

i.d.a.f. news notes

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A Talk with Donald Woods

*Donald Woods, the former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, the author of *Biko* and *Asking for Trouble*, and a South African exile, is also the Director of the Lincoln Trust, whose aims are "to support the international campaign for the abolition of apartheid in South Africa by monitoring and countering South African government misinformation abroad...to promote inter-racial reconciliation among all South Africans." The following interview was conducted at IDAF's Cambridge office on May 4, 1983.*

What was your purpose in developing the Lincoln Trust, and what are your hopes for it?

Well, it seemed to me that the anti-apartheid cause needs a particular sector of activity which is aimed at the middle establishment groups in America and Britain, which is not open to attack for being too left-wing or too right-wing, and which addresses itself to the appropriateness of a response, specifically an American and British response, to apartheid. The goal is to get Britain and America to divest, to break diplomatic relations, to withdraw economic and diplomatic support from South Africa. I believe the way to get that done is an intensive lobby into Congress and the Houses of Parliament in London. After all, Britain and America are the two countries which maintain the veto in the Security Council against sanctions. And I believe that if America withdraws that veto, which I hope a Democratic administration would do, then Britain will follow suit.

The Lincoln Trust also works against South African misinformation, I believe.

Yes. This is one of the incidental aims of the Lincoln Trust, in common with many other organizations. It is not the main aim. I would say the main aim is to shorten the lifespan of apartheid by getting Western support withdrawn from it. But to combat misinformation means simply to answer wherever possible the false claims of South African government or embassy officials. If they make them in the press, you answer them in the press. If they make them on television, you answer them on television.

I've seen reports on South Africa making news broadcasts into Zimbabwe, on "Radio Truth."

That's one of hundreds of things they do. I think when all this is over, people are going to be astonished at how wide-ranging the propaganda exercise of Pretoria will prove to have been, and the extent of its funding in countries like America and Britain.

What they concentrate on is trying to project a false image, and it's done fairly subtly. They no longer try and sell apartheid as a reasonable concept, because that hasn't worked. What they try to do now is to sell an image of good intent, an image of reform, and an image of stability for investment purposes. So what they do is to suppress all news of internal strife in order to encourage the bankers of the West to invest there. It's our job to uncover this coverup and to reveal the country for what it is, a country in ferment with a lot of violence going on and an escalating clash between the black liberation movements and the government forces. Also to get across to the Western nations the idea that not only on moral grounds should they withdraw diplomatic and economic support, but on grounds of self-interest as well.

How do you see the situation of the press in South Africa under the new Protection of Information Act and after the recent trials of journalists?

Very bad indeed. When I left there at the beginning of '78, there was very little real press freedom left. There's even less now. They've brought in several major acts which limit the capacity of newspapers to report or comment on the more vital aspects of national life. I suppose as far as the international community is concerned, the most significant is

Donald Woods



the strict military censorship on any news of a military nature. Not only is this censorship aimed at the outside world, but it's censorship within the country, so that very few South Africans know that a war has begun there. The incidents of sabotage and clashes between the African National Congress and government forces are played down as much as possible. They never admit to them unless they absolutely have to, or where enough people have seen evidence of it that they can't cover it up. It has been estimated that four or five times as many incidents are going on as are even allowed locally to be reported.

Do you see any substance in the South African claims that the ANC has become more violent and less concerned with civilian lives, for instance after the bombing in Bloemfontein?

No, on the contrary, I think the record of the ANC is remarkable in its restraint. The Bloemfontein bombing—if indeed it was an ANC bombing, which I think it probably was—was clearly aimed at a reference book office, a pass office, not at the people there. I'm inclined to think that such loss of life as there was, as in all other incidents, was largely accidental. [A large car-bomb explosion in which 19 people were killed and about 200 injured took place later in the month, in Pretoria.]

Do you see any new leaders who might possibly fill the place that was left by Steve Biko? Especially among the young?

There are a number of very impressive young people. One of these is Thozamile Gqweta. Gqweta is one of the most effective young trade

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An Open Letter To The Western Contact Group

Your Excellencies,

16 February 1983

As we continue to hear and experience further wanton acts of destruction of life and property in our country, we, the Executive Committee of the Council of Churches in Namibia, representing 81% of Namibia Christians, meeting in Windhoek on the 28th of January, 1983, would like to state that, because of our commitment to reconciliation, justice, peace and the preservation of human life, we remain resolved that independence under United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 is the only just and concrete solution to our country's plight.

Having supported your initiatives, we view with mounting concern the developing stalemate of non-existent progress in regard to the negotiations on the implementation of the said resolution which are now impeded by the irrelevant linkage of Cubans to the historical colonial problem of our country.

We wish to state also that the Cuban presence in the sovereign state of Angola is not a threat to the Namibian people. The historical priority is South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia without the consent and mandate from the majority of the people. We are disturbed that certain members of your group are obstructing and undermining the negotiations by trying to make their own domestic political capital from this irrelevant linkage, and by so doing, prolonging suffering and bloodshed in our country. We reject such obstruction, and consequently are beginning to question the authenticity and sincerity of the motives of your group.

The destructive effect of the status quo continues to escalate, and we urgently appeal to you to heed the will and rights of the Namibian people and their interests alone, do everything in your power to remove the obstacles hindering the immediate implementation of Resolution 435.

We urge you to act promptly in order to restore the diminishing hope and expectations that we originally had in your initiative.

Yours sincerely,

The Executive Committee of the Council of
Churches in Namibia

Dr. Abisai Shejavali, Exec. Secretary, Council of Churches in Namibia.
Rev. Hendrik Frederik, President, Evangelical Lutheran Church
Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church.
Rev. James Kaluma, Bishop, Anglican Church in Namibia

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Growing Up Apart

Black Child by Peter Magubane, Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, \$8.95 paperback, 102 pp.

Peter Magubane, in his years as a news photographer for *Drum* magazine and then the *Rand Daily Mail*, created many of the images that have made up the American conception of South Africa. With a home in Soweto, Magubane has seemingly managed to be on hand for every significant event in the history of resistance to apartheid. His first book, *Magubane's South Africa*, showed us the defendants in the Treason Trial being loaded into prison vans, black constables hurrying bodies away from the site of the Sharpeville massacre, and armored vehicles—“hippos”—deploying in order to block a student march. So potent were the images of political violence in that book that it was easy to miss some of the quieter scenes: a boy singing at the piano, a worried-looking baby being passed from hand to hand at a church celebration, and two Xhosa men on horseback, with pipes and peaked hats, coming home as the sun sets behind a hilly ridge in the Transkei.

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union leaders, and he's had to pay the price for this. But there are a number of young fellows like him. Most of the more effective young leaders are staying underground now, and are simply not publicly known, in view of what happened to previous leaders.

I read your piece in the New York Times on Breyten Breytenbach, the Afrikaans poet and ex-political prisoner. What was your impression of Breytenbach in the course of interviewing him?

Well, I had a long talk with him. I was with him for three days in Paris. Breytenbach was a very interesting man to talk to, a very impressive, gentle person.

Do you have plans for more books?

No. And yet several keep suggesting themselves. I've written three books, actually, one of which was mostly on South African propaganda and the use of sport for propaganda purposes. I thought in those three books I'd written in book form whatever I had to say, but a whole lot of subjects keep suggesting themselves. One of them stems from the Breytenbach interview. I've got another friend, a PAC man who did fifteen years on Robben Island, and his story is remarkable. Maybe there could be a book on South African political prisoners, or something like that. We need more of that information. But right now I'm really on a visit to help fundraising for Defense and Aid. Canon Collins was a good friend of mine and I've long admired the work that's done at IDAF. I've been in courtrooms in South Africa and seen the results at that end of the help given by IDAF, and I have friends who've been prosecuted there who could not have had lawyers defending them if it hadn't been for this organization.

It's encouraging to hear about even if the names can't be revealed.

Well, one of them was _____.

Have you been bugged or followed or otherwise harassed since you fled the country?

No. In the first few days after we got out and went to London, my wife and I had a direct warning from the South African security police, not to make speeches against apartheid, not to get involved in anti-apartheid activities. I remember the rather melodramatic phrase; they said, “Don't think you are beyond our reach.” But that was five years ago, so we have to conclude that it was merely an attempt to intimidate. I have to knock on wood every time I say that.

Because they have operated outside the country in other cases.

Oh, yes.

In Southern Africa, of course.

And in Britain, London. They set off a bomb in the ANC offices there last year, and they burgled the PAC offices in London. They're active in most Western countries. I believe they had a lot to do with the defeat of Dick Clark in the Senate election. You know they distributed a lot of pamphlets about his position on abortion, which didn't go down too well in Iowa.

You've been giving talks on South Africa's destabilization of its neighbors, and Magnus Malan and P.W. Botha not long ago said that they would consider supporting anti-Communist movements in supposedly Communist-dominated countries. Do you see that as an admission that actually that's what they've been doing all along?

It's a code language for supporting reactionary movements. It's their code language for destabilization of any neighboring country. I shouldn't even add “which is opposed to apartheid” because they're *all* opposed to apartheid. It is the umbrella under which they would justify actions like the botchup in the Seychelles, the two armies of occupation they have in Angola and Namibia, and the raids into Lesotho, into Mozambique, and into Zimbabwe. This is their code language for that sort of activity.

Do you have any predictions for what's going to happen in South Africa in the next few years?

I would predict an escalation in conflict, in trade union activity, in pressure for sanctions and investment. The squeeze is going to be put on in those three ways. I regret to say that probably the most important element is going to prove to be the escalating military conflict. I think it's going to be a group of elements combined which will end apartheid.

Southern Africa News Calendar

May and June 1983

The following news items are based primarily on shortwave broadcasts by the British Broadcasting Corporation (*BBC*), the Voice of America (*VOA*), and Radio South Africa (*RSA*). South African and British newspapers are also used. Items are intended to supplement major news sources and are not exhaustive. Because radio reception is sometimes unclear, the spelling of all proper names cannot be guaranteed. Dates on items reflect date when event was reported.

Items relating to political trials and detentions appear in red.

For more comprehensive news about political prisoners in Southern Africa, please see our bimonthly publication *Focus*.

1 April

Lesotho—French and Soviet representatives visited Lesotho to inspect two areas the government said were attacked last weekend by an armed group from South Africa. Four attacks were reported, with targets including a mission and a barracks. British and American representatives had already visited the sites after Lesotho invited all five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council to send observers. China had yet to respond. The Lesotho Foreign Affairs Minister said South Africa had also failed to respond to the invitation to inspect the evidence of the attacks. The South African government had denied direct or indirect involvement in any attacks on Lesotho.

3 April

Zimbabwe—A government spokesperson said that **Attati Mpakati**, a former Malawi opposition leader found murdered in Harare on 28 March, was killed by a South African agent acting on behalf of the Malawi government. Mpakati was the leader of the outlawed Socialist League of Malawi, which is opposed to Malawi's policy of cooperation with South Africa and its pro-Western stance. In 1979 he lost all the fingers of his left hand and three from his right in a parcel-bomb explosion. The Malawi High Commission in Zimbabwe issued a statement denying that Malawi had anything to do with the assassination, but the Socialist League blamed it on "agents of the bloodthirsty Banda regime."

Growing Up Apart

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In *Black Child*, the new book, the scenes of domestic life predominate far more. On the cover of the first book was a German shepherd police dog lunging at a black man; on the cover of the second is a small boy washing dishes in a dark kitchen. What Magubane gives us in *Black Child* is not as obviously polemical as before. There are many happy children in these pages, whether grouped around a birthday cake, playing soccer in the street or saying Ah for the nurse at the school clinic. Some of these photos seem cheerful enough for use in government propaganda — especially one in which a grinning white schoolboy presents oranges and paraffin heaters to the appreciative students at a black grade school. The caption tells us that white schools often adopt black ones as a charitable cause.

The bad news comes later: the corrugated iron shacks, swollen bellies and urban rubble. But even this is more than a catalogue of the horrors of apartheid. Just as Magubane refused in his first book to gloss over such inconvenient and troubling matters as the violence by Zulu workers during the Soweto uprising, here too he gives us all sides of the story. We see the fervent protesters of 1976 with fists and placards, but



courtesy of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Lesotho—The LLA carried out a fresh attack on the military camp at Oxbow in the north. An LLA representative said the camp was showered with mortar shells and rockets and that three Lesotho troops were killed, but Lesotho radio said only one man was killed. Lesotho had frequently accused South Africa of aiding the guerrillas, a charge the South Africans have denied.

4 April

South Africa—Prime Minister Botha rejected a reported offer by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to arrange talks between the South African government and black nationalist groups. Botha said South Africa could not talk with organizations that received arms from Communist countries for use against South Africa, nor with people who crossed its borders to foment revolution.

5 April

South Africa—Opposition MP Helen Suzman said the killing of **Saul Mkhize**, 48, a black leader who was shot by police at a protest meeting in Driefontein, was another reprehensible action by trigger-happy police. Suzman said it should be remembered that there were several hundred witnesses to the shooting, which took place at a meeting to oppose relocation, after police failed to disperse the crowd with tear gas and a warning shot. The day after the shooting, 20 or more police arrived to investigate the incident, including the policeman who fired the fatal shot. Speaking against the forced relocation of 5000 Driefontein residents to a bantustan, Mkhize had said, "We paid for our land... we will not own the land to which we are supposed to move..."

Would they move whites in this way to barren land with no roads, no water, no schools, nothing? [The land in question was purchased before the ownership of land by blacks was made illegal in 1913.]



we also see two young loafers taking advantage of the beerhall demonstrations to make off with a couple of cases of Castle Stout. One group portrait of three Johannesburg street toughs is a study of insolent grace under pressure. The girl in the picture rolls her eyes towards her friends as if making some wry comment on the photographer who seems to find glue-sniffing such an interesting activity.

Magubane has written that at Sharpeville in 1960, where he arrived on the scene only minutes after the shooting stopped, his horror at the dead bodies prevented him from doing first-rate photography. From then on he decided that the pictures would always come first. "I no longer got shocked; I am a feelingless beast while taking photographs." The pictures in the first book reflected this philosophy. Many were deeply emotional, but they were detached as well, showing no hint of the photographer's presence as a person. In *Black Child*, seemingly a much more personal book, there are many more pictures whose subjects look directly at Magubane, conscious both of him and of themselves as figures in the camera's eye. There are also, for the first time, two pictures of Magubane himself in the midst of the events he chronicles. In one he is standing in the compound of a farm after bringing food and blankets for the workers. A heavy-set man with glasses, a forage cap and a camera slung around his neck, he seems awkwardly out of place. He has set aside his role as photographer to deal with an urgent human need, and he looks uncomfortable doing so. But in the other picture, marching with a crowd of children to the funeral of a student, he strides purposefully and does not look up.

Black Child, which begins on the frontispiece with a haunting picture of small children suspended in a smoky evening sky a few feet above a trampoline, ends with the backs of mourners as they walk away from the grave of Hector Peterson. The book becomes more somber as it goes along, moving from the detailed, sensitive scenes of birth, baptism, and school life, to poverty and starvation in the homelands and townships, then to various forms of child labor and finally to the hasty, sometimes blurred images of street violence. Last of all is an eerie stillness: the graveside scene with plastic-wrapped flowers left on the freshly-turned earth, and the white vestments of a minister who is walking away with a little knot of mourners.

South Africa—Brand Fourie, the South African ambassador to the US, lodged a strong letter of protest with the head of the American ABC television network, saying its recent program *Adapt or Die* on South Africa's black labor unions presented a blatant misrepresentation of South Africa's internal situation, and consisted of a jumbled assortment of inaccuracies. Fourie said no attempt had been made to show South Africa's attempts to solve its complex problems.

6 April

South Africa—A bomb explosion near Port Elizabeth blew a meter-deep crater in a railway foundation and ripped up railway lines. Eight bomb attacks against South African installations had been reported so far this year.

7 April

South Africa—Johannesburg police charged Sue Sparks, the wife of the journalist Allister Sparks, with trying to defeat the ends of justice. The charge was said to concern the alleged removal of documents the police were seeking in connection with a charge against Allister Sparks. Sparks, who was charged with quoting Winnie Mandela in an article in violation of her banning order, was scheduled to appear in court on 15 April, along with journalist Bernard Simon, who faced a similar charge.

8 April

United Kingdom—A Swedish national alleged to have been a **South African agent** told the High Court in London that he had prepared a sketch plan of the London office of an anti-apartheid organization and given a copy to a burglar. The Swede was accused of assisting a burglar who broke into a PAC office last year and stole some documents.

South Africa—The killing of **Saul Mkhize** at a protest meeting in Driefontein provoked angry responses. Members of the women's organization Black Sash stood with placards on Johannesburg street corners this morning. Black Sash interviews with witnesses of the killing said that the two police officers involved had left the grounds in their vehicle before stopping to fire at the protest leader. The US government denounced South Africa's "homelands" policy, sharply condemned the shooting and called for a full investigation.

South Africa—Four young blacks—Stanley Radebe, 27, Mthuthulezi Madalane, 24, Lebona Ernest Mohakala, 24, and Miss Nonkululeko Innocentia Mazibuko—were freed because of Security Police investigation tactics after a nine-month terrorism trial in the Kempton Park suburb of Johannesburg. I.J.J. Luther, the magistrate, acquitted the defendants when he found state witnesses had been forced by Security Police to give false evidence. The magistrate found that some of the state witnesses had been assaulted by police and some held incommunicado for up to three weeks before being interrogated. The defendants, who were aged 22 to 27 and included one woman, had been charged with furthering the aims of two outlawed student organizations and of recruiting youth for military training outside the country. One defense lawyer said five of the potential witnesses in the case had alleged severe assault, nine were told what to say, seven said they were terrified during interrogation, six were kept in isolation, and one self-confessed police agent admitted he was told to fabricate evidence.

11 April

Lesotho—Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan accused South Africa of holding up **defense equipment** sent to Lesotho from other countries. Jonathan said that one consignment was stuck in the Durban harbor and that his government had been unable to get it delivered despite protracted negotiations with South Africa. He said South Africa had subjected Lesotho to a requirement stating that Lesotho must seek South Africa's approval for the transshipment of defense equipment over South African territory. [Lesotho is completely surrounded by South Africa.]

South Africa—Clashes between **miners and heavily armed police** broke out at a uranium mine in the Orange Free State after about 50 miners refused to go underground. Fifteen miners were killed recently and more than 50 injured in an apparent methane explosion in the mine. When management refused to assure the miners that all traces of methane had disappeared, some miners went on a rampage, stoning buildings and smashing windows. Five miners were reportedly arrested and 509 dismissed from work and sent to the bantustans. More than R200,000 damage was caused in the unrest.

12 April

Portugal—UNITA held its first public press conference in over two years, saying it was held in response to a Portuguese threat to tighten government control over the activities of rebel groups in Portugal. Angolan officials who were in Portugal for a meeting of the Socialist International had seized the opportunity to raise the issue of **UNITA's presence in Lisbon**. The Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister said Angola might freeze its relations with Portugal if Portugal allowed UNITA to continue its operations.

United Kingdom—In a letter to the Defense Minister, Stanley Newens MP criticized the British Defense Council for allowing **British ex-soldiers** to fight in the South African army. The letter was prompted by the death of a Sandhurst-trained British officer while he was attempting to sabotage a railway line in Mozambique. Newens accused the British government of not placing any obstacle in the way of soldiers seeking to serve in any army abroad.

NEWS NOTES NEEDS YOUR HELP

This newsletter depends on its readers' generosity to continue its work: reporting on IDAF activities; gathering hard-to-obtain information on trials, detentions and current political events in Southern Africa; and printing articles on men and women who have devoted their lives to the cause of peace and freedom in the region.

Please help support this effort by mailing a contribution to *IDAF News Notes*, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138. Checks should be made out to IDAF News Notes. Gifts of at least \$8.00 (individuals) or \$18.00 (organizations) will ensure that you continue to receive our newsletter for one year.

All contributions to *News Notes* (and to IDAF's defense and aid work) are tax-deductible.

South Africa—The government of the "independent" bantustan of Bophuthatswana was said to have deported more than 70 refugees who had fled army repression in Matabeleland. RSA said all the refugees were believed to be supporters of ZAPU and said they had been held in a prison in Bophuthatswana. The bantustan was said to have handed back over 200 Zimbabwean refugees since the end of February.

Czechoslovakia—The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister called on the UN Secretary General to take effective steps to free the Czech nationals who had been held prisoner by UNITA guerrillas in southern Angola for the past month. UNITA said yesterday that the captives had been split into six groups. An official of UNITA's health services had said earlier that of the 82 **Czechoslovak and Portuguese captives**, 29 were in normal health, 36 were physically exhausted, 12 were suffering from dysentery, nine from fever and six from gastritis.

South Africa—Three checks totaling \$25,000 from the US ambassador's discretionary fund were given to South African charitable organizations, including the Red Cross, for emergency feeding and other **drought-relief activities**. This was believed to be the first time the US government had granted aid of any sort to South Africa. Because of crop failures, South Africa will lose about \$700 million from food exports and will need to spend at least \$300 million on food imports to make up the shortfall.

14 April

South Africa—Prime Minister Botha agreed after talks with representatives of the Labor Party and the Indian Council that opinion polls on the government's **constitutional plans** could in principle be held among the Indian and Coloured communities. Botha had announced earlier that the white community would vote on the matter in its own referendum later this year.

South Africa—Piet Koornhof, the Minister for African affairs, said he was sorry the rest of Africa did not accept the efforts of his government to guide the **bantustans** to full independence. Addressing the kwaNdebele national assembly, Koornhof said South Africa was not blind to the aspirations to nationalism of its black people. KwaNdebele, he said, had asked for independence and would get it without having to fight for it. Meanwhile Chief Lennox Sebe of the "independent" Ciskei bantustan said his country (sic) had taken steps to end its international isolation. Sebe said his government had opened agencies in the US, Israel, France and Republic of China in order to state Ciskei's case and attract investments.

15 April

South Africa—The Chief of Operations of the South African Air Force said Mozambique had deployed a wide range of land-to-air missiles and radar systems around **ANC bases** there. He also claimed there had been a massive buildup of Soviet military equipment over the past six or seven years, including missile systems, armored vehicles and other armaments.

17 April

South Africa—Hundreds travelled to Driefontein for the **funeral of Saul Mkhize**, who was shot dead at a protest meeting against forced removals two weeks ago. Speaking at the funeral, Bishop Desmond Tutu urged the government to stop uprooting blacks and resettling them elsewhere. Sheena Duncan, the head of Black Sash, described Mkhize as a peaceloving and gentle man, who had paid an awful price for his decency. Police were not present at the funeral, which passed off peacefully.

18 April

United Kingdom—Cedric Mayson, a white Methodist minister being tried for high treason in South Africa, jumped bail and fled to Britain via Lesotho. Mayson's trial at the Pretoria Supreme Court had been adjourned in February after the court ruled that a confession he allegedly made to police was inadmissible evidence. At a press conference, Mayson said that after his arrest he had been taken to John Vorster Square, told to strip, handcuffed and kept awake for several days and nights. He was made to stand until his feet swelled up and turned red. Later, he said, "a well-known Security Police master named van Wyk" was called in, who forced Mayson's head to the floor and pulled out some of his hair. Van Wyk was known as "Spyker" (Nail) because of an old episode in which he allegedly nailed the penis of an exiled ANC man to a table.

19 April

South Africa—Sir Richard Attenborough, director of the award-winning film *Gandhi*, reversed his previous decision to attend a whites-only premiere of the film in South Africa. After protests by a group of British Labor MPs and a telegram from 20 South African Indian organizations, Attenborough said he would attend premieres of *Gandhi* in South Africa only if movie theaters throughout the country were opened to all races.

Angola—UNITA announced it would release a woman doctor who was among its 64 Czech hostages if Afghanistan freed a French physician being held there on charges of helping the Afghan rebels. UNITA had earlier offered to free some of its captives for seven Britons held by the Angolan government, and also said that the 21 children who were among the captives would be set free unconditionally. The Pope yesterday called on UNITA to release all of the 86 hostages captured four weeks ago.

20 April

USA—The House Subcommittee on African Affairs proposed to reduce the Administration's request for military aid to Africa by \$196 million or 24%, and suggested that \$45 million be transferred from military to economic development assistance. Committee chair Howard Wolpe accused the Reagan Administration of trying to solve Africa's problems through excessive reliance on military aid. US military aid to Africa, excluding Egypt, now totals 3½ times what it was under Carter.

France—The French Rugby Federation, which had voted to ignore the recent ban on tours of South Africa by sports teams, dropped its plans for a tour after holding talks with President Mitterrand. The Rugby Federation was unhappy with the ban because it did not apply to individual sportsmen. There were also suspicions in France that the sports boycott had been announced to distract attention from the strong trade ties between France and South Africa.

South Africa—Joe Thloloe, a senior journalist on the *Sowetan* until he was banned last year, and Sipha Moffat were each sentenced to 2½ years in prison after being convicted of possessing literature published by the PAC. Steven Sipho Mzolo and Nhlanganiso Sibanda were each sentenced to three years on similar charges.

21 April

South Africa—Police said that Orlando Cristina, the Secretary General and second-in-command of the MNR, was found shot dead near Pretoria. The South African Broadcasting Corporation said Cristina was killed on a farm north of Pretoria, but the *Star* newspaper said later that he was found dead with a bullet wound in the neck in a flat in a Pretoria suburb. Cristina's death in South Africa was an embarrassment to South African authorities because it was the first real indication that he was based in South Africa. The Mozambican news agency described him as a failed adventurer and a big-game hunter who had masterminded MNR guerrilla operations in collaboration with white Rhodesians and South African military intelligence.

USA—Representatives of 24 religious, labor, civil rights, Congressional and political organizations gathered on Capitol Hill to release a report they jointly produced, entitled *Namibia: The Crisis in US Policy towards Southern Africa*. The report sharply criticized the **Reagan Administration's policies**, calling the policy of constructive engagement a failure. Its main recommendation was for the US to remove the extraneous issue of Cuban troops in Angola from the negotiations on Namibian independence.

22 April

South Africa—Prime Minister Botha announced that the continued drought had forced the postponement of referenda on the new constitutional reforms. Botha also said that adaptations in South Africa should be evolutionary and that he would subject himself to the outcome of the referenda, whatever this might be. According to Minister for Internal Affairs F.W. deKlerk the proposed new Constitution would be announced before 10 May.

Namibia—SWAPO member Angula Mawaala, 24, went on trial facing charges of robbery and taking part in terrorist activities. Mawaala was accused of involvement in the bayonetting of Simon Kariseb Shikongo, a farm worker whom Mawaala said had previously killed a SWAPO guerrilla.

24 April

Mozambique—Authorities said that **South African agents** were stopped near the border and fled after being asked to open their bags. The agents reportedly left behind 64 explosive charges, timing devices, and forged identity papers.

25 April

South Africa—At an Executive Committee meeting at Kimberley, the Coloured Labor Party decided to resign from the South African Black Alliance, three months after being suspended from the Alliance. Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi had described

the party's decision to cooperate with the government's "reform" proposals as a betrayal of the other members of the Alliance.

South Africa—Nedbank, the largest South African-owned banking group, opened a branch in New York, becoming the first South African bank to have a full branch in the US. Rob Abrahamson, the bank's managing director, said that if necessary the bank in New York would assist in raising overseas finance for the South African public sector.

26 April

Lesotho—A delegation of EEC and ACP (African, Caribbean, and Pacific) countries was shown the effects of attacks by **South Africa** and the LLA in Lesotho. The delegation was shown damage at a police post and in a village where houses were badly damaged, windows blown out, and walls marked with many bullet holes. No military equipment was in evidence at either the village or the police post.

United Nations—Speaking at the UN conference on Namibia, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma called for the dissolution of the Western Contact Group because it had lost touch with the letter and spirit of UN resolutions. Nujoma emphasized that France was not included in his criticism. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson had said earlier that France could not accept the demands and pretexts being placed in the way of independence. Meanwhile a US State Department spokesperson said the US was pursuing its own separate discussions with Angola on the Cuban troop issue, and that it had the full support of the Contact Group in the matter.

United Kingdom—The sale of British-made radar equipment to South Africa came under attack in Parliament. An opposition Labor spokesperson said the sale was a breach of the UN arms embargo against South Africa, and that the radar could be used for military purposes against South Africa's neighbors. The Foreign Affairs Minister argued that the radar would be used predominantly for civilian air traffic and so did not break the UN embargo.

USA—A White House spokesperson yesterday said the US had neither encouraged nor discouraged **American investments** in South Africa, but that it encouraged companies doing business there to adhere to the Sullivan Code on fair employment practices. The spokesperson noted a February speech by Herman Nickel, US ambassador to South Africa, who said that US companies in South Africa had the potential to be a positive force for peaceful change.

27 April

Zimbabwe—Six of the seven **ZAPU leaders** on trial for high treason and for stockpiling arms were immediately re-detained after being acquitted of the charges. Dumiso Dabengwa, ZAPU's former intelligence chief, had been charged with treason after writing a letter to the KGB in which he asked for assistance and criticized Mugabe's government for cooperating with what he called the old exploiters: the white regime, Britain and the US.

28 April

South Africa—Prime Minister Botha ordered an investigation into the extreme right-wing **Afrikaner Resistance Movement**, which is opposed to any relaxation of apartheid. Minister of Law and Order Louis LeGrange planned to meet with the Commissioner of Police and local officials to map out a plan for the inquiry. Four of the group's senior members were due to appear in court soon on charges of possessing explosives. Botha said the government would not allow the establishment of a private army to commit acts of violence. The group's leader recently threatened that his group would oppose Botha's power-sharing plan by force.

Ethiopia—The UN Economic Commission for Africa, meeting for its 25th anniversary conference, said that **Western countries** were using a double standard by claiming to be against apartheid yet continuing to invest heavily in South Africa. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda strongly condemned Western countries that continued to invest, and said such activity was an obstacle to the economic development of Africa as a whole. Kaunda said that Western countries had continued to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

29 April

South Africa—Police moved into the Lamontville township outside Durban to put down disturbances triggered three days ago by the killing of a former ANC member and prominent black community leader, Harrison Dube. Dube, a former prisoner on Robben Island, was shot by two masked gunmen outside his home after returning from a protest meeting. The next night more than 3000 angry residents attacked the home of the so-called mayor of the township. Other clashes followed, in which three cars, a bus, a house and two government-owned beerhalls were burned down. At least one man was killed in the unrest and at least 200 injured.

South Africa—The Pretoria City Council voted to close a number of **parks** to blacks and to segregate others because of muggings and late-night attacks. Opposition members described the move as a return to the petty apartheid of the 1950's. Black nannies accompanying white children would be allowed into the whites-only areas.

1 May

United Kingdom—A chair was left vacant at St. Paul's Cathedral in London during a service at which South African Bishop Desmond Tutu had been scheduled to read the sermon. Tutu, the head of the South African Council of Churches, had been refused a passport by the South African government for the fourth time since last September.

3 May

Mozambique—Authorities said they had captured a South African military intelligence officer named Peter Benjamin Schuman. In an interview on Mozambican television, Schuman said he had been sent to Mozambique several times on various missions, one of which was to assassinate President Samora Machel. Other missions included gathering information on a hydroelectric power scheme and telecommunications installations. The SADF denied that Schuman was ever a professional soldier and said he was a habitual criminal being sought by South African police. South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha told the Mozambican Minister of Security he was tired of the lies being spread about South Africa and that future relations between the two countries would depend largely on the way Mozambique now handled this affair.



Samora Machel

United Kingdom—Representatives of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain were reported to be seeking urgent talks with the Home Secretary after their London headquarters were broken into once again. Private documents and lists of contacts were stolen and other documents were found loaded into boxes, apparently ready to be moved out. The Movement said it was convinced the break-in was organized by the South African Security Police.

5 May

Mozambique—The Foreign Ministers of South Africa and Mozambique held a meeting on the border between the two countries. The talks were said to be only the second to have taken place at this level since Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal in 1975. South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said the new talks produced agreement in principle that states should respect each other's borders.

Malawi—Orton Chirwa, a former Malawian Justice Minister and a leader of the Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo), and his wife Vera, were convicted of treason against the Banda government. A sentence of death appeared likely. Chirwa and his wife, both of whom are lawyers, had pleaded not guilty to the charges. Mafremo's national organizer and secretary said the two had never advocated violence or the overthrow of Banda.

South Africa—Minister for Constitutional Development Chris Heunis tabled in Parliament a bill outlining the new Constitution proposed by Prime Minister P.W. Botha. Under the new bill the offices of State President and Prime Minister would be merged and the new Executive President, together with his Cabinet, would be given wide powers and complete control over financial, security and foreign policy matters. The Executive President's decisions could not be questioned by a court of law. The new Coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament would be responsible only for matters affecting the groups electing them. The Cabinet would be multiracial but would include no Africans. The President's Council would be retained in an advisory capacity, and the African majority in the country would continue to be controlled by the white Department for African Affairs.

Zimbabwe—Security Minister Emmerson Munangagwa was quoted in the official press as saying that the six ZAPU leaders recently detained after being tried and acquitted, were being held at a location about 15 miles east of Harare. The government had been withholding information about the whereabouts of the men since their detention a week ago. Munangagwa said their lawyers could see them three times a day and that their families could spend nights at the prison.

6 May

South Africa—General Mike Geldenhuis said in a statement that three ANC guerrillas had been killed in a clash near the border between western Transkei and Botswana. Geldenhuis described the men as highly trained and said they were armed with weapons of Soviet origin, including hand grenades, and that they were carrying a large amount of South African and Botswana currency.

South Africa—Labor Party leader Allan Hendrickse said he would like to see the new constitutional bill regarded as a point of departure rather than a place of arrival. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of the Progressive Federal Party rejected most of the salient features of the bill but thought it might be acceptable with some revisions in it, including an amendment checking the powers of the President, a clear specification of the role opposition parties could play in the new system, and a kind of bill of rights. The leader of the New Republic Party accepted the bill but felt there should be negotiations with the African population, especially those living outside the bantustans, in order to identify their aspirations and to accommodate them.

7 May

South Africa—Bishop Desmond Tutu launched a hunger relief fund with an initial donation of \$46,000 from the SACC. The Council has set up a ten-man committee with Tutu as a member which will campaign against hunger and ensure that water is available in rural areas. Reports from some of the remote tribal homelands have said that many more African children than usual were dying of starvation.

Zimbabwe—The parents of two young American tourists kidnapped in Matabeleland last July said they had received a new ransom note from the kidnappers. The two Americans were abducted with two Britons and two Australians by armed men thought to be dissidents. The new ransom note, in imperfect English, said the men were in healthy condition, better than their condition when they were captured. The note demanded the release of dissidents in Zimbabwe and suggested the captives' parents raise the matter with the UN.

9 May

South Africa—Minister for African affairs Piet Koornhof announced last night that the 6.3% rent increases which came into effect in Durban townships last week would be waived temporarily. The announcement of the increases has given impetus to unrest in the townships, which began after the killing of black community leader Harrison Dube. Koornhof said the increases would only come into effect on 1 August, and he announced an immediate tax grant of R250,000 to be used for the maintenance and renovation of houses in the townships.

11 May

South Africa—Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said in Cape Town's House of Assembly that unless all countries in the region stopped harboring terrorists there could be no hope of peace in the subcontinent. Botha said that no one would emerge as winner after a revolution in South Africa. Botha also said recently that South Africa had made it quite clear that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was a prerequisite for the easing of tension in the region and a successful settlement in Namibia. He said it was the Americans who first insisted on Cuban withdrawal, a point recently conceded by Henry Kissinger on a visit to South Africa.

South Africa—In the first of three critical by-elections, the Nationalist Party candidate beat off a strong challenge from his PFP opponent in the affluent, well-educated Waterkloof district of Pretoria. Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht retained his seat in the Waterberg area and NP Manpower Minister Fanie Botha kept his Soutpansberg seat with a considerably reduced majority. Benjamin Pogrund, deputy editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, said Treurnicht's victory established his party as a permanent extreme right-wing force in South Africa, while the NP victory in Waterkloof indicated that well-educated Afrikaners were not moving leftwards. There had been real fears in the NP that Fanie Botha would lose his seat, which would have been a disaster for himself and for the Prime Minister. The by-election campaigns were marked by a good deal of ill feeling, acrimony, and character assassination.

Zimbabwe—Security Minister Emmerson Munangagwa said three black former members of the Rhodesian security forces had been arrested as South African agents. He said they were part of a 16-man group sent to Matabeleland to recruit people to undergo military training for anti-government operations. Munangagwa also announced the arrest of a former Rhodesian secret service officer, who he said was implicated in the assassination in Harare two years ago of ANC official Joe Gqabi.

13 May

South Africa—Authorities opened an inquiry into the death of Daniel Benjamin, a 13-year-old black schoolboy, following his detention by police near Cape Town. Benjamin died less than 24 hours after his release from a police station where he was held with other youths on suspicion of stealing pigeons from a farm. His father said one of the youths reported seeing a white police officer banging Benjamin's head against the wall during questioning. The boy was buried on the same day after the local district surgeon issued a death certificate saying he had died from natural causes.

In the eastern Transvaal another investigation was underway into the deaths of two black men while in custody. Gen. Johan Coetsee, Commissioner-designate of the South African police, said police were looking into the question of detention without trial. Coetsee said the question was very complicated, adding that police would deal equally with attacks on the country's security by right-wing and left-wing groups.

Namibia—The findings of a commission set up by Gen. Charles Lloyd to look into the activities of the SADF in the Kavango region of northern Namibia were released. The inquiry followed reports in the local press that the South Africans had been committing atrocities and that people had been harassed, tortured and even killed. The head of the commission said that one civilian had been killed accidentally when he ran away from a patrol and was mistaken for an insurgent. He said the other two recent deaths were not investigated by his commission because they were under investigation by the police. Gen. Lloyd did say that of four detainees under Security Proclamation AG-9, two had been manhandled on arrest, but he emphasized that they were not seriously assaulted or beaten during their period of detention. He confirmed that the security forces sometimes used blindfolds when questioning detainees and often had to resort to "manhandling" in order to obtain admissions.

14 May

Malawi—Amnesty International appealed to President Hastings Banda to commute the death sentences passed on Orton and Vera Chirwa, who were convicted of plotting to overthrow the government. The group said that the trial, by a traditional court of five tribal chiefs, did not conform to international standards. Chirwa, a leader of the Malawi Freedom Movement, fled the country in 1964 after breaking with President Banda and since then had conducted a campaign from Tanzania over Malawi's record on human rights.

People's Republic of China—A communique released in Peking said that China had established **diplomatic relations with Lesotho** and that ambassadors would be exchanged. Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho was on a visit to China. South Africa and Malawi are now the only African states that do not recognize China.

16 May

South Africa—Trouble erupted at a **funeral in the Chesterville suburb** of Durban when the urban representative of the kwaZulu bantustan and a member of the Inkatha Central Committee were attacked by the crowd. More than 7000 mourners had arrived for the funeral of a local resident who was shot by a policeman during recent protests. The mourners openly indicated their support for the ANC. The Inkatha official was chased by a band of about 16 youths to a nearby house whose occupants forced him back outside. He was repeatedly stabbed and beaten but refused to be admitted to a local hospital for fear of further attacks.

17 May

South Africa—Violence broke out on the outskirts of Cape Town today when police used tear gas to break up a crowd of several hundred **black squatters** and some whites protesting efforts to evict the squatters. South African authorities had been trying for the past two months to move some of the squatters to the Ciskei and Transkei and others to a new black township being formed outside Cape Town. One man was reported injured and seven children taken to the hospital suffering from the effects of the tear gas.

18 May

South Africa—The Supreme Court convicted **John Reese**, the former Secretary General of the SACC, of fraud. Reese was found guilty of fraudulently handling R296,000 from the SACC's fund. The judge said it was irrelevant whether he used the money for the good of other people or for his own personal use.

21 May

South Africa—Nine whites and eight blacks were killed, and about 200 others were injured in a big **car-bomb explosion** outside the Air Force and military intelligence headquarters in Pretoria. The blast smashed through buildings and vehicles over a wide area. Police said most of the victims were civilians and that many of them were black. Prime Minister Botha said the attack was inspired by Communists, and Defense Minister Magnus Malan said South Africa would not hesitate to take further action across its borders to prevent more attacks. Oliver Tambo of the ANC said communications problems meant that it was too soon for him to know if the bombing was the work of his forces. Tambo said however that the attack was within the framework of the ANC's new policy of stepping up actions against military targets.

South Africa—The white women's organization Black Sash criticized the "**Orderly Movement**" Bill sponsored by the Minister for African affairs, Piet Koornhof, saying that if it became law it would create about $\frac{1}{2}$ million instant lawbreakers in Soweto alone. They accused Koornhof of expressing what passed for bland sentiments while vigorously pursuing the implementation of apartheid and causing misery to hundreds of thousands of people.

TRIALS AND DETENTIONS ARE CONTINUING!

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22 May

South Africa—In a new report, the Medical Association of South Africa said it was convinced that there had been cases of maltreatment in South African prisons, and that some detainees were kept in prolonged isolation and subjected to intensive interrogation. The Association called for safeguards to protect political prisoners, recommending that detainees should not be kept in isolation for more than seven days and that torture should be barred.

23 May

Mozambique—South African fighter planes attacked the suburbs of Maputo in a **raid against six targets** which South Africa said included an ANC training center, a command post and a Mozambican missile site. The Mozambican news agency said the planes attacked several civilian buildings including a jam factory and a number of houses before being driven off. A day-care center was machine-gunned minutes before the children were due to arrive. A BBC correspondent said, "I'm convinced there were no military targets, no missile sites, no ANC training camps." Of the five people killed in the raid, three were factory workers and only one was an ANC member. About 30 Mozambicans were wounded, of whom none belonged to the ANC. Area residents said ANC members in the area had moved away after a South African attack in 1981.

Statements from the British Foreign Secretary, the French Foreign Ministry and the Soviet news agency condemned the attack. The OAU described it as an act of genocide and Zambia called it barbaric. The US, Portugal and Italy also expressed shock at the action.

Zimbabwe—The trial of six high-ranking **Air Force officers** detained last year after the sabotage of 30 aircraft at Thornhill Air Force Base began today. The six pleaded not guilty to charges of aiding and abetting the sabotage. The prosecutor told the court the defendants had conspired to allow South African agents access to blow up the planes. The defense alleged that the six had been put under psychological and physical pressure to make them confess, and that this had included electric-shock torture.

25 May

South Africa—Minister of Internal Affairs F.W. deKlerk revealed that a special committee was being formed to look into possible reforms of the **Immorality and Mixed Marriage Acts**. The move followed earlier statements by Prime Minister Botha that his government would look at the acts in a different light if all parties and religious groupings agreed on alternative proposals.

Swaziland—Reports said two alleged ANC members, an Asian man and a black woman, were arrested after police found arms hidden in a house near Mbabane. Correspondents said the arrests indicated that Swaziland was determined not to risk retaliatory action by allowing its territory to be used as a base for attacks against South Africa.

South Africa—Winnie Mandela, the banned wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, wrote to a friend in London complaining about her husband's prison conditions. Nelson Mandela, 65, has been in prison nearly 20 years and is now in a maximum security prison near Cape Town. Mrs. Mandela said the privileges he was given on Robben Island had been withdrawn and that he had to exercise in the cell he shared with five other men.

26 May

South Africa—An apparent **car-bomb explosion** took place near a labor-recruitment office for black workers in Bloemfontein. Witnesses said the explosion destroyed the car and damaged several others parked nearby, and shattered the windows of offices and flats. No casualties were reported. RSA said it had received a phone call from an ANC spokesperson in Lesotho who said the ANC was responsible for the blast, but the chief ANC representative in Tanzania said the bomb was set off by ultra-right-wing racists seeking to discredit the black struggle.

27 May



USA—In a meeting between SWAPO President Sam Nujoma, Secretary of State George Shultz, and representatives of the Front-Line States, Nujoma urged the US to support the **UN resolution on Namibia**. Shultz said that the Cuban presence in Angola could not be ignored. In an interview after the meeting, Nujoma accused the five-nation Contact Group of deliberately dragging its heels. He likened South African control over Namibia to the rule of such dictators as Napoleon, Mussolini and Hitler, who were "all wiped out by the popular resistance of the masses of the people." The Security Council debate on Namibia had been an angry occasion which revealed black Africa's impatience with the Contact Group. Black nations had called for economic sanctions against South Africa.

27 May continued

South Africa—The Transvaal Attorney General decided to prosecute **eight prison warders**, following a police investigation that concluded that three black prisoners had died in the eastern Transvaal last December after being assaulted. The eight warders faced 34 charges of assault. The Prisons Department had originally said the prisoners had died of heat exhaustion.

South Africa—Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said he wanted to hold talks soon with the Lesotho Foreign Minister to find out what Lesotho was doing to remove **ANC elements** from the country. Botha's statement followed a protest from Lesotho to South Africa over the traffic pileup on the border posts between the two countries. Over the weekend South African police apparently stopped and leisurely searched all persons and vehicles crossing the border in both directions. Some delays of over 24 hours occurred and loads of perishable goods either rotted or turned back to avoid rotting. The newly appointed Security Police chief in South Africa said the searches had been carried out because of the threat of terrorism.

28 May

Malawi—Speculation was rife after the **deaths of four officials**, three former Malawian Cabinet ministers and a former MP. The *Times* of Zambia said openly that the deaths, which reportedly occurred in a car crash west of Blantyre, involved something more sinister than official statements indicated. The newspaper said there was speculation that the men had met their death at the hands of paid agents.

30 May

Mozambique—Lt. **Gerald Andries Eckert**, a West German-born soldier in the South African army, defected to Mozambique. Eckert told a border patrol that he had deserted and fled South Africa because he was opposed to apartheid. South African authorities said he had been posted to the medical corps some months ago but had had difficulties adjusting to military discipline.

31 May

United Nations—The Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution condemning South Africa's **illegal occupation of Namibia**. The resolution gave added authority to Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to try to break the deadlock on the Namibian issue and to report back in three months' time. Angolan Foreign Minister Paolo Jorge said yesterday that removing the Cubans from Angola would amount to political suicide.

31 May continued

Mozambique—Mozambican radio announced that a **South African plane** shot down yesterday over Maputo was a remote-controlled drone carrying photographic equipment. The plane, which was said to have been obtained by South Africa from Israel or manufactured in cooperation with Israel, crashed in Maputo harbor after bursting into flames. The wreck was salvaged from the bay. South Africa denied it was responsible for the aircraft.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC—African National Congress
AWB—Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or Afrikaner Resistance Movement, a group of radical right-wing extremists.
Azapo—Azanian People's Organization
BCM—Black Consciousness Movement
BCP—Basutoland Congress Party
Broederbond—a politically powerful secret society of right-wing Afrikaners
Contact Group—the Western mediating group on Namibian independence, made up of the US, France, UK, West Germany and Canada
DTA—Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
EEC—European Economic Community
FLS—Front-Line States: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe
POSATU—Federation of South African Trade Unions
Fretilin—Mozambique Liberation Front, the ruling party
HNP—Herstigte Nasionale Party, an extreme right-wing Afrikaner party
IMF—International Monetary Fund
LLA—Lesotho Liberation Army, the military wing of the exiled BCP
MNR—Mozambique National Resistance
MPLA—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the ruling party
MWASA—Media Workers Association of South Africa, a black trade union
NIS—National Intelligence Service [South Africa]
OAU—Organization of African Unity
PAC—Pan-Africanist Congress
PPF—Progressive Federal Party, the official South African opposition party
SAAWU—South African Allied Workers Union
SACC—South African Council of Churches
SADC—Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference
SADF—South African Defense Force
SWAPO—South West Africa People's Organization
UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
ZANU—Zimbabwe African National Union, the ruling party
ZAPU—Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZPRA—Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army, the military wing of ZAPU
One South African rand (R1.00) equals approximately 92¢.

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