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INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE & AID FUND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA  
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## HOW MUCH LONGER? by Kenneth N. Carstens\*

The world has been living with apartheid for nearly 26 years - not gladly, if we are to believe the public statements, but not terribly uncomfortably, either. Indeed, thinking of longevity, 'apartheid' was really another name for 'the traditional South African way of life' beefed up and with knobs on. And that 'way of life' had been criticized in the League of Nations (for being imposed upon S.W. Africa - now Namibia) long before the U.N. was a gleam in Jan Smuts eye.

What is remarkable, of course, is not the durability of a collective iniquity like apartheid, but the way in which this one seems to feed on unanimous condemnation. No policy of any state, big or small, Right, Left, or Center, has been condemned by every bloc so consistently for so many years - and not only survived, but flourished like a noxious weed.

## 'Uniting for Peace'

The most obvious reasons for this are the direct and indirect strategic, financial and mercantile interests - not to mention the racial and cultural ties - that many states, especially among the Permanent Members of the Security Council, have in apartheid. These interests have simply been stronger than the concern for human rights and the rule of law and the abhorrence of apartheid professed by every state except South Africa and its half-brother, Portugal.

However, there is a majority of states with less substantial interests at stake (very few indeed have none). Why have they not instituted effective collective measures against apartheid? There

(cont'd. p. 10)

## INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR FOR 1974

The International Defense & Aid Fund announces a calendar for 1974 in English, French and German

12 superb poster-size portraits by South African photographer George Hallett, with poems by James Matthews, from District Six, one of Cape Town's most notorious areas, now blitzed by white developers.

'The most impressive calendar I have yet seen.' THE GUARDIAN, Nov. 3, 1973.

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## EDUCATION FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ZIMBABWE

Eddison Jonas Mudadirwa Zvobgo has been a leader in virtually every African political party in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia); each of which the colonial regime has banned within a year or two of its formation, since the late 1950's and was imprisoned by the minority government from 1964 until November 1971. After his release he played a major role in the formation of the African National Council (of which Bishop Abel Muzorewa is the General Secretary), which fought successfully against the proposed Anglo-Rhodesian agreement in the spring of 1972. Mr. Zvobgo is currently in the United States, where is studying and serving as a member of the Board of the International Defense and Aid Fund in North America. A leading member of the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union (ZANU), Mr. Zvobgo recently resigned from his post as the Director of External Missions of the African National Council. Following is a statement made by him on the work of the International Defense and Aid Fund in his country.

"I first learned about the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (otherwise known as "Defense and Aid" or simply "D&A") in 1960, but it was only when I first went to prison in 1964 that I learned the full extent and significance of its activities in Zimbabwe. D&A directs its efforts there to detainees, restrictees and to the families of those who have been detained or restricted.

"D&A operates in two ways in Zimbabwe: (1) Through the Christian Council of Rhodesia, funds are channeled to the prison chaplaincies, which manage the prison educational systems. The funds are then used to purchase textbooks and to pay school fees or tuition. Those who are qualified to work for university degrees register directly with a university in England or elsewhere. (2) The D&A office in London may simply pay the fees and purchase books in England for those who are registered in British universities. (see "D&A IN ZIMBABWE", p. 5)

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 NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU PROCLAIMED

On September 24, 1973, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed at the first meeting of the People's National Assembly of Guinea. The declaration came after 17 years of political and armed struggle against Portuguese colonial rule, which has exploited the tiny West African country for over a century.

The new republic has now been recognized by more than 70 countries, and Portugal is becoming increasingly isolated in her claims that the declaration is a mere "propaganda stunt." Observers who have recently visited Guinea-Bissau (including a commission from the U.N.) have testified to the fact that the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), which has led the struggle for independence, effectively controls most of the country, with the Portuguese being confined to the city of Bissau and a few isolated outposts.

The United States and Portugal's NATO allies have refused to recognize the new state. Mr. Silvino da Luz, who represented the PAIGC at the recent U.N. General Assembly meeting, noted that the U.S. was taking a position completely contrary to the way it gained its own independence, which was declared in 1776, one year after the war for independence began. (SOUTHERN AFRICA, New York, Dec. 1973) Canada, although it voted for General Assembly resolution 2918, which recognizes PAIGC as the "authentic representative of the aspirations of the peoples" of Guinea and Cape Verde, has also refused to recognize the new republic. (Clyde Sanger, in CUTTINGS AND COMMENTS, Canadian Council for International Cooperation)

## PARTIAL LIST OF FAMILIES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Following is the first part of a list of families of political prisoners in South Africa. The list, which will be continued in subsequent issues of D&A NEWS, and will include the names of prisoners and banned persons and their families in Namibia and Zimbabwe, as well as South Africa, was published in 1973 by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of England. It is not a complete list of all political prisoners and their families in Southern Africa. We include addresses in the hope that some of our readers may write to some of the victims or their families or add their names to your annual greeting card list.

Families of a few of the men executed or who died in prisons in South Africa:

Mrs. Daisy Bongco  
6 Dorrington Location  
Fort Beaufort  
Eastern Cape, S.A.

Husband executed

Mrs. G. Haroun  
"Golden Eye"  
Repulse Road  
Crawford, Capetown, S.A.

Husband, Muslin priest, died  
while under interrogation in prison

Mrs. V. Mini  
94 Connacher St.  
New Brighton  
Port Elizabeth, S.A.

Husband executed

Mrs. B. Ngudle  
c/o F.C. Mathikinca  
Seven Kloofs  
Middle Drift  
Cape Province, S.A.

Husband died while under 90-day  
detention - police alleged suicide

Mrs. R. Salojee  
1199 Maripan Street  
Actonville  
Benoni, Transvaal, S.A.

Husband allegedly committed suicide  
while under police interrogation

(continued next page)

"COMMUNISM"

According to the law of South Africa, a person may be deemed to be a "Communist" by the decision of an official (without a prior judicial hearing and without the "Communist's" right of subsequent recourse to a court of law) on the ground that he has, at some time in the past, advocated or encouraged the objects of "communism".

"Communism" is, among other things, "any doctrine or scheme which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Republic, the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement" of the object of "bringing about any social change in the Republic by the threat of unlawful acts or omissions."

from APARTHEID IN PRACTICE, by Leslie Rubin

Families of a few of the men and women  
serving prison sentences in South Africa:

A LETTER TO MARTHA  
(From Robben Island Prison)

Mrs. B. Alexander  
34 Dorothy Court  
Manenberg  
Athlone, Cape Town

Son serving 10 years

Mrs. L. Chiba  
4 Crown Road  
Fordsburg, Johannesburg, S.A.

Husband serving 18 years

Mrs. Esme & Mrs. A. Goldberg  
32 Ravenscroft Avenue  
London NW 11, England

Wife and mother of Denis Gold-  
berg, serving life imprisonment

Mrs. Aurelia Gqabi  
519 Mofolo Village  
P.O. Dube, Johannesburg, S.A.

Husband serving 10 years

Mrs. Nina Hassim  
7 Belmont Crescent, Newholmes  
Pietermaritzburg, Natal, S.A.

Husband serving 8 years

Mrs. G. Hlongwane  
4953 Nyakatha Street  
Lamontville, Durban, Natal, S.A.

Husband imprisoned

Kathrada Family  
P.O. Schweizer Reineke  
Transvaal, S.A.

Son serving life imprisonment

Steven & Amanda Kitson  
2 Hurstwood Court  
Finchley Road, London NW11. The Wind

Husband serving 20 years

The not-knowing  
is perhaps the worst part of the agony  
for those outside;

not knowing what cruelties must be endured  
what indignities the sensitive spirit must  
face  
what wounds the mind can be made to inflict  
on itself;

and the hunger to be thought of  
to be remembered  
and to reach across space  
with filaments of tenderness  
and consolation.

And knowledge,  
even when it is knowledge of ugliness  
seems to be preferable,  
can be better endured.

And so,  
for your consolation  
I send these fragments,  
random pebbles I pick up  
from the landscape of my own experience,  
traversing the same arid wastes  
in a montage of glimpses  
I allow myself  
or stumble across.

from A SIMPLE LUST, by Dennis Brutus

"On March 31, 1967, the Johannesburg STAR  
commented:

"In South Africa some 1,300 people have  
been hanged in the last 25 years and  
the pace is quickening. During the first  
five years of that quarter century the  
annual average was 16. In the next 15  
years it was 60. In the last five years  
it has been 100. In the second half of  
last year 66 went to the gallows. A de-  
terrent? South Africa's murder rate has  
more than doubled in that time."

from SOUTH AFRICA: THE VIOLENCE OF  
APARTHEID, by A. Sachs

EXILED BISHOP VISITS U.S.  
Tells of New Atrocities in Namibia

Recently completing a month's speaking tour in the U.S. to raise funds for Defense & Aid, Colin Winter, the Anglican Bishop-in-Exile of Damaraland, Namibia (S.W. Africa), spoke of recent incidents of brutality by officials of the South African regime in Namibia.

Winter learned in a telephone call from his Assistant Bishop in Namibia that five men and four high school girls had been publicly flogged, one of the men being left standing naked all day after the lashing. He also learned that Archdeacon Philip Shilongo would be deported by the South African authorities because of his opposition to apartheid. One of Shilongo's chief 'crimes' had been his refusal to stop black students from singing freedom songs and his failure to investigate a charge of alleged assault against a government official.

Winter himself lived in Namibia until February 1972, when he was deported by the South African regime, which illegally controls the country in defiance of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice. The Bishop had been an outspoken critic of South African policies, and particularly of the contract labor system, which forces Africans to work for whites far away from their homes for an average of \$27 a month. Despite his enforced exile from the country, Winter was re-elected Bishop in December 1972.

In reference to the recent floggings, Bishop Winter said that "South Africa has foisted puppet chiefs onto the Ovambo people against their will. They are not elected by the people and have become cruel tyrants trying to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the people. Time and time again headmen have demonstrated their subservience and compliance to the South African illegal regime by cowardly acts of which the recent floggings are but a part."

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For an excellent, brief, but comprehensive overview of the whole Namibian question, read Randolph Vigne's 51-page booklet, A DWELLING PLACE OF OUR OWN, published by the International Defence and Aid Fund in London in 1973, and available at the North American office of D&A in Cambridge, Ma. Price: 55¢ plus postage

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D&A IN ZIMBABWE (cont'd. from p. 2)

"Most of the political detainees who are taking courses through the prison educational system in Salisbury are doing so with the help of D&A. For example, Edson Sithole, when he was arrested for political activities back in the 1950's, had completed only the equivalent of the fourth grade at the time of his arrest. During his imprisonment he took advantage of D&A's educational program and completed primary school, high school, and ultimately obtained an LL.B. while still in prison. In 1963 he was released and soon thereafter was admitted to the Southern Rhodesian Bar. He was re-arrested in 1964 and continued to study law during his imprisonment, eventually earning his doctorate in comparative constitutional law from the University of South Africa. All the while D&A was providing this man with all the books and materials needed for the completion of his research, most of which was done in prison. He was released in November 1971 and is now the Publicity Secretary for the African National Council - and the most highly qualified lawyer in the country.

"There are many more examples of people who have benefitted from D&A's educa-

tional program for prisoners. Robert Mugabe completed three degrees during his detention, and I myself completed my LL.B. and started an LL.M. during my seven years in the Salisbury prison. I was released in November 1971 before completion of the LL.M. but arranged to write the exams for it here in the United States.

"Another aspect of D&A's work in Zimbabwe is the aid it gives to the families of political detainees - aid which is channeled through the Christian Council. The largest expense here is for school fees for the children of detainees (education for Africans is not free, but for Europeans it is), but also provides money for clothes and for travel expenses, enabling the wives of prisoners to travel from the rural areas to visit their husbands.

"Of course these activities are not limited to Zimbabwe, for D&A has an extensive aid program in South Africa and Namibia, where it provides for the legal defense of political detainees and helps the families of those who are imprisoned for their political beliefs or activities.

"One further example of D&A's work in Zimbabwe is seen in the team of lawyers which it sent to that country in the early part of 1972 at the time of the Pearce Commission's hearings. Their primary role was to provide legal assistance to the newly-formed African National Council."

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#### RESIDENCE PERMITS

No African, lawfully residing in a town by virtue of a permit issued to him, is entitled as of right to have his wife and children residing with him. They are permitted to reside with him only if they have been issued separately with permits to do so.

from APARTHEID IN PRACTICE, by Leslie Rubin

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#### STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE AND MOZAMBIQUE INTENSIFIES

Simon Chaola from Mozambique was recently interviewed by journalist David Martin about the activity of white Rhodesian troops inside Mozambique. These troops have carried out systematic campaigns of killing villagers and burning huts and food stores in an effort to cut off ZANU (Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union) guerrillas who enter Zimbabwe through Mozambique as well as to weaken the FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) impact in the Tete province. Mr. Chaola gave an eyewitness account of how Rhodesian troops and bombers attacked Mozambican villages on July 21 and 26, 1973, killing over 100 people. (PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, Sept. 4, 1973/in SOUTHERN AFRICA, New York, Dec. 1973)

Meanwhile, at the annual congress of the Rhodesian Front, the ruling party of Ian Smith's Rhodesia, party chairman, Mr. Des Frost, said that the war against the guerrillas was going better than expected. Speaking at the congress, he advocated a new Ministry of Birth Control to inhibit the growth of the African population. He chastized those defeatist Rhodesians who were running away because of increased "terrorist" activity. Frost said he was sure of the future of Rhodesia: "In the process we can and will take the African population with us...Without the European they will revert to chaos and barbarism as seen elsewhere." (GUARDIAN, London, Sept. 21, 1973/in SOUTHERN AFRICA, New York, Dec. 1973) (cont'd. next page)

Speaking of barbarism, a former Portuguese soldier recently gave evidence of Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique in a letter published by the Swedish journal, DAGENS NYHETER (Oct. 20, 1973), which was translated and published by the Dutch Angola Committee in FACTS AND REPORTS (Dec. 22, '73).

Luis Carvalho Fernandes, 32 years old, was a conscript in the Portuguese Air Force for six years and two months, of which 38 months were spent in Mozambique (1964-67). He was stationed at the town of Mueda in Northern Mozambique when FRELIMO guerrillas began the war of independence in 1964. He gave the following eyewitness account of Portuguese activities in the area:

"Whole villages were destroyed, bombed and fired at by the Air Force. Then the Army took over all these villages, and the inhabitants, men, women and children, became prisoners. Some were shot, the women were usually raped, others were tied to trees and their sexual organs were cut off and put into their mouths. Some were killed with knives, others were burned and some of them were taken to Mueda, where they were interrogated, tortured and killed. Many of the soldiers who brought them there carried ears and heads as war trophies."

Fernandes further stated that because the prisons in Mueda were overcrowded, prisoners had to be disposed of to let new ones take their places. This was done, he recounted, by tying up thirty Africans, loading them into C 47 transport planes, and dropping them into the sea off the island of do Ibo. Fernandes gave the names and enlistment numbers of the officers who carried out these operations two or three times a day.

Today, ten years after the beginning of the war of independence, FRELIMO has advanced far south of Mueda, operating freely in the northern quarter of the country. It has built schools and clinics for the people and developed cooperative farms to help feed the population. In early 1973 Catholic priests who were serving in the Tete region published eyewitness accounts of a massacre by Portuguese soldiers of an entire village known as Wiriyamu, shooting, torturing and burning to death over 400 people, on December 10, 1973, and the Portuguese vigorously denounced the report. Subsequent investigations by journalists, including an interview of one of the survivors of the massacre, and further testimony by Catholic priests, substantiated the original report.

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#### JUDGMENT OF THE BLACK MAN

The white man looked him in the face  
my black brother did not stir

The white man shouted, roared, beat and kicked him  
my black brother did not tremble

In his eyes there kindled flames  
of rage, of dried tears, of force  
My black brother did not stir, did not answer,  
did not tremble

In his steady eyes there kindled the flame  
of a force which only the black man knows.

Kaoberdiano Dambara, from WHEN BULLETS BEGIN  
TO FLOWER

SENATE VOTES TO RESTORE BOYCOTT OF RHODESIAN CHROME  
House Vote Still to Come

On December 18 the U.S. Senate voted 54 to 37 to restore a United States boycott of Rhodesian chrome. U.N. Security Council resolutions in 1968 had ordered economic sanctions against Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) because of the racial policies of its white supremacist regime led by Prime Minister Ian Smith. In 1971 Senator Harry F. Byrd (Ind., Va.) succeeded in amending the military procurement act and in having chrome defined as a strategic material. This "Byrd Amendment" opened the way for the importation of Rhodesian chrome and has been a target of liberals in Congress ever since.

Senators Gale McGee and Hubert Humphrey led the fight against the Byrd Amendment in the Senate, and their efforts were repeatedly blocked by the filibuster tactics of Sen. Byrd and his supporters. Some conservatives objected to the wording of the bill that said repeal of the amendment would "restore the United States to its position as a law-abiding member of the international community." (By breaking the U.N. sanctions, the U.S. is in violation of its international treaty obligations.]

Under pressure from Sen. Humphrey, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and other Administration officials apparently helped switch some of the votes by pointing out that if the U.S. continued to support the Rhodesian regime in this manner it ran the risk of causing black African states to cut off exports of other critical natural resources such as cobalt from Zaïre and oil from Nigeria. (N.Y. TIMES, Dec 19, '73)

"Pressure from constituents urging key Senators to support sanctions was important in several states," according to the Washington Office on Africa, which lobbied hard for the repeal of the amendment. The measure will not take effect, however, unless it is approved in the House of Representatives, and it is expected that the real fight will be here, where stainless steel industry representatives have been lobbying for the defeat of sanctions.

SOUTHERN AFRICA INFORMATION SERVICES

One of Defense & Aid's main objectives is to keep the public informed through reliable, up-to-date publications about the struggle in Southern Africa.

To date we have published 21 booklets on South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies. These average 40 pages in length and cost an average of 50¢ apiece. (Discount rates on bulk orders)

The INFORMATION SERVICE MANUAL provides in half-yearly reports a cumulative, accurate and up-to-date record of political, social and economic facts, figures and events pertaining to Southern Africa. Especially useful to schools, colleges, organizations and public libraries.

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Willard R. Johnson  
Assoc. Prof. of Political  
Science at M.I.T.

## ANGOLAN OIL: ANOTHER KUWAIT?

The Gulf Oil Company has discovered a major new oilfield off the west coast of Africa, according to a report in the LONDON OBSERVER (Nov. 25, '73). The field is believed to be one of the biggest finds in recent years, and Gulf officials are already referring to it privately as a 'new Kuwait'.

The new oil find has not been made public because of the daunting political problems that will have to be solved before it can be fully exploited. It lies just off the coast of Cabinda, a part of the Portuguese colony of Angola, where the guerrillas of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) are operating against Portuguese troops.

To get the oil out, Gulf has been collaborating with the Portuguese in an attempt to keep the guerrillas out of Cabinda. The MPLA has penetrated deep into Angola and in recent weeks it has been active inside the Cabinda enclave, according to the OBSERVER.

Gulf's deafening silence about its new field is not difficult to understand. For the past 13 years Angola has been the scene of a bloody conflict between Portugal and African freedom fighters. Cabinda, although it is separated from Angola by a small strip of Zaire territory, is an integral part of the Portuguese colony.

## Gulf Boycott Continues

For several years the Gulf Oil Company has been the target of a boycott campaign by groups and institutions in North America and Europe because of its support for Portuguese colonialism by providing revenue\*, strategic war materials, foreign exchange and the construction of military barracks for Portuguese troops in Cabinda. The Dutch Government, for example, has boycotted all Gulf imports from Angola, and the United Nations has called for an end to all foreign investment which strengthens Portuguese colonial rule. The Pan African Liberation Committee of Boston and the Gulf Boycott Coalition of Dayton, Ohio are two of the principal American groups who have organized boycott campaigns against Gulf.

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\*According to William Cox of the Gulf Oil Corporation, Gulf paid \$61 million in taxes and royalties to Portugal in 1972, "an amount which represents 13% of the total Angolan provincial budget for the year and 60% of the province's 1972 military budget," according to U.N. statistics (United Nations A/AC. 109/L.842, Feb. 28, 1973/ quoted from the American Committee on Africa FACT SHEET on "Gulf Oil in Angola").

## RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

A white person is "a person who (a) in appearance obviously is a white person and who is not generally accepted as a Coloured person, or (b) is generally accepted as a white person, and is not in appearance not a white person, but even a person whose appearance is white and who has been accepted as white will not be so classified if one of his natural parents has been classified as a member of another race."

from APARTHEID IN PRACTICE, by Leslie Rubin

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HOW MUCH LONGER? (cont'd. from p. 1)

There is certainly a sufficient majority for them to be able to by-pass the Security Council (where any Permanent Member can use the veto) and act in the Assembly under the 'Uniting for Peace' procedures.

#### Why Not Namibia?

One of the main reasons no such initiatives have been taken is probably the fear of setting a precedent. If action were taken against South Africa to clean out its charnel house, whose sacred borders might next be crossed by the U.N. going after one of those human rights skeletons hidden in so many national closets? To argue that skeletons in a closet is one thing, and a charnel house full of skeletons is quite another, does not suffice to still such fears, apparently.

But how does one explain the inaction on Namibia? No national boundaries have to be crossed there. It is a matter of the U.N. entering a territory in which the U.N. is the sole legal authority, thereby ending a prolonged, illegal law of the jungle with the rule of law, which every state says it favors. To be sure, it would require the threat, possibly even the use, of force; but where does law not rely on coercion on this terrestrial sphere? The precedent that would be established in this case would be that of justly enforcing the rule of law even though the offender has powerful friends.

Would even that precedent be too disturbing? Is no action taken on Namibia because the complex network of interests is more complex and pervasive than it appears? Because big powers are twisting the arms, not only of small powers but also of other big powers? Because, in fact, no state gives a damn about anyone's skin but its own? (Submit answers to the Secretary General!)

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#### REFERENCE BOOKS

Every African who has attained the age of 16 years must be in possession of a Reference Book. Any policeman may call at any time on any African to produce his Reference Book. An African unable to do so because he has left it at home is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by a fine of not more than \$28 or imprisonment for not longer than one month.

from APARTHEID IN PRACTICE, by Leslie Rubin

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#### Rights Without Remedies Are Better Than No Rights at All

The international legal and political scene is depressing for Southern Africa, but it is not entirely barren. Certain rights have become firmly established and, surely, to establish legal rights even when no legal remedies are available or politically feasible is preferable to waiting until the complete package may (or may not) be delivered. Rights once recognized usually, if gradually, attract public support upon which an effective remedy can eventually be built.

So we welcome the fact that the right to self-determination has been established, even though many still suffer and die under Portuguese colonialism; that South Africa's legal right to rule Namibia has been terminated and that states are in violation of the 'World Court's' 1971 ruling when they continue to collaborate with the apartheid exploitation of Namibians and their land.

Meanwhile...

Southern Africans are trying to quicken the ponderous pace of these developments by fighting for their independence in the way Americans did in the 1770's. There is much, in volume and variety, that North Americans can do. Just to help Southern Africans to survive physically (nothing can quench their spirit) would be a worthwhile contribution.

Some 20 years ago the founders of the Defense and Aid Fund discovered a vital service that is more desperately needed throughout Southern Africa today than it was then. This two-fold service was the provision for legal defense for the many victims of oppressive laws, and aid to keep these victims' families alive. Twenty years of this activity has demonstrated how legal defense helps to restrain police torture of political prisoners; helps them thereby to survive pre-trial interrogation; can do much for the morale of the prisoners, their dependents and the opposition in general; and can thereby make a perfectly legitimate contribution, however indirect, towards eventual liberation.

#### International Recognition

Through its 20 years of service in Southern Africa, Defense and Aid ("D&A") has gained an international reputation for being the only organization capable of providing the services mentioned above on a sustained and reliable basis over time. The fact that D&A provides these services to the people inside Southern Africa, and has done so on a large scale for so long makes it unique among humanitarian organizations working in Southern Africa.

The importance of the kind of work D&A does has won increasing recognition. For example, the U.N. General Assembly, in a resolution on December 16, 1963, appealed for contributions by states and organizations for the relief and assistance of families of persons persecuted for their opposition to the policies of apartheid. In 1965 the Rev'd. Canon L. John Collins, the international President of D&A, appeared before a meeting of the U.N.'s Special Committee on Apartheid to describe the work of the Fund and to thank the Committee for its suggestion to Member States that they should contribute directly to D&A. Later that year the U.N. Trust Fund was established by the General Assembly to make grants to voluntary organizations concerned with relief and assistance to the victims of the policies of apartheid in South Africa. In August 1966 the Brasilia Human Rights Seminar recommended that the United Nations should support the International Defense and Aid Fund and this was adopted by the General Assembly in a special resolution. Since then the international office of D&A has received donations from Member States that have made a very important contribution indeed to the work of the Fund.

#### Defense and Aid Established in North America

Despite its reputation in other countries, D&A did not, until 1973, have an independent office in North America and remained largely unknown. We believe that the time has come for Canadian and U.S. citizens, in larger numbers, to be given the opportunity to make a more noticeable contribution to the work of D&A in Southern Africa. This is why a separate, autonomous North American Committee of D&A was established. We hope that separate Canadian and U.S. Committees will be formed eventually, even though Canadians have been making a splendid contribution to the U.S.-based office.

Setting up an organization known only to some tens of Americans and some hundreds of Canadians, and doing so with precisely one full-time staff person and a part-time director and a board of trustees, whose spare time was already over-com-

HOW MUCH LONGER? (cont'd from previous page)

mitted to our own and other causes, has proven to be not quite a push-over. But here we are organizing speaking tours and other fund-raising events, mailing appeals for funds, getting sponsors to commend us to the public, trying to get tax exempt status, submitting funding proposals, distributing our literature, and now getting out a newsletter.

A second, perhaps even a third, newsletter will follow this. But then we'll quit - unless we hear from you. This, though long overdue, is only an experiment. Many people in the U.S. and Canada have asked us to put their names on our mailing list. This we have done, but we have had no regular publication to send them, other than our pamphlets and the INFORMATION SERVICE MANUAL (see p. 8). We hope that this newsletter can become a regular publication (every month or two) and that it will serve as a means of keeping our supporters informed of at least some developments in Southern Africa and of our own activities, as well as of those of some of the other organizations concerned with Southern Africa. But we will publish it only if you, the reader, tell us directly within the next two or three months that we are not simply adding to your pile of superfluous mail.

The Defense and Aid Fund in North America is supported by small contributions from individuals and a few organizations (mainly churches). Because we do not yet have tax exempt status, we have been unable to get funds from foundations and large donors. We are well aware that this is not the most propitious time to be setting up a new fund-raising organization. But peoples' needs do not wait for opportune moments. And Canadian and U.S. citizens bear as much responsibility for Southern Africans as do the other Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders and the Europeans who now enable the international office of D&A to work so effectively in Southern Africa. We have therefore enclosed a self-addressed, postage-paid envelope which we trust you will use to send a contribution.

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#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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Mr. Brutus, a noted South African poet and sportsman, was imprisoned on Robben Island, the maximum security prison for political activists, for 18 months. He is now the Vice-President of the Defense & Aid Fund in North America, the Chairman of the International Campaign Against Racism in Sport, and is teaching at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

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by Margaret Dickenson (ed.), Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972.

Mr. Dambara was born in the Cape Verde Islands in 1939 and is a member of the PAIGC, which is fighting the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verdes. This poem was originally written in Creole and was translated into English from the Portuguese translation.

Matthews, James, "Freedom's Child", in *CRY RAGE*, by James Matthews and Gladys Thomas.  
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All we know about Mr. Matthews is that he is a Black South African and is still living in South Africa. *CRY RAGE* has been banned in South Africa.

Rubin, Leslie, APARTHEID IN PRACTICE. United Nations, 1971.

Mr. Rubin, a South African lawyer, is the President of the Defense & Aid Fund in North America and has been an active opponent of apartheid for many years. He was a Senator in the South African Parliament - one of the four who used to be elected by Africans before even this form of token representation was abolished in 1959. He is currently teaching at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Sachs, A., SOUTH AFRICA: THE VIOLENCE OF APARTHEID. London: Christian Action Publications, Ltd. (published for the International Defence & Aid Fund), 1970.

Mr. Sachs, an Advocate of the Supreme Court of South Africa, is now living in England. He is the author of several works on South Africa.

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NOTE OMITTED FROM FIRST PAGE:

\*Kenneth N. Carsters, a South African exile living in the United States, is the Executive Director of the International Defense and Aid Fund in North America.

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PLEASE DETACH AND ENCLOSE THE FOLLOWING FORM(S) WITH YOUR DONATION, ORDER FOR A CALENDAR, OR CHANGE OF ADDRESS:

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14.

Freedom's child  
you have been denied too long  
fill your lungs and cry rage  
step forward and take your rightful place  
you're not going to grow up  
knocking at the back door  
for you there will be no travelling  
third class enforced by law  
with segregated schooling and sitting on the floor  
the rivers of our land, mountain tops  
and the shore.  
it is yours, you will not be denied anymore  
Cry rage, freedom's child.

James Matthews, in CRY RAGE

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