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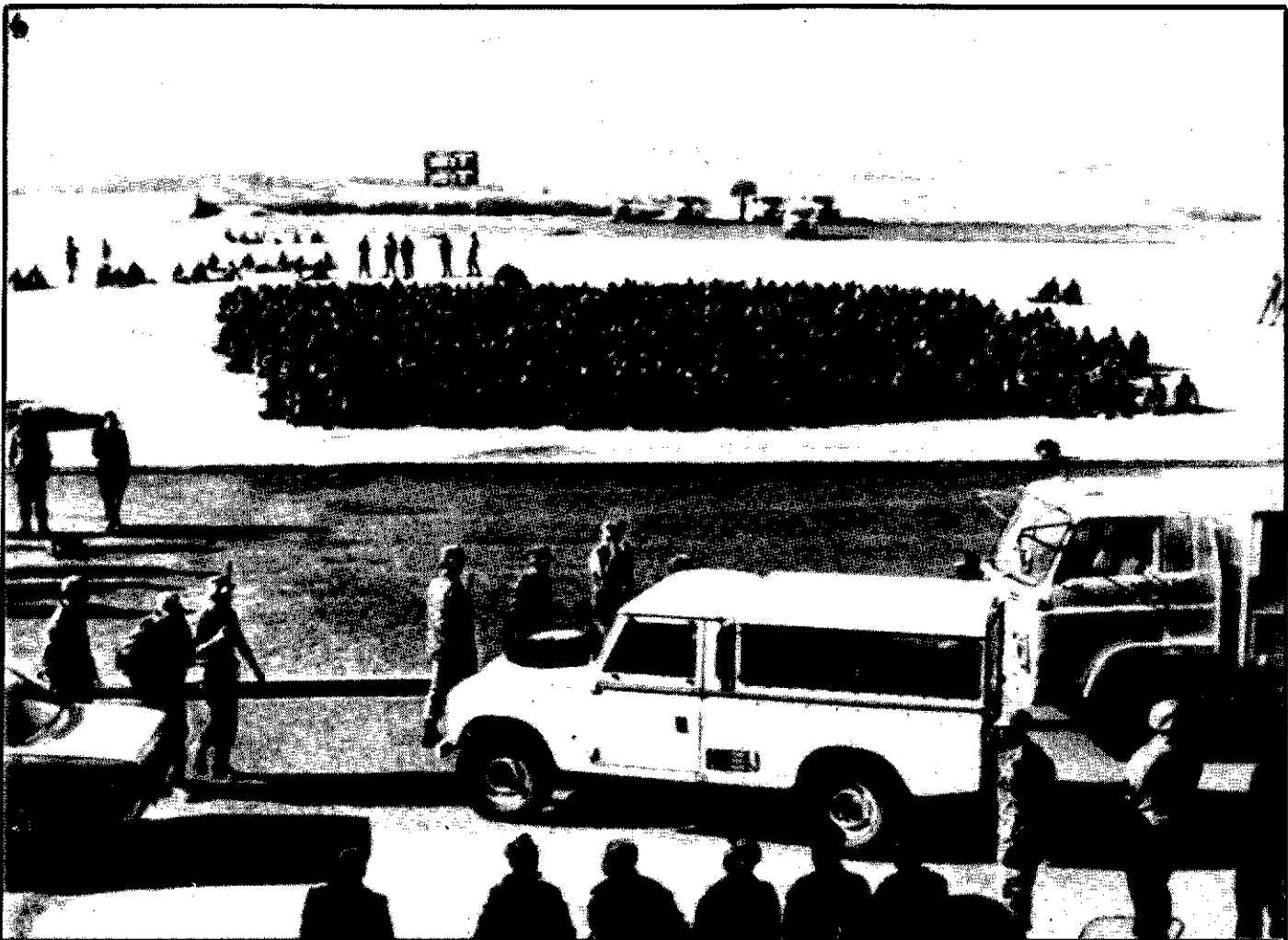
SOUTHERN AFRICA

**Inside Soweto
An Exclusive Report**

\$1.25

September 1982

Black Mineworkers Strike in South Africa



SOUTHERN AFRICA

Volume XV Number 2
September 1982

Dear Readers,

Thanks to you, *Southern Africa* is back. At a time when the magazine really needed your support, hundreds of you, ranging from an entire church congregation to a prison inmate, responded to our appeal with a tremendous outpouring of financial and moral support. This issue is the direct result of *your* concern and support and we think it is a good one. The September issue features, among others, an exclusive report on the 1982 commemoration of the June 16, 1976 uprisings from a special correspondent inside Soweto; an update on CIA activities in southern Africa; a report on the TransAfrica conference, and the latest in the Namibia negotiations.

For the remainder of this year (October, November, and December) *Southern Africa* will appear in this abbreviated format, which will allow us to re-establish contact with our writers, printers and distributors. Beginning with the New Year, *Southern Africa* will resume its normal, ten-issue full length appearance, with all the news you need to keep up with the struggle for justice in southern Africa.

And your support has made it possible.

A Luta Continua,

The Southern Africa Committee

CONTENTS

NAMIBIA

- 2 More Talk, More Torture
- 3 Churchmen Speak Out

SOUTH AFRICA

- 4 Detainees Torture Exposed
- 6 Police Disrupt Soweto Memorial
- 7 Black Mineworkers Strike

MOZAMBIQUE

- 8 The Weapon of Information

ZIMBABWE

- 10 Troubles in the West

UNITED STATES

- 12 CIA Sprouts New Ears
- 13 US-SA: A Fusion of Interests
- 13 Hearings Target Liberation Movements

DEPARTMENTS

- 1 Update
- 14 Books Received
- 15 Action News and Notes
- 17 Newsbriefs

Cover: Police Detain
Black Mineworkers After
10,000 Strike

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update

Namibia Talks

Despite assertions by US officials on July 13 that the first phase of negotiations toward a Namibian settlement has reached a "successful conclusion," substantial questions remain as to how much progress has actually been made.

US State Department officials reacted ecstatically when SWAPO and the frontline states agreed June 15 to postpone a final determination of the voting system to be used in future Namibian elections for a constituent assembly. Two days later, South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha announced that Pretoria was dropping its objection to UN participation in supervising the elections because of the international body's alleged pro-SWAPO bias.

The apparent resolution of these two issues, which have long blocked discussion of other settlement points, was identified as a "milestone" by US officials.

Such claims overlook the fact that SWAPO has only temporarily shelved a final determination of an electoral process. Its firm stand in support of a one-person, one-vote system opposed by South Africa remains unchanged and is unlikely to change whenever discussions return to this question.

Furthermore, while Pretoria has abandoned its objections to UN "partiality," Botha immediately raised another precondition for a settlement: removal of Cuban troops from Angola. Until the 15,000 Cuban soldiers in Angola are withdrawn from that country, the apartheid regime has declared that its occupying forces will remain in Namibia.

Faced with continuing South African attacks in southern Angola, Luanda has rejected this condition. Without the Cuban presence, they argue, Angolan sovereignty would be threatened by South African aggression.

As a result of the alleged "milestone" achieved in June, "proximity talks" between the five nation Western Contact Group (Britain, France, West Germany, Canada and the United States) and SWAPO and the frontline states began in New York

on July 6. These discussions were continuing in late July.

To date, the major outcome of the talks has been a report submitted to the UN Security Council by the Contact Group on July 12. The document outlined principles regarding a Namibian constituent assembly and constitution which "all parties to the negotiations now accept."

A close examination of the principles, however, reveals that they are virtually identical to those contained in a contact group proposal offered in late January of this year. These constitutional principles, which encompass guarantees for fundamental rights, a three-tier government and other provisions to be implemented in a settlement, were accepted by SWAPO and the frontline states at the time. But they rejected a section of the proposal providing for a "one-person, two-vote" electoral system that would favor South Africa's Namibian protege, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

With the Namibian conflict now costing South Africa over \$1.17 billion annually, and the failure of the Reagan administration to achieve any clear-cut foreign policy successes so far, both Pretoria and Washington appear, in the Western press, more eager for progress on Namibia. Their most recent proposals, however, indicate they are seeking solutions on their—and South Africa's—own terms.

Swaziland Land Deal

In a move designed to strengthen long-term white minority control, South Africa announced this June that it planned to hand over almost 2000 square miles of land and a million people to a neighboring state.

The plan involves assigning land from two different ethnic "homelands" or bantustans in South Africa to Swaziland, a small former British colony independent since 1968.

The current move would eliminate Kangwane, the third smallest "homeland," and remove a significant strip of land from the KwaZulu bantustan, which has so far refused to accept the so-called benefits of independence. It would make involuntary Swazi citizens out of some 750,000 men and women from Kangwane, and between 80,000 and 130,000 people from Ingwavuma, the KwaZulu area—arbitrarily terminating their South African citizenship.

The Scheme has obvious advantages for South Africa and Swaziland, but both parties may have seriously underestimated the costs of the agreement. It has already generated a storm of protest at the grass roots level, has moved "homeland" leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to challenge the Pretoria regime in a series of court actions, and may bring Swaziland the open condemnation of its fellow states in the Organization of African Unity, due to meet in August.

On the possible benefit side Swaziland gains some poor land, people, a long desired corridor to the sea and presumably South African gratitude, which Swazi rulers may hope to see expressed in tangible financial form. On the other hand South Africa is certain to want something in return for its generosity, most likely in the form of a military security agreement and guarantees that will deny the African National Congress access to Swaziland, a potentially valuable corridor from Mozambique back home.

In the past, while exercising considerable caution, Swazi ruler King Sobhuza has allowed an ANC refugee presence in his country. In the future, as armed struggle escalates, Pretoria will want to be certain that no guerrillas can seek sanctuary inside Swazi borders.

South Africa's move seems consistent with its overall separate development plan. Pretoria may also have hoped to undermine internal resistance to its "homeland" policy by cutting into the constituency of Chief Buthelezi, who has chosen the complex role of vociferously opposing separate development while continuing to function as head of government in the South African appointed Kwazulu bantustan administration.

Whatever the intention, the deal has provoked massive protest across the political spectrum ranging from the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) to Kwazulu Chief Buthelezi himself. Denouncing the move, Buthelezi issued warnings that the plan could lead to bloodshed, urged resistance by nonviolent civil disobedience and instituted a series of initially successful court cases to block the handover.

A final decision on the "legality" of the land gift awaits a South African Supreme Court judgment in early August, and whatever the decision the South African government can always change the law to suit its purpose. But political commentators have noted that both Swaziland and South Africa are increasingly concerned by the rising opposition which has caught fire in response to the land proposals.

More Talk, More Torture

Another civilian reported that he had been blindfolded with a bag and taken to a place where he was suspended by the neck with just his toes touching the ground. After being beaten up and subjected to electric shock treatment, he was taken with some others, including girls, to a dam. The girls were indecently handled by the security men. All were thrown into the dam, still with the bags over their heads. The narrator managed to swim to safety and help the others out.

Report on Namibia
The Southern Africa
Catholic Bishops Conference
May 1982

by Gloria Jacobs

At a time when brutality against civilians has become virtually commonplace during military encounters, little has been reported on the conditions of life in Namibia under South African military rule. The country continues to be run under South African control while international negotiators seek to develop an independence plan. As the Catholic Bishops Conference report indicates, the South Africans are viewed as "an army of occupation," whose troops are known in Ovambo as *omkakunya*: "blood-suckers" or "bonepickers."

The conditions of war—between SWAPO and the South African security forces, as well as against non-SWAPO Namibians—have existed for years. But now, as the "contact" group of Canada, the US, West Germany, France and Britain continue negotiations, the South Africans are more eager to give a semblance of decency to their role in Namibia. Three recent church reports destroy that facade. As Bishop Desmond Tutu and Rev. Peter Storey of the South African Council of Churches report of their recent visit, "Some of those whom we met conceded that some good was being done by certain army personnel, but all the benefit that accrued from this kind of work was vitiated by the atrocities it was alleged the Security Forces were committing against the Blacks in the North especially, such as the

Gloria Jacobs is a freelance writer in New York City and has been involved in supporting the struggles of people in southern Africa for many years.



Lutherans receiving communion in northern Namibia. Church reports blamed the South African Defense Force for the bulk of the killings and destruction of property there.

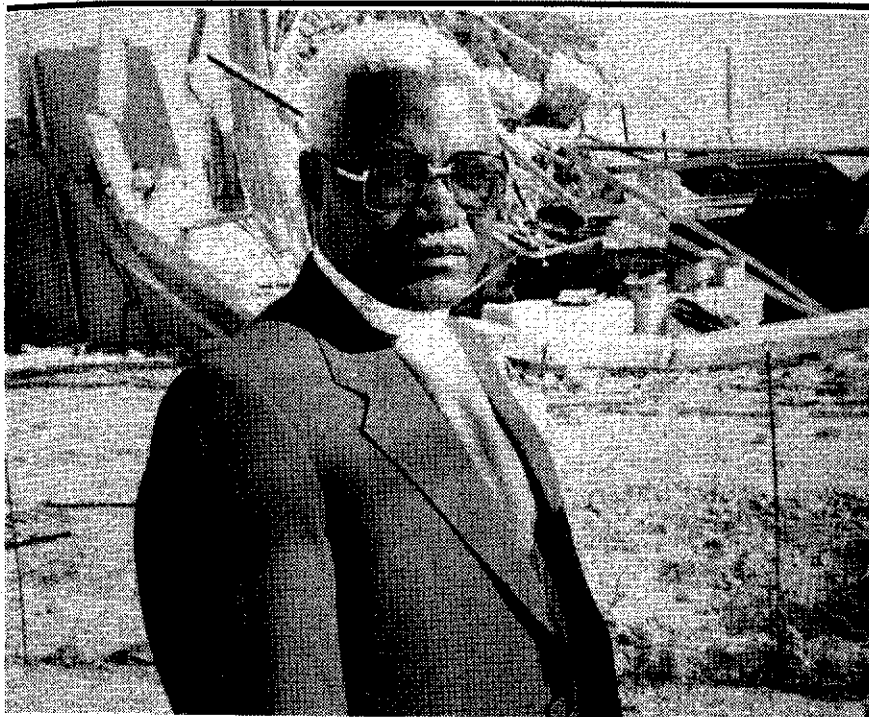
burning down of homes, the harassing and detaining of people, their torturing of them, raping women, killing them, laying landmines which they wanted the people to believe was the work of SWAPO, etc., etc."

Army of Terror

All the reports, including one from a four-person delegation of the British Council of Churches, confirm that Namibia is being occupied by an army of terror. In theory, this army is trying to win the hearts and minds of the people, to sway them from what is recognized to be majority support for SWAPO, but "the Security Forces maintain a reign of arbitrary terror against which the local people have now no redress," states the British Council of Churches report. The SWAPO

guerrillas, on the other hand, continues the report, are "the people and the people are SWAPO."

"When the tracks of SWAPO guerrillas are discovered by the security forces, the local people are in danger. Harsh measures are intensified," say the Catholic Bishops. "People are blindfolded, taken from their homes and left beaten up and even dead by the roadside. Women are often raped." According to the BCC report, a "particularly objectionable" practice is that of attaching the bodies of dead villagers to army vehicles and dragging them through the villages, exhibiting them to "their parents, to villagers and even to young children in school. The desecration of the dead... is very deeply offensive to the Ovambo people, and totally



John Evensen/LCA

Bishop Kleops Dumani, bishop of the largest church in Namibia, the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavongo Church, standing in front of a printing press believed to have been blown up by the South Africans.

counterproductive. Why the Security Forces persist with this folly is beyond imagining."

Against this background of terror the apartheid regime has continued to operate the constitution it imposed on Namibia after sponsoring ethnic elections in 1978. These elections, rather than abolishing apartheid, enshrined it through a complex "three tier" system of government. Key to the whole system is the division of the population into eleven ethnic groups, with a separate legislative body, executive and bureaucratic structure for each group. This is the "second tier" level of government. Thus rather than abolishing apartheid it is entrenched in law and government. The BCC delegates say that before they left for Namibia in November 1981, they received a government pamphlet titled, "An End to Apartheid." Yet while in Namibia they saw many church schools which had been forced to organize along racial lines.

SWAPO is our Children

In order to insure compliance with its various programs, the South Africans have taken to forced conscription of all Namibians. Many, such as a group of "coloreds" the Catholics spoke to in Windhoek, are resisting: "It horrified them to think that their young men would be forced to carry out the same task as the South African

Security Forces and to participate in what would now become a civil war against the very people they believed were fighting an anti-colonial war of liberation." Because of the mass conscription, many young people who would once have had to sneak away to join SWAPO now go with their parents' blessing. "SWAPO is our children," was a phrase all the delegates heard throughout the country.

Of those Namibians who are conscripted, many are forced to become witnesses, if not participants, in the attacks on their people. There have been many reports that a detachment will break into a home and while Black soldiers keep watch over the family, white soldiers select the best-looking girls and women, take them outside and rape them.

While attacking South African atrocities, the church reports give much support to SWAPO and thus take on directly the South African claim that they are fighting a "communist" menace. The Catholics state that receiving arms from Warsaw Pact countries does not make a liberation movement Marxist. But, they add, "Whatever the Marxist tendencies of SWAPO, it seems to be a movement with powerful popular support, inspiring little apprehension in the majority of Christians in Namibia and looked upon as certain to win any free and fair elections held under United Nations supervision." □

Churchmen Speak Out

Seven southern African church leaders recently joined the Namibian peace effort in a wide-ranging Spring "peace offensive" that carried them across Europe and North America. The churchmen condemned South Africa for stalling the peace process while increasing the militarization of the north and brutalizing the population.

Representing the major church bodies in Namibia, as well as the South African Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches, they spoke with negotiators, church leaders and activists in the five Western contact countries.

Their visit to this country included a session with Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker and staff. "We were amazed at how poorly informed they were," said the Rev. Albertus Maasdorp, general secretary of the Council of Churches of Namibia. "They tried to tell us that we, who have lived with these people all our lives, did not understand South African intentions," he continued.

The Washington officials were very surprised to find that the ministers rejected their view of the Namibian situation, they said. The four Namibian ministers, whose churches embrace most of the population, insisted they were only representing the "voiceless" majority which is never heard. "We exposed their self-interest in the process and warned them they stood to lose everything by backing the South Africans," said Rev. Maxime Rafransoa, general secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

Rev. Absalom Hasheela of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavongo Church, Namibia's largest church, reported that hundreds of parishioners have lost their lives because of the war, while many more have been detained and harassed. Pastors and lay preachers have been imprisoned, according to church authorities, and 13 percent of the delegates to its most recent synod meeting said that they had been imprisoned or tortured at one time or another. M.S.R. □

Detainees Torture Exposed



In 1980, during a major strike by municipal workers in Johannesburg, the government arrested over 10,000 workers and deported them to the ban-tustans.

Having already discovered the advantages of slow-motion diplomacy in Namibia and slow-motion reform at home, P.W. Botha's apartheid regime is now trying its hand at a creeping crackdown. Since the end of May 1981, South Africa's security police have detained literally hundreds of people (more than 500 between May and December).

Significantly, they have cracked down hardest on the ostensible beneficiaries of Botha's touted reforms—Black workers who have struggled for more than the anemic union rights Botha has offered and Indians who have campaigned against the limited parliamentary representation he has suggested.

"Detention without trial appears to have overtaken banning as the preferred form of action by the South African authorities," a *Johannesburg Star* reporter noted this April. Yet the regime has managed to avoid much of the notoriety that accompanied previous

crackdowns. Not because the arrests have been fewer, but because they have been spread over a period of months. And certainly not because they have been less harsh. Indications are that detainees have been tortured even more frequently than previously.

"Detention without trial appears to have overtaken banning as the preferred form of action by the South African authorities."

The most shocking evidence of such torture came on February 5, when trade union activist Neil Aggett was found hanged in his cell at security police headquarters.

Aggett was by no means the first South African to die in detention. A US State

Department count makes him the fifty-third since 1963, all of them listed as suicides or accidents by South African authorities. But Aggett's death was the first reported in several years. Furthermore, Aggett held a prominent position in the African Food and Canning Workers Union. And Aggett was white.

That combination of circumstances brought both extensive attention from the press and a militant response from the rapidly growing African trade union movement. More than 15,000 people marched through central Johannesburg behind union banners and Aggett's coffin, and over 100,000 downed tools across the country in a half-hour protest strike.

During the months following Aggett's death, several developments fueled charges that South African political detainees are being subjected to systematic physical and psychological torture. Again, the charges are not new. But some of the supporting evidence is.

Beginning in November 1981, several detainees were transferred from their cells in solitary confinement to psychiatric hospitals, some of them admitted under false names to conceal their identities. Most prominent among them was Thozamile Gqweta, president of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU).

Gqweta had weathered four previous detentions and emerged each time to resume his militant resistance. This time he ended up in a psychiatric ward suffering from severe headaches, loss of memory and difficulty in speaking. "He was unrecognizable," said Gqweta's brother Robert after a visit. "I had been allowed to see him in detention two weeks ago and the change was remarkable." Gqweta was released two weeks later but instructed to report to the police three times a day pending his trial along with other SAAWU activists in the Ciskei homeland.

Another SAAWU leader, Sam Kikine, was also moved from detention to a psychiatric ward, as were Indian activist Parvin

Gordhan and Liz Floyd, a doctor who had lived with Neil Aggett for seven years until they were both detained last November. Several other detainees were reported hospitalized for "unknown causes."

The South African authorities have offered no explanation for this sudden epidemic. But statements in court and in the press by recent detainees provide a frightening glimpse of what the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) calls "a variety of forms of torture and assault, both mental and physical."

Just 14 hours before his death, Neil Aggett signed one such statement, charging that he had been beaten, tortured with electric shock and interrogated once non-stop for 62 hours. Government lawyers tried to block Aggett's statement from being aired in court by arguing that its author's death made it impossible to cross-examine the accuser. But the courts and newspapers have heard from numerous other accusers.

One of them, Siphiwo Mtinkulu of the Congress of South African Students, is suing the Minister of Police for damages, charging that he was beaten, subjected to electric shocks and forced to stand in one spot for long periods. Two days after he was released last October, Mtinkulu was taken to a hospital where he remained for over two months, suffering from a rare poison apparently ingested during his final days in detention.

Accounts of the methods employed by South Africa's interrogators are remarkably consistent, whether they come from Black students like Mtinkulu and Mary Masabata Loate, from trade unionists like Mono Arthur, Siphon Badela and Neil Aggett, or from white students like Benjamin Greyling. All confirm the list of practices compiled by the DPSC for a meeting on April 27 with the Ministers of Justice and Law and Order. The DPSC was itself formed in September 1981 by relatives of detainees concerned that without public awareness detention could, for many, simply become a form of disappearance without any protection.

Despite all the detentions and torture, however, resistance shows no sign of breaking. According to the National Manpower Commission, South Africa was hit by more strikes last year than ever before. And virtually all of the 342 reported strikes (up from 207 the previous year) occurred illegally. The Black trade union movement, target of nearly half the detentions recorded last year, nevertheless continues, as the *Financial Mail* commented recently, "growing at a phenomenal rate."

A.M. □

DPSC Details Torture

The Detainees Parents Support Committee presented a memo to the ministers of Justice and Law and Order detailing specific types of torture and assault that detainees are subjected to. The memo also protests the government's practice of arbitrary banings and specifically demands the justice department take action against the abuses. One section of the memo details some of the many different interrogation practices the Security Police employ and we have reprinted that section below.

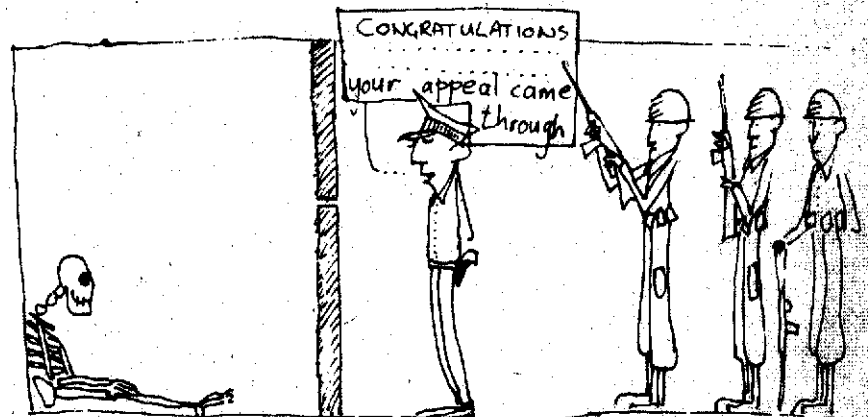
The DPSC is well aware that detainees, especially those detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, are being subjected to a variety of forms of torture and assault, both mental and physical. This is being widely done on a systematic basis by many members of the Security Police and at many points throughout the country. These practices cannot be considered to be isolated incidents perpetrated by the odd overzealous interrogator, but are undoubtedly standard procedure sanctioned at some level in the police hierarchy. Some of the commoner forms:

- **Continuous Interrogation:** Interrogation over a period of several days and nights by successive teams of interrogators. This naturally involves sleep deprivation and can also involve deprivation of food and drink and even toilet facilities.
- **Enforced Standing:** Standing for long periods during interrogation, including standing on bricks, standing on one leg, standing in an unsupported squatting position.
- **Humiliation & Intimidation:** by being stripped naked during interrogation, handcuffing and manacling, shouting,

threatening, insulting and being forced to exercise vigorously. Also holding for long periods in solitary confinement without interrogating.

- **Physical Assault:** including assault with fists and with various objects.
- **Psychological Assault:** includes false reports of death or illness of dear ones, threat of being held in detention indefinitely and, of course, solitary confinement itself.
- **Electric Shock:** The equipment for electric shock is available at many Security Police interrogation centers and is in common use. It is also used in conjunction with "strait-jackets" of wet canvas.
- **Hooding:** Used to induce near suffocation, and also to hide the identity of Security Police engaged in assaulting the detainee.
- **Other Tortures:** including hanging by the arms or legs for long periods, alternate immersion of feet in hot and icy water, and subjection to extreme noise.

The full text of the DPSC memo can be obtained from the American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, (212) 962-1210.



Police Disrupt Soweto Memorial

by Corbin Seavers

"June 16 will be remembered not only as a day when thousands of students were tear gassed, beaten and killed for justly demonstrating against an inferior and oppressive education system, but also as a day when the people's resistance was revitalized after a long period of brutal repression."

—pamphlet distributed at services commemorating the 1976 Soweto uprising

Soweto, South Africa—On June 16, South Africa remembered. In Soweto and other townships, Blacks marked the anniversary with memorial services and rallies. More than 5,000 people, including the father of the first student shot down six years earlier, crowded into Soweto's Regina Mundi Church for the main service.

From the walls, posters reminded the crowd of the continuing struggle—the Freedom Charter, the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, slain white labor leader Neil Aggett—and urged them to carry it forward—"June 16: Unite, Mobilize, Fight On!" From the pulpit, Bishop Desmond Tutu reminded them, "There will be no real peace, no real security, until everybody in South Africa is free!"

"Does anybody here doubt that we will be free?" Tutu asked. The crowd responded with a deafening "No!" and joined him in chanting, "We are going to be free!"

Other speakers from a broad range of community, labor and student organizations reiterated the need for "unity in action" and for everyone to participate actively in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic and free South Africa for which the students of 1976 had died. Sponsoring organizations included the Azanian Peoples Organization, the Black Municipal Workers, the South

African Women's Federation and the Soweto Civic Association.

Between speakers, the crowd burst out with freedom songs whose lyrics proclaimed, "Workers unite, the ANC is here!" "We are going to shoot them!" and "Our Mandela, we are going to follow him." Pamphlets circulated through the church vowed that the liberation struggle will not be derailed by increased detentions, bannings and police brutality, or by "coopting the Black middle class" as a buffer. And they derided the apartheid regime's cosmetic educational and economic "reforms" since the 1976 rebellion. "Six years later there are still enormous discrepancies between white and Black education....Six years later the lights of freedom are being further extinguished: Steve Biko and Neil Aggett are just two of the many whose blood has been spilt by oppression; Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for life because he demanded freedom and equality; hundreds banned and detained because they believe in a non-racial South Africa."

Dr. Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Committee of Ten picked up the theme in his speech, reminding his audience whom it could thank for any improvements. "When you see electricity being installed," he said, "when you see streets being tarred and there is even talk of building houses, all this is because of our children who made themselves sacrificial lambs on June 16, 1976."

And on June 16, 1982, the police also remembered. Even before the date, they tried to intimidate people from attending protests. Just a week before the anniversary, they swooped down on services for a Black labor leader killed in a car crash and arrested 250 people, including Dr. Motlana.

On the day itself, the police did their best to make sure that nobody would hear about services that did take place. Foreign and white South African journalists were stopped as they entered the Black area and detained for five hours at a local police station. "In the past we have seen that as soon as people see cameras there is a tendency to start throwing stones and damaging property," Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Coetzee of

the security police explained. "If the people of Soweto want to hold their commemoration services, let them do so without everybody from all over the world interfering."

But the police themselves made their presence felt outside the church. Dr. Ishmael Muhammed, a Witwatersrand University professor, and his eighteen-year-old daughter Jennifer were detained outside the church doors as the service was beginning. And when the crowd of 5,000 filed out four hours later, singing "Tina Sizwe Es! Mnyama" (We the Black Nation...), the police presence proved sufficient to ignite stone-throwing and property damage, even without TV cameras.

Despite appeals for calm from Bishop Tutu and Tom Manthata, a field worker for the South African Council of Churches and Soweto Civic Association member, some of the students and young workers began taunting the police and hurling stones at buses that had ignored a strike call. Bishop Tutu also made a personal appeal to a white police commander to remove his men in order to restore calm. The officer refused and, according to one Black South African journalist standing nearby, gave the order, "Slaughter them!"

Camouflaged Black officers equipped with leather whips and riot shields jumped from military vehicles and waded into the crowd, flailing away ruthlessly at everyone in the area. One elderly woman suffered a serious neck injury from police who burst into her home. Young children were also beaten and seven people were arrested. I was one of several injured people treated at a local hospital, along with Bishop Tutu's daughter Nontombi and Tom Manthata, who suffered a broken wrist.

Three bus drivers were also treated at the hospital for injuries suffered when protesters stoned vehicles taking people to work in defiance of the call to stay home for "Heroes Day." Bus company officials reported that 60 buses had been damaged and that many Blacks had stayed away from work, dropping ridership to 20 percent below normal.

Corbin Seavers attended the June 16, 1982 services in Soweto, and is an active solidarity worker in the US and member of the National Black Independent Political Party.

Black Mineworkers Strike

by Jim Khatami

Angered by low pay increases, recent mine accidents and decades of grievances over the migrant labor system, tens of thousands of Black mineworkers staged wildcat strikes in South Africa in early July. The strikes involved nearly 30,000 workers and claimed at least ten lives in what was characterized by management as the worst labor upheaval in years. Eight mines in the rich gold mining belt around the city of Johannesburg were involved.

Because of South African press controls it is difficult to know exactly what sparked the protests. What is clear is that shortly after the mines announced pay increases of twelve percent for underground workers and eleven percent for surface workers, Black workers began striking.

On July 1, thousands of Black miners at two mines southwest of Johannesburg began stoning cars and mine buildings. By the next day the strikes had spread to two more mines and mine security guards, backed by paramilitary police in helicopters, attacked the strikers with dogs, teargas, truncheons and, finally, rifles. Six miners were shot down by the police, and in the days to come at least four more miners were killed.

Nevertheless, the workers continued their protests for over eight days. At the Kloof mine, west of Johannesburg, 2,000 strikers were herded into a soccer field by heavily armed security personnel and ordered to either go back to work or be fired. The vast majority of workers refused to return to work. At the Venterdorp gold mine, 120 workers barricaded themselves nearly one mile underground in an effort to press their demands.

By the end of the week hundreds of workers had been arrested and thousands more had been shipped to the bantustans to be replaced by unemployed Blacks from the barren bantustans and from nearby Swaziland and Lesotho.

Shortly after the protests began, some mine owners suggested that the strikes were sparked by the decision to grant pay in-

Jim Khatami is a freelance journalist who lives in New York and has been a supporter of African Liberation struggles for many years.



Police erected roadblocks in the area around the gold mines in an attempt to control the protests.

creases of twelve percent to underground workers and only eleven percent to surface workers. The surface workers, they said, were upset at getting a lower wage raise. But more important than wage differentials, reported *Rand Daily Mail* correspondent Steve Friedman, was that this year's pay increase was much lower than most others in the past ten years. In addition, for the first time in a decade, some Black miners will be getting percentage wage increases that are less than the twelve percent pay increase that white miners won this month. Before the recent wage announcements, Black miners earned an average of \$216 a month, while whites averaged \$1,080 per month. For the past ten years the mines, flushed with increased profits from high gold prices, had been giving Blacks higher percentage increases than whites in an attempt to reduce the wage gap. The gap, it should be noted, has continued to widen nonetheless.

Aside from wage grievances, South African miners have long resented their unhealthy and hazardous working conditions. Only nine weeks before the strikes, for instance, six miners were killed at the Grootvlei mine—one of the mines that was struck. Spontaneous strikes are a common occurrence on the gold mines and in May last year, 1,600 workers were fired at the Stilfontein gold mine for staging an underground

sit-down strike.

Mine workers' protests have also focused on the migrant labor system. Black mine workers are migrant laborers employed on one year contracts to live at the mines in all male compounds. While white workers live with their families in nearby residential communities, Black workers are forced to leave their families hundreds of miles away in barren bantustans and live separated from their wives and children.

Meanwhile, Black workers in Port Elizabeth closed down auto assembly plants belonging to Ford, General Motors, and Volkswagen. Over 15,000 workers affiliated with the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU) went on strike for higher wages and closed down most of the assembly plants belonging to the three big automakers.

The workers were demanding wage increases from a minimum of \$2.26 an hour to \$3.95. The big automakers in South Africa, however, have also been hit by the recession caused by falling gold prices and by late July there was still no sign that the automakers were going to meet the workers' demands.

What the strike does show is that where there were only small, relatively weak unions two years ago, there are now powerful worker organizations that can pull workers at all three plants.

The Weapon of Information



Stephanie Urdang

Women working in a cooperative in Mozambique. Formation of cooperatives is a major focus of Mozambique's development plans.

At the beginning of June, Mozambique's Minister of Information, Jose Luis Cabaco, paid a visit to the United States. During his stay, Southern Africa conducted an exclusive interview with the minister. The following article is based on that interview and on a meeting Cabaco held with solidarity groups.

"We in Mozambique feel that one of the major political successes of South Africa is their international information lobby," said Mozambique's Information Minister Jose Luis Cabaco during a recent visit to the US. "Through this lobby, they have been able to transform what is essentially a fight for independence between the forces of independent Africa and the white minority regime into an East-West confrontation.

"Of course, the press does not say that South Africa is a good country. But what they say is that we are worse. We are 'communists,' 'puppets,' 'terrorists'.... So if you have to support someone, you support South Africa."

During his week-long visit, Minister Cabaco met with media leaders, business people, politicians, and supporters of Mozambique in New York and Washington.

In both cities, he energetically engaged his audiences in an effort to combat the disinformation campaign being waged against his country and the people of southern Africa.

"I am convinced that the main reason for the bad press is because South Africa and some forces which are behind South Africa fear the 'bad' example of independent Mozambique," the information minister said. "They really know that we are not puppets of anybody and so they try to label us as puppets precisely to detract from our example, which is especially meaningful to the people of southern Africa."

The effects of the disinformation campaign go far beyond projecting a poor international image, although this has been damaging enough. It has discouraged vitally needed foreign investment, Cabaco explained, thus prolonging the age-old dependence on South Africa and threatening national development. Further, it has meant a lack of international concern for the South African-backed campaign of sabotage and terror in the country.

Enemy Activity Increases

During recent months, the armed dissident movement MNR (Mozambican Na-

tional Resistance) has launched new offensives against critical sectors of the country and the economy. Numbering in the thousands, its members comprise ex-Portuguese colonial army soldiers. Since being routed from its last major stronghold by government forces last December, the MNR has formed small mobile groups who focus almost exclusively on two vital economic targets: cooperatives and transport links.

Minister Cabaco noted that documents captured in the December raid detailed direct communications with South African military commanders. One such document revealed that a South African colonel ordered MNR units to ambush roads, attack rail links to Zimbabwe and sabotage the Mozambique-Zimbabwe pipeline. These facilities are strategic targets, because they are critical to the country's and the region's efforts to reduce dependency on South Africa.

The MNR has also recently succeeded in opening up an operational area in central Mozambique. "We have information from the population that boats come to supply the rebels by sea. It is difficult for us to control this. We have no navy," Cabaco pointed out.

At the request of peasants living in MNR operational areas, the FRELIMO government has been arming and training villagers so that they can defend themselves.

The minister expressed confidence that the MNR will not survive over the long term because it has no popular support. "They have no platform, they do no political mobilization...nothing. Even the South Africans don't see these people as an alternative power. They just see them as a group who is affecting our development."

"They are only indirectly a political problem because they put obstacles in the way of our development. They are creating the insecurity of the people on what is really for them and for us the main question of underdevelopment or development: the reorganization of the countryside."

Cooperatives The Key

Indeed, Cabaco emphasized that the formation of cooperatives is a major focus of Mozambique's plan to become a truly developing country by the end of the decade. "In

fact, we are not a developing country. We are an underdeveloping country. The gap [with developed countries] is increasing. We are getting poorer and poorer every year."

To halt this process, Mozambique will, over the course of the decade, concentrate on the socialization of the countryside, on setting up fundamental industries to transform its raw materials, and on promoting education.

At the center of these efforts is the "organization of rural cooperatives," Cabaco explained, "because it implies the political transformation of the peasantry," the overwhelming majority of the population.

Thus far, the progress of the cooperative effort has been encouraging. "There is a great tendency among the peasants to organize, to live in villages," he said. Where there has been effective planning and leadership, "the cooperatives improved very quickly," he added.

"But we have not always been realistic. Peasants are very realistic people. If they join a cooperative and don't get immediate results, they will reduce their engagement," he said.

Some failures have been due to bad locations with poor natural resources. But Cabaco laid most of the blame on human fallibilities and political weaknesses, particularly a lack of cadres capable of providing effective guidance. "The vital moment of the transformation of the habits of the peasants needs a certain leadership," said Minister Cabaco. Without it, he continued, the peasants "turn back to what they are used to."

These are not the only problems that plague this development process. A severe drought, for instance, has recently threatened more than one million people along the coastline.

Fortunately, the drought has not effected any of the main food-producing regions, said Cabaco. However, it has indirectly curtailed the growth of Mozambique's major foreign exchange earner, cashews. "People are hungry so they eat cashews and we agree that they should eat the cashews, but of course, it has an effect on our factories and our exports," he said.

Development for Mozambique will not be defined only in terms of agriculture. "We believe the key moment at which we really become developing is when we are able to transform our own raw materials," said Cabaco. With a wealth of cheap hydroelectric power and valuable minerals, the mining sector will receive the initial emphasis.

With no capital resources of its own, Mozambique's policy is to be open to the participation of foreign capital. "The fact that we are Marxist does not mean that we are against private investment," he said.

It does mean that Mozambique decides how and where the capital can operate. "The participation of companies in the development of our country should be dependent upon our national economic strategy and should work inside our general philosophy of development."

Investment Needed

During his stay, Cabaco told potential investors that Mozambique welcomes and needs investment in areas which help it accumulate foreign exchange by reducing imports and promoting exports. Priority industries include raw materials transformation and agricultural/food concerns. Mining and oil exploration, which have limited American involvement through Western Geophysical and Exxon, are also being pushed for private investment.

He called the field for investment "enormous" and added that Mozambique has good land, good harbors, plenty of labor and cheap energy—"all the conditions to attract capital." Yet American investment has been negligible, with the exception of the Mabor tire factory, which last year ranked as General Tire's most productive foreign subsidiary.

Much as Mozambique seeks an improved investment profile and a brightened international image, globally and particularly with the US, Cabaco emphasized that these ends would not compromise Mozambique's national independence or the struggle for freedom in southern Africa. Indeed, Minister Cabaco presented a sobering view of the struggle in the region and America's place in it:

"We should avoid allowing the enemy to divide southern Africa into pieces. There is no Mozambican problem. There is no Namibian problem. There is a southern African problem which cannot be resolved until we solve the problem of South Africa."

"If that regime continues to use violence until the end to defend its privileges, I believe that the end of the regime is going to have a tremendous effect on all Africa."

"I cannot foresee a local war in southern Africa. It will be 50 million Black people against 3 million Boers. At that time it will be important to know who is supporting who. If America wants to keep good relations with that part of the world, I doubt that they can have those good relations if they stay on the side of apartheid until the last moment. Then they risk losing any possibility of influence on that part of the world.

"That is what I have been trying to tell the 'Big People' I have been seeing here... but I don't think that I have been very persuasive."

M.S.R. □

Jose Luis Cabaco, minister of information of Mozambique.



Mike Fishman

Troubles in the West

For a nation preoccupied with economic and social development, the echoing rattle of automatic weapons is a frightening and unwelcome sound. In recent months, the return of such gunfire to Zimbabwe's western provinces underscores the regional and political tensions that remain after more than two years of independence. Army deserters, once members of the ZIPRA liberation forces of ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo, are being held responsible by government officials for a wave of robbery and murder that has left at least twenty dead to date. Deserters were also credited with the June 25 attack on the official residences of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Minister for National Supply Senator Enos Nkala, in the recently renamed capital city of Harare.

In the assault on the prime minister's home, a mile from the city center, gunmen sprayed the residence's front gate and guard post as they drove along the main road. Security guards returned the fire, and a powerful RPG-7 rocket launcher fell from the attackers' vehicle as it sped off.

Twenty minutes later, guards posted at Nkala's residence three miles from the Mugabe home opened fire on a group of armed attackers, killing one of them, who was also carrying a rocket launcher. The remainder escaped.

ZIPRA guerrillas of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union at Independence in 1980.



Mike Shuster

According to government statements, a stolen army truck used in the first assault and a tattered national army uniform on the man killed in the second attack, supported the view that army deserters were involved in both raids. Estimates of the number of deserters currently at large range from 1,500 to 2,000. As members of the ZAPU party, the former ZIPRA troops began their illicit exit from the national army in early 1982 after ZAPU President Joshua Nkomo was expelled from the coalition government.

Fear of Attempted Coup

Nkomo's ouster from the cabinet February 17 followed the discovery of massive arms caches on a number of ZAPU-owned properties with which Nkomo was associated. Several high-ranking members of ZAPU, including army General Lookout Masuku, were arrested for their suspected connection with an alleged coup plot involving the hidden arms. Though Nkomo has not been charged with any coup-related activities, his dismissal apparently motivated many ex-ZIPRA troops—who felt themselves under increased pressure as members of the minority party—to return to the bush.

The "dissidents," as they are called by the government, are now operating in their old war-time haunts of Matabeleland in the west

and southwest of Zimbabwe, where ZAPU membership is concentrated. It is thought that their support among the local population is weak, since most reported actions by the deserters center around robbery and food stealing. While the state does not seem to be in any political danger, despite the June 25 attacks and some sabotage near Bulawayo and Beit Bridge, the threat of violence has curbed rural development programs and extension services, and forced the Mugabe government to take steps against the bandits.

In his June 15 address before Parliament, Zimbabwe President Canaan Banana announced that a "people's militia" will be formed "by giving paramilitary training to able-bodied men and women." In addition, he announced, the Support Unit of the Zimbabwe Republic Police will be increased by recruiting "as many ex-combatants as possible."

For his part, Nkomo has firmly denied involvement in an effort to overthrow the Mugabe government. And despite rumors of a secret meeting between Nkomo and South African officials last year, many long-time observers of the Zimbabwean political scene doubt ZAPU's weapons caches were intended for use in a coup. Both nationalist parties are generally assumed to have concealed large quantities of weapons at the time of independence against a possible surprise attack by the colonial army. According to this view, the government's much-publicized "discovery" of arms on ZAPU-owned farms was a political move calculated to discredit Nkomo personally and divide the party in advance of Mugabe's stated intention to create a one-party state. Significantly, ZAPU's former UN representative Callistus Ndlovu, often mentioned as a possible successor to Nkomo, was among the ZAPU officials offered cabinet posts in the wake of Nkomo's dismissal.

Overseas Tour

Economic matters, nevertheless, have received the most attention from the Zimbabwean government and were the main reason for Prime Minister Mugabe's seven-nation tour of Western Europe in late spring. The prime minister received a pledge from London to accelerate payment of the \$225 million it promised Zimbabwe in 1981 at the international donor's conference ZIM-

CORD (see "Zimbabwe's First Year; The Economy Takes Off," *Southern Africa* May/June 1981). In Bonn, Mugabe received assurances that \$30 million of West Germany's \$98 million ZIMCORD pledge was forthcoming.

In his stop-over in Brussels, the Zimbabwean leader expressed concern over "protectionist measures" of the European Economic Community that now block European imports of African commodities like maize and other grains. He also called for greater EEC assistance to developing countries and suggested restructuring present membership requirements for the Lome II Convention.

Working with officials in Paris, Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero concluded a protocol with the French for a \$55.5 million soft loan to be spread over 25 years.

The slow speed at which Western aid donors have made good on their ZIMCORD pledges (only \$400 million of the promised \$1.4 billion has been received so far) has handicapped the advance of development schemes inside Zimbabwe. But wherever funds are sufficient or are not the sole resource required, the government has pushed ahead with its economic programs.

Rural Development Key

For example, the oil pipeline between the Mozambican port of Beira and the Zimbabwean town of Mutare (formerly Umtali) was completely renovated last June after 17 years of inactivity. Use of the pipeline will totally free Zimbabwe from dependence on South African routes for imported oil (which may explain the pipeline's attractiveness as a target for South African-backed MNR guerrillas, in Mozambique). Rail transport has also shown marked improvement over last year's desperately inadequate performance, and should improve dramatically with the imminent delivery of sixty locomotives from Canada.

Plans are now in the works for an extensive five-year rural development program that will construct up to 400 small industry centers across the country. Establishment of these rural "growth points" is a central part of the government's commitment to development of the countryside, and to its efforts at reducing the economic and social schism between Zimbabwe's urban and rural inhabitants.

Underscoring the value of growth points in socializing Zimbabwe's rural areas, George Chinengundu, deputy minister of local government and town planning, noted that "the government views rural areas as



Efforts are underway to promote development in rural Zimbabwe.

the cornerstone for the success of its socialist policies and hence considers the development of these areas as priority."

Funds for these critically important industry centers, which could create up to 8,000 jobs, have not yet been received. Nor have monies for the equally high-priority land resettlement program become available. At independence 185,000 families were scheduled to be transferred from the overcrowded and barren Tribal Trust Lands (TTL's) to more arable land purchased from white farmers by the state. Approximately 13,248 families have since been resettled; the rest await the millions of dollars promised by Western nations over a year ago.

Increasing frustration with the slow pace of land reform has led to widespread illegal squatting on white-owned farmland by thousands of African peasants (see "Growing Pressure for Land," *Southern Africa*, September/October 1981). This has put the Mugabe government, which ran on a land reform platform in the 1980 elections, in the embarrassing position of evicting some of its strongest supporters on behalf of its bitterest former enemies—the wealthy white farmers.

Some of the resources that might otherwise be used for these purposes have instead been diverted to the more immediate problem of the drought which is plaguing almost all of southern Africa. The hardest hit provinces, those in Matabeleland, will receive \$30 million in government drought relief this year.

"We have intensified our activities throughout Matabeleland in order to rescue all people who have been hit by drought," said Cephas Msipa, Minister of Water Re-

sources and Development. Drilling machines from other parts of the country have been concentrated in the dry provinces and hundreds of boreholes have now been sunk to provide water to local residents.

Livestock as well as people have suffered. Because of poor grazing lands, it is estimated that as much as 10 percent of the country's 1.5 million cattle will have to be slaughtered later this year. Zimbabwe's maize production, which reached record levels last year, is also expected to fall, though the 1981 surplus will supply food needs this year. On the bright side, tobacco, responsible for a quarter of the nation's foreign exchange earnings in 1981, should yield 232 million pounds this year of the quality leaf international buyers value.

Profits of the tobacco sales, however, return to the country's commercial farmers—almost all of whom are white. Yet their activities are deemed essential to the nation's economy presently and have been accepted as such within the government's carefully pursued policy of gradual socialization. How gradual this process will be is not clear. But it can be assumed that both foreign capitalists and Zimbabwean socialists were watching intently from the sidelines in late April as the Mugabe government carried on negotiations with the US multinational H. J. Heinz for a \$20 million, 51 percent investment by the US company in a large Zimbabwe-controlled food processor, Olivine Industries. If negotiations are successful, it will be the government's first major joint venture with a foreign corporation and may provide a model for further investors.

S.V. □

CIA Sprouts New Ears

The United States embassy in Swaziland recently became the site of a new broadcast monitoring station run by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Under an agreement signed in August 1981 by Swaziland's deputy prime minister and the American charge d'affaires, the US embassy in Mbabane now houses an office of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), a covert branch of the CIA.

In its official capacity as a part of the US Department of Commerce, FBIS produces daily reports of news monitored from foreign news broadcasts and commentary from every part of the globe. FBIS is "charged with reporting, on behalf of the United States government, information openly collected from public information media," explained a US State Department spokesperson.

That sounds innocuous enough. But critics contend that the same equipment can be, and is, used to eavesdrop on private telephone, telegraph and radio communications. The intelligence collection opportunities afforded by the monitoring system are so apparent that it is an open secret that FBIS is actually a CIA operation.

"We really don't seek to get any kind of a high profile for FBIS [employees]... because FBIS is part of CIA," CIA spokesperson Cathy Pherson told *Southern Africa*, in response to telephone inquiries to the agency's Langley, Virginia headquarters.

"When [these employees] are overseas they are identified as FBIS and really for their own safety, we try not to give them a big profile since they are pretty vulnerable," she added.

Station Began Operations in 1981

Though the Mbabane station discreetly began operations late in 1981, it was not until early this year that the public was alerted about the new American intelligence-gathering facility. In January, Zimbabwe's *Herald* announced the "impending" establishment of the station, which was actually already in operation.

In the *Herald* account, an American embassy spokesman in Mbabane, John Steel, said the FBIS office would be "the first of its kind in the entire southern African region."

The staff would include "eight or ten" southern African nationals responsible for reading area publications and "listening in" on radio and television broadcasts. The post's administrative head, his deputy and the broadcast engineer would be Americans.

"It is difficult to say how many countries will be covered," Steel said, but all southern African countries are expected to come within range of the post's receiving equipment.

The CIA already has a vast communications headquarters for Africa located at the US embassy in Monrovia, Liberia; another smaller station is located at the embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. Apparently the long distance separating these two stations from southern Africa had precluded American intelligence officers from listening in on transmissions—public and private—made in that region.

"[FBIS is] a perfect front to have the kind of monitoring antennae that might otherwise be somewhat suspicious," observes William Schaap, co-editor of *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (CAIB), a watch-dog publication that closely monitors the CIA's operations. He also pointed out that "microwave interception is a giant field" involving eavesdropping on telephone, telegraph and other such communications.

Merc Names CIA

While testifying on his role in the abortive South African-backed Seychelles coup, Irish mercenary Michael Howe revealed that he had sought and apparently received approval from the CIA. Howe said that an unnamed CIA agent in Pretoria expressed the agency's interest because of "the strategic value of the Seychelles" but called the agent "extremely timid" about involving the agency and denied active CIA involvement in the failed coup try.

CIA involvement in illegal shipments of strategic arms to South Africa was recently exposed by a Congressional sub-committee on Africa. "It is probable," said the sub-committee report, that a "defense consultant" to the CIA "planned with South African Government officials shipments of arms to South Africa for use in Angola." Those arms included at least 60,000 rounds of long-range 153mm artillery shells and four 153mm field guns.

One particular target of the CIA's Mbabane FBIS post may well be neighboring Mozambique, whose capital lies less than 150 miles to the north. Alternate intelligence facilities like the Mbabane station, are no doubt needed by the CIA since six CIA agents were expelled from Mozambique on charges of espionage on March 4, 1981. Among the six was Arthur F. Russell, whom the Mozambicans identified as a telecommunications specialist for the CIA within the embassy. The Mozambicans charged that the CIA had passed information on to Pretoria and directly aided the South Africans in their January 30, 1981 attack on African National Congress (ANC) residences in a Maputo suburb. Thirteen ANC exiles were killed in that operation.

The identities of the three American FBIS employees stationed at the Mbabane post have not yet been learned. But Wilfred J. Charette, the consular officer at the US embassy in Swaziland when the post was established, has been identified as a CIA officer both in the *Covert Action Information Bulletin* and in the book *Dirty Work II: The CIA in Africa*. Based on the pattern of his past postings in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Accra, Ghana, CAIB No. 9 named Charette as the CIA's chief of station in Swaziland.

A puzzle remains as to why the presence of the Mbabane FBIS station was revealed to the embassy. "They rarely, if ever, announce that they're setting up an operation," observed CAIB editor Louis Wolf. Public knowledge of the FBIS post caught even the CIA main office in Langley, Virginia, unaware. "It sort of takes me by surprise that [the Mbabane embassy] would give numbers of people and figures," said spokesperson Pherson.

What information will be collected by FBIS's southern Africa branch and by those who collect it will use it remains a matter for speculation. As editor Schaap notes, "It's almost impossible to know what everybody working [at the Mbabane FBIS post] is, in fact, a technician doing a legitimate job. Obviously, there's nothing improper or illegal with listening to the radio and clipping newspapers and magazines—but you can't tell by looking at an antenna what it's listening to."

S.V.

US-SA: A Fusion of Interests

by Kenneth S. Zinn

The Reagan administration has been quietly approving the sales of material with nuclear applications to South Africa in the last year and a half. And recent signals from Washington indicate that a major rethinking of US-SA nuclear relations is in the making. A key element in this rethinking concerns the sale of enriched uranium for Koeberg, South Africa's first commercial nuclear power station due to come on stream in 1982.

Pretoria has been lobbying hard for the resumption of enriched uranium sales and the topic was discussed early in Ronald Reagan's administration when South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha came to Washington in mid-May 1981. Pretoria was concerned that it would have to supply uranium ore to the United States for enrichment under the terms of a 1974 contract. South Africa had been withholding the uranium because it was not sure if the US would fulfill its obligation to enrich the ore and return it to South Africa because of a 1978 law passed by Congress. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act (NNPA) of 1978 prohibits the export of nuclear fuel and sensitive nuclear materials to nations like South Africa that have not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or agreed to full-scope International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards.

South Africa did supply the uranium in August 1981, and the US did enrich it. But the enriched fuel was never returned to South Africa.

In late October 1981, South Africa did obtain the necessary amount of enriched uranium in time for Koeberg's loading. The Swiss company Kaiseraugst had an excess of enriched uranium, a result of political opposition to nuclear energy in Switzerland and two firms in the US, Edlow International and SWUCO, bought the excess uranium and turned it over to two European enrichers. The French then converted the enriched uranium into fuel rods and sent them to South Africa.

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Edlow and SWUCO were not acting illegally as the NNPA does not restrict brokering activities of US companies. Some members of Congress, however, were angry that a US corporation was undercutting stated US non-proliferation policy and two bills have been introduced that seek to restrict the operations of companies like Edlow International. Senator Gary Hart (D-CO) and Rep. Richard Ottinger (D-NY) have introduced legislation (S 2505 and HR 6318) which, along with HR 3513 introduced by Reps. Jonathan Bingham (D-NY) and Morris Udall (D-AZ), is designed to close certain loopholes in existing non-proliferation law.

Pretoria Will Still Need Fuel

Pretoria's initial procurement of the enriched uranium, however, does not resolve the issue. The first shipment consisted of 75 tons of fuel, enough for the loading of Koeberg I, yet Pretoria will still need more uranium for reloading Koeberg I and for loading their second nuclear reactor, Koeberg II, in 1983. A Virginia-based company, Transnuclear Inc., recently applied to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a license to export enriched uranium to South Africa for the reloading of Koeberg I.

While the Reagan administration's policy on sales of enriched uranium to South Africa appears to still be in a state of flux, the Commerce Department has quietly permitted an increase in sales to South Africa of "dual use" items with nuclear weapons program applications.

According to Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, five export licenses for equipment which could be used in South Africa's nuclear program have been approved since May 1980. For instance, Commerce approved the sale of vibration test equipment, which can be used to test the reliability of warheads and ballistic re-entry vehicles, and computers and multichannel analyzers, which can analyze data from hundreds of cables at a nuclear test site.

On Capitol Hill, members of Congress are considering a bill to prohibit further nuclear exports to Pretoria or the training of South African nuclear technicians in the US. Nine national organizations and eleven members of Congress have also filed a joint intervention at the NRC to oppose Transnuclear's request for permission to export enriched uranium to South Africa. □

Hearings Target Liberation Movements

Echoing South African charges of "terrorism" against the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), Senator Jeremiah Denton's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism held five days of hearings in late March on the two national liberation movements. The hearings sought to portray the ANC and SWAPO as "terrorist" organizations effectively controlled by the Soviet Union and its allies.

Officially titled "The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa," the hearings received little press coverage in the US largely as a result of widespread skepticism about the credibility of Senator Denton. The first-term Republican conservative from Alabama has earned a reputation in Washington as an erratic and often unreliable personality, and critics of the Denton subcommittee often compare it to the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee of the fifties.

The hearings were given some credibility, however, by the appearance of Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker. Crocker declared that there has been a "substantial increase in Soviet interest and involvement in southern Africa."

Following on Crocker's testimony was a string of alleged defectors from SWAPO and the ANC, as well as a Mozambican pilot who defected last year, a representative of the small Namibian party SWAPO-D, and an obscure rightist American academic.

In response to the hearings, the African Group at the UN issued a statement denouncing the investigation of the ANC and SWAPO as "a hostile act designed to hoodwink American and international public opinion, as well as to prepare the stage for further military collaboration with racist South Africa against the oppressed people of southern Africa."

US organizations such as the Washington Office on Africa, TransAfrica, and the American Committee on Africa also condemned the hearings and raised fears that they might be used to legitimize government investigation of American Africa-support groups. These concerns were proved correct just three months later when the subcommittee announced it would hold hearings in the near future about American groups which provide support, aid and assistance to SWAPO and the ANC. James Khumalo

resources

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ZIMBABWE

ZIMBABWE WOMENS' BUREAU, Coordinated and Compiled by Kate McCalman, *We Carry A Heavy Load: Rural Women in Zimbabwe Speak Out*. Harare: (ZWB, 152b Victoria St. Harare, Zimbabwe), 51pp. \$7.00 pb. (Note: We know of no US distributor for this title)

Dickson A. MUNGAZI, *The Cross Between Rhodesia & Zimbabwe: Racial Conflict in Rhodesia, 1962-1979*. New York: Vantage Press (516 W. 34th St., NYC 10001), 1981. 378pp. \$8.95 pb.

David MARTIN & Phyllis JOHNSON, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe*. Foreword by Robert Mugabe. New York: Monthly Review Press (62 W. 14th St., NYC 10011), 1982, 378 pp. \$8.95 pb.

LETTERS

Dear Editor:

I attach for your information, comments on the South African Department of Health on the Pippa Gordon article, "Banned Drug Used in South Africa," published in the September/October 1981 issue of *Southern Africa*.

The fact that South Africa was singled out for the use of the drug which is registered as a contraceptive in 34 other countries, is another example of the flagrant anti-South African bias of your magazine.

Sincerely,

Carl F. Noffke
Minister (Information)
Embassy of South Africa

Dear Friends,

We are overjoyed to learn that you have at least been able to raise funds enabling *Southern Africa* to reappear this September.

We as women in the liberation movement fighting to destroy the apartheid system attach very great importance to your magazine which serves to publicize our struggle and to raise public opinion of the democratic forces in those western countries which collaborate with the racist regime.

We feel your magazine should not be allowed to fold at this important period of our struggle.

Thanks to all the democratic forces which saved your magazine. We wish you all the success in your massive fund-raising efforts.

Long live *Southern Africa* magazine! The struggle continues!

Yours in the struggle

Gertrude Shope
Head Women's Section
African National Congress

Your views are news!

If you have something to say about the movement or the magazine, and can say it in 200 words, put it in a letter and send it to *Southern Africa*.

action news notes

TWO WEEKS OF NATIONAL ACTION...

The twenty-second anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21 and that of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 4 framed a two-week marathon of anti-apartheid rallies, forums, and material aid drives by church, student and community groups in some 30 states. The effort, called to protest increased US government and corporate support for the Botha regime, was initiated by the American Committee on Africa with the support of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to highlight the International Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa during 1982. According to organizers at the American Committee on Africa, the campaign was significant in its promotion of a new strategy that stressed links between anti-apartheid work and other domestic and international issues.

During the two weeks, actions were mounted on more than 75 campuses, drawing crowds from 200-1500 students. They ranged from a four-day picket at the University of Kansas, to Harvard activists' successful mobilization of 400 students to an open meeting of the Harvard Investment Advisory Committee, which reaffirmed a ban on investments in banks loaning to the Pretoria regime. At Western Michigan University, where 11 activists were arrested in a 1979 sit-in for divestment, student pressure recently forced the divestment of \$250,000 in three banks lending to South Africa. In Atlanta, Georgia, a highly successful series of teach-ins on southern Africa were held at six college campuses, which were previously minimally involved in support work.

Students did not limit themselves to the divestment issue, however. Escalating propaganda about alleged "terrorist" activity by ANC and SWAPO was countered by speaking tours in the Northeast and California by Eric Biwa. While ANC representative Simpi Mtobi helped raise awareness of continued South African repression through talks in Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio, National Black United Front representative Adeyemi Bande, as well as poet Dennis Brutus and ex-CIA agent John Stockwell, illuminated other aspects of the struggle at college activities across the country.

Community groups formed an essential component of the solidarity network through continued material aid drives and other efforts. The Southern Africa Support Project in Baltimore sponsored two weeks of fundraisers for Namibian refugees which included talks by United Nations Representatives Theo Ben Gurirab of SWAPO and Johnstone Makatini of the ANC.

COALITION TOURS SOUTHWEST...A

coalition led by the American Friends Service Committee organized a unique anti-apartheid tour of seven Southwest cities in early May. In addition to AFSC, the group involved representatives of Northeast-based support groups and a liberation movement in an effort to create links between anti-apartheid and divestment activists in both parts of the country. Representatives of AFSC, the American Committee on Africa, The Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers Committee as well as the African National Congress of South Africa met with community, student, and church groups and appeared widely on local television and radio stations in Colorado and Texas. The importance of organizing in the area was underscored by ACOA's representative Dumasani Kumalo who noted that "the South African government sees the area as conservative and has three government offices in Texas."

BALTIMORE PROTESTS SOUTH AFRICAN URANIUM IMPORTS...

The Coalition in support of the Liberation Struggles in South Africa demonstrated at the Baltimore World Trade Center and at city hall in May to protest the illicit entry of South African uranium through the Maryland port. A coalition of over ten local groups, with the support of State Congressman Walter Dean, recently announced that two regional US firms have helped South Africa acquire almost 100 tons of enriched uranium.

The Mitsubishi International Corporation of Japan was granted a licence in January by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to import 1,300 metric tons of uranium concentrates into the US for processing through December 1984. From Maryland, the raw material will be transported through Louisville and Princeton, Kentucky to Metropolis, Illinois. There, it will be enriched into uranium hexafluoride by Allied Chemical for later use by the Kansai Electric Power Company at Osaka, Japan.

TransAfrica Marks Five Years

Formed only five years ago, TransAfrica, the Africa-oriented lobbying organization based in Washington, is playing an increasingly effective role in mobilizing Black Americans to participate in shaping US foreign policy toward Africa as well as the Caribbean. In the last year, TransAfrica has established ten local affiliates in cities such as Atlanta, Detroit, New York, Houston and San Francisco. While its relations with the Reagan administration have been chilly, the lobbying group has maintained an effective presence on Capitol Hill.

At the organization's annual conference on June 5, one frequently cited example of TransAfrica's growing political clout was the group's role last year in helping block the Reagan administration's effort to repeal the Clark Amendment, which prohibits US aid to UNITA rebels opposing the Angolan government.

Current TransAfrica lobbying campaigns focus on improving rights for those seeking political asylum in the US—particularly Haitians and Ethiopians—and opposing the Reagan administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative, which one TransAfrica staffer described as "chicken feed." Pressure is also being maintained on the White House to generate US support for implementation of independence for Namibia through UN Resolution 435.

The keynote speaker at TransAfrica's 1982 Fundraising Dinner, also held on June 5, was former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley. During his address to the 1,000 people who attended the \$100-a-plate dinner, Manley noted that the Reagan administration is continuing to pursue anti-communist crusades in the third world as a means of keeping underdeveloped nations from coming to grips with fundamental North-South economic and political conflicts.

June 4 also marked the first annual conference of TransAfrica Forum, the educational affiliate of TransAfrica, at Howard University's Blackburn Center. The conference, which was attended by 300 persons, focused on issues including the liberation struggle in Namibia, the US divestment campaign, the plight of Haitian and Ethiopian refugees in the US and the situation in South Africa.

DIVESTMENT CAMPAIGNS... A growing number of states and cities are taking action against investment of public funds in banks and corporations dealing with South Africa. Connecticut, one of nine states considering divestment legislation, moved boldly this spring to restrict apartheid-related investments, despite an 18-foot telegram from the South African ambassador. The state's anti-apartheid bill requires divestment from all companies making sales of strategic products or services to the South African government, police or military. The bill, which roused impressive support from churches, community groups, trade unions, and civil rights organizations, also ends investment in companies that have not met the standards of the "Sullivan principles" or that oppose trade union rights for Black workers.

Philadelphia's city council unanimously voted the strongest divestment bill of any American city. Though Philadelphia is the home of the formulator of the "Sullivan principles," the bill clearly rejected the code as a criterion for divestment. The measure gives the city's board of pensions two years to withdraw its holdings in any American corporation involved in South Africa or Namibia. Up to \$70 million of the city's pension fund could be affected by the bill.

Minnesota's full legislature passed a bill aimed at some \$750 million in apartheid-related investments, only to see it vetoed by the governor. The bill will be reintroduced next year.

In early 1982 the ANC offices in London were bombed and a great deal of property was destroyed. The ANC has appealed for assistance to help rebuild the offices. Send your contributions to ANC, 801 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017.

Pending legislation in Maryland, Michigan, New York and Wisconsin could affect up to \$400 million. Attempted divestments in Oregon and California, though defeated, mobilized anti-apartheid networks in those states and laid the groundwork for future actions.

OREGON GROUPS BLAST STATE TREASURER... Oregon State Treasurer Clay Miles was charged in mid-June with violating the state ethics code for accepting funds from a South African business lobby, for a two-week visit to South Africa.

Both the regional activist group People for Southern African Freedom and the University of Oregon Black Student Union charged conflict of interest and called upon Myers to fully reimburse his funders, the Southern African Forum. The State of Oregon forbids any state official from accepting more than \$100 per year from sources having an economic interest in that official's action or position.

According to a statement from the activists: "The Southern African Forum has an overwhelming economic interest in preventing divestment. The Forum represents not only major white companies but also the entire white big business community." The Forum is linked through common directorships and trusteeships to the South African Foundation which is headed by the new chairman of Anglo American. The activist groups have asked the Oregon Government Ethics Commission to investigate and cen-

sure Myer's apparent violation of the state statute.

ACTIVISTS PROTEST NUCLEAR FUEL EXPORTS... An anti-apartheid lawyers group is challenging a Virginia-based company's plan to export enriched uranium to South Africa. In April, Transnuclear Inc. applied for an export license from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to ship fuel to South Africa's Koeberg I nuclear power plant.

The Southern Africa Project of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law filed a petition in June for a hearing on the licence. The petition has the support of eleven congressmen and a coalition of anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear groups.

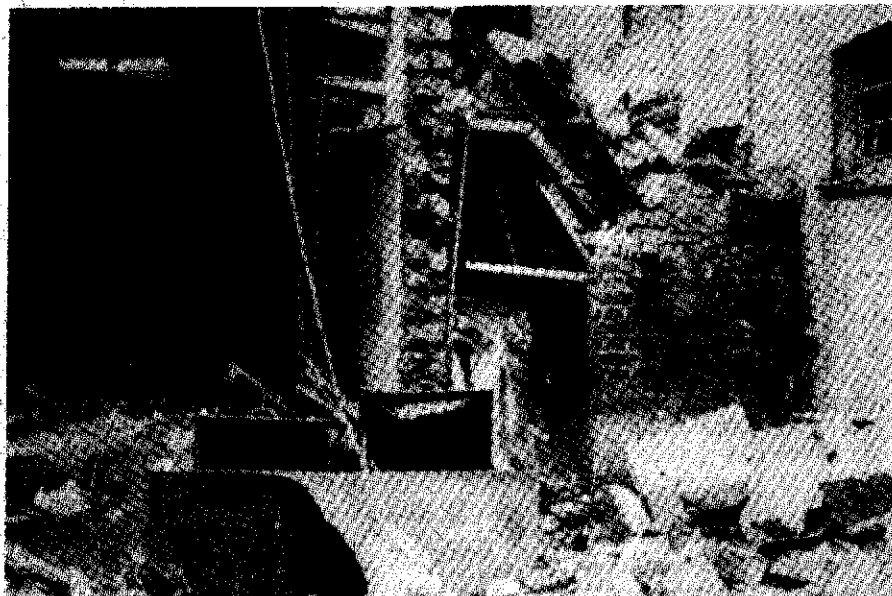
The petitioners state that granting the licence would be harmful to America's national security on the grounds that South Africa has not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty and has not adopted "full scope" safeguards on all of its nuclear programs. Furthermore, the petitioners charge that on numerous occasions South Africa indicated it is willing to use nuclear energy for weapons purposes.

DEGREE VS. DIVESTMENT... East coast colleges, targets of protest in recent years because of apartheid investments, have developed a new approach to defuse anti-apartheid opposition. In June, the issue of apartheid was raised at final commentaries at Columbia University, and Haverford College in Pennsylvania.


Haverford awarded a degree in absentia to Nozomo Winnie Mandela, the symbol of Black women's resistance to apartheid and wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela. It came with a request that the South African government lift its banning order against Ms. Mandela to allow her to leave the country to receive the degree. Not surprisingly, this brought no response from South Africa.

Columbia, for its part, awarded a degree to Bishop Desmond Tutu of the South African Council of Churches. In his address, Columbia President Michael Sovern expressed the schools' "deep repugnance to apartheid."

However, while these schools were eager to make gestures by awarding such honorary degrees, they are unwilling to back up their "repugnance" with divestment. In 1979, Columbia divested \$2.7 million from banks linked to South Africa, which represents only one percent of their total investments in corporations involved with the apartheid regime. Haverford has a similar record of token divestment.




News Briefs

 **THREE SENIOR MOZAM-BICAN** officials intimately involved in the country's security and financial affairs defected at mid-year, in the midst of a major push against abuses of government power. Most crucial was the defection of Jorge Costa, director of national security, who asked for asylum in South Africa during routine border security talks in Johannesburg.

In addition, a Mozambican diplomat in Zimbabwe, said to have been a participant in Zimbabwe-Mozambique discussions on countering South African destabilization, fled to Europe two weeks earlier. The finance director in the president's office has also fled the country.

Costa is believed to have defected because of mounting pressure against security officials suspected of corruption, brutality and other offenses. Last year, FRELIMO launched a nationwide campaign against such practices in the government, which reportedly led to the dismissal of 400 security officers in February. Costa, who opposed the campaign, had a reputation for brutality.

Also, recent successes in rehabilitating former Portuguese collaborators increased FRELIMO's knowledge of the operations and contacts of those still underground. Party officials believe several highly placed collaborators are still unidentified and are likewise preparing to flee as FRELIMO intelligence improves.

 **ANGOLA'S MINISTER OF DEFENSE** has denounced recent troop movements by South Africa, indicating the likelihood of "new large-scale military aggression" into the country. Speaking on Angolan radio, Minister Pedro Maria Pedale pointed to an accelerated pat-


tern of attacks and provocative official statements early this year that paralleled those which preceded the massive "Operation Protea" invasion of August, 1981.

"The PRA (People's Republic of Angola) does not threaten the sovereignty of the Republic of South Africa," said Pedale, "but is simply helping a people fighting for their liberty in the same way [the PRA] was helped by other peoples during its liberation struggle."

The minister's communique noted the South Africans have been extending their operations northward from the 50,000 square kilometre zone in Cunene Province they have occupied since last August. Amid mounting aerial attacks and reconnaissance overflights, four children and three women were killed during an aerial raid in May on economic and civilian targets 300 kms north of the border.

Public statements by South Africa's Defense Minister and other senior South African military spokesmen suggest they are seeking to build a case for new incursions into Angola based on Angolan support for SWAPO. The Angolan Defense Minister warned that "such attitudes may seriously prejudice the current negotiations for the independence of Namibia."

Increased attacks on the front line states have often accompanied diplomatic efforts to achieve Black majority rule in southern Africa. The former Smith regime in Rhodesia mounted its most devastating attacks against Mozambique and Zambia in an effort to force concessions from the Zimbabwean nationalist guerrillas at the Lancaster House negotiations in 1979. "Operation Protea" was launched during an upsurge in Namibian negotiations this time last year.

 **A HIGH-LEVEL SOUTH AFRICAN** advisory group has refined National Party plans to bring non-whites into the government while increasing the authoritarian powers of the chief executive. The proposals of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council released in May expressly exclude the African majority from participation in any future governmental arrangement.


The proposals envision an indirectly elected president whose vastly expanded powers would include appointing Indians, Asians and persons of mixed ancestry ("Coloureds") to his Executive Council. In

addition, these three groups would vote on separate rolls to elect representatives to a yet-to-be-defined Parliament with diminished powers.

The future of the African majority would continue to rest within "the principle of partition;" which restricts their political rights to the "independent" homelands. Significantly, the council committee called on the government to issue a "declaration of intent" which should define more precisely the intended political future of Africans.

While these so-called power-sharing proposals are being touted as major reforms in apartheid rule, the council committee reassures whites that this plan "will not in the least disturb existing power relationships." To further ensure that, the proposals define a president who rules for seven years with sweeping powers over parliament, including the right to dissolve it at any time.

Implementation of the "power-sharing" provisions turns on its acceptance by non-white communities and political leaders. To date, they have exhibited little enthusiasm for the plan. One National Party leader admitted that no more than 30 percent of Indians and Coloureds could be expected to accept the plan, a figure considered high by many observers. In recent years, non-whites have increasingly identified themselves as Blacks in solidarity with the aspirations of the African majority for a unitary "one person, one vote" political democracy.

 The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has suffered a new blow to its diplomatic efforts with the resignation of Henry Isaacs from his posts as foreign affairs minister and UN observer for the South African liberation movement. In a public letter announcing his March 31 departure, Isaacs blamed "internecine strife and disarray" within the organization for his move. Isaacs had played a major role in maintaining PAC's international standing since the 1979 assassination of dynamic former UN representative David Sibeko. Isaacs resigned after refusing an order recalling him to the Tanzanian headquarters of the movement, which is recognized along with the African National Congress by the UN and the Organization of African Unity. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, a PAC central committee member previously stationed in Dar es Salaam, has replaced Isaacs as the new UN observer.

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