

SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion



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 **CATERPILLAR**

In Africa...

Levy

NOV 30 1972

In addition to helping excavate tunnels on each bank of the river, 769s also hauled rock for two cofferdams. At left is the completed right-bank tunnel diverting the Zambezi.



Willingness and ability to provide product support helped Steia, Caterpillar dealer in Mozambique, sell 38 earthmoving machines and three industrial engines.

Steia (Sociedade Technica de Equipamentos Industriais e Agricolas, LDA) sold the equipment to a five-country, international consortium called ZAMCO to build a major hydroelectric dam in the uplands of Mozambique in southeast Africa.

Known as the Cabora Bassa project, its 550-ft. high, double curvature arch dam will rank as the fifth largest in the world and the largest in Africa.

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NOTE: PLEASE SEE INSIDE BACK COVER FOR NEW POLICY ON SUBSCRIPTIONS !!

ANNIVERSARY:

October 8 commemorates the fourth anniversary of the founding of the LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT in the U.S. and Canada with the objective of providing concrete and meaningful support to national liberation movements and struggles within the U.S.-dominated imperialist system.

Western Strategy in Southern Africa

BY SEAN GERVASI

WHY MINORITY RULE SURVIVES

The situation in Zimbabwe is once more in the balance. The attempt to persuade the world of Britain's honorable intentions toward Africans has failed. Africans have shown that they understand the "settlement" far better than all those who pretend to divine their interests, including the British press. They have expressed their anger at being sacrificed to apartheid. The riots and disorders and deaths of the last year have told the world that they are not duped. People do not brave guns over constitutional quibbles. The people have shown that there will be no "settlement," no acceptance of the apartheid regime which the Tories and the Rhodesian whites have contrived to force upon the majority of the population. The future will now be made by the people themselves. The liberation movement is entering a new phase of armed struggle. And it will have massive popular support. We are on the threshold of another peoples' war.

The conflict between whites and Africans in Zimbabwe cannot be solved by compromise. For it is no longer a question of gradual movement toward progress and freedom. The Smith regime, by taking a stand for the most extreme forms of white privilege, has made it an all-or-nothing game. Perhaps there never was a time when real progress for Africans could have been reconciled with the privileges of the white population. Perhaps that was always an illusion. Smith in this case has simply forced everybody to face facts. There is no doubt that the Africans are taking up the challenge. Or that they will eventually win. In the meantime, a good part of Africa may be plunged into turmoil. And since the British Government has betrayed the majority in Zimbabwe, since they failed to make the attainment of freedom possible, they will have to deal with the consequences.

The British Government has probably prepared the way for revolution, which was scarcely their intention.

It is clear that Mr. Heath wanted a "settlement," political stability for the area, at almost any price. He is trying to pay the highest price, with other peoples' lives. The present position, put most simply, is that Africans don't matter. This may seem a rather strange state of affairs. The whole point of British policy in the last two decades has been to steer Africans toward majority rule. Admittedly, Africans had to fight to get the British out. But the lesson, it was thought, had been learned. In 1964, Sir Alec Douglas-Home said that "The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed." Even after UDI, when the most incredible concessions were made to the Rhodesian whites in the "Tiger" and the "Fearless" negotiations, majority rule always seemed to be the Government's intention. The day for majority rule began to recede further into the future as successive governments gave more and more ground. It has now disappeared altogether. Mr. Smith knows that and says so quite openly.

Why has this happened? Why have Britain's political leaders abandoned more than four million people for whom they are responsible to a clique of racist rowdies? What reasoning has persuaded British governments to sacrifice even the most basic political rights for Africans? The answer that is most frequently given is that Britain is basically a racist country. Mr. Wilson's refusal to use force in 1965 was, according to this view, part of an attempt to avoid an explosive political row. There is no doubt that Britain abounds with racist sentiment. And that sentiment

does undoubtedly intimidate politicians. But is it racist sentiment that has caused the Conservative Government to maneuver so carefully to achieve a "settlement"? Mr. Wilson might have reasonably argued that a Tory-inspired campaign against the use of force was a real danger. But no one has FORCED this elaborate secret diplomacy of Mr. Heath. It has all been done at his initiative. Why?

The answer in my view is to be found in the growing fear of the western powers that the situation in Southern Africa might get out of control. To explain the tragedy taking place in Zimbabwe we must look beyond its borders at Southern Africa as a whole, and at the strategic situation of Southern Africa in Africa. The double standard, racism, undoubtedly explains something. But in the past few years the western powers have begun to coordinate their policies in Southern Africa for very practical and concrete reasons. They have vital interests in the area. But Southern Africa is inherently unstable at present. There are armed struggles going on in several parts of the subcontinent which threaten the stability of the white regimes. If these regimes are overthrown, the whole area will be in turmoil, and important western interests will be threatened.

Thus the western powers have changed their policies toward Southern Africa. Until not long ago they were willing to talk about the decolonization of the area. In the United Nations, they showed forbearance in the face of the mounting assault on South Africa and Portugal. They cut many official ties with both countries and kept official contacts to a minimum. The limits of their sympathies for the idea of liberation in Southern Africa have now apparently been reached. For the crisis in Southern Africa is real, and raises real problems and puts an end to rhetoric. The result has been an important shift in policy. The western powers are now working together to ensure POLITICAL STABILITY in the subcontinent. There is evidence of this everywhere. The violation of the arms embargo on South Africa, the U.S. Azores treaty with Portugal, the official encouragement of loans, the licensing of arms not previously allowed to go to South Africa, the efforts to bring the subcontinent under the NATO umbrella, the "settlement" in Zimbabwe. All these are part of a policy for Southern Africa as a whole, and each step contributes to reinforcing the position of white power there.

In order to see this policy as a whole, one must put together many pieces; but it is not a question of speculation. There is logic in this policy and it has a long and hallowed tradition. Furthermore, the changing western policy is now becoming a matter of public record. The British Government does not make its policies very clear, and documents are scarce. The U.S. Government, on the other hand, proceeds in a different way, leaving tracks. It has recently been revealed that the Nixon Administration conducted a major review of policy toward Southern Africa in 1969. The outcome of this review was a shift of major importance. The U.S. has decided to abandon the former policy of limited contact with South Africa and Portugal and has embarked upon a policy of expanded contacts and assistance for the white regimes. The basic aim of the shift has not been publicly revealed, but it is not difficult, in the present context, to see what the U.S. Government is trying to achieve. This decision, furthermore, was not taken in isolation. The new policy may be safely assumed to reflect the views of other western governments with important interests in Africa, and especially of the present

Conservative Government.

The attempt to achieve a "settlement" in Zimbabwe would appear to have been inspired as much by the views which have produced this new policy as by anything else.

SPHERES OF INTEREST

Although it is no longer fashionable to speak of spheres of interest, they are a fact. The Great Powers have effected a division of the world in which everybody knows more or less where he may pursue his interests unimpeded, although the borders of the system are not at all clear, and there are constant struggles between the powers over where to draw them. To an important extent this is the result of the fact that changes proceeding autonomously in various parts of the world entails changes in the balance of power. This is especially true of the Third World, which is rapidly becoming the major arena of the power struggle. The Third World, whose common interests and situation have come to be defined only in recent decades, is in a process of change. Most of the poor countries were until only a relatively short time ago parts of the old colonial system built by the European Powers. They are now supposedly independent and in terms of constitutional politics, of course, some even profess a kind of socialism. But in real terms, when one considers their ability to pursue an independent course of action, they are not. They remain economically tied to the capitalist system. Even if they do not depend upon the old metropolitan power, they depend upon the western powers as a bloc. They trade with them, produce for them, accept their aid and advice, and send their youth to them to be educated. The poor countries have become appendages of the rich, their economic development has been arrested; with their path to progress blocked, they are in constant turmoil. Many of them are on the road to revolution, which will mean breaking many of their ties to the capitalist world.

The rich capitalist countries cannot accept the breaking of these ties lightly, for they, in their turn, are dependent upon the poor countries. The Third World is an important, if not the most important, arena of conflict in the modern world. And the stake of the rich capitalist countries in the Third World has led to a near obsession with the "problem of counter-insurgency." This is now seen by many experts as the central problem. As one of France's most eminent strategists, General Andre Beaufre, puts it: "The major long-term danger . . . may come from the 'Tiers Monde' and the consequent necessity [is] to move towards as large as possible a community of peoples whose roots lie in European civilization, now in process of rejuvenation." This is what lies behind the long-run planning of the western powers today. And this is what lies behind policies of the United States toward Indochina. It is against this background that one must see the emerging lines of western policy toward Southern Africa. The "settlement" in Zimbabwe is part of that larger strategy of which General Beaufre spoke.

All of Africa lies within what has commonly been accepted as the western sphere of interest. This must be stated clearly if one is to avoid the usual cant about the responsibilities of the rich countries toward developing countries. Such rhetoric tells us nothing about the realities of African politics in the world context. It is true that the Soviet Union and China have begun to make inroads in Africa. The Soviet Navy now has a string of bases on the Mediterranean, and maintains good relations with a number of countries in Africa. The continent of Africa may have begun to turn its back to the West, but it still remains tied to the Western economies. However grave the economic problems they face, African countries still labor to solve them within the framework of their relations with western countries, which is why the problems are not being solved. In this context, real independence is impossible.

It is not only that the western countries use all the means at their disposal to block initiatives, however beneficial to Africa, which might threaten their interests. It is also that, in the name of General Beaufre's grand solution, they are moving energetically toward that community of "peoples whose roots lie in European civilization." The strategic planners evidently feel that this may be the only way to "keep Africa." An alliance of

the NATO powers with South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia is in the making.

NEO-COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Independent Africa is only beginning to discover the reality of neo-colonialism, that freedom does not come when the new flag is raised. The growing influence of foreign economic power in Africa is the inevitable consequence of the continuing expansion of the western economies. The power of foreign capital in Africa cannot really be measured, but the figures for United States investment overseas indicate how rapidly recent foreign direct investment has spread. In 1950 the United States had only some \$11 billion of overseas direct investments, more or less evenly divided between developed and developing countries. By 1960 the total had risen to more than \$32 billion, 60 percent of it in the developed countries. Investment in the developing countries, although proportionally less important, doubled in this short period. By 1970 the direct investments of the U.S. had risen to more than \$78 billion, and more than \$21 billion of this in the developing countries. The rate of expansion of direct investments has thus been extraordinary, and reflects the DEPENDENCE of the wealthy upon the poor. Most of the growth of overseas investment has resulted from flows of capital between the wealthy countries. But from the political point of view, the most important change has been the rapid absolute rise of investments in the Third World.*

There is a second sense in which the wealthy countries have come to depend upon the Third World. The poor countries have become an important source of raw materials from western industry. They have always provided cheap food. Today, however, industrial raw materials have become an especially important prize to be won from the poor. By 1961 U.S. net imports of minerals were equivalent to 14 percent of all consumption of minerals.

Southern Africa has become exceedingly important to the western powers, both as a market and as a source of raw materials. Adequate figures of its quantitative importance as a market are not available. But the South African "market" alone is very large because the white community has an exceedingly high per capita income. And foreign investors see important potential in the urban African "market." Thus foreign investment in manufacturing facilities is expanding rapidly. In 1950 the U.S. had only \$44 million in direct manufacturing investment in South Africa. By 1970, the value of these investments had increased

*All figures relating to U.S. investment taken from Survey of Current Business, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

Smith's police in a raid on African homes.



tenfold. The value of investment in mining had increased very little. There is a further reason for the growing importance of investment in manufacturing by overseas companies. South Africa has a highly developed industrial system, and the infrastructure to go with it. It is used by the multinational corporations as a base for exporting to many other African countries.

Recent investigations have shown increasing dependence of western countries on supplies of minerals from Southern Africa. The countries of the subcontinent now produce very high proportions of the WORLD supply of more than ten important minerals, many of which are of critical importance to metallurgical, machinery, and electrical industries. The reserves of minerals already in production and of other minerals, including petroleum, are very high and constitute an important part of world reserves in many cases. The U.S., U.K., West Germany, and Japan all import substantial proportions of their total domestic consumption of certain minerals from Southern Africa. The JOINT DEPENDENCE of these countries on Southern African minerals is of a very high degree, and is likely to increase.

The drive for markets and for sources of raw materials in Southern Africa has created an economic system which functions as an appendage of the western industrial system. The economy of the region is highly unbalanced. It produces primary commodities for export, manufactured goods for the wealthy few, or, again, for export. All these goods are produced at exceedingly low cost under a system of forced labor, or very nearly that. The peculiarity of Southern Africa is that it contains an enclave of several million wealthy whites who function as well-paid overseers in a kind of world plantation system. The poor, the laborers, the vast mass of the population, have little or no prospect of escaping the harshest kind of poverty. The economy has little capacity for self-sustained growth and development. This situation is the outcome of the dynamics of "commerce," of the way in which relations between the rich and the poor have developed.

This outward expansion of the capitalist industrial economics cannot easily be halted. It is part of the intrinsic dynamic of such systems. They must grow in order to FUNCTION. The consequences of their expansion are to block progress, at least for the poor. Southern Africa is completely enmeshed in this web of economic relationships and is likely to become more and more important to the neo-colonial system. It is likely to become more and more dependent upon the western countries (including the white enclaves as a part of those countries). And those countries are likely to become more and more dependent upon it. Thus economic stagnation will continue and the plight of the peoples of the area will become more serious.

NEO-COLONIALISM AND POLITICAL STABILITY

To understand the present crisis in Southern Africa, however, one must look beyond the purely economic facts. The economic facts have inevitable POLITICAL implications. What are these implications? The "world economy" is increasingly dominated by the wealthy western countries. To put it another way, the "world economy" consists of a core of highly developed and wealthy countries and of a periphery of poor countries. The economies at the core, being capitalist, must grow to maintain anything like stability in employment. In the course of their growth in this century, the wealthy economies have wreaked havoc in the periphery and shaped the survivors of that destruction to their own needs. There is no doubt that there is still plenty of "economic space" in the world into which the wealthy economies can expand. New markets can be developed. Old ones can be more competently exploited. Present sources of raw materials can expand production. New sources can probably be developed.

The expansion of the neo-colonial system, however, can continue only in a climate of political stability. For "business as usual" does not take place in situations fraught with uncertainty. So former Secretary of State Dean Rusk spoke for western business in general when he said, "But we know we can no longer find security and well-being in defenses and policies which are confined to North America, or the Western Hemisphere, or the North Atlantic Community. This has become a very small

planet. We have to be concerned about all of it—with all of its land, waters, atmosphere, and surrounding space." The point has been made repeatedly by those who make policy in western countries. When the economic activity organized by national corporations takes place all over the world, the whole world has to be policed.

There should be nothing particularly surprising in statements of this kind. It has long been taken for granted that the U.S. should do everything in its power to ensure political stability in Latin America, for instance, and at almost any cost. Robert McNamara made this clear when explaining the reasons for military assistance to Latin America to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1967:

"Social tensions, unequal distribution of land and wealth, unstable economies, and the lack of broadly based political structures create a prospect of continuing instability in Latin America. The answer to these and other associated problems, if one is to be found, lies in the Alliance for Progress, to which we and our Latin American friends are devoting large resources. But the goals of the Alliance can be achieved only WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF LAW AND ORDER. Our military assistance programs for Latin America thus continue to be directed to the support of internal security and civic action measures." (Our emphasis)

The Secretary of Defense went on to describe the threats to law and order from students, intellectuals, organized labor and peasants: "The need to counter these threats BY APPROPRIATE MEANS is the basis upon which the fiscal year 1968 military assistance programs for Latin America are predicated. More specifically, the primary OBJECTIVE in Latin America is to aid, where necessary, in the continued development of indigenous MILITARY AND PARA-MILITARY FORCES capable of providing, in conjunction with police and other security forces, THE NEEDED DOMESTIC SECURITY." (Our emphasis.)

McNamara insisted forcefully on the imposition of law and order by an outside power when, by his own evidence, the authorities in Latin American countries were incapable of addressing the problems which concerned the mass of the people. Strategic planners tend to see things in very simple, crude terms. The protection of economic interests requires political stability. The same sorts of views are now being expressed about Southern Africa. In 1969 the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University held a conference of "Research Resources for the 70's" in Washington. At that conference it was argued that Southern Africa was an area of considerable economic, military, political, and strategic value to the United States. Ernest Lefever of the Brookings Institution argued that: "U.S. policy toward any areas of Africa seeks to augment the forces of STABILITY AND PEACEFUL CHANGE. . . . Washington's diplomatic and aid policies are designed to strengthen the new states and encourage the development of MODERATE governments strong enough to respond to the needs of their peoples and capable of sustaining mutually beneficial relations with one another AND WITH THE INDUSTRIAL STATES OF THE WEST." (Our emphasis.)

A number of questions spring to mind. Quite apart from the one whether U.S. policy actually does seek to augment the forces of stability and peaceful change. By what right does the U.S. Government seek to encourage the "development of moderate governments," or any other kind of government? Is that not intervention in the affairs of others? And what ARE "moderate governments"? Can governments caught in the neo-colonial trap REALLY respond to the needs of their peoples AND maintain friendly relations with the industrial states of the West?

Far more important, COULD THIS DESCRIPTION POSSIBLY APPLY TO ANY OF THE WHITE REGIMES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA? Is it not merely mouthing slogans of the most empty kind to imagine that such descriptions are at all relevant? Which such state has a government which is even INTERESTED in "responding to the needs of their people"?

Nonetheless, the central strategic issue of the 1970s, according to Mr. Lefever, is the OUTLOOK FOR POLITICAL STABILITY. What is the prospective military potential of the white regimes?

How strong are the insurgency movements? Can they be countered? Will the Soviets and the Chinese support the liberation movements through diplomatic and military means? What are fundamental British and French strategic interests in the area? (Could they be rallied upon to help?) These are the questions which are asked. Thus all thoughts are focused on political stability, and by implication on the means of securing it, although the white regimes are **FUNDAMENTALLY INTOLERABLE** to the mass of the population. This kind of research clearly indicates a commitment to underwrite those regimes because the status quo creates a friendly environment.

THE CONFRONTATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The crisis in Southern Africa is becoming more serious with each passing month. Africa is moving steadily toward a confrontation over apartheid. And the whole world is involved in this confrontation. Southern Africa is of crucial importance to the western powers, to western industry. Those powers wish to preserve political stability there. Any challenge to apartheid, to the whole system of white rule in the subcontinent, is a threat to the neo-colonial system, to "normality," to the orderly economic processes of everyday life. It is a threat to important western markets, to old ties and old friends, to vital supplies of raw materials, to trade routes, to strategic interests, to investments and to much else. In short, the confrontation in Southern Africa is a threat to the world system as we know it today.

Southern Africa is too important a part of the world to be "written off." The destruction of the white regimes in Southern Africa will profoundly alter the face of the whole African continent. The whole world is therefore caught in a dilemma, and especially the western powers. Many of those who denounce apartheid fear the consequences of doing away with it.

No one can predict what will happen in the next month or year. But the **TRENDS** in Southern Africa are clear. **IF LEFT TO THEMSELVES**, the white regimes will collapse in the long run. One can no longer take their stability for granted. The liberation movements have achieved important successes in the Portuguese African territories. The position of the Smith government in Rhodesia seems more and more uncertain. Determined and widespread political opposition has shattered the calm which prevailed for so long in Namibia. South Africa is mounting a frantic counter-offensive to hold off the future. Its energies and thoughts are increasingly devoted to finding the diplomatic, economic, and, probably, military means for protecting white supremacy. The position of the white regimes is relatively strong at this moment. But they simply cannot resist history.

There is little doubt now that the future will bring violent upheaval in Southern Africa. The forces that oppose apartheid have grown in strength and will continue to grow more powerful. Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa will defend white supremacy to the last. It is absurd to expect that they will dissolve by fiat or abandon by a long series of negotiated settlements the very system for which they stand. The world is dealing with a totalitarian system, exploiting whole peoples, and increasingly arming itself for "defense." It is clear that we are not heading toward "peaceful change." As the former President of the African-American Institute put it, "If white minority domination of Southern Africa is going to be dislodged, it is going to be thrown out, and basically it is going to have to be thrown out by the black people of those areas themselves. I don't like that prospect, but it is the reality to which our policy must relate."

It has been clear for many years that Southern Africa would eventually be the scene of a major world crisis. The first reaction among the western nations was significant. After Sharpeville, it was clear, as Mr. MacMillan once suggested, that change was in the wind. Countries with close ties to South Africa at the time tried to reinforce the status quo while being fairly discrete about it. Immediately after Sharpeville, foreign interests in South Africa helped to prevent financial chaos by providing substantial loans, and by various other means. But on the whole the attitude was one of caution and "watchful waiting."

The refusal to see the reality of the approaching crisis was

convenient. For it made it possible to condemn apartheid and Portuguese colonialism and to **LEAVE IT AT THAT**. There was no conflict between economic and strategic interests on the one hand and the maintenance of an honorable and antiracist foreign policy on the other. **BUT THAT WAS BECAUSE THERE WAS NO DANGER**. During this period, which lasted from Sharpeville until roughly 1969, western governments maintained a fairly clear antiracist position, at least rhetorically. Now, however, the period of effortless virtue in foreign policy has ended.

The western powers have had to confront the realities of the situation in Southern Africa. The logic of neo-colonialism has forced them to think not in terms of rights and wrongs but in terms of power. And that is what they are doing. People who make decisions have been thinking in these terms for many years. Strategic planners saw the future of Africa in these terms as far back as 1958:

"The vast political changes characteristic of Africa today pose serious threats to international stability and indicate that Africa promises to grow in significance as an area of tension and attention. **THE POTENTIAL RESOURCES OF AFRICA ARE NEEDED ON THE SIDE OF THE FREE WORLD TO AID IN THE PRESERVATION OF U.S. SECURITY**. These resources are as much political and psychological as they are economic and military. **A U.S. POLICY FOR AFRICA AND THE AFRICANS MUST BE DESIGNED AND IMPLEMENTED PROMPTLY OR WE SHALL LOSE AFRICA**—to obstructive neutralism, to the communists, or **TO A POLARIZATION ON THE BASIS OF COLORED VS. WHITE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD**. We still have the opportunity **TO ALIGN** this resourceful continent **WITH THE REST OF THE FREE WORLD**—but time is fast running out."**

This kind of reasoning started the machinery of government turning long ago. The result has been a new, covert policy designed to "secure" Southern Africa in the interests of stability there and throughout the continent.

Everything which the western powers are doing in Southern Africa now is designed to serve that end, or to hide the fact that this is the end pursued. The Zimbabwe tragedy is only one act of the drama, albeit an important one. It is part of a larger scheme. I do not say this in any sense that might be suggested by the word "conspiracy." The western powers have simply set in motion the machinery which they use to counter threats to their interests. The principle on which policy is based is simple. It was stated some time ago at a meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York:

"The lesson of the Cuban experience—or one of them—is never let an insurgency movement, no matter how insignificant it may be, survive, for it may gather force and grow. . . . The lesson of the Chilean elections—or one of them—is that Latin American societies, no matter how politically sophisticated they may appear to be, no matter how lengthy their experience with the forms and formulas of democratic political practice, are not really to be trusted at free political play. . . .***"

From this principle many things follow. ■

**Hilton P. Goss, "Africa: Present and Potential," TEMPO—Project 068.

***Remarks of John N. Plank in confidential minutes of meeting of Council on Foreign Relations, reproduced by North American Congress on Latin America's NACLA Newsletter, November 1971.

Prof. Sean Gervasi is a research officer in economics at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford University, England. He has written widely on the problem of neocolonialism with special reference to Southern Africa.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

THE POLITICS OF APARTHEID

FOUR FACE TRIAL UNDER TERRORISM ACT

The trial of Mohammed Essop, Yusuf Essack, Indhrasen Moodley, and Amini Desai on charges under the Terrorism Act opened on June 13 but was shortly adjourned and reopened on July 17. Ms. Desai was released on bail earlier this year; the three men have been held in solitary confinement since they were detained last October. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, July-August, 1972)

The State alleges that the four conspired with the South African Community Party and/or the banned African National Congress and/or Ahmed Timol, who died in police custody in October, 1971.

State witnesses in the trial have told the court that they were frightened by the Security Police. Mr. Chetty said the Security Police threatened him with violence when he initially refused to give them information. Another witness, Mr. Naidoo, was asked if he remembered a "piece of evidence" and was told "if I did not remember it [the police] would give me time to do so." Mr. Naidoo understood this to mean that he would be detained until he remembered. A Lieut. Wood told Naidoo that he could be kept "until he rotted." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 19, 1972) The hearing continues.

ONE BLACK NATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, which is South Africa's showpiece Bantustan, returned from a six-week tour of the United States, with a new and striking demand: "one black nation" for South Africa. Matanzima has in the past openly supported the Government's policy of "separate development" including the establishment of eight tribal Bantustans. His new demand is an outright rejection of the official policy. He now says land should be distributed in proportion to the population. Blacks outnumber whites 10 to 1 in South Africa, but are to receive only 13% of the total land area under the white Government's plan.

Matanzima has already been in consultation about the plan with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the Zulus and Chief Lucas Mangope of the Tswanas. Buthelezi is an outspoken supporter of African, as opposed to tribal, unity. He has outlined a plan for unity that would function within the Government's policy. All the Bantustans would be given their independence separately. They would then link together with each other and with the neighboring states (Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland) forming a confederation.

Matanzima is in agreement with this and has even said that he is prepared, if necessary, to work under Buthelezi. Buthelezi's Zulus are the largest group numerically of all the African tribes. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 12, 1972; The Washington Post, Aug. 9, 1972)

The Government's reaction to Matanzima's demand was that no more land will be allocated other than that stipulated in the 1936 Land Act. This was stated by the

Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha.

Botha went on to say that the "allegations and pleas by homeland leaders... originated from persons and groups both in South Africa and overseas... groups more interested in the downfall of the Nationalist Government than in the development of the homelands." The ideas of the homeland leaders "were not well thought out" and inspired by other sources. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 12, 1972)

The Government did say that it would not stand in the way of unification moves that have been initiated by the Transkei and Ciskei to form a unified Xhosa homeland. But the Government reiterated that no more land would be granted. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 12, 1972)

White politicians of all three parties have suggested no solution to the land problem. According to the Johannesburg Star (Aug. 12, 1972), the "Nationalists like to pretend that they have the answer in moving the Bantustans to eventual independence. But they... are not prepared to give the Africans enough land to sustain independence... The United Party is divided about recognizing Bantustan independence... It cannot postulate a... sensible alternative. The Progressive Party wants to lead the Bantustans to self-rule within a great Southern African confederation. It remains unclear whether either it or the United Party is able to face the land issue any more squarely than the Nationalists. Can any party do so which makes its primary appeal to White votes?"

The dilemma for the Bantustan leaders is painfully clear. In Chief Buthelezi's words, "Although the Whites are all-powerful and we are powerless, we will never accept political impotence, and we will reject it out of hand." He accused M. C. Botha of "serious irresponsibility" for telling White voters that African leaders got their ideas from overseas. Acknowledging that many people regarded him as a puppet because he was operating within the policy of apartheid, he said, "This is made much worse when a Minister tells us we are 'stooges' of overseas countries." (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 26, 1972)



Buthelezi

AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

When the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were banned in 1961, black political parties were destroyed in South Africa. Now, but within the limits of the White Government's apartheid policies, black parties are coming into being once again. On Oct. 4, the Tswana will choose between the party of Chief Minister Lucas Mangope, the Bophuthatswana National Party, and that of Chief Tidimane Pilane, the Seoposengwe (Unity) Party. As long ago as 1966, Chief Pilane announced that "nationalities like Xhosa, Tswana, and Sotho exist in name only." He called for a black nation policy similar to that being advocated now by Matanzima (see above). After stating this position, Pilane disappeared from the scene. He was unexpectedly replaced by Chief Mangope. His position remains one of "unity and solidarity for Black people, not just for the Tswana." Mangope supports the Government's policy of apartheid. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 12, 1972)

Pilane has called on urban Africans to refuse to settle in the homelands, because there is nothing for them to do there. He also wants commoners to participate in homeland government, rejecting the restrictions which place the chiefs in leadership positions. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 26, 1972)

There are two parties in the Transkei as well as in Bophuthatswana: Chief Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party, and Mr. Knowledge Guzana's Democratic Party. These parties, plus the movements which have refused to operate within the Government's restrictions, have caused political commentators to see new African political life emerging. The new movements include the Black People's Convention, the South African Students' Organization (SASO), and the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement (ASECA). (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 12, 1972) Whether this political activity will usher in a new era in black politics resulting in meaningful transfer of power, or whether it will be an exercise in futility remains to be seen.

GOVERNMENT CRITICS FIRE-BOMBED

There are an increasing number of petrol bomb attacks on the houses of outspoken critics of the Government. The latest target was the home of Geoff Budlender, President of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Cape Town. The police stated, "although we are still convinced that they are amateurs, it is clear that they know what they are doing and do not leave any clues." (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 26, 1972)

NATIONALIST PARTY FOUNDER'S SON RAPS APARTHEID

The son of the first leader of the Nationalist Party has misgivings about the results of his father's policy. The Rev. D. F. Malan has expressed his doubts from the pulpit of his NGK (Calvinist Dutch Reformed) church. His father, Daniel F. Malan, led the Nationalists to victory in 1958. The son has delivered several sermons condemning suppression and exploitation of nonwhites and asserting South Africa may be doomed unless whites change their ways. (The News American, Aug. 1, 1972)

ECONOMICS

SPROCAS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

The following is an abbreviated listing of the recommendations put forward in a recent publication of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) which was reported in the previous issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA (Vol. V, No. 7, August-September, p. 33).

A. Basic Premise: A Fundamental Redistribution of Power is Essential

It has been increasingly clear to members of the Commission that the distribution of wealth is closely associated with the distribution of power, as between the racial groups. It is the powerlessness of the poor which both perpetuates their poverty and alienates them from the hopes and drives of society. The economically secure are suspicious of the aspirations of the insecure, and become repressive and resistant to change, especially where poverty is seen to be related to social and economic impotence. On the other hand, the economically insecure (supporting them to be not sunken in total apathy) have nothing to lose by militancy and intransigency in their growing demands.

Accordingly, the Commission believes that the Responsible Society will be brought about ONLY through a fundamental redistribution of power, for which the following are the most important pre-conditions:

- (A) The right of all people to effective political power.
- (B) The right of all workers to belong to legally recognized trade unions.
- (C) A significant redistribution of land.
- (D) A significant redistribution of wealth and income.
- (E) Radical changes to the existing educational system, and the right of all to equal access to the educational system.
- (F) The right of all people to effective social security benefits.

B. Immediate Steps

In addition to the above fundamental changes, the Commission believes that the following changes are also worth striving for. Although these changes will not themselves bring about the Responsible Society, they nevertheless will represent a movement towards it.

(1) That, as a matter of urgency, all possible steps be taken immediately towards: (a) the abolition of the system of migrant labor; (b) freedom of occupational and geographical mobility for all; and (c) the removal of legislation that prevents black families from living together in towns.

(2) (a) That the earnings of all employees be related to the cost of living, and that all workers should receive at least the effective minimum level wage. (b) That this include farm laborers, mine workers, and domestic servants.

(3) That adequate housing, feeding, pension, or provident schemes, medical aid schemes, and unemployment compensation be provided for all workers.

(4) That as a step in the direction of trade union rights for all, works committees should be established in any undertaking employing 50 workers or more, the following conditions being borne in mind: (a) that a national body of works committees be established, in order that experience may be shared and direction given; (b) that works committees should have access to relevant Industrial Councils or Wage Boards; (c) that members elected to serve on works committees should be given specific training regarding their role as representatives of the workers.

(5) That employer organizations and trade union organizations take the necessary steps to have legal job reservation determinations removed from the statute books.

(6) That employers provide aid for the education of workers and their families through adult education and literacy training schemes, scholarships, and money for books.

(7) That the limitations imposed by apprenticeship committees on blacks being trained as apprentices be abolished, and that apprenticeship training for blacks be expanded.

(8) That employers undertake proper training of black workers and the promotion of blacks wherever possible to positions of responsibility, with concomitant status and earnings.

(9) That further research be undertaken into the role of multinational firms in South Africa in terms of their wages, training, housing, medical insurance, and pension policies.

(10) That further efforts be made to modify the attitudes of white workers and employers which make possible the continuation of the customary color bar in employment.

(11) That discriminatory restrictions imposed on access to entrepreneurial opportunities of African, Indian, and Colored people be removed.

(12) That steps be taken to bring to public notice the inequalities in the present taxation system which introduces direct taxation for blacks at lower incomes than those applying to whites, and which does not give recognition to the dependents of African taxpayers.

(13) That active support be given to the efforts being made to prevent the destruction of our natural environment: the prevention of pollution, the conservation of soil, and control over the misuse of land and other natural resources.

(14) That in order to achieve effective social security for all: (a) Every effort be made to advance the nation's health services to a more equitable and more unified standard throughout the country, consideration being given to a national health service with the object of securing the best services for the greatest number at the most moderate cost; (b) Rural health services be extended and full use be made of the mission hospitals and other agencies already working in rural areas; (c) The present disability grants and old age pensions, particularly for Africans, be effectively increased, and pensions for African widows be instituted. It is further recommended that national medical insurance be offered to all citizens, regardless of racial origin; (d) The necessary steps be taken for the existing black labor force to start contributing to pension or provident funds; (e) The Workmen's Compensation Fund and other funds

established in terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act should use their monies, received from workers of all race groups, for the establishment of hospital and rehabilitation services for all, instead of the present system whereby only whites benefit from these services.

(15) That an independent commission be appointed to investigate the full extent of prison labor, both long-term and short-term, in South Africa, and to work out proposals for the rapid elimination of the system.

C. The Churches

The following are a few possible projects that might be undertaken by the churches. It is important to realize that there are many other possibilities, these being limited only by the creativity of those concerned.

(1) Develop a PROGRAM TO EDUCATE church members with a view to making them well-informed and creative agents of social change. In this connection the production of workshop material including taped talks, relevant printed material, suggested simulation games, case studies, etc., is a prerequisite.

(2) Church land in the RURAL AREAS should be put to more creative use. Churches can help in the training of local agricultural extension officers who in turn will instruct on better farming methods and the formation of producers' cooperatives.

(3) With regard to COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, the church may provide finance and training for blacks who will work for change in their own community in fields such as literacy, housing, medical care, etc.

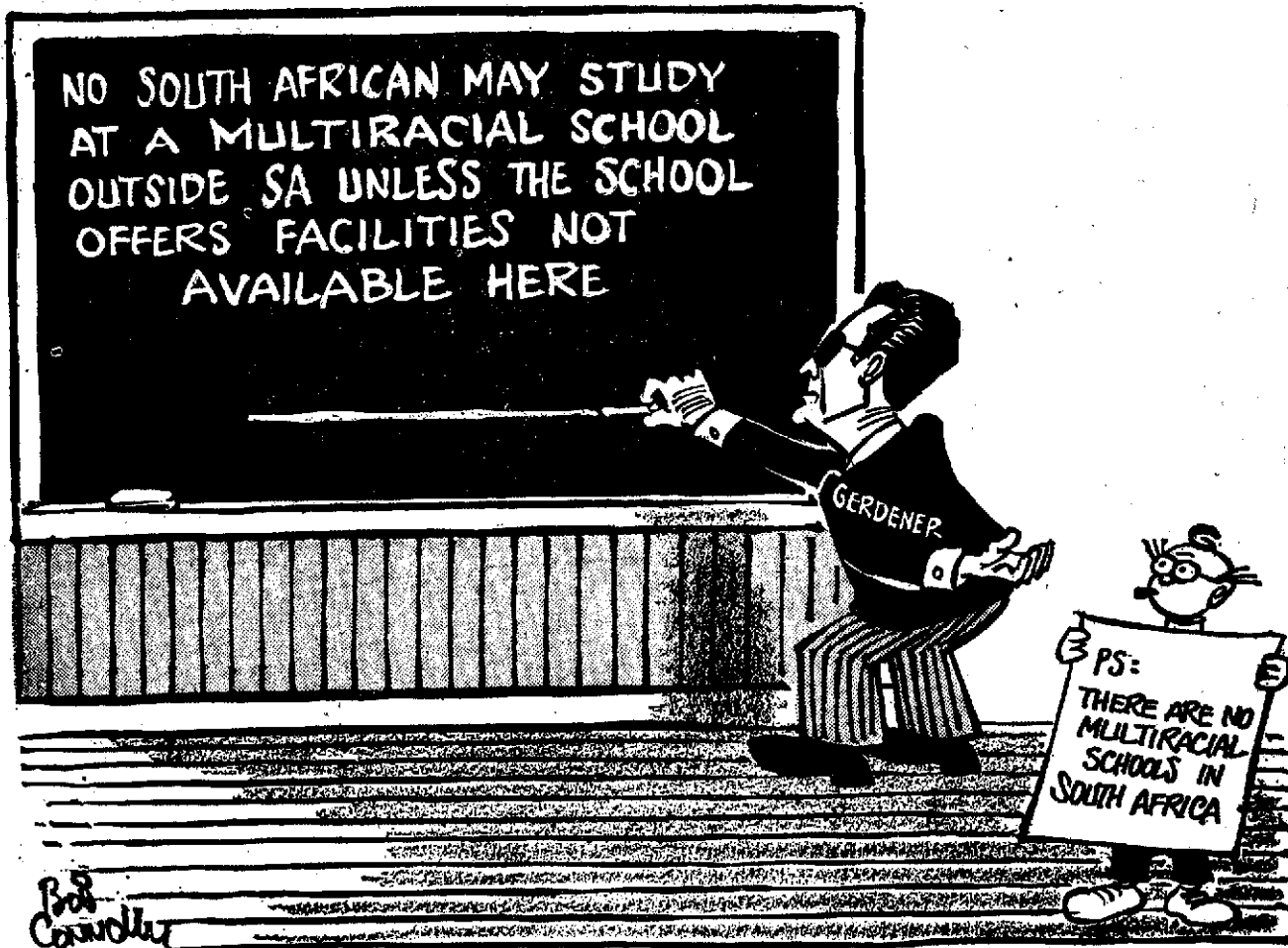
(4) The SUPPLY OF CAPITAL for community development projects organized by blacks is inadequate. Thus in both urban and rural areas the church may aid in the formation of SAVINGS CLUBS AND CREDIT UNIONS.

(NOTE: It is essential to stress again and again that these projects must operate under black initiative and leadership. It is important to avoid that situation where whites in subtle ways dominate and direct "black projects." In this regard financial domination, the control of the purse strings, must be avoided.)

(5) Assistance in the establishment of COMMUNALLY-RUN ENTERPRISES, shops, factories, etc. in urban and rural areas. This is recommended since blacks, through force of circumstance, spend their money in white areas and on products produced in white areas. It is suggested that these enterprises be communally run in order to safeguard the interests of the community members. The possibilities of small-scale manufacture should be thoroughly investigated.

(6) Assistance in the development of black CONSUMER COOPERATIVES. Bulk purchases of a cooperating community increase the bargaining power of that community and thus will reduce prices. Given the earlier survey of poverty in South Africa, the importance of this cannot be overemphasized. (It is also noted that Afrikaners have proved how useful such institutions can be.)

(7) The encouragement of investigations into the SUITABILITY OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPING AREAS. It is evident that fundamental changes are required if education is to play its potentially significant role in the development of these areas. The church can be effective in bringing about such changes



Conclusion

since in many ways it is directly involved in the running of schools. Here again, workshop material is required.

(8) To aid in the **ELIMINATION OF ILLITERACY** in South Africa.

(9) To encourage self-critical **EXAMINATION OF THE POWER STRUCTURE WITHIN THE CHURCH** itself. To what extent are the powerless groups within our society also powerless within the church?

(1) To assist, with the cooperation of others, in the formation of a "concerned citizens" committee of **ENQUIRY INTO THE WORKING CONDITIONS IN BOTH MULTINATIONAL AND LOCAL FIRMS**. The enquiry should take the form of an investigation into wage structures, housing, pensions, insurance and other benefits provided for workers. The committee should also encourage the formation of **WORKS COMMITTEES** in firms.

(11) To aid in the formation of study groups which will help to produce the required **WORKSHOP MATERIAL** that is mentioned above.

(12) Cooperation with other bodies in areas of common concern.

Through the process of its deliberations the Economics Commission has become more and more aware of the amount of work that remains to be done in providing complete answers to the questions raised in this Report. Ours is a rapidly changing world and new problems requiring answers are forever appearing on the horizon. Thus, for example, we should have liked to present a detailed discussion on the role of multinational firms in the South African economy and the potentials for change offered by the presence of these firms. In addition the question of economic dialogue accompanying moves for political dialogue between South Africa and the other African states is becoming increasingly important. Much research remains to be done in fields such as these.

Above all, the Commission would like to stress that it does not wish its Report to function as a static entity. The Commission would like to see its Report stimulate new thinking about the problems and possible solutions for South Africa and it hopes that this thinking will lead to action which will have the ultimate effect of bringing about the Responsible Society. The Commission does not under-estimate the difficulties facing this task. But it does point out that there is a great amount of useful work that can be done by those striving for a responsible South Africa.

FORD, G.M. BUY SOUTH AFRICAN PLATINUM: BLACKS TO BENEFIT SAYS NEW YORK TIMES

Major purchases of South African platinum and palladium have recently been announced by Ford and General Motors in the U.S. for use in pollution control devices. According to The New York Times (Sept. 23, 1972), "Employment and higher income for thousands of South African blacks is expected as a result."

Ford reached an agreement with Engelhard Minerals to supply not less than 60% of Ford's U.S. and Canadian requirements for emission control devices. Engelhard will purchase the platinum used in the catalyst devices from Rustenburg Platinum of South Africa, owned by Union Corporation. Engelhard, which agreed to construct two new plants in the U.S. for manufacturing the devices, will also share its patents with Ford for manufacturing the rest of Ford's supply. (Guardian, London, July 11, 1972)

General Motors has contracted with Impala, Ltd. of South Africa for the purchase of platinum and a related metal, palladium, to be used in manufacturing its own emission control units. (The Washington Post, Sept. 22, 1972)

The New York Times, both in its story about the Ford deal (July 17) and in a special article (Sept. 23), has emphasized the benefits these contracts will bring to black South Africans. The Impala mine is located in one portion of the Tswana reserve or homeland, while the Rustenburg mines are on the border of the territory.

The Bafokent people, a part of the Tswana nation, signed a contract with Union Corporation in 1968, giving them 13% of the mine's taxable income, some small advisory role in its operation, and priority for jobs. (Survey of Race Relations, 1968) However, very few Tswana are employed at any of these platinum mines, according to a South African Government publication (Bantu, August 1970). Most of the black miners are contract workers from the Transkei.

The Times speculates that "the increased demand for labor is likely to result in Government permission for Africans to undertake more highly skilled and highly paid jobs now usually reserved for white miners." Another nearby platinum mine was recently given a few such exemptions. However, any such moves will likely meet active opposition from the politically-strong Mine Workers Union (white).

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE SEES ECONOMIC UPTURN IN SOUTH AFRICA

The New York Journal of Commerce, a major U.S. financial daily, reports that South Africa's economy is making a recovery: "Two pointers to a decidedly healthier trend have been the decision to relax the controversial import controls and hints from Minister of Finance Dr. Nicholas Diederichs of moves to boost investment and production in the manufacturing industry."

The newspaper points out that import controls have been eased due to pressure from GATT (General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs, which oversees trade among most noncommunist countries). In addition, the country's trade imbalance has improved significantly during the first six months of 1972. Manufacturing activity will probably be stimulated through lower interest rates and easier monetary policy rather than tax cuts, predicts the Journal. (Aug. 11, 1972)

MOBIL BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETS IN SOUTH AFRICA

For the first time in its history, the Mobil Corporation's Board of Directors has met in South Africa. The meeting, held in late September, came only a few months after Mobil issued its report to shareholders on its South African operations (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, August-September, 1972). Besides handling normal business matters, board members investigated the situation in South Africa and Mobil's role there. Previous to the meeting, an ecumenical church group sent a letter to Mobil's chairman raising questions about some of the material presented in the Mobil disclosure.

TUCSA AGAIN CHANGES ITS POSITION ON AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) has endorsed full trade union rights for Africans, adding another chapter to its fluctuating stance toward black workers. The new position was endorsed by 68 of the 70 unions which make up the council, the largest labor federation in the country. It represents more than 200,000 white, Asian, and Colored workers.

Only three years ago, in 1969, TUCSA expelled all African trade unions which had been affiliated with it. Although African unions are not given recognition under South African law, they are not illegal. However, the lack of legal rights severely limits their effectiveness. In addition, those that have been successful labor leaders are presently serving long jail terms, are under banning orders, or have fled the country. (New York Times, Aug. 27, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 21, 1972)

CHURCHES

MINISTER'S HOME FIRE-BOMBED

During July the Rev. Theodore Kotze's home was fire-bombed twice, and several gunshots were fired into the front door and attic. Kotze is the Cape director of the Christian Institute. In early July, Kotze had delivered an opening address to the National Union of South African Students' congress where he said that "there are signs that the South African Government is moving towards complete totalitarianism." He went on to point out that it was not only dangerous to be a Christian in South Africa, but dangerous to be a dissenter. (Star, Johannesburg, July 11 and 15, 1972)

PROTEST OVER BANNINGS

All South Africa's Anglican bishops have supported a statement protesting the banning of David de Beer, 24-year-old administrative secretary of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. De Beer was served with a five-year banning order in late June. This is the first time since Sharpeville in 1960 that the Anglican bishops have made such concerted protest on such an issue. Their statement reflects their growing alarm over the state/church clash in South Africa, according to Stanley Uys of the Johannesburg Star (June 30, 1972).

Students and other religious groups also reacted swiftly in protesting the South African Government action against two churchmen—Mr. Stephen Hayes, an Anglican who was placed under a five-year ban, and Mr. Peter Randall, director of the Study Project for Christianity in

an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS), a program of the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches. Randall's passport was invalidated in mid-July, shortly after he received a grant to study in Europe. The banning order was served on Hayes while he lay ill in Pietermaritzburg after having been forced to leave Namibia in early 1972 because of his opposition to the migratory labor system there. (Religious News Service, July 17, 1972).

Beyers Naude of the Christian Institute has called on all clergy of all races and denominations to stand together in common concern for individuals under Government pressure, and urged the churches to eliminate racism in their own ranks. (Religious News Service, July 17, 1972)

MOVES AGAINST MISSION HOSPITALS

Fears that mission hospitals might become the target of an anti-Catholic campaign arose in Johannesburg when the Transvaal Provincial Council refused to renew the contract of six Irish nuns holding senior positions at Tembisa African Hospital. The decision came three

months after the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, a conservative Dutch Reformed denomination, called for the removal of all Catholic sisters from provincial hospitals.

Failure to renew the contracts came as a "great surprise" to Catholic Archbishop John Garner of Pretoria. Anglican Bishop Leslie Stradling of Johannesburg said the action was "completely ludicrous." The nuns have been at the hospital for 20 years, and have helped almost two million Africans. (Religious News Service, Aug. 29, 1972)

A.A.C.C. CANON BARRED

Canon Burgess Carr, general secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches, was refused a visa to attend the South African Conference of Churches that opened in Johannesburg. Carr said he was not surprised by the refusal because he had been given a rough time in Johannesburg on July 9 travelling from Nairobi to a church meeting in Australia, when he was refused a transit visa. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5, 1972)

INSIDE NAMIBIA

STRIKE LEADER CONTINUES POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Johannes Nangutuuala, who first attracted international attention as leader of the worker's Strike Committee during this year's walkout of Namibia's farms, mines, and factories, is still actively soliciting support for his Democratic Cooperative Party. A former financial clerk of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church, he was dismissed a year ago from a job in the Ovambo Department of Justice because of his political activities.

As a leader of the striking workers, Nangutuuala won Government approval when he accepted the labor agreement negotiated between South Africa and Government-appointed "homeland" administrations, but has used his position to assail the authorities for refusal to implement promised reforms. He claimed that the agreement had been one step toward meeting worker's demands, but now says "the spirit of the agreement is not being applied," and calls for the formation by laborers of a trade union.

Nangutuuala's party intends to seek representation in the forthcoming elections for the Ovambo Territorial Authority, to insure the presence of dissidents within that body. "This means we can work toward one goal—rejection of the homeland policy. We want no homeland in Namibia."

Although he is a member of a different party, Nangutuuala's support for SWAPO is unequivocal. Praising it as a countrywide organization and "the father of all non-White political movements," he protests the proposed banning of SWAPO by the Executive Councils of Kavango and Ovambo, and warned that his own party

would not simply look on while SWAPO is being attacked.

Clearly South Africa faces continuing resistance from the Namibian population as it attempts to consolidate its control. Special trouble spots, according to Nangutuuala, are police checkpoints which control access to Ovambo, and between Ovambo and Angola. If maltreatment continues, he threatens, the fences at both places will be torn down, and the people will assert their right to control their own movements outside the authority of Portugal or South Africa.

(Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 26, 1972)

WEST GERMAN REPORT ALLEGES TORTURE

Ms. Lenelotte Von Bothmer, a Social Democratic Party member of the German Federal Republic's Bundestag (parliament), has issued a report describing instances of torture by authorities in northern Namibia. Based on declarations made by former prisoners, the report states that torture methods used by the South African police include beatings, hanging by the legs for days, and the use of electric shock equipment.

White witnesses described mass arrests and the use of trucks as prisons. Both Africans and whites testified to the use of brutal beatings and dog attacks to try to force people to talk and cooperate with police. One victim who saw the electric shock instrument being used reported that the trademark read "Honda, Made in Japan." (Namibia Today, Dar es Salaam, July-August, 1972)

U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL NAMES NAMIBIAN REPRESENTATIVE

U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has announced the appointment of Dr. Alfred Martin Escher to serve as his representative in negotiations with South Africa over the question of Namibia. Dr. Escher, a retired Swiss diplomat with no previous African experience, was expected to travel to South Africa in early October. Waldheim's report on the progress of negotiations to date has been submitted to the Security Council for consideration.



Waldheim

SOUTH AFRICA CLAIMS WALDHEIM WON'T CONSULT SWAPO

Reacting to a United Nations report that Secretary General Kurt Waldheim would seek SWAPO's approval for the appointment of a special representative to Namibia, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Hilgard Muller warned that the U.N. mission would be doomed before it began. Successful negotiations on the status of the mandated territory could not be held under such conditions, the Minister claimed.

Speaking later in Windhoek, Muller said he had taken the matter up with Waldheim and was pleased to be able to say that the report was untrue. According to the Minister, Waldheim denied the statement, and assured South Africa that his meeting with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma had been at the request of Mr. Nujoma. Muller assured the public that negotiations could continue, because the appointment of a U.N. representative would be exclusively decided by the Secretary General working with South Africa, and would not be subject to SWAPO approval. (The Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5 and 19, 1972)

THE OIL SEARCH—U.S. FIRMS HELP

Four U.S. companies were recently awarded offshore exploration blocks by the Southern Oil Exploration

Corporation in Namibia. The firms are New York-based Aracca Exploration, Ltd. and a consortium consisting of Continental Overseas Oil Co., Getty Oil Co., and Phillips Petroleum Co. The initial term of each concession is nine years, with an option for a three-year renewal. Terms call for an expenditure of approximately a million and a half dollars in the first year, and require drilling after the third year.

Concessions were earlier awarded to Chevron Oil Company of Namibia and Texaco. Negotiations for further awards of exploration areas are proceeding. The South African regime is currently totally dependent on outside sources for oil resources, and a discovery of oil within its territorial waters would greatly enhance its drive toward economic self-sufficiency. Any oil found within the boundaries or waters of Namibia would be claimed by South Africa, and would not only contribute toward strengthening the South African economy, but would increase the determination to hold Namibia in defiance of international law. (The Windhoek Advertiser, June 22 and 27, 1972; Oil and Gas Journal, July 3, 1972)

AMERICANS SUPPORT TOURIST TRADE

Despite occasional difficulties with the sensitive bureaucracy administering Namibia, U.S. tourists continue to pass through the country in a steady flow, according to the Windhoek Advertiser (June 23, 1972). Sometimes arriving at the rate of one tour a week, American tourists are taken on escorted sightseeing visits to the beautiful rocky coastline and to the Etosha Pan game reserve—one of the world's few remaining totally natural spots where plant life and animals can be watched interacting in their traditional habitat.

Tours are run in cooperation with Suidwes Lugdiens, a Namibian airline, by the U.S. tourist group Lindbad Travel Inc. Lindbad sponsors a number of "Flying Safaris" to Africa for wealthy Americans.

CALL TO RECRUIT COLORED LABOR

The South West Africa Congress of the Nationalist Party, meeting in Windhoek, has demanded that farmers be allowed to recruit Colored laborers from South Africa. The call defies the executive committee of the Legislative Assembly which opposes issuing of permits for the importation of unskilled labor.

Delegates to the meeting complained that farmers in particular suffer from a shortage of unskilled help to serve as herdsmen and general laborers. Adolf Brinkman, a member of the Executive Committee, explained to the group that the situation could be reconsidered once identity documents have been issued to Coloreds in the territory. Until that time, it would be impossible to control the influx of unwanted Coloreds into the area, if restrictions were lifted.

(Star, July 22, 1972; Windhoek Advertiser, July 7, 1972)

UNITY OF NAMIBIAN CHURCHES STUDIED

Union of the white German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia with a black denomination there is being studied as a result of a meeting of the Council of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, the missionary parent to the white church in Namibia, held in Frankfurt in July. Though the merger was thought by the majority of those present to be "premature," the issue is still under study. (Religious News Service, July 25, 1972)

CHURCHES

CHURCHES COALESCE AROUND INVESTMENT ISSUE

A heretofore ad hoc coalition of church leaders concerned about corporate social responsibility as related to investments in companies operating in South Africa has decided to go into full-time operation with new officers and a staff executive. The Interfaith Committee on Social Responsibility in Investments grows out of former temporary committees and panels related to investments and social issues, and represents six denominations and a \$30,000 annual budget. The Interfaith Committee says it plans to serve as a forum for education and action by interested church groups. Membership includes the Episcopal, Unitarian-Universalist, United Presbyterian, Quaker, United Methodist, and American Baptist churches. Other denominations have been invited to participate.

A meeting of the Committee in September discussed ongoing concerns from last spring's proxy fights waged by various churches on the corporate responsibility issue, and will initiate strategy for the spring of 1973. (United Methodist Information Service, Aug. 15, 1972)

LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION ACTS ON BANKING TIES

The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Executive Committee meeting in Indonesia in July has decided to break connections with banks that pursue "policies and practices that contribute to the worsening of the non-whites' position in South Africa." The Executive also asked its national committees and member churches to re-examine their capital investments with regard to South Africa. The LWF has a financial turnover of about \$15 million in 12 banks. Ten of the 12 banks either denied having involvement in South Africa or refused to reply to the LWF's questions on the grounds of bank secrecy. The two banks that did reply—First National City Bank and Chase Manhattan (American banks)—admitted and tried to justify their business involvement in South Africa. (Religious News Service, July 25, 1972)

BRITISH METHODISTS PROBE INVESTMENTS

A report urging the use of church shareholder rights to press for policy changes in companies having investments in South Africa was endorsed at the 1972 Methodist Conference in Nottingham, England in July. The report held that "total withdrawal from every company with any interest in South Africa would be withdrawal from the possibility of exercising any influence on company policy." Therefore it suggested as an alternative that church officials should use shareholders' rights to press for "juster policies." (Religious News Service, July 11, 1972)

S. A.'s NEIGHBORS

MALAWI: BANDA SPEAKS OUT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, President for Life of this landlocked Central African State bordering Rhodesia and Mozambique, recently spoke his mind on the issues of Southern Africa in an interview with an obviously sympathetic voice, the Wall Street Journal (Aug. 29, 1972). Malawi has 4.5 million inhabitants, and its only link to the sea is via the Portuguese rail lines to Beira and Nacala in Mozambique. Some 250,000 Malawians are employed in the white-dominated regions of Southern

Africa, the bulk of them as highly underpaid laborers on contract in the South African gold mines. Hence Malawi is highly dependent on the surrounding minority-ruled regimes, a fact that Banda not only admits, but actively promotes.

About 20 years ago, Banda was considered one of a select group of African Nationalist leaders, but after Malawi was declared independent in 1964, Banda chose to participate in South Africa's "dialogue" with independent Africa. Banda remains to this date the only leader from a Black African state to be "officially" received within South Africa by the all-white Government, and likewise, when South Africa's President Fouché returned the visit, he was the first apartheid representative to set foot on "independent" Black soil. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, June-July, 1972) Malawi gratefully accepts aid from the South African Government, with all its political implications.

Annually some 300,000 white tourists, mainly from South Africa, are attracted to Lake Malawi, where over \$16.4 million has been spent by the Government toward developing luxury hotels, big game and duck hunting regions, and a new airfield with paved roads to serve their white neighbors. (Star, Johannesburg, June 10, 1972)

Asked by the Journal whether he thought progress was being made in South Africa to ease race relations, Banda replied, "Certainly," and characterized the actions of his fellow African leaders within the OAU on Southern Africa as "naive," "stupid," and "inexperienced."

In reaction to the question of U.S. investment in Southern Africa, Banda said: "No African in South Africa wants withdrawal of foreign capital; America should invest even more..." adding the familiar rejoinder, "and insist on better conditions for African employees" in the language of the General Motors, IBM's, Mobils and other corporate apologists. And Banda added that these same companies should also look to Malawi with their capital which, according to him, has "a stable government, full repatriation of profits, and favors free enterprise."

CATERPILLAR SALES TO CABORA BASSA

The Southern Africa Committee has learned that Caterpillar Tractor Company has sold more than 40 units of giant earth-moving equipment and other machinery to the international consortium which is constructing Mozambique's Cabora Bassa dam. The information was first revealed in the company's "in-house" magazine, THE DEALER, in April, 1972. The article is reprinted in full below. All the facts were confirmed this month in an interview conducted by a SOUTHERN AFRICA writer with company officials at the firm's Peoria, Illinois headquarters.

Because the dam is an integral part of Portugal's plan to retain control over its African colony of Mozambique, its building is opposed by FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front. Portugal plans to attract European settlers to the dam area, providing a human buffer to impede the liberation struggle. Power from the huge hydroelectric complex will be sold to South Africa, both earning foreign exchange for Portugal to support the

colonial wars and increasing South Africa's stake in the area's security.

South African troops are reportedly assisting in the defense of the dam, whose supply lines have frequently been attacked. According to South African and Rhodesian press reports, recent FRELIMO successes in Tete Province where the dam is located have brought greater aid from both those countries for the Portuguese army.

Campaigns in several European countries have been mounted against companies involved in the dam-building consortium. A Swedish firm withdrew under pressure from critics. Similar protests in the U.S.A. probably prompted the Export-Import Bank to deny credit for sales General Electric wanted to make to the consortium. The Caterpillar sales and maintenance service is the first direct United States participation in Cabora Bassa for which we have evidence.



Dozing boulders near cofferdam is D8H, one of eight Cat crawler tractors on the job.

Cat 988 places a big one in one of the 18 769s on the job.



AID PORTUGUESE IN MOZAMBIQUE

[Continued from front cover]

Planted in the rugged Kebrabasa Gorge, it will harness the tumultuous Zambezi River and ultimately develop four million kilowatts of power for energy-hungry South Africa. The dam also will create a sea 155 miles long and 24 miles wide and provide irrigation for more than a million farm acres.

The initial stage of the project, scheduled for completion in 1975, involves erection of all temporary works, including two diversion tunnels and cofferdams, construction of the dam and underground powerhouse, installation of three 400,000-kw. generators and erection of 800 miles of transmission lines leading to Johannesburg.

Cat-built equipment on the job since January, 1970, includes 18 769B trucks, 10 wheel loaders (seven 988s, one 966C, and two 930s), eight track-type tractors (three D9Gs, four D8Hs, one D6C), two No. 14E motor graders and three industrial engines (two D343s, one D333).

Steia's success in selling this fleet of equipment to ZAMCO was not entirely due to its geographic location. The consortium, consisting of French, German, South African, Italian and

Portuguese construction companies, wanted an equipment distributor who would provide reliable and efficient product backup. In typical Caterpillar dealer fashion, Steia has done just that.

One of its first moves was to establish a third branch store, this one at Tete, some 87 miles from the dam site, to provide an operating support base for that now-booming region.

It also set up a parts and service facility approximately one mile from the construction site. The dealer stocked it with spare parts and components representing 15% of the total value of the equipment.

To control the stock, Steia staffed the facility with three experienced parts salesmen and two helpers. It also provided radio and wire communications between it and other Steia stores to assure parts availability. This was important, for guarantees were involved.

Steia guaranteed the efficiencies of parts delivery out of stock as follows: within 60 hours of the request — 82% efficiency; within 84 hours, 94%, and within 144 hours, 98.7%.

The guaranteed efficiencies are based on the number of items

ordered and supplied within a period of three months. For this purpose Steia sends ZAMCO a monthly report showing the efficiencies of the previous month. Also included is a free parts exchange service, while the original components are being repaired.

Earthmoving got underway in January, 1970. For that first year Steia made available at the dam site a mechanical engineer, two specialized servicemen and three parts men, and provided each of the mechanics with radio-equipped vehicles.

They and Caterpillar representatives organized service schools for customer personnel to familiarize them with the repair of Cat-built equipment. Caterpillar and Steia also provided demonstrator-operators to train equipment operators. Travel expenses and accommodations were paid by ZAMCO.

As still another indicator of Steia's product support, the dealer acquired a twin-engine Piper "Aztec" airplane to pick up and deliver spare parts in extreme emergencies. ■

THE DEALER April 72

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

MOZAMBIQUE:

PORTUGAL PLANS DEFOLIATION TO PROTECT DAM

The Star (Johannesburg, July 27) reported that tenders are out for defoliation work, mostly by aerial spraying, to clear the land for 50 meters either side of the Tete-Songo road (which is 115 Km long) and to clear 250 hectares of land surrounding the Cabora Bassa damsite to improve security.

UP TO 500 POLITICAL PRISONERS RELEASED IN MOZAMBIQUE

In early July, Portugal made Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau "states" by name rather than "provinces." At the same time an amnesty was proclaimed under which up to 500 political prisoners have reportedly been released, some of them FRELIMO sympathizers. At least one group was addressed before their release by Lazara Kavandame, a former FRELIMO person who defected amid great Portuguese fanfare a couple of years ago. (Daily News, Tanzania, July 20, 1972; East African Standard, Kenya, July 8, 1972; Radio Lourenco Marques in Portuguese, July 12, 1972; Agence France Presse, July 18, 1972)

An interesting article to juxtapose with these reports is one from Mozambique Revolution by a FRELIMO man who was held in various Mozambican prisons from 1964 to 1971. He testifies to the strength of the FRELIMO network and organizing within the prisons, despite attempts by the authorities to destroy their political consciousness. (See page 20.)

FATHER LUIS ALFONSO DA COSTA CONDEMNS PORTUGAL'S TERRORISM IN MOZAMBIQUE

Father Luis Alfonso da Costa is Portuguese and has been living in the Tete area of Mozambique as a missionary. He is now in exile, having arrived in Rome with documented stories of concentration camps, torture, and the massacre of 92 people by the Portuguese in the Tete area of Mozambique between May 1971 and March 1972. He was one of two missionaries chosen by fellow priests and nuns to travel throughout the country to inform them what was happening in the north of Mozambique. Da Costa was in danger of imprisonment when he left; 17 missionaries have been detained in Mozambique for questioning in recent months, including two Spanish priests, Fr. Alfonso Valverde and Fr. Martin Hernandez, who tried to leave via Rhodesia in January only to be arrested by Rhodesian authorities and flown back to Mozambique and placed in the Machaba Prison near Lourenco Marques. (Guardian, U.K., Aug. 5, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 12 and 26, 1972) Mozambicans now with FRELIMO testified to some of the same atrocities by the Portuguese before the U.N. Committee on Human Rights in Dar es Salaam in August. (Daily News, Tanzania, Aug. 12, 1972)

REPORTS APPEAR OF UDI-TYPE SENTIMENTS OF SETTLERS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Jorge Jardim, director of the Bank of Lisbon and South Africa, and also Malawi's Consul in Mozambique, is said to have been pushing for a year for a "multiracial" Mozambican independence with an African president but clear retention of white hegemony. The plan is said to include ideas of a "bantustan" in the north that could act as a buffer area between Mozambique and independent north. General Kaulza de Arriaga is said to be a supporter of such a plan as well. (Africa Report, U.S., July-August, 1972)

FRELIMO MILITARY REPORT

In Niassa Province between April 10 and June 26, FRELIMO reports the sabotage of two bridges, 11 vehicles, the railway at Catur, and the death of 90 enemy soldiers. (Daily News, Tanzania, Aug. 22, 1972)

In Tete Province March through May, FRELIMO reports the downing of a Portuguese helicopter and a Rhodesian military plane, the blowing up of two locomotives and eight railcars, and the death of 250 enemy. The Times of Zambia reports a train blown up in mid-July by FRELIMO south of Malawi, destroying a locomotive and three cars.

Portugal in turn reports FRELIMO mines near protected villages and reports killing 20 guerrillas July 21-Aug. 4.

GUINEA-BISSAU:

PAIGC SCHOOL BOMBED

It is reported that the Portuguese attacked and destroyed a school in the Cubucare region of Guinea-Bissau. The U.N. team which visited liberated areas with the PAIGC in April (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, June-July 1972) had visited the school. It was one of a network of schools in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau. (Agence France Presse, July 28; Times of Zambia, July 27, 1972)

ANGOLA:

GERMAN COFFEE PLANTATION HEAVILY ARMED IN NORTHERN ANGOLA

Afrique-Asie No. 11-12 of August 1972 includes an article by two German journalists who visited a coffee plantation run by the Rochow family in northern Angola near Bolongongo. They were not allowed to travel alone but were accompanied by 14 soldiers travelling in convoy in German jeeps, with a bazooka pointed ahead and all other arms on alert. They were shown a road blocked by

guerrillas, an evacuated village which the Portuguese had cleared, coffee plants surrounded by barbed wire with guard towers every 15 meters. The plantation buildings had shuttered windows and loopholes for shooting and observation. The owner of the plantation took two automatic G-3 weapons with him in his Landrover just to pick vegetables. They no longer use local African labor but only "contract" labor from southern Angola because all the locals are suspected "terrorists." The plantation house was reinforced like a fort and had a good stock of provisions and arms, and a private army of 23 including 17 night patrol guards.

MPLA ATTACKS LUMBALA MILITARY BARRACKS

MPLA reports 33 Portuguese soldiers killed on July 25 in Eastern Angola in an attack on the Lumbala Military Barracks. The barracks were destroyed and vehicles and arms and ammunition captured. (Daily News, Tanzania, Aug. 5, 1972)

ANGOLAN OIL AND MINERALS

Cabinda Gulf Oil exported 4,455,945 barrels (603,376 tons) of oil in June 1972, a record amount, with the largest portion going to Trinidad (80,416 tons), then Portugal (57,287 tons), Spain (50,803 tons), and the U.S. (46,891 tons). (Star, Johannesburg, July 15, 1972) Because of the higher prices now being charged by Persian Gulf suppliers of crude oil, Portugal is likely to try to gain a larger share of Angola oil now. (Petroleum Press Service,

U.K., April 1972) The Luanda refinery is being expanded to a capacity of one million tons a year and Petrangol has requested permission to increase capacity to three million tons. (Petroleum Press Service, U.K., August 1972)

Marche Tropicales of July 28, 1972 reports "spectacular progress in the extractive industry" of Angola with expansion continuing from 1969 to the present in production of iron, oil, diamonds, and with increasing paving of Angolan roads, also rocks for asphalt.

INSIDE PORTUGAL:

BLASTS CUT POWER SUPPLIES IN MAJOR PORTUGUESE CITIES

A series of bomb explosions cut off power supplies in major Portuguese cities on August 8, as Admiral Amerigo Thomaz, 77, was being sworn in as Head of State for a third seven-year term. Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra were all badly affected. This fits the pattern of previous explosions claimed by Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA), a clandestine Portuguese urban guerrilla group. (Times, U.K., Aug. 10, 1972; Daily Telegraph, U.K., Aug. 9, 1972; New York Times, Aug. 10, 1972; SOUTHERN AFRICA, August-September 1972)

In naming the Portuguese cabinet, President Thomaz notably replaced two "liberals" (Xavier Pintado and Rogerio Martins) who had carried on some economic reforms and favored a more open and modern economy. (Le Monde, Paris, Aug. 12, 1972)

MPLA



THE MAKING OF A FREEDOM FIGHTER

I think I am 53 years old. I was born in Marromeu, Province of Manica e Sofala. I suffered very much all my life under the Portuguese colonialists.

I was arrested by PIDE on May 20, 1964. The sister of one of those I helped to escape could not stand the interrogation and denounced me. After the arrest I was taken to a room where there were six whips and two palmatorias hanging on the wall. I was told to undress. I was badly beaten. The colonialists started by asking if I knew what FRELIMO was. I answered "Yes, I know, FRELIMO is freedom." They insulted me. They said, "You are stupid, you don't even know how to write. What do you want independence for?" I answered, "We have those who know, they will teach us." They asked how I took people out of the country. I said, "I don't take them. It is the train that takes them. You have guards, police at the border, PIDE agents everywhere. If with all this you cannot stop people from passing, it is your problem." Together with me, 14 people were arrested. We were all badly tortured. Comrade Joguente was suspended by his hands for so long that the skin broke off. Agosto Pinto Jeremo was whipped with a whip with iron points, and a palmatoria with nails instead of the usual holes. The same happened to old Jossia. I was in prison from 1964 up to 1971. I was never taken to any court, never tried.

On December 14, 1964 I was transferred to the Penitentiary of Lourenco Marques, where I stayed until February 1, 1965. I was then taken to Machava Prison. When I arrived there we were about 200 prisoners. In April 400 more arrived from the island of Ibo.

In Machava the conditions were terrible—many people died daily because of tortures and bad food. In my ward alone an average of two to three people died every day. But the prisoners who arrived from Ibo told me that there it was even worse.

On July 12, 1965 I was taken to a new jail in Mabalane. When we arrived we were 200 and soon 65 more came. In 1966, 270 more were sent there. In 1967 there were 1,006 prisoners in Mabalane alone. By that time, in Machava and Lourenco Marques, the political prisoners numbered more than 3,000. In November I was again transferred to Machava.

We were very well organized in all the prisons, we had meetings to discuss and solve our contradictions. We kept our discipline as FRELIMO militants, we had a high morale. In our wards there were never fights: on the contrary in the criminal's wards they even fought with knives among themselves. The colonialists tried to destroy our political consciousness using a combination of three weapons: tribalism, terror, and corruption and murder. Through tribalism they attempted to separate the Makondes from us. They started to give classes only for the Makondes. But they failed. Then they created a magazine called "Ressurgimento," where the prisoners were forced to write articles insulting FRELIMO, and eulogizing the PIDE. Those who refused were punished. A few of us betrayed from fear, but they were very few. We also began mobilizing the prisoners from the criminal wards. Some of them adhered to FRELIMO.

Aware of our strength in the prisons, the PIDE resorted to other tactics: they infiltrated agents provocateurs, Cunjane and Luis Ferreira in Machava and Caetano Souza in Mabalane. Those traitors succeeded in identifying 30 of our comrades who were immediately isolated in special cells. They were never allowed to leave the cells. They were given food once a week—a cup of cooked beans. No water; 23 of them died before this regimen ended—among them were comrades Joel Guduane, Juma Salimo, Agostinho Xitete, Alexandre Nchocoma. I saw with my own eyes the bodies of 20 of the murdered comrades. These comrades are great heroes, none of them betrayed, none of them denounced who were the other militants of the FRELIMO clandestine network.

In spite of their deaths, FRELIMO continued very much alive in the prison, in our hearts. We organized ourselves better, more carefully, in the wards and cells.

We also collaborated with white and Asian prisoners, who had been arrested for supporting FRELIMO, including some Portuguese soldiers.

I left prison in 1971, but many thousands of patriots still remain there. I am working with FRELIMO. For the first time in my life I feel free. We have to continue fighting, to extend this freedom to all our people. ●

[Reprinted from Mozambique Revolution, April-June,

1972]

U.S. & SOUTHERN AFRICA

NASA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), writing in the Boston Globe of June 13, 1972, criticized the operation of a NASA tracking station near Johannesburg and suggests that it be closed in favor of another site at a similar latitude in Southern Africa in an independent Black-ruled nation. He notes the complete segregation of facilities and the dual pay scale whereby the maximum salary paid to a black employee stops at \$1,428 while the minimum received by whites is \$1,680. No blacks are in training programs. The only proposals for change made by NASA and South African authorities involve increasing the segregation of black from white.

DISCRIMINATORY ADVERTISING

The New York City Commission on Human Rights has filed a complaint against four travel agencies (Kuoni Travel, Inc.; African Adventures, Ltd.; Four Winds Travel, Inc.; Trafalgar Tours and Tollman Hotels), two airlines (Sabena Belgian World Airways and UTA French Airlines), and two shipping lines (Union Castle Line and P. & O. British Cruise Line) for inherently discriminatory advertising of trips to South Africa, given the realities of apartheid and the fact that visas are not accorded to whites and blacks on an equal basis. The companies were surprised by the complaint. When they reply officially, the Commission will conduct a hearing before two commissioners and then reach a decision. If it decides against the companies, it can order them, under city law which prevents discriminatory advertising, to cease and desist and could levy a fine. The case is unprecedented. (Africa Report, July-August, 1972)

PROTEST OVER WALDHEIM ON NAMIBIA

Congressmen Diggs and Stokes have sharply criticized U.N. Secretary General Waldheim's proposal to continue dialogue with South Africa over Namibia and to appoint a special representative for Namibia who would report only to Waldheim. (See INSIDE NAMIBIA, this issue.) Hoping for support from China and the USSR in Security Council deliberations, Diggs said that the only Namibian subject to be discussed is South Africa's withdrawal from the territory. (Religious News Service, July 27, 1972)

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

According to Bruce Oudes' analysis (Africa Report, July-August, 1972), the Democratic Platform represents a mix of Black Caucus and "pure McGovern" proposals. In the former category is the quite striking recommendation to end all tax credits for U.S. companies for taxes paid to white-minority regimes, going considerably beyond the ending of credits for companies operating in Namibia. McGovern influence is apparent in the failure to specifically mention liberation movements, the exclusion of any possible intervention, the refusal to support any break in diplomatic relations with white regimes, and the use of such sensitive expressions as "non-white peoples." In an interview with Raymond Heard (The Star, Johannesburg, July 16, 1972) right after the convention, McGovern confessed his neglect of Southern African

issues in recent months and criticized the Nixon dialogue policy as a failure. He did not, however, repeat his statement of one year ago that America might have to channel military aid directly to the oppressed people of South Africa and reiterated his position in favor of continuing diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

NEWSOM SPEECH

In an address to the Mid-American Committee in Chicago on June 28, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa David Newsom stressed the continuity of Nixon policy with previous Administration policy on Southern Africa and claimed that there has been no departure from the basic principles of support of self-determination and peaceful change. He did, however, lay special stress on the complexity of the situation and the limited ability of the U.S. to effect change. In discussing Portugal, he claimed that the Azores Agreement involved nothing more than the ordinary Export-Import Bank loan possibilities for another country and included no new loan commitments. (AF Press Clips, June 27, 1972, Supplement in the form of text of address) (The Star, Johannesburg, July 1, 1972)

CRITIQUE OF U.S. POLICY

Citing the Azores Agreement with Portugal and the break in Rhodesian sanctions, 15 former State Department officials condemned the new approach of communication with the white governments of Southern Africa and urged a policy coordinated with the interests of a majority of Africans. Signing the statement were former undersecretaries of State Harriman and Bowles, former U.N. Ambassador Yost, and the following former ambassadors to African countries: William Atwood (Guinea and Kenya), Mercer Cook (Niger and Senegal), Glenn Ferguson (Kenya), Robert Good (Zambia), Philip Kaiser (Senegal), James Loeb (Guinea), William Mahoney (Ghana), Robert Payton (Cameroon), Francis Russell (Ghana and Tunisia), Elliot Skinner (Upper Volta), William Weathersby (Sudan), and Franklin Williams (Ghana). (Newsday, June 12, 1972)

DIGGS CRITICIZES U.S. POLICY AND DEMANDS CHANGE

In recent weeks Congressman Diggs has called for changes in many aspects of U.S. policy toward Southern Africa: pressure to end South African import controls which consistently violate the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), pressure to end South Africa's withholding of gold and manipulation of the gold market, refusal to comply with South African "local content" regulations for motor vehicles which force American companies to invest in assembly plants in South Africa, refusal to communicate to South Africa data on Namibia gained through the NASA satellite, and obliging the new black diplomat assigned to South Africa to learn an African language rather than Afrikaans. (The Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 18, 1972) Treasury Secretary Schultz replied to one Diggs complaint by saying that South Africa did not seriously manipulate the gold market. (The Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 19, 1972)

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES ACTIONS

ANTI-CORPORATE ADVANCES

The Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ made a formal reply to FULF OIL CORPORATION'S disclosure statement by reaffirming its demand that the oil company withdraw from Angola. In an August 28 release, the U.C.C. praised Gulf's policy not to invest in South Africa (Gulf stated that it "does not invest as an employer in any country where laws prohibit the equal opportunity hiring and promotion policy and practice of the Corporation" [Orange Disk, April-June, 1972]), and its openness about its role in Cabinda. But the Council restated that its concern was not with Gulf's employment policy in Angola per se, but rather with Gulf's monetary presence in Angola whereby the company has a "direct investment in colonialism" and "serves as an apologist for Portugal." The statement refuted several of Gulf's statistics and arguments, and concluded that although Gulf "creates a few jobs for Blacks and added income" it is "strengthening a social system and a war machine opposed by the African nationalists, and . . . prolonging this colonial war through tax contribution." Most accurately the U.C.C. asserts that "Gulf's presence also creates the illusion that meaningful economic development for African people can take place in a colonial situation and in the midst of a racial colonial war." (U.C.C., Aug. 28, 1972; Office of Communication)

According to information from the American Committee on Africa, a number of member locals of the INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION (AFL/CIO) are boycotting all goods from Rhodesia. The ILA is investigating ways to detect importation of such goods in order to overcome the difficulty of falsified documents. (ACOA, Aug. 20, 1972)

The POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT issued a statement earlier this year condemning the trip of Roy Wilkins to South Africa, pointing out that the NAACP President's visit was sponsored by the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans (ASSECA) which had received a \$15,000 grant from Polaroid. On the wider issue of the use of identity cards manufactured by Polaroid, a group has been formed called PEOPLE AGAINST NATIONAL IDENTITY CARDS (PANIC) which has succeeded to date in preventing the introduction of an ID system at the Cambridge (Mass.) High and Latin School. The Liberated Guardian of July, 1972 has an excellent article of the question of ID systems in the U.S. and in South Africa. For more information write PANIC, P.O. Box 8487, Cambridge, Mass. 02114.

GENERAL ACTIONS

A leaflet called "The Nixon Doctrine—Southern Africa and Viet Nam" is being distributed at antiwar and political gatherings. The leaflet points out that the

increase in Nixon's aid to the colonial and racist regimes in South Africa parallels his military escalations in Indochina. For copies write to Committee for a Free Mozambique, 616 West 116th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

The AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE of New York picketed the offices of the Wall Street Journal after that paper published a full-page article on Cabora Bassa Dam. The picketers objected to the biased perspective of the write-up which "attempted to portray African freedom fighters in Southern Africa as unsuccessful in their attempt to slow down progress" on the dam. (Wall Street Journal, Aug. 11, 1972)

In Madison, Wisconsin the COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA leafleted tourists going to the Azores with a leaflet entitled "What They Aren't Telling You"—all about Nixon's deal on the Azores which gave Portugal \$435 million in 1971.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

GENERAL

John Gaetsewe, London Representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) visited New Zealand for four weeks. His offer to debate the South African Consul-General of New Zealand was rejected. Gaetsewe received pledges from New Zealand workers that they would not service the South African rugby team due to tour New Zealand in 1973. He also had running debates with New Zealand parliament members about the efficacy of boycotting South Africa, and managed to commit some MP's to aid South Africans through the International Defense and Aid Fund. (Anti-Apartheid News, July-August, 1972)

In Germany, some 30 organizations are planning to hold a PORTUGAL TRIBUNAL modeled on the Stockholm Anti-War Tribunal several years ago.

The LABOUR PARTY IN ENGLAND is protesting the reappointment of Carel de Wet as Ambassador from South Africa to the U.K. (He served in the same position from 1964-1966.) DeWet made callous statements after the Sharpeville Massacre (Sharpeville was in his district) and is said to have called the Labour Party the "scum of England." (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1972) In a National Executive Committee document the Labour Party is being asked to consider various actions on Southern Africa at its next annual conference in October. The paper suggests stopping trade with South Africa if alternative outlets can be found, and details acts such as terminating various South African trade privileges which have survived from the period in which South Africa was a Commonwealth member. Essentially the Labour Party paper shuns unilateral British moves in spite of the fact that the U.K. is by far South Africa's largest trading partner. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 7, 1972)

In England there have been various protests in



John Gaetsewe of SACTU

solidarity with student actions in South Africa. (See Anti-Apartheid News, July-August, 1972)

LIBERATION SUPPORT

The MEDISCH KOMITEE ANGOLA of Holland was founded in February, 1971 primarily to provide the SAM (Medical Assistance Service) of MPLA with funds and supplies, and to aid FRELIMO and PAIGC in the future. Founded by individuals connected with medical facilities at universities and hospitals, it has established eight branches throughout the Netherlands and has an impressive record thus far. In June of 1971 it instituted a press campaign to raise funds through TV publicity and a film debut and raised a total of \$77,000. The money will go to help construct two dispensaries for SAM and to buy 300 surgical sets. The Medical Committee members were giving up to five speeches a week, and by March 1972 they had spoken at 175 schools and organizations setting up groups for nurses, scholars, and technicians. The Committee has also provided \$7,500 in medical goods and has sent microscopes. Future plans include sending uniforms and equipment for a press. It has extended operations to include scientific studies of use of defoliants in Angola, the production of simple electrocardiophone, bandage winding machine and stretchers for the liberation movement. For more information, write Medisch Komitee Angola, Minahasstraat 1, Amsterdam.

Three DANISH STUDENT GROUPS joined in AFRICA 71 (the Danish-WUS-Committee, Secondary Schools and Students Association) and have completed a fund-raising effort for the liberation movements, giving \$8,000 to the Mozambique Institute (with another \$8,000 to follow soon); a land-rover/ambulance worth \$7,000 to SAM to carry patients into Zambia, with another \$3,000 for one year's maintenance; \$750 to MPLA in Brazzaville for clothes; \$40,000 for a

massive project of establishing an Angolan Institute of Education at Dolisie in Congo-Brazzaville. Danish architects and engineers have been consulting and working with MPLA on this school. There are plans for nine primary and secondary school grades with 270 students. MPLA has also received aid from the Swedish SIDA and Danish Refugee Council. The Council (church, Red Cross, and others) has also given \$32,000 for the Tunduru Children's Camp of the Mozambique Institute. The Danish Government has been asked to give \$930,000 worth of goods in kind to the movements with \$500,000 to the Angolan Institute project; \$120,000 in school supplies to the CONCP movements, \$225,000 to the International Defense and Aid Fund and other funds; \$4,000 to the Angola Comite for its publication, and the remaining \$86,000 to FRELIMO in general health, agriculture, and educational supplies. The Government's action cutting off export credits for firms doing business with Portuguese or South Africans created a backlash from Portugal and some Danish companies. (Afrika 71 Report, July 10, 1972. For more information on activities of Danish groups write U-Centret, Sankt Peders Straede 30, DK 1453, Copenhagen.)

The CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS pledged more direct aid to the Middle Eastern and Southern African liberation movements at its annual meeting in Guyana in August. Attended by representatives of 64 countries and 29 associate members, the meeting opened with Guyana's President Burnham appealing to the group to take a more active role in liberation struggle. Tanzanian diplomats had lobbied for this action, and it resulted in the establishment of a fund for military, financial, and development assistance for the movements. (Daily News, Tanzania, Aug. 7 and 11, 1972)

In nearby JAMAICA, the Government decided to give the Organization of African Unity \$25,000 to coincide with the Non-Aligned States' meeting. (Daily News, Tanzania, Aug. 12, 1972)

In Africa, the ALL AFRICA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE passed resolutions at their annual conference which called for women from the liberation movements to visit independent Africa and set up funds for the movements. (Daily News, Aug. 11, 1972)

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

ZIMBABWE

At the OAU Summit meeting in June, Tanzania circulated a document calling for increased and better-policed sanctions against Rhodesia. If action were not taken, said Tanzania, the only result of the resounding African "NO" to the Anglo-Smith deal would be greater repression. The document called for boycotting of firms violating sanctions and better watchdog machinery at the U.N. Earlier, the OAU Liberation Committee had announced that it will now aid the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) as well as the Joint Military Command of ZAPU and ZANU. (Daily News, May 22, 1972) George Magombe, former secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, also announced that the rical ANC and PAC of South Africa were both amenable to unity and that a paper on unity proposals in conjunction with government representatives from Zambia and Tanzania would be presented at the next

meeting of the Liberation Committee in January, 1972. The Unity Movement of South Africa has also applied for OAU recognition. (Daily News, Tanzania, May 22, 1972)

JUNE 26 COMMEMORATIONS

June 26 is South African Freedom Day and is commemorated by the African National Congress and its supporters. There were a variety of actions in Britain. In Manchester members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement sat in at the South African Airways office, and in Wales members confronted the Springbok Association Meeting. Mr. Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the ANC, spoke in London at a commemorative meeting and expressed congratulations to the South African students for their "courageous rejection" of South African government policies, saying that it was "a chain reaction of protest which is long overdue." Tambo went on to say that "the enemy is frightened by the unity of the people" of South Africa and Africa, referring also to the Rabat meeting. He also said that "white South Africans are not prepared to die" as witnessed by the sending of Black troops to fight in Namibia. (Anti-Apartheid News, July-August, 1972)



MUHAMMAD ALI CANCELS SOUTH AFRICAN FIGHT

The fight between Muhammad Ali and Doug Jones planned for South Africa for Nov. 18, 1972 has been cancelled in the face of heavy opposition from African leaders and from black organizations and individuals in the U.S. According to the New York Post (Oct. 4, 1972), Ali says the fight was cancelled because South African officials refused to honor contract requirements governing accommodations and seating arrangements for the bout, which would have been held in Johannesburg. However, an intensive behind-the-scenes campaign against the contest had been waged by African diplomats at the U.N., by Dennis Brutus of ICARIS (International Committee Against Racism in Sports)—(Brutus is an exiled South African poet who was also behind the movement to get South Africa and Rhodesia expelled from the Olympics)—and by Louise Merriweather of the Committee of Concerned Blacks and others. In addition, the U.N. Committee on Apartheid had scheduled hearings on the fight, but a discussion by the U.N. was tabled until official word of the cancellation was received from Ali. The representative of the ANC of South Africa said: "When a man like Ali makes a statement that he is going to South Africa it is disheartening because he knows fairly well from his experience as a black American what it is to suffer discrimination in the country of your birth. When he goes there, even if he is not performing for whites only, that is not enough. . . . Governments like South Africa want Ali to come there. They want people to think that Muhammad Ali is in line with their policies. Why doesn't he say that the fight has been cancelled and that he is not going to South Africa under any circumstances?" (New York Post, Oct. 4, 1972) ***

*** The ANC representative to the U.S. is Mr. Thami Mhlambiso, who recently opened an office in New York.

O. R. Tambo leads the singing of the National Anthem at the London meeting

RESOURCES,

An American branch of the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAFSA) has been set up by three black and two white South African expatriates and four Americans (Ms. Mia Adjali, Dr. Richard Falk, Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, and Ms. Dorothy I. Height). Senator McGovern has agreed to be one of the Fund's trustees.

In addition to the activities of the Fund, as described in the reprint of their leaflet, IDAFSA publishes a comprehensive Information Service Manual on Southern Africa, including Social, Political, and Economic reports with a cumulative index and updated twice a year. This is supplemented by special reports and a pamphlet service that may be subscribed to annually. In addition to the resources listed below, the following are shortly to be published: at least one booklet on NAMIBIA, one on the "BANTUSTANS," and a HANDBOOK ON APARTHEID compiled by Alex Hepple.

For further information, write or call:

IDAFSA, Room 218
1430 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Tel. (617) 492-1820

INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE AND AID FUND PUBLICATIONS

(Cost includes postage)

SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS AND THE RED CROSS INVESTIGATION (1967). An analysis of the Red Cross report, the South African Government's comments, together with testimony from political prisoners. .77

I AM PREPARED TO DIE (3rd edition, 1970). The text of Nelson Mandela's famous speech at the Rivonia Trial. .26

BRAM FISCHER. The story of the man whom no tyranny can destroy. .14

SOUTH AFRICA: THE COST OF FREEDOM (1966). Limited supply. Paper prepared by Canon L. John Collins for the U.N. Human Rights Seminar on Apartheid held at Brazilia, Brazil in 1966. .26

SOUTH AFRICA: WORKERS UNDER APARTHEID (1969-2nd edition 1971) by Alex Hepple. A study of South Africa's racial labor code, showing how discriminatory laws and practices affect employment, wages, trade unionism and workers' rights. New edition contains additional material. 1.37

SOUTH AFRICA: THE BOSS LAW (1969-3rd edition 1971). An analysis of the Bureau of State Security. .33

SOUTH AFRICA: RACISM IN SPORT (1970) by Chris de Broglio. The story of South Africa's exclusion from international sport. .33

NEW GROUPS

SOUTH AFRICA: THE VIOLENCE OF APARTHEID (1969-2nd edition 1970) by A. Sachs. An examination of South Africa's penal system: banishment, executions, bannings, detention without trial, flogging, political prisoners, police, prisons. .63

SOUTH AFRICA: "RESETTLEMENT"—THE NEW VIOLENCE TO AFRICANS (1969). An account of the massive uprooting of hundreds of thousands of Africans in terms of the South African Government's "Homelands" policy. .51

SOUTH AFRICA: ARMS AND APARTHEID (1970). Limited supply. The answer to the question "Is apartheid eroded by the peaceful pressures of trade and investment?" .33

SOUTH AFRICA: TRIAL BY TORTURE—THE CASE OF THE 22 (1970, Cycostyled). .20

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RHODESIA: WHY MINORITY RULE SURVIVES (1969). Rhodesia's history from the 19th century to post-U.D.I. .39

RHODESIA: THE BRITISH DILEMMA (1971) by E. E. M. Mlambo, who writes from first-hand knowledge, dealing with constitutional changes, sanctions, and the introduction of apartheid. A full exploration. .45

PORTUGAL'S WARS IN AFRICA (1971) by Ruth First. Includes the writing, speeches, and documentation of the Liberation Movement of the African people of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. .58

THE SEEDS OF DISASTER (hardback)—Victor Gollancz 1968, by John Laurence. A study of the propaganda campaigns of the South African Government. 1.51

THE TERRORISM OF TORTURE (1972). An analysis of political trials and the use of torture in South Africa today. .83

RHODESIA: THE WHITE JUDGE'S BURDEN (1972). An account of the work done by a team of lawyers sent by IDAFSA to Rhodesia at the time of the Pearce Commission's hearings—to assist the African National Council. .83

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa

The Fund stands for freedom and democracy and is in full accord with the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Aims and Objects

In order to assist in the development of a non-racial society in Southern Africa based on a democratic way of life, the Fund exists to :

- 1 Aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures.
- 2 Support their families and dependents.
- 3 Keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.

The International Defence and Aid Fund in its allocations of money never has and never will discriminate on any other grounds than the ground of need. Anyone opposed to apartheid who is accused of a political offence under the racist laws of South Africa, whatever his or her political persuasion or religion, or to whichever

racial group or political organization he or she belongs, is given aid to secure legal defence, as long as money is available and as far as discriminatory laws permit. This includes having a legal representative of his or her own choice.

The Fund also seeks to provide aid to (a) those who are deprived of the means of subsistence because their family bread-winners are no longer able to support them; (b) political refugees and those opponents of apartheid who need assistance during and after imprisonment or banning or house arrest or detention. The Fund tries, wherever possible, to provide money for the further education of political prisoners and their children.

The Fund has received generous grants for this work from Member States of the United Nations, from the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and from individuals, church groups, student unions, trade unions and other organisations throughout the world.

History and Activities of the Fund

Lawyers and peasants, teachers and workers

The assistance given to the victims of the Sharpeville massacre and the work of the Fund in the Treason Trial and the Rivonia Trial of 1963 are well known. However, in less publicised trials many hundreds of opponents of apartheid in all walks of life -lawyers, doctors, housewives, teachers, University lecturers, peasants, trade unionists and factory workers-have been defended by the Fund. Thanks to the defence provided by the Fund, numbers of them have been acquitted or been given lesser sentences or had their sentences reduced on appeal. The Fund has exposed the facade of justice in South Africa by revealing the psychological and physical torture inflicted on persons held in indefinite solitary confinement. Over the past two years the Fund has had increasing

calls to help those banned or placed under house arrest to start a new life abroad.

And in Rhodesia too . . .

Similar assistance has been given in Rhodesia and a major project here is the provision of education courses by correspondence for over 250 of those held in detention or restriction without charge.

A bridge

The work of the Fund is humanitarian in the broadest sense. It assuages bitterness and is one of the last remaining bridges between black and white, so keeping alive the possibility of peaceful change in Southern Africa. It shows the victims of racial discrimination that the outside world has not forgotten them and is determined to stand by them in their struggle for social justice.

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