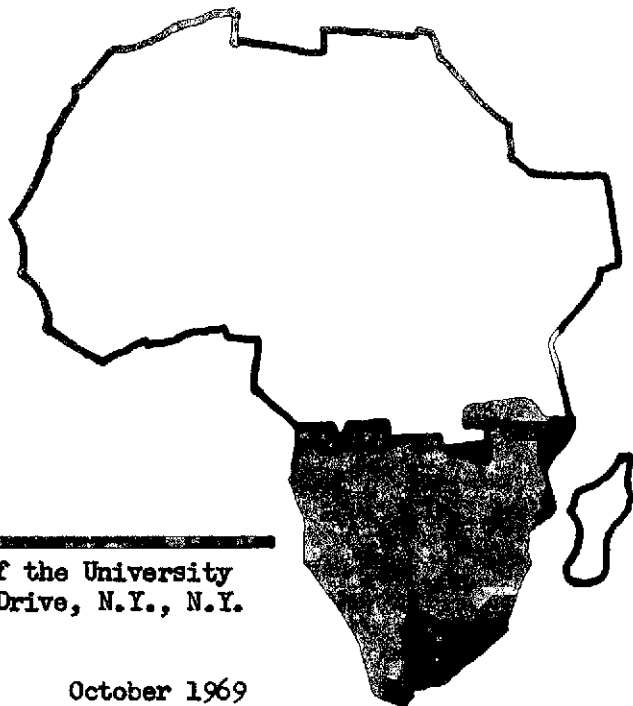


SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

Published by the Southern Africa Committee of the University
Christian Movement, Room 752, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y.
10027

Vol. II, No. 8

October 1969

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editorial

Lessons in Democracy for Non-Whites

The people of mixed racial descent (Coloureds) are a constant embarrassment and source of guilt for White South Africans. Their franchise rights, if they existed at all, have gradually been destroyed by Machiavellian legislation. Finally when their four White representatives in South Africa's parliament were removed, they were to be given a new lesson in democracy. They were to have a Coloured Representative Council to act as a puppet local government in their own "Coloured Areas." At last they could elect their own people to power and rule themselves.

The Council is to have 60 members, but just in case the people voted against the Government's wishes only 40 members were to be elected, the remaining twenty to be appointed by the White Government of South Africa. This meant that only if less than one quarter of the elected members were White Government

supporters was there a possibility that the Council would be controlled by an anti-apartheid group. The White Government knows that the organized opposition to its policies is strongest among the urban people, the sophisticated Coloured workers. To re-adjust this unfortunate state of affairs the election districts were gerrymandered. Rural election districts with just over 3,000 voters have one representative while urban districts with over 22,000 voters also elect only one representative. Thus seven urban votes have the same effect as one rural vote.

Yet this much heralded structure fell flat on its face. More than half the registered voters did not vote. They are opposed to apartheid and will have no part in bogus elections. Then the anti-apartheid Labour Party won 26 of the 40 seats in spite of the gerrymandering. This forced the government to appoint 29 pro-apartheid stooges to the Council. These included 13 pro-apartheid members of the Federal Party who were defeated in the election. The White Government wins again 34 to 26.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION IN SOUTH AFRICA Background Article

Any discussion of repressive legislation enacted by the South African Government must take as its starting point the underlying philosophy of apartheid, for law and apartheid have become inextricably linked. Law has become the instrument by which Whites continue to dominate the non-Whites. The majority of Whites in South Africa have refused to countenance any real rights for non-Whites as members of a common society, believing that to do so would inevitably bring about White abdication of power. Dr. Verwoerd pleaded with an unconvinced world not to judge South Africa harshly.

"If our methods should be different, let us try to understand one another, and may we at least find in the world at large that trust in our sincerity which must be the basis of all good will."

It is precisely this sincerity, this absolute belief in the rightness of the charted course of action, which lies at the heart of the repressive South African legislation. For if one accepts the false premise that apartheid is an ethically based theory, then one

can understand how the Afrikaaners can reconcile their fundamentalist Christian philosophy with what they are doing to the country's non-White majority. Any means becomes justifiable in their eyes as long as it brings about that (so-far elusive) "just society" in which all the so-called nations in the Republic will reach fruition in their own territory and in their own manner. It should not be overlooked, however, that not one Nationalist Prime Minister since 1948 has ever attempted to conceal the fact that the White man's pre-eminence in South Africa will be entrenched.

The amount of repressive legislation enacted by the Nationalist Government since 1948 when it came to power is vast. This article will attempt to examine some of the more obnoxious of these laws, and to explain the ways in which they have been used to stifle the voices of dissent and to hold back the winds of change.

The Suppression of Communism Act

The Suppression of Communism Act is a basic repressive statute in the Republic. The Act empowers the State President, acting on the advice of the Minister of Justice, to deem anyone to be a communist who at "some"

time and at "some" place either advocated communism or was an "active supporter of any organization which propagated the principles of communism or engaged in the activities of furthering the achievement of any of the objects of communism". Further, the Act empowers the Minister of Justice to ban publications, organizations, meetings and even individuals if, in his opinion, they in any way furthered any of the aims of communism. These powers, it should be noted, are administrative, and no recourse is available to the affected individual, not even to test South Africa's peculiar brand of justice in the courts.

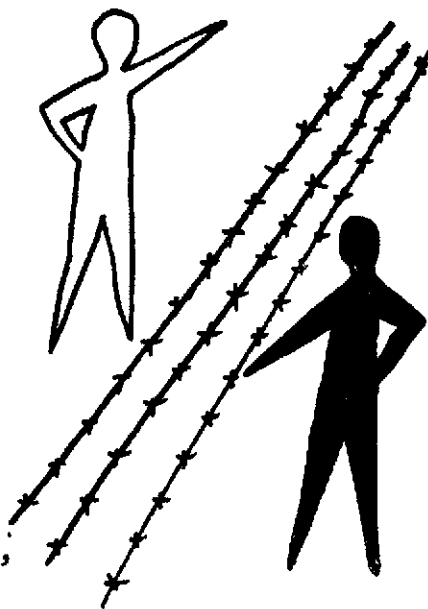
When the Suppression of Communism Act was passed in 1950, the Johannesburg Bar Association, the most prestigious Bar in the country, passed the following motion:

"The objects of Communism as defined in the Act are very wide indeed. They include many liberal and humanitarian objects which are advocated and cherished by persons who are very far from being communists. These provisions have no legal bounds and coupled with the denial of right to access to the courts, are a complete negation of the liberty of the subject as guaranteed by the rule of law."

When it is taken into consideration that one of the objects of communism is the achievement of social justice, one can begin to appreciate the scope and power of this Act. Under the guise of eliminating communism, the Government has succeeded in making illegal all African political parties, and eliminating from public life all persons who have opposed the Nationalist's outrageous policies, irrespective of their attitude to communism. There are over 500 "banned persons" in the Republic who are prohibited from belonging to any organization, working at or even attending any educational institution, writing anything for publication. In this way, the Government has succeeded in ruining the careers of some of the country's most outstanding trade union leaders, teachers, lawyers and journalists, whose only "crime" has been their opposition to apartheid.

Failure to comply with the terms of a banning order renders one liable to a prison sentence. The banning orders are so stringent as to prevent the banned person from chatting with more than one other person.

If the above penalties do not already offend ordinary human sensibilities, the Gov-



ernment has this year ensured that its victimization process approaches the saturation point. In terms of a new law passed this year (the Electoral Laws Amendment Act), any banned person who heretofore exercised voting rights (i.e. Whites only are affected) will be disenfranchised if he had ever served a sentence for violating the banning order.

Thus the simple act of forgetting to report to the police station at the time designated in the banning order will cause the banned person to relinquish forever his right to register his objection to the ruling party.

The Detention Laws: 180-Day and Terrorism Acts

The State may through its commissioned officers detain any person without a warrant to successive periods of six months (or part thereof) on the grounds that the detainee committed or intended to commit sabotage or any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or that he had information relating to the same. The suspect is often picked up in a "pre-dawn swoop" (a peculiarly South African term) and is spirited away to places unknown, for the Acts stipulate that he may be brought to any place which the police officer sees fit. The detainee may be held there incommunicado until he has answered all pertinent questions during the interrogation. As a matter of practice, political prisoners are held indefinitely, until the detainee has made incriminating statements or until the Administration is satisfied that their release would not further the aims of communism.

Although the South African Code of Criminal Procedure prohibits the continued solitary confinement of a prisoner for a period of more than two days, the Code does not apply to the detained. The courts have held that a detainee is not in the same legal position as a prisoner awaiting trial and he may not avail himself of this safeguard. Detainees are denied access to legal counsel, religious

counsel, indeed they are denied access to all persons during the term of their confinement, save weekly visits by a magistrate, "if circumstances so permit". The courts have also held that detainees may lawfully be deprived of access to sufficient physical exercise and to reading and writing materials. In one case testing the latter point, the judge said "I have come to the conclusion that it was not the intention of Parliament that detainees should of right be permitted to relieve the tedium of their detention with reading matter and writing materials."

Until his release in February, 1969, Mr. Dasinger Francis had been held in solitary confinement for 427 days, and when finally he appeared as a State witness in the Pietermaritzburg terrorism trial, his testimony was so irrelevant that the defence did not even bother to cross-examine him. During the period of his internment, he was subject to the assaults and electric shock torture that have become the standard fate of political prisoners in the Republic.

In the past year alone, seven detainees are known to have died while in custody. The official reasons have always been "natural causes" or suicide. Inquests into the deaths of three of the detainees revealed the following points:

1. The death of Mr. Leslie Tsuela was held by the ruling magistrate to probably have been caused by severe maltreatment during interrogation. At the ensuing criminal proceedings against the detectives conducting the interrogation, the State prepared such a weak case that they were acquitted. (This is in contrast to the cases the State really wants to win.)

2. At the inquest into the death of Mr. James Lenkoe, the magistrate disregarded the testimony of a world-renowned expert from the United States that Mr. Lenkoe had been subjected to electric shock torture and ruled that death was due to suicide by hanging.

3. The ruling magistrate ignored the testimony of the district surgeon that Mr. Nicodemus Kgoathe had been assaulted and ruled that no blame could be attached to the detainee's death.
(Footnote: Mr. Kgoathe had been detained along with 16 Bakwana tribesmen since

October last on a charge of sabotage. His death is believed to have taken place in February. In August, when the case against six of the tribesmen was finally brought to court, the judge acquitted the men of the charge.)

The B.O.S.S. Law

BOSS = BAAS

The General Law Amendment Act, containing the provisions of the B.O.S.S. Law (Bureau of State Security) has evoked a degree of protest rare inside South Africa. Under the terms of the law, a Minister or an official delegated by him may issue a certificate prohibiting an individual from giving evidence in a court of law if the information is considered prejudicial to the interests of the State. The term "interests of the State" are once again given no meaningful boundaries. Opposition members in Parliament elicited from the Deputy Minister of Justice an admission that a person might even be prohibited from giving evidence in his own defence. Despite widespread appeals from members of the Judiciary, law professors and others to reconsider the grave implications of the Bill, the Government rushed it through Parliament and it was signed into law this June. It is not accidental or fortuitous that the law was introduced this year, amid the most tight precautions to conceal its true nature; the Act should be seen in the light of the inquests mentioned above which focused world attention on the abuses of the Vorster regime.

Later the Government assured a concerned public (a public in which the Afrikaaner voices were conspicuously absent) that the Bureau would have no powers of arrest or detention. However, Government assurances in the past have shown they are not worth the paper they are written on. Since there are no limits to "the interests of the State", the issue of whether the Bureau acts outside its jurisdiction cannot be challenged without making the challenger himself liable to up to seven years' imprisonment for communicating matters affecting the operation of the Bureau.

Still later a commission of inquiry was announced to examine whether the objections to the Bureau were well-founded. The results of the commission's findings have not yet been made public, but no one familiar with the Government's performance record expects anything but a reaffirmation that in the "special circumstances of the Republic",

such drastic provisions are indeed necessary.

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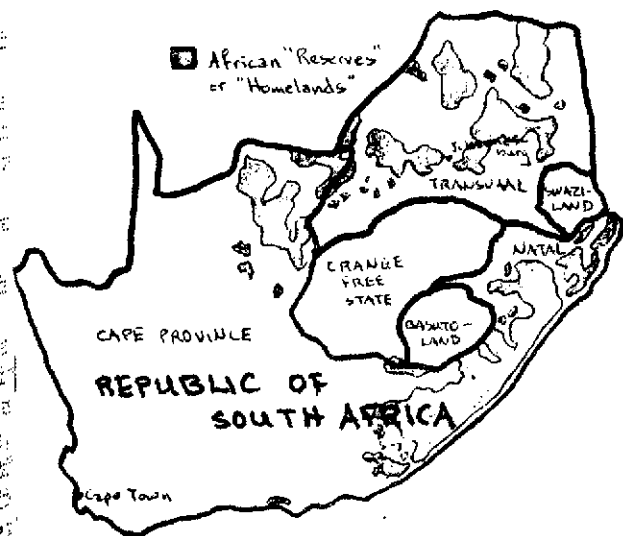
It has been said that all Governments require secrecy, but that tyranny thrives on it. Each year the South African Government enacts harsher and harsher laws, and arrogates for itself more and more executive powers designed to suppress opposition to apartheid. The trials based on these laws continue. At this very moment, the State is preparing a case against some 30-40 men and women who are at present "being detained". The Government has refused to even reveal their names, as being against the interests of the State. One thing is certain however: any conviction secured by the South African Government under the repressive legislation will prove nothing to the outside world, as indeed none of the political trials in the past has ever proved anything, except that the struggle for human rights cannot be squelched and that free men everywhere will continue to strive for freedom and human dignity.

Africans into the Nationalist Party. He encourages White immigration, even of Roman Catholics, who are a threat to his conservative opponents. He favors a policy of allowing multiracial sports teams to play in South Africa. This applies particularly to Maoris in New Zealand's rugby team. In short, Vorster is trying to convince the world that South Africa is led by rational men who can live in a cosmopolitan world. He is eager to create a positive image of South Africa to counter the attacks and pressure from South African enemies.

To the "Verkramptes" or conservatives, this is the beginning of the end, a deviation from the truth that threatens the Afrikaner at his very core. The Verkramptes are sometimes attacked for being merely negative, worried about peripheral issues like private morality and such earth-shaking matters as black and white appearing in the same film. (Johannesburg Star, 8/23/69). But they offer a real threat to Mr. Vorster, a threat that has led him to call for a general election more than a year ahead of schedule.

There was a show-down between the two factions at the Transvaal Provincial Party meeting in September. Vorster tried to force the Verkramptes out of the party by calling for votes on his policies. This did not work. It appears likely that his opponents had decided to work from within the party, to strengthen their hold on local Nationalist organizations. The exception to this is their leader, Dr. Albert Hertzog, who has deliberately taken action that will lead to his expulsion. He is expected to be out of the party within two months. (Johannesburg Star, 9/13/69)

By holding elections early next year, Mr. Vorster hopes to prevent his opponents from having time to build up support. His concern about image is reflected in this move. He does not want the world to think that the whites of South Africa are unstable and divided. A strong showing for his men would create a picture of unity. It is likely that Vorster will do well in the election. (New York Times, 9/18/69)



Inside South Africa

Nationalist Split Brings Early Election

The issues may seem unimportant to the outsider, but to South Africa's ruling party they are serious indeed. Prime Minister Vorster, leader of the "Verligtes", advocates an "open policy". That is, he encourages friendship with select independent African states. He recruits English-speaking South

Censorship

Mr. S. L. Muller, Minister of the Interior, has announced that the Government may abolish the right of appeal to the Supreme Court against decisions of the Publications Control Board. He praised the Control Board, saying that he felt it was better equipped

than the courts to decide on what is morally acceptable to the people. There was strong opposition to this move from prominent jurists and publishers who feared removal of this basic safeguard to freedom of the press. (Johannesburg Star, 9/16/69)

White Attitudes to Africans

Afrikaner officials are constantly making statements which spell out beyond any doubt their attitudes toward the majority population in South Africa: Dr. Piet Koornhof, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education told a group of Afrikaans businessmen, "I do not know of any other country in the world where the relationship between White and Black is as good and as basically healthy as it is in South Africa..." He said that "officials who had to deal with Africans were taught early in their careers that the African was 'a human being just like the Whites' and that he merited his own place in the sun. At all times the African was treated with full dignity and respect and Bantu Affairs Commissioners were proud of the fact that the African rightly looked on them as 'fathers'." (Johannesburg Star, 8/23/69)

or about \$16.80 per person of non-White population); add all the money spent by the central and provincial administrations directly on Whites, you get R761 million, or about R200 (or \$280 per White person). None of this includes budgets for general servicing, like roads, health, policing, prisons and communications systems. Roughly speaking, the Government and Provinces spend about 16 times as much on Whites as on non-Whites.

The editorialist, N. I. Robinson, goes on to say: "What is dismaying is that Ministers should have to defend themselves at all on this point. They, of course, are partly to blame. They have all contributed to a climate in which White people are encouraged to be greedy and where their greed is supported by legislation. You cannot have a race classification law and a group areas law and an educational apartheid law and an industrial apartheid law operating as they do without encouraging White people to believe that they have an inherent right to all the plums." Mr. Robinson's suggestion is thus: "The only way to cut down on the minimal money that has to be spent on non-Whites is to abolish all forms of economic discrimination against them so that they can subsidize themselves. The Government's critics can choose either diminishing subsidization of non-Whites or diminishing apartheid. They cannot have both." (Johannesburg Star, 8/30/69)

Mixed Music

"In Durban, Capetown and Johannesburg, white men and women in evening dress mingle in old warehouses or sit on scattered cushions in third-rate night clubs to listen to black musicians wail out the haunting intensity of jazz, African style." The musicians can't help but communicate some of their life through the style of their music... "life in African townships is echoed in the torturous music they produce." Winston Man, tenor saxophonist, has "had his white jazz fans moaning 'Stop...stop...' at the almost unbearable intensity and sorrow of his music."

It seems that the authorities have a blind eye to this unlawful mixture of the races, as it is against the law for non-whites to entertain whites in certain premises, and it is prohibited for mixed audiences to attend performances." (Washington Post, 9/14/69)

"All I ask of livin' is to have no chains on me. All I ask of dyin' is to do it peacefully." Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

<u>Some Statistics</u>	(Population)
The White Nation	3,563,000
The Bantu Nations	
Xhosa	3,570,000
Zulu	3,340,000
South Sotho	1,500,000
West Sotho	1,335,000
North Sotho	1,122,000
Tsonga	586,000
Swazi	395,000
Ndebele	346,000
Venda	280,000
Others	276,000
Coloureds	1,859,000
Asiatics	561,000

Too Much is Spent on Non-Whites

Minister of Bantu Administration, M. C. Botha, was asked to defend why the government spent so much on non-Europeans. His reply was that "the Government did not exactly waste money on Africans and what it did spend on them was to the advantage of the Whites."

An editorial appeared in the Johannesburg Star pointing out the facts in the matter: add all the money spent directly on non-Whites and you get R180 million a year (R12

Coloureds Reject Apartheid

Contrary to predictions and to the dismay of the ruling Nationalist Government, the Coloureds have clearly voted against apartheid. As the London Times writes, the Coloureds "are largely the product of the white settlement; their language is Afrikaans, and their culture is broadly Western ... Ironically if the million-and-a-half Coloureds were allowed to reinforce the white ruling caste of three-and-a-half million their support might ensure so-called white rule in perpetuity. As it is, rejected yet with an organ for self-expression, they may prove a real thorn in the government's side." (Times, 9/27/69)

Elections for members of the Coloured Representative Council were held on September 24. Of the 60 members of the Council, 20 are nominated by the government. Five parties were contesting the other 40 seats and of these five parties, only one was opposed to apartheid. It was this party, the Labour Party, that won the majority of the elected seats.

It was predicted before the election that the other parties, the Federal, the Republican, the National Coloured People's, and the Conservative, would receive strong support. This was based on the feeling that whatever the outcome of the election, the Coloureds would still have to live with the Nationalist government; the Coloureds would be able to get more from the government if represented by a pro-government party. Thus, for pragmatic reasons rather than on principle, it was believed that the Labour Party would be defeated (Johannesburg Star, 9/20/69). A significant reason for a low percentage poll is that the Coloureds opposed to apartheid have boycotted elections consistently over the years.

However, the Labour Party did not win the needed 31 seats to control the Council, but 26 of the 40 elected seats. Mr. Martin Arendse, Labour Party leader, said that the results show that the Coloureds reject apartheid in its entirety. (New York Times, 9/26/69) These 26 members are now under strong pressure to walk out in protest against the government's packing of the Council with apartheid supporters. Twenty apartheid supporters (13 of them defeated candidates of the pro-Apartheid Federal Party) have been nominated by Vorster's government and will join the 14 elected members to form a 34-strong pro-apartheid bloc. In this way the defeated Federal Party will be made the

ruling party in the Council. It appears, however, that the Labour Party is reluctant to walk out of the Council when it holds its inaugural session in November. It may try first to persuade some pro-apartheid members to defect (The London Observer, 10/12/69).

The results are a great embarrassment for the Nationalists. As the London Times states: "It is possibly the heaviest discomfiture that a Nationalist Party has suffered in any constitutional process since it took power in 1948. The lie direct has been given to the claim that apartheid has become the policy of all the peoples of South Africa." (9/27/69)

LOW
PAY
FOR
GOLD
MINERS



African gold miners have just had their wages raised, to a minimum of about \$.56 a day or \$14.56 a month. The average wage is somewhat higher than that, about \$21.84 a month. In addition African miners get food, accommodation, recreation, and medical care. If these goods and services are translated into dollars, the minimum wage becomes about \$25 a month, the average wage \$32. A miner works a six-day week. There has been an outcry that these wages are too low.

The mining industry has many excuses for its low wages. For one thing, large numbers of foreign Africans can be recruited to work for these wages. It is estimated that of the 600,000 Africans on the mines, as many as 60% may be non-South Africans. Further, the industry claims that the fixed price of gold and rising costs prevent increases. (They have been able, however, to make increases in the pay of white miners.) Mr. E. J. Smith, President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, expresses what is perhaps a common attitude:

"Every man's salary must be viewed in its own economic context. It may be claimed the African mine worker is not earning enough to meet all his needs, but then are you and I paid enough to meet all ours? I agree an African should get enough to improve his living, social and educational standards, but

pampering him will do him no good. This is not to say I think we are pampering him. He should realize-- as we all must--that we live in a hard world and have to fight our own way through it."

(Johannesburg Star, 9/13/69)

QUOTE OF THE DAY

Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under President Truman, responding to a question about his future plans:

"I am about to visit southern Africa. I am convinced that our relations with Portuguese Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa will become ever more important, and I intend to go to those places and see for myself."

independence for Namibia, the former South West Africa.

He also accused Portugal of "stubborn disregard" of U.N. resolutions on self-determination for Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. (Washington Post, 9/7/69)

South Africa Still Wants to Stay

Although South Africa has been at loggerheads with the United Nations organization for 20 years, the majority of white South Africans will do not want the nation to quit the world body.

A poll taken by the country's biggest-selling newspaper, the Rand Daily Mail, showed 44 per cent of readers wanted to retain membership. Support was particularly strong among high-income groups. The 38 per cent who voted for quitting the United Nations included many working people with low incomes. However, it must be noted that the Rand Daily Mail is read mainly by the English speaking section of the white population. (Chicago Tribune, 8/14/69)

The South African nationalist government's policy is to remain in the United Nations "as long as it is in the country's interest."

Dr. Muller Attacks U Thant in Reply

In a reply to U. Thant's O.A.U. speech on September 7, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs charged the Secretary General with using his high office "to launch an unjustified attack on an individual member state." South Africa's Dr. Muller in denouncing U Thant stated with remarkable self-assurance that nevertheless, he now considers himself entitled to make resounding denunciations on matters about which he has studiously declined to inform himself.

Dr. Muller added a comment that South Africans traditionally make to validate apartheid: He said it was curious that U Thant had condemned South Africa on African soil, "a most unhappy continent in recent years, where coups and famine continue to dominate the headlines, but where South Africa stands out as a southern beacon of stability, prosperity and progress." Muller of course failed to add that South Africa's prosperity was achieved at the price of exploiting non-white labor and her stability at the price of vicious repression.

At the United Nations

Secretary General Attacks South Africa

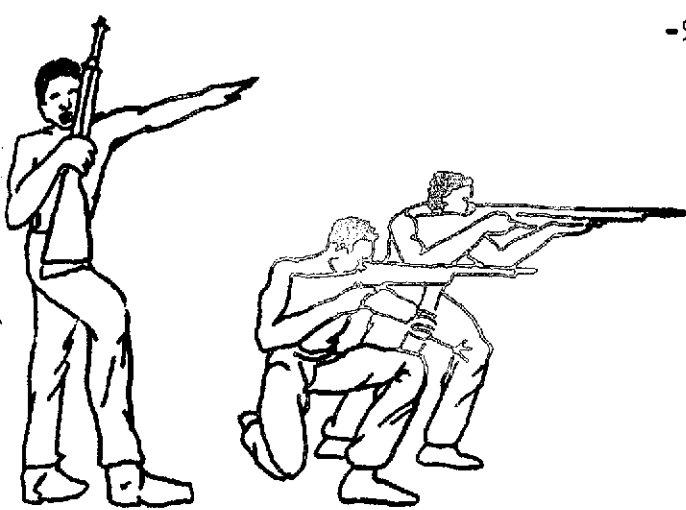
Secretary General U Thant accused South Africa of attempting to exclude any possibility of peaceful evolution toward a society based on equality and justice.

His remarks, prepared for the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, constituted what a diplomatic source here said was the strongest attack ever made by a Secretary General upon a U.N. member government.

Thant acknowledged "widespread dissatisfaction" with the U.N.'s failure to effect changes in apartheid, or racial discrimination, in South Africa despite dangers of violent conflict. The frustrations, he said, "afford no basis for optimism."

Charging that South Africa seeks to extend its apartheid philosophy to Rhodesia, he accused it of also maintaining a "totally negative attitude" toward U.N. resolutions on





Portugal and her Colonies

Portugal and the U.S.A.

Reports from Congo-Brazzaville indicate that the Angolan MPLA forces have shot down an American-made T-6 aircraft in Angola. Equipment marked U.S. airforce was found in the wreckage. (WBAI, 9/5/69)

Portugal Protests Swedish Aid to "Rebels"

The Portuguese Government has lodged a formal protest against Swedish aid to liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The Portuguese Foreign Ministry charged that Swedish financial contributions to the nationalist movements in Portugal's colonies "necessarily constitute financing for the terrorist actions of which Portuguese are victim, as well as an incentive for their continuation and spread." Meanwhile, Luanda, capital of Angola, launched a boycott against all Swedish and other Scandinavian goods. The boycott was supposedly called in response to reports that the Scandinavian countries were planning to hold "Students Days" to collect funds for nationalists in Portugal's African colonies.

Relations between Lisbon and Stockholm had become troubled after a recent announcement by Sweden's governing Social Democratic Party that it was contributing funds to the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and to the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde. (PAIGC)

Portugal Liberalizing?

Premier Caetano of Portugal appears to have adopted the kind of "outward-looking" policy of Vorster of South Africa. Attempts are being made to make the world think Portugal is liberalizing, and such window dressing often fools people into false hopes.

A New York Times article October 5 reported a "public appeal to end Portugal's colonial wars in Africa" received at a Democratic rally in Lisbon. The article goes on to say that "for the first time since the outbreak of the nationalist wars in Portuguese Africa in 1961, the colonial question is being debated here publicly. And for the first time, it has become evident that Portugal's intransigent defense effort in the colonies does not have the unanimous support of the public at home." Premier Caetano lifted the taboo on discussion of the colonial issue in a speech in September opening the campaign for National Assembly elections scheduled for October 26. Under Salazar all public criticism of the colonial wars was banned on the grounds that it was treason.

Swedish Firm Withdraws from Cabora Bassa

The Swedish firm, ASEA, has withdrawn from its \$350 million share in the Cabora Bassa Consortium, ZAMCO.

The company has been the target of Swedish demonstrations, attacks in the press, and to a certain extent, criticism in the Swedish Parliament. Mr. Lourenco Mutaca, the Stockholm representative of FRELIMO, had publicly warned ASEA that its workers would be risking their lives on the project since FRELIMO intended to sabotage the dam.

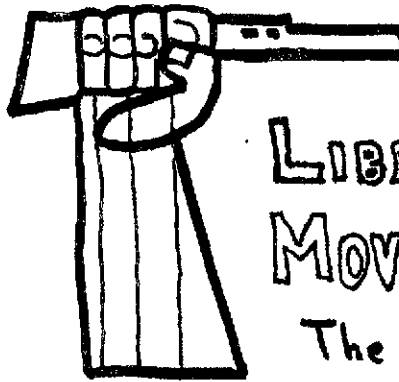
Criticism of ASEA had centered on the fact that the dam would benefit both South Africa and Rhodesia and strengthen Portugal's position in Mozambique.

An ASEA spokesman said one of the main reasons for the firm's withdrawal was that the company did not know for sure if its participation could have legal repercussions, in view of United Nations economic sanctions against Rhodesia. However, FRELIMO cites the withdrawal as of utmost significance, demonstrating the influence and effectiveness of organized public opinion. FRELIMO considers actions such as the recent Swedish demonstrations, public meetings, etc. to be "as effective a contribution to (the) liberation struggle as material assistance," because Portugal is so dependent on the aid she receives from her allies.

In September, ZAMCO, the consortium from which ASEA has withdrawn, was awarded the contract for building the first three stages of the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project on the Zambezi River in Mozambique. The dam, if completed, will be the largest hydroelectric dam in Africa and the fifth largest in the world, with most of its power to be purchased by South Africa.

However, a New York Times article of October 13 reminds one of the "Verkramptes" response within South Africa when it reports threats for a right-wing military coup in Portugal. Mario Soares, a leader of the Portuguese opposition, pledged his support for Caetano against any right-wing military attempts for a take-over. These were the first references to persistent talk in Portugal that some military extremists were sufficiently discontent with Premier Caetano's liberalizing gestures to consider taking action. Many right-wing officers are particularly irritated over Caetano's decision to allow discussion of Portugal's colonial wars.

It is always interesting to note such so-called "liberalizing moves" in South Africa and Portugal while at the same time harsher and harsher repressive measures are taken against the African subjects of those two totalitarian states.



LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The Armed Struggle:
Recent Reports

"War in Southern Africa"

Russell Warren Howe, Foreign Affairs, Oct. 1969

Howe's analysis of the present state of the southern African liberation struggle supports his assertion that "a war that is already engaging about 26,000 black guerrillas and approximately a quarter-million white or white-officered troops in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa, and Namibia...offers such a prospect of escalation that it can hardly help but be bigger, in cemetery terms, than Viet Nam." Howe, who early in 1969 states he travelled with guerrilla contingents into Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), focuses primarily on the Zimbabwe situation, and in fact asserts that with mounting guerrilla strength and failing white South African support for Smith's troops, Rhodesia will be the first area of the Southern African complex to "fall" to majority rule. Without disputing Howe's thesis, it is helpful to record his view of the military checksheet, setting down country by country his intelligence on troop levels, equipment, etc. in order to understand the present magnitude of the struggle, a struggle which in certain respects is still in its infant stage:

Zimbabwe

2,000 guerrillas in opposition to 10,000 white controlled forces (i.e. 3,600 army/ divided into black and white regiments/, 3,000 reservists, 2,700 South African white troops). Also 900 members of Rhodesian air-force, 6,400 Police (2/3 African), with 2,000 police reservists. Uniformed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) forces in the Northeast Zimbabwean highlands (a shift from the earlier 1967/68 front along the western

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Zambezi River Valley) involved in raids, building of bases and arms caches. Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) forces (un-uniformed) in the north and center of the populated Southeast of Rhodesia, involved in sabotage activities. Howe estimates a squeeze in numbers on the white Rhodesian forces, posing the question, "would the local white public (in South Africa) agree to provide Rhodesia with forces outnumbering the Smith regime's own troops?" thus placing the guerrillas on the side of the "mathematics of military power." Howe states that South African air crews have been dropping napalm and fragmentation bombs in Rhodesia and mentions reports which indicate that Rhodesian fixed wing aircraft have been grounded due to sanctions difficulties, resulting in the primary use of Alouette "gunships."

Namibia

Only guerrilla activity by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) mainly hit and run raids on South Africa outposts, military camps in the Caprivi Strip and northern Okavango area. Lourens Muller, the South African Minister of the Interior and Police, announced that 2,000 ANC and SWAPO teams entered Namibia during the first few months of 1969. Predicts greater activity on Angolan/South West African border near South African financed Kunene Dam site.



Mozambique

9,000 Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) guerrillas controlling the two northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa (excluding cities such as Mueda and Vila Cabral), vs. 60,000 metropolitan Portuguese troops and 40,000 Mozambican (including African) troops. The next phase will be one of "direct action" in the Zambezia Region. He cites FRELIMO and COREMO activity in Tete Province. Two battalions of South African soldiers stationed in Tete region, assignment being given to train draftees in combat experience. The Portuguese use Saber Jets from NATO and Alouette gunships from the French.

Angola

Howe's statistics are weakest on the Angolan situation; he refers specifically only to the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE)'s 8,000 guerrillas in the north and northeastern regions of Angola, their two bases in the Lower Congo and one in Katanga. He fails in any analysis of MPIA and UNITA.

South Africa

The ANC alliance with ZAFU enables, according to Howe, South African guerrillas to work their way south through Rhodesia over the Limpopo, into South Africa.

Beyond this general outline, Howe reveals little about South African guerrillas, numbers, tactics, etc. Naturally the South African government forces are the most important: a standing army of 5,700 and selective service contingent of 22,300 (increased from 10,500), a selective service reserve of 42,000. Of these troops one-third of the original 16,200 are stationed outside of South Africa, in Rhodesia and Mozambique. Equipped with Sherman and Centurion tanks (to be replaced by French AMX and Panhard armoured cars), South Africa is also involved in buying submarines from the French, remodeling Simonstown base, building sub-chasers. A 3,000 crack pilot airforce of Mirage fighter bombers, Mirage III pursuit planes, Alouette and Super-Frelon helicopters (French built). The French have been the major source of funds and techniques for South Africa's newly developed missile program, with a jointly built variation of the French "Cactus". South Africa's police number 28,600 (with 15,000 in reserve) equipped with Panhard armoured cars, steel-plated trucks; while rural Commando forces

have 51,500 members divided into 200 units, including 250 light planes.

Howe goes beyond his own statistics to declare that "despite the disparity of armaments, the guerrillas have several advantages over their enemies. They can move much faster in the bush when the enemy is also on foot. They are guerrilla-trained, and have real confidence in the value of their training. Field reports show that Rhodesian losses are higher than those of the guerrillas. The guerrillas have the advantage of being "motivated". This is true of many white Rhodesian troops, but not of most of the pallid Portuguese conscripts, or the Portuguese or Rhodesian black levies.

Again from the Zimbabwe situation, "Guerrilla reports, which seek to impress the sedentary leadership with their problems, only rarely complain of villagers' disloyalty to the African Cause. This rural identification with the liberation struggle has probably increased South African reluctance to participate."

Howe, almost to a fault, is optimistic. But he does admit that "the resistance fighters admit that the enemy's advantages are considerable too: air cover and air supply, better radio and land communications, better feeding and sleeping arrangements and medical care." Then Howe lines up with some superficiality the allies to the struggle - on the one side the ability of the white regimes to pressure independent States such as Botswana to not aid guerrillas, vs. the cooperation between liberation movements and other states (Zambia, Tanzania).

Journalist Howe concludes that "of all

the countries under immigrant government, Rhodesia seems likely to be the first to be liberated... South African politicians - though not the military - mostly feel that, if necessary, Pretoria could live with a landlocked black Zimbabwe... A white exodus from Rhodesia, mostly to South Africa, would even be a bonus for the Republik."

Howe then estimates that Portuguese Africa will follow Zimbabwe, while Namibia's fate "may depend on the United Nations." Of course South Africa is the bastion, yet curiously Howe relates, out of all the Southern

African territories under siege, only South Africa "admits fears of a future holocaust" and is furiously at work, diplomatically and economically, to undermine the revolution.

On the United States, Howe rather blithely asserts that we have "very limited interests in cooperation with the regime in Pretoria. U.S. investments in South Africa are about \$800 million - less than in pre-Castro Cuba." He calls for economic action against South Africa, but stresses "applying pressure to South African sensitivities" such as religion, sports, solidarity with student and press. The significant "American entanglement in the area is Portugal's NATO membership." Howe's failure to analyze American policy in depth, in relation not only to economic and military support, but also U.S. counter-revolutionary activities vis-a-vis the liberation movements, is fundamental. The importance of Howe's article, however, is the seriousness and progressive development of the liberation wars. Outside intervention, says Howe, "will probably depend on how much strength the Africans themselves can bring to bear. They are now, I think, beginning to show their mettle, to indicate their capacity to overthrow their occupiers. It is in this historic development that we can discern the passing of a formidable point of no return."

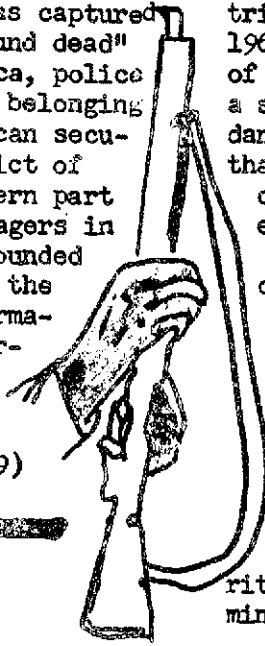
Related Articles and Books

Ramparts, October, 1969: "Southern Africa: A Smuggled Account from a Guerrilla Fighter", an article submitted by the Africa Research Group, containing a summary of the military situation in Southern Africa, and the testimony of an ANC guerrilla fighter in Zimbabwe. "a vivid insight into the realities of waging such a war...the constant, painful dilemma of conflicting military and political imperatives; the fatal danger of informers, as opposed to the need to work with and draw upon the people; the demands of discipline and security, as opposed to respect for local traditions and sensibilities."

Armed Struggle in Africa: With the Guerrillas in "Portuguese" Guinea, by Gerard Chaliand, from a French manuscript of one of the first journalists to travel with the PAIGC. From Monthly Review Press 116 W. 11th St., N.Y., N.Y. \$5.50 (10/69)

A SWAPO guerrilla was captured and "found dead" in the Oshikati, South West Africa, police station, last month. Guerrillas belonging to SWAPO clashed with South African security forces in the Ohopoho district of the Kaokoveld, in the north western part of the country. SWAPO says villagers in the Ohopoho district have been rounded up and tortured in an attempt by the security forces to get more information on the movements of the guerrilla fighters. The number of South African troops killed is unknown.

(Anti-Apartheid News, Sept.1969)



having died in prison. About that first trial a New York Times editorial (Feb. 11, 1968) commented: "All the acts of terrorism of which these men were charged resulted in a single death and not one of the defendants was even accused of participating in that particular incident. This is typical of the burlesque of justice that has at every stage marked this miserable affair..."

A year and a half later the burlesque continues.

Security Council Tries to Oust South Africa from Namibia

On August 12, 1969 the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution setting a deadline for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia. According to the resolution, if South Africa failed to withdraw by October 4, 1969, the Security Council would meet immediately to determine what to do next.

When the resolution was passed, four member states abstained: Finland, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. In his speech to the U.N., U.S. Ambassador Yost based his country's abstention on a pragmatic position--condemning South Africa's action, but fearing to put the U.N. to a test that it could not pass. He also urged his own government and the governments of other member states to take whatever "voluntary steps" they wished in order to achieve the common good.

Some of the politics behind the voting stance of the U.S. as well as the other members of the Security Council was demonstrated in an article in the London Times (Aug. 25, 1969) quoted in part below:

"The Council demand is so absurdly unrealistic that it won bare mention in the world's press. The firm refusal of Britain and the United States ten days earlier to underwrite proposals to impose sanctions in the event of non-compliance made it still sillier.

Nevertheless, the African states which, with Asian and communist support, have deftly guided the Council into issuing these unenforceable ukases (sic), have their reasons. Few imagine that the shaky establishment of an international ruling which removes South Africa's rights of sovereignty in South West Africa will induce the great powers to apply sanctions or to liberate "Namibia" (the

NAMIBIA

Five Life Sentences in Second Terrorism Trial

In August, after a long trial, five Namibians were sentenced to life imprisonment under the South African Terrorism Act. A sixth was sentenced to 18 years and two others were acquitted. The men had been charged in February, 1968, but were not brought to trial until July, 1969. The six receiving long sentences were said to be guilty of conspiring to overthrow the South West African administration by force and to replace it with a government led by SWAPO (South West African People's Organization). It is likely that, as in the first "terrorism trial", death sentences were not filed in order to placate world opinion. (As a matter of fact, this trial received very little publicity.) However, the trial was held in Windhoek, the capital of South West Africa, probably in order to demonstrate to the world that South West Africa is now an integral part of South Africa.

The first "terrorism trial", held in Pretoria, ended in January, 1968 with the conviction to life imprisonment of 19 Namibians (five of these were later reduced on appeal to 20 years) and 20 years for nine. Thirty-six men in all were tried, a thirty-seventh

name comes from a coastal tribe) by force.

Those who engineer these resolutions want to establish evidence that Britain and the United States are in league with the white supremacists in South Africa, their condemnations of apartheid notwithstanding. At the mildest they call the Anglo-American attitude "a conspiracy of indifference." Another motive is to find issues that unite Africans, Asians and communists who are hardly at one on subjects like Czechoslovakia.

Finally the argument that it is South Africa that illegally usurps the United Nations authority in Namibia gives some colour to claims that those caught under arms should be treated as prisoners of war, not as targets for the Treason Act."

Who, after witnessing the constant support which the U.S. and Great Britain offer to South Africa, can deny the validity of the African assessment of the situation? Perhaps if anything constructive comes out of the situation at all, it will be the revelation (to a few interested people) of the hypocrisy of these governments toward self-determination in Southern Africa.

Southern Africa Workshop at the November Moratorium

Nov. 13-15 : Wash. D.C.

The mass mobilization in Washington, D.C. November 13-15 against the war in Vietnam will include a variety of activities, starting with a "Death March" midnight Nov. 13. During Friday, Nov. 14 the Committee of Returned Volunteers will be sponsoring a series of workshops on America's Role in the Third World. One of these workshops (Friday, 6:00-7:30 p.m.) will focus on Southern Africa and American support for minority regimes there. Emphasis will be placed on the Liberation Movements. For anyone attending the Mobilization, the CRV workshop should provide a stimulating look at additional examples of American's "Vietnam approach" to world affairs. See Mobe literature for venue of workshops.

Sports a lever for change

David Winder wrote for the Sept. 27, 1969 Christian Science Monitor of the possibility of sports being a lever for social change in South Africa.

"Sports, which have brought South Africa international fame, are becoming a formidable political weapon in the hands of the republic's opponents.

"So far politics has forced South Africa out of two Olympic Games (1964 and 1968), and a question mark hovers over its participation at the next.

"South Africa - which is prepared to compromise - has so far found its Olympic proposals unacceptable. It agrees to sending an integrated team on the basis of merit. But selection of such a team had to be on the basis of preliminary segregated contests back home.

"While South Africa's future in the Olympics hangs in the balance, the republic's standing in international sporting federations has been hit by these reverses:

Boxing: Expelled from the world body.
Soccer: Suspended.

Judo: Affiliation blocked by African Judo Federation.

Weight lifting: Expelled.

Table Tennis: White group expelled and multiracial counterpart included instead.

"Compared to either rugby or cricket these are relatively minor sports by South African standards. But pressures are increasing to exclude South Africans from all international sports encounters unless apartheid in participation is abandoned. Critics of South Africa say the controversial D'Oliveira affair has done much to arouse public support for their cause. It was prompted by South Africa's refusal to accept Basil D'Oliveira, a South African Colored settled now in Britain, as a member of the touring English cricket team.

"His appointment itself was controversial. His inclusion as a replacement after the initial team was chosen sparked South African suspicions that his selection was politically motivated to embarrass South Africa. The republic's nonacceptance of D'Oliveira in turn was taken by his supporters as evidence of



the country's racist policy in sports.

"Because of the furor over the D'Oliveira affair, anti-apartheid campaigners hope it will play a large part in their campaign to call off next year's South African cricket tour to Britain, as well as other international fixtures involving the republic.

"It is because of South Africa's international prowess at sports (with no television allowed in South Africa, the major outlet for its inhabitants is sports) that its critics suggest they have discovered a vulnerable spot in the government's political armos. It is their hope to force Gary Player, one of the world's top golfers, off the links of Britain and the U.S.A., and to prevent Cliff Drysdale, a Wimbledon-seeded player, from competing at either Wimbledon or Forest Hills.

"Peter Hain, a white South African and Chairman of the "Stop the '70's Tour" (STST) campaign, reasons that sports are such "an important psychological part of the South African character...that it's a means of expression and of maintaining white supremacy."

"Alan Brooks, organizing secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, regards sports for South Africans 'as a measure of their standing in the world.'" For this reason the STST campaign attaches special significance to the coming Rugby and Cricket tours to Britain.

"A situation is developing where sporting organizations which would otherwise welcome South African teams on a 'politics-and-sports-shouldn't-mix' basis are nevertheless alarmed by threats of disruption. Rather than jeopardize the harmony of the competition, they prefer to ask the South Africans to withdraw.

"Dennis Brutus, President of San-Roc and the South African Nonracial Olympic Committee and architect behind international expulsion of South African sporting groups, predicts grave consequences if the Springbok cricketers tour Britain next year. 'There is a very real danger of race relations in Britain being poisoned to a large extent if there are going to be pro and anti-South African factions clashing. I think this tour may well go beyond the field of sport and enter the whole area of community relations and race relations.'

"In South Africa itself the question of whether to accept Maoris on the forthcoming New Zealand Rugby team has been an issue in precipitating an early general election. It

is an indication of the growing importance of sports in the political world, both in South Africa and overseas." (See Cape Times, Capetown, S.A., 9/27/69).



The Churches and Southern Africa

Presbyterians Act

One of the last major Protestant denominations to take any important action on Southern Africa has passed a strong motion. A recently formed Task Force on Southern Africa (consisting of representatives from the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, the Board of National Missions and the Division of Social Action) took seriously the mandate of the General Assembly to (1) plan a long-range response to racism in Southern Africa and (2) to carry out certain immediate tasks. At their September 15, 1969 meeting, the Task Force passed the following motion:

"That staff team proceed immediately to inform the consortium banks that unless they discontinue the line of credit arrangement with the Republic of South Africa that this Task Force will request the Board of National Missions, COEMAR, the Board of Christian Education and the United Presbyterian Foundation to terminate banking relationships with the consortium banks."

One would hope that the Presbyterians will not stop with this, but will translate motions into action.

Christian Journal in South Africa Banned

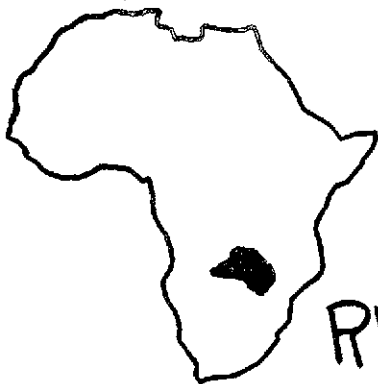
When the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa published the first issue of its quarterly journal "One For the Road" in June, 1968, it contained an article entitled "Student Power." (See our newsletter editorial, September-October, 1968) Because of that article, the issue

was banned. However, in an undaunted spirit, the UCM published a second issue, being a little more conservative and theological in tone in order to "pass the censors". Recently the third issue was banned, and the General Secretary of the UCM was fined for distributing banned literature.

"Political Parson Angers Africa Whites"

The New York Times (10/2/69) reports of a clergyman in Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) who rather upsets the racial status quo in that southern part of Africa. "Ever since the Rev. Colin Morris arrived in Zambia in April, 1956, he has been a decidedly political parson." As Minister of the Free Church, he identified with the struggle of Africans from the start.

In a book published in London this fall (Include Me Out) he argues that black Rhodesian Christians are fully justified in taking up arms against the white regime of Prime Minister Ian D. Smith. Another book (Unyoung, Uncolored and Unpoor) has caused quite a furor among church circles, especially white churchmen. Mr. Morris acknowledges an intellectual debt to the late Frantz Fanon.



Rhodesia

New African Party Formed in Rhodesia

The Washington Post (8/3/69) reports the formation of a new African nationalist movement inside Rhodesia to keep alive the cause of majority rule. The movement is called NAPU - the National People's Union - and at this early stage, there appear to be signs that the country's 4.8 million Africans respond to it. NAPU was formed the day after the June 20 constitutional referendum, in which the mainly white electorate voted overwhelmingly in favor of both

an apartheid-style constitution and the severance of the final ties with Britain. (The British Government has withdrawn its consulate in Salisbury so that no formal ties remain.)

The President of NAPU, Gordon Chavunduka, a 37-year-old sociology lecturer at Salisbury's University College, says that NAPU will "work within the constitutional framework to try to bring about that change sooner." NAPU disassociates itself from any "revolutionary" course, but is quietly critical of the current Rhodesian political situation. Already a stern warning has been issued by the Minister of Justice, Law and Order, Desmond Lardner-Burke. He thought he detected a "sinister theme" running through statements made in Parliament by African opposition members, "a veiled threat that there was going to be unrest, that the Africans were going to rise up."

U.S. Consulate Remains in Salisbury

Although the U.S. Department of State recommended severance of official U.S. contact with Rhodesia by withdrawal of the Consulate in Salisbury (Washington Post, July 8, 1969), President Nixon stubbornly refuses to take the step. It seems the President blocked removal of the Consulate at the suggestion of politically conservatives and business interests. If asked publically why, Nixon usually responds that there is need for protection of the several thousand U.S. citizens in Rhodesia.

The fact that approximately 80% of all U.S. citizens in Rhodesia are missionaries is important to note. Perhaps U.S. and other mission board agencies could be persuaded that their missionaries do not need official U.S. protection. If so, the President could hardly offer this excuse. An answer might be to withdraw the missionaries, or to urge the missionaries to disavow any contact with the Consulate.

African Teachers Lose Their Jobs

This year an estimated 389 teachers are going to lose their jobs, according to Rhodesia's secretary for African Education, Mr. Maurice Mills. The ostensible cause of this cutback is the announced cut of the primary education course from six to five years, starting in January 1970. For most African observers this is another

step in the Rhodesian regime's plan for long-term over-all reduction of the number of schools and educational facilities for Africans. (Zimbabwe News, 8/4/69)

Rhodesia Feeling Sanctions

Despite the lack of international support for economic sanctions against Rhodesia, there is some indication that the Smith regime is feeling some pinch. Recently Smith has taken new steps to counter economic spying in the country under the emergency powers Act. By this means Rhodesia hopes to counter the activities of agencies and people seeking to interfere with her foreign trade.

The U.N. Sanctions Committee has been attempting to locate and publicize the activities of various sanctions-busters, mostly tobacco and sugar companies. Rhodesia's new moves are aimed at prosecution of persons doing anything to further economic sanctions, and indicate her unhappiness with the fact that the question of sanctions is being kept alive.

Rhodesia Evicts Tribe from its Homeland

Smith's government has begun the systematic process of apartheid in its most tragic manifestation -- the eviction of entire communities from their homelands. The Tangwena tribe of Rhodesia, led by its courageous Chief Rekayi Tangwena, had repeatedly refused to heed government orders to leave their land peacefully. The final 'coup-de-grace' came when the Rhodesian government took so-called 'legal' action to have them evicted. Still the tribe refused to move, and on September 18 Rhodesian troops and police swept into the area and forcibly evicted the tribe. The villagers reported that the chief had been handcuffed and a number of women were beaten and kicked in the scuffle that ensued. In a terse official announcement, the Ministry of Information said that the eviction had been accomplished "without incident."

The 30-odd square mile area claimed as ancestral lands by the tribe ("five of our chiefs are buried here") supposedly belong to the Garesi ranch, which is managed by William Hammer, a white Rhodesian. Mr. Hammer wanted the Tangwena moved and consequently had the land declared "white only." (New York Times, 9/19/69)

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