

i.d.a.f. news notes

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Black Lawyers in South Africa

The following is excerpted from a lecture by Dumisa Ntsebeza delivered at the Harvard Law School, where he was an Edward Smith Visiting Fellow, on April 19, 1988. Ntsebeza, who studied law during his four years as a political prisoner in South Africa, now works as an attorney in the Transkei bantustan. He is the first President of the recently-formed National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Legal practice in South Africa is predominantly the preserve of whites. Even the Legal Resources Centers dealing with black public-interest issues are manned predominantly by white personnel. Even in human rights and labor law, the whites with all their resources for research, men and materials have an advantage over their black counterparts and end up being experts in these fields. This has led to a seething frustration among black lawyers, especially African lawyers, who not only see the apartheid edifice as their enemy but also see white practitioners as people who are determined to perpetuate their position of power and dominance in the profession. African lawyers for a long time have had difficulty travelling abroad and meeting the sponsors who fund political cases. An idea has developed outside that African lawyers have neither the inclination nor the capability to handle political cases. The result is that white and Indian lawyers become identified with the struggle for liberation. The African lawyer has not been satisfied with being at the sidelines in a struggle which he sees as basically his.

It was the advent of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers that brought black lawyers as such together. Even though NADL is a nonracialist organization, it is predominantly black. It was one of the first organizations of its kind, the National Union of Mineworkers being another, which was committed to democratic ways and nonracialist principles, and has emerged with a black leadership and a predominantly black membership.

When NADL was formed, it was acknowledged that we were not forming another political organization. Although the organization has in its ranks lawyers who actively support the political programs of one or other of the liberation movements, it was not the function of NADL to be the vehicle or expression of the ANC or PAC or Black Consciousness or other political group. The role of NADL would be to maximize areas of unanimity.

For example, lawyers in NADL can campaign for the recognition of days in the liberation calendar as public holidays: March 21 [the anniversary of the Sharpeville and Uitenhage massacres], May Day, June 16



Dumisa Ntsebeza and son

[the anniversary of the Soweto uprising], Steve Biko Day, etc. A joint strategy of resisting conscription can be mounted by lawyers themselves to oppose the use of the army in black townships. NADL could work for the acceptance by courts of the legal argument that freedom fighters are prisoners of war, and that once they are captured they should be treated with some consideration. There could be a campaign to shame judges by sheer pressure who pass death sentences in politically motivated cases. These would be programs which black lawyers in NADL and progressive lawyers in general could embark on, irrespective of whether they are part of one or another political group.

We are hoping that we will soon get into the whole process of advancing alternative legal systems. The bottom line should be a non-racialist, unitary, democratic state, and whatever the laws are, they should at least reflect that. □

New Books Available from IDAF

Apartheid Media: Disinformation and Dissent in South Africa by John M. Phelan. (Lawrence Hill & Co., 220 pp.) \$9.95 paper.

Describes the efforts of the apartheid regime to disseminate propaganda and to control the news media both at home and abroad.

Escape from Pretoria by Tim Jenkin. (IDAF, 256 pp., illus.) \$11.00 paper.

A gripping account of the events that led the author, a white South African, to join the liberation struggle, and of his escape with two other political prisoners from Pretoria Prison.

My Fight Against Apartheid by Michael Dingake. (IDAF, 256 pp., illus.) \$11.00 paper.

An account of the author's underground work for the African National Congress, his kidnapping and imprisonment in 1965, and his 15 years on Robben Island with Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

A Tough Tale by Mongane Wally Serote. (IDAF, 48 pp.) \$8.00 paper.

A poem about the struggle against apartheid, by one of Africa's most eminent poets.

Fighting Apartheid: A Cartoon History (IDAF and UNESCO, 76 pp., illus.) \$7.00 paper.

The history of apartheid and the liberation struggle told in photos and satirical drawings.

Waiting for the Rain by Sheila Gordon. (Orchard Books, 214 pp.) \$12.95 hardcover.

The story of two boys—one black, one white—who grow up together on a South African farm and are brought into conflict as adults by the inhuman system of apartheid.

Editorial Overview

The South African regime's **clampdown** of 24 February was the most sweeping act of repression since the nationwide State of Emergency was declared in June 1986. It prohibited the activities of the country's major nonviolent opponents of apartheid, including the United Democratic Front, and of organizations like the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and Free Mandela Campaign which have sought to help the victims of government repression. When Archbishop Tutu and the Rev. Allan Boesak founded the Committee for the Defense of Democracy to carry on the work of the banned organizations, it too was banned.

Government threats to censor **publications** critical of apartheid policy continued during this period, with warnings against *Out of Step*, *Grass Roots*, and *Saamstaan*, and what was described as a final warning against *The Weekly Mail*. The regime struck a major blow against press freedom on 22 March when it banned the Catholic-sponsored weekly *New Nation* for a three-month period. *New Nation's* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu has been imprisoned without charge since December 1986.

The regime's plans to execute the **Sharpeville Six** for the murder of a ghetto official drew intense criticism from around the world. Pres. Botha refused an appeal by Archbishop Tutu to exercise clemency, saying he would not inter-

fere with the courts. (Shortly afterwards Botha canceled the trial of six South African soldiers in Namibia, who were charged with the murder of a SWAPO member.) The Sharpeville Six were granted a stay of execution on 17 March after their lawyers presented evidence that a key state witness in the trial had perjured himself after being assaulted by security police. The *Manchester Guardian* had described the trial as a travesty, and the trial judge and appeals court had acknowledged there was no direct evidence the six were involved in the murder.

This news period was also marked by several episodes of **terrorism** generally attributed to South Africa. These included the bombing of a bank in Oshakati, northern Namibia, which provided the pretext for more South African bombing raids against alleged SWAPO bases in southern Angola. On 28 March, South African soldiers raided a house in Gaborone, Botswana, killing a South African refugee and three Botswanan women. The next day, ANC representative Dulcie September was murdered in Paris. On 7 April, legal scholar and ANC member Albie Sachs lost one arm and narrowly escaped death when a bomb went off in his car in Maputo, Mozambique. Impeccable sources viewed as absurd South African claims that the attacks on September and Sachs were the result of an ANC power struggle, saying that there was no such power struggle in the ANC.

Geoffrey Wisner

Southern Africa News Calendar

February, March and April 1988

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.

Items relating to political trials, political prisoners, and detentions appear in red.

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

1 February

South Africa—The trial of Moses Mayekiso, the General Secretary of NUMSA, opened in Johannesburg and was attended by international trade union observers. The trial immediately went into camera. Mayekiso and four others were charged with high treason under the Internal Security Act. As a founder member of the Alexandra Action Committee, Mayekiso was charged with setting up alternative governing bodies in the ghettos.

USA—The State Department said Angola had for the first time accepted the need for all **Cuban troops** to leave Angola in a regional peace settlement. However, Angola denied that this represented anything new, and Cuba said the conditions that brought Cuban troops to Angola had not changed.

2 February

South Africa—COSATU said schools were closed and there was an almost complete stayaway by workers in the **Ashdown ghetto** near Pietermaritzburg, the target of recent violence.

Now Available from IDAF

Winnie Mandela postcards. An inspiring black-and-white photo by Carokin Schiiten. Sold in sets of four. \$3.00

Cry Freedom posters. A color poster for Sir Richard Attenborough's important new film on South Africa, starring Denzel Washington as Steve Biko and Kevin Kline as Donald Woods. Supplies are limited. \$2.50

Prices includes postage and handling. Our catalogue is available on request.

Zambia—Commonwealth **Foreign Ministers** commissioned two studies to determine where the South African economy was most vulnerable to sanctions and to study South Africa's relations with the international financial system. They called on international banks to demand immediate repayment of loans to South Africa.

Swaziland—Two senior **police officers** were forced to retire after a man arrested last year had been turned over to South African police without extradition proceedings. Meanwhile a white man thought to be a South African policeman was shot dead during a car chase in Mbabane.

3 February

South Africa—Police said **UDF-Inkatha clashes** in Pietermaritzburg had for the first time spilled over into the town center. Police broke up an attack by members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade on the offices of COSATU.

South Africa—The regime announced a bill to amend the **National Supplies Procurement Act**, which would provide heavy penalties for disclosing prohibited information on South Africa's procurement of goods and services. The legislation was thought to be aimed especially at hiding South Africa's methods for evading the international oil embargo.

4 February

South Africa—Police surrounded a college where 2,000 students had gathered for a memorial service for **Sicelo Dhlomo**, who had attended the college. Dhlomo was murdered shortly after police had questioned him on his participation in the CBS-TV documentary "Children of Apartheid."

South Africa—Responding to criticism of the recent visit of **Franz Josef Strauss** to Southern Africa, Chancellor Helmut Kohl said Strauss had been entrusted with informal talks in South Africa and Mozambique, but not with official government discussions. He said Strauss's visits to Namibia and the Bophuthatswana bantustan had been outside his brief.



Sicelo Dhlomo

5 February

South Africa—Police killed three people in the **Transkei bantustan** after stopping their car. South African security police were called to the scene, and witnesses said two women had “finished off” the wounded victims with handguns.

South Africa—In a speech opening Parliament, P.W. Botha announced a huge plan to privatize many **state companies**, and said he would call for cuts in government spending, a freeze on civil service pay, and tax reforms.

South Africa—The Eastern Cape Education Crisis Committee and Eastern Cape Students Council said over 1,000 students had been turned away from **overcrowded schools** in that area. They said the Dept. of Education had limited the number of students in each school and ignored student demands that schools destroyed in earlier protests be rebuilt.

6 February

South Africa—Heavily armed police and troops surrounded the Regina Mundi church in Soweto to enforce a restriction allowing only 200 mourners to attend the **funeral of Sicele Dhlomo**. The Rev. Frank Chikane and Winnie Mandela were among those turned away. Police later fired tear gas to disperse mourners at the gravesite. Chikane deplored the police action, and called on churches to take part in civil disobedience.

8 February

South Africa—Health Minister Dr. Willie van Niekerk said South Africa was expelling at least 1,000 African mineworkers carrying the **AIDS virus**.

9 February

Namibia—A “**hit squad**” abducted Duduza activist Vusi Mashabane, threatened him with death and interrogated him at gunpoint. Mashabane escaped when the squad decided they had the wrong suspect. The squad was traced to the SADF unit Group 16 after its leader accidentally left his military ID card and diary at the scene.

South Africa—Municipal police evicted some residents of **Duncan Village** outside East London. Almost the entire community had been taking part in a two-year rent boycott to protest living conditions and the presence of security forces.

10 February

USA—The State Department’s annual world **human-rights report** said the situation in South Africa continued to deteriorate in 1987 as the regime strengthened its powers under the Emergency. It said at least 500 people died from police violence in 1987, and that the regime had virtually halted its limited reforms.

11 February

South Africa—Thousands of SADF troops with helicopter gunships and armored vehicles crushed a **military coup** in the Bophuthatswana bantustan, led by the opposition People’s Progressive Party. Coup leaders had accused President Lucas Mangope of corruption, including the rigging of the October 1987 election.

12 February

South Africa—Police reported a death in UDF-Inkatha violence near Pietermaritzburg, bringing the death toll to 130 this year and more than 420 over the past 13 months. Community leaders said efforts to end the violence were hampered by the arrests of four key UDF members who were to have participated in peace talks.

South Africa—The Supreme Court in Cape Town ruled that the regime must withdraw its threat to cut **aid to colleges** that allow campus protest, and ordered the government to pay court costs.

Switzerland—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees launched an appeal for at least \$25 million to help **Mozambican refugees**. A spokesperson estimated that 750,000 refugees had fled to Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Zambia. Most funds would be spent in Malawi, where there were an estimated 400,000 refugees.

South Africa—Residents of the Sweetwater and Ashdown ghettos near Pietermaritzburg with COSATU backing sought a Supreme Court order restraining **Inkatha** from killing ghetto residents. They said that in a 31 January rally, Inkatha had said the UDF and trade unions must be driven from Natal, and urged parents whose children had “joined the other camp” to kill them.

13 February

South Africa—Following a rocket and small-arms **attack on a farm** near the Zimbabwean border, “Pik” Botha sent a protest note to Zimbabwe, claiming the attackers had come from there, and saying South Africa would take whatever steps were necessary to prevent such incursions. Zimbabwean Information Minister Witness Mangwende dismissed the South African protest as lies and an attempt to divert attention from the military struggle inside South Africa.

15 February

South Africa—Police in Johannesburg said 374 people had been arrested so far in connection with the **coup attempt** in Bophuthatswana. The Rev. Frank Chikane said the regime had imposed a reign of terror.

South Africa—About **60,000 refugees** had fled from violence in and around Pietermaritzburg, amid fears that the violence was spilling over into the Durban area.

South Africa—COSATU launched a massive campaign to defeat the **Labor Relations Amendment Bill** that would curb strikes and make unions liable for strike damages to a company. COSATU leader Jay Naidoo said the bill was totally repressive, and a fundamental attack on rights won by unions over the last ten years.

Zimbabwe—Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said the government had uncovered an extensive network of South African **spies and saboteurs** based in farming areas around Bulawayo.

16 February

Zimbabwe—Villagers said **South African troops** had crossed into Zimbabwe, accused them of harboring ANC guerrillas, and beat the men with sticks and sjamboks.

Angola—The Angolan Defense Minister said South Africa had launched a **new offensive** with a heavy bombardment of Cuito Cuanavale, and that the South African invasion force had grown to about 7,000, using Scorpion tanks and G-5 and G-6 artillery units, and employing UNITA rebels as reconnaissance scouts.

South Africa—On the eve of a Lenten prayer service in the Pietermaritzburg cathedral, **Archbishop Tutu** urged people to pray and fast for an end to violence in the African ghettos.

South Africa—The regime claimed that as of 12 February, 234 people under age 18 were being detained and that during 1987, 1,300 people under 18 had been detained. But more reliable independent sources put the number for 1987 at about 4,000.

17 February

South Africa—Police broke up demonstrations in Soweto with tear gas and whips after about 15 families had been evicted in hte current **rent boycott**. The area was cordoned off and journalists expelled. Thousands of Sowetans had stayed away from work to protest the evictions.

18 February

Namibia—A **bomb** demolished the Rand National Bank in Oshakati, killing 20 people and injuring 40. Police blamed the bombing on SWAPO, but SWAPO spokesperson Hidipo Hamutenya said it was part of a South African propaganda campaign to discredit SWAPO, which never targets civilians. An Ovambo Administration official later quoted survivors who said two white men, believed to be soldiers, had put a ticking package on a counter of the bank, and that it later exploded.

Zambia—A delegation from the African Dutch Reformed Church held two days of talks with the ANC in Lusaka. They discussed a possible ANC ceasefire as well as the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the return of political exiles to South Africa, and education.

South Africa—Kenneth Mopele, the head of the **QwaQwa bantustan**, told P.W. Botha that tribal “states” or bantustans such as QwaQwa were puppet structures that fragmented the country and did nothing to solve its political problems. Mopele rejected participation in Botha’s National Statutory Council.

20 February

Angola—SADF chief Gen. Jannie Geldenhuys said **South African warplanes** had attacked alleged SWAPO bases at Lubango and Ongiva in southern Angola, in “retaliation” for the bombing of a bank in Oshakati. SWAPO said it suffered no casualties, since it had no bases at the towns attacked. Angola reported many civilian casualties in these attacks and in renewed South African bombardment of Cuito Cuanavale.

23 February

Zimbabwe—MNR rebels were **kidnapping children** near Zimbabwe’s eastern border, killing and mutilating some and “recruiting” others as spies or guerrillas.

24 February

South Africa—The regime in effect banned 17 anti-apartheid organizations, including the UDF, Detainees’ Parents Support Committee, Azapo, National Education Crisis Committee, and Free Mandela Campaign, and prohibited COSATU from any political activities. It placed severe restrictions on 18 individuals, including UDF co-Presidents Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede. The UDF said the regime had declared war on peaceful opposition to apartheid. COSATU accused Pretoria of turning the clock back at least 30 years. ANC spokesperson Tom Sebina said the clampdown clearly demonstrated that South Africa was not interested in any kind of change.

"Severest Censorship in the World"

Pre-publication censorship of the news media in South Africa, already tightened by the State of Emergency imposed on 12 June 1986, was yet further tightened on 10 December 1986 and 29 January 1987. The net effect is a ban on all uncensored news about police violence, boycotts, demonstrations, and all other forms of resistance, and police powers to ban virtually anything from news to advertisements. On 11 April 1987 it became a crime to participate in any campaign, project, or action aimed at accomplishing the release of any detainee. On 28 August 1987 yet more press restrictions were published, providing for the closing of newspapers for renewable three-month periods without recourse to the courts. Editors and journalists have termed the new measures the severest form of censorship in the world, and observers have said they removed the last pretense that South Africa was a democratic country.

25 February

Lesotho—Maj. Gen. Lekhanya, the head of the ruling military council, declared a State of Emergency in order to combat a "crime wave."

South Africa—Announcing nationwide church services to protest the regime's clampdown, Archbishop Tutu said the churches must assume the leadership of the anti-apartheid movement. Demonstrations were held at universities, and a number of anti-apartheid activists went into hiding. The OAU called for an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council. The European Community condemned the clampdown, saying it would exacerbate the situation.

South Africa—The kwaZulu bantustan legislative assembly, which is dominated by Inkatha, called on the regime to hand over the policing of the **Pietermaritzburg ghettos** to kwaZulu.

26 February

United Kingdom—Amnesty International said it feared the South African clampdown would encourage yet more police abuses against detainees. It said the restrictions on the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and Detainees' Support Committee would prevent them from doing their work.

Angola—Angola said South Africa's current **military offensive**, which was its biggest ever, had killed hundreds of civilians. South Africa was trying to establish UNITA as a puppet regime in southern Angola.

South Africa—Two people were killed, at least 12 wounded, and about 30 shacks destroyed in an early-morning battle between political rivals at the **KTC squatter camp** near Cape Town.

27 February

South Africa—Thousands of supporters of the **ultra-right AWB** held their biggest rally so far in Pretoria. Waving swastika-style flags and with some bearing side-arms, they delivered a demand to the Union Building for a whites-only state and said Afrikaners would use violence to seize what was theirs.

28 February

South Africa—Announcing more deaths of **South African soldiers** inside Angola, the SADF said its "pullout" had been delayed because it did not want to lose ground already won.

29 February

South Africa—Police turned water-cannons on and then arrested Archbishop Tutu, the Rev. Allan Boesak, and other church leaders when they led a protest march from the Anglican cathedral in Cape Town to Parliament, to present a protest against the clampdown.

Switzerland—The UN Human Rights Commission condemned increasingly repressive measures against children in South Africa and Namibia, including torture and mental abuse of African children in special reeducation centers. The Commission expressed outrage against massacres of people in ghettos by police and murder squads.

1 March

South Africa—Dr. Ivan Toms, the founder of a clinic in the Crossroads squatter camp, was found guilty of refusing to do compulsory military service. Toms said he would not fight for the apartheid army that was waging a civil war against Africans in the ghettos. He was sentenced to 21 months in jail. Amnesty International adopted him as a prisoner of conscience.

South Africa—PFP member Helen Suzman MP condemned the use of **water-cannons** against peaceful clergy marching in Cape Town, contrasting it with the regime's courteous reception of armed members of the AWB, who had threatened violence.

South Africa—Police said a **bomb** was set off by remote control near a bus carrying military personnel at Benoni, causing damage but no casualties.



Ivan Toms

South Africa—The regime introduced the **Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics** bill, which would prohibit any organization or person from receiving money from abroad intended for political aims, and providing for fines up to R20,000 and imprisonment up to ten years.

2 March

USA—Police arrested 64 demonstrators protesting at the **South African Embassy** against South Africa's clampdown and arrests of church leaders.

South Africa—Archbishop Tutu said **Western countries** should break relations with South Africa until the regime reversed its recent clampdown on opposition groups.

Namibia—Riot police injured a number of students with rubber bullets, whips and truncheons while dispersing a **demonstration** organized by the Namibian National Students Organization to replace Afrikaans with English at the Academy for Tertiary Education in Windhoek.

3 March

South Africa—The ruling Nationalist Party lost **by-elections** in Standerton and Schweizer Reneke to the extreme-right Conservative Party.

South Africa—Azapo Pres. Nkosi Molala and another Azapo official were arrested at **Atteridgeville** outside Pretoria.

South Africa—The inquest into the deaths of three youths killed by police in the "**Trojan Horse**" incident of 1985 found that police "negligence" was responsible for the deaths. Police had hidden in a truck that was driven up and down the Athlone ghetto until youths stoned it, when the police burst out and fired at them.

South Africa—The SACC said it had defied a government order to submit its monthly journal *Ecu News* for review under Emergency **censorship** laws.

4 March

United Nations—**South African ambassador** Leslie Manley walked out of a UN Security Council meeting on the clampdown in South Africa, saying "We reject your accusations with contempt and invite you to do your damndest." The President of the Council called Manley's speech an affront to the international community.

Switzerland—The International Labor Organization called on Pres. Botha to lift restrictions of **black trade unions**. The International Federation of Free Trade Unions and the European Council of Ministers to impose economic sanctions including a coal embargo.

5 March

South Africa—The regime announced that more than 20,000 people were in detention awaiting trial at the end of 1987 and that 312 people had been charged with serious offenses since the Emergency began in June 1986.

South Africa—Defense Minister Magnus Malan said South Africa would be satisfied with a "**neutral**" **Angolan government** formed by the MPLA and the UNITA rebels, so long as the Soviet Union did not press for a pro-Soviet government. [Soviet official Gennadi Gerasimov later rejected the proposal, saying that Malan ignored the central issue of South Africa's interference in neighboring states.]

7 March

South Africa—The Rev. Allan Boesak and Archbishop Tutu launched the **Committee for the Defense of Democracy** to carry on the work of the restricted anti-apartheid organizations.

South Africa—Seven **police reservists** were dismissed because they were members of the AWB. Opposition MP Helen Suzman said the firing was a token, and that the regime had allowed the neo-Nazi AWB to operate without hindrance while cracking down on nonviolent organizations on the left.

8 March

South Africa—Police confiscated TV film and detained journalists who tried to cover a demonstration at the Chamber of Mines by the mainly African Federation of Transvaal Women. The demonstration was to mark International Women's Day and call on the Chamber to resist the clampdown.

United Nations—The US and Britain vetoed a UN Security Council resolution calling for an **embargo** on oil, investments and loans to South Africa. France, West Germany, and Japan abstained. The Nonaligned Movement said Britain and the US had sent P.W. Botha a message of support.

Mozambique—**MNR rebels** attacked a passenger train near the South African border, killing more than 20 people and kidnapping eight, including women and children.

9 March

South Africa—Nine **African police** were wounded when a police station in Soweto was attacked with grenades and automatic rifle fire.

Sao Tome—A **coup attempt** by about 40 guerrillas including two US mercenaries was crushed by police. Unconfirmed reports had said Sao Tome residents had received military training from South Africa in Namibia.

10 March

South Africa—A police liaison officer for Pietermaritzburg said some of the 300 kitskonstabels or "instant police" sent to the area last week had been discharged because of their criminal activities, including murder.

11 March

Zimbabwe—West German President Richard von Weizsäcker said his country would reassess its trade ties with South Africa in consultation with black African countries.

South Africa—Seven Catholic bishops stood with placards denouncing the clampdown in front of the Catholic cathedral in Johannesburg. The European Community protested proposed legislation to ban foreign funding of anti-apartheid groups.

12 March

South Africa—The regime banned any activity by the newly formed Committee for the Defense of Democracy, including a rally planned for the Western Cape to mark National Detainees Day tomorrow. The Law and Order Minister said the clergy was preaching revolution and furthering the aims of the ANC. Archbishop Tutu said the regime had "gone bonkers" and was trying to bludgeon God's people into submission.

USA—Secretary of State George Shultz told Congress that apartheid was the principal source of the region's instability.

13 March

South Africa—Archbishop Tutu and the Rev. Allan Boesak addressed about 2,000 people in St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town, in a protest service organized after authorities banned a rally by the Committee for the Defense of Democracy.

14 March

South Africa—Lawyers for the Sharpeville Six said authorities had told them their clients would be hanged on 18 March, although PW. Botha had not yet responded to their petition for clemency. The six were convicted for their alleged association with the crowd that killed the deputy mayor of Sharpeville in September 1984, although the trial judge and appeals court acknowledged that there was no direct evidence they were involved in the murder.

South Africa—Archbishop Tutu said it was time for West Germany, Britain, and the US to demand that South Africa lift the State of Emergency, rescind February's restrictions against opposition groups, and either try or release all detainees, especially children.

15 March

South Africa—PFM member Helen Suzman MP said the execution of the Sharpeville Six would be reckless and provocative, and give South Africa the same notoriety as Steve Biko's death in police custody.

Lesotho—Gunmen thought to be South Africans killed South African student Mazizi Attwell Mqakekeza at the Elizabeth II hospital in Maseru where he was recovering from a bullet wound inflicted by Lesotho police on 25 February.

16 March

South Africa—Finance Minister Barend du Plessis announced a new budget including a 22% increase in defense spending, up to \$4.2 billion.

United Nations—The Security Council called on South Africa to commute the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six, saying the matter had caused international condemnation. Appeals for clemency had been made by UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, Pres. Reagan, British Prime Minister Thatcher, West German Chancellor Kohl, French Prime Minister Chirac, and Amnesty International. The conservative Daily Telegraph of Britain said that to hang six people merely for having been in the vicinity of the murder was no retribution but the same crime six times over.

South Africa—Archbishop Tutu met with PW. Botha to ask for clemency for the Sharpeville Six, to no avail. Botha said he would not interfere with the courts, and would not exercise clemency.

Namibia—Moses Katjuongua and Andreas Shipanga threatened to pull their parties out of the six-party transitional government, following Pretoria's insistence that any future Constitution be negotiated along apartheid lines. Earlier in the month the Windhoek Supreme Court ruled that the current system of separate ethnic administrations was in conflict with fundamental human rights.

17 March

South Africa—Police arrested about 30 members of the Black Sash protesting in Cape Town against the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six.

South Africa—Three people were killed and 20 injured when a car bomb exploded at a magistrate's court in Krugersdorp. Police set up roadblocks and offered a \$25,000 reward for Heinrich Grosskopf, the son of a Stellenbosch University professor, who police said was an ANC terrorist.

South Africa—The Transvaal Supreme Court granted a one-month stay of execution to the Sharpeville Six after receiving evidence that a state witness had perjured himself after being assaulted by security police. Lawyers were to file for a retrial.

Mozambique—Two MNR rebels said in an interview that South Africa had delivered arms to the MNR earlier this year.

South Africa—The Attorney General of the Orange Free State said the case against Belgian-born Helene Passtoors, who attempted to escape from prison where she is serving a ten-year sentence for high treason, would be dealt with departmentally rather than in court.

18 March

South Africa—RSA said the Anglo-American Corporation had agreed to pay about \$17 million in compensation to miners dismissed during the 1987 strike.

South Africa—Former ambassador to Britain Denis Worrall launched a new political party, which is to the right of the PFM.

20 March

Zimbabwe—Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal attacked apartheid as the worst crime against humanity since the Nazi era. He said African countries should deny transit and overflying rights to airlines serving South Africa, support consumer boycotts, and cut trade and investment links.

South Africa—An emergency meeting of Anglican bishops said the government had "launched a carefully planned attack" on Archbishop Tutu and the Rev. Allan Boesak "aimed at portraying them as Marxists and isolating them from their churches as a prelude to state action against them."

21 March

South Africa—Over a million workers marked the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre with a stayaway that reached 90% or more in urban areas. Sharpeville residents cleaned the graves of the victims, and several indoor rallies were held in the ghetto. Police detained Rosemary Hunter, the anti-apartheid President of the Student Representative Council at the University of the Witwatersrand. Police dispersed students at the University of Durban-Westville with tear gas.

South Africa—The Supreme Court in Pretoria dismissed an application by the New Nation to block its closure by the regime.

Mozambique—Former MNR head of information Paulo Oliveira surrendered to the government, taking advantage of a general amnesty. He later said he had become disillusioned with the "MNR strategy for terrorism as dictated by Pretoria." He said South Africa continued to supply the MNR in violation of the Nkomati accord.

South Africa—Kitskonstabels or "instant police" rounded up all males in the Ashdown ghetto aged 15 to 35, including one 12-year-old, beat them with rifle butts and sjamboks, and detained them for most of the day. All but three were then released.

22 March

South Africa—The regime banned the weekly New Nation for a three-month period, claiming the paper "promoted revolution." The Supreme Court in Pretoria had refused an application by the Catholic bishops who published the paper to prevent the ban. The Southern African Society of Journalists said the public's right to know had been snuffed out, and the Media Workers Association said the regime had chosen a course of destruction.

West Germany—West Germany protested against an illegal police search yesterday at the home of the West German Consul-General in Johannesburg, a serious violation of diplomatic practice. South Africa apologized and said the search was for a suspected car bomber.

Namibia—PW. Botha intervened to stop the trial of six SWAPO soldiers accused of killing veteran SWAPO member Emmanuel Shifidi at a rally in Katutura near Windhoek on 30 November 1986. Botha had declared in the Sharpeville case that he would not interfere with the courts.

Zimbabwe—Former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser warned Western leaders that by refusing to support calls for economic sanctions they were telling blacks they would only achieve political participation if they took up arms.

23 March

South Africa—The regime warned the black Cape Town monthly Grass Roots that it could be censored or closed down for violating Emergency censorship. Already warned were the Sowetan, The Weekly Mail, South, Work in Progress, and a neo-fascist paper.

24 March

Mozambique—Australian missionary Ian Gray was sentenced to 10½ years in prison for collaborating with MNR rebels in exchange for being allowed to work in rebel-held areas.

South Africa—Winnie Mandela offered to act as an intermediary in the Inkatha-UDF violence in Natal, and said it was time to stop the senseless killings and close ranks to fight the racist regime. Buthelezi welcomed the offer.

South Africa—In a letter to the Rev. Frank Chikane of the SACC, PW. Botha accused churches of spreading malicious untruths about South Africa, and said the SACC and Archbishop Tutu embraced the ANC and the South African Communist Party in their calls for sanctions, insurrection and revolution.



25 March

South Africa—The Supreme Court in Pretoria refused bail for the fifth time to three UDF officials facing treason charges: UDF General Secretary Popo Molefe, Publicity Secretary Patrick Lekota, and former Regional Secretary Moses Chikane. Charges were originally brought against 22 defendants in June 1985, since when three had been acquitted and 16 granted bail with restrictions.

26 March

South Africa—RSA said the **New Republic Party** had decided to dissolve itself, and that party leader Bill Sutton urged his followers to join Denis Worrall's Independent Party.

Zimbabwe—The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, which had criticized Zimbabwe's human rights record, said the human rights situation had improved in 1987.

27 March

South Africa—The General Secretary of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches arrived with a delegation to express solidarity with the churches in South Africa, saying, "We are very much concerned that nonviolent organizations are being silenced." He was met by Archbishop Tutu and the Rev. Allan Boesak. Meanwhile Winnie Mandela said P.W. Botha had vilified men of the cloth.

USA—After two days of hearings on South Africa's **manipulation of the press**, Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-MI) said the decision of many US journalists not to testify was extraordinary and alarming. He said the main reason was the journalists' fear of retribution by the South African regime.

South Africa—The Rev. Allan Boesak said the **Dutch Reformed Church** was trying to provide theological justification for the state to take action against anti-apartheid churchpeople. He also said he had received several death threats.

28 March

Botswana—**South African soldiers** attacked and burned a house in Gaborone, killing Charles Mokoena, a South African refugee, and three Botswanan women, of whom one was a primary schoolteacher and another a bookshop assistant. Botswana dismissed a South African claim that the man killed was a "terrorist" named Solomon Molefe. Pres. Masire condemned the raid as a dastardly murder of innocent people.

South Africa—Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha warned **Saamstaan**, a community newspaper based in Oudtshoorn, from printing "subversive propaganda."

29 March

France—**Dulcie September**, the ANC's representative in Paris, was shot dead as she arrived for work. She had asked the French Ministry of the Interior for special protection but had received none. ANC spokesperson Tom Sebina said the killing was part of a worldwide plan by South Africa to eliminate top ANC officials. The FBI had warned ANC representative Dumi Matabane in Washington that ANC members might be in danger from a South African hit squad.



Dulcie September

Zambia—Isaiah Moyo, a black South African, was sentenced to 25 years in prison for **spying on the ANC** for the SADF over a 2½-year period, while posing as a long-distance truck driver.

South Africa—An appeals court in Bloemfontein ruled that the regime had no authority to incorporate the **Moutse community** into the kwaNdebele bantustan two years ago, a move fiercely opposed by Moutse residents.

South Africa—The far-right **Conservative Party** more than doubled its majority in a by-election in Randfontein.

South Africa—COSATU said police arrested 160 members of three unions who were protesting the Labor Relations Amendment Bill that would make unauthorized strikes more difficult and would require unions to pay damages to employers for illegal strikes.

30 March

South Africa—Citing the principle of "common purpose" used in the Sharpeville case, the Supreme Court in Grahamstown sentenced four African men to death for the 1985 murder of an alleged police informer. None of the four participated directly in the killing.

South Africa—Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee extended for a year the ban under the Internal Security Act on meetings calling for school boycotts and "illegal" strikes. All **open-air meetings** except sports events and funerals were also banned.

1 April

Namibia—Sgt. Leon Lotz of the notoriously brutal police unit **Koevoet** had reportedly fled to Angola and joined UNITA after an inquest court last year found him and a fellow sergeant criminally liable in the deaths of civilians Nicodemus Filemon and Petrus Sakaria.

South Africa—Catholic Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Methodist General Secretary Stanley Mogoba, and Anglican Bishop Phillip Russell led a silent **protest march** through Durban, some marchers gagged to symbolize government restrictions. Black Sash members planted crosses on the beach to protest the South African raid into Botswana.

Mozambique—**MNR rebels** shot dead 18 people, including women and children, when their vehicles crossed from Swaziland into Mozambique.

3 April

South Africa—In his Easter message, the Rev. **Allan Boesak** told Christians, especially the youth, not to give up hope and resort to violence.

Angola—Luanda radio said authorities had defused a **bomb** planted by UNITA in the cathedral in Huambo.

5 April

South Africa—**VQA** said analysts believed the country's rent boycott had cost the regime over \$250 million, and that this might jump to \$600 million within the next six months. Boycotters demand the release of political prisoners, the removal of security forces from ghettos, and the resignation of ghetto officials.

France—The Paris-based *Indian Ocean Newsletter* said it had evidence from sources close to the French secret services that as long ago as three years South Africa's National Intelligence Service had **plans to assassinate** ANC members in Europe.

7 April

Mozambique—Lawyer, writer, and ANC member **Albie Sachs** lost his right arm when his car exploded in an attack widely blamed on South Africa. South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha did not deny categorically that South Africa was responsible. The deans of the Columbia and Harvard University law schools expressed shock at the attack.

8 April

Belgium—After meeting Zambian Pres. Kenneth Kaunda at a conference, West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher agreed that apartheid could not be reformed and must be abolished, and that all political prisoners in South Africa should be released.

France—French police arrested three couples in connection with the **murder of Dulcie September**. Five of the six suspects were later released.

Namibia—On a visit to Namibia, P.W. Botha gave the South African-appointed **Administrator General** new powers to call ethnically-based elections and to restrict the media and organizations accused of promoting subversion and terrorism. Botha emphasized that "minority rights" [for whites] must be included in any future dispensation. [On 19 April the transitional government said Botha's proposals were unacceptable, and that he had broken an agreement to consult with Namibian officials before amending the 1985 proclamation that established the transitional government.]

USA—The Reagan Administration joined a group of Senators in urging Pretoria to release Zwelakhe Sisulu, the editor of the *New Nation*, who had been detained for 14 months without trial. The State Dept. said Sisulu was the type of black leader the regime should be talking to, not repressing.

9 April

Namibia—On a visit to Namibia, Archbishop Tutu called for South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and urged Christians to oppose South Africa's "**evil occupation**." He condemned P.W. Botha for halting the murder trial of six South African soldiers.

10 April

South Africa—The Johannesburg *Sunday Star* quoted a Western intelligence source as saying South Africa operated a secret team of professional assassins known as **Z-squads**.

United Kingdom—The *Manchester Guardian* said in an editorial that the original trial of the Sharpeville Six was a travesty, and that the judge had refused to allow cross-examination of a witness who said police assaulted him and forced him to implicate two defendants. The two "independent" witnesses had both been in custody, and their evidence conflicted with that of the victim's widow. The paper also said at least two defendants had convincing alibis that placed them away from the scene.

USA—OAU Secretary-General Ide Oumarou, on a visit to influence **US policy on Angola**, rejected the linkage of Namibian independence with Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, and condemned US support for UNITA.

12 April

South Africa—Alan Paton, the author of the 1948 novel *Cry, the Beloved Country* and a founder of the Liberal Party, South Africa's first multiracial political party, died after undergoing surgery for cancer.

13 April

South Africa—Two white police were killed in the Mpumalanga ghetto between Pietermaritzburg and Durban, when a **suspected ANC member** they had cornered blew up a grenade, killing himself as well. A second ANC suspect was killed and three men injured in a shootout with police five hours later.

Denmark—Speaking in Copenhagen, the Rev. Allan Boesak warned that Pretoria was preparing rigorous new legislation to prevent **foreign aid** from reaching anti-apartheid church groups. He urged Denmark to seek more effective sanctions.

15 April

South Africa—Lawyers for the Sharpeville Six lodged papers with the Supreme Court appealing for the trial to be reopened on the grounds that a key state witness gave false evidence at the original trial.

USA—In a campaign debate, the Rev. **Jesse Jackson** said the US should offer defensive weapons to the Front-Line States to protect them from South African attacks.

South Africa—An African man was killed and a number of other people injured when **two bombs** went off near a cinema and shopping complex in Pretoria.

South Africa—Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha again warned the publishers of the magazines **Out of Step**, **Grass Roots**, and **Saamstaan** that their publication had become a threat to the public and could be closed down.

16 April

United Kingdom—The International Amateur Athletics Federation called on the British Amateur Athletics Board to suspend South African-born runner **Zola Budd** from international competition for at least 12 months, because of infringements of the sports boycott.

United Kingdom—Several hundred people marched past the South African Embassy in London to mark the second anniversary of a continuous 24-hour picket calling for the release of Nelson Mandela. Police arrested 25 protesters who blocked the road outside the Embassy.

18 April

Zimbabwe—Zimbabwe marked eight years of independence with a celebration of the **unity pact** between ZANU and ZAPU, ratified earlier this month. Pres. Mugabe said security had improved significantly since the pact was signed.

South Africa—Police dispersed hundreds of school children with tear gas in the Coloured ghetto of Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town. They were protesting the death sentences passed on the Sharpeville Six.

South Africa—Patrick Mphahlele, the head of the nominally independent **Venda bantustan**, died of "multiple organ collapse."

19 April

United Kingdom—Archbishop Tutu repeated his call to Britain and other countries to impose **effective sanctions** on Pretoria, including banning South Africa from world money markets, denying landing rights to its airline, and at least reducing diplomatic relations. He asked why, if sanctions were not effective, they had been applied to Poland, Nicaragua, and Panama.

Zimbabwe—Pres. Mugabe announced a **general amnesty** for armed dissidents, political exiles, rebel collaborators and some convicted criminals.

Switzerland—In its annual report, the International Labor Organization criticized South Africa's proposed new labor legislation which would drastically curb the right of unions to organize strikes.

Mozambique—Echoing a recent UN report, a US State Department report said MNR attacks had resulted in more than **100,000 deaths** in the past two years, and that more than a million people had left Mozambique. It said 90% of reported atrocities were the work of the MNR.

Still an Emergency

In June 1987 South Africa's State of Emergency was renewed for a second year, and resulted in an enormous new wave of political detentions. A drastic new clampdown was imposed on 24 February 1988, banning the political activities of 17 major anti-apartheid organizations and COSATU, and banning 18 leaders.

The ongoing repression has placed unprecedented strain on IDAF's ability to provide legal defense for political prisoners and aid for their families. Please help us meet this crisis by mailing a contribution to IDAF, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138. All contributions are tax-deductible.

20 April

Angola—Angola denied claims by UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi that direct talks between **Angola and UNITA** had been going on since October.

South Africa—In a move to bring the **South African Broadcasting Corporation** under even tighter presidential control, its director general Riaan Eksteen was forced to resign. Eksteen had angered P.W. Botha by giving air time to such critics as former Coloured Cabinet Minister Allan Hendrickse.

South Africa—The Association for Business and Commerce expressed alarm over proposed legislation giving the regime even **wider powers over business**.

21 April

South Africa—P.W. Botha proposed **Constitutional changes** allowing "recognized black leaders" into the electoral college that chooses the President, and allowing Africans to serve as junior ministers dealing with educational and Constitutional affairs. Black leaders dismissed the proposals as irrelevant to the basic issues of African voting rights and continuing white control.

South Africa—Two **pig's heads** decorated with swastikas were dumped at the Great Synagogue in Durban and at a Jewish club there.

Mozambique—Police found the body of **Evo Fernandes**, an MNR leader who had been shot in the head, on a roadside outside Lisbon.

22 April

South Africa—A conference on child detentions held in Johannesburg heard testimony that security authorities had tortured young people detained without charge. David Webster, a lecturer in anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that after the Emergency was declared in June 1986, 40% of detainees were children under 18. After worldwide protest, the figure dropped to 30% by June 1987 and was running at about 24% in 1988. He said that of 12,500 people detained in 1987, only 7.8% were charged and only 1.2% convicted. He said there were now about 16 detentions per day, and a total of 3,000 people in detention.

24 April

South Africa—The first meeting of the Cape Democrats was held in Cape Town. The group, intended to provide a base for whites supporting the UDF, called on the regime to create a climate for negotiation by scrapping apartheid laws, lifting the State of Emergency and releasing political prisoners.

26 April

South Africa—Two alleged ANC members, Mzondileli Nondula and Mthelili Mncube, were found guilty of murder on charges related to landmine explosions that killed at least seven people in 1985.

Luxembourg—At a meeting of the EEC, the ACP [African, Caribbean and Pacific] countries called for strict enforcement of **sanctions** agreed on in 1986 and for new ones to be imposed, including cuts in South Africa's diplomatic representation and bans on coal imports and import credits.

Mozambique—At a UN conference, Pres. Chissano said South Africa was waging **war on Mozambique** through the MNR, causing 5.9 million people to face starvation.

South Africa—Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha delivered a **final warning** to *The Weekly Mail*, saying it had published subversive material and could be closed down for three months.

28 April

Mozambique — At the UN conference in Maputo, US government official Roy Stacy said the MNR was responsible for "one of the most brutal holocausts since World War II." He called the MNR "a horde of criminals created by the South African regime."

29 April

South Africa — *The Weekly Mail* said Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee told Parliament that Emergency detainees were involved in 15 hunger strikes between 1 February and 31 December 1987.

South Africa — A school boycott to protest the detention of a teacher was affecting eight schools in Thembisa and nine in Soweto.

South Africa — Five women from the **kwaNdebele bantustan** sued PW. Botha and the bantustan legislative assembly for disenfranchising women in the bantustan.

South Africa — *The Weekly Mail* disputed an official claim that 31 South African troops had been killed in Angola since May 1987, saying that official press releases dating back only to September 1987 indicated that at least 57 were killed, and another two missing. The Angolan press agency had reported 342 South Africans killed in calendar 1987, 230 of them between September and November. *Africa Confidential*, which has close access to Western intelligence sources, reported at least 230 killed between September and mid-November 1987, and at least 27 between 5 December 1987 and 30 March 1988.

30 April

USA — Government officials accused Cuba of increasing its **troop strength** in Angola by 10,000 in the past five months, for a total of 45,000 Cubans supporting Angola against UNITA rebels and South African attacks.

IDAF has three objectives: (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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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC — African National Congress

AWB — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or Afrikaner Resistance Movement, a group of radical right-wing South Africans.

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

COSAS — Council of South African Students

COSATU — Congress of South African Trade Unions

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 — 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, also known as Renamo

MPC — Multi-Party Conference, a group of "internal parties" (excluding SWAPO) backed by South Africa as an interim government for Namibia

MPLA — Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the ruling party

NAMDA — National Medical and Dental Association

NIS — National Intelligence Service [South Africa]

NUM — National Union of Mineworkers

NUMSA — National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa

NUSAS — National Union of South African Students

OAU — Organization of African Unity

PAC — Pan-Africanist Congress

PPP — Progressive Federal Party

SABWU — South African Allied Workers Union

SACC — South African Council of Churches

SACTU — South African Congress of Trade Unions

SADCC — Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference

SADF — South African Defense Force

SAPA — South African Press Association

SAYCO — South African Youth Congress

SWAPO — South West Africa People's Organization

SWATF — South West Africa Territorial Force

UDF — United Democratic Front

UNITA — 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 Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), which would include UN peacekeeping troops, would be stationed in Namibia in preparation for elections to be held under UN supervision.

ZANU — Zimbabwe African National Union, the ruling party

ZAPU — Zimbabwe African People's Union

One South African rand (R1.00) equals approximately 50¢

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