

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS

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RHODESIA CRISIS — THOMSON TALKS WITH SMITH AAM CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED TO STOP SELLOUT PAGES 4 AND 5



Mrs Winnie Mandela and her children

Mourners harassed at Mandela funeral

SOUTH AFRICAN security policemen took notes, names and photographs at the funeral in the Transkei last month of Mrs Fanny Mandela, mother of Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader serving a life sentence in Robben Island jail.

The police took notes of graveside speeches, names of those sending tributes and messages, and pictures of those present. Nelson Mandela was refused permission to leave jail for the event but he sent a telegram which caused great emotion generally and Mrs Winnie Mandela his wife, to cry bitterly. Mrs Mandela's own banning order confining her to the Johannesburg magisterial district was lifted for the day, but she was forbidden to speak to her cousin, Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.



Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver

Jail looms for Cleaver

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, 32-year-old author, Black Panther leader and senior Editor of Ramparts Magazine is threatened with an early return to jail in California, as his trial on attempted murder charges looms. As we go to press we have received an urgent appeal from the International Committee to defend Eldridge Cleaver, for help in the campaign to keep him out of jail prior to his trial. Cleaver, whose brilliant book of essays 'Soul on Ice' is still in the US best-seller lists, and is to be published in Britain this month, was released on parole two years ago after serving nine years of a 12 year sentence. In April this year, he was involved in a shooting incident with Oakland, Calif., policemen, and is charged with three counts of attempted murder and three counts of assault. In the same incident, his colleague Bobby Hurton was shot dead by police. Cleaver's parole was revoked on the spot and he spent two months in jail. In June he was released when his judge said "... The petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from ... his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals". On September 28, the California Appeal Court again revoked his parole. Cleaver may thus appear for his new trial in the disadvantageous position of being already in jail.

The Defence Committee, of 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif 94133, urges people in Britain to add their voices to the public pressure which has already paroled Cleaver twice. They request letters on the case to be sent to the American Embassy with copies to them. They suggest sending letters to US and other publications. Supporters already include: Bertrand Russell, James Baldwin, Norman Mailer, Leroy Jones, Robert Lowell and Jean Paul Sartre. We feel sure that readers of AA News who may have read excerpts from a Cleaver essay two issues ago will help in whatever way they can.

State pays out on torture claim

A SOUTH AFRICAN Supreme Court case in which Ovambos held under the Terrorism Act alleged "cruel and brutal" assaults — including electric shock torture — by members of the Security Branch — has been settled out of court.

The South African Government last month paid about £1,800 towards the costs of an urgent application, made in December last year for a court order to protect a 68-year-old Ovambo detainee, Gabriel Mbindi, from assaults by the police.

The money has been paid "without prejudice and without any admissions whatever of the truth or correctness of the affidavits filed in support of the application, especially in relation to alleged assaults".

Mbindi was released from jail in February this year, after having been held as a "witness" for eight-and-a-half months. He was not charged and was paid about £45 "witness" fees on his release.

The application was brought for him by

Joseph Shityuwete, then appearing in court under the Terrorism Act. It cited the Minister of Justice and police officials as respondents.

The application alleged that Mbindi had been assaulted twice, on one occasion handcuffed to an iron water pipe, blind-folded, beaten and kicked. As a result of the assault, Mbindi's face and one arm were swollen, his ears closed up and he excreted blood for three days.

Other accused in the Terrorism Trial claimed in supporting affidavits that they too had been assaulted. Five men alleged they had been subjected to electric shock treatment. The respondents strongly denied these claims.

The pay-off to Mbindi was announced on the day the trial of Laurence Gandar opened. Gandar is being tried after publishing in his newspaper reports, denied by the authorities, of brutal conditions in South African jails. (See page 7).

SPIES TRACK AAM

THE HOME SECRETARY, Jim Callaghan, has been asked to investigate reports that a private detective agency has been inquiring into the activities of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and its supporters. Ben Whitaker, Labour MP for Hampstead, has also asked Mr Callaghan to re-open inquiries into mysterious raids on the office of the AAM in Charlotte Street, the London headquarters of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) and Amnesty International. Mr Whitaker said this week: "The police investigation of thefts from these offices two years ago was quite cursory. No arrests were ever made. I believe Mr Callaghan should put a new officer in charge of these inquiries".

The private detective firm which has admitted inquiry into the AAM is Christopher Robert and Co., Manor Road, Wallington in Surrey. The boss of the firm, Ian Withers, an ex-policeman, told the Sunday Times, which first revealed the inquiries, that his inquiry was handled by his political department. But he refused to reveal the name of his client. He denied that it was the South African Government. In notes which the Sunday Times obtained, it was stated that purple hearts and pornographic pictures were to be planted on United Nations delegates to the UN Special Committee on Apartheid which held sessions in London in June.

REVOLUTION!

CAMBRIDGE STUDENTS are treated to the full blast of revolutionary creed in the current issue of the glossy quarterly Cambridge Opinion. The issue is called "Revolution" and it contains articles by Clive Jordon, Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO, Thami Mhlambiso of the ANC, and others. Cheek-by-jowl with the pieces on revolution in Southern Africa is a full-page advertisement for Metal Box — one of the Anglo-US outfits that is most heavily involved, both in Rhodesia and South Africa.

Protest at official visit

TOURING BRITAIN this month are two groups of South African Members of Parliament. Despite pressure from the AAM and several MPs, one group, including three journalists (all white) was invited by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and will be in the country until November 22.

The Office feels that these visitors will gain "nothing but good" from being brought into contact with the British way of life and with British opinion. The AAM has been asked to discuss the matter with the Foreign Office, but not, as yet, with the visitors.

These are Dr G.F. Jacobs, and M.L. Mitchell, United Party MPs, and J.T. Kruger, National (Government) Party MP. The journalists are O. Krause, of Newscheck, G.A.F. Ries, of Die Burger, and T.A. Myburgh, of Natal Daily News.

The second group of three Government Party MPs — including the Deputy Minister for Finance, J.J. Loots, and former Greyshirt (Nazi-supporting) Senator L.T. Welchardt — and one United Party MP, T.G. Hughes, is here under the auspices of the South African Parliamentary Association. They have already visited other European countries.

POLITICAL PRISONERS in Southern Africa are greatly appreciative, as we know from past experience, of greetings from abroad, particularly at Christmas time. A list of families and addresses is available. Please send stamped addressed envelope to 89 Charlotte Street, London, W 1.

DAVE KITSON MEETING

Hornsey Central Library,
Haringey Park, London, N 8.

Friday, November 15 at 8 pm.

Speakers:
Jim Mortimer, Data, Chairman
Nelson Samkange, ZAPU
Norman Levy, former political prisoner
in South Africa

Organised by Hornsey AA Committee

Jumble profits

SIZZLING PROFITS and great fun, cheered all those who supported Anti-Apartheid's unpretentious fund-raising jumble sale and concert in Golders Green last month.

After a hard day's selling, fatigued workers joined a small but enthusiastic crowd for one of the most pleasant evening concerts that veteran fund-raisers could remember. George Melly, television critic, art lover and pop expert, forcefully reminded the audience that he was also once a great full-time blues singer. Now mostly more comic than blue, he led the audience in falling on the floor with mirth over his "Frankie and Johnny".

Cy Grant sang several folk songs, causing euphoria in the audience, then accompanied New Zealand singer and actress Barbara Ewing in three Maori numbers. Euphoria arrived on the stage in the stunning person of Miss Euphoria Bliss, pictured right, whose delicious jazz voice was accompanied only by Ron Rubin on the double bass. They were all produced by Roger Graef.

To remind the crowd that the Movement is about apartheid, the choir of the African National Congress sang several protest songs from South Africa, mixing them with traditional songs and dancing, including the famous "gumbo" style.

The whole day raised some £300 for the Movement's sorely tried bank balance.



NEWS FROM THE MOVEMENT:

Bournemouth

THIS MONTH sees the second anniversary of the active and energetic Anti-Apartheid Committee at Bournemouth, Hants. Here we publish a report from John Feltham, secretary:

THE BOURNEMOUTH District Branch of the Anti-Apartheid Movement was founded in November 1966, to counter the activities of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society in East Dorset-West Hants. The first secretary of the Branch was Brian Blanchard, a Rhodesian from Bulawayo, and his wife, Ray, from Cape Town, was treasurer of the interim committee.

At first, activity was confined to a letter campaign in the local press, and to an extensive speaking tour, covering the Dorchester-Cheddar-Portsmouth area. These led to a steady inflow of members and to the undertaking of debates with the local Smith lobby (the anti-Smith line has won on each occasion!) and the mounting of public meetings, the main one featuring Nicholas Chitsiga and Leo Baron in May last year.

Pickets, marches, letter-campaigns, film-shows, information evenings for local organisations, briefing sessions for members and counter-demonstrations have formed the staple diet of the branch, the aim being to educate public opinion and to keep the Southern African issues alive.

This year, Human Rights Year, has given us the opportunity of extending our influence, partly through our official representation on the local HRY committee and partially because many of our members are active in HRY in other capacities. Notable has been the contribution made by Mrs Lillian Bader, whose lectures to clergy and to schools on Race Relations in the UK have been one of

the most successful exercises of the HRY Committee.

Cooperation with other AAM Groups has been spasmodic but successful. With Winchester AAM and other organisations we quashed a pro-Smith jamboree in Salisbury, Wilts and later we supported Southampton AAM at their public meeting which featured Judy Todd and our then secretary.

Other projects now under way include a speakers' panel of four, all with personal experience of the problems and countries concerned - South Africa and the ex-High Commission states, Central Africa, East Africa and UK Race Relations. This bids fair to be a most constructive aspect of our work. Fund-raising for medical aid to the guerillas in Southern Africa is under consideration and has been submitted to the National AAM for their reaction, as has the idea of a Christians Against Apartheid action group.

During the past year Southern African members have produced a leaflet, "Rhodesia - A Fact Sheet". A detailed survey of Rhodesia under the Front is almost complete and the draft has been submitted to AAM HQ with a view to publication.

Coming up for discussion over the next year will be the possibility of a National Congress of the AAM, the practicability of a travelling exhibition on apartheid and the resurrection of the Southern Regional AAM Conference.

Bournemouth District is a strong flourishing branch of the AAM and whilst it would welcome yet more local support, it is able and willing to help people in Southern England form other AAM committees with a view to transforming the cellular pattern into a network covering the area south of the Bristol-London line.

and John Sprack, attempted to show the link between the repressive regimes in Southern Africa and Britain. Discussion on prospects of success for the liberation movements was lively.

Wembley

SOME 150 PEOPLE attended a folk song concert organised last month by the Wembley/Harrow Anti-Apartheid branch, which raised a small profit. Ewan McColl, Peggy Seeger, Leon Rosselson and the Romft took part. The branch, one of AA's youngest, is planning a meeting on Rhodesia for this month and a film show for December.

Stop-it

THE STOP-IT Committee, Americans in Britain for US Withdrawal from Vietnam, are organising Angry Arts Film shows over the next two months. Shows will be: on November 18 and 19, Edgar Snow's "One Fourth of Humanity", dealing with life in present-day China; on December 16 and 17 "End of a Revolution", dealing with the situation in Bolivia after Che Guevara's death; and this will be accompanied by "A Group of Terrorists Attacked...", a report on the progress of the African guerilla war in Portuguese Guinea. The films will be shown at the Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, NW 1.

REALISM AT AGM

ANTI-APARTHEID'S annual meeting rolled round again last month, attended by some 200 members at the National Liberal Club. In an atmosphere dominated by the discussions with the Smith regime, in which the Prime Minister had taken part the week previously, much attention was naturally focussed on the Rhodesian situation, and the work the Movement could do in the future on this issue.

Looking back however, S. Abdul, honorary secretary, gave a trenchantly realistic analysis of the past year's work in an increasingly difficult situation. He pointed out that less public enthusiasm for anti-racist activity centred on Southern Africa was a difficulty compounded by the Labour Government's determination to seek settlements in Rhodesia, and associate intimately with the South African Government.

Nonetheless, as David Steel, MP, President of the AAM, and chairman of the meeting pointed out in his summing up remarks, despite these problems, the past year had seen Anti-Apartheid moves as crucial in saving the arms embargo on South Africa,

and in creating an atmosphere in which the MCC's tour had been cancelled after South Africa's refusal to allow Basil d'Oliveira to visit the country with the team.

In lively debate over numerous resolutions before the meeting, many young members expressed a feeling that "Direct action" on the streets did not play an important enough role in the work of AAM. This issue will doubtless come up for further debate in the course of the next year.

David Steel, MP, was re-elected President of the Movement. Two Labour MPs, Sir Dingle Foot, and Ben Whitaker, with Humphry Berkely and Jeremy Thorpe, were confirmed as Vice-Presidents; Lord Brockway, Lord Collison, Jack Jones, Tom Kellock, Frank Hooley and Angus Wilson were confirmed as sponsors; John Ennals, chairman of the Executive Committee, Peter Jackson MP, vice-chairman, S. Abdul, honorary secretary, Tony O'Dowd, honorary treasurer. Ethel de Keyser remains as full-time Executive Secretary and Alan Brooks as full-time Organising Secretary.

Brockway birthday

"TO FENNER, whom we all love - and admire - and respect..." Thus the theme of the dedication of a book signed by hundreds of his friends, who came to do honour on Lord Brockway's 80th birthday, at a party arranged for him on November 1 in Camden Town Hall, by the Movement for Colonial Freedom. This, also the theme of the tribute paid to him there by the famous and the not-so-famous - who included Zik, one of the fathers of African freedom, now back in the struggle for the independence of his Biafran homeland.

Representatives of every facet of Fenner's life and work - in the House of Commons, the peace movement, the ILP, his Slough constituency, for race relations, for the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and the world - all voiced affection for his warm personality, admiration for his total involvement in the causes of freedom, human dignity and peace, and respect for his deep sincerity of purpose.

This was the conclusion, too, of the stage tribute, "Fenner", presenting highlights of his life. Scripted by Ray Fletcher, MP, it was narrated by six well-known actors anxious to honour his unflagging struggle for causes they, too, believed in. Chief among these, an old comrade, Sybil Thorndike, herself 86 the week before and still in beautiful voice, whose 93-year-old husband, Lewis Casson, had also insisted on coming.

Ray Fletcher managed to compress into 45 minutes a most vivid and moving impression of courage, kindness, unswerving principle and never-failing energy which, in

prison as a conscientious objector, on the platform, or among the crowds, had brought Fenner the respect even of his enemies and friendship and fame in every corner of the world.

The same theme and the same conclusion imbued a dinner the following night, attended by many old friends - including such widely differing personalities as Lord Boothby and Bishop Trevor Huddleston. Barbara Castle, proposing Fenner's health, described how she had followed him round the Commonwealth in the past, a pale shadow of his own burning conviction.

Gerald Gardner, the Lord Chancellor, quoted his own speech in the Lords, when he hailed Fenner as the author of the new Race Relations Bill, ending "... I think, and he knows that I think, that on practically everything, he has always been right".

Fenner, overwhelmed, fumbled, as never before, for words to reply. But suddenly the political animal in him seemed to rouse itself and, before six Cabinet Ministers knew what had hit them, the broadside he delivered seemed to thunder: "God, if you think so much of what I stand for, why the bloody hell don't you listen to me?" Why, indeed!

JOAN HYMANS

Regent Street Poly

STUDENTS AT THE Regent Street Poly have recently been campaigning against the Board of Governors; on the grounds that many of them are shareholders in forms that are heavily involved in Southern Africa. According to the students, the Governors, (including Tory front-bencher Quintin Hogg), are thereby supporting apartheid and racial exploitation, and are therefore "racists". White to move...

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Scotland

THE SCOTTISH Council for African Questions, Edinburgh Branch, last month condemned the British Government for "offering to the racist and repressive rebels of the Rhodesian Front, independence on conditions falling short of No Independence Before Majority Rule". Their resolution also regretted Mr Thomson's willingness to visit Rhodesia, to "treat with men who have no intention of renouncing white supremacy". The resolution asks the Government to disengage from close association with South Africa, and to put increasing pressure on the Portuguese Government at this time of change.

The Edinburgh Anti-Apartheid Movement were active in organising the public meeting held by the AAM at the Liberal Party Assembly, which was addressed by John Pardoe, MP, and Sobizana Mngqikana.

Cambridge

MORE THAN 100 Cambridge students attended a conference held last month on Revolution in Southern Africa, organised by the University UNA. The speakers, Frere Ginwala, Joe Slovo, Kozo Dube, Lord Gifford

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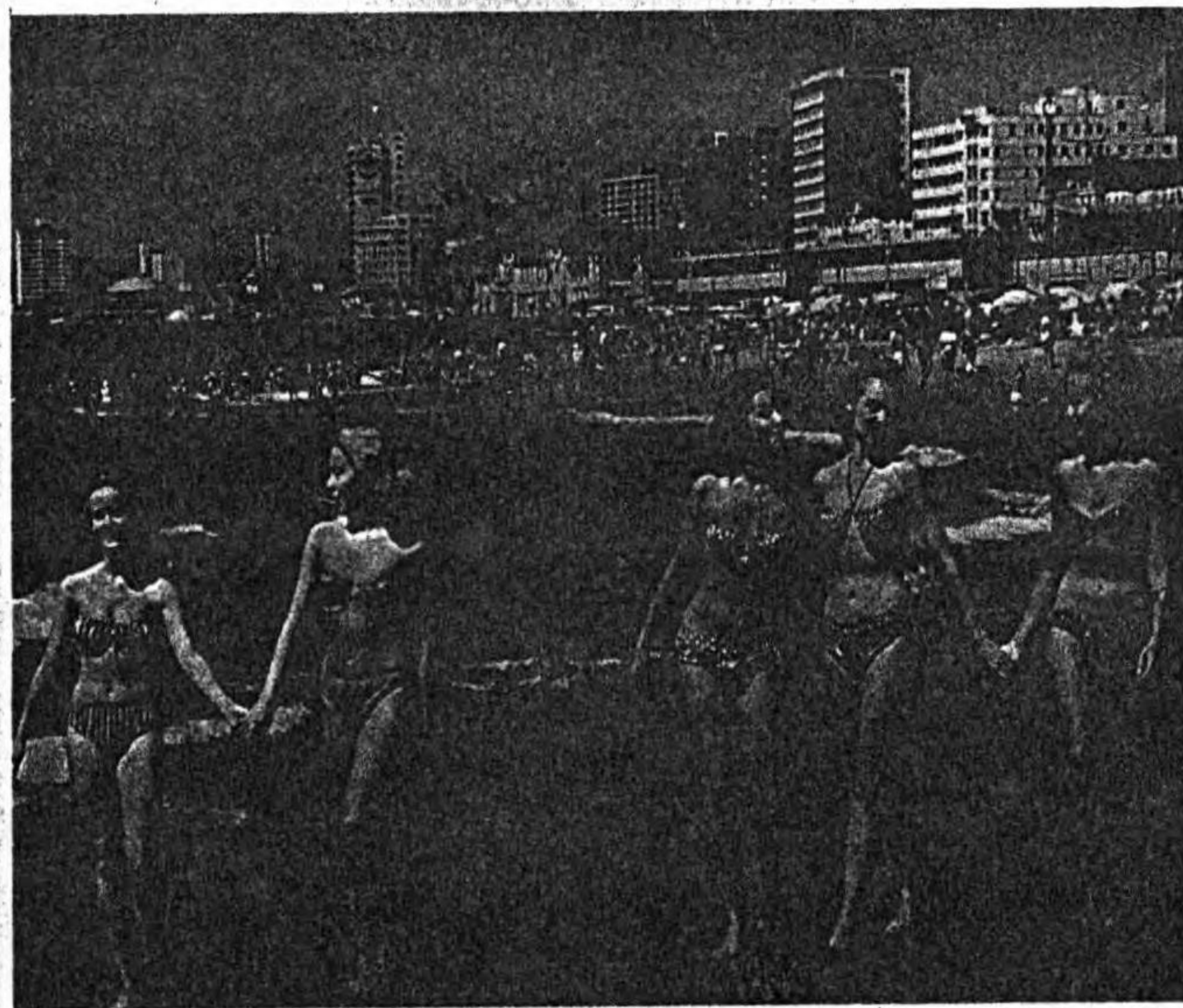
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The whitewash brigade

TODAY, THE people of Britain are slowly becoming aware that for some years past they have been the target for South African race propaganda campaigns, of ever-increasing subtlety and persuasiveness, in which full segregation of the races is claimed to be the only cure for the world's racial ills. In many respects, this propaganda cuts across the spirit, if not the letter, of Britain's Race Relations Acts; but is it really a danger to this country? And are South Africa's race-biased arguments really believed?

John Laurence, author of *The Seeds of Disaster* (published by Gollancz this year at 42s), here examines the nature of South African propaganda abroad and its effects on British people.



White girls enjoy Durban's beautiful beaches. A typical official South African picture to attract overseas holidaymakers. No mention made of segregated beaches.

of a man's skin must cripple every attempt at racial integration to greater or lesser degree, just as a propaganda campaign based on apartheid between Protestant and Catholic would ruin all attempts at friendly religious cooperation (particularly if those spending millions on the campaign had less than 10 years earlier shot 69 members of the other group dead).

But South African propaganda does more than re-divide communities on colour lines. It claims that integration is unworkable and even wrong.

It produces "proof" - heavily documented with figures, photographs and legal tracts (and sometimes even a subservient black man or two) that segregation is the answer to race problems, and that even the most honest attempts at integration must fail. And in this - for it is very plausible - it undermines the morale and efforts of all those who strive for a world not divided on racial lines, makes their task harder, confuses the issue, and places powerful-sounding arguments in the hands of local racists.

If South Africa's race propaganda were based on fact, and fairly and honestly argued, this would be to the good. Honest discussion however way-out - is vitally important on race matters. But - as can be seen by anyone who cares to check for himself - South African race propaganda is neither true nor fair. It is deliberately based on known falsehoods. It is speciously argued. It is fabricated or twisted statistics. And it is undeniably the voice only of the small white minority in South Africa - of people who believe their own arguments and their own promises for separate development, by having to keep it in operation by armed force.

Britain is faced with a difficult and complex race situation. She wishes to solve it with justice and fairness to all - so that all may share in our society and its fruits, without discrimination.

In Britain, however, there are many ex-colonialists - misguided (but not often evil) people - whose views on race are biased, incomplete and out-of-date. It is this type of person particularly for whom South African race propaganda is written, and to whom it most appeals. It is these people, many of them influential and even key positions in the country, who are the prime target of racist propaganda, directed from a foreign state, and who - usually quite unknowingly - are being turned against their own fellow-Britons in a confrontation which can only benefit racist South Africa, but which can help to destroy Britain.

Footnote:

QUESTION 1. Authorities such as Dr R. Mason, Head of the Archaeological Research group at Witwatersrand University, long ago proved that the Africans settled most of South Africa centuries before the whites even arrived. This has recently been confirmed by radio-carbon dating.

QUESTION 2. See Question 1 above. African kraal and smelting furnace remains exist in Johannesburg's suburbs, within two miles of the Main (gold) Reef, and have been dated to the 11th century AD (the first whites arrived in the 17th century).

QUESTION 3. The head of state of the Transkei is the white President of South Africa. Read the Transkei Constitution and State of Emergency Regulations for further proof.

QUESTION 4. Africans had £9 per head spent on their education in 1953 - but the figure now is less than £7 per head. (See article, for instance, by a professional educationist in the Rand Daily Mail, 21/9/68).

QUESTION 5. Africans consistently reject separate development in South Africa. They want race integration. In the only case when they were allowed to cast their vote on the subject, in the Transkei elections, November 1963, 85 per cent of the candidates they returned were anti-apartheid. And non-white spectators in South Africa always cheer visiting overseas teams, and are silent when South African (all-white) teams score.

supplied will be found to be subtly race-biased, very persuasive, extensively distorted in vital areas such as non-white health and opportunities, and strongly dependent on deliberate falsehoods, many of which have been long disproved by white South Africa's own scholars.

The overall effect of this material is to give the unsuspecting reader a twisted, untrue and wholly racist view of South Africa, apparently reasonable and responsible in tone, but characterised by half-truths and omissions, and calculated to increase racial prejudice and uncritical feelings of race pride in all those whites who read it.

South African race propaganda is a major operation. This year, some £2-and-a-half million is being spent on it by the South African Department of Information alone, and further large sums propagate the same material on behalf of "The Voice of South Africa's" powerful short-wave radio transmissions, South African Airways, the South Africa Foundation and various individuals.

This propaganda does not exist in isolation. It is paralleled by a heavy indoctrination campaign in South Africa itself, coupled with extensive censorship and the banning and silencing (without explanation, trial or access to legal counsel) of all the South African Government's really capable critics.

When to this nation-wide acceptance of the specious and the false, is added the polarising effect of South Africa's immigration and tourist laws - only whites are admitted from overseas, and all known Leftists are banned - it can be seen that South Africa can be loosely described as a kind of self-perpetuating factory of racist falsehoods - a countrywide propaganda machine from which the innocent white visitor returns to his homeland often convinced that apartheid is really "separate development", and as such is quite good and just; that South Africa's critics are wrong and probably Communist-inspired; and that the black man, by his very refusal to criticise

apartheid when asked, must obviously approve of the white man's plans for him.

The point about visitors to the South African Department of Information realised that the conditioning of South Africa itself was so complete that even the sceptical visitor could, in most cases, now be allowed to roam the country at will, listening to the curious sameness and consistency of the "separate development story", as it is told by whites from Beit Bridge to Cape Point. And so a world-wide campaign was courageously launched to encourage tourism (whites only, of course) to South Africa.

It is having considerable success, and one can glimpse its face in, for instance, the Recent Union Castle Line advertisement in the British Press: "South Africa? - well, go and then you'll know" - which does not mention that only whites may go. BOAC has recently been entreating (white) Britons to visit their (white) relatives and friends in South Africa, and even "Queen" magazine, in their semi-critical special feature on South Africa on September 11, 1968, used South Africa's own propaganda arguments to perfection, in stating "There are three reasons why we should go to South Africa" - and then urged its (white) readers to make the trip, and trade and talk; activities which leave South Africa with an even greater stranglehold on the British economy, and usually result in a further batch of subtly brainwashed visitors.

The result is significant and disturbing - particularly as the other side (the opinions of the 82 per cent non-white majority in South Africa) is in many cases never heard at all. When it is heard, those telling it are accused of being agitators and Communists - the d'Oliveira affair is but one of many cases in point.

Is it really wrong for Britons to visit South Africa simply as innocent tourists?

Obviously, a massive, world-wide propaganda operation whose whole rationale is based on the alleged importance of the colour

ANTI-APARTHEID COUNTER-ATTACKS

here: or that it is also "debatable" whether such comment in the journal of a public body is ill-timed, following recent British Government announcements of strengthened sanctions against Rhodesia.

The information supplied is certainly often reminiscent of the South African Department of Information hand-outs... South Africans are fortunate that "their income of £260 per capita" is higher than African norms... Why not break down that £260 and give us comparative rates for the 18 per cent whites and 82 per cent non-whites? Or would this not suit the purpose of the writer?

The statement that "the balance of trade lies heavily in Britain's favour" is no longer

true. Let us turn to the "Conclusion" - the only signed article - written by the "Incentive 68" editor, Robert Blackburn. Blackburn underlines the "fact" that his review "has no politics"; also that "a short business visit does not qualify the visitor as an overnight expert on the political affairs of a country". However, short visits are better than no visits, and "we are perhaps better informed than some of the commentators who base their opinions solely on second-hand sources..."

It is convenient for many journalists and political commentators to see international affairs entirely in political terms, but it

RECENTLY ANTI-Apartheid had a precise experience with one of the forms of insidious South African whitewash, practised by bodies not officially connected with the Republic's Government. It concerned the devotion to South Africa, of an entire issue this year of Incentive 68, the glossy monthly, published by BOAC, a British public corporation, of course.

The journal claims to be non-political, but propagandists in Pretoria were subsequently pleased to quote extracts from it in their information material. And why not?

The opening article dealt shortly with the historical development of the Cape as a trading station, and the Anglo-Dutch trade wars. The anonymous writer made the following unhistorical observation: "Nowadays, fortunately, trade wars are less fashionable, though hostility can still take the form of boycotts or sanctions. It is debatable whether such action, or talk of it, often achieves the desired end".

One might consider that such sweeping generalisations are only directed at the Anti-Apartheid forces, and are misplaced

makes little practical sense to other people... mass media generally have no profound interest in the realities of trade."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement wrote to BOAC. The Chairman, Sir Giles Guthrie, replied: "I really find it hard to believe that anyone would consider the comment which you have quoted as being 'loaded', and I am afraid, therefore, that I cannot accept your protest nor agree to your suggestion that we should print a fuller and more thorough publication of the issues involved in South Africa... we are sincere in saying that Incentive 68 has no politics..."

It is recognised that BOAC and South African Airways (SAA) are members of the "Springbok Partnership" in the major South African/Europe air link, and that with SAA Boeing 707s denied access to much African airspace by anti-apartheid states, BOAC VC 10s make the British company a useful partner.

However, it can be hoped that a propaganda partnership, whether intentional or unintentional, with South Africa's apologists for apartheid, will not continue.

Fearless prepares final retreat

A COMPARISON of Tiger and Fearless Constitutional proposals, showing the diminishing British concern for Rhodesia's African majority.

Fearless legislature

The composition to be: a Legislative Assembly with 33 "A" Roll seats, 17 "B" Roll seats, 17 Reserved European seats.

The Senate. The composition to be: 12 European seats elected by Europeans on the "A" Roll, 8 African seats elected by Africans on "A" and "B" Rolls voting together, 6 Chiefs elected by the Chief's Councils.

(The British Government are prepared to consider variations in the composition of the Legislature, including increased Chiefly representation, provided that it secures at all times a "blocking quarter" of directly and popularly elected Africans.)

Both Tiger and Fearless proposals for the machinery of Government fail to give the African majority any real power or any hope of achieving political efficacy. A comparatively small number of Africans would at present qualify for voting on the key A roll where there are income and educational qualifications. The B roll with African voters would elect only one quarter of the Legislative Assembly and would share in electing only one third of the Senate. Power would remain with the ruling white minority.

A roll: The white minority now controls education and the possibilities of economic advancement of the African. The very real danger is that the Rhodesia Front would simply delay the education programmes which guarantee African advancement. Certainly, since UDI the regime has cut back on African secondary education which at one stroke has diminished the number of future African voters who can qualify for the A roll.

B roll: There is only a hair-breadth of safety in the so-called blocking quarter. The mechanism could be demolished by suborning only two African MPs. This means, of course, that the guarantee against retrogressive amendment of the constitution is very thin indeed.

Fearless franchise

The "B" Roll franchise to be extended to include all Africans over 30 who satisfy the citizenship and residence qualifications.

This franchise proposal was also a part of Tiger. It raises important questions: what body will be responsible for examining "citizenship and residence" qualifications? And if an African is told he does not qualify for various technical reasons, is there a right of appeal? These questions remain unanswered. They are grave issues in view of the fact that prominent members of Smith's party have publicly stated that they intend slowing up African advancement.

Release of detainees

TIGER:

An impartial judicial tribunal, appointed by the Rhodesian Government, but including one British representative nominated by the Lord Chancellor, will be set up to consider the detention and restriction of persons on security grounds. Such detention and restriction will not be authorised unless the tribunal are affirmatively satisfied that the persons concerned have committed, or incited the commission of, acts of violence or intimidation.

FEARLESS:

Continued detention and restriction will not be authorised unless the reviewing authorities are affirmatively satisfied, having full regard to past activities, that the persons concerned are likely to commit, or incite or conspire to commit, acts of violence or intimidation.

In the Tiger document it is plainly stated that all those detained for purely political reasons would be released. No one was to be detained unless he had committed acts of violence or intimidation. Under Fearless, however, likelihood of such facts is the criterion. Fearless leaves the release of political detainees ultimately dependent on a court out of whose three judges, two would be white Rhodesians.

As Sir Dingle Foot commented in

Parliament: "The decisions to continue detention will be taken 'by a Judge of the Rhodesian High Court', presumably one of the foresworn Judges, one of those who would not even give effect to the Queen's reprieve."

"Fearless proposes: Cases in which release is not recommended by the Judge will be referred to an impartial judicial tribunal. This will consist of three members of whom one will be nominated by the Lord Chancellor and two will be Rhodesian nominees."

"Two will be the nominees of Mr Smith or Mr Lardner-Burke. This is a worthless safeguard."

Return to legality

In the Tiger proposals there was insistence on the Rhodesians returning to legality, with a broad-based interim Government.

Has the Smith regime shown such integrity in the past two years to warrant the fact that Fearless makes no suggestion that the Governor should have legislative power; no suggestion that the armed forces and the police should be the Governor's responsibility, advised by a security council of which Britain should provide one member. Providing Mr Smith brings a few Africans into Government, he can remain in control during the whole period when the Royal Commission tests Rhodesian public opinion on the acceptability of the independence constitution. Membership of this Commission is not spelled out. Will members have access to the views of the detainees? Unless all the detainees are released the testing of opinion would be valueless. (European missionaries in Rhodesia estimate that Joshua Nkomo has the support of 80 per cent of the Africans, who themselves form 95 per cent of the population.)

Thus, Fearless is, for Britain, a distinct retreat from Tiger. Mr Smith's demurral at even the puny "safeguards" it expresses for African opportunity, and Mr Thomson's eagerness to talk yet again, cause real fear that Britain is about to retreat too far.

Labour MPs speak out

FIFTY-ONE Labour and all Liberal MPs voted against the Government over the Fearless proposals. We quote some friends of the AAM speaking in Parliament last month.

ANDREW FAULDS: There can be no doubt that, with the men who will be working this constitution whom we all know to be untrustworthy, there will be abrogation of the constitution whenever the white supremacists feel that they can fix it. To me a settlement on the Fearless terms is totally unacceptable. If the Government settled on these terms I am afraid that I shall maintain my beliefs outside the parliamentary Labour Party.

BEN WHITAKER: We remember clearly that Mr Smith has repeatedly said that there will be no majority rule in his lifetime. If he were sincere when he said this, what is the point of negotiations? If he is not sincere when he makes such clear and repeated statements, what is the point of negotiating with such a man? The present negotiations seem to Rhodesians, from whom I have heard, to be like an auction at which 4.3 million Africans are being sold off as cheap labour to Mr Smith, and this is an auction at which no African is permitted to make any bid.

JOAN LESTOR: I am sure that the Prime Minister is sincere about race relations. But I think that he is sincerely wrong. He spoke about human rights, from Birmingham to Bulawayo, and I agree with what he said, but the human rights for which we have argued for our own country must be applied to a country for which we have responsibility.

SIR DINGLE FOOT: If we had a settlement on the lines proposed by Her Majesty's Government it is these men (Smith and Lardner-Burke) who would be expected faithfully to carry out the six principles. If anybody really supposes that they will, he is living in the realm of fantasy.

FRANK JUDD: On the night of UDI the Prime Minister spoke for all that is best in Britain when he assured the people of Rhodesia that we would do everything necessary and stand firm to bring them back on the road to majority rule. Three years later the Commonwealth Office has at its disposal masses of accumulated evidence of the knock at the door in the middle of the night, people in prison without trial, brutal interrogation techniques, illegal executions and all the other nauseating paraphernalia of a police state. In this debate and every other debate throughout the Rhodesia crisis we have been debating the will - whether we have the will to solve this crisis or not.

JEREMY THORPE: I cannot in my heart bring myself to say that on the basis of this document and these proposals, we could have an honourable and lasting settlement. The good faith of the country is at stake. The future of four million Africans and Britain's reputation for non-racialism are at stake. We cannot, simply because it is easy, accept a paper agreement which will be revoked, possibly torn up, within a matter of months. I believe this to be a bad agreement and I do not want to be party to a sordid retreat.

THESE MPs were either absent from last month's Fearless debate or they abstained deliberately. We urge readers to write asking for an expression of opinion from these Members, reminding them of the importance of the issue: Leo Abse, Austen Albu, Walter Aldritt, Sydney Allen, Donald Anderson, John Ashley, Ronald Atkins, Gordon Bagier, Alan Beaney, John Binns, Edward Bishop, Arthur Bottomley, Thomas Bradley, George Brown, Ronald Brown, Barbara Castle, Bernard Conlan, John Cronin, George Darling, Arthur Davidson, Gwilym Elfed Davies, Stephen Davies, Geoffrey de Freitas, Hugh Delargy, Donald Dewar, Thomas Driberg, Jack Dunnett, Michael English, Ernest Fitch, Edward Fletcher, Eric Fletcher, Raymond Fletcher, John Fraser, Myer Galpern, William Garrett, Ray Gunter, William Hamilton, William Hannan, Bertie Hazell, Stanley Henig, Dennis Hobden, Harry Howarth, George Jackson, Douglas Jay, George Jeger, Lena Jeger, Hugh Jenkins, James Johnson, Richard Kelley, John Lee, Leslie Lever, Norman Lever, Arthur Lewis, Ronald Lewis, Charles Loughlin, Evan Luard, Edward Lyons, Michael McGuire, Margaret McKay, John Mackintosh, Joseph McNamara, Simon Mahon, Archibald Manuel, David Marquand, Christopher Mayhew, Robert Mellish, Ian Mikardo, Edward Milne, Richard Mitchell, Eric Moonman, Alfred Morris, Albert Murray, Francis Noel-Baker, Philip Noel-Baker, Eric Ogden, Albert Oram, Maurice Orbach, Walter Padley, Christopher Price, William Price, Harry Pursey, Harry Randall, John Rankin, Geoffrey Rhodes, Ivor Richard, Albert Roberts, Roy Roebuck, Edward Rowlands, Arnold Shaw, Julius Silverman, George Strauss, Thomas Swain, Ernest Thornton, Frank Tomney, Raphael Tuck, Eric Varley, David Watkins, Alfred Wellbeloved, Alan Lee Williams.

A RHODESIA waterhose mourning in Rhodesia above was be circulate is re-enact Rhodesia of Raeburn, elementary "tion," he said

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Westminster imperative

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I SUSPECT THAT many readers of Anti-Apartheid News are disenchanted with the Labour Government's record in Southern Africa.

This feeling will have been powerfully re-inforced by the recent Rhodesia negotiations on "Fearless". The terms of the Agreement set out in the White Paper are, if anything, less acceptable for those concerned about African rights than the "Tiger" proposals. The Government seems hell-bent on a settlement, irrespective of the terms.

As with so much else, readers may well be led to question the utility of campaigning within the Labour movement. It will be said that the Labour Party Conference has gone on record against any settlement with the illegal Smith regime and yet that view counted for nothing.

Why then strive to bring pressure on Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP)?

I can understand this view, yet it cannot be denied that, given the will, Labour MPs have power to change the direction of Government policy. Whether they will do so, is another matter.

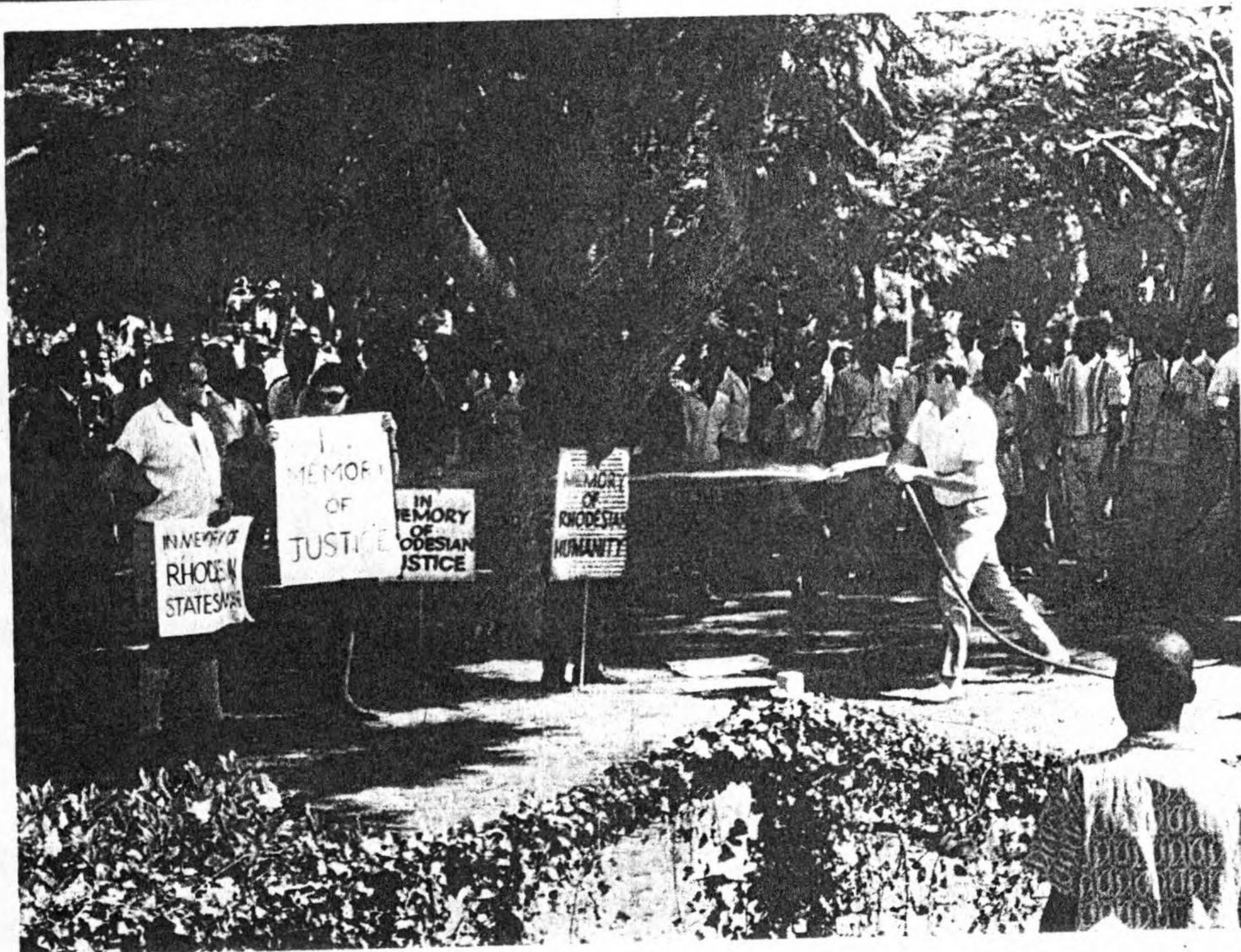
There is a considerable body of opinion — by no means restricted to the 52 Members who voted against the Government over the Fearless proposals on October 22 — who are unhappy about the terms of the proposed settlement. This opposition is widespread and represents the full spectrum of Party opinion. Members such as Paul Rose (Manchester, Blackley), Alex Lyons (York), James Johnson (Hall), Jim Wellbeloved (Erith and Crayford), were numbered amongst those who deliberately abstained, or voted against the Government.

Rhodesia is THE Labour Government Parliament. It is that Members are their membership than accept the term

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Commitments

It should be o Members and Mini commitments to the racialism and self-editorials — partic dian and The Sun Anti-Apartheid Ne Fearless proposal have indicated the Government's case the Government's to carry convict rejecting the Fear therefore strong, for the Govern justify their acti Whips, but to the elected. If Parlia to be made a rea give an account provide constituent



A RHODESIAN white supremacist fires a waterhose at demonstrators for justice, mourning the hangings of three Africans in Rhodesia early this year. The picture above was taken on the spot. In a film, to be circulated in London shortly, the scene is re-enacted. The film was shot in Rhodesia over the past months by Mike Raeburn, who calls it a "dramatic documentary". "Within the framework of fiction," he says, "real people are introduced

into situations which allow them to give vent to their own feelings on social conditions in Rhodesia".

Raeburn says: "My actors were a selection of friends. To find people prepared to act in a politically engaged film was not easy. I approached 15 whites. One told the whole story to the police and others complained of lack of precaution. All the Africans were courageous, despite fear of police and township authorities. I had

to take one actor home because the late buses had been cancelled by the township supervisor, who lived near the main road. He could not bear the sound of bus traffic at night".

The Smith Government, Raeburn says, have done a sound job of indoctrinating the country against dissenters and rebels. But this is at the expense, he adds, of tolerance of criticism, and freedom from fear, for the whites.

BLITZ CAMPAIGN TO STOP SELLOUT

A SHORT-TERM blitz campaign aimed at drawing maximum public attention to the current manoeuvres for a disastrous UK sell-out over Rhodesia is being launched now by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Working with other organisations, the target is to focus public pressure on the Government during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in January. It is of course uncertain that final terms of a settlement will be announced at that time, but the Conference is sure to again arouse interest in the question, as the prime ministers debate the withdrawal of the No Independence Before Majority Rule pledge the British leader gave them two years ago.

Throughout this month and up to the Conference, meetings are being arranged across the country. University and Labour Party support is specially aimed for. Planned centres include Brighton, Canterbury, Southend, Salisbury, Exeter, Bristol, Swansea, Cardiff, Eastbourne, Oxford, Birmingham, Le-

icester, Leeds, Manchester, Bradford, Hull, Durham, Newcastle (Staffs), Liverpool, Sheffield, Cambridge, Harlow, Southampton, Bournemouth, Tunbridge Wells.

For exact details or requests for help in organising a meeting in your area please phone the office: 01-580-5311. Speakers will include several MPs who voted against the Fearless proposals last month. At present Dick Crawshaw, Peter Jackson, Dingle Foot, Michael Foot, Stan Newens, Gwilym Roberts, Edwin Brooks, David Winnick, Stan Orme, Frank Judd, Frank Hooley, Sidney Bidwell, Arthur Blenkinsop, Joan Lester, David Kerr, Will Griffiths, Bill Molloy, John Ryan and John Dunwoody have expressed willingness to speak, preferably in their areas.

A demonstration at the Prime Ministers Conference on January 7 will form the climax of this massive effort to arouse public attention to the plight of the mass of Rhodesians, in the light of UK-Smith arrangements.

of the African people of Rhodesia to self-determination, and would, therefore, be unacceptable to the people of Zimbabwe and would neither last nor bring peace to Southern Africa.

The AAM demands the release of all political prisoners and detainees, including those sentenced to death, and recognition of the justice of the struggle for freedom; calls for the immediate withdrawal from Rhodesian soil of the South African troops which are the mainstay of the illegal regime.

ZAPU

ZAPU called the Fearless talks "an insult". The nationalist organisation said: "The constitutional stew being cooked by Wilson and Smith must be rejected totally. It is poison... These two white people... ignore us and... are determining only their interests in our country".

Blacks don't back Smith

THE BLACK PEOPLE of Rhodesia expect a settlement before Christmas. In the current discussions they expect Britain to make all the concessions. Their confidence in the UK Government has been betrayed and no arrangements they make with the Smith regime are acceptable.

These stern words came last month from Herbert Thompson, leader of the Rhodesian National Association of Coloured People, visiting London with Mr B. Govan, Asian Independent MP in Rhodesia, in a belated attempt to get a black man's point of view across to the Government.

"All non-whites in Rhodesia will refuse the Fearless terms," Mr Thompson said. "We know Smith has no intention of advancing the Africans. We now have to choose between joining Smith and finding our own emancipation".

Mr Thompson said economic sanctions were hurting the blacks more than the whites in Rhodesia, but since the blacks were used to suffering, they wanted them to continue and hit the white farmers and business further. Some black farmworkers, previously earning only 45s a month on a white-owned farm, were now doing better at subsistence farming in the reserves, after being laid off because of sanctions.

Mr Thompson said the news of the freedom-fighters' activities was widely welcomed among black people in Rhodesia, and while some people acted as informers, most received and sheltered the freedom fighters, and wished them well.

Mr B. Govan said the Fearless proposals side-stepped the six principles. He said there was no point in negotiating with Ian Smith, who did not speak for the Africans, whose popular leaders were detained, with hushed voices.



Smith watches counter-guerilla exercises with his troops

DESERTIONS

CRACKS ARE appearing in the loyalty of the Rhodesian African Rifles, recent reports from Salisbury suggest. This regiment of Rhodesian African soldiers has been used by the Smith Defence authorities to counter guerilla activity in the Zambezi Valley, but army records are showing an increasing number of court martials and desertions.

In the past, the regiment has been an attractive work prospect for Africans. The soldiers are among the few Africans who can live with their families in their place of employment. The salaries are comparatively high.

Politics play a part in the regiment's training, and the current "enemy" is explained in terms of communism, evil, destruction of peace, family and home. However, recent reports tell one story of a company in the Regiment who were so impressed at not being shot at by a guerilla force they met, that they downed arms and fled. (Reports from guerilla sources corroborate that they have avoided engaging African security forces on occasion.)

Caprivi fighting

GUERRILLA FIGHTING in the Caprivi Strip — a jutting Africa, bordering North and Botswana last month — to cause South African Lourens Muller

Arrests

Muller claim incursions, no arrested, five chiefs. He said South Africa to Equatorial state as a buffer for South Africa installations in ing great con Government, w South West Africa abroad have re tag of some of

AAM ON TALKS

THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT condemns the Fearless proposals as a betrayal of commitments to the Commonwealth, to the United Nations, to the British people and to the vital interests of Rhodesia's African population.

It believes that the proposed settlement would only legitimise UDI, entrench apartheid and prolong the oppression of the peoples of Southern Africa.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement reaffirms its support for the principle of NIBMAR, and declares that any settlement reached between the British Government and a minority regime in Rhodesia would be a denial of the rights

Westminster lobby imperative now

A LABOUR MP PLEADS FOR ACTION

I SUSPECT THAT many readers of Anti-Apartheid News are disenchanted with the Labour Government's record in Southern Africa.

This feeling will have been powerfully re-inforced by the recent Rhodesia negotiations on "Fearless". The terms of the Agreement set out in the White Paper are, if anything, less acceptable for those concerned about African rights than the "Tiger" proposals. The Government seems hell-bent on a settlement, irrespective of the terms.

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There is a considerable body of opinion — by no means restricted to the 52 Members who voted against the Government over the Fearless proposals on October 22 — who are unhappy about the terms of the proposed settlement. This opposition is widespread and represents the full spectrum of Party opinion. Members such as Paul Rose (Manchester, Blackley), Alex Lyons (York), James Johnson (Hull), Jim Wellbeloved (Erith and Crayford), were numbered amongst those who deliberately abstained, or voted against the Government.

Rhodesia is THE issue facing the Labour Government during this present Parliament. It is of such magnitude that Members are prepared to resign their membership of the PLP, rather than accept the terms.

It was said, during the course of the Debate, "that there are Ministers in the Government who should be ashamed of their connivance in such a settlement. Principle seems to have been lost out to pragmatism and to the fruits of office. Those whom we might have expected to make a stand, judging from what they said when we were in Opposition, apparently do not intend to. They have abandoned the postures of principle which they adopted in opposition. Power and position have bought them". I wouldn't for one moment wish to deny this allegation. At the same time it must be pointed out that not all Members are subject to such blandishments.

Commitments

It should be our task to remind Members and Ministers of their earlier commitments to the principles of multi-racialism and self-government. Recent editorials — particularly in The Guardian and The Sunday Times, and the Anti-Apartheid News analysis of the Fearless proposals (see these pages) have indicated the paucity of the Government's case. The speeches from the Government's Front Bench failed to carry conviction. The case for rejecting the Fearless sell-out is therefore strong. Those MPs who voted for the Government must therefore justify their action, not only to the Whips, but to those by whom they are elected. If Parliamentary democracy is to be made a reality, Members should give an account of their action, and provide constituents with a justification

of their conduct. If your Member of Parliament is one of those who either voted for the Government or who abstained (see this page), you should write to him and solicit an expression of his views.

It is difficult to speculate as to the prospects of a settlement following George Thomson's visit to Salisbury.

A settlement would necessitate the passage through the House of a Rhodesia Independence Act. The Bill would be bitterly fought and could well require Tory support. Whether the Government would be prepared to accept such ignominy is open to question. This would certainly be required, if 100 Labour Members could be persuaded to oppose its passage. Members of Parliament must therefore be subject to maximum persuasion and readers should begin a "creative dialogue" with their local Members.

We therefore strongly urge you to lose no time in writing to your Members, or, alternatively, visiting their surgeries. Debates in Parliament are a mere charade; Members have made up their minds well in advance as to how they will vote. The decisive vote could well be early next year. No time should therefore be lost in making contact with your Member and advising us of his reply.

The Government is already under pressure from both the United Nations and the Commonwealth Governments and knows full well that it would lose much by negotiating a settlement on the Fearless terms. The balance could well be tipped were Labour MPs to demonstrate their opposition to a dishonourable settlement. This pressure will only prove effective if the action is taken by a sufficient number. Fifty Members have already committed themselves to opposition. Our task should be to ensure they are joined by a further 50.



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Caprivi fighting

GUERRILLA FIGHTING in the Caprivi Strip — a jutting area of South West Africa, bordered by Zambia on the North and Botswana on the South — broke out last month with sufficient strength to cause South African Police Minister Lourens Muller a certain malaise.

Arrests

Muller claimed that after "serious" incursions, more than 40 men were arrested, five of whom were Caprivi chiefs. He said it was essential for South Africa to win the goodwill of sub-Equatorial states, which could serve as a buffer for the country.

South Africa has major military installations in the Caprivi Strip, causing great concern to the Zambian Government, who are within easy range. South West African nationalist forces abroad have reported successful sabotage of some of these installations.

REMOVALS

MASS REMOVALS of Africans started in Rhodesia last month when the rebel colony's version of South Africa's Group Areas Act came into force.

An estimated 3,000 families are being moved to African townships from white areas where they lived with relatives who were domestic servants. It is now illegal in seven Salisbury suburbs for a domestic servant to have his family living in, without permission.

Some families are being moved to townships as far as 14 or more miles away. The removals passed more or less without incident, only the white householders complaining that servants will now cost about £3 a month more.

The Government defends the scheme against church criticisms that family life is being broken, by saying that conditions in many servants' quarters were appalling anyway, and that some families will be brought closer together as they come from tribal trust rural areas to live in nearby townships.

EDUCATION NOTES

Black White Comparisons

COMPARATIVE educational philosophy and expenditure for whites and blacks were exposed in last month's issue of the South African Race Relations News. For the benefit of British readers subject to the well-known propaganda line from South Africa House that the Republic does more educationally for its blacks than other African States we reprint these black-white notes from inside Africa's richest country.

- The 1966 report of the Bantu Education Department shows that in the three University Colleges for Africans, 179 members of the lecturing staff were white, 43 African. Yet The Minister of National Education this year obliged white Cape Town University to refuse the application of a former student for a Social Anthropology lectureship, because he was black.
- No more high schools for African children living in urban areas will be established. If they want more than the schooling offered by the already overcrowded schools now in existence, they will have to be sent to boarding schools in "homeland" areas. No mention has been made of State help with the extra costs involved in being forced to send children away from home.
- Underlining the costs of boarding education irrespective of race, this year's prospectus for the Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit says: "There is no doubt that in spite of the nearness of the all-white University of Pretoria, and the (all-white) Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, numbers of successful Rand matriculants cannot afford to study full-time as boarders away from their parental homes."
- "Text books are still beyond the pockets of most Bantu pupils, and many pupils consequently have no text books" - 1962 Bantu Education Report. The Deputy Minister for Bantu Education added this year in Parliament that his department had increased its expenditure on text books for African children, from R220,000 to R246,000 in 1967-8, saying he was satisfied with this amount. This works out at an expenditure of 17 per cent (approximately 2s) per child in school each year.
- This is exactly five per cent of the R3.40 spent on a white child in Transvaal primary schools. The National Education Policy Act specifies that "Education means instruction and training for whites ... it (including books and stationery) shall be provided free of charge in schools maintained, managed and controlled by Department of States".
- New arrangements for next school year provide that Coloured school children, like whites, will receive all their books and stationery free, in all classes. All African children in primary school will receive free text books, but they remain the property of the school. They will pay for their stationery, however, and will pay for all their own materials in secondary school.

MORE THAN 250 children aged eight to 15, living on farms around Potchefstroom have been banned from going to school and ordered to work in the field for 50 cents, about 7s a month, a South African paper revealed recently.

One child's father, Pheus Motaung, said he and many other farm labourers worked on the land for about £6 a month.

Their employers, he claimed, were wealthy enough to build farm schools and pay teachers' wages if they wished.

But the farmers took the attitude that education was "not good" for Africans and would do nothing to help. "We have been told by our employers not to waste money on education," Mrs Pauline Selokile said. The parents said the farmers had threatened the workers with eviction from their homes on the farms if their children went to school. The children, some as young as eight, say they are made to work from 6 am to 6 pm.

RHODESIAN STUDENT organisations have started negotiations to join the 23,000 member National Union of South African Students (NUSA S). The move will join virtually all English-speaking students in Southern Africa in one organisation generally opposed to the racial policies of both the Rhodesian and South African Governments. Duncan Innes, president of NUSA S also reported last month that for the first time the student body of one of the "tribal colleges" - the University College of the North at Turfloop, had asked to join NUSA S.

THE SPECIAL Branch of the South African Police is investigating the "driving force" behind recent student unrest in the country, Brigadier PJ Venter said last month. NUSA S president Duncan Innes called on the Government to set up a judicial inquiry rather than allow the Special Branch to snoop.

STUDENTS APPLYING for re-admission to the Fort Hare University College, after mass expulsions recently, are being made to sign stringent undertakings which will mean immediate and permanent expulsion if they are broken. Students have to agree not to demonstrate, to obey the college rules strictly, not to intimidate other students, not to be insubordinate nor to damage anyone or thing.



AAM CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Close look at racism

THIS YEAR is Human Rights Year. As Human Rights don't seem to have very much to do with the policies of the white regimes of Southern Africa, the Anti-Apartheid Movement decided to hold a One-Day Conference, so that a closer look could be taken; to discover, in fact, if the regimes were as disgustingly short in their concerns for human feelings as their actions had led the world to believe.

The Conference opened at the Africa Centre on October 19 with Anti-Apartheid's President, David Steel MP in the chair.

The first speaker, Quentin Crewe, gave a very depressing picture.

In digging up background material for his recent series of articles, soon to be published as a book, Mr Crewe discovered enough evidence to give the lie to the oft-repeated accusation that it was the Africans who were agitating for change. "It is not the Africans, but the situation that agitates for change", he declared.

The next speaker, Joe Matthews, of the African National Congress of South

Africa, outlined the history of the fight for human rights up to the programmatic embodiment of the Universal Declaration's Principles in the 'Freedom Charter', adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, near Johannesburg, 26th June, 1955.

"For a long time, African leaders believed that changes would come gradually as the country developed, but the whites eventually educated us otherwise", he said.

Patrick Keatley, Commonwealth Correspondent of "The Guardian", the next speaker, said that "South Africa is top of the World League of Irresponsibility" for they have a situation "like an egg-timer running out" without doing anything that would prevent the curtain finally coming down.

The first speaker at the afternoon session, which was chaired by Anti-Apartheid Movement's Chairman, John Ennals, was again Joe Matthews.

The South African Government had made all forms of political activity for Africans illegal, and, as they were determined that South Africa should, in

the words of the "Freedom Charter", "belong to all who live in it, black and white", they had little option, but to take the decision and to start armed conflict.

Supporting this analysis, Ruth First said that "Every time the Africans showed their strength (strikes, boycotts and so on) the Government took stronger powers, until now they have effectively brought about the destruction of the Africans' ability to protest peacefully".

Summing up the Conference, Labour MP, Frank Judd, said that the fundamental issue in politics today is race, and what happens in Southern Africa is closely related to what happens in the world community as a whole, and the gap between the rich and the poor nations. "The integrity of Britain is also very much at stake", he added.

Douglas Marchant

Human Rights in Southern Africa, and their lack, as well as discussion on the "Freedom Charter", and the situation in such countries as Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and South West Africa will be found in the nine background papers prepared for the Conference. Available from the AAM Office at 2s 6d a set.

ANGOLA: RICH COLONY

ALTHOUGH THERE are no up-to-date studies of comparative African economies, one could reliably say that Angola ranks in the group formed by Zambia, Ivory Coast and the Congo, as one of the richest territories in Africa. In spite of the war which broke out in 1961, Angola has known a rate of development which compares favourably with, and in some cases exceeds, that of many African independent countries. Since 1961, total exports have more than doubled and currently average £110-million.

Angola is a territory of 480,000 square miles, 14 times the size of Portugal, and bigger than Germany, France and Italy put together. The gross national product was estimated by the Bank of Angola in 1963 at £350 million. The African population is estimated at about 5.5 million, the white population at 420,000.

Since the economy of Angola follows the pattern of trading in most African countries, i.e. an exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs for capital equipment and consumer goods, it is relevant to study each of the main exports separately.

Coffee

Exports of coffee in 1967 exceeded £55 million. This represented nearly half of the total exports, the United States and Holland being the biggest buyers. Angola ranks as the world's fourth largest producer of coffee, second in Africa to the Ivory Coast, whose exports Angola is on the point of surpassing. It is also relevant to note that exports of coffee are the biggest single export commodity (from the Escudo area) and that they already represent 25 per cent of Metropolitan Portugal's total export.

The next most important current export in terms of value is diamonds, currently around £14,000,000. These are exported to Portugal in bulk for processing marketing.

Maize, sisal and fisheries, plus a wide variety of tropical and sub-tropical products, make up the remainder of the exports.

Although these two important additions are still in their initial stages, it is thought that in the next few years they will overtake diamonds and coffee in their importance to Angola's economic future.

Iron ore is being exploited at Cassinga by the Companhia Mineira do Lobito, and, until recently, exports were running at 500,000 tons a year. As a result of further development, another 5 million tons will be exported each year - 70 per cent of the total going to Japan. The development of the Cassinga project has an investment of £45 million - half of it subscribed by a Consortium headed by Krupp, who are said not to be so interested in the purchase of the iron ore as in the supply of material and equipment for the overall project, including mining plant, transport, communications, etc. on the site.

Antonio de Figueiroda gives facts and figures about Portugal's largest colony, in a paper prepared for the Human Rights Conference last month, reported above.

The newly discovered and developed oilfields, both in the area of Luanda, and in the enclave of Cabinda, have both an economic and political relevance in the context of Southern Africa, which should not be minimised. It is said that the deposits discovered in Angola would in time be diverted to South Africa, and solve one of her vital requirements. Petrangol has invested £25 million, and has extracted 4,000,000 tons of oil from Angola over the past few years.

The Gulf Oil subsidiary, Cabinda Oil Corporation, is investing a further £32 million in their venture in Cabinda. By 1970 this company expects to produce 7.5 million tons of oil per annum, or 150,000 barrels a day.

With a second oil refinery being built, Angola is virtually self-sufficient in petroleum products, other than high-octane aviation fuel.

Hydro-Electrical and Agricultural Schemes

The generating capacity of the Cam-bambe Dam, already one of the largest in Africa, is being doubled in the next few years, there being plans to establish an aluminium plant nearby. Discussions between South Africa and Portugal are taking place in Lisbon for the construction of the Cunene Dam, which will cost an estimated £75 million, and envisages the supply of power to South West Africa and the resettlement of 500,000 whites in a new irrigated area in Southern Angola. At the same time, a road is being built from Cape Town across South West Africa into Angola.

Although, unlike Mozambique, Angola does not have major sources of invisible earnings, such as tourism and the remittances from African labourers, Angola derives a substantial amount in earnings from the Benguela Railways. A British-owned concern belonging to the Tanganyika Concessions Group, this railway was built at the beginning of this century and played an important role in the development of the Copper Belt. Curiously enough, since Zambia no longer sends her copper across Rhodesia to the Mozambique ports, she has for the time being to rely on this outlet for her copper exports.

The development of Angola over the past few years is clearly due to increased investment from West German,

Italian, Japanese and French concerns, but the introduction of South Africa to the scene is particularly significant. Up to 1960 South Africa had hardly any connection with Angola, but now very considerable attention is being given to it. South Africa's air connections with Europe, boycotted by independent African countries, are now diverted through Angola, while a £20 million underwater sea cable is being built from Cape Town to Lisbon (simultaneously, an underwater sea cable is being built from the Lizard in Cornwall to Lisbon).

Very revealing of South Africa's intentions is, particularly, the backing being given to the two schemes which envisage the settlement of 1.5 million Portuguese settlers in Mozambique (£120 million Cabora Bassa Dam) and in Angola (the above-mentioned Cunene Dam).

Portugal has over 100,000 soldiers employed in Mozambique and Angola and a reserve of 500,000 men with military training. South Africa's manpower reserves do not exceed 70,000 men, and therefore the arrangement is obviously one between the provider of finance and the provider of military manpower. Some figures comparing the military expenditure and their economic implications would be most revealing:

Estimated GNP: Portugal, \$4.4 billion; South Africa, \$13.1 billion. Military budget: (P) \$302 million; (SA) \$354 million. Army, total strength: (P) 182,500; (SA) 28,000. Army, total when fully mobilised: (P) 500,000; (SA) 70,000. Percentage of military expenditure of GNP: (P) 6.7 per cent; (SA) 2.7 per cent.

The implications of the increased settlement of Mozambique and Angola, however, have a far wider significance in the context of South African politics. Obviously, given the historical precedence which led to apartheid in South Africa and UDI in Rhodesia, such an increase in white population would make one believe that a renewed conquest of Southern Africa is in being.

African Liberation Movements

At a recent OAU meeting in Addis Ababa, recognition was withdrawn from GRAE (Angola's Government in Exile, led by Holden Roberto, and based in Congo Leopoldville). As a consequence, MPLA (Peoples Liberation Movement of Angola, led by Dr Agostina Neto) is emerging as the stronger of the Angolan Liberation Movements.

Recently they claimed to control an area of 80,000 square kilometres and having infiltrated an area four times bigger than Portugal with a population of 40,000 inhabitants. Their military activities are well established in the districts of Moxico and Kuando-Kubango, towards the districts of Bie, Humbo, Benguela and Lunda. They recently moved their headquarters to Lusaka. Another important group is UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, who formerly belonged to Holden Roberto's group.

QUENTIN CREWE REVIEWS:

Stephanie on trial

CIVILISATION? CIVILISATION? What civilisation? That is what one always wants to ask when South African Nationalists tell one that apartheid in the only way in which their civilisation and culture can be preserved.

One hesitates to ask it, perhaps because it seems too brutal a question—anyhow, to put it to those whose beliefs are not engendered by malice. But I will never hesitate again, not after reading Albie Sachs' *Stephanie on Trial* (Harvill, 35s).

This book is so many things. It is a love story. It is an analysis of endurance. It is a study of betrayal. It is a documentation of evil. And, above all, it is a work of art.

In it, Albie Sachs tells the story of Stephanie Kemp, a young girl, who, out of a child-like, innate sense of justice, becomes a member of a sabotage movement in South Africa. She was arrested, savagely assaulted by her interrogators, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

Mr Sachs was one of the lawyers in her defence team. He himself had been detained under the 90-day law.

Mr Sachs describes the progress of Miss Kemp's trial; the process by which she is transformed from an instinctively humanitarian, innocent into a reasoned, humanitarian adult; his own subsequent torture by sleep deprivation; how he and Miss Kemp fell in love and got married.

Unerring delicacy

It is no exaggeration to say that it is one of the most poignant love stories of our times. It is one which could have been written in a vulgar, emotional fashion and yet not have repelled the reader. Mr Sachs tells it, however, with unerring delicacy and subtlety. The restraint which he employs is almost Jamesian in what it leaves unspoken, and yet gives no feeling of over-refinement. He tells us all we need to know, while

preserving his and her privacy.

Woven into this most moving tale are the other facets of the book. Mr Sachs gives us a clear and illuminating account of South African police methods. I learned from *Stephanie on Trial* more about how normal-seeming people can behave in an unbelievably barbaric manner than I have learned from any book since *Darkness At Noon*.

Writers learn early enough that over-emotionalism is less telling than cold fact, but, technically, cold fact can be as overdone as passion. Mr Sachs has gone beyond that. His account of Stephanie's head being beaten on the floor is told neither with rage nor with coldness, but with a precise calm which sears one's emotions far more.

Mr Sachs writes with a compassion which

shames and steadies all the emotional indulgence which liberals allow themselves.

His treatment of Adrian Leftwich, the golden boy of the sabotage movement, who came to betray all the others, is informed by a tolerance and understanding which is hard to imagine.

His measured assessment of his torturers seems to stem from an immeasurable love of humanity.

Far from diminishing the indictment of the South African Government, Mr Sachs' style and inspiration add up to a greater condemnation than all the polemics of the professional agitator.

The difference is that Mr Sachs returns not hate for hate, but love. His is the civilisation — not theirs.



Stephanie Sachs

ALAN BROOKES ON TWO LIBERALS:

Limited views of the law's role where most live outside it

EDGAR BROOKES AND Robert Tredgold — two well-known men in Southern Africa, distinguished, highly intelligent, and civilised, both with experience of service in the legislatures of their countries. Brookes is an historian, moral philosopher, expert in government — a South African. Tredgold is a retired judge, formerly one of the leading men in public affairs — in Rhodesia. Both are liberals.

Brookes has now produced a reader for students of South Africa: *Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa* (Routledge & Kegan Paul — paperback). Tredgold has written a book of reminiscences, too sketchy for an autobiography: *The Rhodesia That Was My Life* (Allen & Unwin: 45s). Both books tell us much about the countries they are set in, and both reveal their authors.

Brookes' documents — Parliamentary debates, newspaper articles, extracts from legislation — speak for themselves, though I wonder whether readers unused to picking their way through the verbiage of constitutional lawyers will cope with some of the enactments quoted. There are some curious omissions: in the section on Opposition Policies, there is no mention of the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress Alliance in 1955. And here is the first clue to the limitations both men share.

Law philosophy

In their philosophy, law is a supremely important value. Law is enacted in Parliament, and opposition to proposed laws must be heard there. But once the law is law, it must be obeyed. Extra-Parliamentary opposition (i.e. 99 per cent of African politics in South Africa, 95 per cent in Rhodesia) is not somehow "opposition".

Both Brookes and Tredgold have opposed unjust laws, and as a result lost friends and the prospect of even more success in their careers than they have had. This is to their credit. But both men have lived out their lives in, and helped to shape, societies in which the great majority of people live outside the law. For Africans, the law has been an instrument of oppression, something to be evaded, bent, broken, and defied — both in

their ordinary lives, and in the course of expressing political opposition.

Reality

Standing within the law, and never understanding others' way of life or their own compromised position within the law, these two men have been cut off from the human and political realities of their times. Thus Brookes it was who once advocated total segregation in South Africa, and who now, in the Introduction to his book, dismisses sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia in four lines, and fails even to consider the possibility that the oppressed non-white majority will fight for its freedom.

Like the Nationalist Government, ironically, his philosophy enables him only to envisage force as an external, alien intrusion in the situation. He cannot envisage it as a legitimate weapon of self-defence by the African people, against whom it is used constantly.

Tredgold too shows himself out of touch: steeped in the gentlemanly (and therefore racially unprejudiced) habits of thought of the nineteenth century imperialists, he touches lightly or gravely on the problems of Rhodesia

like a collector examining old china. Thus, for example, colour prejudice is picked up, examined, and an opinion passed: "I suppose that colour prejudice is vestigial from some deep-seated, primeval instinct".

Or note the uncomprehending outrage in this remark on Rhodesia's security laws (which led Sir Robert to resign the Chief Justiceship): "I cannot understand why every ordinary Rhodesian does not revolt against a practice that is as manifestly contrary to the elementary principles of fair play, and which is completely unnecessary for the maintenance of security". It is clear from the context that Tredgold only regards Rhodesians as whites, and it is equally clear that he does not realise that "security" means their privilege. But for him the maintenance of "security" is necessary.

Guilty

Future historians of a free and democratic Southern Africa will, I am sure, not deal kindly with the Tredgolds and Brookes of the past. They will be found guilty, perhaps with extenuating circumstances. Already, I am afraid, it is too late for them to be cautioned and discharged.

Wit at Sussex

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY'S Teach-in on the Future of Southern Africa, last month, was treated to more than the usual dosage of information and wit (Prof. Julius Lewin on South Africa these days: "Even to collect one's thoughts is a form of unlawful assembly"), but the audience never flagged, except when it came to that 64 million dollar question: "What can we DO about it?" Lots of bull points were made during the four-and-a-half hour scrutiny of apartheid and Portuguese colonialism, especially on the spectacular acquisition of capital by those

faceless financiers of Main Street, who are striking northwards, to turn African states into colonies if they can.

What the apartheid policy-and-industry-makers would like is a kind of Mason-Dixon line just south of the equator to mark off the investors' paradise of Southern Africa. It will be tried with a mixture of the bludgeon and the blandishment: buying over the African governments that, like Malawi, put themselves up for sale, and getting nasty with those, like Zambia, that won't surrender.

Speakers were Basil Davidson, Richard Hall, Julius Lewin, Ruth First, Matthew Wakatama representing ZAPU, Jonty Driver and the Rev. Ralph Bell, who expounded his plan for a non-violent expeditionary force of peace-workers to Rhodesia, but found the Teach-in not easily convinced. Chief organisers were Jonathan Ree and Peter Bunting. Peak attendance: not much short of 200.

RADIO JAIL 'SKIT'

THE CURRENT TRIAL of Laurence Gandar, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, is the sixth and last one arising out of the publication in 1965 of a series of articles dealing with conditions in South African prisons. The first prosecution was brought against a young white warder who had alleged that an electro-therapy machine at his prison had been converted into an instrument of electric shock torture.

The warder was unrepresented, no defence witnesses were called, prosecutor Percy Yutar slanderously attacked local and world pressmen and the accused received the maximum sentence. The next day the Mail published an editorial about the trial headed: *The Case with the Question-Marks*.

Within 12 hours, a special edition of the South African Broadcasting Corporation's long-running "comedy" programme, *Snoektown* calling, had been written and recorded, and this was broadcast that evening in the time-slot normally reserved for a weekday commentary programme, *Current Affairs*, which reflects only the government viewpoint in matters of the day and in which an anonymous broadcaster vilifies opponents of apartheid without giving any right of reply.

Here are excerpts from the transcript of this special programme, broadcast on August 18, 1965. We hope readers will enjoy this rare chance to savour official South African humour:

THIS IS A special edition, to investigate a topical mystery. We present "The Mysterious Case of the Question Mark", and we take you straight over to Baker Street, London, where Sherlock Holmes and Dr Watson are discussing the case...

Holmes: I've been called in, my dear Watson, to investigate this mysterious affair by the Snoektown authorities. I think it's important to start from first principles. Tell me, Watson, what really is a question mark; apart from looking rather like a hammer and sickle, what useful function does it perform?

Watson: Well, Holmes — it's a punctuation mark, they say.

Holmes: But that's too elementary, my dear Watson. There's much more to it than that. In fact, through a considerable exercise in self-restraint, I have refrained from commenting on it until the case in the courts was all over.

Watson: Well, Holmes, there's nothing really remarkable about that, you know. One is not legally allowed to comment on a case while it's sub judice.

Holmes: Yes. I'd forgotten that. It could land one in prison.

Watson: Yes. That could be a nasty shock — or so I've read in my paper.

Holmes: Not an electric shock, I trust, Watson — merely therapeutic.

Watson: Yes — well, it leaves no marks, like the martyr who's tied himself to the stake, knowing that there's no fire.

Holmes: Yes, Watson. It's the kind of martyrdom one sees nowadays in the name of freedom, and democracy, and human rights — freedom of the Press, freedom from want and so on. But without a fire, there can be no roast duck, roast goose or roast Gandar — or even propaganda. However, I'm sure that we'll find out more interesting clues in Fleet Street. Let's go over and call on Jones of the "London Splurge"...

Holmes: Tell me, Mr Editor, I notice that you often feature a great deal of topical news about South Africa.

Editor: (a very affected "Haw-Haw" type of voice): South Africa — oh, yes. Wouldn't be without it, my dear fellow. Always good for an item or two where news is concerned.

Holmes: I'm sure that you've been fascinated by all that trouble in Los Angeles and Chicago recently.

Editor: Los Angeles? Chicago? What was that about?

Holmes: Surely you remember — 27 people killed and hundreds injured?

Editor: Oh, really? When was this?

Holmes: Yesterday.

Editor: Oh, well — must have slipped my mind, old boy. That Sharpeville affair, now that was something.

The programme continued with thinly-veiled complaints that the world was biased against South Africa, and finished with a distasteful skit on the torturing of prisoners in South Africa's jails. Three days later, Laurence Gandar had his passport withdrawn and cancelled by the South African Government without explanation. Now he is on trial.

Transcription notes.

1. The reference to "hammer and sickle" should be read with the fact in mind that Communism — or even Communist sympathies — are illegal in South Africa.
2. The innuendo suggesting that London newspapers exaggerate stories of South African race violence, while completely ignoring similar stories of race violence and deaths in America, is one of the many spread by several pro-government sources in South Africa of recent years, resulting in widespread hatred and distrust of the overseas press, radio, and TV by South African whites.
3. The self-righteous reference to sub judice cases should be compared with the SABC talk of March 19, on the subject of the Transkei. This talk contravened the South African Electoral Act, yet despite protests, no action was taken against the SABC for breaking the law.

UK-SA TRADE: THREE ASPECTS

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, despite political difficulties in Southern Africa, remains anxious to keep trade with South Africa on as promising and profitable a basis as possible, as we see in this article. On the other hand, South Africa, always fearing sudden drastic unfavourable changes in this position, is taking precautions not to be caught napping. Below, Dave Shipper gives details of recent moves towards untraditional trading areas being made by the Republic. Anthony Jeary demonstrates a third point of view.

"POLITICAL DIFFERENCES should not be allowed to interfere with the growth of trade", Anthony Crosland, President of the Board of Trade, said last month, presumably aware that political differences are supposed, currently, to be interfering with the growth of Anglo-Rhodesian trade, since his Government has initiated international economic sanctions against the rebel colony.

But Mr Crosland is not naive. He was addressing no less a body than the UK-South Africa Trade Association, assembled, together with the South African Ambassador, at their annual London luncheon.

"We all know there are important issues on

which the British Government and the Government of South Africa have widely differing views," said Mr Crosland, "but it has always been my Government's view that political differences should not be allowed to interfere with the growth of trade". Presumably this is why Mr Crosland's Government does not wish to stand up to South Africa's open breaching of the world-wide economic and military embargo, which Mr Crosland's Government asked all member states of the United Nations to impose on South Africa's northern neighbour.

The President of the Board of Trade need not worry though. His Government's uncharacteristic decision to allow politics to interfere with (strictly Rhodesian) trade is not affecting our £260 million market in South Africa.

On the good authority of Lord Erroll, President of the London Chamber of Commerce, we learned last month that Britain "still enjoys a surprising degree of goodwill" in South Africa — where Lord Erroll led a trade mission recently.

Although the Japanese and the Germans were generating an increasingly competitive atmosphere, there was no obvious sign that they were making larger inroads into Britain's market.

Recent South African figures show that Britain accounted for the largest share, 26 per cent, of the country's £1,120 million market last year. This put the US second, with £188 million of trade, ahead of West

Germany with £135 million and Japan with £67 million.

Edmund Dell, Minister of State at the Board of Trade, in Parliament last month, told those two evergreen Tory fighters for South Africa, Patrick Wall and Sir Gerald Nabarro that they too had no need to worry about our trade with South Africa. "In the first eight months of this year exports were £177 million and imports £192 million," he said. "Exports were a little down compared with 1967, but the total of South African imports has been falling and indications are that we have been maintaining our position in this market ... the figures will show an increase in our exports to South Africa this year. Obviously we wish to develop the best possible export position with South Africa, consistent with our export of arms policy".



Anthony Crosland

Solidarity boycott

It is good to learn, in the face of the apparently solid desire expressed by Tory businessmen and MPs, and Government spokesmen at the Board of Trade, to bolster the South African economy, that not all British businessmen are backing this particular export drive. Antony Jeary, of T.G. Jeary Veterinary Supplies Company in Wiltshire, has turned down a significant trading opportunity with a South African company.

Mr Jeary wrote to the Johannesburg firm: "This company is totally opposed to the degrading racial policy of apartheid and the violation of the basic human rights of the Coloured population of South Africa. We take this opportunity to demonstrate our support for, and solidarity with, the African people of Southern Africa, by refusing to profit from trade with any South African company".

Dr Jooste said the efforts of South Africa's 16 million non-whites to raise their per capita income and standards would be helped if they could halve their birth rate.

A growing white population on the other hand would inspire confidence, encourage industrial expansion and maintain high employment, said Dr Jooste. He added that immigration offered only a short-term solution to the labour force problem — meaning of course the problem of keeping the present whites-only jobs for whites only.

Medical fund

LAST MONTH SAW the implementation, by the Southern Africa Commission of the Young Liberals, of a resolution passed at the last YL Conference pledging practical support to the Freedom Fighters "through such means as medical aid". The Young Liberals have now launched a running "Medical Aid for Southern Africa" Appeal. They aim to send medical equipment to the ANC/ZAPU Alliance, for use on the battle front, in Rhodesia, and also to FRELIMO for use on further improving conditions for the people in the liberated areas of Mozambique.

This is a chance for all AAM members to show that their moral support extends to practical support for the African people.

Please send contributions to: YOUNG LIBERALS' MEDICAL AID APPEAL, 21a Gwendolen Avenue, Putney, London, SW15. Cheques/Postal Orders should be made payable to "YL MEDICAL AID".

Trieste launching pad

SOUTH AFRICA is desperately seeking new markets, with a fair measure of success. Worries about possible British entry into the Common Market, the threat of future sanctions, the development of new industries in the emergent nations, have combined to spur the republic to even greater efforts in the diversification of traditional trading patterns.

Of course, many countries are all ready boycotting South African trade, the majority in Africa and Eastern Europe, but recently, the South African Vice-Consul (Commercial) in Milan made an official visit to the free port of TRIESTE. He was able to report to the (TRIESTE) Department of Commerce that the Trieste Chamber of Commerce was "extremely" anxious to help South African exports to expand their trade with the Trieste region and with East European countries.

Dr Vetta, external trade division head of the Trieste Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, underlined that Trieste's free port facilities could be of considerable help to South African businessmen.

Eastern European import officials frequently visit Trieste to place orders and often select their requirements from stock held in warehouses there.

The South African Foreign Trade Organisation (SAFTO) is now advising interested South African exporters that "it is essential to obtain warehouse facilities in Trieste to ensure quick delivery of stock as well as continuity of supply".

Separate buses

TRAVEL BY bus in South Africa is, like most things, a segregated experience. But for years the Cape Town municipality, unlike all others in the country, held out against this aspect of apartheid in its entirety, and instead of having separate buses for different races, has merely had a vague form of seating segregation, not always rigidly adhered to, within one bus.

Last month a new campaign was launched by hard-line whites, to get the buses straight on the colour line. But the municipality is suddenly making it plain that, for once, apartheid is going to hurt white citizens. A 17 per cent increase in municipal rates, as a subsidy to the private bus companies, has been shown as the only way to pay for this kind of apartheid.

The 175 buses needed for totally segregated services over the city's 35 routes would cost £1.5 million. Some 600 more drivers and conductors would be needed and could not be recruited unless job reservation was relaxed and non-whites admitted to the work.

Faced with this kind of economic "hardship", the whites may decide, not for the first time, that apartheid isn't worth it. A recent Government announcement shows that even the Government is having to rethink certain aspects of policy. It said the new Physical Planning Act would not now be applied in such a way that normal economic growth would be hampered.

POLITICS STOP SPORT

A CLEAR indication of the South African Government's attitude towards sport was given recently in a directive to the Port Elizabeth School Feeding Fund.

The Government does not encourage sport between Coloureds and Africans, says the directive. Permits may be issued for games in Coloured and African areas only if there are separate entrances and seating, and, if possible, separate toilets.

Games between Coloureds and Africans in White areas are not allowed at all.

The Fund wanted to organise a rugby match between Coloured and African teams, to raise funds for needy children. The organisers asked for permission in May this year to hold the match in the centre of town, a White area, within 14 days.

After waiting till the rugby season was nearly through, the Town Clerk sent the directive from the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development.

The fund-raising match has not taken place.

Baby boom

WHITE SOUTH African women must have more babies, and black ones less. This brainwave occurred last month to Dr C.J. Jooste, director of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, as the way to raise the living standards of all races in Southern Africa.

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS

A SUBURBAN homeowner near Durban, South Africa, recently had plans for his new home turned down because of an unwritten sewage apartheid law. Westville Town Council have an official policy prohibiting the "integration" of black and white sewage in communal sewage lines, septic tanks and soak pits. "I know this sounds strange," a building inspector said, "but we have segregated sewage systems. Your servants and your house must have separate sewage lines all the way to the soak pits, or you'll never get your plans approved".

SOUTH AFRICAN armed forces recently underwent their third major anti-guerilla exercise this year, almost immediately after completing the second. "Operation Salamander" took place in the Thabazimbi district, and the accent was on patrolling on foot and tracking, with the accompanying setting up and use of ambushes and road blocks.

SOUTH AFRICA'S first missile base — for experimental tests and launchings — will be established soon on the Zululand coast. Defence Minister Botha said this move was essential for South Africa. Overseas firms which had already planned several missile bases in Europe had been called in as consultants.

SOUTH AFRICA has been expelled from the International Amateur Boxing Association because of her policy of racial discrimination in sport. South Africa will be barred as of now from international tournaments controlled by AIBA.

SOUTH AFRICAN policemen about to serve in Rhodesia, receive special anti-guerilla training at an unnamed camp in South Africa, it was learned recently. They are taught by officers and others who have already served in the Zambesi valley. When in the field, the training continues in cooperation with the Rhodesian Security Forces.

WHITE RESIDENTS of Stanger, Natal, the home of the late Chief Lutuli, recently voted a 70-year-old Indian to the town council, rejecting his 26-year-old white opponent. Mr E.M. Moolla, the winner, is among the dwindling number of people still living, who were already voters in 1924, when municipal voting rights were withdrawn from all Indians not already on the roll.

THE ENGLAND women's cricket tour of South Africa, due for this month, has been cancelled.

A KIMBERLEY family of five, previously classified as Coloured, was recently declared white in Cape Town's Supreme Court. The Race Classification board declared the family Coloured in March 1967, finding that one son was "obviously Coloured" in appearance. On appeal, it was agreed that, with this exception, there had been general acceptance of the family as white. If the one son was declared Coloured, the family would have to be broken up, the appeal Judge said, in ruling that they were all white.

SOUTH AFRICA will be short of 1,278 white doctors, having trained only 61 per cent of her requirements over the next three years, a new report claimed last month. The figure is based on the present ratio of one doctor for 750 white patients and means that one million whites will soon be short of a doctor. The study does not mention the much greater shortage of non-white medical graduates, now running at only about 35 per year, for a population five times the size of the white.

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