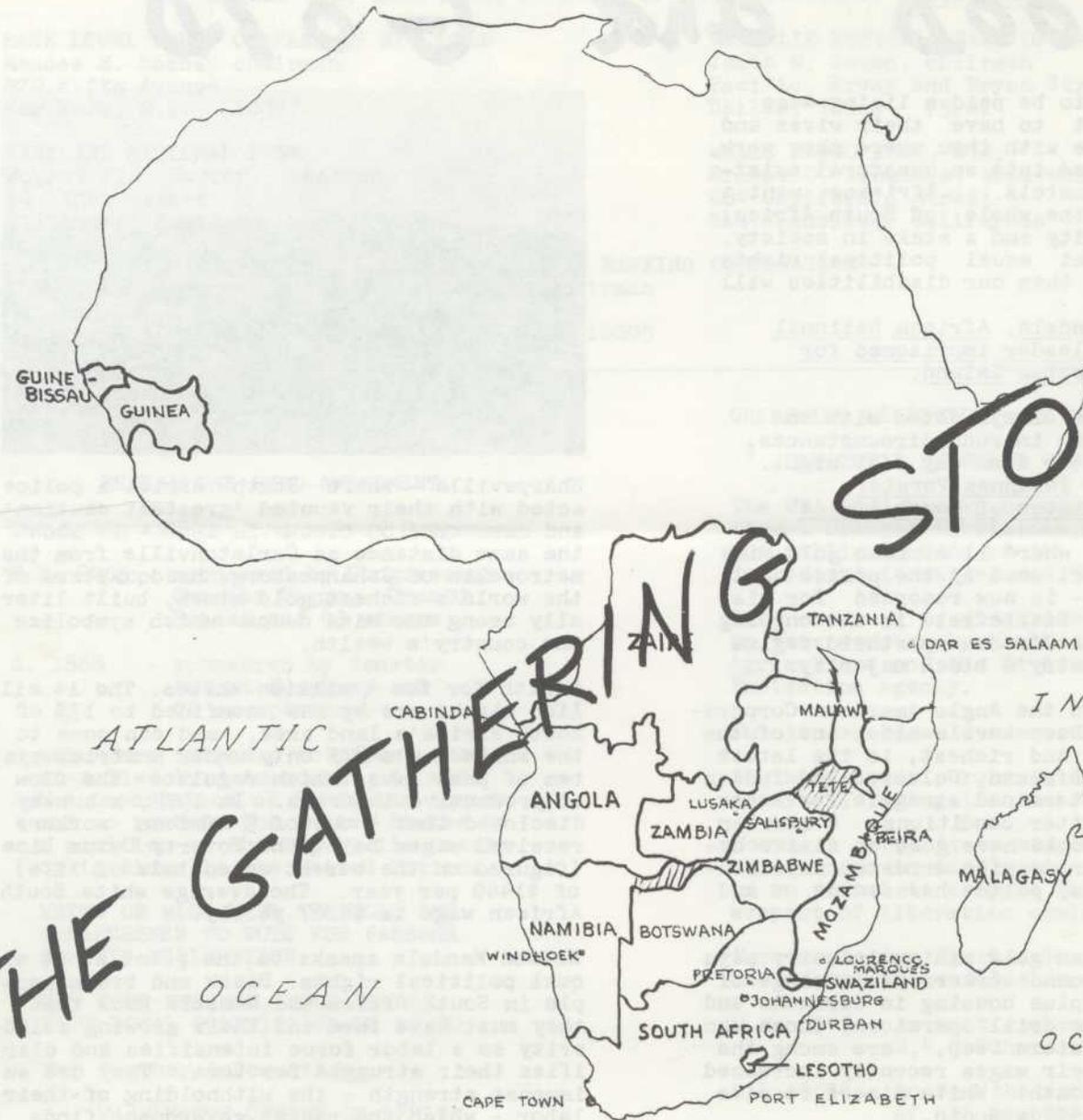


THE GATHERING STORM



EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Toward a free Southern Africa

14 West 11 Street New York City 10011 (212) 477-0066

MICHAEL MASS (FALL)

1973

Blood and Gold

"Africans want to be paid a living wage... African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not be forced into an unnatural existence in men's hostels.... Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society. Above all we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent."

- Nelson Mandela, African National Congress leader imprisoned for life on Robben Island.

"The police have always acted with the greatest caution in such circumstances. They acted in the same way last night."

- Balthazar Johannes Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa

Carletonville - where 11 African gold mine workers were shot dead by the police on 11 September 1973 - is now recorded for history as another battlefield in the ongoing war by the South African apartheid regime against the country's black majority.

The shootings at the Anglo American Corporation's Western Deep Levels mine, one of the world's biggest and richest, is the latest episode in the African, Coloured and Indian population's determined struggle for a living wage and better conditions. A quarter of a million people have gone on strike over the past year despite arrests, imprisonment, dismissals, police harassment - and death.

The South African gold mining industry pays African underground workers an average of \$48 per month, plus housing in barracks and food. Pneumatic drill operators, those who protested at Western Deep, are among the highest paid, their wages recently increased to \$77.50 per month. White miners receive an average of \$500 a month.

The gold mines in 1972 realized profits before taxes \$305,280,000 greater than in 1971. Their total Black wage bill for 1972 was \$136,800,000.



Sharpeville - where South Africa's police acted with their vaunted 'greatest caution' and massacred 69 blacks in 1960 - is about the same distance as Carletonville from the metropolis of Johannesburg, headquarters of the world's richest gold mines, built literally among the mine dumps which symbolize the country's wealth.

Wealth for the 4 million whites. The 14 million blacks are by law confined to 13% of South Africa's land area, and can come to the white man's 87% only under a strict system of pass laws which regulate the flow of productive laborers. In 1972, a survey disclosed that 4 out of 5 African workers received wages below the Poverty Datum Line (figured on the barest essentials of life) of \$1440 per year. The average white South African wage is \$4267 yearly.

Nelson Mandela speaks to the point about equal political rights. Black and brown people in South Africa and Namibia know that they must have them and their growing solidarity as a labor force intensifies and clarifies their struggle for them. They use an immense strength - the withholding of their labor - which the racist government finds impossible to block, except by acts of increased repression. The war grows.

"We emphasize that unless structural changes are made in the political system there are grave dangers facing South Africa: it may degenerate into a 'garrison-state', a type of totalitarian society in which all the liberties of all the citizens are stifled; or there may be violence. Southern Africa has become a political bloc. Guerrilla opponents of the South African government regard it as such, and see Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique as the front line. South Africa has responded by undertaking co-operation in security matters beyond her borders. There is a long-run danger that the entire sub-continent may become engulfed in a race war whose possibilities of escalation are incalculable."

- Report of the Political Commission, Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, sponsored by the South African Council of Churches & the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1973.

NAMIBIA



These are guerrilla soldiers of the South West Africa Peoples Organization operating in the Caprivi Strip panhandle of Namibia.

Here in the battle zone, in the rest of the country and at the United Nations, the lawful but absent authority in Namibia, Namibian freedom from the South African usurper is an issue growing day by day.

The UN Security Council is due in October to take up the fruitless 18-month-old dialogue between the Secretary-General and the South African government. The Organization of African Unity supports SWAPO's demand that the talks end. The Western powers, fearful of having to do something decisive about this direct responsibility of the world community, insist the wily South Africans have yielded something in the course of the stall tactics of 'dialogue'.

The Namibian people in several ways are demonstrating their determination for freedom. Seven years of armed combat against South African troops have welded the SWAPO fighters into an effective force. They ambush convoys, destroy troops and vehicles with mines, even bring down helicopters. SWAPO units range far across northern Namibia.

In June, Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO's London representative (seen below with the exiled Bishop Colin O'Brien Winter), and Theo-Ben Gurirab, representative at the UN and in the Americas (right), visited Caprivi despite frantic South African searches.



The Namibian people in early August handed the South African usurper a stunning defeat by boycotting an election in South Africa's showpiece bantustan, Ovamboland. Only 1300 of 50,000 eligible voters turned out to ballot for a government-picked slate. Ovambos comprise 45% of Namibia's three-quarters of a million people; the election was crucial in South Africa's scheme to compartmentalize the nation and appear to be granting self-government. The boycott was a striking victory for SWAPO and the Democratic Co-Operative Development Party, both of which held forbidden rallies. Many of their leaders were arrested, including John Otto who went through the 1967/68 Pretoria Terrorism Trial.

A crowd of 1500 assembled for a pre-election rally at Katutura township outside Windhoek, Namibia's capital, sponsored by the nine-organization National Convention. Defiant rallies by SWAPO's Youth League brought the wrath of the police, who shot one man and arrested almost 300. Security police still search for the Youth League leaders.

The National Convention has issued the text of a Constitution which calls for the unity of Namibia and for a struggle for 'total and complete independence'.

South Africa has a large stake in Namibia, for reasons of prestige, for the protection it offers as a buffer state, because of the country's vast mineral wealth, not the least a uranium mine at Rossing near the sea. THE TIMES of London reports that South Africa has perfected a new method of enriching uranium to produce weapons grade material and fuel for reactors. The apartheid state is close to becoming a nuclear power.

Theo-Ben Gurirab spoke at the UN marking a beginning to SWAPO's eighth year of armed struggle - since 26 August 1966:

"We are one people for one Namibia. We shall leave no stone unturned, give up no ground gained and shall spare no life when called for, to make Namibia free and independent within the shortest possible time."



SECRET U.S. BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Leaked confidential documents reveal that a New York-based multinational bank is the secret assembler of over \$210 million in direct loans to the South African government and its agencies since 1970.

It was in November, 1969, that a three-year campaign by religious, university and anti-apartheid groups in the USA forced the dissolution of a \$40 million revolving credit to South Africa by ten of this country's most prestigious banks.

The Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches received internal papers detailing the involvement of the European-American Banking Corporation as the prime mover in putting together six loans supporting the apartheid regime.

The European-American Banking Corporation, chartered in New York, is jointly owned by 6 of the largest banks of West Europe and has combined loans and deposits amounting to almost \$1.1 billion.

EABC officers admitted the authenticity of the documents when confronted by the Rev. Donald Morton, a South African in exile and consultant to the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ; Professor Sean Gervasi, economic research officer at Oxford University; and Judge William H. Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa and a member of the boards of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa.

One loan of \$20 million went to the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR) wholly owned by the Republic of South Africa.

Here are the American banks. Publicly protest their participation in these loans:

CENTRAL NATIONAL BANK IN CHICAGO
Frank E. Bauder, chairman
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60603

CITY NATIONAL BANK OF DETROIT
John H. French, Jr., chairman
Penobscot Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
R. E. Sweeney, Jr., chairman
11 South Meridian Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

ca and accounting for three-quarters of the country's steel production. THE FINANCIAL MAIL of Johannesburg reported in May 1973 that EABC has proposed another ISCOR loan - of half a billion dollars - for construction of a rail line to the Indian Ocean.

Eleven US banks took part in two loans totaling \$70 million, most of them operating through off-shore subsidiaries. Three of the loans, of \$50 million each, were handled through EABC's branch in Nassau, capital of newly-independent The Bahamas, which has an international banking industry (second only to tourism as a source of income) generating \$12 million in salaries and fees, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Rev. Dr. W. Sterling Cary, president of the National Council of Churches in the USA, wrote Bahamian Prime Minister Lynden O. Pindling pointing out that the banks use the new black nation as a transmittal ground for financing having an important political effect. "Self-sufficiency would free South Africa from crippling international economic pressures to isolate the white government and to challenge its abilities to maintain the apartheid system."

An expose of these loans written by investigative reporter Tad Szulc and scheduled for publication in THE NEW YORK TIMES was suddenly killed - a sad commentary on the people who brought us the Pentagon Papers.

Judge Booth was asked to address the City Council of Petersburg, Va., which voted to sever its ties with United Virginia Bankshares. Wachovia Bank in North Carolina denied its participation in the consortium but avoided offering credible proof.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF LOUISVILLE
Hugh M. Shwab, Jr., chairman
216 South 5th Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

UNITED VIRGINIA BANKSHARES, INC.
Edward F. Gee, chairman
900 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

WACHOVIA BANK AND TRUST COMPANY, INC.
Archie K. Davis, chairman
Third and Main Streets
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101

(continued on page 5)

Thou who dost make all things new, give thy grace to thy people that they may boldly face the challenge before them; and do thou bring out of darkness the light of a new day, a day of justice and freedom and of that liberty of the sons of God which is thy will for thy people, thou who livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

- the Rev. M.A. Garrison
Founder and Warden, St. Mary's Theological School,
Diocese of Damaraland, Namibia - expelled in 1966

SECRET U.S. BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT (continued)

BANK LEUMI TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
Mendes H. Sachs, chairman
579 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK OF DALLAS
James W. Aston, chairman
Pacific, Ervay and Bryan Streets
Dallas, Texas 75201

MARYLAND NATIONAL BANK
Robert D.H. Harvey, chairman
10 Light Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21203

WELLS FARGO BANK, N.A.
Ernest C. Arbuckle, chairman
464 California Street
San Francisco, California 94120

EUROPEAN-AMERICAN BANKING CORPORATION
John Cattier, chairman
10 Hanover Square
New York, N.Y. 10005

RESTORE THE UNITED STATES
AS A LAW-ABIDING NATION.

REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT.

Two bills are pending before Congress:

H.R. 8005 - sponsored by Congressmen
Charles Diggs, Donald
Fraser and 93 others.

S. 1868 - sponsored by Senator
Hubert Humphrey and
24 co-sponsors.

- which are intended to repeal the
so-called Byrd Amendment, to halt
the importation of Rhodesian chrome
and so restore the United States to
a position of abiding by its treaty
obligations to the United Nations.

WRITE OR WIRE YOUR SENATORS AND
CONGRESSMEN TO VOTE FOR PASSAGE
OF THIS LEGISLATION.

GET YOUR FRIENDS, YOUR CHURCH,
YOUR LOCAL POLITICIANS TO DO SO.

For further information:

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA

110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

PHONE: (202) 546-7961

CRIPPLING HERBICIDES ARE BANNED AT HOME.

BAN THEIR SHIPMENT OVERSEAS.

The USA lavished an herbicide called
'Agent Orange' in Vietnam, more than
100 million pounds of it. Its chief
ingredient is called 2,4,5-T.

This chemical is prohibited from use
in this country by the Department of
Agriculture and the Environmental
Protection Agency.

But it can be sold overseas.

South Africa's purchases doubled in
one year, Portugal's six-fold.

Portugal drops it on staple food crops
of Africans in Angola and Mozambique,
in an effort to cripple the people's
support of liberation armies.

Representative Charles Rangel (D-NY)
introduced these bills in Congress:

H.R. 8573 - to halt exportation of
2,4,5-T herbicides.

H.R. 8574 - to ban the exportation
of all herbicides to
Portugal and South Africa.

WRITE OR WIRE YOUR CONGRESSMEN TO GIVE
THEIR SUPPORT TO THIS LEGISLATION.

I enclose \$ _____ for the work of Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa.
(contributions to ECSA deductible for Federal Income Tax purposes)

NAME: _____

STREET: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP CODE: _____

_____ I do not wish an acknowledgment.

Please make checks payable to: EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA
14 West 11th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

OUR BUTCHER ALLY

Atrocities committed by troops and security forces of Portugal in Mozambique have been extensively documented by sources which cannot be ignored by the Western press and politicians, calling fresh attention to the United States' NATO ally's African wars.

Atrocities by Rhodesian troops in Mozambique, operating in complicity with the Portuguese, have been personally verified by a British journalist in the field.

On 10 July, Fr. Adrian Hastings, Roman Catholic priest-teacher at the ecumenical College of the Ascension in Birmingham, in a front-page article in THE TIMES of London, stated that Portuguese troops had been 'carrying out the systematic genocidal massacre' of Africans suspected of helping guerrilla soldiers of FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front.

"The security forces feel free in the knowledge that there are no journalists for hundreds of miles and the victims know no European language. But the Spanish missionaries in the area obtained detailed information and themselves buried many of the victims."

Pictures have been widely printed showing Portuguese soldiers beheading freedom fighters. The Portuguese prize photographs of severed heads on poles, sending home souvenir postcards of them.

Mr. Marcelino Dos Santos, vice president of FRELIMO, testified at a special meeting of the United Nations Committee on Decolonization on 20 July of the numerous occasions that FRELIMO had reported on Portuguese savagery. "In 1960, well before the beginning of the national liberation war, in Mueda in the Province of Cabo Delgado, hundreds of persons - almost 600 - were killed by the Portuguese army with grenades and machine guns while they were demonstrating peacefully, requesting fertile land and claiming their right to independence. This event became a historic symbol because that massacre at Mueda was the event which finally showed the Mozambican people that any peaceful development towards independence was impossible and that only armed struggle would allow them to attain their aspirations to freedom, justice and dignity."

A former major in the Portuguese Air Force and now a member of the Front for National Liberation, a freedom organization in metropolitan Portugal, said at a press conference hosted by a Labor MP in London, that in 1960, 50,000 to 80,000 people were killed in Angola, many by bombs dropped from aircraft supplied to Portugal by NATO.

On 2 September, THE OBSERVER of London, featured a report by David Martin, fresh from marching with FRELIMO guerrillas in Tete Province of Mozambique, telling of incursions by Rhodesian troops, with Portuguese permission, chiefly in search of freedom fighters of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). They assaulted with bombers, jet fighters and helicopter gunships, killed men, women and children, burned villages, spread defoliants over crops - and indulged in decapitation of villagers. This is further verification of the Lisbon-Salisbury-Pretoria alliance which pools armed forces in the white regimes' struggle against the liberation movements' armies in Southern Africa.



A series of massacres, 'for ghastliness each rivaling that of My Lai' were perpetrated in the Mucumbura area of Tete Province and detailed in reports given to Fr. Hastings by the Spanish Burgos Fathers, long-time missionaries in Mozambique. Over 400 people were destroyed at Wiriyamu on 16 December 1972:

"Following a bombardment, soldiers who had been transported by helicopter invaded it with ferocity, began ransacking the huts, and the massacre of the people followed immediately... Many children at the breasts and on the backs of their mothers were shot at the same time as their mothers.

"The soldiers asked a pregnant woman named Zostina the sex of her child. 'I don't know', she replied. 'You soon will', they said. Immediately they opened her stomach with knives and extracted her entrails. Showing her the fetus, they said. 'Look, now you know.' Afterwards she was burned."

The reports refer to the presence of officers of the Directorate-General of Security, (DGS), successor to the infamous PIDE, the Portuguese secret police, reliably connected by Interpol investigation to the 1969 assassination of the founder of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, and responsible for last January's murder of the Guine-Bissau leader, Dr. Amilcar Cabral.

A decade and more of struggle has hardened in combat and firmed in political governance the liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique and in Guine-Bissau whose people led by the Party for the Independence of Guine and the Cape Verde Islands, PAIGC, are on the verge of declaring their independence - having won three-quarters of their country from the Portuguese.

Yet the United States government persists in support of its butcher NATO ally.