

# 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, MA 02238

December, 1984

Telephone (617) 491-8343

## Prisoners of Conscience

An interview with the Reverend Richard Stevens

*On November 27, 1984 the Reverend Richard Stevens appeared at a benefit reception for Amnesty International in Boston. Mr. Stevens, a minister in South Africa's Dutch Reformed Church Sendingkerk (for Coloureds), is now working on his doctorate in theology at Princeton University. As a student and professor in South Africa, he was arrested several times for nonviolent activity against apartheid. In 1980 he spent six months in solitary confinement. Later he was granted political asylum in the United States.*

*The following is drawn from Mr. Stevens' talk at the reception and from an interview conducted afterward by IDAF.*



Richard Stevens

South Africa can be so mundane in the things they do to try to oppress people—trying to confine people's minds, trying to tell people what they should do, what they should not do, what they should read and what they should not read. You'll find that in most societies where you find people tortured and interrogated, people live by memory, and by these kinds of memories we keep on keeping on in the struggle.

In 1983 there was a long article about prisoners of conscience in *Newsweek* magazine. Because a picture of Nelson Mandela was in there, because they had written something about Mandela, the government

simply banned this edition. This is how they are trying to control people's minds, control people's habits and control people's whole lives.

South Africa, as we know, has a record of arresting many people at a time. Last Tuesday they arrested hundreds of people at one go. Sometimes when you speak about these things—freedom, equality—although in the US we still have a long way to go, we sometimes take these things for granted. Countries like South Africa normally say they do not take note of letters, but they *do* have an image problem. They worry about what people think of them in the outside world.

Apartheid is based only on privilege for a minority, and 84% of the total population, the black people—I am using the term inclusively for the Coloureds, Indians, and Africans—are people who do not have the right to vote, who do not have a choice as to where they want to live. When you think of South Africa as a total society, in fact the whole of the South African population are prisoners of conscience.

I saw a photograph the other day which was so disheartening: of a 100-year-old woman coming out of a courthouse in Johannesburg. She had been appearing for the third time in court, and the photograph showed her leaning on her walking stick, tired. They had

charged her simply for building a garden shed in her back yard, and she'll have to appear at some stage again. People are not allowed to build a garden shed in their back yard in South Africa, because the government takes it as being a house where people can squat.

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hundreds of people at one go."**

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*How do you view the Dutch Reformed Church since they've been expelled from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches?*

The action of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches goes hand in hand with the election of Allan Boesak as its President. Since then it seems that there has been some movement in the white Dutch Reformed Church. For us, it would not be much, it would not be something to write home about, but it may be a radical move for them. What is exciting to watch is that there have been academics especially, intelligentsia and some lay persons too, within the DRC that have come out with literature against apartheid, which they haven't so forcefully done before. There's a lot of disillusionment among those younger-thinking Afrikaners. I call them the detribalized.

*How did you come to be detained in 1980?*

Because of my longstanding involvement with student politics. I had been at the University of the Western Cape, a Coloured university, and was on the student council in 1973-1974 when the whole student council plus some other students were expelled because of a protest that we organized for certain freedoms. When I got a post at the University of Cape Town it was just an extension of my contact with students.

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### Thank you

To all of you who have responded to the present crisis in Southern Africa by digging deeper into your pockets: thank you. Your support has been most encouraging. It represents a timely and humane response to the terrible realities that persist beneath the facade of change in Southern Africa: the forced removals; the killing and maiming of children and adults; the doubling of political detentions in 1984.

The need for defense and aid is, unfortunately, greater than ever. Your support helps to meet that need.

Again, please accept our deepest gratitude.

Kenneth N. Carstens  
Executive Director

*A teaching post?*

It was a teaching post *cum* community organizer, which I liked, because I really don't like being in an office setting all the time. I started what was called the Committee of 41 and then left them while they organized themselves further in mass meetings throughout the Cape Peninsula. Kids read the newspapers a hundred miles away, they want to know what's happening to the black kids in Cape Town. So by the sheer spread of newspaper articles on what was happening in Cape Town there came a national student boycott. This was *not* a so-called "Coloured" student boycott, because it involved students from Soweto, Langa, Guguletu, all those areas. It was a black student movement. I was part of a small nucleus group called SANE, Student Action for Nonracial Education. We brought out pamphlets to somewhat steer the student activity also on a theoretical, thinking level. I also spoke on different campuses and organized mass meetings—and they arrested me.

I was one of the first arrested, very early in the protest, in April, so they thought that when they took me they would make this thing ineffective. While we were in jail pamphlets which hadn't been printed yet were printed, so student activities still went on. They became pretty mad when they couldn't find the source of the pamphlets, and

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**"There's no way you can  
break the blocks."**

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they escalated their arrest and interrogation of students to the extent that by mid-June there were nearly 370 students in prison. Those they considered so-called agitators were kept in solitary confinement. Students outside then boycotted classes, continually asking for the release or the charging of those inside.

Frequently there was a student boycott in a certain area in Cape Town. They said that the reporters could not report on it because it was what they called a military zone. Then we organized students by blocks—400 block, 600 block—in the whole of Cape Town. They also banned the meetings, but students came together in groups of ten, and out of that group of ten another group of ten. That was how they spread the word around Cape Town. It is still very effective today. They can't break that. There's no way you can break the blocks.

One other aspect of 1980 was that when students saw that the adults were going out on strike as well, they combined the strikes with the student protests. One strike went on for about five months. The students worked themselves, selling cookies and stuff like that, to pay each of the 600 men and women fifteen dollars a week.

*I understand you are about to return to South Africa.*

Yes, one of the reasons I want to go back is that there is a general move of people who want to go back. Things are so bad now. If you were as involved as I was, and a lot of others, you want to be there when something happens, because of the memory that I spoke of earlier. I am so afraid that by the time we come back they won't even know who these people are: "They call themselves liberators." So there's a general move among young people, kids from Soweto, kids from Langa, Guguletu, they prefer to go back.

*You don't think it would be too hazardous for you?*

It could be. But you know South Africa makes very arbitrary decisions. They give me a passport now, I come back tomorrow and they would say, "Well, your banning order—you didn't finish that. Finish it." Or they still have three court cases. Stupid things like prohibited literature, stuff like that. You know, if they want and they can't find anything on you, they just come to your house—and there's no person in South Africa who would not have any banned literature. They would just scratch around and say, "Well, we have Chairman Mao's book. Come."

## News Notes Needs Your Help

Donations earmarked for *News Notes* in fiscal 1984 covered less than 3% of the costs of producing and mailing it, and less than a third of postage costs alone.

If everyone receiving *News Notes* sent us an \$8.00 donation each year, our costs would be more than paid for, with any excess being used for our regular programs.

Please—help keep the information flowing!

One thing, after Steve Biko's death we as students saw for the first time that we can also die in prison. Up to Steve's death we thought we were immune from that. I think we really lived like that. There had

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been deaths, maybe of adult people of the older movement, older leaders, but not specifically somebody so closely connected to university life. We saw that there was no protection being a student or being active or being in the leadership.

*Or now, even being white.*

Even being white. With Neil Aggett, it ruined so much. You can also die if you're white, or if you're a so-called Coloured. Until May or April 1980 they had never shot at Coloureds in protests. In 1976, 1973, 1960, Coloureds were involved, but they never shot Coloureds. Did you know that? That was a specific trend. In 1980, because of the guilt complex the so-called Coloured people had, the kids became so violent that—well, I'm using their words—they were forced to shoot them. They shot and killed over 30 kids. In SASO [South African Students' Organization] when people got banned only the Africans were banned. It caused problems within the black community because people were saying, "Oh, look at the Coloureds. Nothing happens to them." That, I think, radicalized me too, so much that there was no way they could ignore me.

Now they are giving the so-called Coloureds a part in the Parliamentary system, and also the Indians. But the force which has been generated against that, with the young people, is quite significant. In the '50s, the '60s, the Africans would say, "You Coloureds, you do your own thing there. It's your problem. You just vote there and see." Now they do this thing together, they say no. Last year those who went to the polls were about three percent of the Coloured population. Three percent out of the total population of about three million. That was a rejection itself. □

### New Book

*South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt* by Govan Mbeki is a reissue of a classic work first published in 1964. *The Peasants' Revolt* examines the resistance to the South African government's creation of the Transkei bantustan and its attempts to force Africans to live there under chiefs imposed by the apartheid regime.

The author, a leading member of the African National Congress, has spent over 20 years as a political prisoner in South Africa.

pub. 1984

160 pp., \$6.70 paper

\$16.00 hardcover (soon to be in stock)

# Southern Africa News Calendar

## October and November 1984

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 and detentions appear in red.

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

*Please note:* Violent incidents, particularly clashes between demonstrators in the African townships and the police, have become so frequent during the period covered that we are forced to report only a few such incidents in the Calendar.

### 1 October

**Angola**—The Angolan news agency reported that 1,500 armed rebels and 20,000 civilian supporters of the **FNLA** had surrendered in the north. The report said the group included the FNLA military chief.

**Lesotho**—The Minister of Information said there were no longer any ANC members in Lesotho, the ANC having decided to disband even a nonmilitary presence there.

**South Africa**—The Attorney General of Natal announced he was dropping charges against 46 defendants involved in an allegedly illegal demonstration. These included three of the six anti-apartheid campaigners now seeking refuge in the British consulate in Durban, who had been due to appear in court tomorrow. Meanwhile lawyers for the six had sent telex messages to the West German, French, Dutch and US embassies in Pretoria, asking for refuge in the event that they were evicted from the consulate. Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha warned that South Africa would consider a favorable response to this request to be a hostile action.

**South Africa**—Commissioner of Police Johan Coetsee said a plot to involve trade unions in the overthrow of the existing order had been exposed. Coetsee said strong action would have to be taken when subversive incitement took place in unions.

### 2 October

**South Africa**—President P.W. Botha conceded that his new Constitution was inadequate, and that additional structures were required for urban Africans.

**South Africa**—Police in Soweto fired shots to break up demonstrations after a man was killed by a crowd of 100 youths who attacked his home. Dozens of arrests were made in black townships in the eastern Cape and Orange Free State. Meanwhile Popo Molefe, the General Secretary of the UDF, was detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act. Police had been unable to find him when his detention orders were first issued, at the time of the Coloured and Indian elections.

**Zimbabwe**—Prime Minister Mugabe accused South Africa of cheating on its **nonaggression treaties** and made it clear his own country would never enter into any such treaty. Speaking at the UN, Mugabe said the situation for Mozambique and Angola had gotten worse since the agreements under which South Africa promised not to back anti-government rebels. Mugabe said the only way to ensure peace in the region was to combine international sanctions with armed struggle and political pressure.

**USA**—**Harvard University's** Committee on Shareholder Responsibility rejected a recommendation by a Harvard advisory group to divest all its stock in US companies operating in South Africa. Harvard officials said they would urge those companies to oppose South Africa's policy of apartheid. Harvard has \$309 million invested in 67 companies with operations in South Africa.

### 3 October

**South Africa**—Jerry Kau of the National Auto and Allied Workers Union was detained by police.

**South Africa**—The Defense Minister of the Ciskei bantustan said that terrorism and Communism knew no boundaries and that for this reason the Ciskei had offered a contingent of soldiers to serve in Namibia's operational area.

**South Africa**—Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha welcomed a statement by **Lesotho Prime Minister** Leabua Jonathan that Lesotho was trying to normalize its strained relations with South Africa. South Africa resumed delivery of arms and ammunition, including an Italian helicopter and British security equipment, which had been held up for some time.

**South Africa**—The Foreign Minister said the Mozambican government and the MNR had signed a **ceasefire agreement** and that South African troops would go to Mozambique to monitor it. The agreement followed talks in Pretoria. A Mozambican journalist said that under the agreement President Machel would be recognized by the

### Note on Terminology

The term "black" as used in *News Notes* refers to those groups the South African government identifies as Africans, Coloureds, and Asians. (South Africa uses the term "black" to refer only to Africans.)

MNR, all conflict in Mozambique would stop and South Africa would be requested to help implement the settlement. An MNR representative said a ceasefire had been agreed to only in principle, and MNR Secretary General Evo Fernandes rejected the idea of South African troops monitoring a ceasefire.

**Mozambique**—Maputo radio said a group of 140 captured **MNR guerrillas** were presented to foreign journalists yesterday and gave evidence of South African support to the MNR before the Nkomati accord. One said he was one of a group of 300 guerrillas flown into Mozambique in South African helicopters. He said the rebels were trained at a special camp in the Transvaal by instructors from Israel and other countries.

**USA**—A House and Senate conference committee agreed to recommend several restrictions on trade with South Africa, including a ban on new US bank loans to the South African government, a ban on export of US goods to the South African military and police, and State Department monitoring of US firms doing business there.

### 5 October

**South Africa**—Law and Order Minister Louis leGrange accused the UDF of pursuing the same revolutionary goals as the ANC, indicating that tougher government action was likely. Pressure has grown since UDF leader Archie Gumede took refuge in the British consulate in Durban. Trevor Manuel, the UDF's acting Secretary General, said, "We challenge the government to ban the Front. It will discover that we represent the will of people and that cannot be banned."

**South Africa**—A black youth was reported killed in Soweto when police opened fire to disperse a group of 50 to 60 people who had thrown stones at them.

### 6 October

**South Africa**—Three of the six anti-apartheid campaigners who had sought to evade redetention in the British consulate in Durban left the consulate and were immediately arrested under the Internal Security Act. The three—Murugan Naidoo, Goerge Sewpersad, and Mewa Ramgobin—were greeted by hundreds of supporters when they left the consulate and were entering a car when security police arrived and put them in a yellow police van.

**Mozambique**—The government accused the MNR of killing **two Italians** who it said were captured last month while working on a hydroelectric dam in the south. Witnesses who had been held by the MNR confirmed the killings, but the MNR denied them.

### 7 October

**Zimbabwe**—Prime Minister Mugabe appealed to the US to abandon its policy of "**constructive engagement**" with South Africa. On his return from a weeklong visit to the US he said President Reagan should realize that South Africa would not respond to this "kid glove" treatment.

### 8 October

**South Africa**—SADF troops joined police in patrolling Soweto, but police denied reports that 21 Battalion, stationed near the city, was being used. Defense force troops were also patrolling a township outside Port Elizabeth.

**South Africa**—The Supreme Court of Natal rejected an appeal by the three Durban fugitives—Billy Nair, Archie Gumede, and Paul David—against their redetention orders. Justice van Heerden said the Minister of Law and Order was fully justified in regarding what he considered an attempt to create a revolutionary climate in the country as endangering the maintenance of law and order. Another political fugitive, Kader Hassim, who had been in hiding with the Durban six before they entered the consulate, gave himself up to police in Pietermaritzburg.

### 9 October

**United Nations**—In an address that compared the philosophical basis of apartheid with Hitler's theories in *Mein Kampf*, **French Foreign Minister** Claude Cheysson accused South Africa of trying to impose a "Pax Sudafricana" on its neighbors and said that France had withdrawn from the Contact Group because the Group had been deflected from its aim of implementing UN Resolution 435.

**South Africa**—Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha complained to Britain about a clandestine TV interview conducted by a British reporter with one of the fugitives in the Durban consulate, calling it a flagrant violation of international law. Botha also said there was no way that South Africa would return four men wanted for trial on arms-smuggling charges in Britain, even if Britain ejected the three from the consulate.

## 11 October

**South Africa**—Authorities revealed that several hundred aliens under age 25 had rejected South African citizenship to avoid automatic eligibility for **military conscription** under the new Citizenship Amendment Act. The Act, which came into effect yesterday, requires of aliens either conscription or rejection of citizenship (followed by application for temporary residence and work permits). It was believed that the Act would result in a dramatic increase in the number of draft dodgers.

## 12 October

**South Africa**—The Vice President of the black Council of South African Students and five other COSAS officials were reportedly detained after statements by COSAS that they would not accept a new constitution being forced on them. They wanted police to leave school premises, age limit restrictions to be scrapped, and final exams postponed.

## 13 October

**South Africa**—Police fired **rubber bullets** on a crowd of thousands of mourners near Johannesburg, killing about eight and injuring many more. The mourners were attending the funeral of a young person killed in earlier unrest. The crowd attacked two beer halls after burning a police vehicle. There was more violence in a township near Pretoria, with injuries reported.

## 14 October

**South Africa**—British MP Donald Anderson spent 90 minutes with the Durban fugitives after holding a prayer meeting with their wives. After a death threat against him, about 100 members of the Natal Indian Congress formed a chain around the car that took Anderson to the consulate.

## 15 October

**Namibia**—The Mariental prison camp in southern Namibia, which had housed prisoners seized at the Kassinga refugee camp in Angola in 1978, was ordered evacuated. The last 75 prisoners, held under proclamation AG9, were reportedly transferred to the north for reorientation courses before being released. However, a spokesperson for the Administrator General said the releases were subject to reports outstanding from a year-old investigation of the prisoners' ability to adapt to community life.

## 16 October

**Greece**—Five crew members were arrested on a cargo airplane carrying **7,500 pistols** and six cases of ammunition to southern Africa. The destination of the plane was first reported as Botswana, but the Botswana government denied it had purchased the weapons.

**South Africa**—The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to **Bishop Desmond Tutu** of the South African Council of Churches, who has fought against forced removals, detention without trial, and the pass laws. The Nobel citation spoke of the courage of black South Africans in their use of peaceful methods in the struggle against apartheid. Bishop Tutu later said he believed the award vindicated the struggle of South African blacks against apartheid. He said, "We reject the new Constitution out of hand as a sham and a monumental hoax to hoodwink the international community."

**South Africa**—Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said visiting British MP John Anderson had been denied permission to visit more detainees in South Africa.



Desmond Tutu at Columbia University, 1982

## 17 October

**Mozambique**—The **MNR rebels** said they were pulling out of a meeting with Mozambican officials in Pretoria today. The pullout was a reaction to statements by Gen. Jacinto Veloso and President Machel that Mozambique had nothing to discuss with armed bandits, and that the MNR insurrection would soon be wiped out by the army.

**South Africa**—Visiting British MP Donald Anderson challenged South African authorities to reveal the whereabouts of 32 people who disappeared after being arrested at a cemetery three weeks ago. Anderson said he also knew of three young children who had been shot by the police recently and wanted to know if the officers responsible would be prosecuted.

**South Africa**—Archie Gumede, Billy Nair, and Paul David announced their conditions for leaving the consulate in Durban. These included an end to the South African system of internal banishment and to the law against publishing or quoting the words of banned persons, and an opportunity for the three to attend a meeting of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

## 18 October

**Zimbabwe**—A 19-year-old was being tried for having been trained as a **rebel** by South Africa. He confessed to having been trained with 45 other Zimbabweans by the SADF, with the aim of spying on Zimbabwe's military movements and ultimately overthrowing the government.

## 19 October

**South Africa**—All gatherings except church services were banned for the weekend in Sharpeville as anti-apartheid groups prepared to observe Black Wednesday, the anniversary of the day in 1977 when three newspapers and nearly 20 anti-apartheid organizations were banned and forty people were detained without trial. A police spokesman said a man was killed yesterday in Sharpeville when police fired rubber bullets at a crowd that was stoning vehicles. Disturbances were also reported in Soweto, where rubber bullets were fired at a mob of youths, and in Katlehong, where black youths threw wooden boomerangs at the police.

## 20 October

**South Africa**—Archbishop Dennis Hurley pleaded not guilty in the Pretoria regional court to charges of defaming security forces. The case was remanded until February. Hurley had published allegations that the Koevoet counterinsurgency force had committed atrocities in Namibia. Hurley is the second ranking member of the Catholic Church hierarchy in South Africa.

**Kenya**—President Daniel arap Moi criticized the US for its insistence on a **Cuban troop withdrawal** from Angola before Namibia could become independent. He said this was tantamount to interference in Angola's internal affairs, and that the US also provided veiled support for South Africa's apartheid system.

## 21 October

**South Africa**—Peter Storey, the President of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, called on exiled liberation movements to abandon their armed struggle against South Africa, while also calling on P.W. Botha to unban these movements and negotiate with them. Storey told the Annual Conference of the church that the liberation movements faced the possibility of reduced sympathy because of their methods. Bishop Desmond Tutu criticized Storey's proposal, saying it required more of the liberation movements than of the government, and said that leaders such as Nelson Mandela must be released if negotiations were to have meaning. Allan Boesak of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches said that an end to violence must come from the government, which had initiated it.

**South Africa**—The British government accused the three fugitives in its Durban consulate of abusing consular privileges by continuing political activity, and said their continued stay depended on how they behaved in the future. The fugitives would not be allowed to receive visitors, except for doctors if necessary, and could not make or receive telephone calls. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement condemned the British ruling.

## 22 October

**United Kingdom**—Magistrates in Coventry ordered the South African government to forfeit £400,000 in bail which South Africa had posted for the release of four South Africans accused of **arms smuggling**. The four failed to appear in court after South Africa refused to send them back to Britain. The South African ambassador was summoned to the Foreign Office and told that the British government viewed the matter as a breach of faith.

## 23 October

**South Africa**—The township of Sebokeng was cordoned off and searched by about 7,000 police and troops, in South Africa's biggest-ever internal security operation. More than 19,000 houses were searched and over 350 arrests were made on charges ranging from possession of drugs and firearms to possession of pornography. The dothing of township residents was marked with a red label when they were searched, the doors of their homes were labeled and their hair marked with red dye. The search was extended later in the day to the townships of Sharpeville and Boipatong but was curtailed by heavy rain after about ten more arrests were made. The PFP criticized the operation and the UDF's Trevor Manuel said it was unlikely that the people of Sebokeng could be beaten into submission.

**Malawi**—Mozambican President Samora Machel and Malawian President Hastings Banda signed a **cooperation agreement** considered to be crucial to the Mozambican government's military and diplomatic drive to control the MNR. The agreement was seen as ending years of suspicious and sometimes hostile relations between Mozambique and Malawi.

**USA**—After the US described recent meetings between **US and Angolan officials** as constructive, Angolan President dos Santos said he was prepared to be flexible to bring about a regional peace agreement and was ready to work with the US for Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers.

**Namibia**—SWATF announced that military conscription would be imposed on all Namibian men between 17 and 55, and announced mass registration to begin soon. Military sources said that over half of the troops now fighting SWAPO were already Namibian inhabitants. The Secretary General of the Council of Churches in Namibia said Namibians would not accept being forced into an evil war and expected to destroy their own people.

**United Nations**—The Security Council adopted by 14 to 0 a resolution condemning apartheid and demanding its immediate eradication. The resolution spoke of continued massacres of oppressed people and the arbitrary detention of leaders of mass organizations. The US abstained in the vote because of what it called excesses of language in the resolution.

## 24 October

**South Africa**—Youths in Soweto hijacked a bus and tried to set it on fire, and in Kattlehong police used **rubber bullets and tear gas** to disperse groups of stone-throwers. Incidents of violence also occurred in Port Elizabeth. The three townships recently searched by police and troops have been relatively quiet.

**South Africa**—Police discovered various arms caches following the arrest of two alleged ANC guerrillas. Commissioner of Police Johan Coetsee said that one was arrested last week and a followup investigation had led to the arrest of a female ANC member who, he alleged, had received military training.

## 25 October

**West Germany**—Representatives of Namibia's "internal parties," including Dirk Mudge of the DTA, Moses Katjivuongua (formerly of SWANU), and Andreas Shipanga of SWAPO-D asked West German officials for political support, arguing that the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibia would give one-sided benefit to SWAPO. The Bonn government said that Resolution 435 was indispensable for a settlement in Namibia.

**South Africa**—Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister for African affairs, announced that the 32 black municipal governments would be allowed to recruit **special task forces** to patrol their areas. The move was attacked by the UDF, SACC, and Azapo who accused the government of trying to turn South Africa into a police state.

**South Africa**—The son of Bishop Desmond Tutu won \$3,000 in damages in an out-of-court settlement against the South African government. **Trevor Armstrong Tutu** said he had been unlawfully detained for three days in 1982. He said he was arrested for drunken driving but that when tests showed he had not been drinking the police refused to release him and would not allow him to contact his family.

## 26 October

**South Africa**—An **extended battle** erupted in the Kwazakela township of Port Elizabeth when more than 3,000 students were confronted by a huge convoy of police. The students threw stones, bricks and other missiles while police responded with rubber bullets, whips, and large amounts of tear gas. Barricades were erected and the fighting spread over a large area. Meanwhile another clash involving about 2,000 students broke out in another part of Kwazakela.

## 29 October

**United Kingdom**—At its Annual General Meeting, the **Anti-Apartheid Movement** reaffirmed its campaign for the expulsion of South African ambassador Denis Worrall. The Movement also demanded the recall of Britain's ambassador from South Africa and a review of Britain's diplomatic relations with that country.

## TRIALS AND DETENTIONS ARE CONTINUING!

Over the years IDAF has paid for the legal defense of more than 10,000 prisoners accused of political "crimes," at a cost of over nine million dollars. It has also provided humanitarian aid for the families of tens of thousands of political detainees.

Please help us in this work by mailing a contribution to IDAF, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02238. All contributions are tax-deductible.

## 30 October

**Swaziland**—South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said **top-level discussions** between Swaziland and South Africa were held in Pretoria. Reports said the talks covered Swaziland's claim to territories in the bantustan areas of kaNgwane and kwaZulu. An earlier decision to cede the territory to Swaziland was overruled by the South African Supreme Court.

**South Africa**—Police announced the arrest of at least three people suspected of playing key roles in the unrest in the Vaal Triangle, including Johnson Hlubi of the Orange-Vaal General Workers Union. Meanwhile a Port Elizabeth bus driver was hospitalized in serious condition after being stabbed by youths who had stoned his bus. Police used tear gas to disperse rioters in townships outside Queenstown and Grahamstown, northeast of Port Elizabeth.

**South Africa**—The largest union in the **Council of Unions of South Africa** walked out of the Council's annual conference. The walkout by the National Union of Mineworkers occurred in protest over the Council's link with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which the miners' union believed was pro-Western and too conservative in its attitude to the South African government.

**Mozambique**—South African-generated reports have claimed recently that ex-Mozambicans in Lisbon have been involved in a **Portuguese plot** to recoup former colonial privileges in Mozambique. The Mozambican news agency has criticized Portugal for turning a blind eye to MNR activities in Lisbon.

**Angola**—An Angolan was sentenced to death by firing squad in a trial of more than 120 Angolans and Portuguese nationals accused of **diamond smuggling** and corruption. The court was told that this was a part of a wider international effort to destabilize the Angolan government and sabotage its economy.

**South Africa**—Three teenagers were killed by police who fired shotguns and rubber bullets at hundreds of rioting schoolchildren in the Port Elizabeth township of Kwazakela. A police spokesperson said the boycotting students were throwing stones at police outside a school.

## 31 October

**Israel**—Lennox Sebe of the **Ciskei bantustan** went to Israel for a ceremony of "twinning" between the Ciskei capital of Bisho and an Israeli-occupied town on the West Bank.

## 1 November

**Swaziland**—Zulu chief **Gatsha Buthelezi** said the South African government was still considering handing over the territory of Ngwavuma to Swaziland, and South Africa had decided therefore to grant self-determination to the people living there. Buthelezi warned that he would not accept the breakaway of this territory and that the South African plan would lead to bloodshed.

**South Africa**—Troops and police conducted **searches of vehicles** in Sharpeville and Boipatong. A police spokesperson said it was a routine exercise and not on the scale of last week's operation.

## 2 November

**Cape Verde**—US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, after meeting with a South African delegation led by Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha, said he had informed the South African government of **Angolan proposals** for a regional peace settlement. The South African delegation also included Defense Minister Magnus Malan and Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Administrator General of Namibia. US officials have said Angola has offered to reduce the Cuban troop presence to 10,000 and to redeploy the Cubans away from the southern border.

**Mozambique**—The MNR announced it was formally breaking off the **ceasefire talks** in Pretoria, accusing Frelimo of negotiating in bad faith. The MNR has been annoyed with South Africa for pressuring them to settle with Mozambique.

**United Kingdom**—The Labor Party spokesperson for sports criticized South African athlete **Zola Budd's decision** to remain in South Africa after having been granted British citizenship. He attacked the *Daily Mail* and the government for having rushed through her application in order to allow her to compete in the Los Angeles Olympics.

### 3 November

*South Africa*—Police published details about 32 people said by British Labor Party member Donald Anderson to have disappeared mysteriously after their arrest at a banned funeral in September. A police statement said the 32 people were all arrested on 24 September and charged with incitement to public violence. They had all elected to pay admission-of-guilt fines of about \$25 and the matter was concluded within a few days.

### 4 November

*Denmark*—A meeting in Copenhagen of Western European MPs opposed to apartheid called for concerted action to enforce the existing **economic and arms boycott** of South Africa. They also agreed to promote the flow of information on anti-apartheid measures in the legislatures of their 14 countries.

### 5 November

*Israel*—South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha was greeted by Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir at a red-carpet reception at the outset of Botha's four-day private visit to Israel. Foreign Ministry officials said Botha and Israeli officials would brief each other on developments in Southern Africa and the Middle East. Botha was also expected to meet with Defense Minister Rabin.

*South Africa*—A massive **work stoppage** organized by the Transvaal Regional Stay-away Committee achieved almost a complete boycott in the Sharpeville, Bophelong, Boipatong, and Thembisa townships. The Committee, a loose federation of unions and political groups, called the stayaway to demand the release of political prisoners, the removal of police and soldiers from the townships, and a freeze on rent. About 250,000 students were said to be boycotting classes. Police said buildings and vehicles were attacked and that they made extensive use of rubber bullets, shotguns, and tear gas. At least ten Africans were killed in the unrest. Most of the violence occurred in Thembisa.

### 6 November

*South Africa*—Six more Africans were killed in the **Transvaal work stoppage**, four of them when police fired on crowds at Thembisa and Katlehong. The parastatal Sasol fuel corporation fired 6,000 workers, 90% of their total workforce, for failing to report to work at their two plants in the Transvaal. Reporters were barred from the areas of unrest. The ANC described police action as brutal and mindless. The US State Department said it was saddened by the renewed violence.

### 7 November

*South Africa*—Two members of the Rotanda Civic Association near Heidelberg were detained: Daniel Nkosi and Thomas Motsile.

### 8 November

*USA*—The FBI reportedly found a cache of high-powered weapons at houses rented by terrorists believed to be responsible for **bomb attacks** including a bombing at the South African consulate in New York.

*South Africa*—Security police arrested seven members of Fosatu including its President Chris Dlamini, three members of the Council of South African Students, and officials of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, the Media and Research Services Union, the Release Mandela Committee, and the Municipal and General Workers Union. Yesterday police raided the Johannesburg offices of the UDF, conducted a thorough search and seized thousands of documents. The death toll from unrest in the townships rose to 23 with the discovery of a body in Thembisa.

*South Africa*—A report issued by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said that more people had been detained in 1984 than in any year in the last decade, and that the year's total was already twice as high as last year's. It said 176 people were detained in September and October alone. The Committee attributed the increase to rejection by non-whites of the new Parliament, inferior black education and the soaring cost of living in the townships. It said that only 12 of the 1,006 known detainees this year had been found guilty of any offense after being brought to court.

### 9 November

*South Africa*—Fosatu urged all workers to observe a "Black Christmas" this year because blacks had nothing to celebrate. They called on blacks not to buy any presents and to boycott all Sasol products in response to the company's firing of 6,000 employees. The General Secretary of the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union joined in the call for a Black Christmas. Meanwhile about 70% of the black workers in Grahamstown began boycotting their jobs. Mngenzi Radebe and Matsoso Ramakoa, two executive members of the Sharpeville Civic Association, were detained.

### 11 November

*West Germany*—South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said South Africa's **military disengagement** from southern Angola could be completed within days of a joint military commission meeting next week, unless there was evidence of SWAPO activity or a SWAPO incursion from southern Angola. He said South Africa had not indicated that the Angolan civil war should be resolved before a settlement could be reached on Namibia, but that South Africa would mediate between Angola and UNITA if asked to do so.

*South Africa*—A police spokesperson said a youth died after being shot by a policeman defending his home against **rioters** near Grahamstown. Twenty-five separate dashes occurred in various townships. Police used rubber bullets, shotguns and tear gas to disperse rioters in Katlehong, and the police said the deputy mayor of Katlehong was shot dead in a robbery of his shop.

### 12 November

*Angola*—President dos Santos said his recent **proposal to South Africa** included four points: the withdrawal of the remaining South African troops from southern Angola; the cessation of South African support for UNITA and dismantling of UNITA bases in Namibia; the implementation of UN Resolution 435; and a Cuban pullout from Angola which would begin once South African forces in Namibia had been reduced to 1,500 and UN peacekeeping forces were in place there.

### 14 November

*South Africa*—Bishop Desmond Tutu was elected as Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, the second most important diocese in South Africa.

*South Africa*—Police and troops were used for another big **security clampdown** on the township of Thembisa northeast of Johannesburg. There was no talk of rounding up "revolutionary elements" and security forces arrived with about 100 arrest warrants to be served on individuals. About 50 arrests were made, many of people accused of arson, looting, and stone-throwing. Authorities said the anti-crime drive in Thembisa would last several days.

*South Africa*—Security police arrested three whites and two blacks who played roles in the recent work stayaway in the Transvaal. Arrested were Kate Philip, the President of NUSAS, Guy Berger of the Media and Research Services union, social worker John Campbell, and two black trade unionists, the Secretary General of the Council of South African Unions, and the Transvaal branch secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union. Also detained were a number of members of the Vaal Ministers Solidarity Committee, including its chair, the Rev. Lord McCamel. Steve Tshete, the chair of the border region of the UDF in the eastern Cape, was banished to the Ciskei bantustan.

### 15 November

*South Africa*—Police said 78 people had been arrested in the anti-crime drive in Thembisa. Charges ranged from murder to pass-law violations. Meanwhile three white students were detained in Grahamstown for being in an illegal gathering.

*South Africa*—Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha said after a first round of talks with US official Chester Crocker that he did not know if he could give Crocker a definite answer on the **Angolan settlement offer**. He said that South Africa could not accept the permanent presence of foreign troops in the area, and that 3,000 to 4,000 Cuban troops in Angola would be an "acceptable" number.

*Ethiopia*—The OAU at its summit meeting said "reforms" in South Africa amounted to a denationalization of the African majority. It said some Southern African countries were forced to maintain economic links with South Africa, which the latter was using to blackmail them.

*USA*—A group of **Catholic bishops** urged the US to abandon its present policy on South Africa, saying that constructive engagement amounted to implicit support for South Africa.

*South Africa*—Law and Order Minister Louis leGrange said he had advised police to charge the Rev. Allan Boesak under a law prohibiting false criticism of the police. He said that Boesak on his recent tour of Australia had charged the police with atrocities including the shooting in both legs of a 12-year-old boy.

### 16 November

*South Africa*—The Minister of Manpower said there had been more than **300 strikes** this year, involving more than 119,000 workers. Last year there were 270 strikes involving about 54,000 workers.

*South Africa*—In its harshest statement so far in the current cycle of repression, the **SACC** said the crackdown on the legitimate expression of grievances was unparalleled in the history of South Africa. The Council also condemned violence by blacks against blacks, saying this would be used by the authorities to justify further repression.

*South Africa*—Police arrested more than 2,000 black migrant workers on raids in Sebokeng on 14 and 15 November. A police spokesperson said most of those detained had already appeared in court on charges including failure to produce their passbooks. Police in the Cape said crowds attacked the house of a black town councillor and that shots were fired. Tear gas was used to disperse the crowds.

*South Africa*—Opposition MP Helen Suzman accused the government of creating an ever more dangerous situation by using force as its response to the current unrest in South Africa. She attacked the detention without trial of schoolchildren and trade unionists and called for a high-level conference between the government, trade unions, and the country's real black leaders, and for the release of political detainees.

### 18 November

*South Africa*—A 19-year-old African youth was killed after police opened fire with shotguns to disperse **demonstrators** in the township of Vosloosrus east of Johannesburg. Police said they had failed to heed warning shots to disperse after attacking the home of a black councillor.

**Zambia**—US official Chester Crocker briefed President Kaunda and SWAPO President Sam Nujoma on his negotiations with South African leaders regarding the Angolan proposal on a **phased withdrawal** of Cuban troops. After the talks Nujoma said the current initiative was not producing any progress. The Cuban news agency said the Angolans proposed to pull back Cuban troops from the south four months after UN forces were deployed in Namibia, but that Cuban troops around Luanda province would remain. Meanwhile the Japanese government expressed its willingness to provide personnel in the interests of a Namibian solution.

**South Africa**—The opposition PFP announced that it would disregard the **Prohibition of Political Interference Act** by allowing South Africans of all colors to join the party. PFP member Helen Suzman said the law had already been violated by the Coloured Labor Party and that she expected it to fall into disuse or be repealed.

## 20 November

**United Kingdom**—Speaking at St. Paul's Cathedral, Bishop **Desmond Tutu** described recent constitutional reforms in South Africa as a monumental hoax to hoodwink the international community. He said conditions were so bad that if the Soviets were to come to South Africa today most blacks, even those who reject Communism as atheistic, would welcome them as saviors. Tutu called for the abolition of the pass laws, detention without trial and forced removals, and said there should be a uniform citizenship and educational system in South Africa.

## 21 November

**Cuba**—The official Cuban Communist newspaper said the Cuban government was ready to sign a four-party agreement on the withdrawal of **Cuban troops** from Angola. It said such a pact between Angola, South Africa, Cuba and SWAPO should be based on proposals made by Angolan President dos Santos. Meanwhile Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere came out against a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, saying it would be suicidal for the MPLA to agree to it.

**Mozambique**—After meeting with President Samora Machel, US official Chester Crocker said he hoped **South African troops** would be withdrawn from southern Angola very soon. His talks with Machel concerned the Namibian situation and relations between Mozambique and the US. Yesterday Crocker met with Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mugabe and Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende to discuss Namibia.

**South Africa**—A lawyer acting on behalf of a group of six doctors urged the Supreme Court to force South Africa's Medical Council to investigate the conduct of two other doctors who examined black leader Steve Biko during his detention in 1977. He said that Drs. Ivor Lang and Benjamin Tucker had been guilty of dereliction of duty, negligence and gross incompetence in their treatment of Biko, who died of brain damage while in detention. Drs. Tucker and Lang had said Biko was shamming his injuries, although Lang had discovered Biko chained to a urine-soaked mat, with a cut lip, bruised sternum, and slurred speech.

**United Kingdom**—Lawyers representing the three fugitives in the Durban consulate intensified their campaign to be allowed access to them. They said the denial of access infringed basic human rights. Representatives of the newly formed anti-apartheid committee of the Parliamentary Labor Group were seeking an urgent meeting on the matter with Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

**South Africa**—The South African Institute of Race Relations called on President Botha and Law and Order Minister leGrange to lift bans on the ANC, PAC, and 17 Black Consciousness organizations. The Institute also urged the government to release political prisoners and to allow political exiles to return home, provided they renounce the use of violence. Several anti-apartheid organizations called on supporters to observe 29 December as a day of protest against detentions and political repression.

## 22 November

**USA**—South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha announced that three black Americans, including Congressman Walter Fauntroy (D-DC), were removed from the South African embassy in Washington after staging a sit-in. He said Fauntroy had intended to remain in the embassy until he received an assurance that detained trade unionists would be released and that the three anti-apartheid activists in the British consulate in Durban would not be charged. The sit-in marked the beginning of the Free South Africa campaign. Another sit-in was reported at the South African consulate in Los Angeles.

**South Africa**—The Association of Chambers of Commerce urged the government either to charge detained unionists as soon as possible or else release them. The members held a three-house closed-door meeting with Law and Order Minister Louis leGrange yesterday, and said they were concerned that the detentions would adversely affect relations between labor and management.

**Angola**—The Angolan news agency said that 25,000 of the **Cuban troops** supporting the government would be progressively withdrawn over a three-year period, once a UN peacekeeping force was deployed in Namibia. As soon as South African air force units based in Namibia were evacuated, the 5,000 Cubans in southern Angola would leave. Another 15,000 would leave in three stages between 16 weeks and two years after the arrival of the UN force. The last 5,000 troops stationed in the north would leave by the end of the three years.

## 23 November

**Namibia**—Seven detainees released from the Mariental prison camp claimed damages of R20,000 each for unlawful arrest, while another 29 sued for R30,000 each for

both arrest and assault. Most of the detainees were held for over six years without trial after being captured in a South African raid on the Kassinga refugee camp. The assaults were allegedly inflicted on prisoners in the early stages of their detention at Oshakati in the north. One Mariental detainee was still in custody.

## 24 November

**South Africa**—**Nine journalists**, including the editor of the *Cape Times* and reporters for the *Rand Daily Mail* were ordered to appear in court to give evidence against those involved in anti-government protest. The journalists were summoned under the Criminal Procedures Act, and failure to comply could mean a prison sentence. Opponents of the government expressed outrage and the editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* said it was an attempt to enlist newsmen as an information-gathering limb for the police.

## 26 November

**South Africa**—Police commissioner Johan Coetsee said that the ANC, especially its labor wing, SACTU, was the most important revolutionary organization aiming to disrupt law and order in South Africa. Meanwhile Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers was arrested on charges of holding an illegal meeting.

**South Africa**—An alleged ANC guerrilla was killed near the Botswana border and two others were arrested after a tipoff by the Bophuthatswana bantustan police. The guerrilla was allegedly killed in a gun battle when a grenade he attempted to hurl at police went off in his hand. The chief of the South African security police said it was clear the guerrillas had infiltrated from Botswana.

## 27 November

**USA**—Continuing the anti-apartheid campaign begun on the 22nd, four protesters including black Congressman Charles Hayes and Baptist minister Joseph Lowery were arrested at the South African Embassy, for a total of seven arrests in eight days. The United Auto Workers sent its support to the Free South Africa movement, and a UAW spokesperson said the union was appalled at detentions without trial in South Africa. Meanwhile Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) criticized constructive engagement, saying it had had the destructive effect of lending legitimacy to apartheid.

**South Africa**—Law and Order Minister Louis leGrange said at a meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries that the government was not acting against organizations or individuals because of their trade union activities or political views. The Chamber urged the government to charge detainees as soon as possible for alleged offenses against state security.

**South Africa**—A seven-year-old **African boy** died in hospital of gunshot wounds. Police said he was found shot in the hips after an official in Sharpeville fired warning shots at a crowd of youths who attempted to hijack a vehicle.

## 28 November

**South Africa**—The Rev. **Allan Boesak** said that people who bear witness to police and military actions in black residential areas must not be described as liars. Everything possible should be done to find out whether their allegations are founded. Boesak was responding to the Law and Order Minister's instruction to the police to investigate Boesak's allegedly false statements on police brutality.

**South Africa**—Kate Philip, 24, the President of NUSAS, was released after two weeks of solitary detention. She was held with two other whites under the Internal Security Act and questioned about a two-day strike by black workers in the Transvaal. Three others picked up the same morning were still being held. Her mother described Section 29 of the Internal Security Act as a "barbaric instrument of intimidation."

**USA**—President **Reagan** praised the role of Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker in Namibian independence negotiations. Reagan said South Africa was willing for Namibia to have independence but not while Angola has Cuban troops on the northern border of Namibia, and the possibility remained for Namibia to become another satellite of the Communist bloc.



South African troops camouflaged for field exercises in Namibia

**South Africa**—Four supporters of the Natal Indian Congress and the UDF were arrested outside the British consulate in Durban and released after being charged with holding an illegal meeting. A group of about 30 demonstrators with placards gathered outside the consulate, where three anti-apartheid activists had been taking refuge.

**South Africa**—Thirty-five people were arrested, charged under the Internal Security Act, and released after protesting the large number of detentions without trial. Anti-government protesters had lined a main street in Johannesburg, holding placards bearing the names of detainees. At a multiracial church service held to remember those in detention, the Rev. Beyers Naude said Christians must express their feelings of horror, anger, and of solidarity with those who are suffering. South African churches were asked to ring their bells to protest the wave of arrests.

**Namibia**—Farmers and businesses were reportedly coercing their workers to register for compulsory military service. There had been confusion over whether the conscription orders applied to black and Coloured Namibians, and a Territory Force spokesperson said those who failed to register would not be prosecuted "immediately," implying there was a problem with the current legislation.

**United Nations**—A SWAPO leader, **Andimba Toivo ja Toivo**, rejected Western appeals for patience on Namibia, primarily from the US, saying diplomatic efforts to bring Namibia to independence had failed. Toivo accused certain Western countries of acting with political expediency and naked greed in their dealings with South Africa, and said Namibians are subjected daily to wanton killings and arrest by South African authorities. He called upon the UN to impose mandatory sanctions on South Africa, and rejected South Africa's demand that Cuban troops withdraw from Angola.

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.

**IDAF News Notes** is published bimonthly by the United States Committee of the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02238. President: Mia Adjali, Executive Director: Kenneth N. Carstens. **News Notes** Editor: Geoffrey Wisner. Contributors for this Issue: Kenneth Carstens, Geoffrey Wisner. Photos: Columbia University, 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  
 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  
 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—Herstigste 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)  
 NUSAS—National Union of South African Students  
 OAU—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  
 SACTU—South African Congress of Trade Unions  
 SADC—Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference  
 SADF—South African Defense Force  
 SAPA—South African Press Association  
 SWAPO—South West Africa People's Organization  
 SWATF—South West Africa Territorial Force  
 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 peace-keeping 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  
 Zpra—Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army, the military wing of ZAPU  
 One South African rand (R1.00) equals approximately 50

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