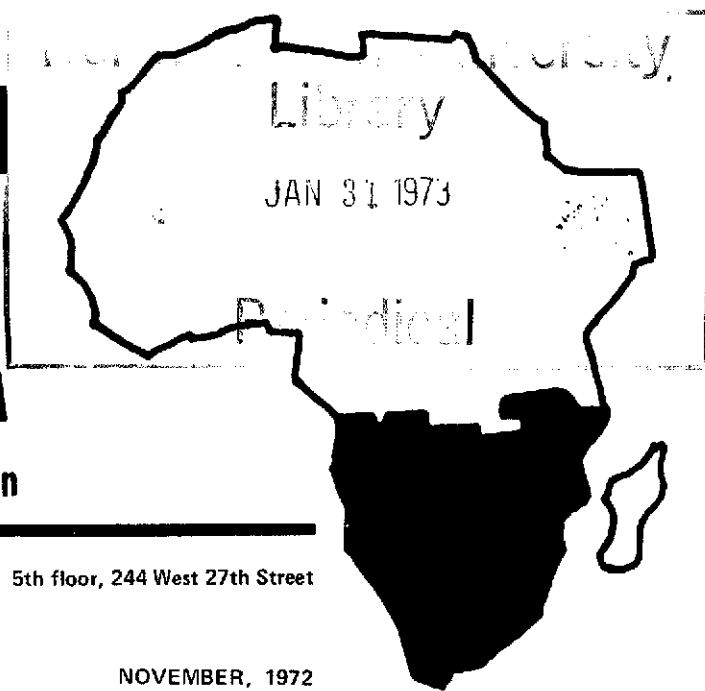


SOUTHERN AFRICA



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Cover photo:

Left to right at their press conference held at United Nations headquarters Oct. 18, 1971: Marcelino Dos Santos, Vice-President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO); Salim Ahmed Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 on Implementation of Declaration on Granting Independence; and Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). (United Nations photo.)

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Identity and Dignity in Struggle

On Sunday, Oct. 15, Amilcar Cabral, secretary general of the Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (P.A.I.G.C.), was awarded an honorary doctorate of law at Lincoln University in Oxford, Pa.

This precedent-setting award to a leader of an armed guerrilla movement will no doubt go largely unpublicized. Cabral will return to his people and their struggle against Portuguese colonial domination, and most Americans will continue their various pursuits unaware that a war continues in that small West African country.

But Cabral's presentation at Lincoln

speaks not only of dignity and identity of his own people in the context of their struggle, but of all people everywhere. It spells out the analytical basis from which Cabral and others have moved to bring about radical change.

Cabral has led his people since P.A.I.G.C. was founded on Sept. 9, 1956 on a course that has enabled them to liberate two-thirds of their land from the Portuguese. His book, *Revolution in Guinea* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), describes his people's struggle more fully.

We reprint the text of his presentation at Lincoln below.

by Amilcar Cabral

"The people's struggle for national liberation and independence from imperialist rule has become a driving force of progress for humanity and undoubtedly constitutes one of the essential characteristics of contemporary history."

Rise of Independence Movements

The fact that independence movements are generally marked, even in their early stages, by an upsurge of cultural activity has led to the view that such movements are preceded by a "cultural renaissance" of the subject people. Some go as far as to suggest that culture is one means of collecting together a group, even one weapon in the struggle for independence.

From the experience of our own struggle, and one might say that of the whole of Africa, we consider that there is too limited (even a mistaken) idea of the vital role of culture in the development of the liberation movement. In our view this arises from a fake generalization of a phenomenon which is real but limited, which is at a particular level in the vertical structure of colonized societies—at the level of the elite or the colonial

diasporas. This generalization is unaware of or ignores the vital element of the problem: the indestructible character of the cultural resistance of the masses of the people when confronted with foreign domination.

Certainly imperialist domination calls for cultural oppression and attempts either directly or indirectly to do away with the most important elements of the culture of the subject people. But the people are only able to create and develop the liberation movement because they keep their culture alive despite continual and organized repression of their cultural life and because they continue to resist culturally even when their politico-military resistance is destroyed.

And it is cultural resistance which, at a given moment, can take on new forms (political, economic, armed) to fight foreign domination.

Failure of Assimilation

With certain exceptions, the period of colonization was not long enough, at least in Africa, for there to be a significant degree of destruction or damage of the most important facets of the culture and traditions of the subject people. Colonial experience of imperialist domination in

Africa (genocide, racial segregation, and apartheid excepted) shows that the only so-called positive solution which the colonial power put forward to repudiate the subject people's cultural resistance was "assimilation."

But the complete failure of the policy of "progressive assimilation" of native populations [as put forward, for example, by Portugal] is the living proof both of the falsehood of this theory and of the capacity of subject people to resist. As far as the Portuguese colonies are concerned the maximum number of people assimilated was 0.03 percent of the total population (in Guinea-Bissau) and this was after 500 years of civilizing influence and half a century of "colonial peace."

On the other hand, even in the settlements where the overwhelming majority of the population are indigenous peoples, the area occupied by the colonial power (and especially the area of cultural influence) is usually restricted to coastal strips and to a few limited parts in the interior.

Outside the boundaries of the capital and other urban centers, the influence of the colonial power's culture is almost nil. It only leaves its mark at the very top of the colonial social pyramid—which created colonialism itself—and particularly it influences what one might call the "indig-

enous petite bourgeoisie" (lower middle class) and a very small number of workers in urban areas.

Most Remain Untouched

It can thus be seen that the masses in the rural areas, like a large section of the urban population (say, in all, over 99 percent of the indigenous population) are virtually untouched by the culture of the colonial power. This situation is partly the result of the necessarily obscurantist character of imperialist domination, which while it despises and suppresses indigenous culture, takes no interest in promoting culture for the masses who are their pool of manpower for forced labor and the main object of exploitation.

It is also the result of the effectiveness of cultural resistance of the people, who when they are subjected to political domination and economic exploitation find that their own culture acts as a bulwark in preserving their *identity*. Where the indigenous society has a vertical structure, this defense of their cultural heritage is further strengthened by the colonial power's interest in protecting and backing the cultural influence of the ruling classes, their allies.

The above implies that in general there is no marked destruction or damage to culture or tradition either for the masses in the subject country or for the indigenous ruling classes (traditional chiefs, noble families, religious authorities). Repressed, persecuted, humiliated, betrayed by certain social groups who have compromised with the foreign power, they clasped their culture and took refuge in the villages, in the forests, and in the spirit of the victims of domination.

Culture survives all these challenges, and through the struggle for liberation blossoms forth again. Thus the question of a "return to the source" or of a "cultural renaissance" does not arise and could not arise for the mass of these people, for it is they who are the repository of the culture and at the same time the only social sector that can preserve and build it up and *make history*.

The Colonial Elite

Thus, in Africa at least, for a true idea of the real role which culture plays in the development of the liberation movement a distinction must be made between the situation of the masses, who preserve their culture, and that of the social groups who are assimilated or partially so, who are cut off and culturally alienated.

Even though the indigenous colonial elite who emerged during the process of

colonization still continue to pass on some element of indigenous culture, yet they live both materially and spiritually according to the foreign colonial culture. They seek to identify themselves increasingly with this culture both in their social behavior and in their appreciation of its values.

In the course of two or three generations of colonization, a social class arises made up of civil servants, people who are employed in various branches of the economy, especially commerce, professional people, and a few urban and agricultural landowners. This indigenous lower middle class, which emerged out of foreign domination and is indispensable to the system of colonial exploitation, stands midway between the masses of the working class in town and country and the small number of local representatives of the foreign ruling class.

Although they may have quite strong links with the masses and with the traditional chiefs, generally speaking they aspire to a way of life that is similar if not identical with that of the foreign minority. At the same time, while they restrict their dealings with the masses, they try to become integrated into this minority, often at the cost of ethnic ties and always at great personal cost. Yet despite the apparent exceptions, they do not succeed in getting past the barriers thrown up by the system. They are prisoners of the cultural and social contradictions of their lives. They cannot escape from their role as a marginal class, or a "marginalized" class.

Returning to the Source

The marginal character or the "marginality" of this class, both in its own country and in the *diasporas* established in the territory of the colonial power, is responsible for the sociocultural conflicts of the colonial elite or the indigenous petite bourgeoisie, played out very much according to their material circumstances and level of acculturation but always on the individual level, never collectively.

It is within the framework of this daily drama, against the backdrop of the usually violent confrontation between the mass of the people and the ruling colonial class, that a feeling of bitterness or frustration is bred and develops among the indigenous petite bourgeoisie. At the same time they become more and more conscious of a compelling need to question their marginal status, and to rediscover an identity.

Thus they turn to the people around them, the people at the other extreme of the sociocultural conflict—the native

masses. For this reason the "return to the source" which seems to be even more pressing the greater is the isolation of the petite bourgeoisie (or native elites) and their acute feelings of frustration as is the case when African *diasporas* are in the colonial or racist metropolis.

It comes as no surprise that the theories or "movements" such as Pan-africanism or Negritude (two pertinent expressions arising mainly from the assumption that all black Africans have a cultural identity) were propounded outside black Africa. More recently the claim of black Americans to an African identity is another proof, possibly a rather desperate one, of the need for a "return to the source," although it is clearly influenced by a new situation: the fact that the great majority of African people are now independent.

Beyond the Return

But the "return to the source" is not and cannot in itself be an *act of struggle* against foreign domination (colonialist and racist) and it no longer necessarily means a return to traditions. It is the denial, by the petite bourgeoisie, of the country, of the pretended supremacy of the culture of the dominant power over that of the dominated people with which it must identify itself.

The "return to the source" is therefore not a voluntary step, but the only possible reply to the demand of concrete need, historically determined, and enforced by the inescapable contradiction between the colonized society and the colonial power, the mass of the people exploited and the foreign exploitative class, a contradiction in the light of which each social stratum or indigenous class must define its position.

When the "return to the source" goes beyond the individual and is expressed through "groups" or "movements," the contradiction is transformed into struggle (secret or overt), and is a prelude to the preindependence movement or of the struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke.

So, the "return to the source" is of no historical importance unless it brings not only real involvement in the struggle for independence, but also complete and absolute identification with the hopes of the mass of the people, who are contesting not only the foreign culture but also foreign domination as a whole. Otherwise, the "return to the source" is nothing more than an attempt to find short-term benefits, knowingly or unknowingly a kind of political opportunism.

Levels of Consciousness

One must point out that the "return to the source," apparent or real, does not develop at one time and in the same way in the heart of the indigenous petite bourgeoisie. It is a slow process, broken up and uneven, whose development depends on the degree of acculturation of each individual, of the material circumstances of his life, on the forming of his ideas, and on his experience as a social being.

This unevenness is the basis of the split of the indigenous petite bourgeoisie into three groups when confronted with the liberation movement: (1) a minority, which, even if it wants to see an end to foreign domination, clings to the dominant colonialist class and openly opposes the movement to protect its social position; (2) a majority of people who are hesitant and indecisive; (3) another minority of people who share in the building and leadership of the liberation movement.

But the latter group, which plays a decisive role in the development of the preindependence movement, does not truly identify with the mass of the people (with their culture and hopes) except through struggle. The scale of this identification depending on the kind or methods of struggle, on the ideological basis of the movement, and on the level of moral and political conscience of each individual.

Masses Retain Their Identity

Identification of a section of the indigenous petite bourgeoisie with the mass of the people has an essential prerequisite: *that, in the face of destructive action by imperialist domination, the masses retain their identity*, separate and distinct from that of the colonial power. It is worthwhile, therefore, to decide in what circumstances this retention is possible; why, when, and at what levels of the dominated society is raised the problem of the loss or absence of identity; and in consequence it becomes necessary to assert or reassert in the framework of the preindependence movement a separate and distinct identity from that of the colonial power.

The identity of an individual or of a particular group of people is a biosociological factor outside the will of that individual or group, but which is meaningful only when it is expressed in relation with other individuals or other groups. The dialectical character of identity lies in the fact that it *identifies* and *distinguishes*, for an individual (or a

group) is only similar to certain individuals (or groups) if it is also different from other individuals (or groups).

The definition of an identity, individual or collective, is at the same time the affirmation and denial of a certain number of characteristics which define the individuals or groups, through *historical* (biological and sociological) factors at a moment of their development. In fact, identity is not a constant, precisely because the biological and sociological factors which define it are in constant change.

Biology and Sociology

Biologically and sociologically, there are no two beings (individual or collective) completely the same or completely different, for it is always possible to find in them common or distinguishing characteristics. Therefore, the identity of a being is always a relative quantity, even circumstantial, for defining it demands a selecting more or less rigid and strict of the biological and sociological characteristics of the being in question.

One must point out that in the fundamental duality in the definition of identity, the sociological factors are more determining than the biological. In fact, if it is correct that the biological element (inherited genetic patrimony) is the inescapable physical basis of the existence and continuing growth of identity, it is no less correct that the sociological element is the factor which gives it objective substance, by giving content and form, and allowing confrontation and comparison between individuals or between groups. To make a total definition of identity, the inclusion of the biological element is indispensable, but does not imply a sociological similarity, whereas two beings who are sociologically exactly the same must necessarily have similar biological identities.

This shows on the one hand the supremacy of the social over the individual condition, for society (human, for example) is a higher form of life. It shows on the other hand the need not to confuse, in considering identity, the *original identity*, of which the biological element is the main determinant, and the *actual identity*, of which the main determinant is the sociological element.

Clearly the identity of which one must take account at a given moment of the growth of a being (individual or collective) is the actual identity, and awareness of that being reached only on the basis of his original identity is incomplete, partial, and false, for it leaves out or does not comprehend the decisive influence of

social conditions on the content and form of identity.

In the formation and development of individual or collective identity, the social condition is an objective agent, arising from economic, political, social, and cultural aspects that are characteristic of the growth and history of the society in question. If one argues that the economic aspect is fundamental, one can assert that identity is, in a certain sense, the expression of an economic reality. This reality, whatever the geographical context and the path of development of the society, is defined by the level of productive forces (the relationship between man and nature) and by the means of production (the relations between men and between the classes within this society).

In the Framework of Culture

But if one accepts that culture is a dynamic synthesis of the material and spiritual condition of the society and expresses relationships both between man and nature and between the different classes within society, one can assert that identity is at the individual and collective level and beyond, the economic condition, the expression of a culture. This is why to attribute, recognize, or declare the identity of an individual or group is above all to place that individual or group in the framework of a culture.

Now as we all know, the main prop of culture in any society is the social structure. One can therefore draw the conclusion that the possibility of a given group keeping (or losing) its identity in the face of foreign domination depends on the extent of the destruction of its social structure under the stresses of that domination.

As for the effects of imperialist domination on the social structure of the dominated people, one must look here at the case of classic colonialism against which the preindependence movement is contending. In that case, whatever the stage of historical development of the dominated society, the social structure can be subjected to the following experiences: (1) *total destruction*, mixed with immediate or gradual liquidation of the indigenous people and replacement by a foreign people; (2) *partial destruction*, with the settling of a more or less numerous foreign population; (3) *ostensible preservation*, brought about by the restriction of the indigenous people in geographical areas or special reserves usually without means of living, and the massive influx of a foreign population.

The fundamentally horizontal character of the social structure of African

people, due to the profusion of ethnic groups, means that the cultural resistance and degree of retention of identity are not uniform. So, even where ethnic groups have broadly succeeded in keeping their identity, we observe that the most resistant groups are those which have had the most violent battles with the colonial power during the period of effective occupation,* or those who because of their geographical location** have had least contact with the foreign presence.

Divide and Conquer

One must point out that the attitude of the colonial power toward the ethnic groups creates an insoluble contradiction: on the one hand it must divide or keep divisions in order to rule and for that reason favors separation if not conflict between ethnic groups; on the other hand to try and keep the permanency of its domination it needs to destroy the social structure, culture, and by implication identity, of these groups. Moreover it must protect the ruling class of those groups which (like for example the Fula, the tribe or nation in our country) have given decisive support during the colonial conquest—a policy which favors the preservation of the identity of these groups.

As has already been said, there are not usually important changes in respect of culture in the upright shape of the indigenous social pyramids (groups or societies within a country). Each level or class keeps its identity, linked with that of the group but separate from that of other social classes. Conversely, in the urban centers as in some of the interior regions of the country where the cultural influence of the colonial power is felt, the problem of identity is more complicated.

While the bottom and the top of the social pyramid (that is, the mass of the working class drawn from different ethnic groups and the foreign dominant class) keep their identities, the middle level of this pyramid (the indigenous petite bourgeoisie), culturally uprooted, alienated, or more or less assimilated, engages in a sociological battle in search of its identity.

One must also point out that though united by a new identity—granted by the colonial power—the foreign dominant class cannot free itself from the contradictions of its own society, which it brings to the colonized society.

When, at the initiative of a minority of the indigenous petite bourgeoisie, allied with the indigenous masses, the pre-independence movement is launched, the masses have no need to assert or reassert their identity, which they have never



confused nor would have known how to confuse with that of the colonial power. This need is felt only by the indigenous petite bourgeoisie which finds itself obliged to take up a position in the struggle which opposes the masses to the colonial power.

A Distinct Identity

However, the reassertion of identity distinct from that of the colonial power is not always achieved by all the petite bourgeoisie. It is only a minority who do this, while another minority asserts, often in a noisy manner, the identity of the foreign dominant class, while the silent majority is trapped in indecision.

Moreover, even when there is a reassertion of an identity distinct from that of the colonial power, therefore the same as that of the masses, it does not show itself in the same way everywhere. One part of the middle class minority engaged in the preindependence movement uses the foreign cultural norms, calling on literature and art, to express rather the discovery of its identity than the hopes and sufferings of the masses. And precisely because it uses the language and speech of the minority colonial power, it only occasionally manages to influence the masses, generally illiterate and familiar with other forms of artistic expression.

This does not, however, remove the value of the contribution to the development of the struggle made by this petite bourgeoisie minority, for it can at the same time influence a sector of the uprooted or those who are latecomers of its own class and an important sector of public opinion in the colonial metropolis, notably the class of intellectuals.

The other part of the petite bourgeoisie which from the start joins in the preindependence movement finds in its prompt share in the liberation struggle and in integration with the masses the best means of expression of identity distinct from that of the colonial power.

That is why identification with the masses and reassertion of identity can be

temporary or definitive, apparent or real, in the light of the daily efforts and sacrifices demanded by the struggle itself. A struggle, while being the organized and political expression of a *culture*, is also and necessarily a proof not only of *identity* but also of *dignity*.

No End to Resistance

In the course of the process of colonialist domination, the masses, whatever the characteristic of the social structure of the group to which they belong, do not stop resisting the colonial power. In a first phase—that of conquest, cynically called “pacification”—they resist foreign occupation gun in hand. In a second phase—that of the golden age of triumphant colonialism—they offer the foreign domination passive resistance, almost silent, but blazoned with many revolts, usually individual and once in a while collective. The revolt is particularly in the field of work and taxes, even in social contacts with the representatives, foreign or indigenous, of the colonial power.

In a third phase—that of the liberation struggle—it is the masses who provide the main strength which employs political or armed resistance to challenge and to destroy foreign domination. Such a prolonged and varied resistance is possible only because while keeping their culture and identity, the masses keep intact the sense of their individual and collective dignity, despite the worries, humiliations, and brutalities to which they are often subjected.

A Sense of Dignity

The assertion or reassertion by the indigenous petite bourgeoisie of identity distinct from that of the colonial power does not and could not bring about restoration of a sense of dignity to that class alone. In this context we see that the sense of dignity of the petite bourgeoisie depends on the objective moral and social feelings of each individual, on

his subjective attitude toward the two poles of the colonial conflict, between which he is forced to live out the daily drama of colonization.

This drama is the more shattering to the extent to which the petite bourgeoisie in fulfilling its role is made to live alongside both the foreign dominating class and the masses. On one side the petite bourgeoisie is the victim of frequent if not daily humiliation by the foreigner, and on the other side it is aware of the injustice to which the masses are subjected and of their resistance and spirit of rebellion.

Hence arises the apparent paradox of struggle and colonial domination; it is from within the indigenous petite bourgeoisie, a social class which grows from colonialism itself, that arise the first important steps toward mobilizing and organizing the masses for the struggle against the colonial power.

The struggle, in the face of all kinds of obstacles and in a variety of forms, reflects the awareness or grasp of a complete identity; generalizes and consolidates the sense of dignity, strengthened by the development of political awareness; and derives from the culture or cultures of the masses in revolt one of its principal strengths. ■

*In Guinea-Bissau the Mandjaques, Pepels, Oincas, Balantes, Beafadas.

**Pajadincas and other minorities in the interior

ECONOMICS

BRITISH TRADE UNION COUNCIL TO SEVER SOUTH AFRICAN LINKS

Mr. Vic Feather, general secretary of the British Trade Union Council, told the group at its September meeting that research had shown it held stock in 10 companies with interests in South Africa. "I hope to be able to tell you next year that we have nothing at all in these companies," he said. The TUC unanimously approved a motion calling for withdrawal of its funds from the 10 firms.

The action was part of a larger debate on international issues. During the discussion, delegates also approved a motion rejecting any settlement with Rhodesia that would grant independence before the achievement of majority rule. (Guardian, London, Sept. 9, 1972)

HUGE COST INCREASES ON LINK BETWEEN BOTSWANA AND ZAMBIA

Estimates on the cost of the 300-kilometer highway that will join Botswana and Zambia have more than doubled from an original 1970 estimate of \$5.6 million to the current figure of \$13.3. The road is being financed through a low-interest loan from the U.S. Government's AID program, with any extra costs above the new figure to be loaned by the World Bank, Sweden, and Britain. The South African Government stated officially its position to the road two years ago, fearful that it will one day become a route for "guerrilla infiltration" with Botswana being used as a "springboard" for attacks on Rhodesia and the apartheid state. However, Sir Seretse Khama, Botswana's President, has repeatedly stated his refusal to allow the liberation movements to organize within his country. Botswana is landlocked and virtually surrounded by a sea of white minority regimes and historically has been highly dependent on South African investments, trade, and jobs. The Botzam Highway would provide the country's first link with an independent Black

African nation.

South Africa also claims to oppose the road on the "legal" grounds that there is no actual link between the two Black nations, despite the fact that for more than 90 years a ferry has regularly crossed between the two nations over a 200-kilometer stretch of the Zambezi River.

The Botswana Government has already sought the permission of the Security Council of the United Nations to import roadbuilding machinery from Beira and Lourenco Marques in Mozambique through Rhodesia for the project. Permission for this minor breach in sanctions against the Smith regime is expected shortly since, unfortunately, Botswana has little choice in the matter. Botswana's railroads are, in fact, run by the Rhodesians.

Work on the road is expected to commence in March next year and run through November, 1975. The highway starts in northern Botswana, runs parallel to the Rhodesian border for about 200 kilometers, and ends at the "freedom ferry" leading to Kazungula in Zambia. Also included in the project are some 71 kilometers of access and feeder roads to the main highway. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 16, 1972)

BETHLEHEM STEEL TO ENTER PROSPECTING IN TETE PROVINCE, MOZAMBIQUE

Bethlehem Steel Corporation of the U.S.A. and two Portuguese firms have recently received provisional authorization from the Portuguese Government to form a new company to prospect for minerals in the Tete Province of Mozambique. According to BOLSA Review, published by a London bank (October, 1972), Bethlehem's partners will be Cia. Mineira do Lobito and Cia. de Uranio de Mocambique.

The province has been the scene of intensive fighting between Portuguese troops and FRELIMO militants. The announcement follows the revelation (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, October, 1972) that another U.S. firm—Caterpillar Tractor Company—has supplied a large amount of equipment to the firms building Cabora Bassa Dam in the same area of the colony. ■

INSIDE

SOUTH

AFRICA

NOTES ON PEOPLE

Ms. Shanthi Naidoo has finally been allowed to leave South Africa. She has been under banning orders since 1963 and was held for 371 days incommunicado under the Terrorism Act. Despite the fact that she had been granted an exit permit to leave the country, her banning order made it illegal for her to travel to the airport. The Minister of Justice has now informed her that the banning order will be lifted to allow her to leave the country. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 16, 1972)

Argument in the Terrorism Act Trial in which four people are accused of conspiring with the South African Communist Party and/or the banned African National Congress and/or Ahmed Timol, who died in police custody in October, 1971, has ended. Judgment is expected to start on October 30. The four accused are Mohamed Essop, Yousuf Essack, Indhrasen Moodley, and Amina Desai. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 30, 1972)

BANTU ADMINISTRATION BOARDS ESTABLISHED

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, announced that the first four Bantu Administration Boards will be set up in the very near future. These Boards will take over responsibilities formerly handled by local municipalities. Tens of thousands of Africans will be affected through the change in administration of influx control regulations and what the government is calling "greater freedom of movement." (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 9, 1972) As reported in SOUTHERN AFRICA in February, 1971, the new plan in fact gives the Minister of Bantu Administration greater control over the movement of urban Africans.

The Government is setting up "Administrative Areas," which will incorporate a number of municipalities. Each of these will be controlled by a board appointed by the Minister of Bantu Administration. Greater mobility of the work force will be achieved by this process as Africans who live in one municipality will be able to work in another, as long as they both fall within the same Administrative Area. At present this is not possible.

The Government has already announced that Mr. W. H. L. Heckroodt, chairman of the Bantu Resettlement Board which administers the Government enclaves of Meadowlands and Diepkloof in Soweto, will be one of the four chairmen of the new boards. Heckroodt will be 80 in December. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 16, 1972)

The unpublicized facts about these boards is that all their functions will be secret. No Africans will serve on them. The Minister of Bantu Administration can remove members of the boards at will. Africans will become more efficient "units of labor," to serve the white economy. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, February, 1971)

FIGHTING IN JOHANNESBURG

Zulus, numbering 120, battled at dawn in the streets of Johannesburg on Sept. 25. No policemen interfered and five people were wounded.

That night the fighting between the two rival groups of Zulus began again. It is estimated that 17 people have died in the faction fighting. (New York Times, Sept. 26,

1972; Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 30, 1972)

NATIONALIST POLITICS—BY-ELECTION

The recent reshuffle of the cabinet (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, August-September, 1972) has necessitated by-elections to fill six positions in the South African parliament. Prime Minister Vorster is conducting these elections as a test of strength to help him determine when the next general election should take place. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 2, 1972)

PARTY CONGRESS PICKS LEADER

The Nationalist Party Congress of the Transvaal made its most important decision when it elected Dr. Connie Mulder as the leader of the party in the Transvaal. As a result of this election, Mulder emerges as the most likely person to succeed John Vorster as Prime Minister of South Africa.

Mulder (47) holds three cabinet portfolios: Interior, Information, and Social Welfare and Pensions. He is responsible for censorship, and for the control of drug traffic. This latter responsibility focused considerable attention on him last year. He sponsored the Drugs Act which imposed very severe penalties on drug peddlars, making no distinction between hard drugs and dagga (marijuana).

Mulder is conservative, of Calvinist belief. He implied that his election to the leadership of the party in the Transvaal was the work of God. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 16, 1972)

The party congress in the Orange Free State met the week before that of the Transvaal. Problems facing the party emerged at the Free State conference. They include a low attendance at the congress, indicating a lack of interest in party affairs. A right-wing element was very vocal and dominated much of the discussion from the floor.

There was also a visible absence of young people at the conference. There is concern that the United Party is being successful in creating new interest in its programs at the expense of the Nationalists. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 9, 1972)

John Balthasar Vorster



BROEDERBOND EXPOSED

The Rev. Jan Jooste, chairman of the right-wing Herstigste Nasionale Party (HNP) exposed secrets of the Broederbond at the HNP Congress in Pretoria. The Broederbond is a secret Afrikaner society, believed to have significant power in determining Afrikaner policy. Leaders of the HNP which split off from the Nationalist Party were expelled from the Broederbond two years ago. The Broederbond has stayed out of overt political activity, but is said to have deviated from this principal in its work to destroy the HNP. In retaliation, the HNP has come out with information about the Bond.

According to the HNP expose, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, an editor, has become chairman of the Bond, replacing Dr. P. J. Meyer, who dominates South Africa's powerful broadcasting organization. Dr. Connie Mulder is one of the Bond's 12-member executive. Dr. Anton Rupert, the cigarette magnate, is a member of the Bond. (Observer, London, Sept. 7, 1972)

Prime Minister Vorster is also a member of the Bond. He has been challenged by the United Party to tell the nation how the Bond affects the decision making of the Cabinet. Vorster reacted to this challenge by saying that the Bond was attacked simply because it is an Afrikaans organization, and accused the opposition of always "dragging through the mud" that which belongs to the Afrikaner. He said that the Government takes no orders from the Bond, only from the electorate. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 30, 1972)

UNITED PARTY FEDERATION PLAN

The United Party, official opposition to the Nationalists, has outlined its race federation policy in detail, for the first time making clear its alternative to the Nationalist policy of Bantustans and "separate development." The plan consists of the following:

There will be racially segregated "community governments" called "legislative assemblies" elected on the basis of universal suffrage within each racial group. These will deal with matters which pertain to each separate racial group.

A Federal Assembly, made up of representatives from all the racial groups, will deal with matters concerning all groups. Each Legislative Assembly will be represented by its own people in the Federal Assembly. There will be 24 African representatives, from the eight African assemblies, six Coloured representatives from two assemblies, and three Indians from one assembly. The total number of seats in the assembly will be 165. The 33 black representatives would compare with 12 white representatives from four assemblies. In addition, 120 further members would be chosen on the basis of contribution of each community measured against gross domestic product. Thus, initially at least, there would be an overwhelming representation by whites, as many as 80 percent.

Further, the present parliament would remain as an all-white body, with the power of veto over the Federal Assembly. There will thus be white control over a white-dominated multiracial federal government in the initial stages. There would not be a veto over the actions of the racially separate legislative assemblies. Power would continue to be transferred from the white parliament to the Federal Assembly, and so that eventually the whityparliament would go out of existence. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 2, 1972)

CHURCHES

CLERGY AND STUDENTS ASKED TO INFORM

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Robert Selby Taylor, has accused the South African security police of approaching clergymen and students to act as informers. He said in his monthly newsletter: "I have evidence of a number of clergymen and students who have been approached by one or another branch of the security police for information about those with whom they work or associate." (Guardian, London, Aug. 25, 1972)

BAN ON DESMOND EASED

The Franciscan priest who has been defying his banning order by attending church in Johannesburg every Sunday, was granted permission by the Minister of Justice to attend "bona fide religious services" between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. Sundays. Father Cosmos Desmond's friends describe this as a "real victory." South African authorities were presented with three choices by Desmond's defiance of the banning order: arresting him, ignoring him, or backing down and modifying the order. They took the third choice. (Guardian, London, Sept. 18, 1972)

CHURCH HALL GUTTED

South African right-wing terrorists threw a firebomb into St. Thomas' church hall in Rondebosch in September, destroying it. Only the walls and part of the roof were left standing. The anti-apartheid Christian Institute of Southern Africa held its annual meeting in the hall the day before, and a few weeks prior to the meeting communist slogans were scrawled on the wall of another church hall used by the institute. Two attempts have been made to burn down the institute's building in Cape Town also, and two petrol bombs have been thrown at the home of the Rev. Theo Kotze, Cape director of the Institute, and shots were fired through a bedroom window and into his front door. (Guardian, London, Sept. 11, 1972) (See "Catalogue of Cape Terror" below.)

CATALOGUE OF CAPE TERROR

The Cape Town police have not yet arrested anyone connected with the recent spate of terrorist attacks by right-wing activists against people and organizations in South Africa known for their opposition to apartheid. The following is a list of unsolved incidents since last year:

AUGUST 4, 1971: The parked car of Dr. Michael Whisson, senior lecturer in social anthropology at the University of Cape Town, was damaged and the rear window smashed by a brick outside his Mowbray home.

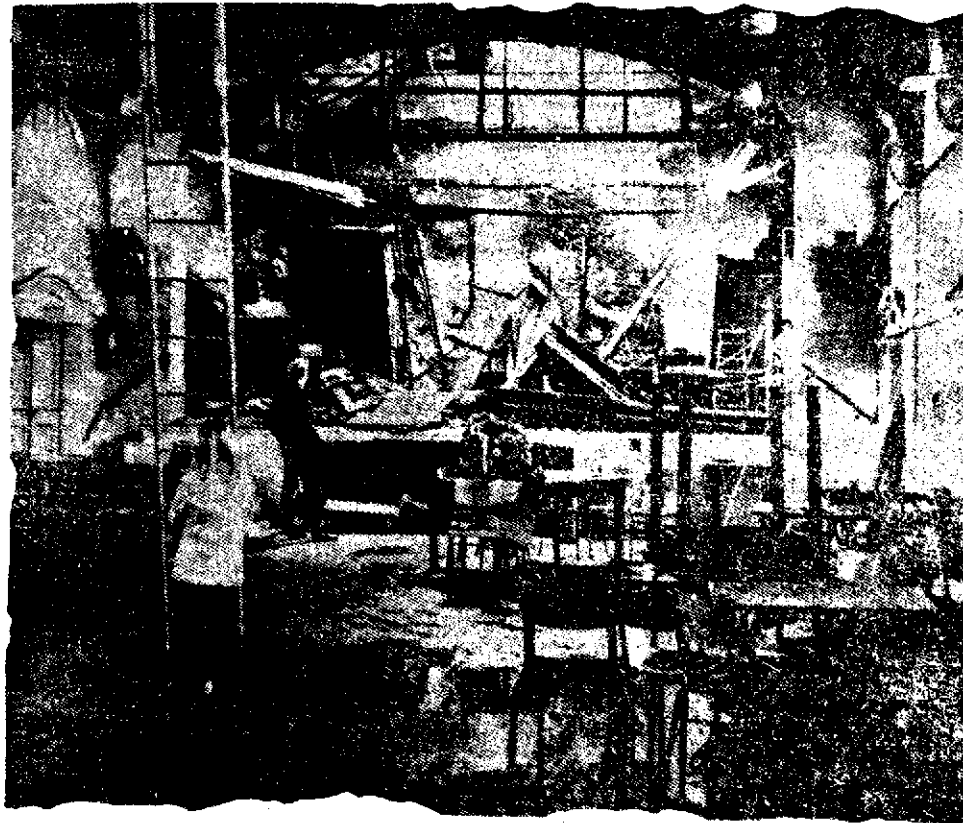
AUGUST 10, 1971: The front tires of cars belonging to Dr. Michael Whisson and his wife were punctured. The cars were parked outside their Mowbray home.

AUGUST 27, 1971: Communist slogans were painted on the Christian Institute building in Mowbray.

AUGUST 28-29, 1971: Mysterious telephone calls were received late at night by several members of the Christian Institute.

OCTOBER 15, 1971: The tires of the car of the Rev. Theo Kotze, regional director of the Christian Institute, were slashed and deflated for the third time in six weeks. On this occasion his car and that of a friend were both damaged outside Kotze's home in Simonstown.

JUNE 6, 1972: An attempt was made to set fire to the Ecumenical Center, Mowbray, where the Christian Institute had its office.



Gutted remains of St. Thomas' Church.

JUNE 7, 1972: An anonymous death threat was received over the telephone by the Rev. Theo Kotze.

JUNE 8, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown into the grounds of the Rev. Theo Kotze's home in Claremont.

JUNE 22, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown at the former home of Mr. Geoff Budlender, president of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Cape Town in Queen Victoria Street, Claremont.

JULY 10, 1972: A second petrol bomb was thrown at the Rev. Theo Kotze's house in Claremont.

JULY 16, 1972: Libelous pamphlets issued falsely under the name of the World Council of Churches "with the help of the Rev. Theo Kotze and SPROCAS."

AUGUST 19, 1972: Similar libelous pamphlets issued falsely under the name of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town.

AUGUST 21, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown at an outside wall of the Rondebosch Town Hall and sneezing powder strewn inside while a public civil rights meeting was being held. The meeting was organized by the University of Cape Town Students Representative Council.

AUGUST 21, 1972: The Mowbray home of Mr. Geoff Budlender, president of the University of Cape Town Students Representative Council and of four other UTC students was destroyed by a petrol bomb.

AUGUST 22, 1972: Shots were fired at the Claremont home of the Rev. Theo Kotze and a bullet shattered a bedroom window.

AUGUST 26, 1972: Communist slogans and swastikas were sprayed in red paint on the walls of the Methodist Church, Buitenkant. Other slogans painted on the Calendon Square police station and the Cape Town Magistrate's Court.

AUGUST 27, 1972: An attempt to set fire to the Ecumenical Center, Mowbray, where the Christian Institute is based, was discovered.

AUGUST 30, 1972: Libelous pamphlets again issued falsely under the name of the Most Rev. Selby Taylor, Archbishop of Cape Town, and the Anglican Church.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1972: A fire destroyed the St. Thomas' Church parish hall in Rondebosch.

ECONOMICS

AFRICAN UNIONISTS' THORNY SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM

The question of whether Africans should belong to trade unions, and if so in what form and under whose control, has long been a hotly debated question in South Africa. The question has come to the surface again on the occasion of the annual conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). Africans are presently excluded from membership in registered trade unions as well as being prohibited by law from striking. They are, therefore, effectively barred from any legal means of rectifying grievances on the job.

TUCSA's own position is clear. It wants the government to relent and allow Africans to join in "mixed" unions which already exist. Worried on the one hand by South Africa's lagging economy, whose problems are caused partially by poor utilization of the skills of black labor, and on the other by the threat of independent all-African unions which would undercut whityunion demands, TUCSA sees its own proposal as the only effective means of protecting the position of the white worker.

The government, however, has other ideas. Dr. Piet van der Merwe from Pretoria University, speaking to the 136 TUCSA delegates, outlined a plan which many feared had government support behind it. Suggesting a network of ethnic affiliations he called "indigenous trade unions," Van der Merwe called for a union based in each government-designated "Homeland" to comprise all rural and urban workers of a particular tribal group. Labor agreements would be negotiated not between employer and workers but between the Bantustan "governments" and the South African authorities. Although there was no official comment on the plan, South Africa has in the past made it clear that no solution to the problem of black workers' organizations will be tolerated, that does not fit into its apartheid scheme.

Reaction from TUCSA was immediate and strong. Anna Scheepers of the Garment Workers' Union, saying the proposal reminded her of "communist countries," declared that "No government should have the right to appoint representatives to speak for the workers but the workers themselves."

A more prevalent fear was expressed by outgoing TUCSA president Tom Murray who felt it would be easy for Africans living in an area adjacent to white workers to save up some food and then withdraw their labor if their demands weren't met. Are we going to "send white police across the border" to beat them back to work?" he queried. The Financial Mail, which supports the United Party, agreed with the criticisms, pointing out that centralizing control in the hands of "Homeland leaders" raised the threat of mass withholding of labor, whether "singly or in agreement with other territories." Van der Merwe's answer was the stiff competition for jobs in a country where labor was plentiful would eliminate the threat of large-scale work stoppages.

The issue is likely to continue to be emotionally debated by both white politicians and white workers. All agree, however, that protecting the white standard of living is at the crux of all the proposals. (Financial Mail, Sept. 1, 1972; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1972)

BLACK MINERS' EARNINGS PREDICTED TO RISE

Rand Daily Mail reporter Benjamin Pogrund, writing from Johannesburg, reports there are hopes of substantially higher earnings for notoriously low-paid African goldminers in South Africa. Eighty percent of the labor on the mines is from outside the country, and can exert no pressure regarding their own wages. That fact, coupled with the reality that many mines operate on a low-profit margin, has kept wages down.

Effective white unions and low black pay scales have resulted in such gaps as at West Driefontein, one of the country's largest mines, where African workers average \$400 yearly to the whites' \$6,890. Though Anglo-American chief Harry Oppenheimer has frequently been a government critic, his own mines are among the worst offenders. Low African wages have always been justified by the argument that raises would force most mines out of business and cripple South Africa's economy.

The rising free market price of gold has stimulated serious debate about remuneration. Bernard Smith, executive director of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, and Bill Wilson, deputy chairman of Anglo-American, have both declared themselves in support of pay increases. Wilson, in a speech, criticized his own company along with the others, characterizing Africans' wages on the mines as "extremely low" and calling the racial salary gap "dangerously large and rationally insupportable."

Such a move would mute criticism, while costing companies little. A mine such as Free State Geduld, whose profits this year will probably rise to \$57.6 million over last year's \$38.4 million, can DOUBLE its African wage bill at a cost of only \$4.8 million. Many companies may feel the public relations gain is well worth it. (Sunday Times, London, Sept. 18, 1972)

BID TO INCREASE STEEL PRODUCTION

The South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR) is presently negotiating with the Austrian Voest steel combine. The talks, which are in "an advanced stage," could result in the construction of a plant to produce 150,000 tons of semiprocessed steel a year, and could earn South Africa more than \$500 million in foreign exchange each year.

South Africa has been looking for some time for partners for ISCOR's planned iron-ore export business at Saldanha Bay on the country's Atlantic coast. ISCOR chairman Tom Muller, brother to the Foreign Minister of South Africa, visited Europe in September for talks. ISCOR, which is a quasi-government corporation, admits to discussing partnership with the British as well as the Australians. (New York Times, Sept. 12, 1972)

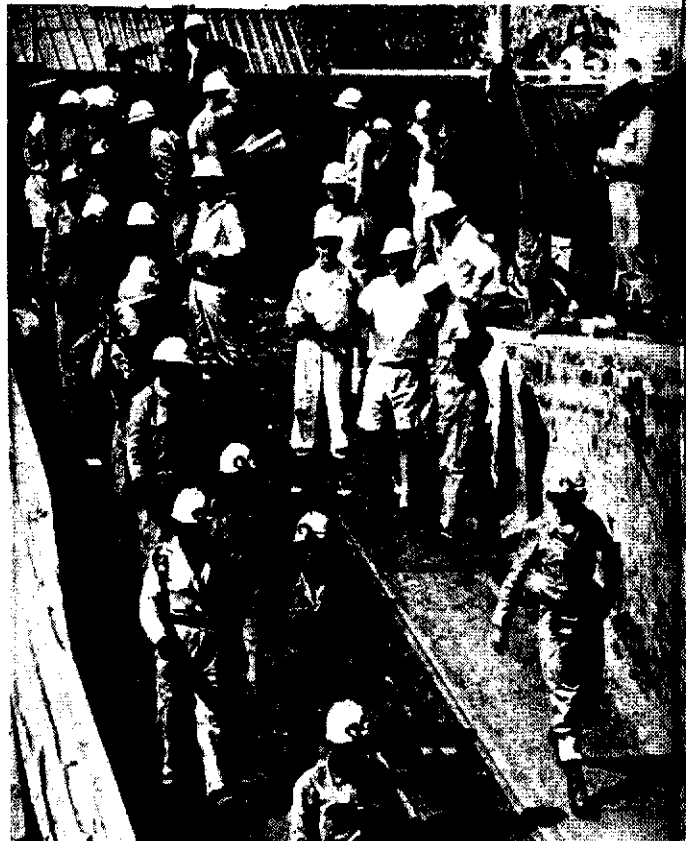
U.S. MINING COMPANIES STEP UP SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVITY

Despite growing controversy in the United States about the role of American companies in South Africa, several U.S. mining groups are increasing their stake in the mineral resources of the Republic. Quietly, to avoid publicity and diminish the opportunity for criticism, the companies are sending in representatives and geologists, establishing offices, and investigating the opening of mines. Those known to be increasing their involvement are Phelps Dodge, U.S. Steel, Hanna Mining, Falconbridge, and International Nickel.

One reason for the activity is the impetus for finding new sources of increasingly scarce resources to fuel the industrial economies of the Western world. Other companies which are involved in the geological explorations are Texas Gulf Exploration, Reynolds Aluminum, and Southern Sphere Mining and Development (a part of Utah International).

The explorations are part of a stream of foreign capital which is flowing into South Africa despite condemnation by church and other groups. Capital inflow in the first quarter of 1972 was \$175,070,000 compared to \$51,270,500 in the final quarter of last year. (Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 6, 1972; The New York Times, Sept. 4, 1972)

African miners under the surveillance of whites



ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

CABRAL RECEIVES LINCOLN DOCTORATE

Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, received the Honorary Doctorate of Laws in a public convocation at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, Oct. 15, 1972. This event had been postponed two years because of a heightened level of fighting between the Portuguese troops in Cabral's homeland and his Guinean liberation movement. At this time, however, with two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau in the hands of the liberation forces, Cabral was able to appear at the United Nations and also receive the degree from Lincoln University. (The text of his address is run as the Feature Article, this issue.)

Following Dr. Cabral's presentation, Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Africa of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, strongly urged the adoption of a new American foreign policy which would be free of the hypocritical position that the United States has hitherto displayed. For while officially condemning apartheid and minority rule, said Diggs, the U.S. has been the chief supporter of white minority control.

Mwalimu Owusu Sadaukai (Howard Fuller), President of Malcolm X Liberation University in North Carolina, was the third convocation speaker. While praising the University for its courage in bestowing this high mark of honor upon a Black revolutionary leader, he urged the University to make no compromise materially with the forces of oppression in Africa. He then called for a total boycott of firms engaged in business in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories, and urged the students and faculty at Lincoln University not to allow Gulf recruiters on campus, not to allow Lincoln to invest in companies involved in Southern Africa, and to donate some of their own funds and incomes to the liberation movements.

In the citation read by Dr. Richard Stevens, arrangements coordinator for the ceremony and Director of Lincoln's African Studies Program, he pointed out that Amílcar Cabral was "one of only fourteen Guineans privileged to attend university and one of only three-tenths of one percent of his people who were literate. But while these privileges were held up by the Portuguese as temptations to acquiesce to their colonial system, Cabral instead turned in 1955 to the development of loyal associates determined to study the unique circumstances of their country as a precondition for a popular liberation struggle."

In addition to many outstanding Black American leaders, including Mr. Imamu Baraka, ten diplomatic missions were represented at the convocation. These included the Ambassador of Norway, the Ambassador of Mauritius, the Ambassador of Lesotho, the Charge D'affaires of Senegal, and representatives of the Tanzanian, Ghanaian, and Indian Missions to the United Nations.

NAAIC CONFERENCE

Southern African concerns were well represented at the Second National Conference of the North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition held in late July in Colorado including people from the Liberation Support Movement, Southern Africa Committee, MACSA, and the Committee for a Free Mozambique. There was discussion of anti-corporate strategies (Gulf, etc.) and mutual fund-raising projects (see August-September SOUTHERN AFRICA for LSM appeal on MPLA Printing Press).

APARTHEID PROTESTS PLANNED FOR DECEMBER 10

The Women's International League for Peace and Justice (WILPJ) is planning to hold vigils against apartheid at South African consulates and U.S. companies doing business in South Africa on December 10, Human Rights Day. For more information contact Pat Samuel, WILPJ, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.

U.N. SUNDAY ON APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM—CHURCH SERVICE COVERS AVAILABLE

December 10, Human Rights Sunday and U.N. Day, is often commemorated by actions around the issues of Apartheid and Colonialism. The late Dana Klotzle of the Unitarian Universalist Office at the U.N., prepared a worship service program cover which is black and white, and shows a map of Africa and carries the names of the Southern African countries. For copies to use in your church, contact UUA-U.N. Office, 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE REPORTS ON STATE'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

On the prodding of State Assemblyman John L. Burton (who is also Chairman of the Legislature's Assembly Rules Committee), a report has been issued by the Assembly Office of Research dealing with the State of California's connection with firms doing business in the nations of Southern Africa. One-fifth of California's business or \$1 billion is connected with such firms in the form of public entity investment, state purchases, or

Posted Money Investment Board funds. Just looking at the University of California system one finds 40 percent of its total investment or \$340 million in endowment, pension, and annuity bonds connected with these corporations, outstanding ones being IBM, General Electric, General Motors, Texaco, Atlantic Richfield, Standard of New Jersey, and Caterpillar (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, October, 1972). The report, which was based on specific questions posed by Burton, admits that California could act to rid itself of such connections but that in all probability it would not. (The African World, Sept. 2, 1972)

BANK CHAIRMAN SINGS SWEET MUSIC WITH SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FINANCIERS

Former First National City Bank Board Chairman George Moore, and current president of the Metropolitan Opera, escorted five South African Government officials, among them Finance Minister Diederich, to the opera after they had all been together at the recent International Monetary Fund meetings in Washington, D.C. (The New York Times, Oct. 3, 1972)

ART FOR EXPLOITATION'S SAKE

The government-run South African Airways office on Fifth Avenue in New York City is attracting crowds of visitors lately because of its striking exhibition of stone African sculptures. Not all viewers have been taken in by the Airways come-on. One commented, "They enslave a people and then exploit their art." It appears that the exhibition, although explained in the SAA brochure as from the "Gallery of African Art" in Johannesburg, South Africa and showing the work of certain African artists resident on a rural farm in the Transvaal, is in fact the collection of works by various Zimbabwean artists who have since UDI lived in a rural Rhodesian community set up by a Mr. McEwen. Thus right in front of all of New York, South Africa has managed to break sanctions—not chrome like the U.S.—but Zimbabwe's peoples' heritage and culture, more precious in many ways than their minerals.

Another interesting sight at the SAA office, however, may be the face of a black American woman who has recently been hired by SAA as a ticket agent. The woman applied for the job through an agency, and from all reports, is thrilled with the opportunities the job provides for her to travel to Africa (only independent Africa, of course) for virtually nothing.

Another art show that opened in New York recently had a collection from throughout Africa for sale in order to raise funds for the East African Community Development Committee, which collects for local projects in Tanzania and Ethiopia. Co-sponsored by the African American Institute and the National Council of Churches Church World Service, and individually sponsored by various well-known personalities connected with the Ford Foundation, AAI, etc., the exhibition opened at about the same time the U.N. began its debate on the illegal U.S. breaking of sanctions against Rhodesia. Both events had a common denominator—the art exhibit opened at the massive Union Carbide Building on Park Avenue! Union Carbide is the chief importer of illegal chromium from Rhodesia.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW FRONT MARKS SEPT. 25 FRELIMO CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK

Three hundred people gathered at the Church Center for the United Nations on Sept. 25 to commemorate the eighth anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in Mozambique led by the forces of FRELIMO. Chaired by Tanzanian Ambassador Salim A. Salim, the commemoration included speakers from the Pan African Students Organization, SWAPO, United Church of Christ, Organization of African Unity, and Chairmen of various United Nations committees. Guest speakers was the Foreign Minister of Zambia, Mr. Mudenda. The high point of the evening of solidarity was the announcement by FRELIMO Representative to the U.S., Sharfudine M. Khan, of the Front's opening of a fourth province—Manica y Sofala (see "Portuguese Territories, this issue). (Amsterdam News, New York, Oct. 14, 1972)

NEW YORK TIMES TO RECEIVE COMPLAINT FOR ADVERTISEMENTS ON SOUTH AFRICA

Former New York City Commissioner of Human Rights and current Criminal Court Judge William H. Booth called a press conference on Oct. 12 and in his capacity as President of the American Committee on Africa announced that a formal complaint had been submitted to The New York Times through the New York City Human Rights Commission, charging that the paper had printed advertisements for jobs in South Africa, in violation of the code of the City of New York. Complainants include ACOA, the African Heritage Studies Association, and One Hundred Black Man, a professional business organization. The New York Times has carried ads for university and business jobs in South Africa, and Peter Connell of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, who prepared the complaint, says that "South African law and practice ensure systematic discrimination in employment based on race. . . ." The New York Times, which had failed to respond to earlier communications on this matter, had a vice president comment that he believed that the New York Code does not apply to newspaper advertising, and if it did it would, in his opinion, be unconstitutional. The complainants have called for the paper to "cease and desist from the unlawful discriminatory practices." (ACOA Press Release, Oct. 6 and 12, 1972; New York Times, Oct. 13, 1972)

LIBERATION SUPPORT

DUTCH MEDICAL STUDENT IN MPLA TERRITORY/ITALIANS AND BRITISH IN FRELIMO ZONES

Henk Odink of the Dutch Medical Committee showed the press in Lusaka fragments of napalm bombs dropped in Angola where he visited, and described how NATO countries are succoring Portugal in its wars. Members of Africa 2000, the Zambian-based group, will visit MPLA territory soon. (Times of Zambia, Aug. 26, 1972) Three Britons connected with the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola, and Guine visited Tete Province of Mozambique moving 60 miles inland and staying in the Fingoe district where they observed FRELIMO'S administration of about 7,000 people. Spending 16 days inside, the group emerged with the news that FRELIMO

had opened up operations in a fourth province to the south of Tete, Manica and Sofala (see "Portuguese Territories," this issue). (Guerrilheiro, Sept. Oct., 1972). Italian members of socialist and communist parties visited the northeastern Cabo Delgado Province and attested to the strong links they found between FRELIMO and the people. (Times of Zambia, Sept. 16, 1972)

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN SUMMIT—DIALOGUE NO MORE

It was at the annual meeting of the 15-member East and Central African States in 1969 that the famous "Lusaka Manifesto" on Southern Africa was presented, a document which essentially enunciated the desire of the African states for a nonviolent solution to the problems of Southern Africa. This year's summit reflected the change in times and mood with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, one of the authors of the Manifesto, calling for action and not words.

The Summit, held in early September in Dar es Salaam, agreed to four basic approaches to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, including: (1) reaffirmation of armed struggle as the solution, and thus the need to increase aid to the liberation movements; (including arrears to the OAU Liberation Committee); (2) the right of the movements to free transit for their men and materiel across the nations of East and Central Africa to the "war front" unless such action threatened national security (a clause which enabled Malawi to agree); (3) the goal of popularizing the movements through media and education in their home countries; and (4) the support for any state which is threatened by white South Africa, Zambia being cited. (Times, U.K., Sept. 11, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 16, 1972)

O.A.U.—LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The new Secretary General of the OAU, Nzo Ekangaki, said at a Moroccan press conference recently that the key task of the OAU is to mobilize international opinion against colonialism. Madagascar which suspended contributions to the OAU Liberation Committee in 1970 has just contributed more than \$35,000 to the Fund. (Times of Zambia, Sept. 4, 1972; Agence France Presse, Sept. 6, 1972)

The British delegation in Mozambique.



Presidents Kaunda (left) and Nyerere together in Dar-es-Salaam.



AMBASSADOR ATTACKED

South Africa's Ambassador to Australia was "welcomed" to the West Australian University at Perth recently with a barrage of vegetables (tomatoes) and other missiles. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 9, 1972)

RHODES TRUSTEES TO OPEN UP SCHOLARSHIPS

A former South African Rhodes Scholar is fighting what he sees as an abrogation of Cecil Rhodes' will by the Trustees of the world famous scholarships who have just changed what used to be scholarships granted to four white Cape Province schools to grants for students from South Africa as a whole, which would enable Blacks to become eligible. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 16, 1972)

BRITISH TEACHING MATERIALS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA ATTACKED

The British Southern Africa Education Project (89 Charlotte Street, London W. 1, England) has prepared excellent sets of slides, wall charts, tapes, maps, and guides for teachers to use in classes on Southern Africa. Conservative MP's with extensive connections with business and politics in South Africa have attacked the materials as "subversive" and "political propaganda." The kits are still being used in pilot projects in 30 British schools. (Guerrilheiro, Sept.-Oct., 1972)

THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

U.S. AMBASSADOR HURD SHOTS PHEASANTS ON ROBBER ISLAND

On Sept. 19 Jack Anderson, in the Washington Post, broke the following story about U.S. Ambassador to South Africa John Hurd's most recent known fraternization with the South African racist Government—a hunting expedition with South African Minister of Transport Ben Schurman, which took place on May 12. (Clearly the mission had been well hidden—the story took several months to filter out of South Africa, and when it did break, U.S. Embassy people refused all comment.) Anderson writes:

"Two miles off the glittering beaches of Cape Town, South Africa, is tiny Robben Island, which has become internationally known as one of the world's most notorious prisons.

"This is where the white-controlled South African government puts black political prisoners. Conditions are atrocious. Inmates have difficulty obtaining reading matter or even consulting their clergymen.

"When former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark visited South Africa two years ago, he sought permission to visit the tightly-guarded island, but was refused. To the chagrin of top U.S. embassy officials in Cape Town,

American Ambassador John Hurd, a tall Texan who has given thousands to the Republican Party, has succeeded in visiting the island—to go pheasant hunting.

"With a pack of beagles leading the way and two men from the prison to pick up the dead birds, Hurd went shooting with Ben Shoeman, the South African Minister of Transportation. Nor is this the first time Hurd has displayed callousness toward the black population in South Africa. He has been known to refer to blacks there as "Nigras." He also fought vigorously although ultimately unsuccessfully against the appointment of a black diplomat to the U.S. embassy in Pretoria.

"When the South African government—using taxes levied both from its white and black citizens—built a fabulous new opera house for whites only, Hurd horrified even some South African whites by accepting an invitation to attend a gala opening bash.

"And when Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) began raising questions about whether Hurd would attend, the State Dept. discreetly arranged for him to be away from Cape Town that day.

"When we sought comment on the Robben Island hunt, neither Hurd nor other U.S. embassy officials in South Africa would discuss it. . . .

United States Embassy

E PLURIBUS UNUM

BANQUET

*Roast Pheasant
and Hot Potato*

★
Bombe Washington

BERRY

Hard Cheese

"Footnote: The Nixon Administration first sought to send Hurd to Venezuela as ambassador, but the nomination had to be dropped because Hurd was so deeply involved in the Venezuelan oil business that his appointment would have created a conflict of interest." (The Washington Post, Sept. 19, 1972)

Schoeman apparently provides very compatible companionship for Ambassador Hurd. It was this same Schoeman, who in 1940 as a member of Parliament in South Africa, speaking in support of the Nazi regime in Germany, put his beliefs this way: "The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory. We may as well say that openly, because it is a fact."

The Germans lost—no doubt Schoeman is looking for new allies to ensure the future of the white racists.

EARTHA KITT'S EXPLANATIONS

Asked why she went to South Africa, singer Eartha Kitt said on Washington television that she went out of curiosity and "to show Black South Africans that it is possible to get out of the ghetto." She suggested more Black American artists should visit South Africa and felt that if whites accepted one Black as different, eventually a new principle would be adopted and that, like the American South, South Africans will eventually change. She considered "understandable" the request of Congressman Diggs to either stop the tour or give free performances for Africans, and said that no other criticism had been received from American Blacks. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 23, 1972)

BLACK DIPLOMAT TO SOUTH AFRICA

In selecting 37-year-old James Baker as the first American Black diplomat on regular assignment to South Africa, the State Department took considerable care and spent two years "looking for a man who could bear up under the psychological pressure of living in a white-supremacist society." Baker is single, sports a "diplomatically short Afro haircut," and is characterized by one of his former colleagues in Tokyo as follows: "You don't even think of him as being black. . . ." The U.S. Embassy has indicated Baker may live where he chooses, but the South African Government has built a luxurious apartment hotel in the exclusive Waterkloof Heights neighborhood to isolate black diplomats from any insult and injury. Thus far only the Malawian representatives have taken advantage of the facilities. (Newsweek, Aug. 28, 1972) Baker is now learning Afrikaans in Washington and is expected to be fluent about January. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 23, 1972) Nixon's decision to ban all hiring quotas for minorities will mean very slow progress for Black officers in the Foreign Service and that very selective assignments like that of Baker to South Africa cannot be made in the future. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 18, 1972)

TRADE AND MONETARY REFORM

In testimony before the subcommittee on international exchange and payments of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) urged the International Monetary Fund to end its current commitment to buy gold from South Africa whenever South Africa runs a payment deficit or when the world gold price falls to or below \$38 an ounce. (The Washington Post, Sept. 12, 1972) Secretary of State Rogers had Assistant Secretary David Abshire reply on Aug. 31 to Diggs' inquiry about South Africa's labor and trade policies. The reply confirmed the essence of Diggs' charges, namely: South Africa's "local content" rebates for locally-made cars are in violation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and South Africa has abused Article 12 of GATT, whereby parties

faced with vulnerable monetary reserves are permitted to temporarily restrict imports. Rogers indicated that the U.S. had protested against such practices and helped to get South Africa to disinvoke Article 12 last month. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1972)

FUTURE NIXON POLICY

According to Ken Owen (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 23, 1972), Washington is beginning to reflect on Nixon's second term in the light of the declining prospects for a McGovern victory. On South Africa, Owen suggests that, if Pretoria can accept continuing progress in the detente among the super powers, there might be a relaxation on the prohibition of U.S. ships from calling in South African ports; the arms embargo and its application to reconnaissance aircraft; curbs on capital exports from the U.S.; and credit restrictions from the Export-Import Bank. He does not foresee major changes in U.S. policy toward Rhodesia and Portugal.

NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

In an occasional paper for the International Task Force of IFCO (Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization), Political Science Professor Ronald Waters of Howard University (Washington, D.C.) notes that since at least 1947 the U.S. Government has been collaborating in the nuclear field with South Africa, initially by extracting uranium as a by-product in gold-mining operations and subsequently by the grant of a reactor when the first nuclear power plant was built at Pelindaba. Walters suggests that South Africa poses as great a threat to international peace as China did at the height of its xenophobic period; that South Africa may inordinantly influence the future of Black African Governments and nations who are decades behind in nuclear and other forms of technology; and that the whole collaboration was a careful calculation by NATO powers to preserve white power in Africa. It is noteworthy that NASA and the U.S. Geological Survey undertook this summer a survey of South Africa's mineral and mining potential through an earth satellite mapping program, results of which will be published in the Engineering and Mining Journal. (IFCO News, August, 1972) ■

PORTUGUESE OFFICER'S UNOFFICIAL EVALUATION OF MOZAMBIQUE WAR

The Morning Star (U.K.) on June 27, 1972 carried a special article by a correspondent visiting southern Mozambique. The following is reported from a stop he made at a small village store a short way north of Lourenco Marques:

"Outside a Mercedes armored truck pulls up under a tree. The crew consists of three Portuguese and one black. When the officer in command learns I am English he becomes friendly and communicative. The other three open their ration packs (supplied to the army by South Africa). I ask him how it's going up north, as that is where they've come from.

"'Terrible,' he says. 'We're glad to get out. Everywhere is mined or you're likely to be ambushed. We only went out in convoys, never alone. Only last week the officer in charge of these men was killed and I had to take over.'

"'Will you win?' I asked.

"He smiles. 'Of course not. It's only a matter of time before they kick us out.'"

RHODESIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN AID TO PORTUGUESE

Amid continuing reports from all sides of action by FRELIMO in Mozambique over an increasingly wide area, speculation mounts about the creation of a Rhodesian and South African anti-guerrilla force to assist the Portuguese. Lord Anthony Gifford of the British House of Lords, who recently visited the Tete Province of Mozambique with FRELIMO, reported seeing both Rhodesian and South African Army helicopters over Mozambique. He said three deserters from the Portuguese army told him they had been trained by Rhodesian and

South African security forces. He was also told of South African soldiers assisting in Portuguese in the destruction of crops in the area. (Times of Zambia, Sept. 2, 1972)

Paul Dodd of the Christian Science Monitor (Aug. 31, 1972), reporting from Cape Town, focused on the likelihood of increased support. He notes that during the previous week South African Prime Minister John Vorster, speaking in the Transvaal, promised that South Africa would help any country to fight terrorism if aid were requested; and that only a week before that Rhodesian Minister of Defense Jack Howman had for the first time raised the possibility of Rhodesian troops being sent into Tete if the Portuguese ask for assistance. South African observers find the two closely spaced statements highly significant and indicative of the depth of concern throughout white Southern Africa about the way the war in Mozambique is progressing.

ANGOLA: ON THE LIBERATION FRONT

NOTES FROM PORTUGUESE MILITARY MEN

Jeune Afrique recently published an article by Bruno Crimi based on interviews with Portuguese draftees and officers. A portion of it follows:

From a former captain in Angola: "The commander of the military region had sent me out to reconnoitre with a hundred men or so. . . . According to our orders we were to go some 20 kilometers into the bush of Bie and return the following day. It was certainly a dangerous mission; we guessed that MPLA guerrillas were in the area. . . .



A column of FRELIMO guerrillas.

Personally, I had no desire to risk my life and those of my men for the sake of reconnaissance. What was I to do? What almost all reserve officers do. Say 'Yes, sir,' strike out from the fortified camp that was our base, go several kilometers into the forest, stop in a safe place, station the sentries, return to camp the next day, and note in the report that reconnaissance revealed nothing."

Another young officer: "In Guine, Angola, and Mozambique, it is really very rare to find anyone who seeks an engagement with the guerrillas. If you can run away without too many risks—so much the better. . . . The Air Force, that's different. . . . The pilots do not risk very much."

A man close to the Minister of War: "We are well aware that Amilcar Cabral could take Bissau this very day. But he could not hold the town because we have the air force and he hasn't enough anti-aircraft equipment. . . . As long as Cabral cannot hold Bissau, Portugal will not leave Guine."

A young worker from Setubal just returned from Guine: "It was enough to drive you mad. I remember very well that in the zone of Bafata we lived underground all day. To go for a piss you had to reach a trench some 15 meters away. You knew there were snipers in the trees around the camp, so that every time you relieved yourself you risked your life. There was fear, dense fear. People were silent, no one spoke. Often there wasn't enough to eat; but there was always plenty to drink, beer and wine. You get drunk to overcome your terror."

Crimi says: "The commanders in the three territories . . . are quite well aware of military realities; they prefer to trust important tasks to the air force, or to elite troops such as the commandos or the paratroopers, often chosen from sons of settlers. When it comes to the crunch, a peasant from metropolitan Portugal doesn't care about 'losing the overseas province. . . .' It is symptomatic of the malaise that DGS (Portuguese secret police) agents are becoming increasingly numerous in the army." (Translation from Guerrilheiro, London, July-August, 1972)

URBAN STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES IN LUANDA

Parallel to the armed struggle developing in the countryside, action groups of the MPLA are reportedly intensifying their struggle in urban centers. MPLA reports that in February, 1972 a military vehicle was blown up and its four occupants killed in the streets of Luanda, followed immediately by a period of intense political clandestine organization and leafletting. (MPLA Information, August 1972)

CONCENTRATION CAMP REPORTED AT ST. NICOLAU IN ANGOLA

The MPLA revealed the construction of a new concentration camp for political prisoners at St. Nicolau near to Mocamedes in Angola, reportedly to replace a similar installation at Terrafal in the Cape Verde Islands, where hundreds of persons are believed to have died by torture, withholding of medical treatment, starvation, or simply being shot. The persons held are what the Portuguese term "administrative detainees." On July 27

of this year, the Portuguese Government announced for the first time a codification of security measures specifically for this classification of detainees who are accused of having acted "against the territorial integrity of the nation." The political police determine where such detainees shall be held and what their sentence is, without intervention of military or correctional tribunals. Governors in the separate colonies are simply to see that the orders are carried out. (Le Monde, Paris, Sept. 13, 1972)

MPLA says there are more than 5,000 Angolans at St. Nicolau, a camp equipped with crematory furnaces. All detainees there are African and are submitted to forced labor. Part of the labor provides manpower for a factory producing fish products (dried fish, fish meal, fish oil, etc.) which are exported to Europe. MPLA calls for a boycott of such Angolan fish products and for an international campaign to eliminate the concentration camps and their crematory furnaces. (MPLA Informations, August, 1972)

CROP DEFOLIANTS CAUSE STARVATION IN ANGOLA

Continued defoliation of crops by herbicides dropped from Portuguese planes has caused a food crisis in parts of Angola. Hundreds of people are reported fleeing across the border to Zambia where MPLA and the Zambian Government have attempted to alleviate their hunger while encouraging them to return to their home areas inside Angola. (Times of Zambia, Aug. 23, 1972)

VENEREAL DISEASE REPORTED WIDESPREAD IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA

Ufahamu (Spring, 1972) published a "research note from a Portuguese Military Doctor on tour in southern Angola." He says: "Workers recruited among the peoples of southern Angola . . . have been moved—either forcibly or voluntarily—from their homes in order to . . . work in the fishing industries. . . . Once these men have arrived (free of any contacts with diseases of alien introduction), they easily contract venereal diseases. . . . The men are either deficiently treated . . . given false cures . . . or simply not given any treatment. Although guaranteed by law, the health assistance for African workers in Angola is in practice almost nonexistent. . . ."

"Diffusion of venereal diseases among the African peoples of southern Angola is assuming today truly alarming proportions . . . only the authorities . . . do not appear to be alarmed. According to data collected in Angola, the existence of about a 90% infertility rate is verified—consequence of venereal diseases—among women of a particular region of the Cuanhama. . . . In the environs of Pereira d'Eca, of the 300 women observed, about 250 showed signs of venereal disease. . . . Of those 250 infected women, about 50% were carriers of syphilis (microscopically made diagnosis)."

When this doctor spoke with alarm to authorities of the likelihood of severe population decrease if these diseases were left unchecked, he was told: "If later on we will have to spend money on bullets to kill them, it is by far preferable that they begin to die now with venereal diseases."

GUINEA-BISSAU:

CABRAL CHALLENGES U.S. INVESTMENT

Dr. Amílcar Cabral, secretary-general of PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau), told a group of churchmen in New York on Oct. 26 that a nation is being built while his people are being freed from Portuguese colonial rule. Speaking at the Interchurch Center before an ecumenical group, Cabral said PAIGC has been involved in armed struggle for 10 years and has liberated two-thirds of the territory.

Cabral thanked churchmen and others who have opposed investment in Guinea-Bissau and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. He advised those who want to invest to "wait a little while" until they can deal with the "free people" of these countries. Investments at the present time, he said, would support "colonialism, white domination, racism, and their bad consequences."

The meeting was arranged by the Ecumenical Commission on Southern Africa, a coalition of Protestant mission board agencies, to coincide with Cabral's brief week-long visit to the States to attend special sessions at the United Nations and to receive an honorary doctorate at Lincoln University in Oxford, Pa. (See Feature Article, this issue.)

Cabral said that the struggle of his people is a nation-building and unifying experience, breaking down tribal and other barriers and consolidating a "national consciousness." Elections have been held in liberated areas, and "we are creating a government for our nation," he said. Schools, clinics, and other projects have been started by PAIGC. "Ten years ago, it was hard to find men in our military units who could read and write," Cabral said, but "now it is hard to find an illiterate. Medical aid is available where it was not before, and we are training hundreds of nurses." He said the place of women has been enhanced through the struggle, because "freedom must come to all if it is to come to any."

He said peaceful means for achieving independence were exhausted after nonviolent efforts were met with increased repression. "It is not good to enslave people," he declared. "We seek the end of colonialism and our freedom."

Cabral insisted that the investments of American and European companies in Portuguese Africa only bolster the colonial regime. He said PAIGC is developing a national economic policy that will allow foreign investments "so long as they benefit the people and are not exploitative. . . . To those who want to invest in Angola,

Mozambique, and Guinea, we say, wait a while, now your foreign investments only reinforce the position of the Portuguese. To some who claim that by investing they are helping 'the natives,' we say this is a moral bluff, because such investments are detrimental to the real interests of Africans." (Religious News Service, Oct. 26, 1972)

PAIGC ATTACKS

The PAIGC has announced that in June and July, 1972 it attacked entrenched enemy positions in Mansoa and Gabu as part of 118 attacks on Portuguese troops which resulted in 192 Portuguese troops dead, 16 vehicles and many military installations destroyed.

CAETANO REACTS TO SUCCESS OF U.N. MISSION IN GUINEA-BISSAU

On April 11, Portuguese Premier Caetano spoke about the U.N. but in the process revealed much about the realities of Portuguese self-proclaimed nonracialism. He said: "If the U.N. had existed in 1822 what would have become of Brazil? How ridiculous to count the number of Indians, negroes, and whites to discriminate by race and color and to reclaim back America for the Indians! To scheme against a minority government and demand one vote for every people, one vote for each man! If the U.N. had existed in 1822 and it had become involved in the problem, it would have taken into consideration the first phantom movement and demanded that the Portuguese should leave. A commission of delegates from ignorant nations would make its report, would probably visit the Amazon to find out if the natives agreed or not, and the vote of the savages would prevail over the will of civilized men. . . .

"There exists in the U.N. a false conception according to which each continent belongs to the races which are considered indigenous. This is why the U.N. tries to enforce the principle that in Africa states should be governed by negroes. . . . The case of Rhodesia would be a good example. Despite all the constitutional guarantees given to the black population, the United Nations refuses to accept the independence of Rhodesia, because the government, as of now, does not mainly serve the colored people. The whites, according to this conception, do not have any right to orient and lead the people of Southern Africa." (Guerrilheiro, June-July, 1972, U.K.)

BOOK REVIEW

Basil Davidson, *IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: ANGOLA'S PEOPLE* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1972), Hardcover, \$7.95.

If you read only one book on Angola, make it this one. In it, noted and prolific writer Basil Davidson combines history with contemporary political journalism to give a picture of Angola's liberation struggle and the context in which it takes place. There is detailed description of his own trip inside liberated eastern Angola, with MPLA, in 1970. In the "Documentaries" section there are extended quotes from Angolan Africans, and documentation of NATO involvement in Portugal's colonial war. There is also an account of the African history of Angola, of African resistance and of the Portuguese colonial system.

The development of the liberation struggle, and some of its difficulties, are well covered. There is reflection on the example liberation movements such as MPLA, PAIGC, and FRELIMO may set for African countries still under the bondage of neocolonialism. In short, this is the first comprehensive book in English on the Angolan people's journey toward liberation.

A second good recent book is *THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA* by Don Barnett and Roy Harvey (see review in *SOUTHERN AFRICA*, May, 1972, where several other earlier books are also mentioned).

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NEW GROUPS

SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE (SOUTH)

The new SAC South is an extension of the work which has been carried on by the New York based Southern Africa Committee, whose primary activity has been the publication of SOUTHERN AFRICA. SAC members are presently at work on a book about United States corporate involvement in Southern Africa.

The expansion of SAC's work into the southern United States has several purposes. The Durham, N.C. group will take over the filing/resource activities of the committee, which will place a major set of materials about Southern Africa in another section of the country, giving more persons access to it.

A major part of SAC South's work will involve development of media resources and educational programs related to Southern Africa and U.S. responsibility. Working through regional and local church organizations, labor unions, and other groups, the committee will seek to provide information to persons throughout the region. Among the longer-range plans are:

—A Southern Africa photo service. SAC already owns and has access to a large number of photographs and slides taken in all the white-ruled territories of Southern Africa, and hopes eventually to provide a regular service to other publications.

—Slide and tape shows, filmstrips, films, and booklets. SAC has already prepared a general presentation on Southern Africa, and SAC South is attempting to obtain other films. SAC South hopes to develop more media resources tailored to particular topics and constituencies.

Among the written materials will be some aimed at a southern audience. The committee may also assist in preparation of materials not directly related to Southern Africa, when our research experience is useful.

SAC South will be housed in and a part of the SOUTHERN MEDIA AND INFORMATION CENTER. For further information, write to:

SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE (SOUTH)

213 North Gregson Street
Durham, N.C. 27701

AFRICA RESEARCH GROUP TRANSFERS WORK

Since 1968 the Africa Research Group (ARG) located in Cambridge, Mass. has provided excellent research and analysis on issues concerning the relationship between the U.S. and Africa, including a study of the Africanist Establishment here ("Africa Retort"); a study guide to literature on Africa, and most recently a comprehensive survey of Southern Africa prepared primarily for high school students called RACE TO POWER. In the summer of 1972 ARG decided to disband its operations transferring its files and library to a New York-based Black group, African Information Service (see below). In

its final press release, ARG stated that its decision was "in no way a rejection of an anti-imperialist analysis, nor a rejection of the necessity for continuing research. [But] it will allow those of us in the White movement to deal more directly with questions of relating internationalist issues to our own constituency. . . ." and said its members were working within Boston in this direction.

Although "the form of our work may shift . . . our commitment will never change," said ARG. The bulk of ARG's literature can now be purchased from the New World Resources Center, 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. (ARG Preliminary Statement, June, 1972)

AFRICA INFORMATION SERVICE

AIS is an organization of Black Americans and Africans which will focus on the liberation movements in Africa and the continuing struggle in independent Africa for economic independence. AIS is now the custodian of the files and library of the Africa Research Group (see above). It plans to organize research projects, issue periodic studies, distribute materials, and undertake special projects (films, etc.), and liaison with other groups interested in using materials. The Information Service sees as its "primary responsibility" the distribution of such information "to assist in the growth and development of a broadly based anti-imperialist movement within the United States" with Africa as a "focal point" within the "larger movement by Third World Peoples." For more information contact Africa Information Service, 112 West 120th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027. (AIS Release, Sept. 11, 1972)

MACSA MOVES/NEW PROJECTS DEVELOPED

The active Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA) is now located at 731 State Street, Madison, Wis. 53703. Its major fall fund-raising project, in connection with the Afro-American Community Services Center and the Movement for Political and Economic Democracy, is for educational and medical needs of the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. "The President of the U.S. has given \$400 million for Portuguese oppression. Can you give \$5 (or more) for freedom?" reads their leaflet. The groups are planning film showings, a benefit rock dance, and direct canvassing to raise its goal of \$2,000. During the summer MACSA members picketed a tourist film on the Azores and worked with the American Postal Workers Union to protest the installation of a Polaroid ID system for all postal workers in Madison. A resolution was drawn up by members of the local for presentation at the national Workers Convention protesting the use of the ID system and calling for support for the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement. (MACSA News, August, 1972)

NOTICE TO OUR READERS:

SOUTHERN AFRICA existed on a donation/free basis for seven years as the only monthly on Southern Africa in North America. We are finding it increasingly difficult to continue publishing our magazine on a non-subscription basis. For this reason, we are forced to institute a yearly subscription, beginning January 1973.

All the work for SOUTHERN AFRICA is done by our collective on a volunteer basis. Approximately 50 periodicals are monitored and 12 people write articles, every month. To cut down the work involved in running a subscription list, all subscriptions will begin and terminate in January of each year. New subscribers will be sent back copies of the volume to which they are subscribing.

We have been grateful to those readers who have voluntarily sent us donations. We shall naturally treat these donations as subscriptions if received after September, 1972, or adjust the rate accordingly. As our records are not completely up to date, some of our donors will be receiving letters from us asking for their subscription. Please bear with us, and let us know when you sent in your donation and how much, and we shall re-check our records.

We feel that most of our readers have found it valuable enough to pay the subscription rate of \$5.00 for individuals and \$15.00 per institution. We know that some of you cannot afford a \$5.00 subscription. If so, please let us know, as we would hate to lose you for this reason.

We do not anticipate that the subscriptions will make us self-sufficient, as producing a magazine is a costly affair. Therefore if you are in a position to send more than \$5.00, we would appreciate your donation.

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