

# i.d.a.f. news notes

Published by the United States Committee of the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa  
P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

October, 1983

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## The Burden of the Past Robert Mugabe speaks on Zimbabwe and world issues

*The following excerpts are drawn from a speech by Robert Mugabe followed by a question-and-answer session, at Sanders Theater, Harvard University. Prime Minister Mugabe appeared on September 23 as the guest of the Harvard Law School Forum.*

*When Zimbabwe was still Rhodesia, a country under the tyrannical rule of a white minority government, Robert Mugabe was one of many political prisoners who were given legal defense by IDAF, along with humanitarian aid for their families. Mugabe himself was detained for several years under the Ian Smith regime because of his involvement with the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).*

### On Zimbabwe's independence

Zimbabwe is one of the newest members of the international community of independent and sovereign states. It is also one of the smallest. Our way to independence was characterized by a bitter struggle, requiring bitter sacrifices of determination and heroism as we fought to rid our land of materialism and racism. We had to fight not because we rejoiced in bloodletting but because our enemy was recalcitrant and would not allow democracy and social justice to be established in Zimbabwe through peaceful means.

The Lancaster House agreement reached in 1979 and the formal granting of independence by Great Britain on April 18, 1980 symbolized that ultimate victory and that ultimate pride for which many Zimbabweans were only too ready and too willing to sacrifice and die. At no time do Zimbabweans forget or underestimate the role played by our friends and allies of the progressive world in the armed struggle that finally yielded our independence and sovereignty. Those who supported us did so not only because they wanted to support the creation of the independent state of Zimbabwe *per se*, but also because they were convinced that the creation of such a state was the creation of a fundamental instrument for the establishment of peace in that region and for advancing the world cause for the emancipation of mankind from colonialism, racism, exploitation, squalor, ignorance and disease.



### On socialism

In quest of social justice, my party—ZANU—and its government have committed themselves to the principles of equality, democracy and collective self-reliance. This is the principal moral basis for involving man in any productive process or enterprise: namely, that at the end of it all, it is man for whom we suffer, labor, toil, sacrifice our lives. We believe the morality of our common belonging, common natural resources, common interests and common destiny bids us to work for others as others are bidden to work for us. It bids us strive to be socialist in our relationship with others and between us and our resources. My party and government are therefore guided by socialism in their endeavors to transform society. We recognize, however, that the reality of our history, of our traditions and objective conditions of our own environment require that we adapt our socialist principles to suit the Zimbabwean environment. Hence our present accommodation of private enterprise.

Unfortunately, as we pursue programs to consolidate our independence, as well as programs to improve the socioeconomic conditions of all our people—but particularly our hitherto neglected communal segment—the international press seeks to exhaust all avenues at its disposal to blind the world, and particularly the Western world, to our noble objectives and achievements. This august audience will not charge me with oversimplification—I dare not oversimplify before such an audience—if I say that among this audience there are people who do not know Zimbabwe beyond what the newspapers say, and indeed might be

***The Western press begins from the assumption that if something is not Western then it must be Eastern, and if it is Eastern then it must be evil.***

tempted to accept everything that the press says. The Western press begins from the assumption that if something is not Western then it must be Eastern, and if it is Eastern then it must be evil. They are thus predisposed to see failure, instability and economic chaos in any former colony that seeks to define its destiny in a manner which is not obviously British, obviously French, obviously Portuguese or American, obviously Western.

### On the arms race

The developed world finds comfort and pleasure in increasing its military might and expenditure, which is estimated at more than 600 billion US dollars a year in aggregate—in addition to which

### HUDDLESTON TO DELIVER SERMON AT HARVARD

On his upcoming visit to the US, the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston, the head of IDAF, will deliver a sermon at Harvard University's Memorial Church. The date of the sermon is February 28, 1984.

We regret that we have no further information on Archbishop Huddleston's itinerary. We hope to print more details in the next issue of *News Notes*.

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more than 50 million people are directly or indirectly engaged in military work all over the world. This obvious extravagance is in sharp contrast to the harsh realities of starvation, disease and squalor that mankind generally, and the Third World in particular, is having to put up with. In a world typified by finite resources and commodities there can only be a cause-and-effect relationship between military expenditure in human, financial and material terms, and human misery, poverty, starvation, ignorance and disease. The billions of dollars expended daily on the manufacture, expansion and perfection of gruesome tools of human destruction stand in ghastly contrast to the abject poverty and dire misery that two-thirds of humanity have daily to contend with. This remains an unjustifiable and therefore unforgivable misdirection of world resources, given the fact that it diverts to military purposes not only financial, but also technical and human resources which are fundamental prerequisites for socioeconomic development.

## On economic cooperation

We wish that the developed world would give due thought in their trade with developing countries to the need for international interdependence and to the inescapability of the common destiny

***The people of Namibia are not responsible for the presence of the Cubans next door. What your neighbor has by way of visitors is not your concern.***

of mankind, whatever his color and wherever he is. While such artificial barriers to equitable international trade as protectionism, low prices for raw materials from developing countries, high interest rates on loans, high prices for technology and manufactured goods, are too obviously adverse factors against development in the developing world, it cannot be doubted that these same factors have a boomerang effect on the economies of the developed countries. This fact should admonish us, whether we are in the affluent North or in the miserable South—our cultural and philosophical diversity notwithstanding—to seek common solutions through mutual cooperation to our common problems such as stagnation in growth, monetary instability, balance of payments problems and unemployment.

Experience to date has not been very encouraging in this regard. The North has tended to believe that because it is developed it does not have to work out the conditions for the development of the South. The summits at Cancun, Williamsburg, and only recently Belgrade, failed to elicit a softening of hearts from the administrators of the North in the face of pleas from the South for a new international economic order. It is our hope that during the forthcoming UN session the prevailing standards of North-South dialogue will be broken and the world will move more determinedly, even if slowly, towards greater international cooperation and a more just world economic order.

## On relations with the US

Relations between my country and the US are very good indeed. We differ not on Zimbabwe. We differ on Namibia, and of course on the "constructive engagement" policy which the US is pursuing vis-a-vis South Africa. On Namibia, as you are aware, the US has clung to the principle that unless the Cubans in Angola withdraw, the [independence] process in Namibia cannot get under way, and we say those two are unrelated, much as we concede that the US has the right to discuss any issue which it feels vitiates its own interests or the spheres of influence within a country. We feel that the two should not be handled together, and we say the people of Namibia are not responsible for the presence of the Cubans next door. What your neighbor has by way of visitors is not your concern, unless the

neighbors are making so much noise that they are preventing you from having peaceful sleep. But this is not the case. The Cubans are in Angola at the invitation of the government of Angola, and so it is in that area that we find we have this difference. We discussed it recently and we were given a modification, that the US posture is not necessarily that there should be a physical withdrawal but rather that there should be a firm commitment by Angola. But then Dr. Chester Crocker [US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs] went on to say: Well, that means in practice that once a commitment starts operating and the South Africans are withdrawing [from Namibia] the Cubans must also start withdrawing, and we are back again to a requirement of physical withdrawal.

## On human rights

[Prime Minister Mugabe was asked to comment on the redetention of six white Air Force officers who were acquitted of sabotage by Zimbabwe's Supreme Court after it was discovered that confessions had been extracted from some of them by the use of torture.]

Human rights are very basic to our thinking. People who set themselves up as agents of South Africa to commit acts of sabotage, and there have been many, or those who become dissidents, kidnap tourists, commit robberies—vitate against human rights. So the state has got to take action, to protect not only its security but also the human rights of individuals who can be afflicted by the acts of such individuals.

We have a law: common law and statutory law. We have also inherited, under statutory laws, laws you probably do not need in your environment here because of the long history of your country and your independence but which you certainly would have had to resort to if you had been only two years or three years old. Don't forget, we fought each other yesterday. As we fought, hundreds of thousands of people were bombed in our refugee camps in Mozambique and Zambia, by the forces loyal to Smith. But having fought each other, we decided as a government, with no compulsion from any source, to forgive one another. The Air Force men had this history: all of them to a man supported Ian Smith [leader of the pre-independence white minority regime]. But because they pledged loyalty to my government I said I would not dismiss a single one: I would keep them all. I feel we have been cheated by *some*, not all of them. From the Army there have been agents who are working with South Africa to destabilize our system, even to overthrow my government. We suffered the destruction of arms we valued at \$36 million when there was an explosion at an armory in 1981.

Recently, after we bought aircraft from Britain, these aircraft were destroyed. [By explosions at the Thornhill Air Force base near Gweru, on July 25, 1982.] The men in charge were just the Air Force people themselves. No blacks have yet risen to high status in the Air Force. It is still an all-white Air Force, manned by the same persons who supported Ian Smith yesterday. Our intelligence information was—and we got this from our sources in South Africa—that the men had operated in conjunction with given persons in South Africa who were directing the operation. Once the names were given us we arrested those individuals and they in turn told the interrogators that others were also part of the group. Unfortunately the interrogators used irregular methods—we admit, the methods were irregular—and in trying to get them to confess they coerced them and used other methods of torture. Not on all of them, only on some. That evidence which they gave to the interrogators, when submitted before the court, was regarded as inadmissible. But that doesn't mean that the evidence is not correct. The judge said the question of going into the genuineness of the evidence did not arise.



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# Southern Africa News Calendar

## August and September 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 August

**Zimbabwe**—A BBC television crew intending to report on events in Matabeleland was asked to leave the country following a decision by the Front-Line States to ban **journalists** based in South Africa from operating in their countries. The ban would not apply, however, to journalists reporting for South African publications. The Foreign Correspondents Association of South Africa protested the action.

**Lesotho**—A new bill will provide for the formation of a **Refugee Board** which would scrutinize all immigrants to Lesotho. The bill would also prohibit refugees from carrying or owning firearms in the country.

**Namibia**—SWAPO made a renewed **call for talks** with the South African government on the future of Namibia. Similar offers by SWAPO had been rejected in the past.

**South Africa**—Representatives of six townships in and around Durban decided unanimously at a mass meeting not to comply with new **rent increases** of 20-80%. Black community leaders condemned Minister for African Affairs Piet Koornhof and the government in general for being insensitive to the suffering of black people. KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi cabled Koornhof to urge him to suspend the rent increases until the controversy was ironed out.

### 2 August

**South Africa**—Police announced the arrest of several people, including some whites, who were allegedly involved in the May 20 car bombing in Pretoria in which 19 people were killed and at least 200 injured. Security Police chief Francois Steenkamp said those arrested were convicted criminals who had been recruited by the ANC to carry out the bombing. Police sources identified two of the men killed in the explosion as ANC members and speculated that the bomb had killed them by going off prematurely.

### 4 August

**South Africa**—Official sources said five people had been shot dead and 45 injured, mostly with gunshot wounds, in clashes resulting from the continuing bus boycott in the **Ciskei bantustan**. Eyewitnesses placed the number of wounded at closer to 60 and said that others of the dead had been taken directly to a mortuary and were not

counted in the official figure. Police were allegedly shooting boycotting commuters who attempted to board trains rather than buses. Fifty-three protesters were rounded up on 5 August. Rioting also broke out in the Mdantsane township after a petrol bomb was lobbed through the window of an official of the governing National Independence Party. The official's four-year-old son was burned to death in the fire.

**Lesotho**—A powerful car-bomb explosion took place in Maseru, which was alleged to be an attempted assassination of Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan. No one was hurt in the blast.

### 5 August

**Angola**—The Angolan government severely criticized five members of the **European Parliament** who visited Angola under the wing of UNITA without any official approach to the government. The MPs allegedly repeated the fictitious claims of UNITA when they returned to Europe. The official Angolan news agency also deplored an invitation extended to Jonas Savimbi of UNITA to appear and speak before the European Parliament.

### 6 August

**South Africa**—Police said an explosive device similar to those used by the ANC was used in a blast which badly damaged a **synagogue** in the Hillbrow area of Johannesburg, shortly before State President Marais Viljoen was due to attend a service there. The ANC denied it was responsible. Previous attacks on synagogues and other Jewish establishments have been the work of right-wing extremists. [Evidence of right-wing responsibility for this incident was later revealed.]

### 8 August

**Mozambique**—President Samora Machel said a new military command of eight veteran officers was being set up to fight **South African-backed rebels** who were endangering the country's economy. Machel said thousands of tons of maize and tea had been prevented from reaching market by rebel attacks.



Albertina Sisulu

### 9 August

**South Africa**—Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, 65, the wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu, appeared in court on charges of participating in ANC activities. Mrs. Sisulu's banning order, which had kept her under virtual house arrest for 17 years, was recently lifted. Mrs. Sisulu's lawyer, Priscilla Jana, whose banning order was also recently lifted, said, "They will lift banning orders to give a good impression and then harass people by changing them for every little thing." Mrs. Sisulu's arrest coincided with the announcement of her election as President of the Transvaal Regional Council of the United Democratic Front, a coalition established to oppose the government's new constitutional plan. [Mrs. Sisulu was later elected one of three UDF Presidents, along with labor leader Oscar Mpetsha and Durban lawyer Archie Gumede, whose father had been President of the ANC.]

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That's what the court said, and we accepted what the court said. But as the government, we have got to take care of our security. We must use whatever intelligence information we have, and the intelligence information linked some of the men [to the sabotage]. Not all of them—the others were linked in the confessions of the men—and those who were linked through confessions were soon released, but not the others. I don't regard that as a violation of human rights. Not at all! We have emergency regulations that allow us to detain persons who are a security risk. Is it being suggested that my government must allow these men to float about and commit wantonly acts that destabilize the situation in the country?

In other societies, although they talk of human rights and commitment to those rights, men who are a threat to security often disappear and you never discover where they have gone. There are hit squads and killer squads in some of these societies, to prevent opposition to the political order. We don't want that kind of behavior. We will behave openly and use our law to detain persons. It's a painful exercise for us to detain. I was detained for ten years, and I know: detention is a very painful experience. But whereas we

were detained for fighting for justice, surely those who are fighting to reverse the just order we have created must be prevented from accomplishing their evil goals, and this is precisely what we are trying to do.

#### TO OUR MASSACHUSETTS SUPPORTERS

To those of you who joined us on September 28 for our benefit screening of films based on the stories of Nadine Gordimer: Thank you. Your generosity made the event a warm and successful one.

To those of you who received word of the benefit too late to respond: We apologize. Because we were offered the films at short notice, we were forced to preview them, make arrangements for the screening, and advertise at the last minute. As we also discovered later, some of our flyers took two weeks or longer to be delivered from the Harvard Square post office to addresses in Boston, and so in some cases arrived after the benefit was over. Several of you were kind enough to send donations even then, and to see the films later in their two-week engagement at the Coolidge Corner Moviehouse. We appreciate your enthusiasm and we hope to have similar events (planned farther in advance!) in the future.

## 13 August

**Swaziland**—A traditional meeting called by the Queen Regent Dzeliwe soon after she was deposed was banned by the Prime Minister and failed to occur. The deposition of Queen Dzeliwe, who has been replaced by another widow of the late King Sobhuza II, was the result of a **power struggle** between a faction favoring a traditional powerful monarchy and one favoring a more constitutional monarchy. One of the main issues dividing the factions was a proposed land deal with South Africa which would cede territory from the kaNgwane and the kwaZulu bantustans to Swaziland along with about a million black South Africans living in the territory. Queen Dzeliwe is a supporter of the land deal. Meanwhile, 16-year-old Prince Makhosetive was recalled to Swaziland from his school in England and officially named as the successor to Sobhuza, when he turns 21.

**South Africa**—Tension in the Ciskei bantustan reached boiling point after the arrest of 850 people in connection with the ongoing **bus boycott**, and after the killing of a number of people by the police. Students have boycotted classes at 11 schools and set up roadblocks against security police. The issue had been elevated to a challenge of the whole concept of the bantustan's so-called "independence" from South Africa.

**South Africa**—Defense Minister Magnus Malan alleged that the **Palestine Liberation Organization** was sending some personnel to certain neighboring Front-Line States. Malan also said that the USSR had spent \$64 million over the past five years in direct support of "terrorist" organizations opposed to South Africa.

## 15 August

**Lesotho**—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees expressed concern over the fate of some 3000 **South African refugees** in Lesotho. The Commissioner said that because of the immense pressure being brought to bear on Lesotho, which threatened its very survival, Lesotho might be forced to give up these refugees. He feared that they might be returned to South Africa, and urged that their safety should in no way be endangered.

## 17 August

**Zimbabwe**—Opposition leader **Joshua Nkomo**, who recently returned to the country after a self-imposed exile in Britain, retained his Parliamentary seat after the government withdrew a motion seeking to deprive him of it for having missed more than 21 consecutive sittings. Minister for Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Eddison Zvobgo withdrew the motion after an acrimonious hour-long debate. Nkomo's comments that he had fled the country to "run away from his grave" were met with laughs of disbelief and shouts of "lies" from the opposition benches.

### Dr. No's Congress

An episode at the Transvaal Conservative Party Congress in August prompted an angry article by Peter Sullivan of the *Cape Argus*. A black photographer who accompanied Sullivan to the Congress was turned away at the door by CP officials, one of whom said it was obvious the photographer would not have left the hall alive if he had been allowed in. Jan Opperman, another official, told Sullivan, "My friend, not even the police will be able to protect you if anything about this is published." When Sullivan protested to CP leader Andries Treurnicht in a note, Dr. Treurnicht answered, "It appears to me that not enough sensitivity was shown by your photographer. I think we must attempt to avoid mutual embarrassment."

Sullivan's article said, "Later that morning the Press was asked to write as objectively and clinically as possible about the congress. It was a bigoted, racist, greedy, self-righteous, twisted, cruel, unthinking and disgusting bunch of people talking claptrap. That is my objective and clinical opinion."

**United Nations**—UN Secretary General **Javier Perez de Cuellar** decided despite the misgivings of some aides to visit Southern Africa in an effort to help the negotiations over Namibian independence. One UN official said the trip had "no possibility of producing a positive result." The US and South Africa had recently said that Angola must make peace with the UNITA guerrillas before Cuban troops in that country could leave. This seemed to point to a reconciliation between UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos as a new precondition for independence.

**Lesotho**—The Lesotho Information Minister announced that three South African refugees had been arrested on suspicion of ANC membership.

## 18 August

**Lesotho**—The Lesotho government appealed to the UN Secretary General to intervene in the dispute between South Africa and Lesotho over South African refugees in Lesotho. Radio Lesotho announced that South Africa planned to take stronger punitive measures against Lesotho on the basis of false information it possessed concerning **ANC refugees** allegedly in Lesotho who had either left the country or had never been there. South Africa had demanded the removal of 68 such ANC members, whom it named. The Secretary General has been asked to hold urgent consultations with the Lesotho government and with UN member states and international organizations in an effort to secure advice for Lesotho on how best to handle its difficulties.

## 19 August

**Angola**—A UNITA spokesperson repeated a UNITA claim that its forces captured the town of Cangamba, and that the town was not completely destroyed by **South**

**African air raids**, as the Angolans had claimed. Angola said the town was taken when South African helicopters landed UNITA and regular South African troops after a bombing and napalm attack was carried out by Impala and Canberra fighters. South African General Constand Viljoen denied the bombing and napalming but stopped short of denying South African troop involvement. [On 29 August South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha also specifically denied that Impala and Canberra fighters had bombed the town.]

## 20 August

**Tanzania**—A delegation from Malawi visited Tanzania to discuss the possibility of Malawi's using Tanzania as an **outlet to the sea** for its exports and imports. Malawi is now dependent on South Africa for its access to the sea. Malawi's relations with Tanzania have been strained in the past but have improved recently since Malawi joined the SADCC.

**South Africa**—Thousands of delegates and observers representing more than 400 community, trade union, church, political and student organizations attended the inaugural congress of the **United Democratic Front** in Cape Town. Authorities attempted to frustrate the organizers by harassing delegates from Bloemfontein, more than 150 of whom were picked up by police, dumped into vans and dropped at various points in the city. Pamphlets were also distributed, allegedly in the names of the National Forum Committee, the South African Council on Sport and Azapo, which criticized the UDF for being an ANC and Communist Party front. Delegates at the congress passed a declaration pledging the UDF to work for the creation of true democracy. Speakers criticized the government's new constitutional proposals which would give Coloured and Asian minorities a limited say in government while excluding the black majority. Nelson Mandela was proclaimed the patron of the new movement.

Meanwhile deep divisions were reported between the UDF and the National Forum Committee, which also opposes the new Constitution but which excludes whites from membership on the grounds that they cannot identify with the situation of South Africa's blacks. The National Forum Committee, which has a stand similar to that of Black Consciousness groups, was formed as the result of a call by Azapo.

## 21 August

**United Kingdom**—Anticipating the arrival of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar in South Africa tomorrow, the right-wing *Daily Telegraph* said that even if he achieved the astonishing diplomatic feat of securing the departure of Cuban troops from Angola, the South Africans would still not allow the UN to conduct free **elections in Namibia**, unless they could count on the victory of a political party that was well disposed toward them. The paper said that South Africa has no great respect for the UN and is preoccupied only with its own survival, in which it sees Namibia in the role of a friendly buffer state.

## 22 August

**Lesotho**—Lesotho's Minister of Cooperation and Rural Development, Vincent Makhela, accused South Africa of **seizing equipment** which had been ordered for Lesotho's internal security. Makhela said the equipment, impounded at the port of Durban, had been used by South Africa to arm rebels plotting to overthrow the Lesotho government. He made the charges in an interview with the *Daily News* of Dar es Salaam, while on a visit to Tanzania to brief President Nyerere on the state of South Africa-Lesotho relations.

## 23 August

**South Africa**—The Rev. **Allan Boesak**, a Coloured clergyman and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, defended the multiracial approach of the UDF, saying that at a time when apartheid was being "modernized and streamlined" the struggle must be aimed against all those who collaborate, whether white or black. Boesak said the UDF was the first attempt to revive the broad nonracial strategy of government opposition pioneered by the Congress Alliance in the 1950s.

**USA**—Randall Robinson, the executive director of the Transafrica lobby group, said a confidential cable sent from the US embassy in Johannesburg, which he saw, revealed a much greater US economic influence in South Africa than previously thought. The cable estimated the total US financial involvement in South Africa at more than \$14.6 billion, including direct investment, banking, and lending and portfolio investments, particularly in gold-mining shares. **US investment in South Africa** had usually been estimated at about \$2.6 billion, based on Commerce Department figures. *New York Times*

## 24 August

**South Africa**—UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said he had made substantial progress on the issue of **Namibian independence** in his two days of talks with South African officials. The two sides reached agreement on the composition of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), with South Africa suspending its previous objection to the use of Finnish troops in the force. Finnish missionaries have long been in contact with Namibia's Ovambo people, who overwhelmingly support

SWAPO. South Africa also agreed to set out the details of an electoral system for Namibia immediately after a date was announced for the start of the seven-month transition period set up by UN Resolution 435 to precede independence. South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha emphasized that South Africa still insisted that Cuban troops be withdrawn from neighboring Angola as part of an independence agreement. The Secretary General had pointed out that every success scored by UNITA rebels in Angola made it more difficult for the Angolan government to agree to this condition.

## 26 August

**South Africa**—Police attributed a **bomb blast** at the Ciskei office in Johannesburg's Carleton Center to ANC guerrillas. Much of the sixth floor of the 50-story office building was wrecked, but only one man was slightly injured by flying glass. The Ciskei bantustan is in a state of unrest, with curfews in force in its capital. [The Ciskei office suffered a second explosion on 12 September.]



Eduardo dos Santos

## 27 August

**Angola**—As the UN Secretary General arrived in Angola, President dos Santos said that Angola and Cuba were ready to draw up a timetable for the **withdrawal of Cuban troops**, provided certain conditions were met. These included the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from the Angolan territory they occupy, implementation of UN Resolution 435, an end to all aggression against Angola, and a halt to South African military support for anti-government guerrilla movements. The Secretary General also repeated his insistence that the issue of Cuban troops must be kept separate from that of Namibia's independence, saying, "It would be most unfair to make the independence of Namibia depend on issues that are completely extraneous to the problem itself." He did, however, say that he would be willing to take up the Cuban question in a kind of "parallel effort" to the Namibian issue. On his last stop, in Namibia, Secretary General Perez de Cuellar met with representatives of most of the internal parties except for the DTA, which refused to appear for its scheduled 15-minute meeting. DTA leader Dirk Mudge, complaining that the UN was biased toward SWAPO, said that as long as the UN could not demonstrate its impartiality it could not qualify to supervise an election in Namibia.

## 29 August

**Botswana**—Zimbabwe's High Commissioner for Refugees, speaking to refugees at the Dukwe refugee camp, announced **repatriation plans** for those willing to return to Zimbabwe. A reliable source said that seven buses had already been brought from Zimbabwe to help with the repatriation process. Returning refugees were promised that arrangements had been made for their children to attend school next term in Zimbabwe. Some of the 3000 refugees who fled Zimbabwe after government troops cracked down on "dissident action" in Matabeleland have expressed fear about returning.

**USA**—The US State Department said it would not help pay the cost of a UN-sponsored conference on alleged links between **Israel and South Africa**, which was held in Vienna in July. The US share was estimated at \$100,000 or about 25%. One American official said that the conference, as predicted, had been a propaganda platform for the PLO.

**Mauritius**—An RSA editorial said that the election of **Prime Minister Jugnauth** and the new two-thirds Parliamentary majority for the Mauritian Socialist Movement had underlined a trend toward neutralism in the region. Jugnauth won his post from Paul Berenger of the radical Mauritius Militant Movement. In his first foreign policy statement, the new Prime Minister said, "We wish it to be known that we do not want to become the enemy of South Africa."

**South Africa**—Chief Lennox Sebe of the **Ciskei bantustan** said that members of his own security police had plotted to assassinate him by gunfire during a youth rally on 16 June. His two sons, both senior army officials, would have been "neutralized" later. It remained a mystery why Sebe moved against his enemies more than a month after discovering the plot.

Meanwhile three SAAWU trade unionists and a political trials lawyer were admitted to a Ciskei hospital suffering from the effects of solitary confinement. It was claimed that the four were part of a group of 50 detainees on hunger strike.

## 31 August

**South Africa**—Bowling to student protest, the government agreed to suspend a quota system imposed earlier this year on **non-white students** attending "white" universities. Vice-Chancellor Danie duPlessis of the University of Witwatersrand said there were still racial restrictions on university admissions. National Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the situation would be closely monitored and hinted that quotas would be reimposed if too many non-whites were admitted to "white" schools.

**Namibia**—The *Namibia Herald* reported that SWAPO leader **Sam Nujoma** recently told the UN Secretary General in a letter that SWAPO was ready to agree to a ceasefire in order to bring about a speedy independence for Namibia. Nujoma said this would

have to be done in accordance with UN resolutions and without linking Namibia's independence to other issues. Meanwhile South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said he was encouraged by the Secretary General's report on his tour of Southern Africa.

**Zimbabwe**—Six Zimbabwean **Air Force officers** were redetained by Home Affairs Minister Herbert Ushewokunze immediately after being acquitted of sabotage by the Supreme Court. The judge had ruled that government evidence was obtained from the six by physical and psychological torture. The officers were arrested for suspected complicity in the destruction of aircraft last year at the Thornhill Air Force base near Gweru. An attempt by former Prime Minister Ian Smith to bring up the issue of the redetention in Parliament failed after a boycott by back-bench MPs which prevented a quorum.

**South Africa**—Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the kwaZulu bantustan, welcomed a government decision to incorporate the **Lamontville township** near Durban into kwaZulu. Lamontville residents strongly rejected the move and planned to take their case to court. It was feared this might rekindle tensions which led to a reign of terror in the township two months ago.

## 2 September

**South Africa**—Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela was nominated as **University Chancellor** by students of the mostly white University of Natal. In an unusual move, Mandela accepted the honor, informing the University that he would accept if chosen.

**USA**—The Deputy Director of the State Department office of Southern African affairs said the US considered Zimbabwe and Prime Minister Mugabe to be its friends. Calling Mugabe a "world statesman," he said the US planned to continue its **economic assistance to Zimbabwe** and to encourage it along the economic course it has pursued since its independence.

## 5 September

**South Africa**—Commodore Dieter Gerhardt and his wife Ruth came to trial in what was regarded as the most sensational **spy case** in South African history. Commodore Gerhardt, who was the commander of the Simonstown naval base, and his wife were charged with spying for the Soviet Union. Gerhardt supposedly provided the Russians with information on public security systems, armaments, weapons systems and other military information, because of his opposition to the South African government. The trial was to be held *in camera*.

**South Africa**—The government announced that the whites-only referendum on the proposed **new Constitution** would be held on November 2. The government had earlier promised that some test of opinion would also be carried out among the Coloured and Indian communities. The PFP leaders oppose the new Constitution because it excludes political participation by Africans, although the PFP membership is split on the issue. The Conservative Party opposes the Constitution as well on the grounds that it would weaken white rule. The New Republic Party supports the new Constitution, as do the *Financial Mail*, *Financial Week* and *Finance Week*. The *Sunday Times* supports the proposals and the *Sunday Express* opposes them, although the two papers are owned by the same chain.

## 6 September

**Netherlands**—ANC President **Oliver Tambo** said the ANC intends to intensify its opposition to apartheid, saying the ANC had been attacking electricity pylons for twenty years and that this had gotten them nowhere. The intensified struggle would regrettably cost human lives, he said. Tambo criticized American policy towards Southern Africa, saying it encouraged the South African government to strike out against its opponents and at countries supporting them. He called on Western Europe to distance itself from Washington and to increase its support for the nationalist movement in South Africa.



Dennis Brutus

## 7 September

**South Africa**—White Anglican priest Thomas Stanton was jailed after refusing to take an oath or give evidence in court regarding the case of Karl Niehaus, a Witwatersrand University student charged with high treason under the Internal Security Act. Saying this was a "very serious matter," the magistrate sentenced Stanton, a middle-aged monk, to a six-month prison term. Stanton was being held at the Diepkloof prison outside Johannesburg.

**USA**—South African poet and political activist **Dennis Brutus** won political asylum in the US after a long court case in which the Immigration and Naturalization Service had sought to deport him to Zimbabwe or the United Kingdom for having worked in the US without the proper papers. Brutus, a professor of English at Northwestern University, was one of the principal organizers of the movement to ban South Africa from international sport. [Immigration authorities, who had originally intended to appeal the court's verdict, changed their minds and dropped the case later in the month.]

**Angola**—UNITA said in a communique that it had taken 27 civilian hostages in the course of a nine-day offensive. The hostages included Brazilians, Portuguese and Spaniards. UNITA said their names would be given in due course to the International Committee of the Red Cross. The communique also claimed that three Soviets and a number of Cubans were killed in the fighting, as well as 300 government troops. UNITA already holds a number of foreign civilians as hostages.

## TRIALS AND DETENTIONS ARE CONTINUING!

IDAF provides legal defense for political prisoners in Southern Africa, as well as food, clothing, and other humanitarian aid for their families.

Please help us in this work by mailing a contribution to IDAF, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138. Checks should be made out to IDAF, and all contributions are tax-deductible.

### 8 September

**France**—A French government spokesperson denied reports that the Contact Group intended to link the issue of **Cuban troops in Angola** to Namibian independence. The spokesperson said the French government had always condemned such linkage because it constituted interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country.

**Lesotho**—The Lesotho government was infuriated by an article in the *Rand Daily Mail* saying it was capitulating to South African pressure by getting rid of **South African refugees** in Lesotho. Lesotho's Foreign Affairs Minister had said that Lesotho had agreed to stop the resettlement of refugees in the country, and that some refugees were being relocated in other Third World countries with the cooperation of the UN High Commission on Refugees.

### 9 September

**Zimbabwe**—Security Minister Emmerson Munangagwa said that a group of dissidents sent from South Africa had tried to blow up a petrol depot near Beitbridge and had been captured. The SADF denied that they were responsible for such actions.

### 10 September

**South Africa**—Memorial services to mark the sixth anniversary of the death of Steve Biko were scheduled in and around Johannesburg, but were ruled illegal by two courts. Biko, who died in police custody at the age of 30, was a pioneer of Black Consciousness and is considered a martyr by many South Africans.



Steve Biko

**Namibia**—The South African government's Thirion Commission on Namibia said the territory's three-tier political and ethnic system had led to widespread **mismangement, inefficiency and corruption**. Critics have charged that the irregularities uncovered would have been even greater had the Commission not been restricted to investigating the Damara and Ovambo tribal authorities. The political system, which came into effect in 1979 and is designed to protect the privileged position of Namibia's 75,000 whites, has often been described as a blueprint for solving South Africa's own problems by giving some authority to the non-white population.

**South Africa**—Former Prime Minister **John Vorster**, 67, died in hospital in Cape Town where he was undergoing treatment for lung disease. Vorster became Prime Minister in 1966 after the assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Earlier he had been a tough and uncompromising Minister of Justice, under whom South Africa's infamous detention laws were introduced and thousands were arrested. After Vorster's resignation as Prime Minister in 1978, he was appointed President. His political career ended a year later in the Information Ministry scandal, when Vorster was accused of irregularities in allowing secret funds to be used to promote South Africa's image abroad.

### 11 September

**Lesotho**—Lesotho said that LLA rebels helped by about 500 South African soldiers launched an **eight-hour mortar attack** near the Maryland Roman Catholic mission in Lesotho. The SADF said it was aware of the fighting but denied that its troops were involved. Lesotho's Information Minister said the insurgents were regrouping inside South Africa for another attack. The Lesotho Foreign Minister sent a message to Pretoria speaking of a grave situation in relations between the two countries.

Yesterday an initial group of 20 ANC members was flown out of Lesotho to Mozambique, reportedly in the first stage of a reluctant compliance with South Africa's demand that 68 ANC members whom it named should be deported.

### 12 September

**South Africa**—Sixty-five miners, mostly black, were killed in a **mine explosion** at the Hlobane colliery in northern Natal. Pandelani Nefholovodwe, the regional organizer for the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union, said the disaster had come as no surprise. White overseers were blamed for failing to check the mine for gas before sending workers underground. The BAMCW, which represents gold, diamond, coal and manganese miners as well as construction workers, said management was obliged to set up an independent commission of inquiry into mine safety. A reported 8209 people have died and more than 230,000 have been injured in mining accidents in South Africa in the last decade.

### 15 September

**United Kingdom**—Wing Commander Peter Briscoe, 36, one of six **Zimbabwean Air Force officers** who were redetained after being acquitted of sabotage, arrived in England after his release from prison and deportation. Foreign Office officials met him at the airport. Air Vice Marshal Hugh Slatter and Air Commodore Philip Pyle were deported to England on 9 September. The other three officers—Wing Commander John Cox and Air Lieutenants Barrington Lloyd and Neville Weir—were still in detention in Zimbabwe. Home Affairs Minister Herbert Ushewokunze said they were being held not as a punishment but as a preventive measure which would be reviewed periodically. Meanwhile, Captain Tony Thomas, the white pilot of the Air Zimbabwe plane which flew Slatter and Pyle to England, was suspended from duty after it was reported that he had welcomed the two deportees aboard his plane and referred to them as celebrities. The incident was to be investigated and a report submitted to the Transportation Minister.

**USA**—A State Department official testifying at a Congressional hearing said that **economic sanctions** against South Africa would have little effect in bringing about change there. The hearing was considering three amendments to the Export Administration Act which would bar loans to South Africa, ban the importation of krugerrands and other gold coins from South Africa, and mandate American corporations to abide by the Sullivan rules on fair employment practices. The Reagan Administration strongly opposes the imposition of any sanctions on South Africa, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Frank Wisner said the restrictions would undercut current reform efforts being carried out by the US government and corporations operating in South Africa. Howard Wolpe, the chair of the House Subcommittee on African Affairs, disagreed, saying sanctions would pressure the South African government to make significant changes.

### 16 September

**USA**—The World Council of Churches announced that it had distributed \$446,000 to 43 organizations in 18 countries as part of its **Program to Combat Racism**. Nearly half the money went to four groups in Southern Africa, including SWAPO, the ANC and the PAC. The ANC received \$70,000 for medical, agricultural, educational and legal programs and SWAPO received \$100,000, the Program's largest single contribution.



Michael Scott

**United Kingdom**—The Rev. **Michael Scott**, a long-time anti-apartheid campaigner, died at the age of 76. Scott, the author of several books, dramatized the plight of Namibia by taking petitions from Namibia to the UN. He spent time in jail both in South Africa and Britain because of his protests on race and peace issues.

**Namibia**—The Catholic Institute for International Relations condemned the use of contract labor by **Western mining companies** operating in Namibia. The Institute said that although there had been some improvements, blacks were still far behind the whites in their general treatment.

**South Africa**—The **Transkei legislature** passed an amendment to the Marriages Act forbidding courts from granting divorcees and single pregnant women alimony or monthly grants from their spouses. Transkei leader George Matanzima said such maintenance grants from ex-husbands were only fitting for Westerners and that the amendment was designed as a return to the traditional way of life. Jeremy Pickering of South Africa's Law Society said the move was ominous and that the Transkei had taken a step backwards.

**Tanzania**—Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim Salim said several African countries were seeking West Germany's help in trying to persuade the USA to drop its linkage of the issue of Cuban troops in Angola to **Namibian independence**. In a news conference after talks with West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, Salim said he had appealed for help in returning the negotiations to the framework of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

**USA**—An organization called **Athletes and Artists against Apartheid** has launched a major campaign to persuade artists and sportspeople not to go to South Africa or

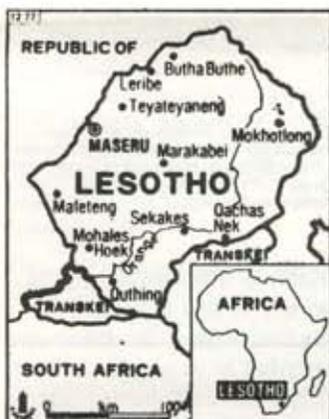
particularly to the Sun City resort in the Bophuthatswana bantustan. Arthur Ashe, the black tennis star who has himself toured South Africa in the past, said, "We mean to counter the information put out by the South African government that all is well in South Africa regarding the lives of non-white South Africans."

## 17 September

**Lesotho**—Bomb blasts blamed by authorities on the LLA damaged a post office and two other buildings. One bomb, hidden in a trunk, blew off part of a roof in the cargo area of the Maseru airport. No one was injured in the explosions.

**USA**—Reagan Administration officials objected to **Zimbabwe's abstention** from the UN vote to censure the Soviet Union for having shot down a Korean airliner. Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mugabe said he had consulted with his allies in Africa before deciding to abstain, and that he did not want to be part of a conflict between the US and the USSR. He also said Zimbabwe had been dismayed at the US veto of a UN resolution condemning the South African invasion of Angola. Mugabe angered some US officials by saying the US appeared to have changed its position on Namibia. He had told Congressmen that Angola needed Cuban help to defend itself from Pretoria.

**Namibia**—A report being compiled by the US government said that the development of Namibia's **uranium mines** could spark off an economic recovery which would lead to improved living standards for all the country's people. The report said that although Namibia is at present the world's largest producer of diamonds, this source of income was expected to decline, as diamond reserves may last only another ten years.



## 19 September

**Lesotho**—Lesotho's Information Minister denied a report by the South African Press Association that eight members of Lesotho's paramilitary force were killed in guerrilla attacks in the north. A spokesperson for the LLA said the attacks took place in the Butha Buthe district near the border.

## 20 September

**Angola**—UNITA claimed that it had killed nearly 2000 MPLA soldiers, 350 Cubans and 12 Russian advisers in recent **large-scale offensives**, as well as continuing to attack the Benguela railway. However, a correspondent said that UNITA's claims were often exaggerated and that the number of helicopters the rebels said they had shot down in the past year far exceeded the estimates for the total Angolan air force. UNITA claims regarding destruction on the Benguela railway also appeared to be false.

**South Africa**—Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee said four black prisoners were shot dead and three others injured when wardens suppressed an outbreak of violence at the **Barberton maximum security prison**. Two of the prison staff were also injured. The BBC said 11 prisoners had died at Barberton since last December and that the prison had gained a reputation as one of South Africa's most violent jails. The Justice Minister had recently inspected the prison and admitted that it was overcrowded by more than a third. South Africa has a prison population rate of 440 per 100,000 persons, twice that of the US and much more than that of Western European nations, which average 6-10 prisoners per 100,000.

## 21 September

**South Africa**—Father Michael Nolan declined his election as leader of the Dominican order worldwide in order to continue his work in South Africa. Nolan said that Christianity was being used in South Africa to justify one of the most oppressive situations in the world.

**South Africa**—A white policeman was to be tried for the **killing of Saul Mkhize**, a black community leader shot in Driefontein last April while leading a protest against the eviction of blacks from their homes. A number of countries, including the US, had complained about the killing.

**USA**—The State Department approved an application by Westinghouse to bid on a \$50 million ten-year contract to maintain and supply **South Africa's two nuclear stations**. Westinghouse would supply South Africa with technical assistance and would train South African supervisors. Some members of Congress protested the action, saying that it flies in the face of pending legislation to ban all nuclear assistance to South Africa. Western intelligence sources believe that South Africa is capable of producing nuclear weapons, and that it may have tested a nuclear device in the South Atlantic in 1979.

**South Africa**—The Secretary of the South African **State Security Council** denied allegations that the Council was more powerful than the Cabinet, saying it was not empowered to make decisions, as the Cabinet is. The Secretary denied the Council was dominated by the military.

## 22 September

**United Nations**—**Jeanne Kirkpatrick**, the US ambassador to the UN, said the US was committed to the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Namibia. She said the issue of the linkage of Cuban troops in Angola with Namibia's independence was not the result of a US decision but was a fact with which everyone had to deal. Meanwhile Cuba's Deputy Foreign Minister said Cuba would be sympathetic to Angolan requests for more troops. He said Cuban troops already in Angola were there at the invitation of the Angolan government to help it ward off threats to its security.

## 23 September

**Zambia**—President **Kenneth Kaunda** expressed frustration over the diplomatic stalemate in Southern Africa and accused the Reagan Administration of being an accomplice of South Africa in Angola. Kaunda said Washington's policy had allowed South Africa time to bolster UNITA forces led by Jonas Savimbi. He pointed out that the US was failing to see its own interests clearly, and that the present Angolan government still allowed the US to exploit its oil and even employed some Cuban troops to guard American business enterprises in Angola. Kaunda said he had helped the Reagan Administration to make its initial contacts with the Angolan government last year because he was convinced of its seriousness but that what has followed "has dismayed me a great deal."



Kenneth Kaunda

**South Africa**—The government banned memorial services scheduled for Durban and Johannesburg to honor a leader of the South African Communist Party, **Yussuf Dadoo**, who died in London. The services were banned on the grounds that they could become violent.

**South Africa**—Police moved into the **Crossroads squatter settlement** near Cape Town equipped with armored cars, dogs and tear gas in order to demolish shantytowns constructed recently. The Crossroads residents struck back with stones and jeers, some of them shouting in Afrikaans, "This is our place. We were born in Crossroads and we're going to stay here."

## 24 September

**South Africa**—A pastoral letter being read in all Roman Catholic churches today was highly critical of the government's plan for a new Constitution. The letter, drawn up by the South African **Council of Bishops**, said the fact that Africans would still have no representation in the new system of government was a serious moral failure. The letter said, "We cannot accept a Constitution which prevents people from crossing racial barriers and working together for unity and peace in parties and associations of their own choosing." It followed a similar public statement from South Africa's Methodist Church.

## 25 September

**South Africa**—The Department of Foreign Affairs said it had no knowledge of a white South African from the Transvaal who was detained in Mozambique after being caught carrying a time bomb. The Mozambican paper **Domingo** alleged that the 27-year-old South African had been caught by border guards on 23 August, and that there were indications that he had been preparing to carry out **sabotage actions** in Maputo.

## 27 September

**South Africa**—Four white and four black prison guards were cleared of **murder charges** in the deaths of three black prisoners at the Barberton maximum security prison. Six of them were found guilty of lesser charges and sentenced to one to eight years in prison. The judge said that although the prisoners had died of heat stroke, this was because they had been beaten while being made to work in extreme heat. The guards had allegedly beaten convicts at the prison farm with truncheons as the prisoners were pushing wheelbarrows laden with gravel in temperatures of 30°C. [86°F.]

**USA**—The six **Democratic Presidential candidates** have backed pending legislation to ban the importation of kruggerands, bar US bank loans to South Africa, and require US corporations doing business in South Africa to abide by the Sullivan Principles on fair employment practices. A rider on another bill would also instruct the US representative to the IMF to vote against all future loans to South Africa. The Reagan Administration has been lobbying hard against these measures.

**Lesotho**—A US embassy official in Lesotho said the US wants to promote peaceful resolution of disputes in Southern Africa. The official was responding to charges by Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan that the US was encouraging South Africa in its **attacks against Lesotho**. Meanwhile the leader of the Lesotho United Democratic Party called on Jonathan to resign and hand over power to King Moshoeshoe II. He

accused the Prime Minister of maintaining a double standard by keeping ties with the Transkei and kwaZulu bantustans. The opposition leader also called for a break in diplomatic relations with Communist countries, saying these ties had been established against the will of the people.

**South Africa**—President Patrick Mphahlele of the **Venda bantustan** said his government had decided to make its security forces available to South Africa for patrol duties along the borders. He also said he believed that two of the five terrorists still at large from a recent attack were still hiding in Venda, and he warned that those harboring them would be severely punished.

**South Africa**—Six **black miners** were killed when a mine shaft collapsed at the Grass Valley coal mine in Potgietersrust. Three other miners were trapped but later rescued with only minor injuries.

## 29 September

**South Africa**—Six people, including **Neil Alcock**, the director of the Church Agricultural Project, were killed when their van was ambushed in Natal. They were returning from a mission aimed at settling disputes between Zulu clans. Police believed that the ambush was the work of Zulus. Alcock was a longtime opponent of forced resettlement and other apartheid measures.

**Angola**—UNITA said it would reconsider its decision to release a group of **Czechoslovak technicians** if the Marxist Angolan government persisted in its refusal to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. Twenty Czech paper-mill technicians being held by the rebels were captured with a group of other Czechs and Portuguese when UNITA attacked an industrial complex in April. Today UNITA released 21 Portuguese men, women and children who are undergoing medical treatment in Johannesburg before being flown to Portugal.

**Namibia**—A member of the Koevoet [Crowbar] counterinsurgency force was found **guilty of murder** by the Supreme Court in Windhoek. He and another member were also convicted on charges of attempted murder, rape, and robbery. The charges arose from incidents last January in the northern province of Ovambo.

## 30 September

**South Africa**—Another prisoner was killed at **Barberton maximum security jail**, bringing to 12 the number of inmates who had died there over the past ten months. A prison spokesperson said the prisoner was shot dead when he and another inmate attacked and stabbed two guards with makeshift knives. The guards were reported seriously wounded. Earlier this week, six prison guards were jailed for between one and eight years for beating prisoners at Barberton. The six were acquitted on charges of murder. The Justice Minister has ordered an investigation into conditions at the prison, and officials have begun to remove "hardened and dangerous" criminals from the facility.

*IDAF News* is published bimonthly by the United States Committee of the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. President: Peter J. Gomes, Vice President: Mia Adjali, Women's Committee Chair: Nancy Randolph, Executive Director: Kenneth N. Carstens.

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Photos: Mozambique Information Agency, *Sechaba*, United Nations.

## 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

**Constitutional proposals**—plans for a new South African Constitution which would create an Executive President with extensive powers and also establish two chambers of Parliament for Coloureds and Asians.

**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, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

**FOSATU**—Federation of South African Trade Unions

**Frelimo**—Mozambique Liberation Front, the ruling party

**HNP**—Hersigste 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]

**OUA**—Organization of African Unity

**PAC**—Pan-Africanist Congress

**PFP**—Progressive Federal Party, the official South African opposition party

**SAAWU**—South African Allied Workers Union

**SACC**—South African Council of Churches

**SADCC**—Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference

**SADF**—South African Defense Force

**SWAPO**—South West Africa People's Organization

**UNTA**—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

**UN Resolution 435**—a Security Council resolution calling for a ceasefire in Namibia and the withdrawal of South African troops. The UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), which would include UN peace-keeping troops, would be stationed in Namibia in preparation for elections to be held under UN supervision.

**UNTAG**—UN Transition Assistance Group, a group proposed by UN Resolution 435 which would be stationed in Namibia during a seven-month period to precede independence.

**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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- (1) to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures,
- (2) to support their families and dependents,
- (3) to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.

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