

MACSA

Madison Area  
Committee on  
Southern Africa

306 N. Brooks St.  
Madison, Wisconsin 53715

NEWS

Number 16, May 1972

### ACTION AROUND THE COUNTRY

#### BLACKS PROTEST HARVARD'S GULF STOCK

About 50 black students at Harvard University occupied a building housing the office of the Harvard president on April 20 to protest the university's recent decision not to sell its 671,876 shares of stock in the Gulf Oil Corporation. About 500 black and white students picketed the building in support of the sit-in. The protest, organized by the Harvard Afro-American Society and the Pan-African Liberation Front, is aimed at Gulf Oil's investments in the Portuguese colony of Angola. Harvard's Gulf stock is worth about \$19 million.

(Guardian, May 3, 1972)

#### MACSA SENDS TELEGRAM

The following telegram was sent on April 22 to Harvard's Pan African Liberation Committee:

"Support your action against Harvard involvement with Gulf and Portuguese colonialism. Inform us future developments.  
Viva a luta Angolana!"

#### RACISM AND EMPIRE

Last week Afro-Americans within the United States were on the front lines in a number of struggles signalling solidarity with their oppressed brothers and sisters in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and under the yoke of white racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

At Harvard University 50 black students occupied an administration building to demand that the university relinquish its stocks in the Gulf oil Corp., a principal imperialist link in the colonialist exploitation of Angola. At Exton,

Pennsylvania 200 students from nearby Lincoln University demonstrated last week outside the headquarters of the Foote Mineral Company demanding that the firm cease importing chrome ore from Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in defiance of UN trade sanctions. At Columbia University the last few weeks, students there have linked their demands to end the war in Indochina with demands that the University sell its stocks in corporations having investments in the oppressed African nations.

Meanwhile, black and white dock workers at two port towns in Louisiana have put themselves in the forefront of the struggle, by...refusing to unload chrome ore shipments from Rhodesia. And at Newport, R.I., 20 black and white sailors aboard the Navy destroyer William R. Rush recently signed a letter of protest against the ship's scheduled visits to Angola and Mozambique. They ended their protest letter with the words, "No more Vietnams!"

These indications of a newly heightened awareness within the student movement and among workers of the role US imperialism plays as a bulwark of colonialism and apartheid in the African continent are especially important to the anti-imperialist movement. Other sections in the left and progressive movements...must begin to play a more active role in supporting these struggles, linking them with U.S. aggression in Indochina by showing why solidarity with the Indochinese is identical to solidarity with the national liberation struggles in Africa.

May 27 has been designated African Solidarity Day by the African Liberation Coordinating Committee which plans mass demonstrations that day in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Toronto to mobilize black Americans, in particular, in support of the African liberation movements and to protest U.S. imperialist penetration in Africa. These demonstrations should get wide support among all sections of the left and progressive movements. For these are not simply "black issues;" the actions are in the class interests of the workers of all countries and the national liberation struggles everywhere.

(excerpted from Guardian editorial, May 3)

#### BLACKS ORGANIZE IN CHICAGO AREA

During the last week in April, a series of activities focussing on Africa was organized by Dennis Brutus, the well-known South African poet, at Northwestern University's Africa House.

Recognizing the need for more cooperation between U.S.-based groups concerned with Southern Africa, a workshop which met on Saturday formed the Southern African Liberation Information group to help coordinate information and activities in the Chicago area. It will be centered at Northwestern.

#### CHURCHES VOICE SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION

The recent Annual Convention of the United Methodist Church, meeting in Atlanta, voiced its support for the newly formed African National Council in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) after hearing an appeal from the A.N.C.'s leader, Bishop Able Muzorewa. The convention's 1,000 delegates also voted to call for a halt to the U.S. importation of chrome from Zimbabwe, backing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's recent decision favoring repeal of legislation permitting chrome imports.

The African National Council was formed earlier this year as a response to resumed negotiations between Britain and Ian Smith's white minority regime to normalize relations between the two countries. The A.N.C. has taken a strong stand in favor of justice for Africans in Zimbabwe through "non-violence, negotiation and reason."

Meanwhile, in Boston the Massachusetts Conference of the United Church of Christ said the Massachusetts Congregational Fund has voted to support by proxy a resolution calling on Gulf Oil Corp. to reveal the full extent of its business activities in Portuguese Angola. The fund holds 9,600 shares of Gulf stock, valued at approximately \$240,000.

The resolution was to come before the Gulf stockholders' meeting scheduled for May 2 in Pittsburgh, Pa.

FUND-RAISING CAMPAIGNS

THANK -YOU LETTER FROM MPLIA

In MACSA's fund-raising campaign of last December, over \$1000 were raised to send medical supplies to MPLIA and FRELIMO. Half of this was sent to the Liberation Support Movement in Vancouver and, combined with their own contributions, was used to buy 25,000 penicillin tablets, about one half of MPLIA's 1972 needs.

Recently we received the following letter of thanks from MPLIA's Servico de Assistencia Medica:

"Dear Comrades,

...Let us tell you that all contribution to our struggle, material or political, small one or big one, will be received with the same gratitude. So your contribution is for us so important and necessary as the biggest we received until now because it is, as you said and we believe it, a whole-hearted support.

...Thanks, once more, for what you did and are doing for our organization and our people and for your solidarity with us on the last 4th February, the eleventh anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in our beloved country.

A VITORIA e CERTA!

Dr. M. A. D'Almeida

Director of SAM, a.i."

NAMIBIAN STRIKERS NEW TARGET FOR SUPPORT

Currently MACSA is engaged in another fund-raising campaign to help strikers in Namibia who are demanding decent pay and working conditions in that country, which is illegally ruled by South Africa (see enclosed pamphlet for more information).

Contributions and help will be welcomed.

WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT

Young World Development is sponsoring more fund-raising walks this spring around Wisconsin. At Appleton and Green Bay the proceeds (hopefully around \$15,000) from the walk have been designated for the Mozambique Institute in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. This is FRELIMO's school for Mozambican refugees.

To date, a total of about \$18,000 has been sent to the Mozambique Institute by Wisconsin's Y.W.D.

VISITORS IN MADISON

POET DENNIS BRUTUS RECOUNTS EXPERIENCES WITH SA. POLICE

South African Dennis Brutus, speaking on "The Poetry of Suffering," told his audience here of his experiences of being caught by Portuguese authorities in Mozambique, turned over to South African police, and in what he knew was a futile attempt to flee, being shot in the back. Brutus refused to be treated in the prison "hospital" and told of the treatment he received in the prison, largely at the hands of the non-political, "lifer" prisoners, who were instructed by the white guards to persecute the political prisoners. One such lifer, sent to punish Brutus, reopened his wounds with kicks with heavy boots.

Since leaving South Africa, Dennis Brutus has been organizing in Great Britain and the U.S. on anti-apartheid activities, particularly seeking to have South Africa excluded from international sport (Brutus was an excellent cricket player himself). His focus is now the Olympics in Munich (S.A. was excluded from the Mexico City games) and the Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand next year.

Speaking at an informal gathering at St. Francis House after his main lecture, Dennis Brutus said that MACSA had a good reputation for anti-apartheid activities throughout the U.S. and encouraged the groups participation in several other areas, particularly the march of U.S. Blacks in support of African liberation groups in Washington, D.C. at the end of this month (free buses from Chicago), and the attempt to stop black American sports and entertainment figures from touring South Africa (Aretha Franklin cancelled her tour, but Eartha Kitt sat on an Afrikaner's knee whispering "C'est si bon!").

FRENCH ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVITIST VISITS MADISON...

Mme. Elisabeth Labrousse of Paris, who was lecturing in the U.W. History Dep't. here this week, is also an active member of the French Anti-Apartheid Committee. Mme. Labrousse spent some time with MACSA members, discussing her group's activities and problems.

The French Anti-Apartheid Committee, though small and hampered by a lack of funds, has been trying to alert the French public to their country's strong supportive role in maintaining the power of the white minority regimes in Southern Africa. Armaments are among France's most important exports, and South Africa and Portugal provide markets for these arms. French patrol boats, frigates and submarines have been sold to South Africa and Portugal for use in Africa, but most important are the "Alouette" helicopters and military transport planes, which play a key role in the air war against liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau).

Currently the Anti-Apartheid Committee in Paris is engaged in research on the ties between South Africa and Israel and has agreed to translate MACSA's pamphlet on that subject into French.

Other support groups in French-speaking Europe include the Anti-Apartheid Movements of Geneva and Brussels. Major Western European groups also exist in Holland, England, Sweden, Germany and Italy. These groups are engaged in much the same kind of work that MACSA is doing, seeking material support for liberation movements, mobilizing public opinion on Southern Africa, doing research and writing, etc.

AMERICAN COMPANIES SUPPORT RACISM  
AND TRY TO CRUSH STRIKE

Since December, 1971, contract laborers in Namibia (South West Africa) have been on strike. Namibia is controlled by the white racist government of the Republic of South Africa, in spite of United Nations decisions that the mandate of South Africa is invalid. South Africa has refused to accept such decisions, and maintains the discriminatory policies and repressive controls which led to the mandate being taken away. Political dissent and labor organization alike are illegal, but still Namibian workers went out on strike all over the country. They were protesting the contract migrant labor system which brings workers from "reserve areas" away from their families to work in the industries and farms of white South West Africa. The country is divided into the southern "Police Zone," for whites, and the northern area "reserved" for Africans. Africans and Coloureds live in the Police Zone in order to work for white enterprises only.

W A G E S : \$ 2 8   p e r   m o n t h

The largest employer in Namibia is the Tsumeb Corporation, which produces lead, copper, and zinc. In 1971 the company had 6600 workers: 1300 whites and 5300 Africans. Almost all of the African workers were migrant contract workers. In 1971 the average African wage at Tsumeb was \$28 per month, with a minimum of 70 cents a day (\$21 per month). The lowest paid white worker (really a supervisor) received starting wages of \$444 per month plus bonuses in 1971. The strike hit Tsumeb as well as other companies in Namibia. An "agreement" signed by the South African government and tribal chiefs paid by them (signed without consulting the workers) was reached in January, and the South African government has been using force to drive the workers back to their jobs. A press blackout prevents much information getting out, but Judge William Booth, an Afro-American jurist from New York, heard reports while attending a trial of strikers in Windhoek (the capital) of at least 60 people killed in Ovamboland in the north.

T S U M E B   M I N E   A M E R I C A N   O W N E D

Tsumeb is principally owned by two American companies, American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining. The two are not exactly household names, but AMAX (American Metal Climax) was 100th largest in assets in Fortune's list of American companies in 1970; Newmont was number 163. AMAX has operations also in Australia, West Germany, Mexico, the Netherlands, Great Britain and here in the USA. It deals with mining and processing of molybdenum, potash, lead, zinc, iron ore, aluminum, and copper. It's also in South Africa and in Zambia. Newmont deals with the same minerals, plus gold, silver, and uranium. It also controls Foote Mineral Company, one of the companies which mines almost all the chrome in Rhodesia, and which has just broken United Nations sanctions by importing chrome.

S A M E   C O M P A N I E S   I N   W I S C O N S I N

These companies operate in the U.S. too. AMAX even has a plant in Marshfield, Wisconsin. The plant in Marshfield is a subsidiary of the Mill Products Division of AMAX, and employs 31 workers in producing sheet aluminum for house sidings, trucks, boats, and mobile homes.

WORKERS THE LOSERS BOTH HERE AND ABROAD

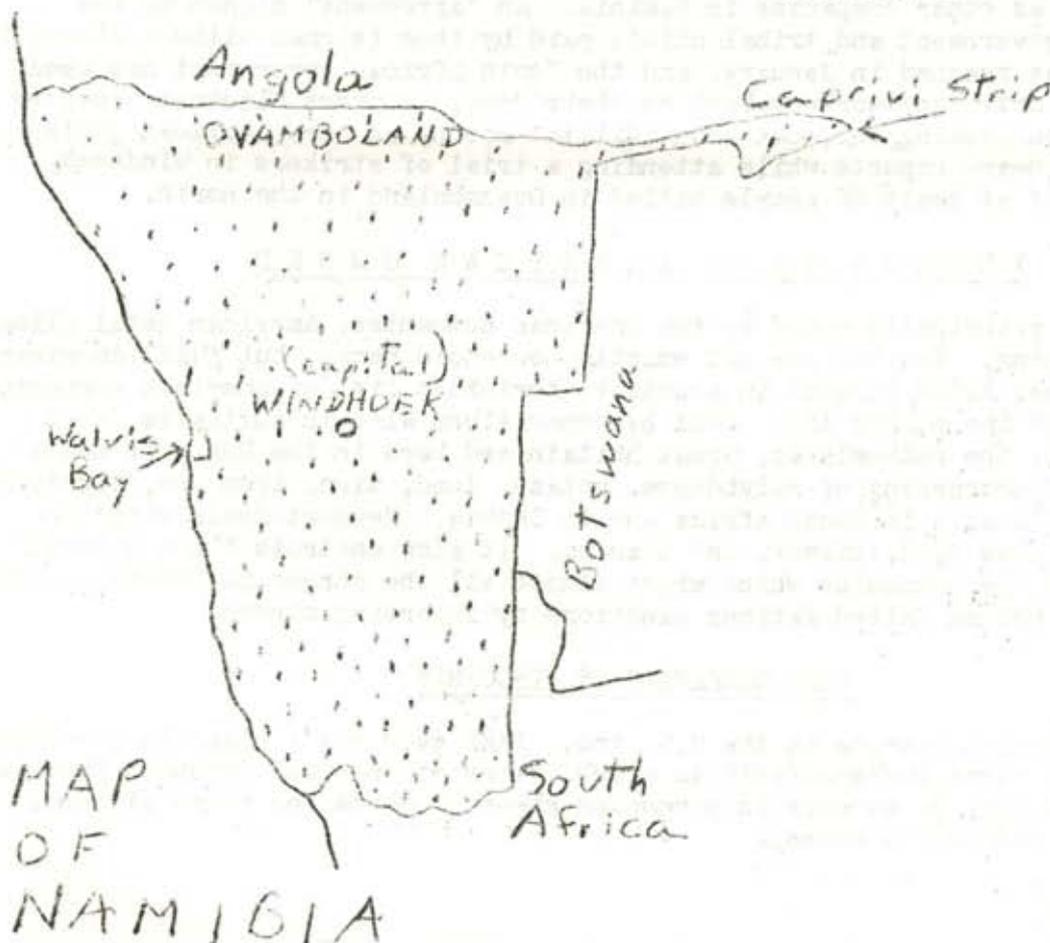
Multinational companies like these get rich by exploiting workers here and abroad. When they can take advantage of a racist police state to forbid strikes and labor organization as in Namibia and South Africa, they keep wages at incredibly low levels. And the profits they get from overseas build them up to resist workers' demands here too. Newmont, for example, owns copper mines in Arizona, and can resist a strike there by keeping operations going in Namibia, and in South Africa. Such actions act against workers in those industries here, and they also depress the general wage level, and combine with programs such as Nixon's Phase II to act against all workers.

SUPPORT NAMIBIAN STRIKERS

The Namibian workers have shown incredible courage by going out on strike in the face of the repressive force against them. Many have been arrested. All need help in supporting their families. They deserve our support.

Send contributions (clearly designated) to: MACSA (Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa)

§ University YWCA  
306 N. Brooks St.  
Madison, Wisconsin 53715



# IN NAMIBIA

it's illegal for African workers to strike.

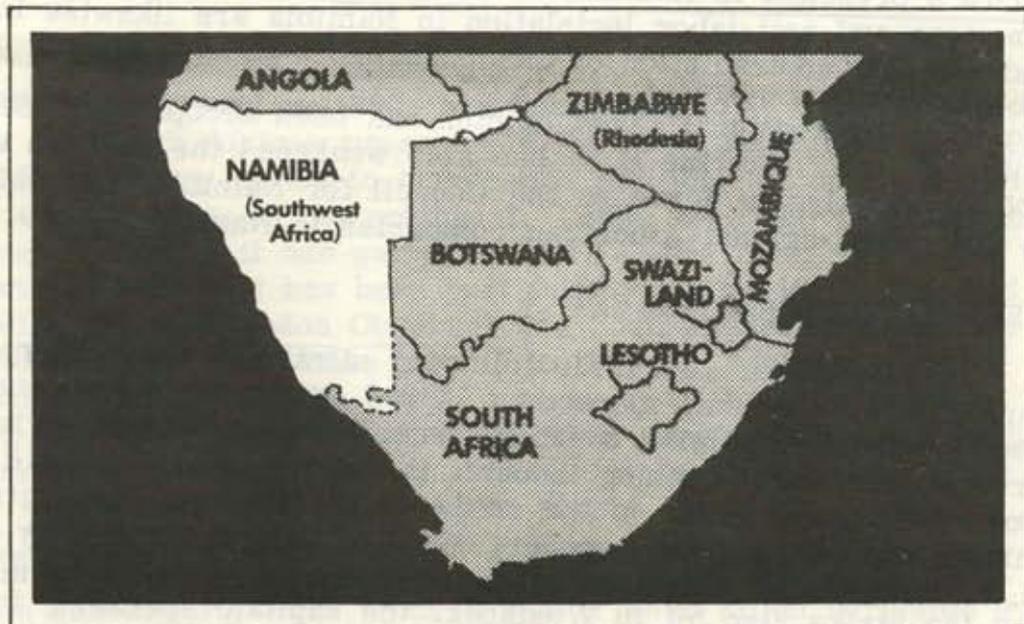
# IN NAMIBIA

churches supporting Africans are being persecuted.

# THE U.S.

supports Namibia's ruling white minority.

# CAN WE IGNORE NAMIBIA?



## WHY NAMIBIA ?

Namibia (formerly "South West Africa") lies along the south-west coast of Africa and is bordered by South Africa, Angola, Zambia, and Botswana. It covers 318,261 square miles, making it more than twice the size of California. White occupation of Namibia dates back only to 1889 when Germany, a latecomer on the colonial scene, established a garrison. Now, 95,000 whites dominate Namibia and its 654,000 black population with the gun.

## THE UNITED NATIONS VS. THE UNITED STATES

In 1919, at the end of World War I, the League of Nations granted a mandate to the Union of South Africa to administer South West Africa. After World War II, the United Nations took over the supervisory powers of the League. In 1966, the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia because of the failure to govern in the interests of Namibian people, and the introduction of systematic white domination in the form of apartheid. The UN assumed jurisdiction itself, creating the Council for Namibia, but has been prevented by South Africa from exercising its authority there. On June 21, 1971, the International Court of Justice handed down an advisory opinion affirming South Africa's presence in Namibia to be illegal. South African racist practices and anti-labor legislation in Namibia are likewise invalid, and a direct contradiction of the mandate.

The International Court opinion has been accepted by the United States. But the U.S. has also weakened the position of the UN for refusing to serve on the Council for Namibia, and failing to take steps against American companies in Namibia.

## AFRICAN LABOR STRIKES!

On December 13, 1971, following months of sporadic protest throughout the nation, more than 12,000 Ovambo contract-workers, about a third of Namibia's labor force, began a general strike that brought the crucial mining industry there to a near standstill. One of the focal points of the strike is the Tsumeb Corporation mining operations (lead, copper, zinc), jointly controlled by two U. S. companies, American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining. But the strike also hit in Windhoek, the capital, spreading to

service trades, construction, and other occupations, and touching non-Ovambo workers as well. Striking Ovambos in Windhoek were sent on special trains to Ovamboland, on the northern border of the territory. The South West African Native Labour Association (SWANLA) attempted to procure strike breakers, but failed.

Strikers were protesting the contract-labor system. Ovambo contract-workers, for example, are confined to "Ovamboland" and are allowed out only as "contract" labor. They have no choice of job or say in determining wages, working and living conditions, and are confined in segregated barrack-like compounds, without their families, when on contract. To strike or otherwise break contract is a crime. Until it was abolished by the recent strike "settlement," work could only be secured through SWANLA, which represented the major employers.

According to strikers' representatives, the "settlement" is merely a watered down version of the old system. Though government and business claim the strike is over, independent observers deny it. Only some workers have returned to work. And the strike spreads to new locations, as in March to the fisheries at Walvis Bay. Meanwhile, troops have been sent in, there is a ban on all meetings of more than five people (except worship services), and there is a blackout on most news from the area.

#### SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLES ORGANIZATION OF NAMIBIA

SWAPO, formed in 1960, has been engaged in political action against the South African presence in Namibia. Since 1966, SWAPO has added military action to clandestine political action, particularly in the Caprivi Strip in the northeast. With its initial base among Namibian workers, it has gained support among other sectors of Namibian people, and has been particularly strong in Ovamboland. According to the London Observer, the South African police have discovered, since the strike began, leaflets distributed in large numbers by SWAPO in the ports, mines, and farms of Namibia. SWAPO representatives in exile have been careful to identify with the strikes without admitting and direct involvement in the strike itself, which might further endanger people inside the country.

#### THE CHURCHES

On January 30, 1972, four Africans were killed by police who broke up an Anglican Church meeting in Ovamboland. For insofar

is the churches have identified with Namibian people, the South African government sees them as dangerous subversive elements.

The start of the recent phase of church-state conflict was a statement of June 30, 1971, by Bishop Auala of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa, on behalf of their almost 300,000 adherents. In an open letter to the South African Prime Minister, they listed the grievances of the African people: intimidation by racist policies, denial of free speech, freedom of movement and the right to vote, forced separation of ethnic groups, the contract labor system. These African church leaders were supported by the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland, Colin Winter, and by the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in South West Africa. Bishop Winter and two of his associates have since been expelled from Namibia for support of the strikers. His predecessor, an American, had been expelled in 1967. In recent years the South African government has taken action against twenty clergymen in Namibia by means of deportations, passport withdrawals, and visa refusals.

#### WHAT CAN WE DO?

It is in Namibia that there is the clearest legal case against the white-dominated regime. Consequently, as brutal as South African action against the strikers has been, it has been more restrained than in South Africa, and there has been a clear attempt to conceal from world opinion what is happening. There is an urgent need to let people know what has been happening there, and to support the efforts of the Namibian workers and people.

Apart from spreading the word, we can:

\*(1) Demand the US government cooperate with the UN Council on Namibia; in particular disallow any deductions for taxes illegally paid by US firms (according to the UN) to the South African government on income earned by enterprises in Namibia.

\*(2) Support the strikers by protesting to American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining, the two largest US firms involved.

\*(3) Give money for strike support and legal defense.

THE MADISON AREA COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, 306 North Brooks Street, Madison WI 53715, can provide more information and speakers. We are trying to raise \$1000 this spring, to go to SWAPO for strike support and legal defense. So if you can help in any way, with your money or your time, CALL Wandile Kuse (256-1359) or Ruth Minter (241-1137).

MACSA MEETINGS

ANGOLAN STRUGGLE WAS SUBJECT OF APRIL MEETING

At MACSA's last general meeting, discussion was focussed on the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Angola. There was a short presentation outlining the development of the Angolan liberation movements and analyzing the current relative strength and success of the three main groups claiming a leading role in the military action against Portuguese domination and oppression. Evidence as reviewed suggests that, of the three groups, MPLA (Angolan Popular Liberation Movement) has more substantial support of the Angolan peoples, comprises greater military strength, and controls a greater expanse of liberated territory (within which new education, health, and economic institutions are being developed) than does either of the other two groups, UNITA and GRAE.

There was some consideration of the reasons for the continued divisions among the various Angolan movements. And it was suggested that the rôle of Zaire (Congo/Kinshasa) in supporting the activities of GRAE while at times prohibiting MPLA forces from bringing supplies into Angola from the Congo or even establishing a permanent base in its territory has been a significant factor in frustrating the development of an effective, unified action of the Angolan people against the Portuguese. It was mentioned in this regard that one should not dismiss the possible role which the US may have played and may continue to play in influencing the stance of the Zaire government.

Discussion was interspersed with the showing of slides and a movie depicting the activities of the MPLA forces and the history of the struggle. These audiovisual materials were on loan to MACSA from the Liberation Support Movement, based in Canada and California.

Following is a brief summary of the presentation concerning the formation and development of liberation, primarily MPLA and GRAE, during the late fifties and early sixties in Angola. Events will be described more or less chronologically.

The beginning of the liberation struggle in Angola is generally considered to have occurred during the first few months of 1961, when planned action was taken by both MPLA and GRAE in Luanda and in the Angolan interior and met with heavy reprisals by the Portuguese. Previous to the widescale "disturbances" of 1961, the liberation movement was being forged through the formation of a number of parties, political groups and ethno-nationalist organizations. But organization was difficult because of the characteristically rapid infiltration of such groups by the PIDE, the Portuguese international secret police, because of problems of communication between those in the urban areas with Angolans in the villages of the interior, and because of the persistence of ethnic and religious cleavages.

In 1956 a number of clandestine political organizations in Luanda joined to form the MPLA. When tracked down by the PIDE, some of its leaders fled from Angola and in France and elsewhere formed, together with representatives from some of the nationalist movements of Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and São Tomé, a general anti-colonialist movement in exile. Within Angola a number of clandestine MPLA cells continued to be active and these agitated in conjunction with two other liberation groups in 1958 during the period of elections for the Portuguese presidency. Again in 1959 existing MPLA networks were broken and members of the leadership arrested and imprisoned. In 1960 the present president of the MPLA, Agostinho Neto, was imprisoned. In response, the people of Neto's home village protested and demanded his liberation; police opened fire on the protestors and killed about thirty, signalling the course which massive repression by the Portuguese would take during the coming year.

In 1957, the year following the establishment of the MPLA, a new organization, The Union of the Population of Northern Angola, was formed with its official base in Kinshasa. This was the group out of which GRAE subsequently

emerged. The group initially was explicitly ethno-nationalist in orientation. Its membership was composed largely of the Bakongo, who live in the western areas of Zaire and Congo/Brazzaville and in the northern section of Angola. The original objective of the organization was to gain independence of the ancient kingdom of the Kongo. Its leadership, however, soon realized the necessity of expanding its base, dropping the word "northern" from the organization's title, including those of other ethnic groups, and pushing for the liberation of the whole of Angola. Hence the organization became the Union of the Population of Angola (UPA).

In the latter part of 1958, Holden Roberto, born in Angola but brought up in Zaire and at that time a clerk in the Belgian administration, was sent abroad by the UPA to continue his education. He travelled widely, coming into contact with many anti-colonialist leaders and also developing ties in the US with the Baptist church and American Committee on Africa. When he returned to Angola, he took over the leadership of UPA and has remained at its head ever since. In 1960 he demanded negotiations with the Portuguese concerning the possibility of Angolan independence and was soundly refused. UPA reportedly then began to prepare for armed struggle against the Portuguese within Angola.

In 1961 three separate events signalled the beginning of the Angolan armed struggle. In January there occurred east of Malange a spontaneous uprising of cotton farmers who were subject to an extremely exploitative arrangement by which they were forced to grow cotton and hand it over to Cotonang, a monopoly cotton corporation, for minimal remuneration. The uprising was met with heavy reprisals by the Portuguese government, described as a brutal massacre of African farmers. The third and fourth of February saw the initiation of planned urban revolt. During this period, members of the MPLA stormed the prison, the police barracks, the police patrol and the radio station in Luanda. On the fifth of February, during the course of the funeral of police and soldiers killed in the initial attack, police suddenly massacred Africans standing in the vicinity, observing the proceedings. The following days in Luanda were those of general terror precipitated by the Portuguese on the African population.

Then in March there occurred an extensive uprising, initiated by the UPA in the northern part of Angola. (The MPLA reportedly also assisted in the more southern sections of the fairly large region in which the massive revolt was temporarily sustained.) The uprising, however, did not meet with widescale success, perhaps because the people were not sufficiently prepared or well organized. It has been suggested as well that UPA militants may have lacked sufficient knowledge of their enemy, expecting that the Portuguese settlers would react as did the Belgians in the Congo. It has been claimed that UPA operations served to alienate members of non-Bakongo groups and that not only whites, but also assimilados, mestizos and some of the Ovimbundu contract workers on coffee plantations were killed during the course of the revolt. The Portuguese responded with a massive and indiscriminate massacre of Africans and with large scale burning of villages. This led to a general flight of the Bakongo across the border into Zaire, largely depopulating the region and depleting the support from among the people which would have been necessary to carry out sustained struggle. The UPA tactic of burning coffee plantations in July may also have contributed to the general exodus of the villagers; reportedly as many as 300,000 fled to escape the war. The Portuguese abandoned 33 posts in the north, leaving an administrative vacuum for a period of six months, but subsequently regained control without combat and with the surrender of many remaining Africans.

Some UPA militants remained in the mountainous areas in the north, engaging in intermittent skirmishes during the next few years. But in general action was sporadic until 1966, when the MPLA opened up fighting on the eastern front, subsequently meeting success in liberating a large portion of the southeastern part of Angola.

The period from 1961 through 1966 was one in which the various liberation movements attempted to consolidate their membership and extend their strength.

among the people. The period was marked by extensive switching of leadership among the groups, formation of splinter organizations, occasional skirmishes such as those in which UPA forces intercepted and destroyed reinforcements sent by MPLA to the Mbundus in the north. In 1962 the UPA merged with the Angolan Democratic Party to form the FNLA (Angolan National Liberation Front). In April of that year GRAE (Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile) was formed in Kinshasa as the political arm of the FNLA. Its president was Holden Roberto. Others of its officers subsequently left the organization (often/its orientation as tribalistic, its operation as inefficient). Jonas Savimbi, who was the head of foreign affairs for GRAE, ultimately left and was instrumental in the founding of UNITA. At his departure he claimed that GRAE lacked unity and support of the people of Angola.

In June of 1963 Zaire extended de jure recognition to GRAE. The organization was somewhat later recognized by twenty other African governments, and the Organization of African Unity recommended that it be recognized to the exclusion of other Angolan liberation groups. In November 1963 MPLA was expelled from Kinshasa. But with the transfer of the MPLA exiled base of operation to Brazzaville in this same year, the organization began to revive, receiving support from the USSR, the Eastern European nations, and Cuba. In 1964 the MPLA was allowed by Congo/Brazzaville to receive an arms shipment. MPLA began to develop comprehensive program emphasizing the planning and execution of the war effort, placing priority on the interior over the exterior, and on the political over the military.. Finally in 1966, with the possibility of using/as an external base from which to transport supplies into the Angolan interior, MPLA was able to launch and sustain an intensive struggle within Angola. Since that time the successes of MPLA have been recorded by a number of journalists, including those hostile to the liberation activities. The Portuguese have acknowledged the MPLA as a major threat. In recent years the OAU and a number of African nations have withdrawn their support of GRAE. And though both GRAE and UNITA claim to have active forces within Angola, it would appear that MPLA increasingly is eliciting the sustained support of the Angolan people and is extending the expanse of territory which it controls. On February 16, 1972, the MPLA announced the opening of a new military front in the south of Angola near the Cunene River hydroelectric and irrigation project which South Africa and Portugal are constructing. This may have a significant effect on the struggle in Namibia.

C.B.

#### NAMIBIA TO BE SUBJECT OF NEXT MACSA MEETING

The struggle in Namibia will be the topic of discussion at MACSA's next general meeting, which will be next Sunday, May 14, at 2:30 P.M. in St. Francis Center (1001 University Ave.).

Special attention will be paid to the history of the struggle, leading up to the recently initiated strike by Namibian workers, and to the role of U.S. business investments in that country.

Plans for the summer will also be discussed at the next meeting.

#### FUND-RAISING COMMITTEE

The Fund-Raising Committee, which is currently organizing the campaign on behalf of Namibian strikers, will be meeting for the next three Monday nights (May 15, 22 and 29) at 7:30 at the Minters' (22 Sherman Terrace). Help wanted.