was completely destroyed. I did not know which stage of my life I was living—or where I was. It was then that the "soft-liners" whose "charity" put me in a state of complete psychological dependence on them, suddenly withdrew their concessions and ended their "conspiracy of kindness." They became abusive and threatening; this confused me, so that by the time Swanepoel returned at 8 p.m. with his normal torrent of abuse, I could only mutter nonsense in a high pitched voice. I was what he called "broken." He switched roles with the "soft-liners" and assumed a paternal and sympathetic manner, made a joke of my swollen hands and feet, which were unrecognizable and looked as if they had each been stung by bees. He gave me some yellow tablets which he said would reduce the swelling and allowed me to have a shower and put on clean clothes which my family had sent.

I was then allowed to sleep for six hours. As I got onto the camp bed I felt uneasy—Swanepoel was easier to cope with when he was brutal, for one knew where one stood with him. I felt a little guilty too, as I wondered whether Africans were allowed to shower and sleep under interrogation. I was awoken after six hours, more disorientated than I had ever been, my own identity so destroyed that I was completely vulnerable. Swanepoel exploited this: in a quiet voice he

made false allegations about my relationships with various people, and mutely I agreed to them. I remembered vaguely the thoughts I had had before falling asleep. I began to realise that he was fabricating evidence and getting me to corroborate it, simply to justify my detention. For they had realised my arrest was mistaken, that I knew nothing about the illegal activities they claimed to be looking for. I pulled myself together and refused to go along with it. They spent another one and a half days trying to extort false evidence—though I was allowed to sit, they kept me awake.

Then I was placed in solitary confinement in Pretoria Local Prison, where I fell asleep immediately and woke up 20 hours later. I spent days pacing the length of my cell in agonies of remorse over the fact that I had divulged any information at all, and wondering how many years I would be sentenced to. I was so brainwashed that I was convinced that the books on political philosophy, and especially Marxism, which had been found at my home, and my membership in organizations like the Human Rights Society at the university, would earn me years of imprisonment.

Often my own screams woke me in the night; then I would lie on the floor wrapped in my blankets, listening to someone shovelling coal somewhere in the prison. During the day it felt as if the tension were stretching me across



my cell, and like a taut drumskin I would soon split. I became preoccupied, morbid, obsessed with the idea of death. I had a pen which was not taken when I was searched, and wrote on two squares of lavatory paper each day, as a diary. These are the kind of entries:

"This place is so horrifying that the sensitive parts of one's self close up to shut it out, like certain flowers do at night. If one remained here for long enough, these parts would never be able to open again."

"The morning is false—the dawn is a false dawn and in the building the bustle of the day's awakening is preparing to prevent another day of life. The purpose of solitary confinement is to curtail the range and extent of one's experience. Its effects are in the disintegration of one's conceptual framework and the inability to think or comprehend."

"There are birds singing in the trees outside. Their songs penetrate even the heavy locks and unmitigated gloom of captivity."

Exactly two weeks after my detention, I was taken to Compol, where I was allowed a visit from my parents. It was a great relief to see them. A week later I was allowed extra clothing from my parents, and even a pipe and tobacco. A month after my detention a strange change came about. I was allowed a number of visits from my parents and girl friend, and Swanepoel began treating me in a paternal concerned manner.

Shortly before the first of these visits, my lavatory paper diary had been taken from my cell while I was out exercising. This had become the most important fact in my life; I developed alarming stress-symptoms at its loss and became even more paranoid. One morning when the cell door was opened I walked out in my sleep with my toilet bucket, calling for Swanepoel. I wished to present it to him. I often shivered uncontrollably, and when taken out to see my

family, could not relate to them or finish my sentences. The police became worried about my mental state and allowed my family to send me books. (We have wealthy and influential relatives in Johannesburg—my father's brother had been mayor of the city, and the fact that we have the same name influenced the treatment I received.)

My parents, and particularly my mother, conducted an heroic battle, with the support of the British Embassy, to get me released. My mother pestered the police continually, and this definitely made a difference to the number of visits I received, and to the length of my detention.

In the sixth week I was again taken out of my cell. A major collated the notes made during my interrogation into a statement which I had to sign. Swanepoel, I am sure, was the victim of a pathological rage, and though cunning, he was "honest" or at least direct, in his twisted way. But the other major was emotionless, quietly hostile and sadistic, in a calculating way. He seemed to be brilliant, and enjoyed trapping me into admissions which would incriminate me in legal terms I did not know or understand. I later realised that my released had already been decided and that this was a mere formality.

On the day I signed the statement, as I sat in Swanepoel's office in Compol, he told me a joke to try to calm me. I burst out laughing and collapsed on the floor in hysterics. They had me sign the statement under oath—though I could scarcely hold a pen—and then took me to the district surgeon. Most of the evidence used against those charged was given under similar conditions of duress, and few courts anywhere else in the world would accept such evidence.

A week later, 53 days after my arrest, Swanepoel and the other major put what they called a "proposition" to me. They offered to put me on a plane overseas in two days' time—they gave me Israel as the only option—and would not permit me either

to return to Swaziland or come to Britain. Their insistence on Israel remains a mystery to me; possibly they thought I had been successfully "re-educated," would join my brother who lives in Israel, take up residence there and forget about South Africa.

I betrayed my own principles in going along with this—by accepting apartheid with its special treatment for whites, especially those with prominent names and British passports. But I rationalised this with the thought that if I could get out and publicise the details of my interrogation it would help those remaining in prison. After being released I evaded publicity for nine months in the fear that it could comfort people at home. I feel guilty at having been silent for so long.

The security police cannot be dismissed as mere brutes or monsters. The second major allowed my girl friend to accompany me in the car on the drive to the airport, so that we could spend that time together. Swanepoel phoned her after my interrogation to give her a message from me. He used to tell my parents during their visits that he, too, was a family man and could appreciate their concern. At the airport Swanepoel and I shook hands—I thanked him for making it less than it could have been. But I am no more grateful to him for my release than I am for my arrest. He was responsible for both. He is probably a good family man, by which he justifies his morbid job, believing it protects his own and all other white families in the country. This schizophrenia is typical of all white South Africa. The real enemy is the system, which turns men into monsters and requires that they torture and even kill to perpetuate it.

Non-whites whose activities have been far less radical than mine have suffered worse treatment than I. At least I got out alive. One wonders how many of those who go on trial tomorrow will be so lucky.

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#### SOUTH AFRICA SEEKS NOOSE

A Government notice yesterday informed manufacturers of hangman's nooses that the closing date for submitting bids to supply the rope is Sept. 28. Last year 107 persons were hanged in South Africa for crimes. (N. Y. Times)



# INSIDE RHODESIA

Despite all the rosy propaganda of the Rhodesian Government, the 1971 budget exposed that the economic sanctions hit regime was hurting. None other than the Rhodesian Finance Minister, Mr. Wrathall, admitted that the tobacco crop was threatening to become "a severe drag" on what he characterized as an otherwise quickly developing economy. (EAS, July 18, 1970) The Johannesburg *Financial Mail* commented that of all the provisions in this year's Budget estimates, the R\$16 m. earmarked for the Tobacco Corporation's "estimated trading losses" is the most intriguing and perplexing. It is the greatest amount allocated for any single year, showing a 78% jump on the previous year's R\$9 m. The total extent to which the industry has now been subsidized since UDI has now risen to R\$49 m., a rate of R\$9.8 m. annually. (*Africa Research Bulletin*, 15 June-14 July, 1970). Mr. Wrathall went on to warn the House that continued subsidies to the agricultural sector would not be unlimited. While he admitted that "unquestionably, the industry is in need of support now and will continue to remain so for some time, equally undeniable is the fact that there is a limit to the burden which can be borne by the other sectors of the economy." (EAS, July 18, 1970)

The Queen continues to lose face in Rhodesia. The Salisbury City Council removed the portrait of Queen Elizabeth from its chamber, God Save the Queen has now been abandoned at all official functions including the opening of Parliament and Rhodesian awards and honors are being debated to replace the formerly British tradition. (*Evening Star*, 7/29/70; *Washington Afro-American*, 7/18/70)

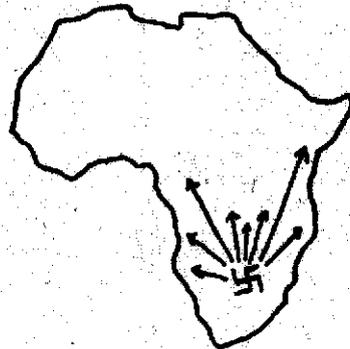
In the face of all this defiance of the British Crown, British Government has expressed its intention of re-opening talks with the rebel regime. The resumption of the Rhodesian question was officially noted in the Queen's speech from the throne in which she opened the British Parliament after the Conservative's election victory. She promised the new administration would make one more attempt at solution, but at the same time stressed the five principles which have remained unacceptable to the Rhodesian regime. As there is no reason to ever assume that the rebel regime will ever relent on any of the principles, Mr. Heath's new attempt can only mean that the British Government is anxious to solve the question at the sacrifice of these principles, in order to resume trade relations. Lord Alport, former British High Commissioner to the Central African Federation in 1961-1963 and Mr. Wilson's special representative in 1967, warned that it would be wrong for Britain to open negotiations with Salisbury if there were no chance of success, and he went on to say that it was not possible to deal with Rhodesia in isolation from the question of supplying arms to South Africa or from the problems of the Asians in East Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 8/8/70)

Meanwhile, Smith arrived in Pretoria, ostensibly to watch the New Zealand rugby match, but it was well known that he came as Vorster's guest, and that given Pretoria's tendency to favor a negotiated solution to the UDI dispute, that the two men might have sneaked in a word or two on the settlement issue between quarters. (EAS, July 11, 1970)

The enforced removal of Africans from areas designated as "European" continues to cause untold hardships. Latest victims are the Hunyani, who are being ushered off their reserve to "Silobela" (meaning "a place where everything has disappeared and never to be found again is the precious rain"). Their misery is documented in the July 1970 issue of MOTO, the Catholic newspaper which points out that their misery in leaving their homelands is compounded by the fact that they have been refused permission to take all of their livestock with them, and have therefore had to sell many of their livestock at below-market prices. Thus, not only are the Hunyani being deprived of their lands and homes, but the symbols of their wealth as well. When questioned in Parliament as to whether the Hunyani would be compensated for their homes, Mr. Lance Smith said he was not aware that they would receive compensation (*Zimbabwe News*, Aug. '70).

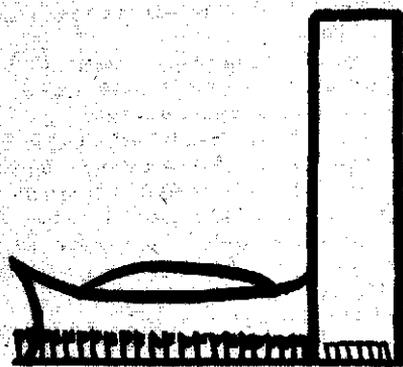
The Rhodesian Secretary for Internal Affairs, Mr. Nicolle, told the annual meeting of the Nkone Cattle Club in Que-Que on July 8 (in the presence of the Minister of Information and Tourism) that he expected trouble from recalcitrant tribesmen and had therefore asked for security forces. He said: "When the Government contemplated the move, I warned them that we would have to use the security forces." ZANU reports that its information is that security forces were used. (*Zimbabwe News*, August, 1970)

A privately-financed Right-wing group called the American Southern Africa Council based in Washington and claiming between 16 and 20,000 active supporters, is planning to open its own American information office in Salisbury to "replace" the US consulate by the Nixon Administration in conformity with its international obligations. A State Department spokesman is reported to have said in reply to a question that he could not see any objection to the proposed information center, which the Council hopes to establish on one floor of what was once the US Consulate in Salisbury (EAS 4 May 1970).



## SOUTH AFRICA EXPELLED FROM COMMONWEALTH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Both South Africa and Rhodesia have been expelled from the Commonwealth Medical Association for practicing apartheid in medicine. The decision was taken at the Association's recent conference in Singapore. (*The Times*, Aug. 11, 1970)



## AT THE UNITED NATIONS

### SECRETARY GENERAL ADDRESSES HEADS OF STATE OF THE O.A.U.

The Secretary-General, U Thant, returned to New York on 3 September after visiting Yugoslavia, Ethiopia and Kenya.

A highlight of his one-week trip, which began on 27 August, was U Thant's address on 1 Sept. to the opening meeting of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.).

Reviewing the situation in southern Africa, which he described as "one of the gravest challenges to the authority of the United Nations," the Secretary-General said in his speech:

"Unfortunately, the spirit of resistance to change in southern Africa has been accompanied by an attitude of indifference on the part of many Governments.

"Some, possessing major interests in the countries of southern Africa... and fearing some harm to their investments... short-sightedly pursue their interests in apparent ignorance of the basic fact that economic interests could no longer be pursued without regard to any socio-political or even human rights considerations... Other Governments, with less of a vested interest in the countries of southern Africa, seem to believe that the political effects of their pursuit of short-term economic gain are not of any real importance, and in any event they are too far removed from the scene for any disruption of the peace to affect them.

"If small minorities can pursue their course with such intransigence... it can only be because they believe they have friends in the world and that these friends will not let them down."

Only "united action on the part of the international community," he stated, could dispel these illusions and induce the minority regimes in southern Africa to change their course.

### PORTUGAL URGED TO APPLY PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE

The Special Committee of 24 on decolonization, in a resolution adopted on 18 August, called on Portugal "to apply without further delay to the peoples of the Territories under its domination the principles of self-determination and independence."

It called on Portugal also to "cease forthwith" all repressive activities involving the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms, to halt military operations against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea(Bissau), and to withdraw all military and other forces.

Further, the Committee called on Portugal to proclaim an unconditional political amnesty, to restore democratic political rights and to transfer powers to freely elected institutions representative of the populations in accordance with the Declaration on decolonization.

The resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 14 in favor to 2 against (United Kingdom, United States), with 2 abstentions (Italy, Norway).

Under other provisions of the resolution, the Committee:

- Condemned the intervention of South African forces against the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination; and

- urged all States to give the necessary financial and material assistance to the peoples of the Territories to continue their struggle, and to take co-ordinated measures in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity to expand assistance to the national liberation movement.

It called on all States, especially Portugal's allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to:

- Desist forthwith from giving Portugal military assistance;
- Prevent the sale or supply of weapons,

military equipment and materials to Portugal; and

- Stop the sale or shipment to Portugal of equipment and materials to Portugal for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition.

The Committee, in its resolution, also deplored the policies of governments which had failed to prevent nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from agreeing or preparing to participate in the Cabora Bassa dam and hydro-electric project in Mozambique and the Cunene River basin project in Angola.

### SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNS VIOLATIONS OF ARMS EMBARGO

The Security Council on 23 July condemned all violations of its arms embargo against South Africa and called upon States to strengthen the embargo by undertaking a number of measures.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 12 in favor to none against with 3 abstentions (France, United Kingdom, United States).

In its resolution, adopted after five meetings on this question, the Council called on all States to strengthen the arms embargo by:

- Implementing it fully, unconditionally and without reservations whatsoever;
- Withholding the supply of all vehicles and equipment for use of the armed forces and paramilitary organizations of South Africa;
- Ceasing supply of spare parts for all vehicles and military equipment used by the armed forces and paramilitary organizations of South Africa;
- Revoking all licenses and military patents granted to the South African Government or to South African companies for the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft and naval craft or other military vehicles; and by refraining from further granting such licenses and patents
- Prohibiting investment in or technical assistance for the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft, naval craft, or other military vehicles; and
- Ceasing provision of military training for members of the South African armed forces and all other forms of military cooperation with South Africa.

# SPORT

## SOUTH AFRICA WITHDRAWS FROM SQUASH CHAMPIONSHIP

South Africa has withdrawn from the 1971 world squash championships in New Zealand following moves to expel South Africa from the International Squash Rackets Association. The resolution of exclusion was dropped after South Africa's withdrawal. (Johannesburg Star, July 25, 1970)

## BOYCOTT OF WORLD GLIDING CHAMPIONSHIPS

A further example of the international community's efforts to break all sporting ties with South Africa was provided by India's threat to boycott the World Gliding Championships in June if South Africa was allowed to participate. A member of the Indian team said that he expected Japan, Argentina, Brazil and all socialist countries to join the boycott. (Rand Daily Mail, 6/9/70)

## AUSTRALIANS DEMAND END TO SPORT WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. B. Cohen, an Australian M.P., has called on Australian sporting authorities to cut all sporting ties with South Africa. He said that unless this was done Australia faced sporting disaster. Mr. Cohen said that the policy of trying to change attitudes in South Africa by continuing sporting relationships had failed dismally (Rand Daily Mail, 5/22/70).

The Sports Editor of the Herald of Melbourne supported Mr. Cohen by calling on the Australian Government to ban all South African sportsmen from entering the country. "Mr. Jack Cannon said that by courting the Springboks, Australia was "dicing with death in world sport."

"Our cricket, swimming and golf administrators are naive enough to think that the coloured nations of the world are not angry about our boycott-breaking. It is about time the Federal Government told these sporting bodies to wake up to themselves. Otherwise we could be branded as South African sympathizers and barred from all Commonwealth and international sporting contests."

Cannon is one of Australia's best-known sportswriters. (Rand Daily Mail, June 12, 1970)

## RUGBY PLAYERS OPPOSE MIXED SPORT

In the last issue of "Southern Africa" we reported that several South African cricketers had expressed opinions in favor of multiracial sport in South Africa. At present, South African rugby players are playing matches with a racially mixed New Zealand touring team. From their comments, however, it would appear that it is a distasteful experience.

Hannes Marais, a Springbok forward, said that if South Africa was to practice mixed sport "for the sake of competing overseas, we may as well forget our internal policies. I just can't agree to multiracial sport" Marnettles Roux, who has been playing in the Tests against New Zealand has said; however, he doesn't support mixed sport while another Springbok, Frik du Preez, added that he took "a dim vie w of what some cricketers have said."

If these players are so vehemently against mixed sport, one wonders how they rationalize their participation in games against the mixed New Zealand team? (Spotlight on South Africa, June 1970)



# STUDENTS

## BLACKS WALK OUT OF NUSAS

Black students have walked out of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and formed their own organization, the South African Students Organization (SASO).

Declaring that black students had "lost faith with white students," SASO's President, Mr. Barney Pityana, said "blacks are tired of standing on the sidelines to witness a game they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves. We have reached a stage now where our existence has become an accomplished fact and our way of seeing

things has become adopted by a substantial number of black campuses in the country."

NUSAS reacted to the walk-out by recognizing SASO as a legitimate organization. In a resolution adopted at its July Congress, NUSAS admitted that it is dominated by whites and cannot claim to represent blacks effectively. The resolution adopted reads in part: "In so far as this development works towards a just egalitarian society it constitutes a positive step in the realization of the aspirations of black students"

NUSAS further resolved to seek maximum contact and cooperation with SASO (Johannesburg Star, July 25, 1970).

In its first move against SASO, the government has refused to grant a passport to SASO's President, Mr. Pityana, so that he can take up a scholarship at Durham University.

## CHARGES AGAINST WHITE DEMONSTRATORS DROPPED

The Attorney-General of the Transvaal has dropped charges against 30 white demonstrators after they had agreed to pay \$70 damage in admission of guilt fines. The charges arose out of protests in May against the year-long detention in solitary confinement of 22 Africans under the Terrorism Act. The protests were in response to a call by the President of NUSAS, Neville Curtie, to draw attention to the plight of the detainees. Protests occurred in most major cities but in Johannesburg the protestors defied a government ban and marched on police headquarters in John Vorster Square. 357 marchers were arrested but evidently the police chose only to charge those whom they regarded as the leaders of the march.

Among those charged are the Secretary-General of the University Christian Movement, Colin Collins, and two other ministers of religion, Colin Davison and Patrick Desmond. Father Desmond recently gave up his British nationality and adopted South African citizenship so as to avoid deportation following the publication of his book *The Deserted People*, a scathing expose of the shocking conditions in the government's resettlement camps for "surplus" Africans. The government has shrouded these camps in secrecy for years and the publication of this book will have considerably annoyed the Nationalists.

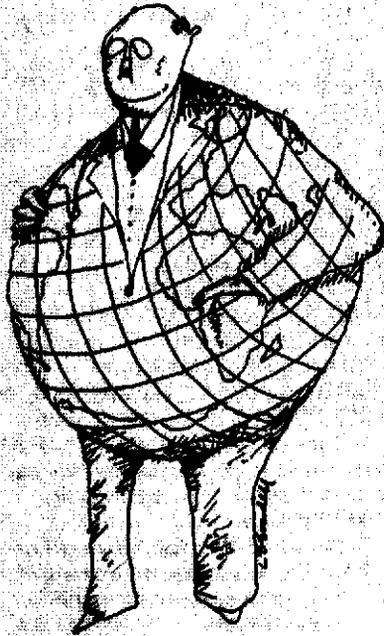
In addition, several past and present NUSAS officials, including the current

Vice-President and present Deputy Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Cile Nettleton, have been charged. Two other previous vice-presidents are among the accused—Robert Greig and David Hemson (now editor of *Race Relations News*), while Jeanette Curtis, sister of the NUSAS President, has also been charged.

Also among the accused were five lecturers at the University of the Witwatersrand, 3 high school teachers, and 15 Witwatersrand University students. All were charged with offenses under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and municipal by-laws.

The treatment given to the accused

in this case is a clear example of the protection which a white skin accords a South Africa, even a government opponent. Compare the treatment of these whites who openly defied a government ban with that of the 22 Africans who have now been detained in solitary confinement for 18 months on mere suspicion of criminal offenses.



## BIG BRITISH FIRM REJECTS SOUTH AFRICAN OFFER

Mr. Neil Wates, managing director of Wates Ltd., one of Britain's biggest building firms, has refused to extend his operations to South Africa because, he said, "the idea of doing business in South Africa is *totally unacceptable*; we could not be true to the basic principles on which we run our business and we should lose our integrity in the process."

In January this year, his firm received an invitation from a firm of South African developers to franchise the Wates System of industrial building to them. Wates turned the invitation down because the directors did not wish to work in the atmosphere of apartheid.

The South African firm replied that Wates had been misled by hostile propaganda and that it could not take such a decision 7,000 miles away.

As a result, Mr. Wates agreed to go out to South Africa to look at the situation at first hand.

He returned to Britain more convinced than ever that the franchise should not be

granted. He has given his reasons in a long personal report, which is bound to have repercussions throughout the business world. Here are some extracts from it:

"We should have to operate within a social climate where the colour of a man's skin is his most important attribute and where there is virtually no communication between the races; we should be locked into this system. We should have to operate within an economic climate which is designed deliberately to demoralise and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance.

"We should have to operate within a legal climate where the rule of law has been abolished in favour of rule by decree, which bids fair to become a reign of terror.

"The cumulative effect of all these factors in the long term must be self-defeating; within the short term it must make it impossible for ourselves individually, or as a company, to connive at anything which would serve to perpetuate a system which in the last analysis has no other justification than the preservation of white supremacy as an end in itself.

"To analyse each of my points in a little more detail, . . .

1. There is virtually no communication between the races. In the first place there is very little physical contact—"non-European" park seats, bus stops, airport entrances, lavatories, taxis, buses, etc., etc. (the duplication of services would be absurd if it were not often tragic; witness the collapse of a grossly overloaded non-European footbridge over a railway, causing the death of many Africans, while the adjoining "whites only bridge" was empty.

"In the second place there is very little social contact; white and non-white cannot sit in the same office, eat in the same public place and enjoy simultaneously the same cultural or physical recreations. Of course, a white can invite a non-white to his home—but it would be fraught with difficulties. In the first place his servants—not to mention his neighbors—would raise their eyebrows; in the second place, unless the African had his own transport the white could not run him home at the end of the evening without a permit. It would, of course, be illegal for the African to stay the night.

"Above all—following the Improper Interference Act 1968—whites and non-whites cannot attend the same political meetings or join the same party.

"As visitors we found it almost impossible to talk to Africans and we had the

usual absurd stories about "them" from our fellowshites—their ignorance, their criminality, their immorality, etc. etc. For contact with "the African" we had to wait until we visited Zambia, where Africans we are obtaining levels of responsibility and acquiring skills which would have frankly astonished the story-tellers in South Africa.

**2. A scandalous under-utilisation of human abilities.** The policy of reserving key jobs for whites virtually means that 3,600,000 whites must provide the entire management capability and key skills for a population of over 19 million. The real scandal lies in the fact that all the real job opportunities one can see being grasped by Africans both in supervisory management and in the area of technical skills in a country like Zambia are totally denied to them in South Africa. It is impossible to say how many first-class minds are doing the most menial jobs and it is, of course, impossible to measure the waste of ability.

"The the cry of separate development is plainly nonsense all the time the whites depend on the blacks for their industrial manpower—and of course there can be no meaningful development in the homelands where most of the blacks are working in white areas. Only 8.7% of employed Africans are working in the homelands—whilst over one-third "live" in the homelands, but work away from home on annual contracts. This self-defeating policy prohibits any prospect of career development for them, let alone the building up of any loyalty to the company and reduces the non-white to the level of a "Labour Unit."

**3. A climate designed to demoralise and maintain an industrial helotry.** White industry needs African labour, but each one of those Africans must have a permit to "work, live and be." It is true that he can establish certain residential qualifications to live in a township—if for example he has worked in an area for 15 years, or 10 years in the same job. But he may not necessarily be able to live with his wife—he certainly cannot invite a friend in for the night without permission and he is liable to lose all his rights if he is found to be "idle and undesirable"—whereupon he will find himself sent to "homeland" which means nothing to him.

"What he needs, of course, is a home and not a Government fabricated myth of a homeland. What he gets is life in a transit camp, without property, political and precious few legal rights. So far from being a protector the law is seen as a persecutor; incredibly 934,000 people were convicted of offences in 1968, 674,000 were admitted to prison during that year and the average daily prison population was 80,000.

"Since it is virtually impossible not to break the law in a small way each day,



major and minor offences become blurred and respect for the law goes to the wall.

"It is small wonder that there is virtually a reign of terror in the native townships at night; in Soweto, the average number of murders on the peak night of the week is seven; nobody knows how much unreported crime of violence takes place—but then none of this would be obvious to the superficial white observer.

"It is no defence to point out the undeniable truth that the black South Africans are better off than blacks in any other country in the world; the important factor is their relative well-being to their white fellow citizens; the Africans constitute 68 percent of the population, but their share of the national cash income is 19 percent—whereas the white constitute 19 percent of the population and their share of the cash income is 73 percent.

**4. The rule of law has been abolished.** If there is a physical reign of terror in the townships, all the ingredients are there for a legal reign of terror within the country.

"In South Africa, under the 1967 Terrorism Act (which created new offences and made them retrospective to 1962) it is explicitly stated that "no Court shall pronounce on the validity of any action for the release of a detainee under this Act." Under the Bantu Administration Act the President is supreme and his actions cannot be challenged in respect of the African right to remain, reside or work in certain areas. With the Suppression of Communism Act of 1967, which virtually says you are a Communist if the Minister

says so, there are wide powers to arrest, together with the right to bar Counsel—and if you obtain your discharge under this Act you can simply be re-arrested in open Court and detained sine die under the Terrorism act.

"Clearly the Terrorism Act is itself an act of terror; in accepting the security of the State, rather than that of the individual as the over-riding consideration, the rule of law has been abolished and a potential reign of terror through rule by decree has been established. It is true this is currently mainly directed against the black, but it is already beginning to be used against the white and must ultimately prove self-defeating.

"I travelled South Africa hoping that I would find good reasons for doing business there; privately I had always considered critics of South Africa to be shrill and emotional—to whom everything black was good and everything white was bad. But the parallel between Hitler's treatment of the Jews in the 1930s and South Africa's treatment of the blacks today, became daily more obvious to me in the course of my visit and was brought home most vividly to me when I saw blacks being literally herded like cattle through the Bantu Administration Courts—just as I think with hindsight it would have been totally wrong to do anything to connive at Nazism in those days, so also do I think we should do nothing that would help to perpetuate apartheid.

"I was frequently pressed in South Africa to say whether we were looking at it as a business or an ethical problem: there can,

of course, be no difference.

"During the course of my visit I came to see more clearly how South Africa is the battleground for the major issue which threatens the world, including within it of course the world of business—the problem of race. There is a direct confrontation in South Africa and another confrontation in the United States—and increasingly in this country.

"It is crucial that as individuals and as a company we make our stand known and play our part in promoting a non-racial world."

(Reprinted with permission from the *Observer*, London, Aug. 23, 1970)

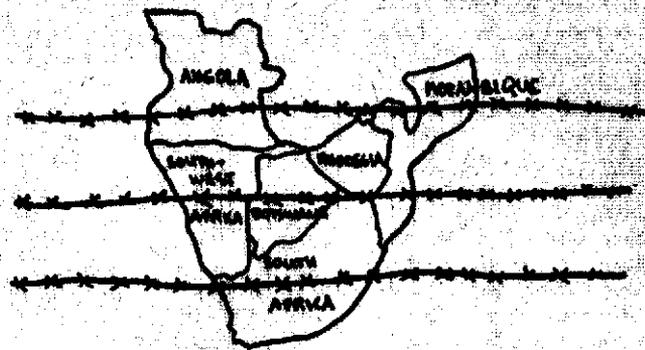
THE BANK OF AMERICA (part of the now defunct \$40 million consortium loan to the Government of South Africa) is being cited in European articles as a financier of the huge strategic CAGRA BASSA DAM. The Bank and U.S. Government officials keep denying it.

#### FINAL SOLUTION FOR BUSHMEN?

*Namibia Today* (July, 1970) reports on what the *Windhoek Advertiser* of November 3, 1969 calls a "vast resettlement plan" for the Khoi (Bushmen) of north-west Namibia. The Khoi are supposed to be stealing stock from white farmers, so "posts" are to be set up to which nomadic Bushmen are to be "lured by gifts of food and tobacco." They are then to be put to work and made to settle far away from the areas in which they are at present living. *Namibia Today* quotes a letter written by the academic staff and students of the London School of Economics Dept. of Anthropology, which says in part, "Resettlement of hunter-gatherers elsewhere in the world has been followed by apathy, despondency and by the sort of hopelessness that is characteristic of the occupants of refugee camps." Resettlement may in fact mean the end for this tragic people.

#### DEVELOPMENT FOR OVAMBOLAND

In August while visiting Ruakana Falls (on the border between Ovamboland and Angola) Mr. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education discussed development possibilities with other government officials. According to *News From South Africa* (Aug. 7, 1970): "The main points of discussion were the proposed hydro-electric project on the Kunene River at



## INSIDE NAMIBIA

Ruakana Falls, where an interim power station had already been erected, and the building of a canal to supply water from the Kunene to Ovamboland and other parts of South West Africa. Good progress had already been made with the building of the canal and it would probably be completed in about two years time."

The officials also discussed the building of construction camps and a permanent Bantu town. "The white residents would consist largely of people working on the power plant and other projects and will eventually be withdrawn, it was envisaged." Obviously, though, if the guerrilla wars in both Namibia and Angola become more intense in the next few years, the construction camps and the town may turn into armed white camps in hostile territory.

#### INTERNATIONAL YEAR TO COMBAT RACISM: CELEBRATE IT IN NAMIBIA?

1971 will be the International Year for Action to combat racism and racial discrimination. At a meeting of the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination, there was a discussion of a proposed meeting of the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Committee of Human Rights, and the Secretary General of the OAU in an African capital close to South Africa. John Cary, the U.S. representative, suggested that the meeting might be held in a place like Namibia, in order to make the occasion "as dramatic as possible."

#### BACK TO WORLD COURT

Meanwhile the Security Council met July 29 and adopted as a resolution all the recommendations made by the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee on Namibia. These recommendations called on all member states to cease encouraging South Africa in her occupation of Namibia and provided for a variety of services to Namibians (see July-August issue of *Southern Africa* for details).

One of the recommendations was that the case of Namibia be presented again before the International Court of Justice. This recommendation was implemented when the Security Council adopted a Finnish resolution to ask the World Court for an advisory opinion on "the legal consequences for states" of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia. In 1920, under a League of Nations mandate, South Africa was to have control of South West Africa (renamed Namibia by the U.N.) until the territory was "ready" for independence. The World Court ruled in 1950 that South Africa was still bound by the League of Nations mandate and that the U.N. had inherited the League's supervisory function. But in 1966 the Court threw out a case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia which was meant to test the mandate.

Since then the U.N. has "terminated" the mandate and has theoretically been administering Namibia through the U.N. Council for Namibia since 1967. So it is to clarify the legal status of Namibia, South West (and also to reactivate the Court) that the case is to be heard.

Needless to say, there is little hope that the resolution of this case or that any other deliberation made by U.N. bodies will have any real effect.

The problem with the current World Court case is that the Court COULD in effect invalidate the U.N.'s termination of the mandate. In order to prevent this, Finland tacked a rider onto the resolution narrowing it to deal with the consequences of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia "notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 of 1970 (a resolution adopted last January which reaffirmed the illegality of South Africa's presence and sought ways to effect U.N. responsibility for the territory). Needless to say, it will be difficult for the Court to deal with South Africa's presence in Namibia without dealing with the U.N.'s termination of South Africa's mandate, just as it will be difficult to separate moral issues from legal niceties in the deliberation of this case.

#### THE WAR CONTINUES

An article in *Namibia Today* (July, 1970) refers to a series of advertisements in local papers in Namibia offering a reward for the capture of SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) leader Patrick Iyambo. Although the South African forces deny that there are guerrillas now operating in Namibia, they have moved troops and special paramilitary police squads up to strengthen the garrison in the northern part of the country, and have distributed posters advertising the 1000 Rand reward for Iyambo through most villages in the North. Describing him as a "key man," the South Africans admit that in the past Iyambo has been engaged in battles with police and troops.

#### URBAN LEAGUE AND CHASE MANHATTAN

At a sub-committee meeting of a 4,000 member convention of the Urban League in New York, a resolution, sponsored by a youth delegate, was presented which called upon CHASE MANHATTAN BANK to be denied the right to participate in future Urban League affairs until it withdrew all economic support from South Africa. The resolution was amended (and thereby moderated) to include other unnamed companies as well. (*New York Times*, 7/23/70)

#### CURFEWS ON AFRICANS INTENSIFIED IN WINDHOEK

In Windhoek the curfew for Africans has been intensified because, according to the *Windhoek Advertiser* (May 30, 1970): "Natives wandered around freely at night, constituting a danger to white women, and causing a noise . . . dozens of Ovambo sleep at night in the Knein Windhoek River valley, and they were difficult to control," and so on.

#### SOBUKWE DENIED PASSPORT

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, formerly jailed leader of the Pan Africanist Congress and now under house-arrest in Kimberley, Northern Cape, was denied a passport and exit permit by the South African Government. (*East African STANRARD* 1970).

#### BRITAIN DEPENDS ON S.A. URANIUM

Reports in the British newspapers at the beginning of July indicated that there have been recently signed two contracts between the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (UKAEA), and the mining corporation, Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ), that will lead to Britain becoming dependent on South Africa for supplying the uranium for its nuclear program. RTZ has recently begun together with a South African Government backed development corporation, to exploit uranium deposits near Swakopmund in Namibia. The contracts involve the delivery of uranium over a seven year period, from 1973-80. The lapsing of previous contracts with Canadian-based firms means that most of Britain's supplies will in the future be derived from Namibia. (*Third World Reports*, July 1970)



## THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

#### WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ALLOCATES \$200,000 TO GROUPS FIGHTING RACISM

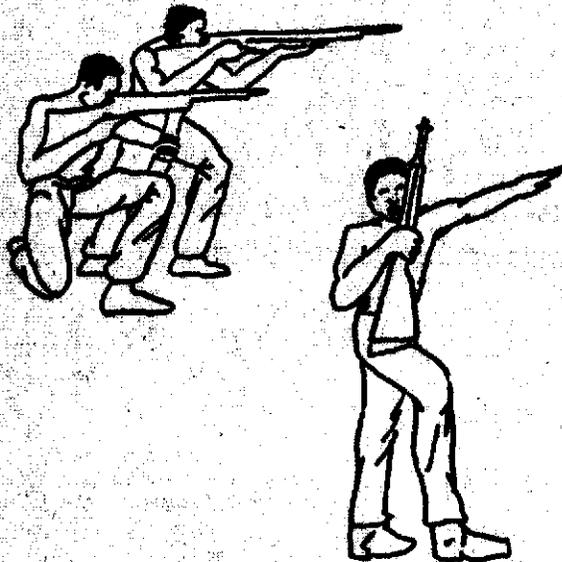
Nineteen organizations of oppressed racial groups or supporting victims of racial injustice will share in an allocation of \$200,000 from the World Council of Churches. The action was taken by the WCC Executive Committee meeting in Frankfurt, following a decision of the Council's Central Committee at Canterbury in August 1969.

The grants, ranging from \$2,500 to \$20,000, are the first to be made from a special fund to combat racism. The fund is made up of contributions from member churches and from the World Council's reserves.

Among the organizations receiving grants are:

- The Africa Bureau (England)
- Anti-Apartheid Movement (England)
- International Defense and Aid Fund (England)
- Angola Committee and Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Foundation (Netherlands)
- Africa 2000 Project (Zambia)
- Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO (Mozambique)

- Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (Angola)
- Governo Revolucionario de Angola no Exil (Angola)
- Uniao Nacional Para a Independencia Total de Angola (Angola)
- Partido Africano de Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (Guinea-Bissao)
- African National Congress (South Africa)
- South West African People's Organization (South West Africa)
- Zimbabwe African National Union (Rhodesia)
- Zimbabwe African People's Union (Rhodesia)



#### VORSTER'S REACTION

Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa issued a statement in response to the World Council of Churches action in which he said that the Council's grant was "shocking." He said it cannot be tolerated that "money contributed and collected in South Africa should be sent out of the country for this purpose." Many church and political leaders in South Africa were sure the South African churches would definitely withdraw from the World Council of Churches because of its action. Even Mrs. Helen Suzman, noted Progressive Party M.P. stated: "This is no way to make a contribution to the solution of the problem of racialism in Southern Africa." (Johannesburg Star, 9/4/70)

Although most people felt sure the South African churches would outrightly condemn the action, the Presbyterian Church of South Africa, who has since met in its annual conference, did not withdraw from the Council or denounce its action. Vorster has attacked the South African Council of Churches for its "weak-kneed" decision not to break with the World Council. Although the South African Council disassociated itself from the implied "support of violence" in the World Council's action, it ignored Vorster's urgings to withdraw from the WCC. (Daily Nation, 9/13/70)

#### WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES (PRESBYTERIAN AND CONGREGATIONAL) DISRUPTED OVER APARTHEID

A draft resolution considered by the Steering Committee of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Nairobi states: "The church of Jesus Christ does not make room for tribal walls, be they racial, cultural, national, or confessional. The church that by doc trine and/or practice affirms segregation of peoples (e.g. racial segregation) as a law for its life cannot be regarded as an authentic member of the body of Christ." (Daily Nation, 8/27/70)

The declaration, expressing the Assembly's belief in the need for social justice for all mankind, slates the Dutch Reformed Church for its support of racial segregation and the idea of white supremacy. It calls on the churches to "root out racism with its insidious substitution of color for the God of the Covenant sealed in Jesus Christ."

The North American delegate to the WARC challenged American business to use its investments to support the struggle for freedom and justice in Southern Africa. The U.S., along with Britain, West Germany and Japan, provide the major financial under-girding of the South African economy which supported the apartheid system, according to the spokesman: "We must unrelentingly advocate self-determination, justice and human development for all Africans and oppose colonialism, racism and repression wherever these occur."

"We have a further obligation," he went on, "to seek practical ways in which the churches can give immediate material and moral support to the humanitarian programs of those engaged in the struggle to secure justice and freedom for the people of Southern Africa." The statement said that concern about American involvement in South Africa was illustrated by:

- Preferential sugar quota legislation which awarded about five million dollars in annual subsidy from the U.S. Government to South Africa.
- Sale of American arms to Portugal.
- Investment by American oil companies in the Portuguese territories.
- Granting of U.S. landing privileges to South African Airways.
- The recent revolving credit arrangement between South Africa and ten major American banks which provided \$40 million in credit to the South African Government.

In addition to the U.S. representative's scolding of South Africa, an African churchman from South Africa also made a slashing attack on apartheid. His testimony earned him one of the loudest ovations of the conference, while that of another South African before him who testified that he "is not oppressed in South Africa [and does] . . . whatever I like" was received in silence. Delegates to the conference were troubled by the impression projected by the Dutch Reformed Church that it supported Vorster's government in its policy of apartheid.

The Alliance was instructed to organize a meeting of all member churches in South Africa to face together the implications of the Gospel for the racial problem and "to seek together means by which these implications can be put into practice." (East African Standard, 8/31/70)

## GULF OIL AND THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

Gulf Oil Company is worth over \$8 billion and is the tenth largest corporation in America, with an annual income of around \$1 billion and last year paid less than half of one percent of its income in U.S. federal taxes. Some of its vast wealth comes from oil concessions in Angola and Mozambique, where it in turn pays taxes and royalties to the Portuguese government which no doubt uses such income in its war against the Africans of those countries.

In June a small protest was made against Gulf by the Ohio Conference of the United Church of Christ. The Christians correctly accused Gulf of providing "support for the suppression of the African liberation movements" and urged its members to turn in their Gulf Oil credit cards.

Gulf could not tolerate even this small protest. Gulf's President has threatened to sue the Church for libel. He defended his company by saying that it was interested only in money, not politics—or African lives perhaps. The Church has bravely stuck to its position and can document its argument with lots of evidence.

The resolution passed by the Conference of the UCC in June urged the 230,000 UCC members in Ohio to turn in their Gulf credit cards. The resolution was passed by a 223-84 vote, with 78 abstentions. The Conference also urged UCC members who own Gulf stock not to sell it, but to exercise the voting power of their stock in order to

develop "humane policies" in their African operations.

B. R. Dorsey, President of Gulf Oil Corporation, asked for 'an immediate retraction of the resolution by the conference.' In a July 27 letter, Dorsey also asked for a mailing list of everyone who attended the conference and everyone who received a copy of the resolution. The letter also said: "Our [Gulf's] attorneys have been asked to determine what legal actions should be taken to obtain redress for the damages done to Gulf Oil Corporation and to the reputation of its principal officers by the dissemination of the defamatory document. . . We also demand that the conference desist from any further publicity of the resolution to its delegates or members." (Washington Post, 8/15/70)

If Gulf did sue the UCC, it would be a wonderful trial. The UCC people could subpoena all of Gulf's books and that might be edifying, seeing those figures that don't get into the annual reports. As Nicholas von Hoffman comments in his lucid editorial: "Naturally, Gulf, as the defamed, innocent party, would win and could confiscate the Ohio Conference's churches; ballifs might be sent into the sanctuaries to seize the silver crosses in satisfaction of the judgment and take them off where they could be melted down and recast in the shape of little oil derricks."

Why is Gulf so worried at the mouse-scratchy protests of the Ohio United Christians? "The only explanation that comes to mind is that this industry is terrified of the public reaction should information on what they're doing get widely circulated."

### SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS

South African Airways has opened up new offices in Chicago and Houston. It already has them in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Toronto. The Airways will begin to use 747 Boeing jumbo jets at the end of 1971 (*Star*, Aug. 1, 1970). The anti-discrimination case against SAA is still alive. Robert J. Mangum, Commissioner of the New York State Human Rights Division, issued a statement in July criticizing the Airways for "dilatatory tactics" after the New York State Appellate Division had rejected a SAA appeal against the decision to hold public hearings. These hearings have not been held yet. (*Star*, 7/11/70)

### THE SOUTH AFRICAN DIGEST

(publication of the Information Service of the Government of South Africa) carried a large picture recently of the President of the South African Government Agency (the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research—CSIR) with an American woman representing the U.S. Army Topographical Command. The two officials were examining a South African Tellurometer, a distance-measuring device which South Africa sold to the U.S. Army several years ago! Nations and individuals worried about British arms deals to South Africa should also look at continuing cooperation between the U.S. and South Africa in the military field. (*SAD*, Aug. 7, 1970)



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