



Madison Area
Committee on
Southern Africa
731 State Street

Madison, Wisconsin 53703
Number 23 February 1973

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR AMILCAR CABRAL

FEBRUARY 3, 1973 3 p.m.

UNIVERSITY METHODIST CHURCH, 1127 University Ave.
(corner, Charter & University)

MACSA has scheduled a memorial service for Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of PAIGC, who was assassinated in Conakry, Republic of Guinea, Saturday night, January 20. Cabral was one of the founders of PAIGC, a man of profound intellect who, with the Guinean people, combined theory and practice in a particularly effective way. Under the leadership of Cabral, PAIGC has built a strong movement, integrating the peasants into a struggle which has liberated over two-thirds of the territory.

The memorial service has been set for February 3 to serve as a ~~remembrance~~ not only of the contribution of Cabral but also that of Eduardo Mondlane of the FRELIMO leadership, who was killed by a bomb (the origin of which was ultimately traced to the Portuguese secret police in Mozambique) on February 3, 1969. The loss of both men is immense, but as Mondlane's death did not deter the struggle for liberation in Mozambique but only served to forge a stronger movement, so the assassination of Cabral can only reinforce the determination of the Guinean people to eliminate the oppressive force of Portuguese colonialism.

The memorial service will include an introductory statement concerning the life and purpose of Cabral, an address by a guest speaker, poetry reading, and

the playing of African music as suitable to the occasion. After the service, the video tape of the discussion section of Gil Fernandes' talk in Madison in mid-December will be shown.

Since presenting Gil Fernandes, as representative for PAIGC, with more than \$1000 raised during the fall fundraising campaign, MACSA has received an additional \$500, soon to be forwarded to PAIGC. We would hope that, given the present need for assistance to the Guinean liberation movement, consequent to the death of Cabral, more contributions may be forthcoming at the memorial service (or sent to the MACSA office at 731 State Street) to be included with the \$500.

CALENDAR

Feb. 3, 3:00 pm (Saturday) Memorial service for Amilcar Cabral, assassinated January 20, 1973. University Methodist Church, 1127 University Avenue.

Feb. 11, 2:00 pm (Sunday) MACSA General Meeting. 731 State Street. Discussion will focus, among other things, on possible anti-corporate activities to direct attention to the effects of Wisconsin business on Southern Africa.

Every Friday at noon, Political Education Committee, MACSA office, 731 State St.

The fundraising and anti-corporate committees are both to start meeting on a more regular basis. Those interested should contact Bill Hinter (Fundraising), 241-1137, or Steve Smith (Anti-corporate), 255-5506.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF AMILCAR CABRAL TO THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION OF GUINEA-BISSAU

President Sekou Toure of the independent Republic of Guinea issued a statement on January 21 confirming that Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of PAIGC, (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) "was assassinated in a cowardly manner last night, Saturday at 10:30 pm, in front of his own house, by the poisoned hands of imperialism and Portuguese colonialism," adding that the two gunmen who committed the crime had been taken into custody.

Cabral's murder comes at a time when, after ten years of armed struggle, the Guinean movement for liberation which he helped to forge and which course he has guided, has created the conditions under which the representatives of the population of the liberated territory can formally declare independence. The course of the struggle has been firmly set, partly as a consequence of the systematic theoretical and practical activity of Cabral.

The assassination of Cabral, like that of Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO in 1969, can be expected to increase the collective resolve of the Guinean people to eliminate fully the remnants of Portuguese colonialism. The following response of FRELIMO to Mondlane's murder thus holds as well with respect to the loss of Cabral:

This murder will be avenged and the enemies of the Mozambican people must expect our revenge to fall on them and their sons with inflexible justice. It was a vain hope that they nourished if they thought to discourage us by this barbarous elimination of one man, even if a great man. In this they showed their weakness their ignorance of the Revolution, which has taught us through the toughest experience how to make every apparent setback a new point of attack, how to make to every momentary retreat an opportunity for a turn and leap forward, how to find in defeat the means for victory. We grow stronger from our calamities and this case is no different from the other battles. It is a test for us, perhaps one of the hardest, but we shall face it with the kind of determination that the man we lost symbolises to us. We thank him for having performed this task with intelligence and ability.

Amilcar Cabral was one of five Guineans who formed PAIGC in September 1956. The members of the group came early to the realization that peaceful resistance to Portuguese colonialism and attempts to persuade authorities to institute reforms

were bound to meet only with frustration and failure. The massacre of striking dockworkers by the Portuguese in 1959 was a sufficient lesson in itself of the need to organize underground. Between 1959 and 1963, from their external base in Conakry, capital of the neighboring independent Republic of Guinea, Cabral and his fellow fighters devised organizational tactics and set up training schools to develop a cadre of organizers to work inside the country in preparing the peasants for armed struggle. Cabral noted in a 1964 statement that "the peasants would be the mainstay of our struggle" but that it would be necessary to "struggle fiercely for peasant support." The task required a knowledge of the specific experience under Portuguese rule of peasants in different sections of the country. In this the contribution of Cabral was particularly important, for he had utilized his position as an agronomist during 1952-54 to travel throughout the country and acquire detailed knowledge of the life of the Guinean peasants, whose support was necessary for the success of the liberation struggle in Guinea.

Cabral also perceived clearly the essential role in such a struggle of the stratum of civil servants, from among whose ranks the founders of PAIGC had come. It was this group who, having had the privilege of acquiring an education and a thorough understanding of Portuguese language, customs and political practice, could set out the initial strategy for the campaign of national liberation, methodically planning and revising plans as the course of the struggle progressed. Looking back on this process, Cabral commented as follows:

As regards the development of the struggle as a guerilla war, we consider ours as having developed like a living being, in successive stages. Often a stage was completed rapidly, sometimes slowly. We never rushed any stage: when one stage was completed, we moved on to the next. This gave an overall harmony to our struggle. (From an interview recorded at the Khartoum Conference, Jan. '69)

Throughout the ten years of struggle, PAIGC, under the leadership of Cabral, has not only liberated virtually all of Guinean territory apart from the urban areas but has also established schools, hospitals and local political institutions where none had existed previously. It has most recently set up national election machinery allowing for the establishment of a representative national assembly.

At this juncture in history, when a ceasefire is to become a reality in Southeast Asia, Cabral's assassination should be a reminder that the struggle against imperialism is far from over. Though the U.S. may cease its direct aggression against the Vietnamese people, it continues on other fronts -- such as that of the Portuguese colonies in Africa -- to support the military oppression of liberation movements. The role of the U.S. government in the Guinean war is indirect; the Portuguese serve as the direct agents of aggression with 25-30,000 Portuguese soldiers currently fighting in that territory against approximately 7,000 PAIGC guerillas. But U.S. assistance to the Portuguese has been profoundly significant in allowing Portugal, the poorest nation in Western Europe, to continue its colonial wars.

The life of Cabral provides an example to those of us in the U.S., as well as to the inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies, that we cannot give up the diligent opposition to the actions of the imperialist powers. We must rather reinforce that opposition and increase the material assistance which we give to the African liberation movements.

ANNOUNCEMENTS and ACTIVITIES OF GENERAL INTEREST

...NACSA is to be represented in a rap session/panel discussion on February 21 set up by the Center for Conflict Resolution on the subject of multi-national corporations, their significance internationally and to the local community. The discussion is one of a series of rap sessions of community interest arranged by the Center. This particular session is to be video-taped and shown over cable television.

...NACSA members were saddened to hear of yet another tragic death last week, that of Isis Southall, who had made many contributions to NACSA, most notably assistance

in drafting the South Africa and Israel pamphlet, both in its first and revised editions. The news came as a shock to us, for Isis left a year and a half ago in her usual 'fit' health for Uganda, where her husband Aidan was doing anthropological research. She suffered a brain hemorrhage just before Christmas and was flown to London where she died. Burial was in her homeland, Egypt. MACSA extends sympathy to Aidan and her family.

...Trial of Anti-RATO Protester Ends in Acquittal. In last month's MACSA News, it was reported that Samuel J. Westin, a black student at Norfolk State College, was on trial charged with a felony in connection with last spring's demonstration in Norfolk, Va. protesting Portuguese colonialism in Afrida. The demonstration was called in response to the annual Azalea Festival, which gives tribute to RATO whose Atlantic region headquarters are situated in Norfolk. The daughter of a high Portuguese official had been chosen as Azalea Queen at the 1972 festival.

Samuel Westin, who carried a poster condemning the Festival's pro-Portuguese theme, was arrested under the charge of having thrown a rock at the queen's float. The trial ended with Westin being found innocent after his attorney, William Kunstler, argued that the policemen who claimed they had seen Westin throw a rock with his right hand must have made a 'horrible mistake' because Westin is left-handed.

The outcome of the trial indicates that the arrest was merely an attempt to intimidate the black community of Norfolk, to deter its members from exposing the role of RATO in maintaining the Portuguese wars in Africa, and from increasing awareness within the community of the relationship between the condition of blacks in the U.S. and in the Portuguese colonies. The attempt was unsuccessful.

...An urgent need for Vitamin C has arisen in the liberated regions of Angola. The necessity to be constantly on the move due to frequent bombings and the widespread use of herbicides by the Portuguese have made it difficult to obtain fresh fruits and vegetables which prevent scurvy.

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

You can help by donating as much Vitamin C as possible, preferably 250 mg. dosage in plastic amber bottles. Be sure the dosage per tablet is clearly marked on the container. Send to CCLANG, 2546 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill., 60614, or call Meg Skinner at 238-6950 locally. Meg found that Thrift Drugs (Westtowne) had 250 mg. tablets on sale, 250 to a bottle, for \$1.49, in plastic amber bottles, and donated a dozen to the first shipment.

...CALA Spring Film Series: Southern Africa Films Included. CALA (Community Action on Latin America) announces its fourth Third World Film series to begin on Feb. 6. The first film to be shown is the colorful documentary, Fidel, directed by Saul Landau. On Feb. 13, in a Madison Premiere, To the Cry of This People is scheduled. This montage film, directed by Humberto Rios, is a socio-political essay on the political reality of Bolivia. The following week, on Feb. 20, the extraordinary Cuban feature Memories of Underdevelopment will be shown. On Feb 27 the program will feature Who Invited Us, a documentary dealing with U.S. imperialism beginning with the Philippines at the turn of the century and extending to Vietnam and Chile today.

The second half of the program will include The Passengers, March 6; Mexico, the Frozen Revolution and Yo Soy Chicano, March 13; End of the Dialogue and Witnesses, March 20; and on March 27, Valparaiso Mi Amor.

The two films on March 20 deal with conditions in Southern Africa and will be shown in cooperation with MACSA. All showings, except those of the South African movies on March 20 will be at the Eres House, 731 State Street. The showing on March 20 will be at the University United Methodist Church, 1127 University Ave. The times for the showings are at 4, 7:30, and 9:30 p.m. Season tickets will be \$4.50 and individual tickets are \$1 each and can be purchased at the door.

City Council Votes Down Buying Polaroid ID Equipment

At the January 9th meeting of the City Council a resolution was brought up to authorize the city to pay half the costs of purchasing Polaroid ID equipment for the City-County Building employees, the other half coming from the county.

Aldermen Eugene Parks and Joseph Thompson opposed the resolution. They pointed to the controversy that has been aroused concerning Polaroid's involvement in South Africa in making the ID's which Blacks in that police state must carry. They noted that the attempt to introduce ID's into the City-County Building was part of a general tendency within this country which could only serve to give it, as well as South Africa, the characteristics of a police state in which all citizens are obliged, under threat of law, to carry around all kinds of identification.

Parks and Thompson held then the position that the City Council should be to refrain from doing business with companies which are involved in the production and sale of such ID systems or with companies which are otherwise involved in South Africa. The arguments proved sufficiently convincing for a number of members of the Council. And the resolution for buying the equipment was defeated with Aids. Thompson, Parks, Soglin, Shivers, Phillips, and McGinnis voting against the motion.

B.T.

SOUTHERN AFRICA MAGAZINE - NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS
POLICY - \$5.00 per year

Southern Africa - a Survey of News and Opinion has changed to distribution on a subscription basis. The magazine, which provides a concise news coverage monitored from over fifty newspapers and magazines, as well as background to the reports, was finding it increasingly difficult to maintain publication on a voluntary donation basis. It has therefore instituted a subscription of \$5.00 per year for individuals, beginning January 1973.

All the work for the magazine continues to be done on a volunteer basis. In order to cut down the work of maintaining a subscription list, all subscriptions will begin in January and run through December. Readers subscribing at other points will be sent back issues. After June, readers may opt for receiving half a year's subscription, effective with the June/July issue. Regular issues will cost 50¢ each; double issues 80¢.

To subscribe the following form can be filled out and sent to:

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244 West 27th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001

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Address *zip code*

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ZIMBABWE - INCREASED GUERRILLA ACTIVITY MET WITH MORE DESPARATE POLICY MEASURES ON THE PART OF THE WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT

The position of the Rhodesian is emerging as much more tenuous this year than last. The economy has been plagued by the effects of persistent drought which has served to reduce agricultural exports. The foreign exchange situation is deteriorating as a consequence of at least partial imposition of sanctions on Rhodesian exports. The Government's punitive measure of closing the Zambian border across which it claimed guerrillas were infiltrating has backfired with more economically detrimental effects; Zambia's decision not to make an exception to the conditions of that border closing by continuing shipments of copper on the Rhodesian railway will surely serve to deprive Rhodesia of a large source of revenue. Economically, then, pressure on the Smith regime is becoming stronger. But political pressure is increasing as well. Externally, the cool receptions of Portugal and South Africa to Smith's decision to close the Zambian border gives evidence of an emergent and potential disharmony between the Southern African white powers. Internally, the situation is likewise unsteady for the Government; Smith's desperate moves first in closing the border and subsequently in pushing through emergency legislation to provide for the collective punishment of those Africans who aid guerrillas are sufficient evidence in themselves of the agitation and growing resistance of the African population of Zimbabwe and of the stepped up military activity of the guerrilla forces.

Border Clashes

Within the past two weeks there have been reports of clashes on both the Mozambican and Zambian borders. Security forces are said to have interrogated 180 Rhodesian Africans who were arrested on charges of aiding nationalist guerrillas in coming across the Mozambican border. The number of guerrillas involved is estimated to be about 80. (Peter Niesewand, Manchester Guardian, Jan. 18)

On the Zambian border there have been both exchanges of shots between Zambian and Rhodesian forces and continued offensive actions of guerrillas. It was reported on January 12 that guerrillas had ambushed two Rhodesian government vehicles in the Mt. Darwin area. A number of Zambian civilians have been reported to have been killed by land mines.

According to Smith, the guerrillas had been "quietly and methodically undermining the local population." The blame for this, at least in the area of the Zambezi, has been placed on Zambia which is said to have instigated a crisis by allowing guerrillas to use its territory as a base. And so in what Smith refers to as a rational and normal response to the unsupportiveness of a neighboring country in the maintenance of a prevailing regime, the Zambian border has been closed.

But the decisive role of Zambia is perhaps a moot point, for forces in opposition to the Government are fully entrenched. Smith himself acknowledges this in the following: "It is clear that after lying low for so long, the terrorists have attempted to coordinate their efforts on a wide front, and we have evidence indicating that there will be further action." (Manchester Guardian, January 19)

Even so, Smith has tried to explain away the strength of the guerrillas by characterizing the African population near the border as "simple, gullible people", claiming that their continued belief in witchcraft and the "throwing of bones" made them susceptible to the maneuvers of the guerrillas who, he claimed, had "found a few witch doctors of doubtful character and of little substance and succeeded in bribing them on their side. These were then used to good effect in misleading local tribesmen into accepting that terrorists were worthy of their support."

Government Institutes Policy of Collective Repression

Yet Smith apparently does not see the present situation as requiring merely the re-educating of these 'gullible folk.' New Government policy

indeed belies the tone and substance of Smith's rationalization with its thinly veiled racist overtones.

In the second week of January the Rhodesian government imposed new regulations for group punishments which by-pass courts. These Emergency Powers Regulations threaten reprisal against tribesmen in the Northeast who continue to give food, shelter, and assistance to guerrillas. Fines are to be collectively imposed. If an individual commits what is deemed an offence by white authorities, the entire community is judged guilty and collectively punished. The method is one which is presumably intended to divide a community internally; more likely the collective experience may serve to weld such a community more closely together. The Emergency Power Regulations allow white provincial commissioners to impose fines on communities without a court hearing or without allowing those accused to make representations. The only redress of the accused is to the President who is allowed to confirm, set aside, or vary by reducing the fine imposed.

Cool Reaction to Smith's Moves from Portuguese and South Africans

The Zambian border was initially closed in early January to all but copper shipments. Smith claimed that the government had decided not to prevent copper shipments nor to deny power to Zambia from the Kariba hydro-electric facilities because "Zambian copper is a strategic metal used by the free world. It is not our wish to do anything which would prejudice the situation." Indeed, given that Zambian copper is a particularly important source of supply for European markets, Smith could hardly 'prejudice the situation' in such a way as to antagonize further those European powers which still might serve as potential allies.

Yet, even so, Smith's actions have clearly antagonized the Rhodesian government's closest allies, Portugal and South Africa. Zambia declined Smith's concession to allow Zambian copper to cross the border and claimed that other routes would be found. Several of these routes (other than the long road from the Zambian Copperbelt to Dar es Salaam) pass through Portuguese colonial territories. Thus so long as Portugal doesn't close its ports to Zambian copper, the punitive economic effect intended by the closing of the Zambian border will be largely ineffectual. And the Portuguese, themselves engaged in the attempted military suppression of guerrilla activities and needing the revenue from transport costs to partially offset the drain of defence expenditure, are not likely to close their ports to copper. It is reported that the Portuguese Foreign Minister called on the Rhodesian unofficial envoy in Lisbon and told him of the Portuguese government's profound concern at what was considered to be a foolhardy action on the part of Smith.

The South African reaction has also been largely negative. Vorster publicly dissociated himself from the border closure and stressed the need for calm reflection and prevention of any further escalation. He noted that he was not consulted by Smith in advance of the move and commented that "we can expect divergent speculations as to the wisdom or otherwise of this step."

Other responses from South Africa have intimated that the time for the white population to gird itself for sustained defence of their capitalist empire may be soon at hand. The United Party spokesman on foreign affairs Mr. Jaapie Basson warned that "the whole of Southern Africa could be involved in a conventional war sooner than we think," (his words ironically implying the recognized inevitability of recourse to war). Seeing the threat as very real, Basson suggests that it be defused by reform, that urgent steps be taken to prevent the development of a Vietnam-type situation by creating greater harmony between blacks and whites. "The real crux of our safety and security will involve removal of all obnoxious race measures and the creation of machinery for regular consultation and cooperation without delay.

A somewhat more aggressive response comes from the head of South Africa's security police, Lieutenant General P.J. Venter. All South Africans, he said, must not only be forewarned against 'terrorism' but must be willing to make sacrifices; they must be prepared not only to support the actions of the police but also "to sacrifice their sons and daughters in the defence of the republie."

Meanwhile, however, for the duration of the immediate crisis, the South African Foreign Trade Association is actively digging in to assist the Zambian economy by providing an airlift to transport mine equipment into the country. Its ultimate motive is apparently to ensure that Smith's act of border closing does not have adverse repercussions on the already strained trading relations between Zambian and South Africa. C.B.

US - RHODESIAN RELATIONS --- THE POSSIBILITY OF REINSTITUTING SANCTIONS ON CHROME

The lifting of sanctions by the US government last year on chrome imported from Rhodesia was clearly supportive of the Smith government, allowing for the capturing of some much needed foreign exchange. The act also served to the benefit of the US multinational corporations engaged in the exploitation of Rhodesian chrome: Foote Mineral and Union Carbide. But the lifting of sanctions had a far from beneficial effect on the US ferrochrome industry as a whole. The amount of ferrochrome imported has more than tripled in 1972: from an average level of 43,000 tons 1966-71 to an estimated 150,000 tons, more than 50% of domestic consumption. In twelve months we imported 47,667 tons of cheap Rhodesian ferrochrome and an estimated 20,000 tons of cheap South African ferrochrome. Combined this amount is more than we imported from the whole world in any previous year, including 1966 when Union Carbide fought a strike by importing foreign ferrochrome.

But the extensive importing and subsequent increased supply has served effectively to undermine primarily domestic producers unable to compete with much cheaper foreign sources. The President of one of the independent ferrochrome producers noted bitterly: "We've got a plant in Charleston, South Carolina that pays \$24 a day to Blacks. How can I compete with corporations (like Union Carbide) which pay \$1 a day to Rhodesian and South African Blacks?"

As a consequence the possibility of increased employment in the domestic ferrochrome industry is high. Indeed, Foote Mineral, a lobbyist for the anti-sanctions Byrd amendment, has already closed its Steubenville plant, the very plant which received the first shipment of Rhodesian chrome ore in 1972. Other plants that may be hit by unemployment caused by cheap labor imports are in Calvert City, Kentucky; Woodstock, Tennessee; Alloy, West Virginia; Graham, West Virginia; Marietta, Ohio; Brilliant, Ohio; Beverly, Ohio; Niagra Falls, New York; and Tacoma, Washington.

It is likely that an amendment will be made to the Military Aid bill in the Senate in February or March, 1973 to reinstate United States compliance with the United Nations sanctions program against Rhodesia, which the US violated during 72. The success of the Senate vote on this matter, however, depends on a change in five or six votes. Direct pressures on key Senators (such as those in Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, and Montana), public support for reinstatement of sanctions in local media, and working with locals of Steelworkers and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Unions could be very important.

At the present, US policy toward Rhodesia is highly subject to influence. Clark MacGregor, a recent advisor to President Nixon and currently an executive of United Aircraft Corp., who visited Rhodesia in November, 1972, commented that the present limits on the relations between Rhodesia and the United States would change "sooner than most people realize; two

or four years, probably within the next two years." US businesses, especially those interested in Rhodesia's defence market, will continue to pressure the White House to establish closer ties with Rhodesia. Yet the evident dissidence within the domestic ferrochrome industry suggests that certain elements in the American business community will look with disfavor on strategies of multinationals to achieve such ties through political means.

In any case, given the strong prevailing pressures potentially channelling US policy toward more intimate alignment with the Smith government: the recognition that white control in Southern Africa provides for continued access to the southern approaches to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, the presumption of an increasing Chinese presence in Zambia and Tanzania, the passage of the amendment reinstating the sanction on chrome imports would serve as an important counter force.

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ADDRESSES OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (for information and donations)

FRELIMO (Mozambique)
P.O. Box 15274
Sar es Salaam, Tanzania

ANC (South Africa)
49 Rathbone St.
London, W 1, England

MPLA (Angola)
P.O. Box 1595
Lusaka, Zambia

SWAPO (Namibia)
P.O. Box 2603
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

PAIGC (Guine Bissau)
P.O. Box 298
Conakry, Rep. of Guinea

ZAPU (Zimbabwe)
P.O. Box 1657
Lusaka, Zambia

ZANU (Zimbabwe)
P.O. Box 2331
Lusaka, Zambia

CAMPAIGNS IN THE U.S.

Gulf Oil Boycott
Box 123 D.V. Station
Dayton, Ohio 45406

Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement
P.O. Box 8487
Boston, Mass. 02114

GROUPS WHICH CHANNEL MONEY TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PROVIDE INFORMATION (partial listing)

Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

International Defense and Aid Fund (political prisoners), 1430 Massachusetts Ave, Rm 218, Cambridge, Mass 02138

World Council of Churches (Program to Combat Racism), 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

Africa Fund, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

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