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# SASPOST

A NEWSLETTER OF OPPORTUNITIES  
AND INFORMATION FOR SOUTHERN  
AFRICANS IN NORTH AMERICA

NUMBER THIRTEEN

March 15, 1974

Fourteen years ago on the 21st, thousands gathered in peaceful protest against the Pass Laws at Sharpeville and Langa. Sixty-nine were killed. Today the struggle continues in all minority ruled southern Africa.

In this issue, you will hear from a Mozambican about the "third force" which has emerged in his own country and controversies in Lisbon over Portugal's future in Africa. You will hear from Sean MacBride, the new Commissioner for Namibia, who recently spoke in Lusaka, and Congressman Charles Diggs, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, who spoke in Addis Ababa about U.S. foreign policy and Africa. You will hear from Onkgopotse Tiro and Robert Resha.

Six scholarship programs are discussed for study in Africa, the U.S., and the Commonwealth. Two publications are reviewed, free publications offered, plus a discount subscription to AFRICA Magazine. NUSAS has a new publication, Dissent, and a South African reviews an article in it. An Angolan writes about medical studies at the university in Liberia, where he is a student.

In the past 24 months, 48 former SASP students have returned to Africa; others of you have visited. We continue to list a few university, private business and industry positions in Africa for those of you who wish to go back in '74 and for those of you who want a view of the job market. What about employment in the U.S.? There are some recent court decisions which effect the employment rights of aliens. If you are underemployed there may be something more you can do about it.

This and more is in this issue of SASPOST. Thanks to those of you who pitched in to make it happen.

*May Brooner*

Joyce Leader

*Charlotte M. Peterson*

SASPOST is prepared by the Southern African Student Program of the African-American Institute. It is published monthly (hopefully!) by AAI, 833 UN Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017. It is available free of charge to Angolans, Mozambicans, Namibians, Rhodesians and South Africans in North America. The viewpoints and information published in SASPOST do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors or publisher.



## ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE AFRICAN HERITAGE STUDIES ASSOCIATION Sixth Annual Conference will be held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York City, April 4th-7th. The theme for this year's conference will be "Imperatives of the African World: Cultural Heritage, Political Struggle, Common Destiny." Registration for the conference is \$15.00 for regular participants and \$5.00 for students. Persons can register in advance or at the conference.

AHSA was created in 1969 by a group of black scholars who withdrew from the African Studies Association (ASA) to form their own organization, in which membership is open to all persons of African descent. AHSA is dedicated to the preservation, interpretation, and presentation of the historical and cultural heritage of African peoples. It seeks to reconstruct and represent African history and cultural studies along Afro-centric lines.

For further information and conference registration contact: Drs. Barbara Wheeler or Leonard Jeffries, AHSA Support Committee, Black Studies Department, City College of New York, New York, N.Y. 10031, or call this special AHSA information number (212) 234-3865.

ARE YOU INSURED? If you have no present insurance coverage from your school or job, write us. We have application forms for Home Insurance's \$2000 coverage which you can take for any chosen number of months. You pay only \$3.12 per month, per family member. You pay the first \$10 for any injury or sickness incurred during the term of your coverage; they pay the rest. It is "the most for the least" that we know of. (Note: It does not cover pregnancy, normal dental care, routine physical exams where no impairment in normal health is detected, or eye exams, fittings and prescriptions.) For further details, write to SASP.

And, if you're planning on getting pregnant, write Hinchcliff International, Inc., 90 John Street, N.Y.C. 10038 for information about their policy with the maternity rider. NB: You've got to be covered 12 months before the child arrives.

SUMMER CHARTER FLIGHTS TO NAIROBI. If you are a full-time student this year, you might be interested in the charter flights from London and Paris to Nairobi sponsored by the Council on International Educational Exchange. Flights will leave London and Paris on the following dates: June 12 & 26; July 4 & 18; August 1 & 15; September 5. Flights will return to London and Paris from Nairobi on July 4 & 18; August 1, 15 & 22; and September 5 & 19.

The London-Nairobi fare is now listed at \$168.90 one way. The Paris-Nairobi fare is \$176.10 one way. However, due to fuel surcharges fares may increase up to 10%.

To be eligible for the CIEE flights one must have an International Student ID card. CIEE issues the International Student ID card to students who show proof of being a full-time student in 1974. (Proof may be a grade report which shows credits taken or a letter from your school's registrar with the embossed school seal). Send the proof, a small picture of yourself and \$2.00 to CIEE, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 for your International Student ID card. Flight reservations are made at the same address. Payment in full, including a \$4.00 booking fee, must accompany all applications for flights.

RANGEL HEADS CAUCUS. Harlem Congressman, Charles Rangel, Democrat from the 19th C.D., has been elected the new Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. He succeeds Congressman Louis Stokes and will hold the position for the next two years. Other officers elected to the non-partisan coalition of Black Representatives in Congress are Mrs. Yvonne Burke (D/Calif.) Vice Chairperson; Walter Fauntroy (D/D.C.) Secretary; and Andrew Young (D./Ga.) Treasurer.

Amsterdam News 1/26/74

THE D.C. SCHOOL BOARD'S move to consider whether or not it should routinely purchase supplies from 61 American firms with South African holdings indicates a growing grass-roots movement against U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa.

Habari Audio News Report 2/12/74

THE UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA'S new President for 1974 is the Hon. Rashleigh Jackson of Guyana.



THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID OF THE UNITED NATIONS unanimously decided on March 7 to seat representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania as observers in the Committee. The leaders of the two organizations have been requested to come to New York, or designate a representative, to attend the committee's special meeting on 21 March to commemorate the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The representatives have been asked to remain available for consultations for one week.

AFRICAN ARTS FESTIVAL PLANS CRYSTALLIZED. The Second World Black and African Festival of the Arts and Cultures will be held November 2, 1975. Universities are invited to send delegations. Persons wishing to give papers should notify the Secretariat at this time. Program topics include: The Black World: A Community of Civilizations; Black Civilization and Traditional Education; Black Civilization and Pedagogical Problems in Today's Africa; Black Civilization and the Mass Media; Black Civilization and its Dialogue with Other Civilizations. Papers due by June 1974 for translation into French and English. For information write: Prof. A. Diop, Secy. General, International Secretariat, Second World Festival, P.M.B. 12568, Ikoyi, Lagos, Nigeria.

RHODESIA PLANS WARNING SYSTEM "so that Rhodesian Tribesmen can warn authorities of the presence of guerillas in their areas; the Rhodesian government plans to install 'early warning systems' for use by African villagers."

Washington Post 1/30/74

FORMER ZAMBIAN AMBASSADOR to the UN and past President of the Council for Namibia, Paul Lusaka, is now Minister for Rural Development in the New Zambian Cabinet.

U.S. RECOGNIZES ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) which includes all independent African states except South Africa. This allows the President to extend privileges and immunities to employees of the OAU and is the first time the U.S. has recognized an organization it is not a part of.

THE NEW PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANT TO SASP is Dr. Leslie Tater, who has served as a legal advisor of the American Council on Emigres in the Professions for nearly 20 years. During the month of February he assisted 10 southern Africans who have professional qualifications but are seriously underemployed to get better employment in the New York City area. These were persons with professional degrees known by SASP to be unemployed or underemployed. Dr. Tater will be working with us on a part-time basis for the next two months, and possibly (hopefully) the remainder of the fiscal year.

If you are qualified for a much better job than the one you have (or don't have!), are willing to relocate, and can be available for interviews in New York for at least a week, send this tear-off form to: Ms. Char McPherson, SASP/AAI, 833 U.N. Plaza, N.Y., N.Y. 10017.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

My Present Visa Classification is: \_\_\_\_\_

My I-94 (arrival/departure) Immigration White Slip    is stamped "Employment Authorized"

   is not stamped "Employment Authorized"

   I need advice on how to best regularize my visa status.

My present employment is: \_\_\_\_\_

The Type of Employment I am Seeking is: \_\_\_\_\_



THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION -- ZANU -- Invites YOU to a benefit dance this coming Saturday, March 23rd at 10 pm. It will be held in the West Room of International House at 500 Riverside Drive, near 122nd Street in New York City. Great music. Drinks at popular prices. Donation: \$3.00. For info, call (212)291-2164 or (212)721-2683.

FOURTH ANNUAL ZIMBABWE BENEFIT DANCE -- presented by the Zimbabwe Relief and Development Fund, Inc. Mark it on your calendar.....Saturday, April 6, 1974, 10 pm - 3 am, Concourse Plaza, Wedgewood Crystal Terrace, Grand Concourse at 161st Street, Bronx, New York City. Featuring---Swinging Afrikan music and Afrikan-American hits by the Fantastic Afrikana Band, Leo Mensah and Ekow Botchey. Honored Guests---Ambassadors from Afrika & the Diaspora and delegates to the 6th Annual Conference of the Afrikan Heritage Studies Association. Donation---\$7.50 including seating. Further info---(212)281-0754 or (212)781-3025.

CONFERENCE ON ZIMBABWE -- "The Economic, Legal, Political and Social Problems of Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia)," will be the theme of a conference presented by the African Studies Institute Department of Hofstra University. The conference will be held on Saturday, April 27, 1974 and will be held in the Student Center Theater of Hofstra University, Hempstead, Long Island, N.Y.

The MORNING SESSION.....10 am to 1 pm.....will cover INTERNAL DYNAMICS. Chairman - Mr. Eddy Gouraige. Discussant - Robert Van Lierop, Attorney, African Information Services, New York City.

"Zimbabwe Literature," Forbes Karimakwenda, Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York.

"The South African ANC and the Development of Nationalism in Zimbabwe," Professor Alvern Makapela, Department of History, Adelphi University, Garden City, New York.

"The Church's Dilemma in the Rhodesian Political Situation," Dr. Crispin C. G. Mozobere, Pastor of St. Mark Congregational Church (UCC), Roxbury, Boston, Massachusetts.

"Institutions of Control for Minority Rule in Rhodesia," Dr. Callistus Ndlovu, Department of History, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York.

"Arms, Theatre, and Strategy in the Struggle for the Liberation of Zimbabwe 1965-1973: A Strategic Study of a Revolution-in-Motion," E. J. M. Zvobgo, Ph.D. candidate at the Fletcher School of Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.

"Main Factors in the Colonial Transformation of Zimbabwe to Rhodesia from 1890 to Present," Dr. Mike Tsomondo, Chairman, Department of Afro-American Studies, SUNY College at Buffalo, N.Y.

The AFTERNOON SESSION.....2 pm to 5 pm.....will cover EXTERNAL DYNAMICS. Chairman - Dr. Callistus Ndlovu. Discussant - Prof. Donald Blackmun, Director Black Studies SUNY at Stony Brook, New York.

"Multinational Corporations and the Southern African Problem" Jennifer Davis, American Committee on Africa.

"International Organizations and the Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe," Eddy Gouriage, Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Columbia University, New York City.

"Britain's Policy Towards Rhodesia," Professor Henry Moyana, Department of History, Lincoln University, Oxford, Pennsylvania.

"Some Notes on Recognition and the Current Status of Zimbabwe," Professor Canute N. Parris, Department of Political Science, Chairman of Africana Studies Institute and Department, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York.

"Rhodesia in the Context of the Emerging South African Co-Prosperity Sphere," Dr. Charles M. B. Utete, Department of Political Science, Montclair, New Jersey.

To get to Hofstra University take the Long Island Railroad from Grand Central Station, New York City to Hempstead. From there you can walk to the Hofstra campus. (Train time: 45 minutes) To go by car take the Grand Central Parkway to the Northern State Parkway to the Meadow Brook Parkway. From the Meadow Brook Parkway take the Hempstead Turnpike to the Hofstra University exit. (Driving time: 30 minutes)

For further information contact Callistus Ndlovu or Eddy Gouraige at (516)560-3598.



AN ANGOLAN WRITES TO SASPOST FROM LIBERIA:

It is good sometimes to take adventures, especially when one's ambitions are at stake. That is exactly what I did.

I came to the U.S.A. in August 1963. After two years of high school, I entered college where I graduated in 1969 with a B.S. in Biology, with the intention of studying medicine. Unfortunately, after my graduation I found it impossible to obtain admission into medical school in the U.S. It was indeed a frustrating experience and I did not know what to do next.

For two and a half years my frustrations built up progressively while my hopes of becoming a medical doctor were regressing. Finally the time came when I had to seek for alternatives by applying to some medical schools in Africa.

In December of 1971 I learned about the newly established medical school in Liberia where I applied and was accepted. Without delay, I departed in March of 1972 for my new endeavors. This was sort of an adventure, because I knew nothing about the school and little about the country.

Now after two years of studies at A.M. Dogliotti College of Medicine, I am extremely happy that I pursued this adventure.

A.M. Dogliotti College of Medicine of the University of Liberia is a new institution established in 1968 under the auspices of Torino University of Italy which supplies most of the medical equipment and some professors, although most of the faculty is composed of Africans (Liberians and Nigerians).

In fact the Dean of the college, Professor J. Daramola, is a Nigerian who previously headed the Department of Public Health at the University of Lagos. He is a dynamic, hard working man who has brought significant improvements to the college.

The school is small (about 50 students) which makes it advantageous for the students because of small-sized classes. This makes it possible for the students to become intimately associated with the instructors on individual basis.

The academic program of the college covers a five-year period of studies, designed so that two and one half years are for pre-clinical studies and two and one half years are for the clinical program.

My purpose of writing this is to inform many of our African students in the States who may have similar difficulties as I did.

I advise them to seek alternatives by applying to medical schools in Africa, in Liberia particularly. I know it will be rewarding to try rather than wasting one's precious time.

----- An Angolan

A ZIMBABWEAN WRITES TO SASPOST FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

I suppose that some of your readers --Zimbabweans--might be interested in knowing of the existence of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation. The Commonwealth Secretariat administers the Special Commonwealth Program for Rhodesians. My understanding is that the Special Commonwealth Program for Assisting the Education of Rhodesians was inaugurated in 1966. It was conceived initially as a short-term measure to assist those Rhodesian Africans who were outside the country at the time of the illegal declaration of independence. Subsequently, the Program was extended to include students who left Rhodesia either for political reasons or in order to obtain educational opportunities, at the post secondary level, which were not available to them in Rhodesia.

The program is designed to help Rhodesians outside Rhodesia who are suitably qualified for further education at universities, technical colleges or other training institutions and who require financial assistance in order to cover the costs of their study programs. Several Commonwealth governments contribute to the program by making places at their educational institutions available to Rhodesians, by providing scholarships, or by providing both places and scholarships.

The Commonwealth Secretariat acts as a clearing house for the program. The Secretariat also administers the Commonwealth Rhodesia Scholarship Program and makes awards to selected students to enable them to study in developing Commonwealth Countries, especially Africa. Awards are not given for study in non-Commonwealth countries (e.g.U.S.A.). Awards normally cover travel expenses, fees, books, room and board and personal maintenance. For further details write to ASSISTANT DIRECTOR (Education and Training)Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation,Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London,SW1Y 5HX England.

---Takawira Shumba Mafukidze



## WHERE HAS ALL THE MONEY GONE?

Whatever one's field of interest might be, it is no secret that the financial situation for continuing one's education in the States is not a very happy one for a foreigner at present. Fortunate ones are able to get a tuition waiver or assistantship from one's school or -- even more rare -- to land a job with a company whose benefits include some form of tuition payments. The less fortunate work hard to save coins here and there from whatever work they are able to find in order to continue their studies course by course. More and more Southern Africans, meanwhile, are seeking opportunities to study abroad. Many of them write to you asking for assistance and advice. What leads can you give them? Or perhaps some of you would prefer to further your studies at an African university...How can you swing it financially?

## WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO SCHOLARSHIP POSSIBILITIES FOR SOUTHERN AFRICANS?

There appears to have been a shift from offering scholarships outside Africa to offering scholarships within Africa. Schools in independent Africa have strengthened, offering more fields of study. It is felt that education in an African institution is immediately more relevant to employment, manpower training and developmental needs. Experience has shown that those who might wish to study in Europe or America will have a difficult time being admitted to an African country to work, whereas those who have completed their coursework in certain African nations are able to adjust their status in order to work there indefinitely. Finally, the expense of education in Africa is not as prohibitive as in other parts of the world. Therefore, a greater number of students can be assisted. These, we believe, are some of the reasons why the opportunities for scholarship support are now greater for Southern Africans in Africa.

What are some of these opportunities? Listed below are four sources of scholarship support to consider (apart from the possibilities of assistance through various church groups) if one wishes to study in Africa:

(1) The Southern African Training Program (SATP), formerly administered in Addis, is presently administered by the African-American Institute in New York. This program, funded originally under contract with AID, and presently under contract to the Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs of the Department of State, was initiated in 1972. Currently 45 awards are made available under the SATP program to help Southern African refugee students undertake technical, vocational or university degree programs in institutions on the African continent. In addition, the AAI may recommend male refugee students seeking secondary school placement for admission to the Nkumbi International College in Kabwe, Zambia. Applicants must provide proof of their registration as refugees in country of asylum and a copy of a letter of admission to their desired school. For application forms write: SATP/AAI, 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

(2) The United Nations Educational and Training Program for Southern Africans (UNETPSA), featured in SASPOST #6, and discussed in SASPOST # 12, is much larger in scope as it is funded through contributions of nearly 34 member states. In the past year, 320 new awards were granted and 554 were extended. (1,836 applications were received). The vast majority of UNETPSA grantees are studying in academic institutions in Africa. Scholarships are much more competitive, and far less substantial (usually tuition only) for applicants outside Africa.

Operational responsibility for UNETPSA is carried out by the Office of Technical Cooperation in New York City. However, the United Nations Development Program offices in independent Africa also participate in the administrative work of the program. In addition, close cooperation exists between UNETPSA and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) although the UNHCR provides assistance generally to bona fide refugees to the first level of secondary education (Cambridge Certificate level only) while UNETPSA gives assistance at the higher educational levels.



# LISBON DISMISSES TOP 2 GENERALS OVER WAR STAND

Ouster Follows a Proposal  
for Political Concessions  
to African Guerrillas

By HENRY GINGER

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, March 14 — Portugal's two leading generals were dismissed tonight for advocating an end to the nation's wars against guerrillas in her African territories through a policy of offering political concessions.

The ouster of Gen. Francisco de Costa Gomes, the chief of the defense staff, and Gen. Antonio de Spínola, his deputy and the country's most popular soldier, appeared to plunge Portugal into her biggest political crisis since the fighting began in the African possessions 13 years ago.

The dismissals came at the end of a three-week attempt to change the course of Portuguese policy in Africa to one of offering Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea, or Guinea-Bissau as it is known to African nationalists, equal status with Portugal in a proposed federation.

## War Effort Lags

The Portuguese war effort, which consumes nearly one-half of the national budget, has long been bogged down in Mozambique in southeastern Africa and in the two other territories on the continent's western coast. Last September guerrillas declared the establishment of the independent country of Guinea-Bissau in a section of Portuguese Guinea.

Both the Portuguese Army and the political establishment have been split by the proposal for a policy change, which was made by General Spínola, a former commander in Portuguese Guinea, and supported by General Costa. A large number of junior officers were understood to be siding with the two generals.

A general alert, reflecting tension in the armed forces, confined the men to their barracks from last Saturday until Tuesday, and a Government spokesman said tonight that the "preventive" measures had been partly reinvoiced.

The announcement of the dismissals is being withheld from the public until tomorrow morning. The Government spokesman said it would appear then in the official journal.

To emphasize continuity in policy, Gen. Joaquim Luz Cunha, the commander in chief in Angola, is to be named defense chief at the same time.

General Spínola's post as deputy chief, created especially for him last year as a tribute to his four years as commander in Portuguese Guinea, is not being filled.

A hero to the public as well as to a large part of the army, General Spínola startled the country three weeks ago by publishing a book called "Portugal and the Future." The book argued that the African wars could not be won militarily, that they were impoverishing the country and preventing its development and that a new policy of political concession leading to a federation of equal states should be tried.

The questioning of the present rigid policy from such a prestigious source enraged right-wingers, including 79-year-old President Américo Thomaz. They insisted that General Spínola and General Costa, who sided with him, be dismissed.

Premier Marcello Caetano, apparently fearful of the effects on the army and on his own position, and not so opposed to a policy of evolution as the right wing, resisted these demands. At the same time he could not appear to endorse the wholesale changes called for by General Spínola.

Last week the Premier went before the largely conservative National Assembly and won a vote of confidence for a policy that seemingly rejected General Spínola's theses but left the door open for change in the present policy.

In view of this support for the Premier's position, there was speculation that Mr. Caetano might be able to smooth over the policy dispute leaving the two generals in their posts. The danger of an upheaval among the lower army ranks, already in a rebellious mood over low pay and conditions of service, would thus be avoided.

In the end, the rightists, who have been running an authoritarian regime here for most of this century, won out. This afternoon their victory became clear in an unusual scene in the National Assembly building.

More than 100 generals and admirals in heavily braided uniforms, their chests glittering with decorations, gathered before Premier Caetano to affirm their loyalty to official policy and to condemn the military's mixing in politics.

Generals Costa and Spínola were conspicuously absent from the ceremony.

NEW YORK TIMES, 3/15/74

This split arrangement also applies to scholarships covering technical and vocational training. Candidates must have proof of admission to a school before their application can be considered.

For application forms, write: Fellowship Section/UNETPSA, Office of Technical Cooperation, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

(3) International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), established in 1961, relies strongly on Scandinavian financial support, although countries such as New Zealand and Canada also contribute to the Fund. IUEF is now assisting over 1100 refugees and exiles through scholarship grants. Over half of the grantees are from minority ruled Southern Africa. Over 500 new scholarships were awarded in the past two years, the majority representing substitutions where students have completed their studies. (During the same period over 500 applications were received.) Virtually all IUEF scholarships for southern Africans are for educational training (vocational, technical and degree programs) in independent Africa.

(4) The OAU Bureau, also administers a number of scholarships for Southern African refugees studying at universities in independent Africa. These scholarships have been made available by INTERAF, a program of the Association of African Universities, now based in Accra. Applicants who are qualified for university admission in independent Africa may contact: The OAU Bureau, Box 3242, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.



SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDENT PROGRAM  
THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE  
833 United Nations Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017

CRITERIA TO QUALIFY FOR SASP SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS

Since 1971, SASP has provided 5-10 new scholarships (subject to Congressional appropriations) each year to qualified candidates from the minority-ruled countries of southern Africa. These new scholarships, funded by the U.S. Government, are for a maximum duration of two years to pursue either specialized training or a master's degree at an educational institution in the United States. Ten new scholarship awards will be available for the 1974-75 school year. Coverage of SASP awards varies from partial to full. Full awards cover all expenses including transportation.

To be eligible to apply for a SASP award (full or partial) an applicant must meet all the following criteria:

1. Be a South African, Namibian, Angolan, Mozambican, Zambabwean or from Guinea-Bissau.
2. Have a recognized international travel document and an assurance that the document will be valid for return to an African country upon completion of studies in the U.S.
3. Be academically qualified to pursue one of the following types of programs:
  - a) Master's Degree. Applicant must hold bachelor's degree of good calibre.
  - b) Specialized academic or technical-type training. Full training program must be short-term (2 years or less). Applicant must have the necessary educational background and/or job experience for this type of program.
4. Sign a pledge to return to Africa upon completion of one's U.S. studies.
5. Provide documentation (copies of correspondence) from a present or prospective employer in Africa which gives a reasonable indication that a job will be available for a person of your proposed qualifications at the time you complete your program. The prospective employer should also indicate that your proposed U.S. training is directly related to the proposed future employment.

The purpose of this final requirement is to insure that the candidate's proposed training will be directly relevant to future employment in Africa. A reasonable indication for employment offers the candidate definite direction and purpose for advanced study. Through correspondence with a prospective employer during one's studies, course work and research can be coordinated with one's future professional work. This also indicates a measure of one's desire and commitment to put his/her training to use in Africa, thereby insuring that the few scholarships available will be awarded to persons most likely to contribute to the manpower needs of independent Africa and later, hopefully, to the needs of a majority-ruled southern Africa.

NOTE: SASP awards are not presently available to new candidates to pursue regular undergraduate programs at the bachelor's degree level.

Preference is given to candidates applying from independent Africa who need further training not readily available in Africa. However, applications will be accepted from those outside Africa who have demonstrated strong academic ability and a keen commitment to work in Africa.

Candidates meeting all the above criteria may contact a U.S. Embassy or write Ms. Mary Brooner, SASP, African-American Institute, 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 U.S.A.

March 1974



PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION: AN ANNOTATED INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, edited by Rolland Paulston, and published in October, 1972, should be of special interest to all students of education and social change. In its 356 pages, Paulston clearly and concisely reveals the content and critically assesses the conclusions and value of over 1000 studies of non-formal educational activities around the world.

Don Adams says of the editor: "He approaches non-formal education as a scholar, not as a salesman; that is, as an analyst and critic, not as an apologist. He does not assume it to be axiomatic that, since formal schools often fail, non-formal instruction will necessarily succeed. His introduction and his critical annotations also make clear his awareness that many of the same hard questions pertaining to efficiency, equity, and quality must be raised wherever learning takes place." Adams, who is chairman of the International Development Education Program at the Univ. of Pittsburgh, considers the book to be a "vital reference for educational planners and administrators."

Organization of the subdivisions make the book an especially handy reference. Topics which are further subdivided include: The Need for Alternatives to Formal Schooling, Studies of National and Regional Programs Sponsored by Agencies and Organizations; Target Learner Populations; Program Content Specializations; Instructional Methodologies and Materials; and Reference Material and Other Sources. This useful book can be ordered from the Praeger Publishers, 111 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003 for \$17.50. Your library should have a copy.

AFRICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: A Digest of Information, published in 1970 by AAI and formerly sold at \$3.75, is available to southern Africans for the cost of postage only. For a copy, send 80¢ in stamps for 1st Class postage or 32¢ in stamps for 3rd Class postage to: SASP/AAI 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. This offer is good through April 30, 1974.

THE NUSAS NEWSLETTER has taken on a new life; it has emerged in the form of DISSENT, a 30-page booklet which may be coming out about 10 times in '74. It is packed with news you can't read elsewhere. Below, Fred Dube comments on an article by S.E. Friedman which appeared in the Sept./Oct. debut issue of '73: "Verligte Action - The Great White Hope."

The South African White politics have always been the politics of race, the domination of Blacks by Whites in all spheres of life. Disagreements among Whites, whenever they have occurred, have been over which is the best policy to follow which will ensure continued White dominance over the Blacks. There has never been a time in South Africa in which disagreement between the whites have been fundamental i.e., on questions of social change. The English press primarily, and liberals and progressives, have tried to confuse people by claiming that they were for social change when they meant keeping White domination and accomodation within the old structure with some adjustments. It is not surprising, therefore, to hear them shout--SOCIAL CHANGE!--when there is the emergence of the Verligte Action group among the Aforkannen Nationalists primarily. What is a change is the emergence of people like Friedman. It is new to find a White, a young one at that, writing as Friedman has written. Friedman draws a distinction between adaptation and social change i.e. between old wine in a new bottle and real new wine. He does this by analysing the individual statements made by the prominent members of the Verligte Action group, and he finds them being old wine in new bottles. The question then to be asked is not whether the emergence of the Verligte Action heralds hope for South Africans, but: how many young Whites have the perceptive vision of Friedman? It is when these represent a sizable but growing minority that we can speak of hope.

Interested contributors or subscribers should address themselves to: Paddy Lee Thorp, NUSAS 202 Film Centre, Jameson Street / Cape Town, South Africa.

UNESCO PUBLICATIONS are listed in a new 208-page catalogue. It lists all in-print titles, symposia proceedings, maps, atlases, art slides, and periodicals--and it's free. Individual subject catalogues also are available for education, science, social and human sciences, libraries, archives, and periodicals. Write: UNIPUB, Inc., Box 433 Murray Hill Station, New York, N.Y. 10016.



SOUTHERN AFRICA: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE, by Gwendolen Carter is the topic of the latest edition of the Headline Series, published February, 1974. This 63-page booklet is available free of charge (courtesy of the Foreign Policy Ass'n, Inc.) to our southern African SASPOST readers requesting copies from SASP/AAI, 833 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. Other persons may receive a copy by sending \$1.50 (that includes postage) to: The Foreign Policy Association, 345 E. 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. Persons wishing more than 10 copies receive a 30% discount. Copies of Black Africa: The Growing Pains of Independence by L. Gray Cowan, 1972, 63 pages, may also be ordered from the Foreign Policy Ass'n at the same price.

MASTERS AND SERFS: FARM LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA, by Rosalynde Ainslie. Most labor studies of apartheid in South Africa focus on the conditions of the urban laborer, or the miners. Masters and Serfs presents the available material on the conditions of the rural African, the farm laborer. Copies are available from the International Defence and Aid Fund, c/o Ken Carstens, IDAFSA/NA, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, #201, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. Price: 55¢.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS is a Department of State current foreign policy statement. The paper, dated December 1973, discusses the position of the State Department on sanctions against Rhodesia, the Byrd Amendment and U.S. trade patterns of strategic commodities (i.e. chrome). The paper concludes: "To maintain our standing in the international community as a law-abiding nation faithful to its undertakings we must repeal those elements of the Byrd provision which put us in violation of our commitments under the U.N. Participation Act." To obtain copies request Department of State Publication 8744 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Price: 25¢.

MINORITY RULE AND REFUGEES IN AFRICA (THE ROLE OF THE ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES). Hearings before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, First Session. July 23, 1973. To obtain copies write the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1973. 82 pp.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, International Organizations Series, is a 10-page pamphlet prepared by the Department of State. History, principles and accomplishments, and organizational structure of the OAU are briefly outlined as well as U.S. policy toward the OAU. It is available free of charge from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Ask for Department of State Publication 8444.

NAMIBIA: SOME LIGHT ON THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, by O. Akuenje and H. Hamutenya, features a short history, economic facts, a chronological review of the progress of the armed struggle and a survey of workers, youth and the religious community as main elements of Namibia's internal struggle. The 20-page booklet is available from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Price: 35¢

THE AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION PUBLICATIONS CATALOGUE 1974 is just out. Listed are all papers given at ASA meetings since 1969 and publications of the Research Liaison Committee. Available soon from RLC will be a Checklist of Paperbound Books on Africa (2nd Edition) and African Liberation Movements: An Interim Bibliography. Copies of this publication catalogue are available free from ASA, 218 Shiffman Center, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 02154.



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JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA  
by Albie Sachs

The very nature of South African society renders the title of this book improbable and presages problems inevitable in the intrusion of the concept justice within the South African reality. The whole fabric of South Africa is manifestly unjust, thus, rendering equity, the very essence of justice, irrelevant to the South African concept of law.

Sachs does an admirable job in chronicling the evolution of law and injustice from the first settlement to the present. His observations illustrate the above-stated premises. He informs that "Law enforcement at the Cape was thus at first largely a matter of maintaining Company discipline, protecting Company property, and guarding Company morals but later included regulating relationships between master and slaves and masters and Khoi servants." and rightly concludes that laws governing slaves were "practically an enumeration of the rights of the master," thus, making slaves the "object rather than the subject of rights." British innovations resulted in a change of form and not of substance - the objective remained the same. Even the so-called emancipation of the slaves merely referred to their legal emancipation and did not lead to their social emancipation.

South Africa does not allow the concepts law and justice to be coupled. This is the difficulty in Sachs. This leads to the rather spurious lament that "The need to reconcile the theory of juridical equality with the practice of race inequality gave the legal system a contradictory character that has persisted to this day." There is the further difficulty in Sachs of making the rather abstract distinction between the judiciary and the political system as a whole. Sachs is being academic in observing the role of law and the judiciary in terms of the distinctions of the various branches, viz., Magistrate's Court, Supreme Courts and the Appellate Division. Focus on the higher courts, generally removed from the African's reality, is inappropriate and gives a misleading picture. It is the Magistrate's Court and the Bantu Commissioner's Courts that are the proper focus, since it is there that Africans are confronted by the legal system.

Equivocation in discussing rampant injustice in South Africa is unpardonable and even borders on collusion. Sachs frequently equivocates by a skillful usage of language which allows indefiniteness (Chapter 5, especially).

To round off the picture that Sachs presents, it needs to be pointed out that the real pinch in African governance is not the laws and the judiciary, but bureaucratic arbitrariness. This breeds acute insecurity which has a greater impact than the actual oppression as officially spelled out in laws. Unfortunately, Sachs gives scant attention to this aspect. This is a major weakness in any serious discussion of justice in South Africa, because, as Hannah Arendt has observed, bureaucratic rule is rule with accountability since it is rule by Nobody and that "rule by Nobody is clearly the most tyrannical of all, since there is no one left who could even be asked the answer for what is being done."

Of late, whites in South Africa, who have for so long abetted and condoned law without justice, are discovering that Tyranny Has No Bounds.

--- Reviewed by Alfred T. Moleah, Ph.D.



## EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS OF ALIENS

The U.S. Supreme Court handed down two decisions in 1973 that guarantee aliens the same rights as American citizens in government employment at the city, state and federal level. But a third decision of the Court left open the question of equality in private employment.

The Supreme Court ruled in two cases on June 25th that state laws preventing aliens from taking Civil Service Examinations or prohibiting them from taking the Bar examination to become lawyers were unconstitutional and thereby illegal. The Court based its decision in these cases on the 14th Amendment which guarantees resident aliens "equal protection of the laws."

These decisions mean that Southern African aliens who are legally eligible to work in this country are eligible for any and all government jobs at the city, state and federal levels on an equal footing with Americans. Like Americans, aliens can take the Civil Service examination and be ranked for hiring along with Americans on the basis of their performance on the examination. If an alien has trained as a lawyer, he can, just like Americans, take the competitive Bar examination and be admitted or denied admission to the Bar on the basis of his results.

In its third decision concerning employment of aliens, the Court ruled November 19th that a private employer who refused to hire an applicant because he is an alien was not violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Act makes it illegal for an employer to refuse to hire someone because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

In deciding the case, the Court confined itself to the narrow problem of the meaning of "national origin" in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Its decision said that "national origin" referred to a person's ancestry and not to his citizenship status. Therefore, refusing employment because of citizenship status was not a violation of the Act.

But the Court did not say whether such a refusal by a private employer would violate the rights of aliens guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution.

Officials of the American Council for Nationalities Services were concerned that the November decision gives private organizations a basis for refusing employment to aliens because they are aliens.

"The latest decision might leave employers thinking they can refuse to hire aliens, but aliens should not accede to this," said Sidney Talisman, the organization's National Field Director. "As long as they are otherwise eligible to work, aliens should not be refused work on the basis of their alienage."

Supreme Court Justice Douglas dissented from the Court's decision in the November case on the grounds that it was an "extraordinary" departure from the June decisions and the Court's trend toward guaranteeing resident aliens "equal protection of the laws."

One remedy to the current ambiguity about the status of aliens in employment would be through amendments to existing laws.

"The matter will probably have to be amended by further legislation," said Talisman. "It might be feasible to try to include a provision in the Immigration and Nationalities Act of 1965 or in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that would ban discrimination in employment on the basis of alienage."

If you, as an alien with employment authorized by Immigration, are refused employment in either government jobs or in private business because you are not an American citizen, you should take the matter up with the Division of Human Rights in the government of the state in which you are living, according to Talisman. A branch office of the American Council for Nationalities Services should be able to offer assistance, as should the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) or the Legal Aid Society.

You may also receive assistance from the Department of Consumer Affairs, Complaints Section. They may inform a particular employer who has refused your right to apply for a job on the basis of your immigration status that you should be permitted to submit your application. However, before you seek employment or legal counseling regarding employment, you must be sure that you have documentary evidence from Immigration of your employment eligibility.

SPECIAL NOTE TO FORMER SASP STUDENTS WHO CAME TO THE U.S. PRIOR TO 1971 AND ARE UNDER DOCKET CONTROL (VOLUNTARY DEPARTURE STATUS): If you are under docket control, you should request Immigration to stamp "Employment Authorized" on your "White Slip" (the I-94 arrival/departure card on which Immigration notes your status and visa extensions.)

The Department of State will also provide you with a letter to show to prospective employers which states that you have been granted the privilege of remaining in the U.S. and that you have the right to work in this country. It states that your employer will not be liable to prosecution for employing a person in your status, and urges that a potential employer assist you in any way possible. Most of you have this letter, and many of you have found it useful. If you are a former SASP student already placed under docket control by Immigration and you do not have such a letter, you may request one from Charlotte McPherson.

Be sure to note the special announcement in this issue about our new consultant!



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## "POLITICAL AFRICANIZATION" OF MOZAMBIQUE

by Jose Filipe Nhancale

The British newspaper "Guardian" of February 14, 1974, carried a story entitled "Caetano Acts to Africanise Mozambique." The Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Marcelo Caetano, is said to have "given discreet backing to a new grouping of predominantly African Nationalists in Mozambique." These nationalists "have quietly been given permission by the Portuguese Government to form a pressure group in Mozambique this spring under the name of Grupo Unido de Mocambique (GUM). This will, in effect, be a political party pressing for independence."

According to the article, an effort will also be made to expand the voters' roll. It points out that "at present a meagre 150,000 out of 8.2 million people" is allowed to vote. Along with this measure, "it is likely that the Portuguese Governor of Mozambique, Pimentel dos Santos, will be replaced by a more imaginative administrator attuned to the need to create a predominantly African Government in the colony."

Any reader with an inquisitive mind will begin by asking, what is happening to the unshakeable military stability of Portugal in her colonies? What went wrong in the unrelenting regime of Professor Marcelo Caetano? What made him begin to think of giving a new direction to his "ultramar" (overseas) policies? The author of the story gives a partial answer to the above questions when he writes, "a political and military crisis in Portugal's African territory of Mozambique has prompted the government in Lisbon to take steps towards an African solution."

This writer, a native of Mozambique, invites the reader to examine the situation that prevails in Mozambique, and to attempt to understand the conditions that influenced Caetano to seek a new route. To do this, a study of the "Grupo Unido de Mocambique" (GUM) is in order.

### A NEW "POLITICAL PARTY"

Portugal and her colonies, have one official party, the "Uniao Nacional" or National Union, with no opposition parties in even continental Portugal. Yet we are told that Miss Johanna Simiao, the prospective leader of GUM, dared to go to Portugal and from there declare the creation of a "political party" in Mozambique. Further, she is reported to have asserted in public that "Mocambique is for Mocambiquans." There is but one explanation of these two startling actions on her part. This organization was formed with the blessing of Mr. Caetano, and Miss Simiao is his choice for its leader.

GUM comprises African Nationalists totaling 300 members and are mainly "drawn from the professional classes." One question should be asked, how can such a group of 300 individuals, most of whom are professionals, represent the national interests of 8.2 million people? How can anyone suggest that this 'clique' speaks for the people of Mozambique?

The existence of such a group as GUM is intended to create division and misunderstanding among the Africans, and thus weaken their position vis-a-vis Portuguese colonialism. However, this colonial policy is historically doomed to fail, and with it the Grupo Unido de Mocambique. The people of Mozambique will not allow themselves to be taken in by Caetano's pseudo Africanization program, nor will they condone the treacherous actions of Johanna Simiao and her companions. Miss Simiao and her companions should be reminded that historical events point out that the wheel of change continues to move forward. Even the Portuguese authorities who try to roll back that wheel, will eventually see themselves forced to yield to its dynamics.

### CAETANO'S NEW POLITICAL COURSE

One interpretation of Marcelo Caetano's action to "Africanise Mozambique" is that he is reacting to the successes achieved by the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). At least the Portuguese High Command in Mozambique recognizes the fact that FRELIMO has reached a point where no army in Mozambique can halt its endeavors. It has scored so many victories, made so many advances southward, penetrated so deeply into the enemy's territory, that the High Command itself fails to see what military action to take. Gen. Antonio de Spínola, Deputy Chief of Staff in Lisbon and former Governor of Guinea-Bissau, in his so much sought after book, Portugal and the Future, admits, according to Newsweek magazine of



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March 11, 1974, that "the campaign of subversion and terror that black guerillas were waging could not ultimately be crushed by military means."

A recent survey released by the Portuguese High Command in Mozambique shows that enormous successes have been accomplished by Frelimo. Portions of this report are transcribed in the bi-weekly publication "Facts and Reports" by Dr. S. Bosgra. Let us cite just a few examples:

The Portuguese built "aldeamentos" (fortified villages), most of which are situated near military posts, have been targets of more and more FRELIMO attacks. The Portuguese report that "this strengthens the impression formerly stated that the enemy gradually gains in efficiency in using heavy weapons." The same report refers to the seriousness of the situation "in which aldeamentos are changed into centers of material and ideological support of the enemy; this enables FRELIMO to completely control the situation in this area at the moment, whereas a year ago the population was psychologically still unbalanced." Referring to the province of Cabo Delgado, the Portuguese admit that FRELIMO has made tremendous gains and most importantly, the support of the local people. The report states, "since early 1973 the number of recruits and guerrillas who have just finished their training is particularly large. This will certainly influence the conduct of the enemy as he can now employ more man-power in his expansion areas."

Perhaps the most spectacular news contained in the survey refers to "FRELIMO advances upon the South." Of these, the most important takes place in Tete Province, where the fighting "is more intense than in any other province: almost 50% of the actions of FRELIMO are situated in this area." Dr. Bosgra writes that "the attacks are especially aimed at transports destined for the huge dam the Portuguese have planned to build in the river Zambezi near Cabora Bassa." In this respect, the Portuguese survey asserts that:

FRELIMO has built up a relatively efficient intelligence service in Mozambique, the countries where the material for Cabora Bassa is imported from and Tanzania...This enables the guerrillas to organize actions against transports for Cabora Bassa on the right moment and over large distances."

The above excerpts represent a partial admission by the Portuguese High Command, that FRELIMO is a well-organized liberation movement that has made impressive gains on many fronts. The guerrillas have won the loyalty of many local people, who are ready and willing to be involved in the process of liberating their country. The survey was prepared by the army in Mozambique. Who knows better about the situation?

There is a growing number of officers at the fighting front who no longer believe in the army's ability to quell the enemy. James MacManus goes so far as suggesting, in his story, "Caetano Acts to Africanise Mozambique", that "basically, the army would not mind leaving Mozambique provided it did so with honor and was not made out to be the scape-goat for Portugal's disengagement." The message is clear: a popular uprising is taking place.

#### THE ARMED REVOLUTION

When the armed revolution began in September of 1964, FRELIMO was dismissed by the Military Command in Mozambique as a "band of terrorists" who were "communist-influenced." They were instigated by foreign enemies of Portugal, in order to upset the peaceful atmosphere and brotherhood that prevailed over territories. The later Prime Minister Salazar's initial reaction was that FRELIMO's "terrorism" was a temporary epidemic that would soon dissipate. He reaffirmed his view that Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau were 'part and parcel' of Portugal and nobody could alter the facts.

Unfortunately, Premier Salazar did not live long enough to realize the strength of FRELIMO, to realize that the fighting in Mozambique had reached a point-of-no-return, and that the events were influenced not by the "communist enemies" of Portugal, but by a strong desire of a people to be free. The former Foreign Minister, Alberto Franco Nogueira, outlined his government's policy vis-a-vis the Portuguese territories, in The Third World. "In the entire world, even among our adversaries and critics, no one expects us to alter our policy, no one believes that we shall alter it, and our position is considered to be firm and final." Judging from Nogueira's statement, one concludes that he too failed to read the mood of the country.



So, Salazar, Caetano and Nogueira failed to understand that what was taking place was a massive reaction to the exploitation, humiliation, and deprivation of human rights of the people of Mozambique. The people had begun to regain pride and dignity; they were beginning to gain political consciousness, which would later prove essential to launching and carrying out the armed revolution. This is the fundamental truth that made people decide to rally behind a force that was capable of challenging the colonizer. Hence FRELIMO. To many, FRELIMO was the alternative to Portuguese colonialism, it was the force that would bring about change.

#### A REAL "AFRICAN" SOLUTION

This writer advocates one solution, an immediate contact between the Portuguese Government and FRELIMO. Negotiations between the two organs are in order, and should be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. I believe that this would prevent further destruction of property and loss of human lives. It would enable Portugal to continue her presence in Africa, where she can exert influence over what proved to be important to her political and economic survival. Above all, it would strengthen the cultural ties between the two, and minimize the risk of a "forced" Portuguese exodus from Africa. If an immediate solution cannot be agreed upon by the warring parties, at least a prompt and total consideration of the problem is needed, to provide the factual base for peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Certainly the "Africanization" of Mozambique as envisaged by the Portuguese authorities will not lead to the aforementioned peaceful solution. For it negates the precepts of the democratic decision-making process. It excludes the 'mass' participation in that process. Any objective analyst of the "Africanization" cannot fail to see that without a popular participation it is far from being considered a democratic solution. Thus, one must conclude that the proposal is nothing less than a ploy, carefully orchestrated by the Portuguese. The plan fails to deal with a basic issue, that which makes a people revolt against their oppressor. That is, nationalism, the desire of a people to rule themselves. Certainly, Mozambique has developed her own brand of nationalism. This nationalism is a forward looking force, a movement of liberation which embraces freedom for a people to pursue their own destiny. As it has already been suggested, this movement is led by the Mozambique Liberation Front.

If there is to be an "African" solution, the African people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau must decide at the polls. They must have the right to elect their own government without any fear or compulsion. Thus, a democratically elected government will have a mandate to reconstruct the nation.

A government that is imposed on the people does not and cannot be expected to serve their interests, it does not represent their aspirations, and does not speak for them. A puppet government selected in Lisbon and handed over to Mozambique will meet resistance and fail. "Africanization" of Mozambique is wrong, it is a short-sighted solution and it will not work.

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News Clip--The Committee for a Free South Africa has produced very handsome and important material on Portugal's African wars including a poster/fact sheet, a button portraying Lancers and Mateus wine bottles calling upon people to "Boycott Products of Portugal" and auto stickers with the same message. For information write: Committee for a Free South Africa, Inc., 120-36 Farmers Blvd., St. Albans, New York 11412 or contact Bro. Omowale Clay, 815 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

--Southern Africa, February 1974



I have just taken up duty as the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. I regarded it as essential to come in the first instance to consult with the Zambian authorities and the leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization. In addition, of course, I came to visit my office here and to meet Namibian refugees who have been so generously granted asylum in Zambia.

I want you to understand that the meaning of my journey is not purely symbolic; I want to formulate and discuss a programme of action with those who are most directly involved and whose judgement I respect.

We have to break new ground in this struggle for Namibia, so that the world and also South Africa will understand that neither the African people nor the United Nations are prepared to tolerate the continued illegal occupation of Namibia. Efforts to engage in a dialogue with the South African Government not only failed but showed up the intransigence of the South African Government. This has made the United Nations more conscious than ever of its obligation to fulfil the commitment the United Nations solemnly undertook in 1966.

While I am speaking to you today there are dark clouds overhanging Namibia. The South African authorities have reneged on the promises they gave to the Secretary-General in writing. There would be, they had said, no impediments to political activity, but their deeds have been different. All the known leaders of SWAPO are now being charged or detained without trial. Hundreds of other Namibians are daily brought to court and sentenced on flimsy charges arising from the application of the so-called pass law.

The intention of the South African authorities is clear--no political activity is to be allowed in the Territory. Not only is it the intention of the South Africans to prevent the people of Namibia from expressing politically their desire for complete independence but they are, as all oppressive colonial dictatorships, seeking to sow terror among the people they misrule.

It is essential that the white people of South Africa should make a reappraisal of their situation in light of the realities of the world of today. The oppression of the overwhelming majority of the people of Namibia by a small white colonial racist minority cannot subsist. Not only are the peoples of Africa not prepared to accept this but the entire international community is determined to end this situation. The principles of democracy and of national self-determination are now universally accepted.

The actions of the South African authorities in Namibia reflects a growing disregard for the elementary human rights of the people. Injustices and violations of the internationally recognized norms of human rights can no longer be relegated to a dark corner of the international conscience. The violations of human rights in Namibia and the defiance of the express decisions of the international community are now becoming the top priorities for international action.

One feature of the present worsening situation in Namibia which is worrying is the failure of the press and media in many parts of the world to inform public opinion adequately of the repression which is taking place and of the attempts which are being made to suppress the South West Africa People's Organization.

The international press must not allow the South African authorities to cajole it into accepting what amounts to a conspiracy of silence. The financial and strategic influence of South Africa in the western world is only too well known but the international press will not allow these considerations to silence it in the face of injustice.

Today's oppression and how to cope with it is one thing. But there must be also a long-term programme for an independent United Namibia, and the cadres to make that a reality must be organized and trained. It is not going to be easy, but the Namibians have the necessary courage and determination, and the international community will give them their full support.



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Abraham Tiro, A South African who was expelled from the University of the North (Turfloop) after his speech at the graduation ceremony in 1972, was killed by a mail bomb at his Botswana residence on February 1, 1974. He was one of four South African Students' Organization members who fled to Botswana last September when South Africa stepped up its repression of black consciousness organizations. The bomb was mailed from Geneva, Switzerland.

In his graduation speech, reprinted below, Tiro called for a system of education common to all South Africans and criticized the predominantly white composition of most university committees. Following student protests against Tiro's expulsion, the entire student body was expelled. This led to mass walk-outs at Black universities throughout South Africa.

Of the speech, Tiro said: "When I drafted my speech, I said to myself that as long as I told the truth, my conscience would be at peace."

## These are the injustices . . .

A graduation speech by

ONKGOPOTSE RAMOTHIBI TIRO

*(Reprinted from  
"The Black Sash", June, 1972)*

*This speech led to Mr. Tiro's expulsion from the University of the North.  
Following on protests by the students the whole student body was expelled.*

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Rector, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to start off by borrowing language from our Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster. Addressing the ASB congress in June last year Mr. Vorster said: "No black man has landed in trouble for fighting for what is legally his". Although I don't know how far true this is, I make this statement my launch pad. R. D. Briensmead, an American lay preacher says: "He who withholds the truth or debars men from motives of expediency is either a coward, a criminal or both". Therefore Mr. Chancellor I will try as much as possible to say nothing else but the truth. And to me 'truth' means "practical reality".

Addressing us on the occasion of the formal opening of this University Mr. Phatudi, a Lebowa Territorial Authority officer said that in as much as there is American Education there had to be Bantu Education. Ladies and gentlemen I am conscientiously bound to differ with him. In America there is nothing like Negro Education, Red Indian Education and White American Education. They have American Education common to all Americans. But in South Africa we have Bantu Education, Indian Education, Coloured Education and European Education. We do not have a system of Education common to all South Africans. What is there in European Education which is not good for the African? We want a system of education common to all South Africans.

In theory Bantu Education gives our parents a say in our education but in practice the opposite is true. At this University U.E.D. students are forced to study Philosophy of Education through the medium of Afrikaans. When we want to know why we are told that the Senate has decided so. Apparently this Senate is our parents.

Time and again I ask myself: How do black lecturers contribute to the administration of this University? For if you look at all the committees they are predominantly white if not completely. Here and there one finds two or three Africans who, in the opinions of the students are white black men. We have a students' Dean, we must elect our own Dean. We know people who can represent us.

The Advisory Council is said to be representing our parents. How can it represent them when they have not elected it? These people must of necessity please the man who appointed them. This Council consists of chiefs who have never been to University. How can they know the needs of students when they have not been subjected to the same conditions. Those who have been to University have never studied under Bantu Education. What authentic opinion can they express when they don't know how painful it is to study under a repugnant system of Education?

I wonder if this Advisory Council knows that a Black man has been most unceremoniously kicked out of the bookshop. Apparently, this is reversed for Whites. According to the Policy, Van Schaiks has no right to run a bookshop here. A White member of the Administration has been given the meat contract to supply a University — a Black University. Those who amorphously support the Policy may say that there are no Black people to supply it. My answer to them is: Why are they not able to supply the University? What is the cause? Is it not conveniently done that they are not in a position to supply these commodities?

White students are given vacation jobs at this University when there are students who could not get their results due to outstanding fees. Why does the Administration not give

these jobs to these students? These White students have eleven (11) Universities where they can get vacation jobs. Does the Administration expect me to get a vacation job at the University of Pretoria?

Right now, our parents have come all the way from their homes only to be locked outside. We are told that the hall is full. I do not accept the argument that there is no accommodation because, in 1970 when the Administration wanted to accommodate everybody, a tent was put up and a close-circuit television was installed. Front seats are given to people who cannot even cheer us. My father is seated there at the back. My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land? — the land of our fathers.

The system is failing. It is failing because even those who recommend it strongly, as the only solution, to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and the spirit of the Policy. According to the Policy we expected Dr. Eislen to decline chancellorship in favour of a Black man. My dear parents, these are the injustices no normal student can tolerate — no matter who he is and where he comes from.

In the light of what has been said above the challenge to every black graduate in this country lies in the fact that the guilt of all wrongful actions in South Africa, restriction without trial, repugnant legislation, expulsions from schools rests on all those who do not actively dissociate themselves from and work for the eradication of the system breeding such evils. To those who whole-heartedly support the Policy of Apartheid I say: Do you think that the white minority can willingly commit political suicide by creating numerous states which might turn out to be hostile in future?

We black graduates, by virtue of our age and academic standing are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people. Our so-called leaders have become the bolts of the same machine which is crushing us as a nation. We have to go back to them and educate them. Times are changing and we should change with them. The magic story of human achievement gives irrefutable proof that as soon as nationalism is awakened among the intelligentsia it becomes the vanguard in the struggle against alien rule. Of what use will be your education if you can't help your country in her hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa it is meaningless.

Remember that Mrs. Suzman said: "There is one thing which the minister cannot do: He cannot ban ideas from men's minds".

In conclusion Mr. Chancellor I say: Let the Lord be praised, for the day shall come, when all men shall be free to breathe the air of freedom which is their's to breathe and when that day shall have come, no man, no matter how many tankers he has, will reverse the course of events.



"The International University Exchange Fund has always had as one of its first priority programmes to provide assistance to the organizations and groups working for a change of the situation in Southern Africa, e.g. student organizations such as the South African Students' Organization (SASO), political groups such as the Black Peoples' Convention (BPO) or Liberation movements based outside the country.

Both during his time in South Africa and later in Botswana, Mr. Tiro was engaged in an active correspondence with the IUEF. In this context it should be noted that all IUEF mail to countries in Southern Africa is sent in plain envelopes with no reference to the sender.

We express our sincere condolences on the tragic death of Mr. Tiro to his family and friends.

As far as the IUEF and those actively fighting for freedom in southern Africa are concerned the assassination of Mr. Tiro will only lead us to increase our support and to intensify the fight."

The Office of the President of Botswana issued the following statement:

Mr. Tiro had, during the last years of his life, been an outspoken critic of the so-called South African way of life under which black South Africans are subjected to racial discrimination and many other indignities. And in speaking out against the denial to black South Africans of their human rights, Onkgopotse Tiro had incurred the deep displeasure of certain powerful circles in South Africa.

For its part, the Botswana government strongly condemns the inhuman and dastardly manner in which Mr. Tiro's life was taken. The Government wishes to state unequivocally that this kind of terrorism will not make it change its attitude towards those who seek refuge in Botswana from oppression in their own countries. The bomb which killed Mr. Tiro was, after all, not the first to explode in Botswana. There had been two others before it both aimed at political refugees. An East African Airways plane, which was due to fly refugees out of Botswana, and the refugee centre were blown up in Francistown."

GABORONE - "Bitter anti-white speeches dominated the four hour funeral services here last Sunday for the latest African martyr Mr. Abraham Tiro...more than 1000 people attended the service, including Botswana Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, the Nigerian High Commissioner, delegates from various liberation movements and students from UBLS.



Robert Mveli Resha, "Robbie", of South Africa died in London December 7, 1973. Robbie Resha was a long time member of the African National Congress. In recent years he was a member of the National Executive Committee, serving on the National Executive Committee, serving on the National Secretariat of the ANC External Mission as Director UN-North America-European Affairs. He may best be remembered for his role in leading the African resistance to the government's removal of Africans from Sofia Town. And, as a defendant in the 1956-61 treason trials, his speech as National Deputy Volunteer in Chief (ANC) was used as a prime exhibit by the prosecution. He is survived by his wife, Maggie Resha, who is General Secretary of the All Africa Women's Conference based in Algiers, and two daughters.

### THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

"I want to give a brief historical background to the struggle of the African National Congress.

After the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, in which the British, assisted by many Africans defeated the Boers, the British betrayed the Africans by establishing, in 1910, the Union of South Africa with the Boers. It was a union of white people for the maintenance of white domination and racial discrimination. Consequently, one of the early Acts of that Union was the Land Act of 1913, which allocated 87 per cent of the land to the white minority while crowding the African majority in the remaining 13 per cent.

The Africans who had become landless and rightless in the land of their birth, in 1912, formed the African National Congress at a convention in Bloemfontein attended by delegates from all parts of the country including the British protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, as well as Rhodesia.

Since then, the African National Congress had launched intensive campaigns in defence of the African people by non-violent methods such as deputations to the British Government in London, petitions to the Government of South Africa and other Governments, massive demonstrations, civil disobedience, national stoppage of work by both urban and farm workers, boycott of goods produced or manufactured by supporters of the Nationalist Party and Government, etc.

Since the end of the Second World War, the Government of South Africa has consistently and ruthlessly set up a police state. Today South Africa is a full-fledged Fascist State.

The General Assembly has, in all its successive sessions, passed resolutions condemning Apartheid, calling upon the Government of South Africa to abandon its evil and inhuman practices of racial discrimination. However, the South African regime has treated United Nations resolutions with utter contempt.

Inside the country, repression is increasing every day. The liberation movement has been outlawed. Thousands of leaders and activists are languishing in prisons. Persecution of the opponents of apartheid has become the order of the day. Political meetings are illegal, non-violent protests against repressive measures are regarded as acts of sabotage.

Faced with this situation, the ANC decided in 1961 to meet Government violence with counter-violence. We have sent our young men and women to various countries in Africa and abroad for military training. The armed struggle has already begun. Since August 1967, the joint units of the ANC and Zimbabwe African People's Union have been locked in battle against the Vorster-Ian Smith forces in the valleys and mountains of Zimbabwe. Tomorrow we will meet the Vorster forces inside our fatherland in South Africa."

...Excerpt from speech made before the Special Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly



## THE DANGERS OF A RACIAL WAR

"By sanctions we are not asking you to take up guns and send your armies to South Africa to do the fighting for us. By sanctions we mean that Britain, the United States, France, Western Germany, Italy and Japan must disengage themselves from their involvement in South Africa. We maintain that it is their trade and their investment which bolster the South African economy, make the South African government more formidable, and assist it to maintain its apartheid policy. Indeed it is these very apartheid policies of oppression and exploitation of the Africans that guarantee high profits to the overseas investors.

We maintain that by their trade and investments these countries have consciously or unconsciously entered the arena of conflict in South Africa on the side of the white racist minority.

If Britain, USA and others do not impose sanctions, we fear that when the chips are down -- in the violent clash between the white racist minority on the one side and the Africans and other non-whites on the other -- these countries will be supporting South Africa with arms in their hands to defend their vital interests. For let us make no mistake, the struggle in South Africa cannot be anything but a racial conflict. Already the fascist regime is engaged in a tremendous arms build up and is enlisting virtually every able-bodied white person in its army of aggression against the African people. Every day brings a manifestation of this aggression in the form of armed police raids on African townships...

Then, when the government considers the right moment has come, it will issue a simple order to the whites: "kill the Kaffir." What is the liberation movement expected to do, faced with this situation? Could it be expected to sit down fold its arms and look to the heavens for help? Or could it be expected to mobilise the people to meet government force with force? To me, the issues are clear: if the ANC carries out its historic mission, it must issue a precise, exact and unambiguous order: "Kill the white man."

This is what we fear. This is the reason why we are calling upon these countries to disengage themselves from their involvement with South Africa. In this racial conflict, the guns carried by the whites will have a simple target - the black man. The pistols, rifles and machine guns carried by the Africans have no intelligence and will not differentiate between a white South African, an English Industrialist, a German technician or an American tourist."

...Excerpt from speech made on South Africa Freedom Day, 6/26/68



COMMENTS FROM ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE FOURTH AFRICAN-AMERICAN DIALOGUES  
ADDIS ABABA, DECEMBER 3, 1973

by

THE HONORABLE CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

...In turning from the economic aspects of African-American relations to the other major problem, that of minority rule in Africa, I wish to renew here the call issued to my Government in my Action Manifesto -- a call which closely parallels the Mogadiscio Declaration. The geopolitical implications of Africa's role in the world establish that policy planning cannot be built on the status quo in Southern Africa. America must reaffirm the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence -- principles which gave birth to the American Revolution and to the United States of America. America must acknowledge the sacred right of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, of Angola, of Mozambique, of Zimbabwe, of Namibia and of Azania to win their freedom. So long as the recalcitrance of those Governments continues, whatever means are necessary to achieve self-determination are legitimate.

From this flow two corollaries. First, there should be support for the liberation movements in their struggle for the liberation of their people and their country. Second, in the UN Security Council, ~~as~~ just this past week in the General Assembly there should be a recognition both that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that the aggression of South Africa and Portugal is a threat to international peace and security.

The standard for the conduct of nations outside Africa is set forth in the Lusaka Manifesto: "The comfort and support of human intercourse" should not be given to those governments which "reject the manhood of most of humanity".

Specifically, official support of these governments must be ended. An arms embargo against Portugal is a farce if refusal to sell Portugal arms to be used in Africa is counterbalanced by selling Portugal military equipment for use in the NATO area, thereby releasing weapons from the Portuguese arsenal for deployment in Africa. Similarly the arms embargo bars commercial sales of troop carriers, helicopters, and defoliants to Portugal.

For the first time, the Congress of the United States sought in the Foreign Aid Bill not only to write the arms embargo against Portugal into United States law, but to suspend aid to Portugal if it uses such assistance, directly or indirectly, to wage its wars in Africa. Unfortunately, this provision was emasculated during Conference, because of quiet but direct appeals to key congressmen by the Administration and by Portuguese interests. The use of the Azores to deliver arms to Israel was the determining factor in undercutting support from elements traditionally liberal on African issues.

The African-Arab alliance and the consequent oil boycott of Portugal brings forth the spectre of a U.S. oil company, Gulf Oil, being directly involved in the wars in Angola and Mozambique and in Guinea-Bissau by supplying Portugal with oil.

It is indeed lamentable that the record of my country in supporting sanctions has been stained by the Byrd amendment. But the Congress at this very moment is seized with a measure to repeal that infamous enactment, under which our country is importing chrome, nickel and other commodities from the illegal Smith regime in violation of our international legal obligations. The repealer will pass the United States Senate this month, thereby encouraging the House to act affirmatively early in 1974.

With the action of the Government of Australia to curtail the presence of a Rhodesian Information Office in Australia, the United States remains the only government to permit the operation of such an office. The subcommittee of which I am the Chairman has investigated the activities in the United States of the Rhodesian Information Office to bring home to the American people that the activities of this office in the United States may be causing our country to be in further violation of its Charter obligation under applicable Security Council Resolutions. We will not rest until this subversive agency is driven from our country.

The United States' record on Namibia is one of which I am proud. We supported UN General Assembly Resolution 2145 as well as certain Security Council resolutions reaffirming the action of the General Assembly in carrying out its supervisory function



over the international territory. We applauded the written and oral statements of the United States Government to the International court of Justice in its consideration of the request for an advisory opinion on the "Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia, Notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276".

But this is not enough. My Government by its actions, as distinct from its declarations of policy, important as these may have been, must now go on to recognize the invalidity of South Africa's acts on behalf of, or concerning, Namibia. We hailed the 1970 declaration of my Government that it would not protect U.S. enterprise in Namibia after GA Resolution 2145 against the claims of a future lawful government. But at this point, something meaningful now must be done. Tax credits must be denied businesses operating in Namibia; Securities and Exchange Commission privileges should not be available to companies doing business in Namibia pursuant to South African authorization. In the United Nations, the United States, whatever the reason for its refusal to support G.A. Resolution 2248 (S-V) and the Council for Namibia, should -- now that its membership has been broadened by China and the Soviet Union -- also join and actively seek ways of advancing the Council's function with respect to the territory. Support for a permanent Commissioner for Namibia is another imperative.

We here reiterate the call for the communications policy to be communication with the majority of the people of South Africa. No kind of cosmetics that has been engaged in the past few years is a substitute for full and equal African participation in the government of South Africa. No amount of cosmetics can cover up the 400% increase, this year alone, in the bannings by that lawless government. No amount of whitewash can cleanse the stains of blood in Carletonville. No amount of propaganda on forces of change in South Africa can cover up the repressive moves against the press. No amount of public relations can hide the denial of free movement in South Africa. The goal is access to the ballot box not to the boxing ring.

The basic change sought in South Africa is majority rule. Accordingly, I support the principle that U.S. businesses should disengage from South Africa. There are obvious practical and legal difficulties, however, arising out of our free enterprise system. But we should at least use legitimate government leverage, such as the privilege of contracting with the Government, to influence U.S. companies doing business in South Africa to adhere to basic standards of fair employment. The Congress is now considering the measure I introduced with more than 50 of my colleagues to achieve this goal.

My recent visit to Swaziland and Lesotho underscore to me the necessity of further efforts in my Government's pronounced policy of emphasis on the majority ruled states of Southern Africa through technical assistance as well as economic and educational projects.

I hereby renew the call on my Government to join the United Nations General Assembly and the more than 90 states which have welcomed Guinea-Bissau into the family of nations, condemned Portuguese aggression against the new state and have called for the Specialized Agency to grant appropriate assistance to the new state of Guinea-Bissau.

As we deliberate this week, let us recall other meetings of this year. In addition to the meetings held here on this Continent in 1973, two other meetings witness the intensification of international concern on apartheid and the growing determination throughout the world to end this evil. At the conference in Oslo in April on aid to the victims of apartheid, representatives of most of the world community gathered to devise courses of action against apartheid and against Portuguese aggression in Africa. On December 10, New Zealand labor will boycott South African goods and services by suspending air, sea and possibly telecommunications links in response to the recommendations of the 200 trade unions at the Conference of the Workers of the ILO held in Geneva in June. Moreover, there is growing international recognition of the importance of Africa and meaningful relations with the Continent -- a concern I personally witnessed in my recent congressional study mission to Brazil, my first stop en route to Addis Ababa.

Brazil, for example has come to realize the importance of Africa and is wrestling with the dilemma of trying to carry water on both shoulders, that is continuing South Africa as a major trading partner and trying to gain access to African markets. What does this mean to this conference? I think that the emergent Brazilian interest in Africa could mean that we have in this eighth largest nation of the world the possibility of a new ally in exerting affirmative influence on southern African developments.

Accordingly, in dialogues, such as ours, we might well consider bringing in some representatives from other areas to join us in our deliberations for mutual enlightenment. This would add an extra-dimension as we focus on the complexity of the issues relating to



Africa and the geopolitical significance of Africa. The inter-relationships of Africa in world politics are such that a bilateral conference must fall short of the maximum goal. There is no such thing as an African-American policy problem in the narrow context. It is necessary to relate issues to the energy crisis, to the Middle East, to the developed/developing relationship, to NATO and to Europe, to Latin America and to Asia by reason of Africa's identification with the developing world.

It has been said that the colonialists landed in Africa with a 300-year plan and a bible. During that period the American Missionary movement in Africa had been a social force for good but not without some evil. Just as our government policy is subject to a closer critique, so must the missionary movements to make sure that appropriate adjustments are made to the transfer of power from the colonialists to the indigenous peoples. This means that the relation between industrial needs and the requirements of a modern developing society is open. This means the whole question of paternalism in evangelism needs re-examination. This means more accountability by missionaries to U.S. donors and more respect for the rights of recipients. The House Subcommittee on Africa plans extensive hearings on this subject during the first quarter of 1974.

No survey of African-American relations can avoid the increasingly distressing record of the United States government at the United Nations. Starting in 1969, the United States has had a steadily deteriorating position at the UN on African issues, reflecting a narrow preception that was more concerned with technicalities and form rather than principles resulting in U.S. abstentions on critical votes. 1970 saw our first veto in the Security Council and this was on an African issue! 1971 and 1972 saw the United States steadily voting against critical resolutions relating to Africa. But in 1973 our record plummeted to an all time low. Last week alone we voted wrong again and again and again. It is rapidly becoming so shameful that from now on no self-respecting American Black may be able to serve on the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly. And I would suggest that members of other groups who are supportive of a rational U.S. policy towards Africa might see this in the same light.

As we open this conference and pledge to escalate the struggle against racism, I believe we must realize how exceptional this opportunity is to each of us as participants. Each one of us must realize how exceptional this opportunity is to each of us as participants. Each one of us is obliged to return home with definite aims and plans. As I continue my work on legislative measures in the Congress, I am hopeful that the industrialists among us will seek economic opportunities in African nations that can be mutually beneficial to all concerned. We might look to the educators here today both to continue to provide students from all lands with the history of African nationalism and to provide more African students with the tools and skills for development. Above all, the participants in this dialogue who fashion public opinion and stimulate awareness may indeed be the most productive and fruitful messengers of the work that we do here this week. For, they can make the world understand that Mother Africa has nurtured her black sons and daughters to command an ever expanding role of responsibility in world affairs.



New York Times  
2/20/74

## NEW CURBS ASKED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Suppression of Opposition Is  
Seen Legislation's Intent

Dispatch of The Times, London  
CAPETOWN, Feb. 19—Legislation that appears intended to suppress all opposition was laid before the South African Parliament today by Prime Minister John Vorster's Government. The Government has a firm majority in Parliament.

Part of the legislation is in the form of a new bill, under which any organization considered by the national president to be engaged in politics with aid from abroad can be declared "an affected organization." It could then be forbidden to bring in or receive funds from abroad under pain of harsh penalties—a fine as large as 20,000 rand (\$30,000) or 10 years imprisonment or both.

### Several Apparent Targets

In addition, the Government proposed changes in the Riotous Assemblies Act that would give blanket authority to magistrates to ban even lawful meetings.

The proposed amendments would also give any policeman above the rank of warrant officer the power to bar the public from any place where

he believed a prohibited gathering might occur and the power to use force, including firearms, to break up such a gathering.

The "affected organizations bill" appears to be aimed at various anti-apartheid organizations not primarily involved in politics, such as the Christian Institute, the National Union of South African Students and several black social organizations that rely on funds from abroad and have irritated the Government.

Although the central issue is whether the president considers that "politics is being engaged in," the bill does not define the term "politics."

The bill says that if the president is satisfied that "politics is being engaged in by and through an organization with the aid of, or in cooperation with, or under the influence of, an organization of a person

abroad," he will have the power to declare the organization involved an "affected organization."

This can be done without notice to the organization by proclamation in the Government paper. The president can take this action after the Minister of Justice has considered a "factual report" on the organization concerned by a committee of three magistrates

appointed by the Minister, one of whom must be a chief magistrate.

Before this, however, the Minister would be given blanket powers by the new bill to investigate a suspect organization.

The bill provides that any person who hinders, resists or obstructs the investigation of a suspect organization would be subject to a maximum penalty of a 600-rand fine and a year's imprisonment.

An officer appointed to investigate a suspect organization would have the power to enter premises at will, demand and seize any documents or question any person.

The legislation to revise the Riotous Assemblies Act would remove the term "public gathering" from the act, which restricts gatherings of 12 or more people, and supply the term "any gathering."

The new measures also contain a sharp curtailment of press freedom. Any person who without the consent of the Minister of Justice disseminates the speech of any person,

banned from attending a gathering would be liable to a year's imprisonment without the option of a fine.

# At Heart of Campaign in South Africa Is Fear

By JOHN GRIMOND

LONDON—By stressing the perennial South African issues of being alerted to halting "the advance of international Communism" and having the Government's hands free to safeguard "white civilization," the National party of Prime Minister John Vorster can be certain that its quarter century in office will be unbroken when the white 17 per cent of the country's population votes in April.

In other countries, the opposition might try to introduce new topics into the campaign. But in South Africa, the official opposition, the United party led by Sir De Villiers Graaff, finds it hard to disagree with the Government on most issues. The only effective criticism in Parliament comes from the Progressive party's single member, the redoubtable Mrs. Helen Suzman.

Between now and April Mr. Vorster will parade all his supposed virtues before the electorate; he will present himself as the strong man protecting white South Africa's exceptionally high standard of living. There will be no need for him to more than hint at the jackboot image of the past; for besides being thought of as John Vorster The Genial Golfer, he is remembered as Johannes Balthazar Vorster The Ruthless Minister of Justice of the early 1960's, and before that the object of two years' wartime internment for his pro-Nazi views.

## A Couple of Bad Shocks

That sort of strength reassures white South Africans, for fear is their dominant national emotion. And in the past year or so they have had a couple of bad shocks. First, there was a series of crippling strikes in Natal province, which showed that the South African blacks would not remain a docile, cowed proletariat forever. And then there were the continuing successes of the nationalist guerrillas in South Africa's northern neighbors, Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. Their thrusts pose no real threat to South Africa's security, but the guerrillas' evident ability to operate 300 miles from bases in Zambia and Tanzania is a long-term worry.

These developments have reinforced the tendency toward repression in South Africa. The house arrests (without trial) on Feb. 1 of three whites who had been organizing black trade unions in Natal will serve as a warning to others who try to fight for black rights; and the South African paramilitary police units fighting insurgents in Rhodesia will help to keep "the Communists" at arms length for a while.

But, curiously, the changes have also reinforced the whites' lurking suspicion that change is needed. This dreadful thought is seldom articulated, for it conflicts with the dominant notion that blacks should be kept in their place; that is, either in the 13.7 per cent of the land area that has been set aside for them or, if they are economically useful to the white economy, in the black townships. But change is undoubtedly coming.

For years blacks had been told that they had no rights in "white" South Africa. Striking was illegal and, indeed, 447 men were arrested in 1972 for presuming to try to do so. But when 60,000 Zulus downed tools in Natal a year ago, the Government knew it was beaten. Wages were raised and a prohibition on striking removed.

New York Times 2/24/74

The effect of the labor troubles was profound: the whites took note and the blacks took courage. A new Labor Bill legalizes strike action only in situations almost impossible to envisage, just as the interracial camaraderie of the recent Pretoria Games is still judged utterly illegal in other, less grandiose, events. But since last year's strikes, the blacks have, for the first time, become aware of their power, and the awareness is reflected in the current agitation for the recognition by the Government of black trade unions and collective bargaining.

The effects can also be seen in the outspokenness of black South Africa's leaders. They exist by courtesy of the Government, whose sincerely held philosophy of separate racial development has obliged it to set up 10 homelands, called Bantustans, for the country's different tribal groups. Each Bantustan will, in theory, become fully independent one day, and partial self-government for some has already brought a number of black politicians to prominence.

## He Cannot Be Locked Up

With the pace set, for the most part, by the articulate Zulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, they have scourged the Government more vigorously than would have seemed conceivable three years ago. South Africa's jails have been filled up over the years with blacks scarcely more critical than these. Yet Chief Buthelezi visits such "revolutionary" countries as Tanzania and Zambia, castigates Mr. Vorster and remains at liberty. For, as a creation of the apartheid system, he cannot be locked up. His imprisonment or banishment would be an admission that separate development is the failure that others say it is.

Unmuzzled, Chief Buthelezi and his colleagues complain of, first, the injustice of the Bantustans, the fragmented areas of impoverished land that are supposed to support South Africa's 15 million Africans. In fact the population of the Bantustans is only about 6.9 million, but this is three times the 2.3 million that was originally estimated as the maximum they could support when the blueprint for their creation was drawn up in 1954. Poverty, malnutrition and disease are rampant in what have come to be known as the dumping-grounds for the blacks who serve no economic purpose in white South Africa.

The new black leaders also speak of the plight of urban blacks. They can, for instance, publicize the 12.75 million prosecutions under the Pass Laws since 1963. And they can describe the misery that is involved in what is probably apartheid's most inhuman policy, the forced uprooting of more than 2.9 million people in the greatest movement of people in peacetime since the days of Stalin.

As yet, the new black leaders can speak but not act. Liberation from the bonds of apartheid still looks decades away. But the situation is more fluid than it was, and that has given hope. Ironically, the election on April 24 will probably neither hasten nor retard change. That is in the hands of those outside South Africa and, ever more obviously, in those of the disfranchised majority within.

John Grimond is Africa correspondent of The Economist.

## Naked Lust for power

IV

THE MOST damning indictment of the Riotous Assemblies Bill came this week from a defender of it. The Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, introducing the measure in Parliament, left no doubt whatsoever that this arrogant, meddling, autocratic and jittery Government is against protest, period.

The Bill has very little to do with curbing riots and avoiding mayhem, and a great deal to do with shutting people up. Mr. Kruger gave the game away in his speech.

He complained that people often attended a gathering just because it was not illegal, which makes it clear that the Government is not going to put up with even such a basic democratic right as listening in to dissident views.

And he justified the need for more sweeping powers by explaining that a remembrance service at 4 pm could become a silent protest at 4.30 pm. So even silent protest is more than this Government can tolerate now.

Perhaps the most chilling thing of all, though, is to discover that the Government has come so far along the road to totalitarianism, so close to being a police state, that Mr. Kruger obviously cannot see anything wrong with the "reasons" he vouchsafes for the new legislation.

Rand Daily Mail  
2/23/74

There is no sign of any awareness whatsoever that he is trampling upon a basic right.

We are left with the alarming thought that his Government — neurotically possessed by power-lust and self-induced fear — no longer knows nor cares what democracy is.

No one should be surprised at that.

It has been practising for totalitarianism for a quarter of a century. Steady and continuous erosion of the Rule of Law has brought us to the donga of dead freedoms that we see now.

An article on Page Nine today reveals exactly how great has been Nationalist depredations into individual liberty.

The Government has restricted our right to speak, to meet, to hear all views. Through censorship it has barred us from the world of new ideas. It has introduced detention, house arrest, banishment, all without trial. It has extended hugely the number of forbidden topics. It has substituted Ministerial decree for judicial judgment.

It hires informers to spy on its citizens. It punishes without giving reasons. It uses commissions to conduct secret investigations into its people. It has given to its policemen and its faceless officials authority that once belonged to the courts.

And its naked lust for still more power will not be satiated until it can order and control the movement — and the minds — of every last one of us. Be warned.



EMPLOYMENT IN AFRICA

UNIVERSITY POSITIONS--

UNIV. OF NAIROBI - KENYA----DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS AND TECHNOLOGY

3 Senior Lecturers and 5 Lecturers needed. Sr. Lecturer appointment requires teaching Education students and supervising students on Practice Teaching. Applicants should have a bachelor's degree in Agricultural Education, History, Geography, Economics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics, English Language or Literature; a higher degree or a Diploma in Education. Preference for those with experience in teaching in Sec'y Schools.

Lecturer applicants will be counterparts to UNESCO Associates currently working in the Department. Applicant must have a BA degree in Educational Media, Micro-Teaching, Physics, Chemistry, Educational Resources or Closed Circuit Television.

Detailed applications (2 copies) including a curriculum vitae and naming 3 referees, should be sent by air, not later than April 2, 1974 to the Registrar, Univ. of Nairobi, P.O. Box 30197, Nairobi, Kenya.

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY- NIGERIA

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING -- Research Fellow. M.Sc. in Town Planning, related fields or equivalent qualification. Experience in Urban Econ. Analysis, and/or Urban Public Administration, including Land Use. Planning. Position for the Kano campus.

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY --Senior Lecturer and Lecturer. Sr. Lecturer required to have a Ph.D. as well as university teaching and research experience. Lecturer should have master's degree. Lecturer will teach courses in Human/Physical/ and/or Regional Geography.

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT -- Reader and Sr. Lecturer. Doctorate and university teaching and research experience preferred.

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH -- Research Fellows and Sr. Fellows. Ph.D. necessary for Sr. Fellows. Degrees in Economics, Sociology or Statistics.

Deadline for applying, April 5, 1974. Send detailed applications (2 copies) including a curriculum vitae and naming 3 referees, by air to the Registrar, Ahmadu Bello Univ. Zaria.

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE, UNIV. OF SIERRA LEONE -- DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

Lectureships. Applicants should have experience in univ. teaching and qualifications and/or interest in Economic Theory, Internat'l Economics, Industrial Economics and Monetary Econ. Detailed applications (2 copies) should be sent by air, not later than March 27, 1974 to the Secretary, Univ. of Sierra Leone, P.M.B., Freetown, Sierra Leone.

UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA -- RURAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES BUREAU

Sr. Research Fellow and Research Fellow. Preference for applicants with substantial research experience relating to rural sector of developing countries. Specialist qualifications in Economics or Sociology. Will carry out evaluation of "Farmer Training Centres" in Zambia, under agreement with World Bank.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY -- Sr. Lecturer/Lecturer. Interest and experience in African History or Modern World History. Appointee will undertake research in his field of speciality and/or participate in Department research projects.

Detailed applications (2 copies) should be sent by March 14, 1974 to the Registrar, Univ. of Zambia, P.O. Box 2379, Lusaka, Zambia.

INDUSTRY POSITIONS--

MALAWI -- INTERNAL AUDITOR -- United Transport Limited. Applicant to organize and control an established Internal Audit Dept; train existing audit staff. Based in Blantyre with extensive travel in Malawi. Applications in writing with curriculum vitae should be sent to: The Financial Adviser, United Transport (Malawi) Ltd. P.O. Box 176, Blantyre.

WEST AFRICAN RICE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

--ASSOCIATE SEED SPECIALIST. Located in Monrovia, Liberia. Responsible for management of seed storage and seed service centre at Univ. Farm. Agriculture degree & experience in seed technology required.



WEST AFRICAN RICE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

- ASSOCIATE ENTOMOLOGIST. Located in Rokupr, Sierra Leone. Applicant will work with Plant Protection Project, involving major rice insect pests assessment & their effects on rice breeding materials screening tests & working with rice breeders for insect resistant varieties & control measures. B. Sc. in Agric'l Biology or Entomology required.
- ASSOCIATE MECHANIZATION ENGINEER. Located in Rokupr, Sierra Leone. Applicant to assist & under-study Farm Machinery Engineer in determining suitable farm machines, optimum mechanized field operations, adapting equipment for rice production. B.Sc. Mechanical or Agricultural Engineering.
- ASSOCIATE RICE PRODUCTION AGRONOMIST. Located in Monrovia, Liberia. Applicant to assist Rice Production Agronomist in liaison work with agricultural institutions in area, identifying major constraints to rice production with feasibility studies or specific rice projects, assistance with planning preparation & operation of rice development projects. B. Sc. in Agriculture or Botany with preferred specialization in crop science.

Curriculum vitae and 1 passport photo should be sent by air to: Executive Secretary, W. African Rice Development Assoc., E.J. Roye Memorial Building, P.O.B. 1019, Monrovia, Liberia

NIGERIA

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# FOCUS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

## ROUND-UP

by Guy Arnold

Despite the stringent measures the regime's forces have not been able to score any real successes against the guerrillas nor even to contain them; for they now operate some 200 miles south of the Zambezi border along the Rhodesia-Mozambique border.

The derailment on New Year's eve of two trains on the Umtali to Beira line was more than a simple guerrilla success. Far more important, it heralded a new phase in the guerrilla war. Until now this vital rail link, which is so important to Rhodesia's efforts to break sanctions, had not been molested or threatened.

The first train was derailed by a mine some 36 miles into Mozambique near a village called Garuso; the second, a breakdown train coming to the assistance of the first was machine-gunned and a Portuguese army captain was reported killed. Passengers had to be taken round the affected area by bus.

### Rhodesia

This attack upon a line considered to be vital to Rhodesia has increased the feeling of military and general isolation in Salisbury. This was in any case already considerable for both political and economic reasons.

The year was ushered in without pretence as there has been in the past about the extent of the guerrilla threat. In his New Year's speech Smith warned that conditions could well get worse.

In the north east some 8,000 tribesmen have been moved away from the border areas, first to "protected" villages and later to settlements further south, in order that they might not be infiltrated by the guerrillas and, in any case, so that they are not in the area to provide the guerrillas with support. Following these removals, some of the border districts have now been declared 'no-go' areas where the security forces have the right to shoot strangers on sight.

There were attempts during 1973 to cover up the seriousness of the security position from the whites; not surprisingly they were unsuccessful. The period of military service for the 18 to 27-year-old group was increased during the year from nine to twelve months, while over 40s were called up for clerical and guard duties.

Despite these and other measures the regime's forces became more and more extended and, more significantly, could neither claim any real successes against the guerrillas nor even to have contained them. And now — for weeks at a time — the guerrillas are operating 200 miles south of the Zambezi border along the Rhodesia-Mozambique border. On January 7, a spotter plane was shot down; the guerrillas have increasingly sophisticated weapons.

The growing pressures of the security situation have had their effect most

reported in the last issue): white emigration from Rhodesia exceeded immigration at the end of 1973 for the first time since 1966. The *Zimbabwe Review* (ZAPU) turned the screw a little by carrying a story that African women were being denied full employment unless they agreed to use contraceptives because the African population explosion so worries the regime. This, of course, was forcibly denied by Government officials but the story will do its work.

The Government started the year with a big push for immigrants. Smith appealed for them in his New Year's speech. Rhodesians have been asked to supply the names of friends and relatives who might want to emigrate to Rhodesia and the Department of Immigration will then follow these up. Rhodesian leaders argued that the depression in Europe due to the oil crisis and Britain's three-day week should between them make it easy to find immigrants willing to go to sunny Rhodesia. So the "Settlers 74" campaign was launched.

In launching the campaign, the Minister of Information and Tourism, Van Der Byl, said that the new settlers would provide more work for Africans, though such a claim is unlikely to convince anyone — African or Euro — that the security situation discouraged immigrants: "The situation has made a serious impact both as regards reducing immigration and increasing emigration of Rhodesians to other countries, mainly because of the large number of call-ups which have been necessary during the year."

The campaign had barely been launched when Rhodesia's Roman Catholic hierarchy attacked the whole concept and their attack, in turn, was welcomed by Bishop Muzorewa who said: "This campaign ('Settlers 74') is being done at the expense of the people who are already here."

Economically the year got off to a poor start with the announcement by Rhodesia Railways of the largest deficit in its history — nearly £8m. — mainly due to the closure of the border with Zambia and the consequent loss of Zambian copper freight charges. Then petrol rationing has had to be introduced again and the increased prices will deliver a severe blow to Rhodesia's precious foreign currency earnings.

Not surprisingly, against this background, there are further rumours of a possible settlement being reached between African groups and Smith. Bishop Muzorewa has said that if he was

would go ahead but that he could hardly accept an ambiguous settlement and that the ANC could afford to wait for what it wanted. He has apparently dropped his 'one man one vote' demand but insists upon some form of constitutional mechanism that would produce an African majority within a stated period.

The six Roman Catholic bishops in a pastoral message — "Reconciliation in Rhodesia" — have attacked the Government for its racist policies and expressed grave concern for the "unhappy state of the country". Smith is reported to be tired of leading the country into positions of ever-narrowing options and is said to be looking for a way out. A new black group wanting a settlement with Britain has just been formed: the African Progressive Party led by Chad Chipunza, one of the former Federal Government MPs.

### South Africa

In his New Year's message Vorster warned South Africans that pressures upon the country would increase: there would be more guerrilla action in neighbouring territories and tougher anti-South Africa resolutions at the

United Nations.

On the other hand, Dr. Diederichs, the Minister of Finance, predicted that 1974 would be a good year for South Africa which would be prosperous and unaffected by slumps elsewhere.

Economically things are certainly moving. 1973 saw possibly the largest wage increases for Blacks in the country's history. There was a 24.7% rise in twelve months in manufacturing and part at least of this was due to international pressures and publicity about low wages and the Poverty Datum Line, as well as the wave of strikes at the beginning of the year. The average monthly wage for Africans is now R72.45 (£48), a rise of 19.4% in a year: this average is still £7 below the urban PDL.

On the other hand, inflation led to a 20% increase in food costs. In Natal there is a growing movement to form black unions: they are unofficial and so far the Government has made no move to recognise them. One result of all these industrial pressures has been the establishment of a number of training centres for African workers in some of the cities.

During January, 10,000 textile workers came out on strike in Durban. After negotiations on their behalf by Mr. Barney Dladla, the Minister of Community Affairs of the Kwazulu Homeland, 3,000 accepted the management offer of an increase, although Mr. Dladla described it as "peanuts". Then the other 7,000 accepted terms and also went back to work. This has been South Africa's worst strike for over a year: it paralysed 11 cotton mills. The new wage rises range between 40 and 80 cents a week. A total of 217 of the strikers were arrested and fined for disturbing the peace: their fines were paid by the

those who refused to give testimony to the Schlebusch Commission that was set up last year to investigate four anti-apartheid bodies on grounds of security. These trials — the first to attract attention was that of the theologian, Beyers Naude — are part of a wider affair: the clear growth of church and other liberal opposition to apartheid.

The Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches have together sponsored the Spro-Cas studies (Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society) whose reports have often been banned as soon as they are published; they constantly undermine Government propaganda about apartheid.

The Government is shaping up for more clashes with these bodies; they themselves demonstrate increasingly their belief that black initiatives will force the pace in South Africa from now on: to say this at all is sufficiently unpalatable for the Government; if secretly the Government believes and fears it to be true then such statements must be doubly unwelcome.

All the time — unless people are reminded they forget — the sordid and wretched South African policy of removing people continues and the results are all too often inhuman and sometimes horrific. A recent pamphlet — *A Place Called Dimbaza* — (published by the Africa Publications Trust) records the sufferings of Africans in this most notorious of Bantu resettlement townships. As long as this kind of inhumanity continues, it is impossible to take seriously claims from "liberal" South Africans that things are improving.

On January 6 it was announced that Chief Buthelezi of the Zulus and Harry Schwarz, a senior official of the United Party, had signed a five-point declaration of faith in South Africa's future as a peaceful multiracial society with equal opportunities for all. The declaration has been heralded by some as a breakthrough in race relations. They declared: that change must be brought about by peaceful means; that opportunity must be offered to all for material and educational advancement; that the future should be planned by consultation and dialogue between representatives of all the people — a consultative council should be constituted; that the federal concept appears to be best for South Africa; that constitutional proposals should safeguard the identity and culture of the various groups.

Reactions to this in the United Party were varied and puzzled; Schwarz himself was at pains to emphasise that he was acting in his personal capacity and had no mandate from the party. The Nationalist and the Progressive parties were scornful of the whole thing. For two weeks Sir de Villiers Graaf said nothing; then he reprimanded Schwarz and said he would not tolerate an invasion "of the scope or authority of my leadership". He avoided outright approval and said that the declaration did not involve any new commitment by the United Party or a change of



## Mozambique

In mid-January a landmine blew up a train on the Beira line: the third attack on the railway. It was near Maforza, 105 miles from Beira. Then guerrillas attacked a white farm in the Manica area, which is part of the white heartland of Mozambique. The attack has opened a new stage in the war; white farmers in reaction and alarm cabled to Caetano and to Da Silva Cunha, the Minister of National Defence, complaining of the lack of security.

The significance of the Frelimo attacks upon the railway is that their front line of infiltration must now be further south for only when they have assured themselves of local support in an area do they normally open up operations. This, at any rate, is how the Portuguese authorities are interpreting the attacks and they are worried.

At Beira, thousands of hard-core white settlers demonstrated over two days for tougher action against Frelimo; these demonstrations followed the killing of Senhora Maria Jose Dias in the Manica area near the Rhodesia border.

Intense nervousness is being manifested in Beira by the settlers and reinforcements are being rushed to the colony from Portugal. In addition Lisbon has sent General Francisco Costa Gomes (former Commander in Chief Angola) to take over in Mozambique. This wave of settler anxiety rather than anything Frelimo has said shows that the war has reached a new stage. For the first time in Mozambique, the white settlers are really feeling the draught — and they don't like it at all.

An immediate question that their concern raises is whether they themselves will now resort to arms and fight Frelimo — something that so far they have left to the military.

The stepping up of the *aldeamento* programme — now hundreds of thousands of people are being forced into these villages — is yet another sign of the success that Frelimo is having.

The Frelimo campaign could be drastically altered later this year when the Cabora Bassa dam starts flooding — as the lake reaches back along the Zambezi it will cut off a series of Frelimo routes south. With this in mind Frelimo is currently developing at speed as many other routes as possible to compensate for these coming limitations.

In both Portugal and Mozambique there now exists a crisis of confidence. On January 14, it was announced that General Antonio De Spínola — Portugal's top anti-guerrilla strategist — had been appointed as Deputy Chief of Staff. He is to become the African Supremo and will no doubt look first at the worsening position in Mozambique.

The Portuguese have adopted new tactics to draw attention away from the atrocities of their troops in the field. A brochure of the Mozambique authorities — *Frelimo and the People* — purports to be a history of alleged attacks upon civilians since 1964. There have been a number of accusations in recent weeks by the Portuguese of Frelimo atrocities in an obvious effort to restore their own credibility after a year of adverse publicity following the Wiriyamu revelations. And in his newly-published book *Wiriyamu*, Father Adrian Hastings attacks the Pope and the 1940 Agreement between Portugal and the Vatican: "In return for very considerable financial help, a privileged position and permission to introduce some non-Portuguese missionaries into Portuguese Africa, the Catholic Church surrenders its freedom of action."

## FOCUS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

### NAMIBIA: BRIGHT PROSPECTS

Peter Katjavivi interviewed by Suzanne Cronje

The last few weeks were fateful ones for Namibia. At the United Nations the "dialogue" which UN Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim has been conducting with Pretoria since 1972 has at last been terminated, and a full-time Commissioner for the UN Council for Namibia has been appointed for the first time. The world energy crisis has made it imperative for industrialised countries to search for new resources, and, as attention focuses once more on nuclear development to replace oil, Namibia's controversial uranium deposits assume a new political and economic importance.

Within Namibia, the South West Africa People's Organization has been active in the political, industrial and military fields. In fact, SWAPO became the first liberation movement to capture arms from the South African forces. International action is gathering new strength to prevent investment in Namibia and other transactions involving the territory. On the eve of an important new phase in Namibian history, we secured an exclusive interview with Mr. Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO's representative in Europe, who recently returned from a visit to his home country where he spent a number of weeks with SWAPO fighters in the field.

Suzanne Cronje talks to Peter Katjavivi:

■ AFRICA: Why were the December developments in the Security Council so important?

● KATJAVIVI: For two major reasons: the discontinuation of talks between the South African Government and the United Nations, and the appointment of a full-time Commissioner for the UN Council for Namibia. With regard to the talks between the South Africans and the UN, looking back one can see clearly that the South African Government has failed to respond to the UN demand to discuss the basic question. As an organisation, SWAPO was very much against further talks which have proved fruitless. We were proved right.

■ AFRICA: Were the Western Powers which supported this "dialogue" convinced that the evidence showed South Africa would not move?

● KATJAVIVI: This is not for us to answer, but it is clear from the reports given to UN Secretary-General Dr. Waldheim that there was no basis on which to continue the talks.

■ AFRICA: What about the attitude on this point by Dr. Waldheim?

● KATJAVIVI: In our view he did not give his own judgment on the subject. He was really only acting as a middleman, and he was not given any grounds on which he could have prolonged the talks. He felt he needed time, and we were completely opposed to that. It was a question of the South African Government coming to terms with the international community on the status of Namibia, and they

did not even accept in principle that they ought to withdraw from Namibia.

To us it was clear from the beginning that the South Africans were not going to take the discussions seriously. For them the talks were a mere exercise. The arrests and detentions, the establishment of Bantustans in Namibia, ought to serve as a clear indication of their intentions.

■ AFRICA: What can the UN do now that the "dialogue" has stopped?

● KATJAVIVI: This brings me back to the second point, to the appointment of a full-time Commissioner, Mr. McBride. We are aware of the limitations of the UN as far as establishing its presence in Namibia is concerned, but the UN remains a useful platform for Namibians through which to address the international community. The role of the Commissioner is to campaign on behalf of Namibia and also to try and support the Namibian cause. His overall job is to remind UN member-States of their obligations, to endorse the World Court's opinion, and to adhere to the decisions of the UN, for instance in discouraging immigration to Namibia and investment.

■ AFRICA: Is there anything new in his mandate which might make a difference in the diplomatic approaches to the question?

● KATJAVIVI: My own impression from meeting him and discussing the matter is that he has the visionary outlook of a man who is very much aware of the problems he is required to tackle. I think that he has got the right ideas; he will be able to put to good use his own experience in international affairs and organisations.

■ AFRICA: As far as the question of investment is concerned, and in the light of the world energy crisis, have you any news about the Rossing uranium mine?

● KATJAVIVI: According to reports we have received, it is likely to go into production by the beginning of next year. We are very much concerned about rumours of negotiations between the South African Government and the Bonn Ministry for Education and Science on the purchase of uranium for enrichment in the Federal German Republic.

■ AFRICA: Didn't they drop their support for involvement in this project after the World Court opinion?

● KATJAVIVI: Yes. But the Rossing uranium mine in Namibia has not actually been mentioned specifically this time; the talks have been about the purchase by the West Germans of uranium from the South Africans, and this could easily be Namibian uranium. The timing of the negotiations is suggestive: Rossing is preparing to go into full production by next year, and who knows whether the mine's uranium will not find its way to Germany?

■ AFRICA: Is there any way of checking up on this?

● KATJAVIVI: I have got some details on this which are best left unmentioned.

■ AFRICA: Are there any other countries interested in this venture?

● KATJAVIVI: The French. They have got an interest in the Rossing production.

■ AFRICA: Is Rossing the only major project in Namibia which SWAPO opposes?

● KATJAVIVI: There are other projects, but the Cunene River hydro-electric scheme is the only other major one. It is intended to facilitate the continued relationship between occupied Namibia and occupied Angola, as a joint venture

between the two colonial regimes. It helps the two Powers to co-ordinate their security, and we are given to understand that there is a plan for the settlement of people from Europe and elsewhere in southern Angola.

All this represents a threat to us, in Angola as well as in Namibia, and we are going to make sure that the dam is not built, because it will undermine our freedom. It also ties the international firms involved, for instance the Italians, to the interests of the colonial powers.

■ AFRICA: Is the Cunene project as big as Cabora Bassa in Mozambique?

● KATJAVIVI: I think it is. If you look at the whole layout you see that it is meant to supply water to all the big projects in Namibia, including the Rossing mine. We were told it was intended to provide water to Ovamboland but we discovered that this is not true and that the water is meant only for the mines and other industrial developments, though there might be fringe benefits for the population here and there. But that is not the objective. The project is running behind time, from what we have heard, but it is expected to be completed before the end of the decade.

We are planning a campaign against the Cunene scheme, as well as the Rossing mine, in trying to focus attention on the Western Governments and companies involved, to show that such developments are being used to give respectability to South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia. As far as the Cunene scheme is concerned, the SWAPO militants in the field have been instructed to try and destroy it when it comes within their reach.

Incidentally, we had reports that a Swedish couple who went to work on the project were killed by a gas explosion in October. But from the information we were given, and the fact that the incident coincided with the recent disturbances in Ovamboland, we think they might have been killed by Government agents to ensure that no news of the brutalities by the authorities against the people reaches the outside world. The couple, through working on the scheme, were the only outside witnesses to these killings and atrocities, and this is why they might have been done away with. It is a possibility. We are investigating it.



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## Namibia (cont')

■ AFRICA: You mentioned the recent disturbances. Is the state of emergency still in existence?

● KATJAVIVI: Ovamboland has been the scene of unrest, demonstrations and SWAPO activities surrounding the recent elections. The state of emergency is longstanding. The Government is frightened and expects further SWAPO actions. The Bantustan puppets of the South Africans in Ovamboland do not have the support of the people. To keep them in power the state of emergency has to be maintained. A crisis point has been reached; open political protest is going on throughout the country. SWAPO intends to continue these protests which are aimed at increasing the consciousness of the people.

■ AFRICA: I have heard that you have special problems, for instance in that your country is much more sparsely populated than, for instance, Mozambique.

● KATJAVIVI: Yes, much more sparsely.

■ AFRICA: Is this a disadvantage?

● KATJAVIVI: Yes, but this is a problem which we have to try and resolve. It is true that our geographical situation tends to surround us, reducing our flexibility, but we have been able to organise ourselves in such a way as to progress within these limits. One has to devise ways and means to sustain our operations both in the areas where we conduct military activities and in the areas where our movement is active in other ways.

■ AFRICA: I believe that you, yourself, recently returned from Namibia, having spent some time campaigning.

● KATJAVIVI: Yes. I had the opportunity to visit the battle zones, and all I have seen there has convinced me that the struggle is growing. I have seen the men in the field, and that we have been able to advance much further than I had expected — both in training and in skill. I have been very impressed to hear from the commanders that they are

prepared to take weeks to plan an operation, because what matters is accuracy. This shows that what they are aiming at is not drama, that there is not any emotional approach to the problem, but that their aim of a high degree of efficiency makes sure that the resources at their disposal and their energy are spent accurately on targets.

■ AFRICA: Can you give me a concrete example?

● KATJAVIVI: There was an occasion when the SWAPO fighters ambushed a military camp in the Caprivi Strip. They spent almost a week preparing and making all the necessary arrangements before attacking the camp. When they hit, they managed to wipe out all of it. The South Africans did not admit this loss, but it came out when one of the survivors gave an account to a Durban newspaper, *The Tribune*. This white South African soldier said he could not remember anything and did not know how many people were killed on the spot, but he exposed the fact that this particular camp was attacked.

On another occasion, when SWAPO found a South African military column patrolling an area, they organised their ambush in such a way that there were only two survivors. This was also reported. The rest were killed on the spot. We captured weapons and other material, including Belgian FN rifles and radio equipment which happened to be British. There was also some opium in their supplies. While I was there, a South African helicopter was brought down by our people. We felt safe in the company of SWAPO fighters, convinced that they were ready to meet any attack of this sort.

■ AFRICA: How deep did you penetrate into Namibia?

● KATJAVIVI: I cannot for obvious reasons give the specific distance, but it was quite far. We came out through Angola. Looking back, the armed struggle has now lasted for seven years, and it is hoped to awaken the people and to make them look within themselves. It has led to a better understanding of the problem created by South Africa's illegal presence. I was moved to see the people in the villages holding medical supplies and cloth issued by SWAPO, and the children singing to us songs which said that SWAPO is stronger than Vorster.

Now, to me this means a lot. Our people are rallying in support; everything showed that SWAPO is not only talking

about liberation but acting, showing what we can do in assisting the villagers with what little we can afford, as an indication of what we hope to achieve.

■ AFRICA: Was SWAPO connected with the industrial action in recent years, with the strikes which started in Namibia before South Africa was affected?

● KATJAVIVI: Our struggle is sometimes misunderstood. People expect us to arm each and everybody. We have not got the means of doing that. We are trying to arm our people with ideas, the right political orientation. While we have to fight in the bush of Namibia, we also have an urban programme to carry out. The strikes, or the actions by students and churches, in meetings, demonstrations and rallies, supplement what the guerrillas are doing. This is all linked. This is a strategy arising out of the geographical and general set-up, to sustain our operations at all levels. It is a continuous process. Our emphasis is on people, the man — not the gun.

■ AFRICA: Do you think that once the South Africans are convinced that you will not give up they will be prepared to negotiate?

● KATJAVIVI: Perhaps. But our strategy — our survival — depends on making their presence in Namibia too risky. What is also important is that we have a perspective of southern Africa as one, we feel that Namibia and SWAPO are part of the overall area and that we have something to contribute to the solving of common problems. It is a question of creating the conditions in which Namibia is able to achieve independence; in this respect, our actions are having an impact far beyond Namibia, but it is not for us to fight the battles of our brothers in South Africa, Angola or Mozambique. Of course there is co-ordination, the exchange of experience and intelligence.

■ AFRICA: Will we still be young enough to dance when Namibia achieves independence?

● KATJAVIVI: The time to celebrate will come, and I am optimistic. But what matters now is the struggle, and how it is conducted. While I was in Namibia I remember reading a message from the SWAPO leadership which reminded all of us that we are fighting for the liberation of Namibia, not only for ourselves, but that we must ensure a better tomorrow, for generations to come.

## FOCUS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA ANGOLA: MASSACRE AND OPPRESSION

by Bernard Rivers

"You seem to think that if only 200 were killed at Wiriya, not 400, then the Portuguese system of oppression is only half as bad. But Portuguese Africa is a pot which is boiling. When it occasionally boils over, we have the massacres".

In one of the most inaccessible areas of all Africa, allegations have been made of another major massacre by Portuguese troops. Some 200 male Angolan civilians are said to have been shot.

I was given a detailed account of the incident by two eye-witnesses who had managed to escape. We met during a secret eleven-week trip I recently made to study life-styles in liberated areas in the heart of Angola.

I had been smuggled into the country from Zambia, without the knowledge of the Portuguese authorities, and during the entire 800-mile walk that followed, was escorted by guerrillas belonging to UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). We kept to the bush and remote villages, staying well clear of roads and white settlements.

Among the many people I interviewed through interpreters, while several hundred miles deep inside Angola, were Samaria Montanha and Samindole Tshiyuka, two middle-aged woodcutters. Speaking with an earnest and convincing sincerity, they told me:

"In February or March 1970, guerrillas attacked the garrison near Chicala.

Soon after, a special group of Portuguese troops came to a nearby *aldeamento* ['strategic resettlement'] where we were then living. They took all the 230 men present, including us two, and forced us into a large hut. They beat us around the head with the butts of their guns to force us into the building — we even had to lie on top of each other to fit in.

"They put a guard at the door to pull us out one by one. We were told each would be interviewed and released. They said they wanted to find out where the 'terrorists' were.

"After each person had been taken, we heard a shot — one for each. We looked through the window, but couldn't see what was happening. The guard said: 'Don't worry, that's just to persuade them to speak.' Some of us believed him — but we kept hearing screams. We were very frightened.

"Man after man left the hut. We counted over 140. Suddenly a screaming man ran past the window. He had been shot in the side. We watched him fall to the ground. A soldier came up and shot him in the head with a pistol. We knew then all of them must have been killed.

The remaining 80 or so of us decided we might as well die together. We stormed the guard and broke down the door.

"What we saw then was horrible. There were bodies and blood everywhere. The Portuguese soldiers immediately started firing at us with machine guns. As we ran, we kept stumbling over all the bodies.

"We fled in all directions, heading for the bush. The women and children had been held separately and started running at the same time."

Tshiyuka was wounded during the escape — I saw the bullet wound in his thigh. The figures he and Montanha gave indicate that over 200 died. They gave the names of 23 of them. These were mainly men who had been taken to the *aldeamento* from the same village; one of them was Tshiyuka's brother. They did not know the names of the other men, who had come from more distant

villages. They said that the massacre site, Kavuli *aldeamento*, is near Chicala, West of Luso, capital of Moxico district.

I interviewed a large number of people during my time with the guerrillas, ranging from Dr. Jonas Savimbi,

the President of UNITA, to illiterate peasants. The unanimous opinion was that such incidents as the Kavuli massacre are relatively rare in Angola. Much more serious, all agreed, is the day-to-day domination by the Portuguese, and the way it affects the majority of the population.

The worst manifestation of this domination is the enforced retention of Angolans in *aldeamentos*. The official purpose of these "strategic resettlements" is to protect the people from the "terrorists", and to centralise educational and medical facilities. But according to all those I interviewed, such facilities are almost non-existent. And it seems clear that the major real purpose of *aldeamentos* is to control the rural people so that they cannot provide a civilian support base for the guerrillas.

The most detailed account of daily life in the *aldeamentos* came from Chiyana Kasongo, a woman in her early thirties. Until 1969 she had lived with her husband and six children in a village near Mpweya, in western Moxico district. She started her description by telling what happened when the Portuguese decided to round up the people of her village and take them to an *aldeamento*.



## Angola (cont')

"The Portuguese came at dawn and surrounded the village. They broke into the huts and told us to get out. They tied the men's hands behind their backs. There were more than 50 white soldiers with guns, and a few black ones. The soldiers were very brutal, beating us with the butts of their guns and then kicking us when we fell to the ground. Women and children were beaten, too, and not just those who resisted or tried to escape. Nobody escaped.

"They said we had been helping the terrorists. It was true we had met UNITA guerrillas doing political work, but at that time they had not started fighting in our area. We had welcomed the guerrillas very much, listening to them and giving them food. My uncle was especially friendly to UNITA. He was very reluctant to go with the Portuguese to the *aldeamento*, and was there and then beaten to death. In all, two men and two women were killed in this way. They just left the bodies lying there without burying them.

"After a while the lorries came for us. The Portuguese gathered together our personal possessions — blankets, pots, etc. — and burned them. Our huts were burned, too. We were allowed to take nothing with us; we were just thrown on the lorries."

After a day's journey they reached the *aldeamento*, called Sangezo, in Moxico district, near Cuete. (This is not the *aldeamento* where the massacre occurred.)

Her testimony goes on to describe the living conditions once they arrived. Each family had to live in a hut about seven foot square. Conditions were very insanitary, and there was no medical care available. They were not allowed to grow food outside the *aldeamento*, perhaps because of the proximity to the war zone. Instead, they had to work in exchange for food. The work consisted

of gathering stones, probably for road-building. The working day lasted for over 12 hours, including walking to and from the area where the stones were found.

Chiyana and her husband would work for two days, and then on the third day would queue to collect one mugful of maize for each, as payment for the two days' work. Thus the family of two adults plus six children had to share two mugfuls of flour every three days. This was all the food they had.

One of her children died during the four years they spent there, but most families fared worse. Chiyana estimates that more than half the people taken there from her village died during those four years. The older ones died from overwork and too little food; the children died from malnutrition and low resistance to illness. Other people died from beatings, or were shot while attempting to escape.

She and her family finally escaped last summer, two months before I met her in the liberated areas. Her *aldeamento* had been surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, but escaping at night or while working outside was not impossible.

Another woman I interviewed, Muselina Seke, had escaped even more recently from the same *aldeamento*, and her story was very similar. I went over both stories with them in some detail, and their answers were always consistent.

I interviewed a number of other people who had escaped from various *aldeamentos*. The conditions they had suffered differed in some respects from those faced by Chiyana and Muselina. Some had been allowed to grow a little food or go out hunting for manioc in deserted fields; others had been in *aldeamentos* where the death rate was not so high; conversely, some had experienced even worse brutality. But there was no doubt that the various accounts I was given fitted into a coherent overall pattern.

The following common points emerged from the many statements I recorded:

The Portuguese realise, as do the guerrillas, that the crucial battle is not a military one, but is the struggle for the emotional and physical co-operation of the rural Angolans. However many guns they have, the guerrillas will never be able to operate effectively without this support base.

By bringing the people together into compact settlements, the Portuguese feel that they can most effectively influence the people and stop them helping the guerrillas.

Some people volunteer to go and live in these *aldeamentos*, even if they regret it later. But the Portuguese are prepared to use force to round up and hold those who will not co-operate willingly. Their methods are sufficiently forceful to lead, directly or indirectly, to many deaths.

Many or most of the *aldeamentos* in the disputed areas have armed guards, and are surrounded by barbed wire.

Medical facilities are practically non-existent, and food supplies are extremely limited.

Most of the men have in the past been forced to do a year of "contract labour" at places such as private coffee plantations. Some have had to do this several times. The private employers, armed with whips and guns, paid workers just sufficient to keep them alive. Workers who complained have been known to die of the beatings this provoked.

Gerald Bender, an American authority on Angola, wrote in an academic journal in 1971 that about one million Angolans (20% of the population) lived in *aldeamentos*; the proportion is a lot higher in eastern Angola, where the guerrillas are most active. He quotes a high-ranking Portuguese official as reporting to the Government that there are incidents where:

"The soldiers rob and pillage food, animals, clothes, radios, almost any objects of value, indiscriminately and without justification. They have also raped women in the villages, killing

anyone who attempts to intercede, then later justifying the killing by accusing the man of having collaborated with the terrorists."

Evidence of inhuman treatment of contract labourers comes in a secret report written at the request of the Portuguese Government by Dr. Afonso Mendes, then director of their Labour Institute in Angola. In his report, written in 1969 he says that:

"Administrative authorities still frequently intervene with repression against workers at the request of the employers... The cases of extreme physical violence are not few... This extremely bad example by the officials has been followed by the employers who do not hesitate to inflict physical punishment for any negligence or irregularity of the workers. Such practices arouse the hatred of the blacks, which facilitates the expansion of subversive action of the Enemy."

Much controversy was aroused last summer over the allegation of a massacre by the Portuguese in Mozambique. I followed it over my short-wave radio as I sat by a campfire in the Angolan bush. As one of the guerrillas said to me then: "You English are missing the point. You seem to think that if only 200 were killed at Wiryamu, not 400, then somehow the Portuguese system of oppression has been proved to be only half as bad. What you must realise is that Portuguese Africa is a pot which is boiling. Occasionally it boils over — that is the massacre. But much more serious is the fact that it is boiling, all the time. People are being beaten and killed, their land is taken, they are forced to live in *aldeamentos* or work on the plantations.

"Faced with this, can you blame them if they join the liberation struggle? And does it surprise you if in that struggle, and in the liberation areas, they find a greater feeling of community and self-respect than they ever did under the Portuguese?"

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