# CONTENTS

1. **FEATURE ARTICLE**: “Letter to the Women of Angola” by Melba Smith  

   4

2. **INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA**
   
   - Terrorist Trial Ends With Five-Year Sentence
   - Coloured Politics Defy White Intervention
   
   Bantustan Politics:
   
   - Zululand Question
   - Tswana Election
   - Fourth Homeland Becomes Self-Governing

   New Visa Regulations Set

   Economics:
   
   - Ford’s Taxes Should be Paid to U.S.
   - Contract Laborer Tells Court he Had no Pants
   - Whites Rehired on Government Orders

   Churches:
   
   - Congregational Church to Dialogue with W.C.C.
   - Presbyterian W.C.C. Withdrawal Not Valid
   - Baptists Spurn W.C.C.
   - Verdict Quashed
   - Five Churches Denounce Police Infiltration

3. **INSIDE NAMIBIA**
   
   U.N. Representative for Namibia Appointed
   
   Damaras Reject Bantustan Plan
   
   Short Takes . . . . .

4. **THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES**

   **ANGOLA:**
   
   - New Governor-General
   - Southern Angolans Challenge Governor

   **GUINEA-BISSAU and CAPE VERDE**
   
   - Portuguese Refuse Aid for Starving People
   - National Assembly Elected

   **MOZAMBIQUE:**
   
   - Military Front
   - Mozambican Cashew Nuts in U.S. Market
   - Notes From De Arriaga

5. **AT THE UNITED NATIONS**

   - U.N. Votes to Seat Liberation Movements
   
   - Security Council Considers Senegal’s Complaint Against Portugal
   
   - Namibian Representative Chosen
   
   - Security Council Votes on Rhodesian Resolutions
   
   - 1972 General Assembly Begins with Empty House for South Africa
   
   - African Members Press Britain on Zimbabwe

6. **SOUTH AFRICA’S NEIGHBORS**

   - Threat from Rhodesia Halts Flights in Zambia
   
   - Is Malawi Turning?
7. THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA
Swiss, French Protestants Express Concern for South Africa
Protestants Protest South African Ban on Studies of U.S. Firms
Methodist Women Investigate Caterpillar
Dutch Reformed Theologian Condemns South African Homelands Policy

8. THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA
Panel Report to Nixon Administration
Diggs' Panel Report
The Godfather
The Crotale Missile System
Coloured Leader Seeks Improvement of Working Conditions
Indian Ocean Issue

9. SPORTS
Athletes Who Play Together .
Sports Boycott Cited as Most Effective Action Against Apartheid
Shumbas Slip Through Sanctions
South Africans and Rhodesians Likely to Have Pool to Themselves
Rhodesia and the Olympics

10. ACTION NEWS AND NOTES
UNITED STATES:
Black Media Meets on Southern Africa
Bail Raised for Protester at Norfolk Azalea Festival
Protests Continue on Rhodesian Minerals Imports
MACSA Initiates South African Boycott
African Solidarity Week at Kansas University

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS:
Anglican Church Sells Shares in RTZ
Dutch Protest Portuguese Policy
Cabora Bassa Links Explained by German Firm
South Africa Suspended from International Body
British Actions
African Youth Group Supports Liberation Struggles
Trade Union Congress Calls for South African Sanctions

11. RESOURCES, NEW GROUPS

SOUTHERN AFRICA is published by the Southern Africa Committee ten times a year, including two double issues (June-July, August-September).

Subscription rates are:
Individuals: $5.00 per year; optional half-year (7 months) $3.00.
Institutions: $15.00 per year.
Back issues (institutions): $15.00 per year; per issue, regular—$.50; double issue—$.80.
Airmail (postage only—add subscription rate): South and Central America: $6.00 per year; Africa, Asia, and Europe: $7.50 per year.

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Front cover: MPLA woman and child in liberated territory of Angola.

OMA is an internationally recognized organization. From April 30 through May 10, 1972, an OMA delegation attended the Women's International Democratic Federation Council Meeting and Seminar (WDIF) held in Varna, Bulgaria. On the proposal of the WDIF, UNESCO has awarded the Nadejda Krupskaya Literacy Prize to the Organization of Angolan Women for their exceptional work in education and literacy programs within Angola.

In June, 1972 I was privileged to spend time with MPLA cadres travelling in the liberated areas of Angola, and was able to view firsthand some of the remarkable work being done by OMA. In appreciation for their courage and hospitality I am sharing this letter to the women of Angola with readers of SOUTHERN AFRICA. MPLA needs our support. Donations to enable them to continue their liberation struggle are earnestly solicited and should be sent directly to MPLA, P.O. Box 1595, Lusaka, Zambia.

by Melba Smith
Comrades of O.M.A.,

Dear Sisters,

Several months have passed since we were together in S.R.N. (Sub-Region North), and I would like to express my deep appreciation for the hospitality extended to me during my visit—hospitality which I hope somehow to return, in some way, in the future.

During the month I lived with you, ate with you, and shared your every anxiety and joy, past experiences in my life assumed an irrelevancy beside the struggle which you are engaged in against foreign domination, and your determination to regain control over your own land and your own destiny.

Yet, with enemy planes overhead, and under constant threat of approach by enemy military, I was never afraid—because you weren’t afraid, and your calm and bravery pervaded the air.

Dear sisters, how vividly I recall the first days of my arrival, and the warm welcome which you extended to me, the cold dry weather for which I was totally unprepared, and your concern that clothing be found for me. Clothing sent in from outside supportive countries is put to good use, as I found when a coat was brought for me from the goodwill box of precious stores, without which I would have found the weather unbearable, as indeed you do when there are no warm clothes or blankets available.

Despite constant threat of invasion (imminent threat of invasion has altered your life style so little—you have simply adjusted), you continue about your business of preparing food, caring for your children, politicizing and educating the people—at times with a rifle under one arm and a child under the other.

Dear sisters, what a study in bravery and determination you create, a picture which I shall carry in my heart for my life, and which is the source of so much revolutionary inspiration for me even as I return to my own home country.

I cannot forget how, through your simple words and gestures, I came to a deeper realization of the nature of Portuguese colonial rule, and how it had affected your lives—the many brutalities which you endured, the psychological and physical effects of living under tyrannical oppression—and how, out of that, grew your determination to liberate yourselves, which you have taken up arms to enable you to do.

My sisters, I salute you.

And through it all—the death, the bloodshed, the hardships—you have managed to retain your sense of the good things in life, evidenced each evening (behind enemy lines) by the joyful abandonment of your dances. Shuffling alone in my apartment to recorded music, thousands of miles from any such danger, I have found to be a poor substitute for the pure joy of living which you expressed, the deep inspired rhythms, the love of life with which you infected me during my stay. My innerspring mattress and all modern conveniences are no substitute for the branches and leaves which were our roof, and the blankets which almost protected us from the cold earth and the penetrating crisp night air.

During this, your transition period, when you are attempting to create a new society—free from enemy rule—and incorporating many new and liberating aspects into your life styles, your work is hard going for you. But, as you yourselves explained to me, not so hard as when the additional burden of slavery lay also on your shoulders, and now you work with new joy, in that you are building for yourselves and your families, and for the benefit of all. Though you are alone often, with your men fighting in other areas, and your children taking revolutionary educational instruction in the newly-formed MPLA schools, you are happier with the goal of liberation firmly established in your minds. You have so much to teach us about true liberation, with your advanced political knowledge blended with altruistic simplicity—a combination which overshadows the technologically-advanced but morally destitute society from which I came.

I shall not forget you, brave sisters, nor the hardy militant brothers who are laying down your lives in an effort to regain your freedom. I shall not forget the happy children who are looking forward to a life ahead, free from slavery and oppression, and optimistic about retaining their rightful place in a liberated society. Nor can I forget how freely you accepted me into your lives, took me to your hearts, and made my troubles your troubles, and your joys my joys. Surely this is what revolution is all about.

In sincere appreciation,

Melba Smith.
TERRORISM TRIAL ENDS WITH FIVE-YEAR SENTENCES

The case that began in October, 1971 and which has resulted in the death in detention of one man, Ahmed Timol, and the torture of others, including Mohamed Essop, has finally come to an end. Essop and three others, Yousuf Hassan Essack, Indhrasen Moodley, and Amina Desai have each been sentenced to five years imprisonment under the Terrorism Act. They were found guilty of conspiring with Ahmed Timol, and/or the banned South African Communist Party, and/or the African National Congress. Their intention, according to the judge, was the violent overthrow of the South African Government.

Throughout his statement in passing judgment, Mr. Justice Snyman referred again and again to the defendants' relationship with Timol. For example, Timol was accused of misleading two of the defendants. Ms. Desai was told that she must have known what Timol was doing. The relationship with Timol was the most damaging crime that the judge referred to. This is of great importance because it illustrates the nature of justice in South Africa.

Timol was never found guilty of any crime in a court of law. He was murdered while in police custody on Oct. 26, 1971. He died in a "fall" from the tenth floor of the police headquarters. Four people have now been convicted under the Terrorism Act for association with a man who was never brought to trial. The state accused Timol of plotting to overthrow the Government, but his death in detention prevented a trial that could have proved or disproved this charge.

It is no longer possible to argue that the judiciary in South Africa is impartial, basing its findings on legal evidence. Some of the most vicious realities of the South African police state have been revealed in this trial: in addition to those mentioned above, there has been the intimidation of witnesses, and the clear subservience of justice to the interests of the security police. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 4, 1972; Sechaba, Sept. 1972)

COLOURED POLITICS DEFY WHITE INTERVENTION

As more and more secrets of the Afrikaner Broederbond are exposed, the political role it has played becomes increasingly clear. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, November, 1972) It has now been revealed that the Broederbond was very active in the Coloured elections of 1969 when the first Coloured Representative Council was being established. The Bond helped the Federal Party by assisting in the registration of voters and by contributing more than $70,000 to finance the campaign.

In spite of this support, the Federal Party failed to win a majority. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Oct. 1, 1972) The Coloured Labour Party, which did win the majority, was, however, denied its rightful power in the Coloured Representative Council by an arbitrary act of the white government. The Labour Party has been a constant critic of the government, and its youth wing is becoming more and more militant.

At a recent conference in Johannesburg, the youth wing decided to drop the word "Coloured" from the party name. The leader of the Labour Party, Sonny Leon, said he was completely in favor of the action. He does not believe in exclusive racial politics. African, Indian, and white observers were at the conference as were representatives of the South African Student Organization (SASO). There is strong indication that the Labour Party will not involve itself in the next elections for the puppet Coloured Representative Council. Its mood is indicative of growing numbers of Coloureds, Indians, and Africans who see the future in terms of black solidarity rather than in terms of separate racial politics. (Sechaba, October, 1972; Anti-Apartheid News, October, 1972)

BANTUSTAN POLITICS

ZULULAND QUESTION

In an attack on the Government, the leader of the United Party, Sir De Villiers Graaf, predicted that the cost of consolidating Zululand according to the Government's proposal would be about $476 million and take 20 years. The Government claims it will cost about $350 million and is investigating the possibility of raising a loan to finance the land purchases. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has called a special session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for January to discuss the issue. Buthelezi said that the KwaZulu and the Government "are so far apart on consolidation that I do not see how we can meet." (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 4, 1972)

The proposed "consolidation would result in the uprooting of some 360,000 people. Whites in the area are not in favor of the plan either. They give the economic reasons that there would be a loss in agricultural output because Zulus lack modern farming equipment and skills. In addition, industry would be dislocated, supplies of raw materials disrupted and convenient "labor reservoirs" removed. (Financial Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 8, 1972)

Tswana ELECTION

Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, has won the majority in the territory's first general election. (For background, see SOUTHERN AFRICA, October, 1972) His National Party holds 20 out
of the 24 elected seats. Mangope has never been a strong critic of the Government. However, like other Bantustan leaders, he sees land as the key issue. The dispute over land and the question of human dignity will, according to Mangope, determine the success or failure of separate development. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1972)

Bophutatswana consists of 19 separate blocks of land totaling about nine million acres. There are about two million Tswana, two-thirds of whom live in the so-called white areas. Some 600,000 Tswana live in independent Botswana. (New York Times, Nov. 11, 1972)

In the recent election, Mangope was opposed by the Seoposengwane Party of Chief Tidimane Pilane. Pilane claims that it was more than massive popular support that enabled Mangope to win such a victory. According to Pilane and his party, potential voters were intimidated by Mangope's followers. They were told that if they voted against Mangope's party they would lose their jobs and be "endorsed out" of the townships. They also said that three months was not nearly long enough to organize an effective campaign. The territory of Bophutatswana is widely spread out and there is validity to this point. Mangope undoubtedly also benefited from the fact that his party was the one in power at the time of the election.

Mangope's popularity among urban Africans is open to question. According to the election official, Mr. Pieter Potgieter, of 50,000 Tswana voters in urban areas, only 4,661 cast their ballots. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 4, 1972)

FOURTH HOMELAND BECOMES SELF-GOVERNING

Lebowa, home of the Sepedi or Northern Sotho, became "self-governing" on Oct. 2. With the establishment of its own legislative assembly, it has achieved the status of the Ciskei, and Bophutatswana. Lebowa consists of three separate areas. A recent study indicated that only 12 percent of the income earned by citizens of Lebowa was earned within the homelands.

Like every other Bantustan, it is dependent for its life on the "white economy." (New York Times, Oct. 1, 1972; The Economist, Oct. 14, 1972)

Only the Transkei has been given "self-government within the Republic." The next stage of development is that of which the Lebowa has just achieved. Lebowa can have its constitution, cabinet ministers, a legislative assembly that is partly elected and partly appointed, and the prospect of its own courts. However, every law that the legislative assembly passes must be consented to by the white parliament. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 28, 1972)

HOMELAND LEADERS

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<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Chief</th>
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<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>Kaiser Matanzima</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bophutatswana</td>
<td>Lucas Mangope</td>
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<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>J. Mabandla</td>
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<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>M. Matlala</td>
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<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>Gatsha Buthelezi</td>
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<td>Gazankulu (Tsonga, Shangaan)</td>
<td>H. W. Ntsanwisi</td>
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<td>Venda</td>
<td>Patrick Mphephu</td>
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<td>Quaqwa</td>
<td>Wessels Mota</td>
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NEW VISA REGULATIONS SET

In future it will be more difficult for critics of South Africa to visit that country. Interior Minister Connie Mulder has announced that visas will be refused to private groups and business executives seeking to examine the policies of foreign business in South Africa (see "Churches" section, this issue). The Government is reacting to the increased discussion in business circles about the role of foreign companies in the Republic. Much of this discussion has been forced on the companies by private groups and churches that have challenged the role of American companies in South Africa.

The Government is also unhappy about the proposal that is being made to the U.S. Government that aid be given directly to the African homelands or Bantustans. A group of advisors to the U.S. State Department who visited South Africa have made this proposal. Chief Buthelezi and Chief Matanzima are in favor of the idea as is the opposition United Party. The Government fears the consequences of such outside influence and will make it more difficult for visits resulting in this kind of proposal to take place. (The Washington Post, Oct. 9, 1972)

In a separate move, the South African Government has made it easier for Japanese visitors to come to South Africa. Japanese are regarded as "honorary whites" and will be allowed to stay in white hotels. Japan is South Africa's second largest export market and fourth largest supplier. The new regulations were made to increase trade with Japan and to encourage Japanese tourists. (New York Times, Nov. 5, 1972)
FORD'S TAXES SHOULD BE PAID TO U.S., SAYS BANTUSTAN LEADER

Chief Lucas Mangope, leader of the new Tswana Bantustan government, said recently that companies operating within Bophuthatswana should pay their taxes to his government and not to the South African government. “There has been much in the news about the platinum contracts between the Ford Motor Company and the Rustenburg Platinum mines,” Mangope told Cape Town and Stellenbosch students, pointing out that “Most of the platinum mines are on tribally-owned farms of the Bafokeng tribe, easily the richest tribe in Bophuthatswana, if not in the whole Republic [of South Africa].”

In addition, Mangope believes that Tswanas should be able to buy shares in and participate in the management of industries operating within the Bantustan. He also spoke out against job reservation, not only within African areas but also in the “white” cities. (Financial Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 18, 1972)

CONTRACT LABORER TELLS COURT HE HAD NO PANTS TO WORK IN

The recent court case of a black worker has again highlighted the horror of South Africa’s contract labor system. Masingayi Xhakalegusha, a 31-year-old contract worker on a Cape farm, received a suspended sentence ($30 or 40 days) for “refusing to obey a lawful command from his employer by not reporting for work on time.” Xhakalegusha’s reason for not working was that he had no pants; his only pair had not yet dried after he washed them out the previous day. His contract required him to work 11 hours a day, seven days a week, for the weekly sum of $8.75. He received no food—and the boots and overalls given him had been lost. (Financial Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 18, 1972)

WHITES REHIRE ON GOVERNMENT ORDERS

The South African Minister of Labor ordered a Germiston company to reinstate 14 white employees who were replaced by 8 Coloured workers. The manager of the company said the whites were dismissed after their jobs were made redundant by automation. The Coloured men assigned to operate machinery were paid R1.05 per hour ($1.42), compared with R1.30 ($1.75) paid to the whites.

The Minister, Mr. Marais Viljoen, explained his actions in these terms: “When I heard of this I immediately gave my department instructions to ensure the workers were rehired.” He gave three conditions for the utilization of African labor in “white” areas. “The first condition is that no Whites be dismissed or replaced.” Secondly, whites and blacks performing similar jobs must be located in separate work areas. And, whites must never receive directions or instructions from blacks. Speaking at a political rally, Viljoen said: “I give you the assurance that if the [white] workers feel they cannot stand the pressure of admission of African labor to this wage group, or into skilled occupations, the Government will intervene with statutory job reservation.” Job reservation would make it ILLEGAL for blacks to perform jobs that white workers want protected. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 4 and 21, 1972)

CHURCHES

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH TO DIALOGUE WITH W.C.C.

Dialogue with the World Council of Churches will be maintained according to a decision by the sixth assembly of the United Congregational Church of South Africa recently. The secretary of the Central Regional Council of the church, the Rev. B. Spong, said in a statement after the assembly that the vote was an “overwhelming majority” for continuing dialogue with the WCC. To spurn contact with the WCC would prevent the point of view of the Congregational Church from being heard in the council, Spong said. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 30, 1972)

PRESBYTERIAN W.C.C. WITHDRAWAL NOT VALID

The decision of the executive commission of the Presbyterian Church of Southern African to withdraw from the World Council of Churches (WCC) has been declared ultra vires by the church’s legal advisers. This was announced in the newsletter of the South African Council of Churches in October. The ruling given by the advisers was that “the executive commission had no authority to enquire into this matter as it had already been dealt with twice by the general assembly, the supreme authority of the church, and was not a matter which arose between meetings of the general assembly.” The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa will thus remain a member of the WCC at least until September, 1973 when the next general assembly meets. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 14, 1972)
BAPTISTS SPURN WCC
On the other hand, the Baptist Church Assembly of South Africa affirmed at its annual meeting in King Williams Town in October that it is not and never will be a member of the World Council of Churches. It passed a motion that expressed "strongest condemnation of grants made for any purpose by the WCC to movements whose declared aim is to overthrow the elected governments of Southern Africa by violent means." (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1972)

VERDICT QUASHED
The convictions of the Rev. Theo Kotze, Cape Regional Director of the Christian Institute, and 10 others under the Rictious Assemblies Act, were set aside in Cape Town in October by the Acting Judge President of the Cape, Mr. Justice van Zijl. Kotze was fined R150 (or 75 days) in the Regional Court, Cape Town, for failing to leave a prohibited public gathering on June 5 at St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town. The 10 others were convicted of similar offences. Delivering judgment, the judge found that the convictions and sentences of the three others who had been sentenced at the same trial but who had failed to appeal were also being set aside. Thus all 14 who were found guilty of failing to leave a prohibited gathering were getting their sentences set aside. Justice van Zijl said in his judgment that freedom of assembly was part of the democratic rights of every South African citizen. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1972)

FIVE CHURCHES DENOUNCE POLICE INFILTRATION
Five major churches, representing millions of South Africans, have denounced the drive by the South African security police to infiltrate churches. Churches that have made statements are the Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Congregational, and Presbyterian. Also, two church bodies, the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of South Africa, have made statements on police presence at their conferences and meetings. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1972)

inside namibia

U.N. REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA APPOINTED
The most important recent development in the efforts of the United Nations to secure independence in Namibia came in the appointment of Mr. Alfred M. Escher as the personal representative of Secretary General Kurt Waldheim regarding Namibia. Following his own visit to Namibia earlier this year (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, May 1972), Waldheim was instructed by the U.N. Security Council to appoint a special representative as part of his efforts aimed at obtaining independence for Namibia.

The appointment of Escher, who is a retired Swiss diplomat, was accepted by the South African Government after several other candidates had been found unacceptable. (Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations and is therefore not party to any previous decisions regarding South Africa's occupation of Namibia. For the same reason the future relations between South Africa, Namibia, and the United Nations will not require the endorsement of Switzerland, leaving Escher free to act solely as the agent of the U.N.) In addition to the South African Government, SWAPO, the liberation movement in Namibia, accepted the appointment of Escher. The South African Government refused to allow Escher to set up an office in Namibia but, after extensive private negotiations, agreed to permit U.N. representatives to make visits to the territory.

Escher left for South Africa and Namibia in early October and returned to New York at the beginning of November. He is due to submit a progress report to the United Nations by Nov. 15. En route to South Africa, Escher met with representatives of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in Geneva. They told the U.N. representative that they wanted him to obtain from the South African Government a formal recognition of the UN's authority over Namibia. In addition they sought an assurance of South Africa's total and immediate withdrawal from the territory. These demands highlight the essential difference between the South African Government's program for "self-determination" and the UN's efforts toward the same end. The South African Government is proceeding to balkanize Namibia, setting up a number of Bantustans on an ethnic or tribal basis with South Africa retaining its overall hold over the territory. (The Bantustans are essential for the maintenance of the migratory contract labor system—the root cause of the country-wide strike in December-January earlier this year).

A UN resolution, backed by a ruling from the World Court, has declared South Africa's continued presence in the area illegal—indepence for Namibia means self-determination for the people as a whole within the complete geographic entity of the territory. The demands of SWAPO reflect a further concern that this ear of direct negotiations with the South African Government not be used to postpone UN action on Namibian independence. While in South Africa Escher was on a government-sponsored tour but attempted to see representatives from all groups interested in the future of Namibia. He said that he had come with an "open mind" but soon ran into trouble when some private statements that he had made concerning apartheid were widely reported in the South African press. Speaking to representatives of the South West African legislature, Escher had reportedly said that this was South Africa's
settlers. We have been deprived of human rights and our land has been taken away and given to foreign people. We are dissatisfied with the South African administration.

Reaction from the South African Government was swift—Prime Minister Vorster threatened to break off the talks if Escher persisted in his criticism of the South African regime. The South African Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, flew immediately to Namibia and after several hours of negotiations a face-saving announcement was issued saying that misunderstanding and speculation about the purpose of Escher’s visit had been resolved and that an understanding had been reached on all points discussed. Escher later met with Vorster before returning to the UN to complete his report.

While in Namibia, Escher was frequently met by large crowds of Africans bearing placards which demanded freedom for Blacks and independence for Namibia. On several occasions the crowds refused to disperse when ordered to do so by the police. On at least one occasion a SWAPO representative in Namibia said the police had attacked and injured Africans who were waiting to see Escher. At other points on his journey Escher was not met by any crowds and no petitioners requested to see him. It was not clear whether people had even been informed in these places of Escher’s impending visit. The South African and Namibian officials who accompanied Escher constantly could not say whether people had been informed of the opportunity to meet with Escher.

Until he presents his report to the United Nations it is unclear if any progress has been made toward independence in Namibia. In the meantime the South African Government is stepping up efforts to implement its Bantustan policy while repression of opposition to this policy continues. (New York Times, Sept. 26, 1972; Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 27, 1972; The Washington Post, Oct. 13, 1972; Guardian, U.K., Oct. 9, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21 and 28, and Nov. 4, 1972.)

DAMARAS REJECT BANTUSTAN PLAN

The officially recognized leader of the Damara people have rejected the South African Government’s offer for partial self-rule for the Black “homeland” of Damaraland in the northwest corner of Namibia. The announcement was made after talks with the Commissioner General of South West Africa, Mr. J. M. De Wet. The proposed “homeland” was part of the South African Government’s strategy of establishing 12 such “homelands” as a way of overcoming the UN demand for complete independence in Namibia. The South African Government had proposed that Damaraland should next year become the fourth partly self-governing “homeland” in Namibia.

Discussions were held between the Damara leaders and the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Muller, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development M. C. Botha, and deputy ministers and senior officials of his department. On returning to Damaraland the Tribal Executive issued a statement saying: “South West Africa is one land and cannot be divided into separate homelands. The territory allocated to the Damara is being regarded as a fowl run. . . . The whole of South West Africa belongs to us. We are dissatisfied with the South African administration. Our land has been taken away and given to foreign settlers. We have been deprived of human rights and forced into a form of slavery. . . . We are being systematically dispossessed and made strangers in our land.”

This response from the Damara people is particularly threatening to the South African Government’s Bantustan policy as the Damara are the second largest African community in Namibia. Their rejection of the South African occupation of Namibia came just before UN Representative Escher arrived in Namibia for consultations on the future of the territory. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 2 and 30, 1972; Anti-Apartheid News, September, 1972; X-Ray October, 1972)

SHORT TAKES ON NAMIBIA . . .

White parishioners in Windhoek voted overwhelmingly in September to replace Bishop Colin Winter, Namibia’s bishop-in-exile. They also want his diocese of Damaraland split—with a bishop for Ovamboland and another for the predominantly white area. The move follows a long-standing enmity between the white Windhoek Cathedral congregation and their liberal bishop who was ordered to leave Namibia on March 5, 1972. The move is unlikely to succeed, as Black Anglicans who support the bishop outnumber the whites. In the meantime the incident has proved embarrassing to the Anglican church hierarchy which purports to practice nonracial worship. (NUSAS Newsletter, Sept. 25, 1972)

The conflict over Black labor policy in Namibia is not over. Deep divisions on the question emerged on the first day of the South West African congress of the (white) United Party. Some delegates argued that conditions for Blacks should be improved: Whites could no longer “hanker for the good old days when you could use criminal sanctions to force Black men to work on your farms” said one delegate. Another delegate said that increased wages would not get to the heart of the trouble. Strikes were politically motivated and were designed to bring the territory to its knees. He said there should be legislation to prevent strikes in the farming industry and transport. Another delegate said that under the new labor regulations Ovambo workers were entering South West Africa to “terrorize the country.” He demanded tougher laws, such as reviving the old master-and-servant laws to compel obedience and loyalty. A South African journalist covering the congress later wrote: “If anyone suggested a sjambok [a thin leather whip] he did so behind closed doors. Or perhaps it was thought pointless to talk about a remedy already known to all and sundry.” (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 23, 1972)
ANGOLA

NEW GOVERNOR GENERAL

For the first time in a decade, a civilian has been appointed as Governor-General of Angola, Fernando A. Santos e Castro, ex-mayor of Lisbon, replaced Colonel Camillo Rebocho Vaz on Oct. 16, 1972. Santos e Castro is an agronomist by training.

SOUTHERN ANGOLANS CHALLENGE GOVERNOR REBOCHO VAZ

The June-July issue of ANGOLA IN ARMS (1972) published a long letter to MPLA from the people of the Cunene district of southern Angola about the first visible signs of their militancy there, in early 1972. Excerpts follow:

"With the continuation of the revolution started in January, cattle vaccination stations and schools made of mud were destroyed, and there were even attempts to destroy administrative posts, the Chiedi, Namacunde, Evale, Mongua and Cuanamo posts.

"The whole population, even children, were all in the revolution with the same faith. Groups made up of hundreds of young men were formed, all on bicycles, and armed with their African weapons: machetes, axes, assegais and sticks. They went from one post to another, asking what was done with the money from the taxes levied by the Portuguese colonialists... the officials of the posts were not able to calm them down, and neither were the traders.... The district governor decided to call... Governor General Rebocho Vaz from Luanda."

He agreed to go to the Namacunde post. "He found them all assembled there... not only men, but also women and children, old men and women, some on bicycles... some on foot.... Many had come from very far owing to their determination to speak their minds. Some had come... 75 kilometres."

Rebocho Vaz asked what the people wanted and the people said they wanted to know "where all the money you rob us of goes to." Rebocho Vaz asked "how are you robbed?" and the people answered:

"You don't find work for men who pay the 380 escudo 'minimum general tax.' There is only work for the white man coming from Portugal. In order to pay all the taxes you demand of us, we have to go and earn money in... South Africa. When we come home again, on crossing the border... we are searched and all the nice things we bring back with us are taken away from us."

Then there is a vehicle which they are forced to ride in, even if owning a bicycle, and then not allowed to leave until they pay for it. "We are then forced to go to the posts and pay the tax... i.e. 380 escudos are taken from us just like the nice things taken from us at the frontier or even from our homes when the police come. In other words we are left with nothing. Yet we have spent a long time away from our families in another country."

Africans are taxed for butchering an animal and for dog licenses and cattle vaccination and for production of local drinks.

Rebocho Vaz said: "The money from taxes and fees is used to build schools and hospitals." The people said: "We see schools and hospitals only in places where there are whites. Where there are less than ten houses of whites from Portugal, they establish a village. More than ten... is a town and then they put a doctor there. But an African has to pay for everything and it is very expensive... All we see in the 'kimbos' (villages) are cattle vaccination stations used for paying another thief, the veterinary doctor... the schools in the villages (are) built out of mud roofed with palm leaves, and [are]... few. And they send a monitor who has only had primary schooling which is barely enough for himself.... What use is he? This is why we have burned these rotten schools and vaccination stations."

"What we want is to pay only 75 escudos tax... not to have to make payments for just anything, to have the money to build a good house and not to be disturbed where we are, because the land is ours." Rebocho Vaz threatened the people who responded: "If that's how you want it, start with this newborn baby and finish with the old man... Kill us all and don't leave a living soul in this Kuanhama region. But we too are going to destroy everything."

Rebocho Vaz went back to town, but the people followed him there and finally he said he would stop all fees and taxes except the minimum tax, which he reduced to 75 escudos. The people of the area continue their struggle.

GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE

PORTUGUESE REFUSE AID FOR STARVING PEOPLE OF CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

Oct. 23, 1972, the following communique was issued by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC (excerpted):

"Several days ago we denounced before the United Nations and before world opinion the particularly grave situation prevailing in the Cape Verde Islands, where tens of thousands of human beings are in danger of starving to death and where colonial repression is being intensified daily.

Contrary to allegations of the Lisbon Government, no truly effective steps have been taken to prevent the decimation of a large part of the population, as has happened many times before. Having already rejected the humanitarian aid of the Swedish Red Cross offered through the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Portuguese authorities stubbornly refuse any international contribution which might save hundreds, if not thousands, of lives. Worse still, they are taking advantage of the situation to endeavor to weaken the liberation movement. For example, 15,000 young workers have already been sent off to Portugal, where they are used in mines and in cleaning the streets. Two thousand others are undergoing compulsory military"
training in Portugal with a view to their integration in the colonial armies. Many of these workers and recruits are in prison for having rebelled against such a situation.

According to reports we have just received, at Praia, the capital, on the island of Sao Tiago, on Sept. 21, following a clash between a young Cape Verdian and a member of the military police, fighting broke out all over town between elements of the population and the forces of repression; several persons were wounded. The colonial authorities, who declared a state of siege from Sept. 21-26, proceeded to make numerous arrests and confiscated from the shops of Cape Verde merchants anything that could be used as a weapon.

We appeal [to whoever can] to persuade the Lisbon Government to accept humanitarian assistance which might help to save thousands of human lives in the Cape Verde Islands from the scourge of famine.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF GUINEA-BISSAU ELECTED

It was announced at the United Nations on Oct. 17 by Amilcar Cabral that elections for a national assembly in Guinea-Bissau had been completed with 80 members chosen from the masses and 40 chosen from the party. He said that that assembly soon would proclaim the existence of Guinea-Bissau as a state in Africa.

Cabral was the first liberation movement leader to speak in debate at the United Nations as an "observer," a status granted just this fall. Previously the movements had only been "petitioners." (See "At the United Nations" section, this issue.) (Guardian, U.S., Nov. 1, 1972; Herald-Tribune, Oct. 18, 1972) While in the country, Cabral was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters by Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. (African World, Oct. 14, 1972; Afro-American, Oct. 24, 1972; SOUTHERN AFRICA, November, 1972)

MOZAMBIQUE

MILITARY FRONT

The Star Africa News Service (Oct. 14, 1972) noted two Portuguese Air Force pilots and seven soldiers killed in separate crashes, one in Cabo Delgado, the other in Tete province. The Portuguese claim neither crash was due to enemy action.

A FRELIMO communique from Cabo Delgado province a couple of weeks earlier indicates simultaneous attacks by FRELIMO against seven Portuguese posts in that province on Sept. 18. Details were only available on the attack at Mueda, where several grounded planes and helicopters, some barracks, and the ammunition and fuel depot were destroyed. One of the support planes called in by the Portuguese during the attack crashed on FRELIMO positions. Two bodies were found inside and some equipment salvaged.

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION for the second quarter in 1972 also gave the summary military reports for the first quarter of the year for FRELIMO. In Cabo Delgado, February-May, 1972, FRELIMO guerrillas shot down one aircraft, launched five artillery attacks against Portuguese posts, and undertook a number of sabotage operations and ambushes. More than 180 enemy soldiers were killed and 14 vehicles destroyed.

In Niassa, from January to April, FRELIMO guerrillas shot down an aircraft; destroyed a helicopter; attacked five posts; destroyed three bridges; and launched a
number of ambushes and sabotage operations in which 11 vehicles were destroyed and more than 70 enemy soldiers killed. In Tete, from December, 1972 to March, 1972 FRELIMO fighters shot down two aircraft, sabotaged seven trains, attacked 16 posts and camps, sabotaged two bridges, launched six ambushes on the Rhodesia-Malawi international road, and undertook 94 ambushes and sabotage operations. Over 400 Portuguese soldiers were killed, and 38 vehicles destroyed.

MOZAMBICAN CASHEWS IN U.S. MARKET

The New York Times of Oct. 23, 1972 announced that Bache & Company is entering the business of importing cashews, a nut which sells more cheaply than almonds, pecans, or walnuts, and a nut for which Mozambique is the largest source. Tanzania, Algeria, and Brazil are next in line as producers, although many of the Mozambican and Tanzanian nuts are decorticated in India. Tanzanian cashews include those produced in liberated areas of Mozambique and exported through Tanzania. Independent Mozambique exported nearly 1800 metric tons of cashews from 1969-1971 through FRELIMO trading networks. (Frelimo Revolution No. 51)

At least two consumer food-buying cooperatives (in Madison, Wis. and in Minneapolis, Minn.) have stopped buying cashews temporarily because their current supplier gets Mozambican cashews. They are attempting to discover a way to ensure purchase of Tanzanian cashews instead. (Chew On, fall of 1972)

NOTES FROM KAULZA DA ARRIGA LESSONS REVEAL RACISM

General Kaulza da Arriga, Commander of Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique, in a course for the high command in Lisbon in 1966-67, said the following:

"We will only be able to maintain white rule in Angola and Mozambique, which is a national objective, if white settlement is at a rhythm which accompanies and at least slightly exceeds the production of evolved blacks. Areas as they know the 'settlement policy' does not envision establishing an equilibrium with the black demographic potential; it envisions an equality with the evolved blacks because tribal blacks may exist in grand quantity, this doesn't hurt anyone. It is in the evolved blacks that there is a problem. And since we don't have many possibilities of evolving all the blacks—thanks be to God—it is very possible, in fact it is almost certain, that we can place white settlers, if we work hard, in such quantity that they will establish an equilibrium with those blacks who are becoming evolved."

Kaulza at other points: "If we journey from north to south, it appears that the latitude has some influence on the races of man. We see that the races as we descend in latitude acquire certain characteristics which in relation to the actual parameters of modern life are inferior. We see the Nordics, very developed, capable of a very enlightened public opinion, then we begin—the Latins, much less enlightened; afterwards we pass to the Arabs, much worse than we are, and we end with the blacks. There is absolutely no doubt that the black race has inferior characteristics to the white race, just as Latins have certain inferior characteristics to the Nordics. . . . Subversion is a type of war which depends primarily on Intelligence. One has to be very intelligent to accomplish subversion. One is not just any person who can do it. Now the black people are not very intelligent; as a matter of fact, they are of all peoples in the world the least intelligent." (Private papers.)
unit was responsible for the incident but that it had occurred against orders and said that it had offered compensation. Subsequently the Security Council adopted a resolution condemning the military intrusion from Guinea-Bissau by a vote of 12 to 0 with 2 abstentions. The resolution also renewed a request to Portugal to take prompt steps to apply the principle of self-determination and independence in Guinea-Bissau.

Rahmatullah Abdulla, representative of the Sudan, charged that Portugal's treasury would have been exhausted long ago "were it not for the help it receives from its NATO allies and the interest that capitalists and mining concerns have in maintaining Portuguese presence in Africa." He was joined in his attack by the Soviet Union and China. (New York Times, Oct 22, 1972)

NAMIBIAN REPRESENTATIVE CHosen

Dr. Kurt Waldheim, U.N. Secretary General, has chosen Alfred Escher, a retired Swiss diplomat, as his personal representative to Namibia. For details about Escher's recent visit to South Africa and Namibia, see "Inside Namibia" section, this issue. Esther, who attended the universities of Zurich, Berlin, and Kiel, holds the degree of doctor of jurisprudence. He has held a number of diplomatic posts around the world, including Bangkok, Warsaw, Berlin, Athens, and London. He was commissioner of the international committee of the Red Cross for refugees in Palestine in 1948, and in 1954 was appointed Swiss member of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission formed under the Korean Armistice agreement. He was ambassador to Italy from 1957 to 1959 and to West Germany from 1959 to 1964 before becoming ambassador to Austria. (Star Bureau, Sept 30, 1972)

SECURITY COUNCIL VOTES ON RHODESIA RESOLUTIONS

At a meeting held on Sept. 29, the Security Council reaffirmed that the sanctions imposed in an effort to bring down the illegal minority regime in Rhodesia would remain in force until its objectives were achieved. The Council called for full compliance by all states, and specifically urged cooperation by the United States, which has imported shipments of Rhodian chrome this year under a Congressional action regarding strategic materials. In a resolution with these provisions, the Council also asked its Sanctions Committee to examine action that could be taken in view of South Africa's and Portugal's persistent refusal to implement the economic boycott of Rhodesia. The vote was 13 in favor to none against, with United Kingdom and the United States abstaining.

The United Kingdom vetoed a second draft resolution which would have urged the United Kingdom to convene a constitutional conference in which representatives of the Zimbabwe people would be able to work out a settlement for the future of the Territory. The vote was 10 in favor, with the United Kingdom voting against, and 4 abstaining (Italy, Belgium, France, and the United States). Arguing that it had no power to impose a
solution, the United Kingdom said it was not practicable for it to call a conference in Rhodesia without the acquiescence of the regime in Salisbury. For the Council to request this, the United Kingdom Representative said, would be more likely to do harm than good.

The vetoed draft would have reaffirmed the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Rhodesia. It would also have called on the United Kingdom to ensure that any exercise to ascertain the wishes of the people be carried out on the basis of one-man, one-vote.

In abstaining on the sanctions resolution, the United States said the Council was giving unwarranted attention to United States imports of a strategic material amounting to only two percent of Rhodesia’s exports, and not concentrating on the 98 percent which was going to other countries. (UN Weekly News 575, Oct. 6, 1972)

1972 GENERAL ASSEMBLY BEGINS WITH EMPTY HOUSE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, speaking before the General Assembly, reiterated South Africa’s position on her much criticized policies of apartheid and the question of Namibia’s right to independence but to a very small audience. The New York Times (Sept. 28, 1972) noted that South Africa has few friends at the UN but Muller continued to criticize the UN for its opposition to South Africa’s policies. Muller condemned the UN for taking what it considers a dual position in its recent debate on terrorism. Secretary General Waldheim, in drawing his agenda on terrorism exempted from the definition of terrorism violent acts committed in the cause of winning freedom from colonial oppression. (New York Times, Sept. 28, 1972)

AFRICAN U.N. MEMBERS PRESS BRITAIN ON ZIMBABWE

The African nations resumed their campaign in the Security Council to remove the illegal government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia by insisting that the 5.2 million blacks be given the right to the franchise and that a constitutional conference leading to Rhodesian independence should be held. The Africans demand that Rhodesia adopt an electoral system based on one-man, one-vote. Five African nations and Guyana charged that Britain has not taken effective measures to remove the Smith government and condemn UN members including the United States who trade with Rhodesia despite UN sanctions. Zambia’s Foreign Minister, Elijah Mudenda, said: “Whereas the Africans in Zimbabwe have responded reasonably to the British Government’s position, the rebel regime has, instead, intensified racial discrimination.” (New York Times, Sept. 28, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICA’S NEIGHBORS

THREAT FROM RHODESIA HALTS FLIGHTS IN ZAMBIA

In addition to an alert to the army, and the calling out of the newly-formed Home Guard in Zambia, military aircraft began security exercises last month in Zambia, as a precaution against new threats from Rhodesia. The result was a halt in civilian trafficking, both within and without the country to avoid the possibility of collision with military aircraft. Zambia Airways voluntarily cancelled its domestic flights, and Lusaka’s airport tower reported that it could not operate while military craft were in the air since there was no direct link between the two. Likewise, an East African Airways flight bound for Lusaka from Nairobi was turned back over the Tanzanian frontier.

Commenting on the situation, the Zambia Daily Mail stated that the threats from Salisbury were “deliberate, calculated, and highly motivated.” The paper continued by stating that the Smith regime was “up to something, and just looking for an excuse.” It called upon Zambian citizens to be vigilant and prepared to defend their own soil.

President Kaunda, speaking in Livingstone, warned the white regimes that “it would not be long before Zambian aircraft could strike at any of their capitol”s and hence “it would not be realistic for Zambia’s white neighbors to underestimate Zambia’s defense capabilities.” Kaunda commented that the country had been “put on a new footing of alertness” in response to the new dangers on its borders. (Guardian, London, Sept. 15, 18, 1972)

IS MALAWI TURNING?

At the eighth summit meeting of the countries of eastern and central Africa, there was a unanimous decision to officially guarantee the liberation movements of Southern Africa the right to use the territories of countries bordering on their combat zones as bases. Malawi, with the others, voted in favor, although in private indicating some reservations about it. Apparently, however, as FRELIMO has cut off more of Malawi’s communications to the south, its relations with Tanzania and the north have improved. Whether Malawi’s vote foretells more concrete assistance remains to be seen. (Afrique-Asie, No. 14, Oct. 2, 1972)
THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

SWISS, FRENCH PROTESTANTS EXPRESS CONCERN FOR SOUTH AFRICA

In a letter signed by 333 French-speaking Protestant pastors and professors of theology from France and Switzerland, and 102 laymen and women, concern was expressed about the present situation in South Africa and their feeling of brotherhood toward the Christian witnesses fighting against apartheid. The letter was delivered at a meeting of Huguenot societies from all over the world on the fourth centenary of the Saint Bartholomew massacre in Paris, held Sept. 29, 1972.

The letter said in part: "We would have you know that, as we see it, the voice of these theologians [who protest apartheid] is the authentic voice of the Church of Christ in South Africa. We hear it again in the utterances of the Lutheran bishops of Namibia, who stand as witnesses for their people, in the voice of the Catholic priest Cosmas Desmond, who has been interned and condemned to silence for having publicly denounced the enforced repatriation of so-called 'improductive Africans,' in the voice of the members of the Christian Institute of South Africa and of the South African Institute of Race Relations, all of whom are harassed at this time by the Security Police, in the voice of the African, Indian, Coloured and White students who...demonstrated against oppression." (Copy of the letter received from Paris.)

PROTESTANTS PROTEST SOUTH AFRICAN BAN ON STUDY OF U.S. FIRMS

A commission representing eight Protestant denominations in the U.S. has protested a South African announcement that it will no longer allow foreigners to enter South Africa to investigate foreign business operations. The Ecumenical Commission on Southern Africa said it was "disturbed" by the development. South African officials said in mid-October they were tired of American involvement in South African affairs and would bar persons seeking to study foreign business there. This reference was no doubt to churchmen and others who have gone to South Africa recently to scrutinize the policies of U.S. companies operating within the apartheid system.

According to the Ecumenical Commission, South African Government claims to be "open to dialogue... seem somewhat shallow" in light of the ban on investigations of foreign business practices, and indicates an attempt to "hide something." The statement added that U.S. churches are stockholders in many American businesses in South Africa and "are deeply concerned about the role these companies are playing in Southern Africa."

The Ecumenical Commission is supported by the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Episcopal Church, Reformed Church in America, United Presbyterian Church, United Methodist Church, United Church of Canada, United Church of Christ, and the National Council of Churches. (Religious News Service, Oct. 30, 1972)

METHODIST WOMEN INVESTIGATE CATERPILLAR

United Methodist women leaders in Atlantic City, N.J. voted Oct. 31 to file a basic disclosure resolution with the Caterpillar Tractor Company asking for facts on operations in Southern Africa. The move represents the first time the Women's Division of the denomination's Board of Global Ministries has initiated what amounts to a proxy challenge to a corporation. In the past the agency has voted its shares in support of challenges launched by other religious groups and has sent spokeswomen to corporation annual meetings.

The division owns 7,000 shares of common stock (worth $582,750 on Oct. 30) in Caterpillar Tractor. It wants the company to issue a full disclosure on South African operations, including data on policies relating to black and white workers in the apartheid society, taxes paid to South Africa, profits made, and whether Caterpillar complies with apartheid laws. Last year the United Church of Christ won such disclosure from Mobil Oil.

Caterpillar Tractor at Cabora Bassa Dam Site.
Managers of the Women’s Division also voted intention to file disclosure resolutions with one of four companies doing business in Namibia. The four corporations listed and the number of shares of stock owned in each by the United Methodist Women are: American Metal Climax (300 shares), Bethlehem Steel (1,400 shares), Texaco (15,000 shares), and Standard Oil of California (1,120 shares). One of these will be chosen in consultation with groups from other denominations planning to file resolutions for the 1973 annual stockholders meetings of corporations.

The filing of requests for data on Southern Africa operations of businesses in which any United Methodist agency holds stock was sanctioned in April by the denomination’s legislating General Conference. (Religious News Service, Oct. 31, 1972)

DUTCH REFORMED THEOLOGIAN CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN HOMELANDS POLICY

A Dutch Reformed theologian has issued one of the strongest attacks on the South African Government’s “homelands” policy ever to come from a clergyman of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK). In an article written for the church’s theological magazine, Dr. Kobus Kruger of the University of South Africa charged that the practice of establishing homelands for black Africans is “irreconcilable with the Christian conscience.” His comments, quoted extensively in the pro-Nationalist Sunday newspaper Rapport, were especially significant since his church has been a prominent supporter of apartheid.

Although NGK churchmen have criticized the living conditions of the African resettlement areas, Kruger’s article is a direct attack on the “homelands’ concept as it has been practiced by the Government. He said that development of the homelands per se is a good idea, but added that it has become clear that “even though the homelands were to be completely developed there would always be millions of black people in the so-called white areas...as permanent foreigners...” In the “so-called white areas,” he wrote, the African “is tolerated...only as an essential function in the labor process, but he is not welcomed as a person with all that accompanies that.” To be treated in such a way “affects the heart of your humanity and to treat others in that way is un-Christian,” Kruger asserted. “Real people are being sacrificed to the absolute principle that every nation should have its own separate country.” He charged that there was “a big gap between the expressed policy, which had been solemnly undertaken, to realize an ideal, and the practice, in which all sorts of concessions had to be made.” The truth was, Kruger said, “that we are in a time of moral crisis in which we will have to radically revise our thoughts on these matters.” (Religious News Service, Oct. 31, 1972)
THE CROTALE MISSILE SYSTEM

In its new emphasis on purchasing foreign-designed arms systems to make better use of its Research and Development Funds, the Pentagon will decide next year whether to select a European surface-to-air system for hitting low-flying enemy aircraft in all kinds of weather. One of the three candidates is Crotale, developed by France’s Thomson-CSF and South Africa, and represented by its American licensee North American Rockwell Corp. The licensees for the other systems are United Aircraft and a team from Boeing and Hughes Aircraft. (The Wall Street Journal, Oct. 26, 1972)

COLOURED LEADER SEeks IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS

Sonny Leon, leader of the opposition Labour Party in the Coloured Representative Council of South Africa, has recently toured the United States for five weeks as a guest of the State Department and through the arrangements of the African-American Institute. He is interested in talking with representatives of the larger American companies which hold interests in South Africa, especially the automobile manufacturers, in an effort to get them to provide better opportunities for their nonwhite workers. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 14, 1972)

INDIAN OCEAN ISSUE

The consultative American-African Affairs Association is urging the U.S. Government to collaborate with South Africa on the issue of Indian Ocean control, in spite of the apparent relaxation in Soviet-American tensions following Nixon’s Moscow visit. Their views were expressed by three political scientists who have visited South Africa: Dr. Lucas Beebe, lecturer at a college in Charleston, S.C.; Dr. Alvin Cottrell, director of research for the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington; and Mr. J. A. Parker, a political commentator and writer in Washington. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1972)

SPORTS

ATHLETES WHO PLAY TOGETHER . . .

When a British rugby team accepted a post-game invitation to attend a party at the Port Elizabeth city hall with their Coloured team opponents and some 600 "mixed" guests, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, South Africa’s Minister of Sport, denounced the gathering as a “social extravaganza” which did not “serve sport” and was “not in line with our policy in South Africa.” (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 9, 1972)

In an angry reply to Koornhof’s criticism of the multiracial get-together and his accusation that the British players had flouted the conditions of their invitation to South Africa, Sir William Ramsay, a past president of the English Rugby Football Union who accompanied the British team on its South African tour, called the Minister’s remarks “absolute rubbish, abusive and insulting.” Quoting a senior official of the English Rugby Union, Ramsay added: “It should be remembered that the world can easily do without South Africa, but South Africa cannot do without the world.”

Meanwhile Peter Hain, chairman of the Young Liberals and Britain’s most active anti-apartheid campaigner, took a different view of the matter and opponents of South African racism in sport ridiculed Koornhof as “The Minister Responsible for Isolation.” Said Hain: “In the month or so since his [Koornhof’s] appointment [as Minister for Sport] he has done more damage to White South African Sport than any protest movement could achieve in a lifetime.” (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 17, 1972)

SPORTS BOYCOTT CITED AS MOST EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

Ambassador Abdulrahim Farah of Somalia, chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, has cited the world-wide sports boycott against South Africa as the most effective action against that country’s policies of racial discrimination. (New York Times, Oct. 5, 1972)

Among the examples of successful action noted by Ambassador Farah were the following:
(1) Muhammed Ali’s decision to cancel a fight in Johannesburg scheduled for November of this year.

(2) The refusal of Latin American countries to permit the entry of South African teams wishing to participate in regional Davis Cup matches to be held there in 1973.

(3) The cancellation of an invitation to a South African team by Australia.

(4) Clear indications that the planned rugby tour of New Zealand by the South African Springboks is in jeopardy as a result of the South African Government’s refusal to allow mixed trials for the selection of the Springbok team (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 16, 1972) and threats of massive protests from two New Zealand organizations, the Citizens’ Association for Racial Equality (CARE) and Halt All Racist Tours (HART). (Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 11, 1972)


SHUMBAS SLIP THROUGH SANCTIONS

A Rhodesian hockey team called the Shumbas (Lions) managed to arrange a tour in Britain in October despite U.N. sanctions which ban sporting competition with that country. They did so by maintaining that the tour was based on personal arrangements made between individuals. All team members carried British or South African passports, a fact which apparently left the British Foreign Office quite satisfied that the U.N. sanctions were not relevant in this case. (Guardian, U.K., Oct. 9, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA LIKELY TO HAVE THE POOL TO THEMSELVES

As a result of a paragraph recently added to the constitution of FINA, the world governing body of swimming, South Africa and Rhodesia will probably be ousted from the association. The new paragraph reads: “If any national body practices discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, or political associations, it shall be ineligible for membership. If any FINA member practices such discrimination, after investigation and subsequent substantiation it shall be expelled.”

Commissions are now to be sent by FINA to South Africa and Rhodesia to find out whether racial discrimination exists in the sport of swimming. (Guardian, U.K., Sept. 7 and 8, 1972)

RHODESIA AND THE OLYMPICS: WHOSE “POLITICS” ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

The Aug. 22 decision by 36 to 31 of the International Olympic Committee to oust the 44-member (7 blacks) Rhodesian team from the 1972 Olympics is now, like the Munich games themselves, a part of sports history. But it is also much more than that, and the issues raised by the Rhodesian expulsion and aired extensively in the national and international press are not likely to disappear, however much the IOC and Olympic supporters might wish to see them buried.

The ultimately successful threat to boycott the games if Rhodesia participated, launched by over a dozen African states and the vast majority of black American athletes during the three-week period prior to the opening of the games Aug. 26, brought cries of “politics” and hypocrisy from a number of newspapers. In addition, there were numerous laments for the fate of the Olympics itself as a result of what appeared to be new “politically” motivated challenges to the allegedly untainted (by politics anyway) international sports operation. (The Daily Express, Aug. 22, 1972; The Yorkshire Post, Aug. 22, 1972; The Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 23, 1972)

On the other hand, a very different tone was clearly set in other newspaper accounts, which pointed out that the anti-Rhodesian forces had no monopoly on hypocrisy and that in fact “politics” (national honor and prestige, the playing of anthems, the wearing of national emblems, and national financing of teams) have always been an integral part of Olympic competition, while the international recognition accorded to individual athletes has clearly reflected on their own countries. (The Daily Mirror, Aug. 23, 1972; The New Statesman, Aug. 25, 1972; The Afro-American, Aug. 22, 1972)

Ultimately, the question was not whether “politics” would or would not become an issue in Olympic sport. Rather, it was whether or not the in-house politics of the IOC—president Avery Brundage (now retired after 20 years) —the juggling of technicalities and the carefully arranged farce by which the Rhodesian team was to re-assume colonial status as British subjects for the purposes of the games—would withstand opposition to Rhodesia’s participation from the UN, from the OAU, from most of the African states competing, from organizations such as Dennis Brutus’ South African Non-racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and his International Campaign Against Racism in Sport (ICARIS), from black American and Caribbean athletes, and from the American Committee on Africa. It did not. Rhodesia, an illegal regime which practices apartheid with regard to its sports and sporting facilities at home, was not allowed to parade a multiracial pseudo-colonial team before the international crowds at Munich’s Olympic stadium.
UNIVERSITY STATES

BLACK MEDIA MEETS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

A three-day conference, sponsored by three boards of the United Methodist Church and the National Newspaper Publishers Association, was held in October in New York City, focusing on Southern Africa. The 20 black media representatives from such news services as Muhammed Speaks, The Afro-American, Chicago Daily Defender, Essence, and Black Enterprise, heard a range of African speakers on the pressing issues of Southern Africa. Appearing before them were ambassadors from Nigeria, Tanzania, and the OAU, as well as liberation movement speakers from ANC, FRELIMO, and SWAPO.

All speakers attested to the progress of the armed struggle in Southern Africa, the West's role in aiding the white and colonial regimes, and their abhorrence of Black Americans who go to South Africa as stars and performers only to bolster the apartheid regime.

Several ideas for the black media emerged from the conference, including the setting up of a clearing house for Southern Africa news; the need for TV/Radio coverage as well as print; and for correspondents in Africa; the black press as a check on general press distortions on Africa; and the role of the media in urging support for the liberation struggle. Some of the conference sessions will be shown on BLACK JOURNAL TV. (United Methodist Information, Oct. 17, 1972; Afro-American, Oct. 24, 1972)

BAIL RAISED FOR PROTESTER AT NORFOLK AZALEA FESTIVAL

Samuel Weston, a student at Norfolk State College, was charged with "maliciously throwing a missile at a moving vehicle" during the time of the spring protests by the Norfolk Black community against U.S. complicity with NATO as symbolized by the choice of a Portuguese queen for the annual Norfolk Azalea Festival. Norfolk is the headquarters in the U.S. for NATO's Allied Command. Weston's bail, first set at $10,000, has been progressively raised to the present $50,000, and it appears that the Norfolk authorities are going to push through a Grand Jury further investigations to find others connected with the successful protest. (African World, Sept. 30, 1972)

PROTESTS CONTINUE ON RHODESIAN MINERALS IMPORTS

The American Committee on Africa in New York City has played sleuth quite successfully by tracking down information about the rising amount of minerals coming into the United States from sanctioned Rhodesia. ACOA has pinpointed eight cargo ships carrying Rhodesian goods, and has been able, through contact with local trade unionists of the International Longshoremen's Association and others, to create viable protests against these imports. The result has been the diversion of three ships (carrying about 25,000 tons of chrome ore and 282 drums of nickel cathodes) from original destination ports and the boycott of unloading of four ships (carrying about 51,000 tons of chrome ore and 282 drums of nickel cathodes) by ILA members in Maryland and Louisiana. The most recent ACOA revelation has been about the third trip of the S.S. Mormacove, a U.S. registered Moore-McCormack ship, which carried 20 metric tons of Rhodesian nickel cathodes consigned to a subsidiary of Engelhard Minerals, Philipp Brothers, and 60 tons of cathodes to Wolverine Metals. The ship arrived in Baltimore on Oct. 19 where again the ILA workers refused to offload the goods.

ACOA has made extensive reporting of its findings to the U.N. Security Council subcommittee on Sanctions. In total it appears that about 100,000 tons of goods in 20 shipments have come from Rhodesia into the U.S. since imports began last March, 1972. Three-fourths of it has been high and low-carbon ferrochrome and chrome ore; the rest nickel and nickel cathodes, asbestos fibers, and vellium, mainly consigned to Union Carbide and Foote Mineral. Ships have departed from Beira and Lourenco Marques in Mozambique, with only two debarking from Durban, South Africa, and have landed at ports in Baltimore, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, two ports near New Orleans, Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York.

It has recently been discovered that nickel cathodes, of which more than 500 tons have been imported from Rhodesia, are not on the U.S. Government list of "strategic and critical" resources, according to the Federal Register of February, 1972. As the Rhodesian imports are only justified because they are deemed strategic by the Office of Emergency Preparedness, it appears that the motive for such imports is not based on so-called need. This phenomenon has existed since the beginning of U.S. sanctions-creaking when even with a SURPLUS of chrome ore, the U.S. began buying chrome from the Smith regime. (ACOA Fact Sheet, Oct. 31, Press Release, Oct. 18, Letter to United Nations Sanctions Committee, Oct. 28, 1972)

MADISON AREA COMMITTEE INITIATES BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS

The Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA) has called for a boycott of South African products sold in the area including rock lobster tails, "Kaffir Tea" (see ad), Gant guavas, wine, and some diamonds. In its press release, MACSA describes the farm labor prison system whereby many South African products are produced, and the pass system which symbolizes the modern slavery called apartheid. The Committee says that a boycott is a concrete act and a meaningful contribution, and urges all to join. (MACSA Statement, November, 1972)
AFRICAN SOLIDARITY WEEK AT KANSAS UNIVERSITY

Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) opened African Solidarity Week in September at University of Kansas with a strong speech against the conspiracy between U.S. Government and business in Southern Africa. Sponsored by the Black Student Union and the African Club, the group viewed films on Southern Africa, and a new film depicting the mass marches and actions on African Liberation Day in Washington, D.C. last May. There was some discussion at the conference about the role of a man such as Congressman Diggs on the African issue. A representative of YOBU (Youth Organization for Black Unity) reflected his understanding that increased Black awareness has forced the issue and that Africa was still a safe issue for the Black political establishment, as Viet Nam had been for others at an earlier stage. (African World, Sept. 30, 1972)

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

ANGLICAN CHURCH SELLS SHARES IN RTZ

Rio Tinto Zinc is a British multinational corporation with substantial interests in Southern Africa, including a huge uranium venture in Namibia. The Church Commissioners who administer the finances of the Church of England voted recently to sell their shares in RTZ worth some $3.6 million. The former policy of no investments in companies involved in tobacco, the media, and gambling has now been broadened to include a more overtly political issue, Southern Africa. (Guardian, U.K., Sept. 19, 1972; Afro-American, Sept. 26, 1972; Anti-Apartheid News, October, 1972)

DUTCH PROTEST PORTUGUESE POLICY

A two-day conference on Portuguese colonialism was organized by a local Amnesty International group to focus attention on the presence of 25,000 political prisoners in Portugal. The group featured a press conference by former detainee and leader of the opposition Social Democratic Party, Mario Soares.

CABORA BASSA LINKS EXPLAINED BY GERMAN FIRM

In an attempt to cut off discussion occurring on political issues, the Chairman of Hochtief Company in West Germany devoted half of his speech to the company’s annual meeting to explaining Hochtief’s involvement in Cabo Basse Dam Project. Last year there were protests against the company’s connection with the dam, and this year Third World Action and other German groups planned to use the forum as a way to raise the issue again. It appears that even without the U.S. kind of disclosure resolution, the Chairman of Hochtief revealed a great deal of information, not to really convince shareholders, but to circumvent a second year of protest. (Translated by Angola Comite from Frank. Alig. Zeitung, Aug. 19, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICA SUSPENDED FROM INTERNATIONAL BODY ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The International Union of Local Authorities, using information from UNESCO, voted to suspend South Africa from its meetings, much to the chagrin of white South Africans such as the former Mayor of Johannesburg. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1972)

BRITISH ACTIONS

Members of the House of Lords, Fennor Brookway and Lady Gaitskill, have protested against the appointment of Dr. Carel de Wet as South African Ambassador to Whitehall, describing him as an “advocate of apartheid.” British Government spokesmen have said they will welcome his arrival in October. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1972)

The annual conference of the Labour Party voted to end all investment in South Africa, and passed resolutions calling for an end of arms sales to Portugal, the rejection of the Smith-Heath detente. (Daily News, Tanzania, Oct. 6, 1972) The resolutions would take effect in theory if the Labour Party were to gain power in England. Of more immediate significance was the vote of the British Trade Union Congress to sell its current investments in firms with South African subsidiaries. (Anti-Apartheid News, October, 1972)

“I’ve got some nigger black fully exploited Namibian skins to sell cheap” cried a hawker dressed as South African Prime Minister Vorster on the floor of the biannual karakul (persian lamb) pelts auction in London. The protest organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and OPERATION OMEGA called attention to the exploitation of Namibian workers on karakul sheep farms, and British support for the illegal South African control of Namibia. (Anti-Apartheid News, October, 1972)

South Africa is itinerating 24 white South African women throughout England and the continent to do public relations work for OUTSPAN oranges. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has called for an increased BOYCOTT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCT, which are imported to England tax free under the old Commonwealth duty system and in 1970 brought South Africa $50 million in sales while outspan oranges are grown by the most impoverished workers in South Africa, some African farmers earning only 25 cents per day! (Anti-Apartheid News, October, 1972)

Kaffir “Tea” is the dried leaves of the Rooibusch Shrub which grows on the highlands above Cape Town, South Africa. It has been used as a healthful beverage there for many generations.

Kaffir “Tea” resembles orange pekoe tea in general appearance, flavor and delightful aroma. Yet it is entirely free of caffeine or theinso. This delicious beverage will please the most discriminating tea drinker as to flavor and aroma, yet leave him free from all the undesirable effects of the high caffeine and thein content of ordinary tea.

Kaffir “Tea” can be served in any of the ways in which ordinary tea is served: hot, iced, spiced or as a basis for punch. It may be served plain, with cream and sugar or with lemon as desired.

(Kaffir = Nigger)
At a Student Activists Conference over the summer, British student groups planned joint actions concerned with Southern Africa, including fund-raising for the liberation movements on local campuses, the sponsorship of a SWAPO speaking tour; the adoption of Namibian political prisoners; and anti-corporate actions following up on those at Edinburgh and Hull Universities focusing on targets such as GEC-English Electric, British Leyland, RTZ, ICI, etc. (Anti-Apartheid News, October, 1972)

The ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHERS in Britain passed a resolution at its Executive Committee meeting in June in which it affirmed its anti-apartheid stance and said that people accepting jobs in South African universities “which preach and practice” apartheid “may give the appearance of giving credence and respectability to apartheid.” It called upon its members not to apply for or accept such jobs. The Association has no powers beyond persuasion. (Times High Education Supplement, Oct. 10, 1972; NUSAS Newsletter, Oct. 13, 1972)

AFRICAN YOUTH GROUP SUPPORTS LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Important resolutions were passed at the October meeting of the Pan African Youth Movement held in Conakry, Guinea. Youth from Algeria, Nigeria, Senegal, Dahomey, Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville, and Tunisia met for four days and heard delegates from SWAPO, PAIGC, ANC, and FRELIMO. The group voted to create a volunteer brigade to be placed “at the service of the liberation movements” and the means to facilitate passage of men and material to combat areas. It called for solidarity committees to be set up in nations contiguous to conflict areas, and proposed that a volunteer corps also be created for education, agriculture, and health. (IIEE Bulletin, Oct. 24, 1972)

TRADE UNION CONGRESS CALLS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SANCTIONS

The 10th World Conference of the International Confederation of Trade Unions, meeting in London in July, passed a comprehensive resolution calling for the U.N. to make sanctions against South Africa mandatory, and for governments to “refrain” from contact with South Africa and discourage investment there. (U.N. Document, Oct. 9, 1972)

OMA BUTTONS

The Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique, and Guine (CCLAMG) has completed the making of a button at the request of the Organization of Angolan Women, OMA. OMA is the women's organization of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

OMA was formed by MPLA women to ensure the equal participation of all people in the liberation of Angola, both during the struggle and after independence. Many members serve in the regular MPLA military units. They also work as teachers, technicians, radio operators, doctors, mechanics, and as political organizers; OMA women are being trained to become political commissars, and there will soon be women serving on the Politico Military Coordinating Committee as commanders. Finally OMA functions on an international level in solidarity with progressive women's groups all around the world.

The OMA button is to be distributed both in Angola and among support groups as an expression of solidarity and as a tool for educational and support-raising purposes. The design is in MPLA colors, with an armed black woman set against a red background circled in yellow lettering spelling out “Organizacao da Mulher de Angola.”

Buttons sell for $.25 each or 1/3 off on orders of 20 or more. (See address below.)

VITAMIN C

Due to lack of transportation, widespread use of herbicides, and forced mobility caused by frequent bombings, an urgent need for Vitamin C has arisen in the liberated regions of Angola. Vitamin C is found in fruits and leafy vegetables and is essential for the prevention and treatment of scurvy.

The Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique, and Guine (CCLAMG) is undertaking a campaign to collect Vitamin C and send it to the movements for distribution. Throughout this country Vitamin C is easily and inexpensively obtainable. The first shipment will go to Angola on February 4, the anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle by MPLA in Angola.

You can help by donating as much Vitamin C as possible, preferably 250 mg. dosages in plastic amber bottles. IMPORTANT: be sure that the dosage per tablet is clearly labeled on the container.

For ordering, donating, and further information about the OMA buttons (above) or the Vitamin C campaign, write to CCLAMG, 2546 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 60614. Phone (312) 348-3370.)
We reprint the letter received from the President of MPLA, Agostinho Neto, thanking us for the check sent via the Liberation Support Movement. This was the result of an appeal for funds for medical supplies made in the August-September, 1971 issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA.

We thank our readers for their generous support of the appeal. We collected a total of $200.00.

SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE
637, W. 125th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10027
U.S.A.

Dear Mrs. Janet Hooper,

We acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 8th July, 1972, together with the accompanying copy of your letter to the Vancouver Liberation Support Movement.

In this letter you tell us of sending a cheque for $200 to the LSM so that this organisation should convert it into goods useful to the MPLA. The MPLA is extremely grateful to you for this kind gesture, which is undoubtedly a notable contribution to the just cause of our People against Portuguese colonialism.

The fact that this aid has been raised thanks to appeals made in your SOUTHERN AFRICA magazine shows how much you are interested in our cause, and how well it has been understood by the North American People. Apart from this, we consider the mere fact of your publishing articles about our struggle is in itself a valuable contribution.

We are quite convinced that you will continue your magnificent work for the benefit of the Southern African Peoples.

Yours sincerely,

Agostinho Neto
(President of MPLA)
AFRICA WASHINGTON OFFICE OPENED

The Rev. Edgar (Ted) Lockwood is the new Director of an ecumenically-supported Washington office on Africa administered by the American Committee on Africa. Lockwood, a lawyer, is associated with the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies, and as an Episcopalian has served on his church's Social Investment Committee and worked with the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa (ECSA). In the summer of 1971 he travelled to South Africa as an official observer for the National Council of Churches, Amnesty International, and the International Commission of Jurists at the political trials of the Unity Movement members and Anglican Dean ffrench-Beytagh.

The first major publication emerging from the office is a comprehensive study of the way in which Senators and Congressmen voted on issues affecting Southern Africa, including the South African sugar quota, the chrome Byrd Amendment, and the Azores aid pact. The office encourages people to use this information in local campaigns and in developing local interest in governmental policy on Southern Africa. For more information write Ted Lockwood or Christine Roote at the Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 546-7961.

FACTS AND FIGURES ON SOUTH AFRICA, Notes and Documents, August, 1972, Unit on Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. No. 16/72.

This new document of the United Nations gives the latest statistics on the following categories: Population; Reserves; Segregation and forced removals; Labor; Salaries and Wages; Standard of Living; Taxes and Government expenditure; Immigration; Health and Medical Services; Education; Prisons and Prisoners; Censorship; Military and police; Foreign relations; and Foreign Investments.

Order this and other documents on Southern Africa from UNITED NATIONS, New York, N.Y. 10017.
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The war is expensive in terms of dollars, also. Portugal's annual military budget is approximately 50% of her total budget. The Portuguese government currently has 150,000 troops in Africa. The Gulf Oil Corporation financially supports this Portuguese war through its annual payment of $20,000,000 for oil rights in Angola.

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___6. A Brief History of Protestant Missions in Angola

Prices: 5 free; 100/75¢; 200/ $1.25; 500/ $2.50 (postpaid if paid advan

Other Essential Resources

"Gulf Oil: Portuguese Ally in Angola", Corporate Information Center, 475 Riverside Drive, NYC 10027 (212) 870-2295, 30 pages, 60¢.

"Allies in Empire; The U.S. and Portugal". American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., NYC 10016 (212) 532-3700. 40 pages, 50¢.

"Background Information Re Gulf and the Ohio Conference"-Ohio Conf-UCC, 41 Croswell Rd, Columbus, Ohio 43214 (614) 267-3141, 45 p, $1.


"Why We Protest Gulf's Investment in Angola", American Committee on Africa (see above) free.

"Gulf Position Paper", Gulf Oil Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15230

"Gulf Oil: A Study in Exploitation", Committee of Returned Volunteers, (write to American Committee on Africa)

"Repression in Southern Africa; An Indictment of Harvard University" Pan-African Liberation Committee, P.O. Box 514 Brookline Village, Massachusetts 02147 15 pages, 25¢.
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.

Please fill in the form below and return at your earliest convenience. This will help us considerably in cutting down the work entailed in establishing a subscription list, and obviate the necessity of sending you a separate letter. Thanks so much.

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December, 1972