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focus

ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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SCHOOLS CLOSED IN S. AFRICA

Police repression of school pupils boycotting classes has continued unabated, particularly in African schools in the Cape Province and parts of the Transvaal. Police attacks on meetings, arrests and detentions have occurred as they did in earlier stages of the boycott (see *FOCUS 28-30 and DETENTIONS*). African education has come to a halt in several areas with the indefinite closure of schools by the government.

Police actions against pupils were reported within days of the start of the new school term at the beginning of August, all over the country, and in both urban and rural areas. Examples included: use of teargas to disperse 200 students at Adelaide School (Eastern Cape) who were burning books in the playground (*CT 6.8.80*); use of birdshot and arrest of several pupils when over 4,000 from schools in Diepkloof (Soweto) marched through the streets protesting against rent increases and Bantu education (*Post 8.8.80*); arrest of four pupils in Kimberley (*Citizen 7.8.80*). In the Ciskei police used batons and teargas against pupils from two schools, and 38 were arrested. The pupils were demanding a closure of schools until a 'new system of education is introduced, one education for all' (*SP 10.8.80*).

By September conflict with police had become more violent in a number of areas.

At least one student was shot dead by Ciskei police on 11 September. It happened after students from one school marched into three other schools demanding that their pupils join the boycott. The police said that they were following the students and responded only when attacked by them. The students claimed that three pupils between the ages of 11 and 12 years had been killed and 50 injured when police opened fire on them (*RDM 12.9.80*).

In Kimberley police arrested 112 pupils on 8 September. When four pupils were

arrested at the beginning of August, the rest said they would not go back until the four had been released and their demands met, declaring that they were prepared to sacrifice their end of year examinations to do away with Bantu education (*Citizen 7.8.80; Voice 27.8.80*). The arrests in September came on the day the Minister of Education and Training was visiting Kimberley and after a meeting of 1,500 pupils at a community centre had been dispersed with teargas. Although the press reported that the pupils had 'gone on the rampage' through a white residential area, the children denied this. A source described as a 'high ranking white official' said that most of the damage occurred when panic-stricken pupils fled from baton-charging policemen (*CT 9/10.9.80*).

In the African townships around Cape Town all the schools were deserted by 10 August (*CT 11.8.80*). The school boycott coincided with the bus boycott and conflict with the police was at times intense (see *POLICE ACTION AGAINST BUS BOYCOTTS*). In both August and September a number of students and pupils were detained in connection with the boycott, as was the case in the Eastern Cape as well (see *DETENTIONS*).

In mid-September, with no signs in several areas of the boycott breaking, the government closed African schools in those areas indefinitely.

On 9 September the Minister of Education and Training announced that all senior African schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage were closed. A few days later all higher primary and secondary schools for Africans were closed in Cape Town, Paarl, Worcester, Oudtshoorn, Adelaide and Kimberley (*CT 20.9.80*).

The Minister said that pupils at the affected schools would not qualify for internal promotion or for the writing of external examinations. Teaching staff would be transferred to other schools, adult education centres and circuit offices (*CT 20.9.80*).

Students said that the Department of

Education and Training had not met any of their short term demands, which included the recognition of freely elected student representative councils, the reinstatement of suspended or expelled students, the release of those detained in connection with the boycott, better facilities and the return of transferred teachers to their respective institutions (*CT 23.9.80*).

Students, educationalists, politicians and various organisations such as the South African Institute of Race Relations and the South African Council of Churches have said that to stop the boycott, the government will have to provide equal education for all with no form of separation of educational institutions based on race or culture (*CT 23.9.80; RDM 25.9.80*).

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POLITICAL TRIALS CONVICTIONS

MSEKELI MGJIMA

A journalist studying at Rhodes University was jailed in September for five years by Port Elizabeth Regional Court after being convicted under the Internal Security and Unlawful Organisations Acts.

Ian Msekeli MGJIMA (30) a student of journalism on a *Daily Dispatch* bursary, was charged with being a member of the banned ANC and of possessing ANC and SA Communist Party literature. He pleaded guilty, saying he had received pamphlets and a tape from Lesotho,

which he showed to journalist Zubeida Jaffer, a Rhodes graduate (see under *DETENTIONS*) and Gladstone V. Mqingwana a graduate student, both of whom were detained.

On 13 September Mjijima was sentenced to three years for acting for the ANC and two for possessing the literature, making a total term of five years.

The police claimed that Mjijima's brother was a trained ANC member operating in Swaziland and Zambia, and

that the ANC had made arrangements for Mjijima to leave the country if granted bail. Leave to appeal was granted (CT 6/12/14.9.80).

MATTHEW LEBELO

A Soweto man who claimed to have become a pilot while undergoing military training in Nigeria was jailed in July for five years under the Terrorism Act by Johannesburg Regional Court.

Matthew Max LEBELO (27) said he decided to return to South Africa and was arrested on arrival at Johannesburg airport on 13 June. In court he thanked the Security Police for treating him well (RDM 12.7.80).

CONTINUING TRIALS

NINE ANC GUERRILLAS

The trial of nine alleged ANC guerrillas charged with treason, attempted murder and terrorism in incidents including the Silverton bank and Soekmekaar police station attacks, re-opened in Pretoria Supreme Court on 4 August.

The accused are Mcimbithi Johnson LUBISI (28), Petrus Tsepo MASHIGA (20), Naphthali MANANA (24), Ikan Yeng Moses MOLEBATS (27), Hloli Benjamin TAU (24), Phumulani Grant SHEZI (24), Jeremiah RADEBE (26), Boyce Johannes MOGALE (26), and Thomas MNGADI (29). The charges are detailed in *Focus* 30 p.5.

Evidence was given relating to the Silverton bank attack when three guerrillas were killed by police. Parents of the three confirmed their identification in court and police and hostages described the shooting when police stormed the bank. The guerrillas' demands were said to have been the release of Nelson Mandela and James Mange, together with the political demands contained in the *Freedom Charter*.

In connection with this attack, Tau and Molebatsi are said to have taken police to 'base camps' in the Ga-Rankuwa and Kwa-Thema areas where forged passports for themselves and one of the dead guerrillas were found together with arms and food supplies. This evidence was challenged on the grounds that Tau had been assaulted and his information was inadmissible. Molebatsi was said by his brother to have hidden a gun in Atteridgeville township.

The attack on the Soekmekaar police station in the Northern Transvaal in January this year was described by the policemen stationed there. They said their force had been increased and armed to prevent violence during forced removals in the locality, where the Makgato people were being resettled.

The three accused of the Soekmekaar attack are Mashiga, arrested 26 January, Lubisi, arrested 30 January and Manana, arrested after Lubisi's interrogation the same day (see *Focus* 27 p.11 for their detention). According to statements made to the police, the three had hidden in a camp for a month before taking a vehicle and staging the attack.

Other evidence given to the court was from an alleged accomplice who claimed to be ANC guerrilla commander for the southern Natal region who trained in Angola in 1977-78. He said he gave himself up to Pietermaritzburg police in December 1979. He identified six of the accused from the training camps. Another alleged accomplice said he had returned to South Africa with a guerrilla detachment which

he had betrayed to the police in January 1979; a skirmish followed near Lobatsi in which one of the guerrillas was killed, the rest escaping. The relevance of this incident was challenged, but the witness identified Manana and Tau from Angolan training camps.

Col. H.D. Stadler of Durban gave lengthy evidence on the history and publications of the ANC (RDM 4-9/13/26-29.8.80, 3-5/9/10.9.80; CT 6/9/12/14/26.8.80, 10/11.9.80).

MODISE, NKOSI, MOGALE

When the trial of three young ANC members Thandi MODISE (20), Moses NKOSI (24) and Aaron MOGALE (21) resumed in August (see *Focus* 30 p.5) Ms. Modise gave evidence of being assaulted and insulted while in security police detention. On one occasion Capt. Heystek put a gun to her forehead and threatened to shoot her.

A statement allegedly made by Ms. Modise was challenged in court on the grounds that it had been made under duress. Her lawyer told the court that she had been subjected to strenuous interrogation while pregnant. Maj. Cronwright at John Vorster Square was in charge of the interrogation which was carried out by Capt. Heystek and W/O Jordaan. There was argument in court as to which policemen had been involved in the case, and the security police occurrence book was requested by defence lawyers.

Replying to a question on how persons could be injured while in custody, Sgt. E.J. Tierney told the court that at John Vorster Square 'the floor is so slippery that a person can fall and injure himself or even fall while sitting on a chair'. Sgt. Tierney had interrogated Nkosi (who is also said to have made a statement under duress) and told him he would be kept indefinitely in detention.

During the trial the defence applied for David Maduna, now a political prisoner on Robben Island (see *Focus* 28 p.3) to give evidence on assaults and torture by the police at John Vorster Square, where Maduna was also detained (RDM 14/21/26/27.8.80; 11/12.9.80).

MAVI and OTHERS

Three executive members of the Black Municipal Workers Union have been charged under the 'Sabotage' or General Law Amendment Act of 1962 following the strike of municipal workers in Johannesburg (see *Focus* 30 p.4).

BMWU president Joseph MAVI and secretary Phillip DLAMINI, both detained early in August, were charged on 14 August in Johannesburg Magistrates Court when the case was remanded to 28 August and bail was refused. They were charged under the clauses relating

to interfering with law and order, maintenance of essential services and free movement of traffic.

On 20 August BMWU deputy secretary Gatsby MAZWI was also detained at the union offices and taken to John Vorster Square for questioning. On 26 August he was also charged under the Sabotage Act and released on bail, as were Mavi and Dlamini. All must report daily to the police in Soweto.

The three appeared briefly in Johannesburg Regional Court on 28 August, when the case was remanded to 29 September (RDM 15/21/23/27/29.8.80).

ATHLONE KHIMA

A Pretoria man Athlone KHIMA appeared in the Regional Court in July accused of encouraging others to go abroad for military training.

It was alleged that in April Khima asked another man, who appeared as a witness, to accompany him to Mozambique after reading of the election result in Zimbabwe (Post 16.7.80).

The case was remanded to 13 August.

NKUMBI and NKUMBI

The trial of two brothers from Soweto charged under the Terrorism Act with attempted recruiting resumed in July when defence lawyers stated that five out of the state witnesses had been severely assaulted. One had lost the sight of an eye.

Elias Sana NKUMBI (21) and Watson NKUMBI (18) (see *Focus* 28 p.4) are appearing in Johannesburg Regional Court and have pleaded not guilty (RDM 22/25.7.80).

MOGALE and MAKUNYANE

It was reported that the trial of Ephraim MOGALE and Thabo MAKUNYANE (see *Focus* 30 p.5) resumed in Pietersburg Regional Court on 25 August and was remanded to 2 September, but no details of proceedings have been published (Voice 27.8.80).

FLORENCE MANCOTYWA

The trial of Ms. Florence MANCOTYWA, of the Democratic Progressive Party and close associate of Sabata Dalindyebo (see *Focus* 21 p.6) was resumed in Umtata in August, when it was again postponed, to 30 September.

Ms. Mancotywa is charged under the Trask Public Security Act with inciting racial hatred. She was arrested in July 1979 and spent 119 days in detention before being granted bail, on condition that she report daily to the police (RDM 16.8.80; See also under *APPEALS DALINDYEBO*).

OTHER TRIALS

With the widespread demonstrations and strikes that have occurred this year, there have been many trials of people on charges of Riotous Assembly and Public Violence. Some have been previously reported in *Focus*, and some recent cases are reported below. But there are also others, about which there is not yet enough information in the press to be reported here.

REV. THORNE AND OTHERS

Eight people were found guilty in the Krugersdorp Magistrates Court on 13 August under the Riotous Assemblies Act. They were sentenced to four months imprisonment suspended for five years.

There were: Rev. John THORNE (rector of Bosmont Congregational Church), Rev. Cecil BEGBIE (rector of Coronationville Methodist Church), Rev. Louis ILETT (rector of Riverlea Anglican Church), Rev. Martin OCTOBER (rector of Bosmont Moravian Church), Hanif VALLY (a University of the Witwatersrand law student), Thomas MARSH (head student of the Rand Teachers' Training College), David JOHNSON (a University of the Witwatersrand social work student) and Vesta SMITH (a secretary at the Legal Resources Centre, Johannesburg). They were charged with addressing a gathering of 5,000 students in Bosmont, Johannesburg on 22 April, and thereby contravening the ban on outdoor gatherings in force since 1976, and

renewed in March this year (see *Focus* 29 p.4).

In their defence the priests said that they regarded the gathering as a religious one and were not aware that it was a violation of the Act. One of the accused said she knew of the ban, but said 'It didn't dawn on my mind that the gathering could have been unlawful'. She said she had been trying to talk the students out of having a demonstration. 'I live in Soweto', she said and I saw what happened on 16 June, 1976. I only wanted to warn the students against this'.

A video film, taken by the police, was shown to the court. The defence said it showed that the accused had contributed to keeping the gathering peaceful (*Post* 14.8.80; *CT* 14.8.80).

UNION ORGANISER AND STRIKERS

Trials of people on charges of Riotous Assembly or of illegally striking include the following:

- Thozamile GQWETA, national organiser of the South African Allied Workers Union, who was detained on 20 April and held for 40 days under the Ciskei Emergency regulations following a strike in Mdantsane (see *Focus* 29 p.3) appeared in court in Mdantsane on 30 May on a charge under the Riotous Assemblies Act. The case was postponed until 19 June, and then again to 11 August (*DD* 26.4.80, 31.5.80, 20.6.80).

- Two men, Don MAVUME (35) and Gideon MHLANGANISO (45), both of Mdantsane had charges of illegal striking against them withdrawn in the East London Regional Court. The charge sheet did not disclose details (*DD* 19.6.80, 2.8.80).

- 55 workers were convicted in the Boksburg Magistrates Court on 8 August on charges of striking illegally (*Post* 11.7.80. See *Focus* 29 p.2).

They were all sentenced to 60 days imprisonment or R60 fine. In addition, all were sentenced to six months imprisonment suspended for five years. All 55 elected to pay the fine and it is expected they will be 'endorsed out' of the Witwatersrand area and sent to the bantustans.

The charges arose out of a strike at a Boksburg factory, Rely Precision Castings, sparked by the dismissal of a fellow worker. The defence argued they were not striking, but had believed they were dismissed after attempting to seek an explanation for their colleague's dismissal. The prosecution argued they had gone on strike in support of a demand and had, therefore, broken the law (*CT* 9.8.80).

- Four workers, three members of the workers committee and a union shop steward at Ray-Lite Batteries in East London, appeared in court in August. It was alleged they had intimidated workers (*RDM* 20.8.80).

- Two representatives of workers at the Frame Group textile mills, Jabulani GWALA and Mpingosi NZAMA, were acquitted in the Pinetown Magistrates Court of charges of inciting a strike. The charges arose out of a week long strike earlier this year (see *Focus* 29 p.2).

The presiding magistrate said he found the State's evidence unreliable. A third member of the workers liaison committee, Samson CELE, who had been charged with the other two, was shot dead by a masked gunman the day before he was due to appear in court (*DD* 15.7.80; *RDM* 20.7.80).

APPEALS

TWO JUVENILES

In September the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein upheld the appeal of two boys sent to Robben Island in 1978 after being convicted of sabotage.

The boys were aged 15 and 14 at the time of the trial and were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment, together with two other juveniles. The trial took place in a temporary magistrates court at Algoa Park, Port Elizabeth on 4-6 April, 1978 (see *Focus* 17 p.16). The boys were accused of having set fire to the house in New Brighton township designated as the Ciskei 'embassy' on 22 February 1978. All four were sent to Robben Island as political offenders, despite their age.

The Appeal Court reversed both conviction and sentence in the case of the appellants on the grounds that their lawyer had been irregularly prevented from entering not guilty pleas on their behalf, and irregular questioning had followed leading to prejudicial admissions by the accused. Earlier, the Eastern Cape Supreme Court had upheld the convictions on the grounds that the evidence of a co-accused implicated them (*RDM* 12.9.80). The other two accused (Nos. 1 and 3 in the indictment) were not legally represented at the original trial and there is no report of their appeal.

This case is one of those described by lawyer John Jackson in his book *Justice in South Africa* (1980), in which he demonstrates that all four accused were younger and smaller than the youths seen setting fire to the New Brighton house; that all four were beaten by Sgt. Nel and Maj. de Jongh of the Port Elizabeth police; that their thumbprints were affixed to confessions written by the police; that they pleaded guilty on Sgt. Nel's instructions; and that they understood little of the legal proceedings which took place in court. Under questioning by the magistrate the ac-

cused first admitted and then denied taking part in the arson attacks. It was shown in court that none was fully literate, having at most completed two years at school. Jackson was denied the right of entering a plea on his clients' behalf — the basis of the successful appeal.

According to Jackson, his clients were named Thozamile Mpungoshe and Mamli Masikane, accused Nos. 2 and 4 in the trial, and these are presumably those freed by the appeal. Accused No. 1 is named as Samson Madushane aged 14; the fourth name was not given.

V. L. MBATHA

The appeal of Vusumuzi Lucas MBATHA, sentenced to five years' imprisonment under the Terrorism Act in June 1978 (see *Focus* 17 p.2) was dismissed by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein on 18 September.

A teacher in Natal before his arrest, Mbatha was convicted of encouraging others to go for military training. The Appeal Court rejected the submission that evidence against him contained marked discrepancies (*RDM* 19.9.80).

ZWELAKHE SISULU

In May the Pretoria Supreme Court set aside a nine-month sentence on journalist Zwelakhe SISULU imposed for refusing to answer questions in the trial of Mkhwanazi and others under the Terrorism Act (*DD* 6.5.80).

The sentence was imposed in August 1979 (see *Focus* 24 p.5). Mr. Sisulu is the son of ANC leader Walter Sisulu, serving a life sentence on Robben Island.

MKHWANAZI AND OTHERS

The appeal of nine men convicted under the Terrorism Act in March 1980 (see *Focus* 27 p.12) was heard in Pretoria Supreme Court in September. Jeremiah MAJATLADI (23) sentenced to 7 years; Thamsanga MKHWANAZI (38) 7 years; Ronald MAMOEPHA (19) 5 years;

Lebugang MOKONE (18) 5 years; Petrus SENABE (22) 5 years; Andrew PHALA (18) 5 years; Deacon MATHE (22) 5 years; Cornelius LEEUW (18); and a 17-year-old sentenced to 5 years, are all appealing against their convictions for recruiting or being recruited for military training. Judgement was reserved (*Post* 16.9.80).

CHIEF DALINDYEBO

The appeal by Chief Sabata DALINDYEBO, convicted under the Transkei Public Security Act in April 1980, was dismissed by the Transkei Supreme Court at a later date, on the grounds that there were no prospects that the judgement would be reversed. Chief Dalindyebo was fined R500 for impugning the dignity of the Transkei President Chief K.D. Matanzima (see *Focus* 28 p.3).

The appeal was then forwarded to the Appellate Division which granted leave to appeal. But by that time Dalindyebo had apparently left the Transkei after having been deposed as leader of the Tembus, removed from the Transkei Legislative Assembly and deprived of his official allowance as Paramount Chief, following his conviction (*SP* 10/17.8.80, 7.9.80).

This took place in August, when the Transkei government rejected a recommendation from the Dalindyebo regional authority that Chief Sabata be suspended for two years; the Prime Minister George Matanzima said that Chief Sabata's attitude amounted to a treasonable act and he was therefore being deposed. With an appeal pending, Sabata is technically innocent of the charge, however, and his demotion is regarded by legal experts as improper (*S. Ex.* 24.8.80).

Chief Sabata is reported to have left the country, probably for Swaziland. At the same time as he was deposed, Transkei police raided his home, arresting a Swazi guest there, and those of two of his supporters including Ms. F. Mancotywa, herself on trial (*SP* 10.8.80).

DETENTIONS

The South African Government has kept up its widespread use of detention without trial to quell the continuing upsurge of anti-apartheid activity and school boycotts. According to statistics issued by the Ministry of Justice early in August 57 people were being detained under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act which allows for indefinite 'preventive' detention. Many of these have since been released but others have been added to the list. It is impossible to establish accurately who is being or has been detained under Section 10 until lists of detainees are issued or until they are released. In addition to the Internal Security Act detainees, there are 155 people on the banned list (*see Focus 30 p.6*). An undisclosed number of people are also being held under other security legislation (*RDM 8.8.80*).

During August and September a large number of detentions took place in the Cape Town area. These were connected with the 'Red Meat' boycott, the schools boycott and the bus boycott. This can be seen by the large number of detentions of leaders of civic associations in the various Cape townships. In connection with the schools boycott a number of teachers, student leaders and students have been detained.

TRADE UNIONISTS

Trade unionist Phillip MASIA was released from detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act on 17 July (*S. Post 20.7.80*). Five Cape Town trade unionists who were detained during the red meat boycott during June and July have been released. They are three organisers of the Western Province General Workers' Union — David LEWIS, Wilson SIDINA and Diane COOPER — and two WPGWU supporters who assisted it during the strike, Michael MORRIS

and John FRANKISH. They were held under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act (*RDM 12.8.80*). Leon MQHAKAYI, organising secretary of the Commercial and Allied Workers' Union, who also played a leading role in the red meat boycott, was released on 22 August. He was detained with Oscar MPETHA (71), a founder member of SACTU and national organiser of the Food and Canning Workers' Union. Both were leaders of the Nyanga Resident's Association (*RDM 30.8.80*) which has been active in organising the Cape bus boycott (*see p. 12*).

Half of the Executive Committee of the Black Municipal Workers' Union (BMWU) have been detained in connection with the strike in July of 10,000 municipal workers in Johannesburg. The Union's President, Joseph MAVI, was detained on 31 July and Phillip DLAMINI shortly after. On 13 August executive member Hope MAMABALO was detained and on 30 August Gatsby MAZWI, the acting Secretary. Mavi, Dlamini and Mazwi have been charged under the General Laws Amendment Act (*see POLITICAL TRIALS*).

HUNGER STRIKES

Detainees have continued to hold hunger strikes in protest against their detention under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act. Eight of the nine detainees at Victor Verster prison near Paarl went on hunger strike in solidarity with two detainees at Pollsmoor prison (*RDM 16.8.80*) and nine detainees at Modderbee prison in Benoni went on hunger strike in sympathy with those in Cape Town (*RDM 22.8.80*).

RELEASES AND DETENTIONS

On 10 August, 20 Internal Security Act detainees were released; one, Matthews THULO, was redetained and placed under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Nine others — all officials of the Azapo and Cosas branches in Bloemfontein — had their detention orders extended to 10 November. Among the released were six students from the University of Durban Westville. They are Yunus SHAIK, Altaf KARRIM, P.B. SOOBYAM, Yacoob OMAR, Mohamed OSMAN and Adhir MAHARAJ. Also released were Dr.

'Joe' VARIAVA, executive member of Azapo, Phillip MAKOU, Kgaogelo LEKGORO, Sandile NJOLI, Mithrasagran NAIDOO, Parsot PARBHO, Lawrence MOEKETSI, Rajoo GANDHI, Cassiem COOVADIA, Farid THEBA, Moses CHIKANG, Duke MORE and Titus MOFOLO (*RDM 11.8.80*).

A former leader of the Black People's Convention (BPC) who was a friend of Steve BIKO and is now banned, Peter JONES, was released on 16 July after eight days detention (*DD 17.7.80; see BANS*). Several detainees being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act have been released in the past two months. These are Andrew BORAIN, President of NUSAS, Edwin ANGLESS, a tutor in industrial sociology from UCT, Temba MPETHA, son of Oscar MPETHA who is Chairman of the Nyanga Resident's Association and national organizer of the Food and Canning Workers' Union (*Citizen 14.8.80*).

Two Natal University students, Harth SENEQUE and Mike PAGE, and former NUSAS President, Nicholas 'Fink' HAYSOM were detained and held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, and were released after a few days.

TRANSKEI

In September it was announced that the former Transkei Minister of the Interior, Saul NDZUMO (58) had died in detention. He was detained on 1 September on suspicion of being involved in a plot to overthrow the Transkei Government (*RDM 11.9.80*). A post mortem revealed that he had died of natural causes (*Tel. 17.9.80*). Also detained in connection with the alleged involvement in the abortive coup was the former Transkei Police Commissioner, Brigadier Elliot CWELE. It was claimed that he had supported the proposed coup which had been engineered by "a group of ANC and PAC dissidents".

Six alleged PAC members detained in the Transkei for nearly two years on suspicion of being involved in a plot to launch guerilla warfare against South Africa, have been freed. They are Synod MADLEBE, Valencia MKETI, Mackay MABOZA, Vuyisile MKETI, Sigibo MPENDULO, and Smally GUSHU (*T 24.9.80*). Five others remain in detention pending trial.

NEW DETAINEES

Additional to previous FOCUS lists

Approx. Date	Place	Name (Age)	Details (where known)
25.4.80		Vuyisile MDLELENI	Former Executive member BPC
15.6.80	East London	Cynthia BISHOT	Exec. Member African Food & Canning Workers' Union. Rel. 17.6.80
15.6.80	East London	Welile MZOZOYANA	Chairman E.L. Branch African Food & Canning Workers' Union. Rel. 17.6.80
28.6.80	Soweto	Arabang MAHAMOLANE	Released 30.6.80
28.6.80	Soweto	Dira MAHAMOLANE	Released 30.6.80
July 1980	Cape Town	Gerald ANDREWS	Member of Committee of 81 Sec 22 GLA
		Rashi Balpersad BUJRAM	Sec. 10 ISA
		Johannes Matthew CLOETE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Cameron Galeboe KOPANE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Nhlanhla Rigney KUNENE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Bernard Tebogo LESHABANE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Mzolisi MABUDE	Lecturer Transkei University
		Ellington Jacob MADONSELIA	Sec. 10 ISA
		Ivan Molefe MASIKE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Sogomoco Moses MOGAMISI	Sec. 10 ISA
		Lesley Matshidiso MOKUNYANE	Sec. 10 ISA
	Umtata	Manelisi NDIBONGO	Former Transkei Dept. of Foreign Affairs.
		Zandile NJOLE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Edith Sindiswa PAKARE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Dawn PHILANDER	Member of Committee of 81.
			Sec. 22 GLA
		Harrison Boitumelo RABORIFE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Raymond SEITSHIRO	Sec. 10 ISA

Approx. Date	Place	Name (Age)	Details (where known)
July 1980	Umtata	Walter Moreng THEBE	Sec. 10 ISA
		Mathew T.K. THULO	Sec. 10 ISA
		Isaac Diphoko TSHITHLO	Sec. 10 ISA
		Mpumelelo Michael YANTOLO	Sec. 10 ISA
15.7.80	Grahamstown	Chris WATTERS	NUSAS Chairman at Rhodes University. Sec. 6 TA
21.7.80	Mdantsane	Melvin Mlandeli Dlaki VANI	Sec. 22 GLA
28.7.80	Durban	Nicholas 'Fink' HAYSOM	Former NUSAS leader. Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 4.8.80
29.7.80	Mdantsane	Alfred METELE	Field worker Dependents Conference. Ciskei Emergency Laws
29.7.80	Mdantsane	Nkrumah METELE	Student at Mzomhle High. Ciskei Emergency Laws
29.7.80	Durban	Mike PAGE	Students Natal University. Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 3.8.80
29.7.80	Durban	Garth SENEQUE	
30.7.80	East London	Phillip GROOM	Student John Bissek. Re. 31.7.80
August 1980	Umtata	Elliott CWELE	Former Transkei Police Commissioner
August 1980	Johannesburg	Phillip DLAMINI	Secretary BMWU. Sec. 21 (d) GLA
2.8.80	Cape Town	Dawood KHAN	Chairman W. Cape Traders Assoc. Rearrested on release
6.8.80	Kimberley	Mlulami Ben FANI	Student. Sec. 50 CPA
6.8.80	Kimberley	Rodney MOKUBUNG	Student. Sec. 50 CPA
6.8.80	Kimberley	Connie MOLUSI	Student. Sec. 50 CPA
6.8.80	Mdantsane	Pumeza NGXALE	Ciskei Emergency Reg. R252
6.8.80	Kimberley	Paulos TATI	Student. Sec. 50 CPA
7.8.80	Soweto	Thami GQWETA	Founder member COSAS. Rel. 11.8.80
7.8.80	Soweto	Jabu NGWENYA	Founder member COSAS. Rel. 11.8.80
10.8.80		Matthews THULO	Rearrested on release. Sec. 6 TA
11.8.80	Grahamstown	Guy BERGER	Journalism Lecturer Rhodes University. Sec. 6 TA
11.8.80	Grahamstown	Ashwin DESAI	Journalism Student Rhodes University. Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 22.8.80
11.8.80	Grahamstown	Mike KENYON	Science Student Rhodes University. Sec. 6 TA
11.8.80	Grahamstown	Ian MGJIMA	Journalism Student Rhodes University. Sec. 6 TA
11.8.80	Grahamstown	Vuyani MQINGWANA	Doctoral Student Rhodes University. Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 17.9.80
11.8.80	Grahamstown	Ihron RENSBURG	Pharmacy Student Rhodes University. Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 22.8.80
12.8.80	Grahamstown	Alan ZINN	Phys. Ed. Student Rhodes University. Sec. 6 TA
13.8.80	Cape Town	Three Juveniles two 17 yr. olds, one 15 yr. old	Sec. 22 GLA
13.8.80	Johannesburg	Hope MAMABALO	Executive Member BMWU. Sec. 22(1) GLA
13.8.80	Nyanga	Oscar MPETHA (71)	Chairman Nyanga Residents' Assoc. Nat. organiser Af. Food & Canning Workers Union. Organiser of 'red meat' boycott. Sec. 6 TA
13.8.80	Nyanga	Leon MQHAKAWI	Assistant Sec. Nyanga Residents' Assoc. Organising Sec. Commercial, Catering & Allied Workers' Union. Organiser of 'red meat' boycott. Rel. 22.8.80
13.8.80	Cape Town	Carol PLAATJIES (15)	Student - Sizamile High. Sec. 6 TA
13.8.80	Cape Town	Nancy QIKA (15)	Student - Sizamile High. Sec. 6 TA
15.8.80	Cape Town	Johnson NGXOBONGWANA	Chairman Crossroads Residents' Assoc. Rel. 15.8.80
16.8.80	Cape Town	Goodwill BOTHA	Chairman Guguletu Residents' Assoc.
16.8.80	Nyanga	Edward KHWEZA	Secretary Nyanga Residents' Assoc. Sec. 22 GLA
16.8.80	Nyanga	Melford STUURMAN	Vice-Chairman Nyanga Residents' Assoc. Sec. 22 GLA
20.8.80	Johannesburg	Gatsby MAZWI	Acting Secretary BMWU. Sec. 22 GLA
22.8.80	Nyanga	Temba MPETHA	Son of Oscar Mpetha. Rel. 5.9.80
26.8.80	Cape Town	Zubeida JAFFER	Reporter on Cape Times. Sec. 6 TA
28.8.80	Guguletu	Phindile VUMAZONKE	SRC Member I.D. Mkize High. Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 10.9.80
1.9.80	Idutywa	Saul K. NDZUMO	Former Transkei Minister of Interior. Died in detention 10.9.80
1.9.80	Soweto	Sipho NHLAPO	Student - Morris Issacson High. Sec. 22 GLA
2.9.80	Middelburg	Welcome KUBHEKA	Principal Sozama Senior Secondary School. Sec. 22 GLA
2.9.80	Middelburg	Jabu SEDANE	Sec. 22 GLA
9.9.80	Port Elizabeth	Duma LAMANI	Leader P.E. Students Committee
9.9.80	Port Elizabeth	9 Students	Detained with above. Members of executive of PESCO.
11.9.80	Guguletu	Bafo BAM	Members Parents' Action Committee of Guguletu. Sec. 22 GLA. Released 23.9.80
11.9.80	Guguletu	Joe NDIKI	
11.9.80	Guguletu	Nozipho NGELE	
September 1980	Cape Town	Sweetness NDUNA	Student. Sec. 22 GLA
September 1980	Cape Town	Michael NTOYANTO	Student. Sec. 22 GLA
September 1980	Cape Town	Vuyisile MZAZA	Student. Sec. 22 GLA
September 1980	Cape Town	Vusumzi MBETHA	Student. Sec. 22 GLA
September 1980	Cape Town	Kent MKALIPI	Student. Sec. 22 GLA
September 1980	Cape Town	Peter HENDRICKS	Student. Sec. 22 GLA
21.9.80	Cape Town	'Oupa' Pule LEHULERE	President Fezeka High SRC. Sec. 22 GLA

Abbreviations:

BMWU - Black Municipal Workers' Union
 BPC - Black Peoples' Convention
 COSAS - Congress of South African Students

CPA - Criminal Procedure Act
 GLA - General Laws Amendment Act
 ISA - Internal Security Act

NUSAS - National Union of S.A. Students
 SRC - Students' Representative Council
 TA - Terrorism Act

namibia

THREAT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

SWAPO PRESIDENT GUEST AT IDAF ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, was a special guest at the IDAF Annual Conference which took place in Weybridge, Britain, on 26-28 September, 1980. In his address to delegates, Mr. Nujoma paid special tribute to the work of the IDAF and particularly to its President, Canon L.J. Collins. He praised Canon and Mrs. Collins 'for their dynamism, clear vision and sense of sympathy and understanding of the problems of fascism, repression and brutalisation of the people of Southern Africa by the white minority racist regime of South Africa'.

'During the 17 years of his leadership of the IDAF, Canon Collins has consistently dedicated a relentless commitment to the fight against the abhorrent policies of racial enslavement, exploitation and dehumanisation of the majority of the Southern African people', Mr. Nujoma said. He thanked the Fund for providing

'documentation, publications and comprehensive information on the practices of the racist South African regime in South Africa and Namibia', thus helping to 'raise the consciousness of the world community on all aspects of the deplorable situation in Southern Africa'.

Mr. Nujoma spoke of the serious threat of war facing the entire international community, and arising from South Africa's military build-up. He pointed to the attacks on Zambia and Angola, the deployment of mercenaries and the increasing militarisation of Namibia. South Africa had deployed its divisions, armed with Mirages, Buccaneer bombers, Impalas, helicopters and tanks, against the People's Republic of Angola under the pretext of bombing SWAPO bases. Hundreds of civilians, particularly women and children in villages in the bush, had been killed and maimed. Mr. Nujoma criticised the Western powers for failing to act on appeals from Zambia and Angola, and noted that very little publicity had been given in the Western press to South African aggression against neighbouring independent African countries.

The President of SWAPO warned that the political situation in Namibia was critical. South Africa was deploying all methods to destroy SWAPO, without actually banning the organisation. He described the methods used by the security police of arrest, detention and torture of opponents of the regime, and gave details of a number of recent cases (previously reported in *FOCUS*) resulting in deaths and disappearances of prominent businessmen and other individuals. He warned that 'South Africa wants to make Namibia a permanent base and a battleground'.

Questioned about the Kassinga detainees, Mr. Nujoma confirmed previous reports from other sources that they are being held in a detention camp at Hardap Dam. He said that a local farmer, who had inadvertently come across the camp, saw the detainees and confirmed the mutilations they are reported to have suffered. Mr. Nujoma pointed out that SWAPO was treating South African prisoners of war according to the Geneva Conventions, while South Africa treated SWAPO freedom fighters as criminals. He expressed grave concern about the conditions of detention of SWAPO guerillas, and about the disappearance of people.

PRESIDENT NUJOMA SPEAKS TO FOCUS REPRESSION

What are the distinctive features of political repression in Namibia?

It started with the Terrorism Act in 1967, which was passed after the launching of the armed struggle in 1966. SWAPO leaders who were arrested, including Herman Toivo ja Toivo, remained in prison for one year without trial while the Act was being formulated. Many of our colleagues were arrested under the Terrorism Act, which was applied in South Africa itself later.

During the country-wide strike in 1971/2, the administration proclaimed a state of emergency. This was in fact similar to the Terrorism Act and strengthened the position of the police and army to act without recourse to the Courts.

Early last year, the South African Administrator General Steyn proclaimed martial law to protect the soldiers and empower them to carry out all kinds of torture and even kill people. The families of these victims, lawyers or doctors have often been unable to trace them.

Recently, the South African government have trained a special Murder Squad similar to the Nazi Hitler SS. In Namibia it comprises about 40 whites and 50 blacks. Sometimes the whites paint themselves black and put on uniforms and carry weapons similar to those of SWAPO freedom fighters. They attack people, they shoot people, they rape women. The South African radio will then broadcast immediately that SWAPO guerilla fighters have done

this. Landmines are planted on roads, killing people.

South African soldiers and tribal armies are encircling the workers' compound at Katutura on the outskirts of Windhoek. They have so far killed two workers and injured more than four. They are there to threaten the people because they consider this to be a hotbed of SWAPO.

Do you think that South Africa's claims that apartheid is being abolished in Namibia have any truth?

The regime was compelled by our military and political actions to create the cosmetic sort of changes they have made, to allow some Africans who are well-dressed to enter certain hotels and restaurants. SWAPO does not fight for reforms in the colonial system, we are fighting to completely overthrow and uproot all the colonial institutions that have been imposed on our people. The kind of independence South Africa envisages for Namibia is nothing but the bantustans.

ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS

With the growing repression, what difficulties is SWAPO facing in mobilising people inside the country?

The difficulties are certainly there. Our comrades the party functionaries in Windhoek and the entire leadership have been arrested, they are in detention right now. Some of them are restricted to their residences and not allowed to move without police permits.

The main aim is to silence SWAPO. There is a policeman, who is armed, to see who is opening the office. As soon as somebody enters the office he is seized, taken to the police and thrown into prison under the notorious Proclamation AG26. Our office is still there, but it is not opened because of this constant harassment, arrest and torture of SWAPO leaders and members.

We are able to mobilise the masses of the people politically because the majority of Africans in Namibia today are politically mature. We organise all kinds of meetings, we also broadcast from Zambia, from Tanzania and Angola, telling the people to be on the alert. Of course our army is already striking up to Windhoek and the south of Windhoek. Hundreds and hundreds of people from all walks of life in Namibia, students, youth, women, workers, intellectuals, are daily joining the People's Liberation Army of Namibia. We rely on our people and with their support there is no doubt we will win the final victory.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Do you have any up-to-date information on conditions for Namibian prisoners on Robben Island?

The scant information we have received about the health conditions of our colleagues is that they are terribly bad. They are given

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specially harsh treatment. They are made to dig quarries on Robben Island. Medical attention is inadequate, and as a result their health is very poor.

There has been an attempt by the racist regime of South Africa to confuse the comrades, especially Herman Toivo ja Toivo. The Minister of Justice and the Minister of the Interior went several times to Robben Island to tell him that he should join the bantustans in Namibia. He refused. Because of his determination not to collaborate with the enemy, he received specially harsh treatment. Sometimes he is kept in isolation, but his determination and commitment to the cause of total liberation of Namibia is very fine.

What difficulties do the families of political prisoners face in visiting them on Robben Island?

It has been difficult for the families of political prisoners on Robben Island to visit them, because a permit has to be sought from the administration in Namibia and normally they are reluctant to give such permits. A few have been permitted to visit during the past years.

With regard to the living conditions of the relatives and families of those who are in prison, it has been difficult because SWAPO is not officially allowed to function, and members of SWAPO have been dismissed by employers from their jobs, so they are not able to raise funds.

A lot needs to be done, particularly in the

field of education, so that those on Robben Island can get lectures to improve their education. They need some books to read and clothing and spectacles because the eyes of some of the comrades are bad.

SUPPORT NEEDED

Is the flow of refugees into the Front Line States, particularly Angola, continuing?

We have between 35 and 40,000 Namibian refugees, mostly in the People's Republic of Angola and the rest in Zambia. They are students, youth, women, elderly people, particularly from villages which have been bombed and burned by the South African racist regime. They are still coming because of the increase of repressive measures in Namibia. Their needs are as follows: firstly foodstuffs, powdered milk for children, tinned meat and fish. They need medicines and medical equipment, clothing and shoes, exercise books, science and mathematics books. These are the essential needs of people who are dispossessed like ours.

INFORMATION

Do you think publications like FOCUS have a role to play in making the world aware of the struggle in Namibia?

Yes indeed. SWAPO is grateful that your colleagues in the International Defence and Aid Fund have been able to write and expose the atrocities and the racial repression now being played out by the regime of South Africa against the Namibian people in particular



Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO

our leaders and members of SWAPO like Comrade Herman Toivo ja Toivo. I urge you to continue to write and inform international public opinion of this racial oppression, exploitation and denial of the people of South Africa and Namibia of fundamental human rights. I wish you success in your endeavours.

(Interview with Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, recorded at IDAF Annual Conference, 27.9.80).

NEW POLICE UNIT WORKERS SHOT DEAD AT KATUTURA HOSTEL

At least two black workers have been shot dead, and a number injured, since the introduction of a special permanent police force at the Katutura workers' hotel in August this year. The force is comprised of 50 Ovambo 'Special Constables' drawn, it appears, from the tribal police set up in the northern bantustans in the early 1970s, and is under the command of six white SAP members.

The new full-time force arose from discussions held in July 1980 between the Management Committee of the Windhoek City Council and the Administrator General's office. It exists ostensibly to deal with security problems at the Katutura workers' compound arising from the high unemployment rate and the 1977 decision to abolish influx control. According to SWAPO the real reason is to suppress political activities among the contract workers, the majority of whom are known to support the liberation movement.

The Municipality reported that the hundreds of unauthorised job-seekers living in and around the Katutura compound were creating 'control problems'. The Municipal Police (an earlier special force established by the City Council in Windhoek in May 1978 following the assassination of Chief Clemens Kapuuo) was in its view incapable of dealing with the problem as it did not possess full police powers (WO 2.8.80).

The new force resulting from these exchanges falls under the authority of the South African Police, although its accommodation at the Katutura hostel (but not its salary bill) is being paid for by the City Council. The 50 Ovambo-speaking members of the force are all Special Constables transferred from northern Namibia.

SHOOTINGS

The new force was first deployed at the

Katutura compound at the beginning of August. Its behaviour quickly led to complaints from the inmates. A hostel resident who wrote to the *Windhoek Observer*, for example, alleged that the 'so-called police' were causing bigger problems at the compound than at any time in the preceding two years:

Rifles are pointed daily at residents. Is the place a hostel or a military camp? ... We who live in the compound are all workers, yet our place has become a prison ... We are tired of these police youths who are cursing their own fathers because they have an FN rifle in their hands (WO 23.8.80).

On 6 September, Lungikesa AMOKETI (33) was shot dead by a Special Constable when he failed to produce his documents on demand at leaving his quarters at the hostel. He ran away when the constable tried to arrest him and was shot in the back after two warning shots had been fired (WA 8.9.80).

A week later, Temus SILVANUS (22) was shot dead in the early hours of the morning when he ignored an order not to enter the hostel and refused to show his documents. Two shots were fired by a Special Constable after Silvanus allegedly drew a panga (see the interview with Sam Nujoma in this issue).

UN PLAN

The Katutura hostel police adds yet another unit to the proliferation of different types of police already in existence in the territory (See FOCUS 23 p.9 for a description of the various units). The expansion and diversification of the police on tribal lines parallels recent developments in the army in Namibia, notably the formation of 'tribal armies' culminating in the inauguration of the 'SWA/Namibia Territory Force' (See FOCUS 30 p.8). The role of the various tribal units, both police and army, under the UN settlement plan for Namibia's independence is becoming increasingly unclear as more and more units are formed.

On 1 September, moreover, the South African Police in Namibia, with the exception of the security branch and the national intelligence services, were handed over to the authority of the SWA Administrator General and the newly-

constituted Council of Ministers (AG 116 (Republic) Executive Powers (Police) Transfer Proclamation 1980, 29.8.80). They are now called the 'SWA/Namibia' police and South African police serving in the territory are officially doing so on secondment. The command structure of the police in the territory remains unchanged. Major-General J. Geldenhuys, the retiring Chief of the Army in Namibia (see ARMY HANDOVER), has told journalists that members of the 'SWA/Namibia' police and army units 'are permanent residents of the territory and cannot be expected to withdraw from it as required by Resolution 435'. He pointed out that 'these SWA units can also not be disbanded because they are in the service of the State and are dependent on their service for a livelihood (To The Point 15.8.80).

Under the UN settlement plan endorsed by Resolution 435, the citizen forces, commando and ethnic forces are to be demobilised and their command structures dismantled. 'Territorial' forces are not mentioned.

(Two recently published sources of information on the police and army in Namibia are: "Some aspects of the South African military occupation of Namibia" - paper commissioned for the International Conference in Solidarity with the People of Namibia, Paris, September 1980.

UN 'Committee of 24' - Working paper prepared by the Secretariat on military activities in Namibia, UN General Assembly document A/AC.109/605, 23 May, 1980.)

SPECIAL TASK FORCE

A police 'Special Task Force', mentioned in the Namibian press in August this year, appears to be yet another new police unit. A constable of the Special Task Force appeared before the Windhoek magistrate's court at the beginning of August on a murder charge (WO 9.8.80).

At the end of August, white members of the Task Force were involved in an incident at the Windhoek stock car races in which a black spectator was beaten up. The Task Force members, who were present in civilian clothes at the races, were described by the *Windhoek Observer* as 'young white thugs' (WO *ibid*).

DETENTIONS

The number and identity of detainees in Namibia at any one time is difficult to ascertain for several reasons. SWAPO's office in Windhoek, which in the past has been able to supply details, has been forced to close for long periods. SWAPO workers at the office have been subjected to constant harassment and arrest, and documents have been removed by security police (see *FOCUS* 27 p.4, 30 p.8). Under

Proclamation AG9, people can be detained without trial for up to 30 days. Their arrest often only becomes known after they have been released from detention. Arrests and detentions are rarely reported in the Namibian press.

Previous *FOCUS* reports of detentions in Namibia have been compiled from information from a variety of sources including the churches,

SWAPO sources inside the country and abroad, and press reports. Such information has been cross-checked where possible to ensure maximum accuracy.

The following list gives names and any other details which were available in mid-October 1980 for persons believed to be still in detention, some of whom have not been recorded in previous issues of *FOCUS*, and for persons who have been released. In some cases their arrest had not been known to *FOCUS*.

1. The following are, as far as is known or can be deduced, in detention at the time of writing (including persons previously recorded in *FOCUS*)

Name	Date of arrest	Other details (where known)
Jason ANGULA	14.12.79	SWAPO Secretary for Labour released from prison but detained in a house in Windhoek provided by security police.
Mr. KANGORE	Dec. 79	Senior official in SWAPO's Department of Labour
Skinny HILUNDWA	April 79	Chairman of SWAPO's Northern region
Johannes KONJORE	Oct. 79	Secretary of SWAPO Youth League
Lazarus NUNUHE	July 80	Namibia National Front (NNF) Youth League
Albertus KANGUOOTUI	July 80	NNF Youth League
Kefas SHIPUATA	May 80	businessman
Mr. SHIPWATA	May 80	government official from Ombalantu (K. Shipuata and Mr. Shipwata may be the same person. A Mr. Kefas SHIPWATA, a teacher, is mentioned by another source)
Nangola JACOB	May 80	businessman
Eliakim NAMUNDJEBO	June 80	Church warden at St. Mary's, Odibo, and businessman
Amon KALOMO		Headman from Onamutayi
Johannes KWEYO	May 80	businessman, member of Ovambo Cabinet
Kaufiwetu SHINGEGE		businessman
Pollykarpus HANGO		businessman
Erasmus KAMATI		businessman
Jeremia KANGONGA		church journalist
Simon NAMBILI	May 80	businessman
Amutenya SHIMWEETHELENI	May 80	member of Ovambo Cabinet
Lucky SHOOPALA	May 80	Swapo-Democrats
Toivo SHILONGO	May 80	Principal of a school at Otjukwa
Johannes MBOKOMA	May 80	businessman
Jack SHIMANA	May 80	businessman
Siles NDAPUKA	May 80	
Eneas HAMUTENYA		official in Dept. of Education
Kakololo ITOPE		
Gerhard KAMBONDE		
Paulus NDUNGA		
John OIVA		
Immanuel VELIKOSI		Teacher at Ondobe
Erastus MUPUPA		
Shigwedha MUPUPA		
Johannes SIEBEB		
Josua SHILILIFA		
Moses MOSES		
Ms. Esther NGHIWEWELEKWA		
Ms. Rauna NAMBINGA		see Muchimba trial (<i>FOCUS</i> 9 p.15)
Ms. Rauha SHIMHANDA		
Set KAUKUNGUA		businessman
Vilbard KALILI		
Elia NGHIPANGELWA		
Gideon HATUTALE		
Aron IPINGE		
Festus KADHIKWA		
David SHIKOMBA		Since March 80; former SWAPO Youth League Secretary, sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in 1974 under the Sabotage Act. Released from Robben Island March 1980 and since rearrested and detained.

(see previous issues of *FOCUS*, particularly No. 22 pp.14-15, 19 p.8, 30 p.9, *Lutheran World Information* 28.8.80 and 3.9.80, SWAPO sources inside Namibia early Sept. 80, SWAPO London office late Sept. 80.)

2. The following individuals are reported to have been released from detention. Some have been recorded in previous issues of *FOCUS* as having been arrested. In other cases, their arrest was not known to *FOCUS*.

Name	Details	
Ms. Rikumbi KANDANGA	arr. Jan. 80	not known if presently placed under restriction. Deputy Secretary for SWAPO Women's Council
Titus ANGULA		
Rev. Micah ILONGA		release reported by LWI, 28.8.80; still detained according to SWAPO sources.
Silvanus VATURE		as Ilonga
Frans MVULA		businessman
Sakeus KAULA		teacher
Shigwedha SIMON		businessman
Jason NANGOMBE		teacher

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Rev. Matti ENDJALA
Rev. Malakia ALUGONGO
Eneas AMUTENYA
Ruben KASHEA
Petrus NEHUNGA
Simon MILUNGA
Esther NGHIWEWELEKWA
Malakia AUKONGO
Abisai IHUHUA
Elia HAIPINGE
Rev. Kristian SHIPUNDA
Rev. Natanael SHINANA
Hilja NAMPALA
Rauha Hitula SHIMHANDA
Frieda PAULUS
Dr. Naftali HMATA
Axel JOHANNES

parish pastor, Engola
pastor at Ogongo
school inspector
teacher
businessman
businessman
nurse
evangelist for ELOK, businessman
evangelist for ELOK
retired pastor from Okahao
pastor at Omundaungilo
travelling evangelist for ELOK
nurse
nursing assistant

head of Lutheran medical mission at Onandjokwe
SWAPO Administrative Secretary. Release reported in *FOCUS 30*, p. 9. Under house arrest in Windhoek.

(Lutheran World Information 18.8.80 and 3.9.80; SWAPO LONDON)

POLITICAL TRIALS

NNF FRAUD CHARGES DROPPED

Charges of fraud against four officials of the Namibia National Front (NNF) have been dropped following their appearance in the Regional Court on 15 September. The charges against the four — Ms. Nora CHASE, David KASUME, Tjeripo NGARINGOMBE and Reinhard RUKORO — arose from allegations they made in a sworn affidavit and letter sent to the Administrator General about assault and torture of one of their colleagues, Albertus KANGUOOTUI, in detention (see *FOCUS 30* p.11). During an earlier appearance at the Windhoek Magistrate's Court, the four accused had denied that the allegations made by them against the security police were false.

Rukoro has been charged separately with contravening the Police Act in connection with the same allegations. According to the charge sheet, Rukoro is accused of having published 'untrue matters about actions by members of the police force' when he held a press conference on 22 July at which he gave details of the assault on Kanguootui. Rukoro's allegations were rejected by the security policeman who had arrested Kanguootui. The doctor appointed to examine the patient claimed that he did not see any marks or signs of assault. However, in his statement Rukoro said that he had practically shared an office with Kanguootui and knew him well. The statement which he had used at the press conference was based on what Kanguootui had told him when he and the three others had visited him in hospital. Rukoro's trial continues. At the time of writing, Kanguootui was still detained under Proclamation AG9.

Eight Windhoek-based journalists were subpoenaed to appear in the Windhoek Magistrate's Court on 5 August in connection with the case. They were asked to give details about the press conference. One of the journalists, Max du Preez of the newspaper *Die Beeld*, later appeared as a state witness at Rukoro's trial. He stated that he was giving evidence under protest, since it was against professional ethics to give evidence against people on whom he reported (WA 16.9.80, 17.9.80; WO 2.8.80).

TWO CHARGED UNDER TERRORISM ACT

Two black farm workers, Markus KATEKA (40) and Hendrik KARISEB (45) appeared in the Windhoek Supreme Court on 27 August 1980 on charges under the Terrorism Act. They are charged with participating in guerilla activities in Namibia, alternatively with aiding and abetting guerillas. The State alleges that

they took part in an attack on the farm Goabis in the Grootfontein district belonging to J.F. Louw on 17 February 1980. No-one was killed (See *FOCUS 30* p.9).

The two men are charged with having supplied guerillas with food and accommodation on the farm where they were employed, and with having 'urged, instigated and advised' the guerillas to murder the Louw family and relatives on a neighbouring farm. They were also alleged to have supplied a layout of the farm buildings to the guerillas and acted as guides during the attack. The main charge is that they failed to report the attack and refused to summon help from neighbouring farms. The two men have pleaded not guilty to the charges.

At the court hearing, a witness cross-examined by the defence counsel, Advocate P. Teek, said that he lived in the same room as the accused and had overheard them say that their employer did not pay them enough and that he hit the workers. Asked what language the accused spoke, the witness said they used the Okwanjama dialect. He was asked to count in Okwanjama and to repeat what he had overheard in the same dialect. Advocate Teek pointed out that what he had just said was not in Okwanjama but in Herero. The trial continues (RDM 28.8.80; WA 28.8.80, 9.9.80).

APPEAL DISMISSED

The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein dismissed an appeal by Heikkie SHILILIFA, a teacher, against a five year prison sentence under the Terrorism Act. An earlier appeal by Mr. Shililifa, who was convicted in September 1978 of aiding people to leave Namibia illegally to undergo guerilla training in Angola, had also been dismissed (*FOCUS 23* p.2; WA 17.9.80).

OTHER COURT CASES

DETAINEE RAPED

A 20 year old woman, Karlina JAMBO, alleged that she was raped by a police constable while being held as a political prisoner. Ms. Jambo said that she was being detained in a police cell at Ruacana under Proclamation AG9 when the assault took place on 4 June 1980. Constable Adrian Ferreira (22) appeared in court on a charge of rape (WO 2.8.80).

AXEL JOHANNES' FATHER SUES POLICE

An urgent application was brought before the Windhoek Supreme Court by lawyers acting on behalf of Johannes ASHINKONO, father of SWAPO's Administrative Secretary. In a sworn affidavit submitted at the end of July 1980, Mr. Smuts, acting for a law firm, said he had been instructed to institute legal proceedings against the Minister of Police and the Government of Ovamboland. He submitted claims for

compensation for damages resulting from the burning down of Ashinkono's house by members of the security forces (see *FOCUS 27* p.7). The attack took place on 28 January and security force members forcibly prevented Ashinkono and his family from extinguishing the fire, Smuts said.

However, the necessary forms giving power of attorney to the law firm had not been received in time and the application was removed from the court's roll (WO 2.8.80).

AMNESTY EXTENDED

The deadline for the 'amnesty' offered to SWAPO guerillas to return to Namibia has again been extended to February 1981. The 'amnesty offer', first launched in January 1980, has had little response and has already been extended once from 30 April to the end of August 1980 (see *FOCUS 27* p.4, & 28 p.11; BBC 19.9.80).

GENEVA CONVENTIONS

IDAF's 10 national committees have been urged to support campaigns in their respective countries for the application by South Africa of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the laws of war. The Fund's annual conference in September noted, in particular, the need to secure prisoner-of-war status for the combatants of the liberation movements.

In Namibia — as happened in Rhodesia under the Smith regime — captured SWAPO guerillas are treated as common criminals by the SA authorities. SWAPO, on the other hand, made a public statement nearly five years ago to the effect that the 'Namibian Liberation Army must — and does — comply with the laws and customs of war as set out, in particular, in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and South Africa's armed forces are also bound by these conventions' (*Namibia and Human Rights*, paper presented by SWAPO to the Dakar International Conference on Namibia, January 1976, quoted in 'Namibia — The International Law Dimension', paper presented by Kader Asmal, Senior Lecturer in Law, Trinity College, Dublin and Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, to the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People, Namibia, Paris, September 1980. (Mr. Asmal is also a Vice-President of IDAF).

STOP PRESS

A death sentence has been imposed on M. KATEKA by the Windhoek Supreme Court. H. KARISEB was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Both were found guilty under the Terrorism Act. Leave to appeal was refused. R. RUKORO was found guilty of contravening the Police Act and sentenced on 1 October and sentenced to a R600 fine or six months imprisonment. (WO 27.9.80, WA 2.10.80, RDM 14.10.80)

S.A. PRESS: TIGHTER CONTROL

The appointment at the end of June of a commission of inquiry to investigate the mass media, came after a period in which the South African press, already severely restricted, had come under even tighter control.

At the height of the police repression of strikes and demonstrations in June, the police made increased use of their powers to control journalists' access to areas of police action. The moves, together with detentions of several reporters, came in the context of several recent legislative restrictions on the press and threats by the Prime Minister to curb the press still further (*Star* 3.5.80). These developments were seen by some journalists as bringing the press within the 'total war' strategy of the regime (*GN* 3.5.80). When the Commission of Inquiry was appointed, fears were expressed in virtually every newspaper, including the Afrikaans ones, that further restrictions are on the way (*CT* 1.7.80; *S.Exp.* 6.7.80).

FURTHER LAWS AGAINST THE PRESS

A series of laws passed in 1979 increased police power in relation to the press. A clause in the 1979 *Police Amendment Act* made it an offence to publish untrue statements about police actions in the performance of their duties unless the newspaper had "reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true". The onus of proof of "reasonableness" of grounds, is on the newspapers. The heavy penalties (up to R10,000 or 5 years in prison) have had the effect of severely restricting reports of police actions. (A similar law relating to prisons has effectively sealed them off from public scrutiny since 1959).

At the same time a Police Public Relations Directorate was set up, "to help the press", and it is now the main source of information about police actions (*Star* 5.4.80).

The 1980 *Police Amendment Act* will prevent the press from publishing the names of people detained as part of the police campaign against "terrorism" (*See FOCUS* 29 p.3).

The 1979 *Inquest Act* makes it a crime to "prejudice, influence or anticipate" the proceedings or findings at an inquest. This measure was a response to the reporting of the inquest into the death of Steve Biko (*Star* 5.4.80).

The *Petroleum Products Amendment Act* and the *National Supplies Procurement Act*, both passed in 1979, were measures designed to maintain secrecy about strategic purchases and products. In terms of the latter law the Minister of Economic Affairs can "whenever he deems necessary or expedient for the security of the Republic" prohibit the disclosure of any information in relation to goods and services.

The *National Supplies Procurement Act* makes it an offence to report on "the source, manufacture, transportation, destination, storage or stock level of any petroleum products acquired or manufactured for or in the Republic", or any negotiations on such matters, or "any statement, comments or rumours calculated directly or indirectly to convey such information or anything purporting (sic) to such information." Foreign correspondents are also subject to the ban (*FM* 27.4.79).

In June this year, a fortnight after ANC guerrillas successfully attacked the petrol-

from-coal installation at Sasolburg, a *National Key Points Act* was passed, preventing publication without the permission of the Minister of Defence of incidents involving security at classified national key points (*CT* 14.6.80).

The latest laws were reported as having brought to more than 100 the number of laws restricting the news that may be published, or requiring official authorisation before publication (*RDM* 18.7.80).

REPORTERS DETAINED

Black journalists were detained on a number of occasions during the recent protests and demonstrations, some in the course of covering the events and others apparently because the security police have wanted to interrogate them about the Writers Association of South Africa. WASA has represented black journalists since the banning in 1977 of the Union of Black Journalists.

The interest of the Security Police in WASA was evident in its interrogation of Mono Badela in Port Elizabeth. They questioned him on WASA and the visit of American journalists to South Africa in June (*see FOCUS* 30 p.6).

In May a senior *Daily Despatch* reporter, Charles Nquakula, who is the senior national vice-president of WASA, was taken from his office by security policemen and held for a week. He said he was questioned extensively on WASA, on its constitution and aims (*DD* 31.5.80, 7.6.80).

With the school boycott starting in April and spreading across the country, a number of journalists were picked up in the course of their duties while covering the protests (*CT* 1.5.80). Willie Bokala and Willie Nkosi, for example, of the *Post* and *Star*, were detained on 27 April in Mamelodi, Pretoria with students on their way to the unveiling of the tombstone on Solomon Mahlangu's grave (*see FOCUS* 28 p.4/6, 29 p.3). On the same day Kingdom Lolwane, also of the *Post* was detained in Soweto, and a *Rand Daily Mail* photographer, Ralph Ndawo, was detained in Mamelodi on 29 April, and later released (*see FOCUS* 28 p.6). Later detentions of journalists included Bloemfontein journalist Ernest Motshumi (early in May), H. Matsomela of the *Post* on 26 May and Marimuthy Subramoney of the *Daily News* on 27 May (*see FOCUS* 29 p.3).

More recently a *Cape Times* reporter, Zubeida Jaffer, was detained in August, under Section 12(b) of the Internal Security Act, used to detain potential witnesses in court cases. The Editor of the *Cape Times*, noting that it was her job as a reporter "to have the right contacts", voiced his "suspicion that the police wanted to know about them and shut them down" (*CT* 26.8.80, 6.9.80; *T* 10.9.80; *Obs.* 14.9.80. *See also MGIJIMA under POLITICAL TRIALS*).

CONTROLLING JOURNALISTS' MOVEMENTS

As the conflict increased in June and police violence intensified, the police took measures to exclude the press from areas in which they were taking repressive action. It appears to have happened for the first time in Bloemfontein, when riot police closed the area around Batho township and refused to allow journalists in. On this occasion police opened fire on demonstrators, after a national serviceman had been beaten up in the township and streets had been barricaded to block the movement of police vehicles. Although not allowed in, journalists heard orders over police radios to open fire with shotguns (*T/CT* 22.5.80; *GN* 23.5.80).

Before controls on the movement of journalists were imposed, some foreign

journalists were the object of police attacks. When police were dispersing demonstrators outside the Regina Mundi church on 15 June, for example, some of the teargas canisters were aimed at journalists. A BBC cameraman said that riot squad policemen fired teargas at the BBC crew on three different occasions (*RDM* 8.7.80).

On June 16 the police placed restrictions on the admission of reporters to what they at first called "trouble spots" and later, "operational areas". Alleging that some foreign journalists were "openly inciting" youths in Soweto and elsewhere, the Commissioner of Police announced that in future only selected journalists under police escort would be allowed into "trouble areas". Evidence of the alleged incitement has not been produced despite requests from the press.

The selection of the journalists was controlled by Divisional Commissioners of police. (*CT* 17.6.80). This control was used to exclude journalists, other than selected ones under police escort, on a number of occasions. It happened at Noordgesig, near Soweto, where police shot and wounded at least 20 people (*RDM* 18.6.80), and in areas in the Cape Flats where 42 people were believed killed (*CT* 18.6.80).

In both places there were major discrepancies between police accounts of what happened and the accounts newspapers pieced together from eyewitnesses and hospitals, both in terms of the numbers killed (*CT* 18.6.80), and in terms of the nature of the police actions. (For example, although police said that the disturbances were the result of criminal elements, the *Cape Times* noted that a feature of the victims was a high number of women and girls killed, as well as the large proportion of people who happened to be in the area but were not participating in any demonstration or riot. Five weeks after the deaths the *Cape Times* stated it had not been able to establish that any of those who died were members of gangs who had attacked shops (*CT* 25.6.80, 24.7.80).

The controls on journalists were also imposed in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape on 20 June, during the period of intense police actions against striking workers, using teargas, batons and birdshot (*GN* 21.6.80; *S.Tel.* 22.6.80 *FOCUS* 30 p.1).

NEW COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

On 24 June the Minister of Police lifted the restrictions, making clear that the lifting of the restrictions would be reconsidered "should circumstances warrant it" (*BBC* 25.6.80).

Four days later the Minister of Justice and of the Interior announced the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the mass media, its brief being "to inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of and the handling of matters by the mass media meets the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times, and if not, how they can be improved" (*Star* 28.6.80).

PASS LAWS

More than 200,000 people were arrested under the pass laws in South Africa last year. The South African Police arrested about 120,000 people, while Administration Board officers arrested 83,397. These figures emerged from information given by the Minister of Police and the Minister of Co-operation and Development (*FOCUS* 27 p.16; *Star* 14.6.80).

BANNED MEN KEPT FROM FUNERAL

Dr. BEYERS NAUDE and Cedric MAYSON, both banned (see *FOCUS* 13 p.4) and both former members of the banned Christian Institute (see *FOCUS* 21 p.12, 25 p.9), were refused permission to attend the funeral of their close associate, the Rev. Mashwabada MAYATHULA who was buried in Soweto. Dr. Naude was on the programme as a speaker at the funeral service. He had worked closely with Rev. Mayathula in establishing the African Independent Churches of which Rev. Mayathula was leader. Rev. Mayathula was detained in 1977 during the clampdown on black organisations (see *FOCUS* 15 p.6, 18 p.7).

The funeral was attended by about 2,000 mourners and addressed by speakers from various black organisations, including the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA), the Soweto Committee of Ten and the South

African Black Social Workers Association. Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu, also spoke. Pamphlets of the banned African National Congress were distributed during the funeral (CT 20.9.80; SP 21.9.80).

WINNIE MANDELA

Security Police gave Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party MP, five minutes to leave the home of Winnie MANDELA when she visited her. This was despite the fact that she obtained permission. The police told her that the Administration Board had no right to give permission, and that Winnie Mandela did not have permission under her banning order to receive Helen Suzman as a visitor (RDM 27/8.8.80; CT 29.8.80).

CHRIS MOKODITOA

A two year banning order on Chris MONKODITOA expired in August (see *FOCUS* 18 p.12). When he was banned, he was attending the National Council Meeting of the BPC of which he was vice-president. He had been Secretary-General of the University Christian Movement (UCM) which gave birth to the South African Students Organisations (SASO) (RDM 30.7.80; Post 8.8.80).

PETER JONES

Peter JONES, a former Black People's

Convention leader and friend of Steve Biko, was detained on 8 July under the General Law Amendment Act and released after eight days (DD 17.7.80). He was banned in February 1979 on his release from 18 months detention, and restricted to the Somerset West district (see *FOCUS* 21 p.12).

DRAKE TSHENKENG

Father Drake TSHENKENG fled South Africa at the end of August (Voice 3.9.80). He was banned in 1978, about a year after the banning of the black organisations on 19 October, 1977. He was a vice-president of the Black People's Convention (BPC) (see *FOCUS* 20 p.8).

CONTRAVENTIONS

Lawrence NTLOKOA (22) was found guilty on 10 July of breaking his banning order under the Internal Security Act (see *FOCUS* 20 p.8). He had gone to the cinema without permission.

Judy FAVISH (29) a former trade unionist and literacy worker at the University of Cape Town, appeared in the Retreat Magistrate's Court of 19 August on a charge of having broken her banning order (see *FOCUS* 8 p.13). She was not asked to plead and she was warned to appear again on 9 September. She was banned in 1976 and is restricted to the magisterial district of Cape Town (CT 20.8.80).

MANDELA CAMPAIGN

By September over 72,000 people had signed the petition calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners which has been circulating inside South Africa since March. The campaign for the release of Mandela and all other political prisoners was initiated in March when the *Sunday Post* called on its readers to sign the petition. As described in *FOCUS* 28 (pp. 1,2,12), the campaign has received widespread support in South Africa from many individuals and organisations, and the collection of signatures for the petition at meetings was frequently reported.

Because it carried the petition, the April issue of *Race Relations News* was banned. In September, however, an appeal against the banning was upheld by the Publications Appeal Board.

The Directorate of Publications, in giving its reasons for the ban, had said that to plead for the release of Nelson Mandela was to promote the aims of the banned African National Congress. But the Appeal Board said the Free Mandela Campaign was a legal campaign and also that the form in which the petition was couched could not be construed as incitement (RDM 9.9.80).

Since its initiation inside South Africa, the campaign has received growing international support. In June the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution called for the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and others 'with whom it must enter in any meaningful discussion on the future of the country'. In July all the Commonwealth countries, in a statement issued by the Commonwealth Secretariat, called for Mandela's immediate and unconditional release.

In Britain expression of support for the campaign has come from a number of sources. Nelson Mandela, along with Herman Toivo ja Toivo, was invited to the British Labour

Party Conference in October. A letter signed by leading figures from several British Churches and calling for Mandela's release appeared in the *Times*. In October the same newspaper carried an advertisement with over four hundred signatures. The signatories, leading figures from every walk of life, paid for the advertisement which was placed in the newspaper by British Defence and Aid, an affiliate of the International Defence and Aid Fund (7.13.10.80).

WAR OBJECTOR WINS CASE

At the beginning of August Peter Moll, a young South African conscript who refuses to serve in the SADF, was officially recognised as a conscientious objector by the S.A. Army after having spent a total of 118 days in solitary confinement (S.Ex. 10.8.80).

In December 1979 Moll was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment in military detention barracks for refusing to attend a three-week military training camp. This was his third conviction for failing to report for service (see *FOCUS* 26 p.7; CT 5.12.79). In a letter distributed by supporters before his court martial, Moll stated: "Our land is one of vast inequalities — in wealth, in power and in education... This is a situation of fundamental

injustice. Until it is the government's express intention to remove it, I will be unable in conscience to defend it" (CT 5.12.79).

On arrival at detention barracks at Voortrekkerhoogte in Pretoria, Moll was ordered to wear a standard army uniform. He refused to do so, arguing that this would identify him with the system he was refusing to serve, and as a result was subjected to recurring two-week periods of solitary confinement.

In April, Moll and fellow-resister, Richard Steele, went on hunger strike in protest and were supported by church leaders and Christians throughout the country who held fasts and vigils in solidarity (CT 3.4.80). An international campaign for the release of Moll and Steele and all imprisoned war resisters was launched by the London-based Committee of South African War Resisters.

Repeated periods of solitary confinement continued until in July Moll again went on a three-day hunger strike (CT 9.7.80). A few weeks later the army offered to release Moll if he would take a job as an orderly in a military hospital or as an assistant to a military padre. He refused both, arguing that they would still identify him with the SADF. A week later the army conceded, granting him conscientious objector status (S.Ex. 10.8.80).

He still has to serve out his sentence, but thereafter will no longer be liable to military call-up. The SADF has stressed that Moll's case is strictly an exception. He has been recognised purely as a religious objector.



Bus boycotters in a queue for train tickets (see story p. 12)

JAMES MANGE'S LIFE SAVED

The appeal against the death sentence by James Mange, convicted of high treason in November 1979 (see *Focus* 28 p.2) was heard by Bloemfontein Appeal Court in August. Judgement was given on 11 September when sentence was reduced to 20 years' imprisonment.

In the appeal Mange's lawyer Sydney Kentridge submitted that of the 12 persons convicted of high treason Mange was the only one sentenced to death; the disparity in sentences was unwarranted; and the death sentence was excessive. Mange was convicted of no act involving arms, violence or sabotage, Kentridge argued, and whatever the possible consequences of his planned attack on the police station and court at Whittlesea, he should not be executed.

It was submitted that the judge had mistaken Mange's importance in the ANC conspiracy alleged in the indictment, because of the atmosphere of the trial and Mange's part in rejecting the jurisdiction of the Court. 'Though Mange may have loomed large (in court)', said Kentridge, 'he was a minor figure in the overall conspiracy... The judge's feelings of particular distaste for him could hardly have been based on anything except Mange's contemptuous conduct in court'. In sentencing Mange, the judge in Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court (see *Focus* 25 pp.10-11) called Mange 'a thoroughly repulsive and objectionable character'; earlier he had warned him, as apparent leader of the men in the dock who were singing and shouting slogans.

It was also submitted that certain findings of the court were incorrect, particularly those based on the evidence of an unnamed 'third accomplice' which were otherwise uncorro-

orated, and on these grounds the sentence should be set aside.

For the state, it was argued that the death penalty could be imposed without waiting for people to be killed; Mange's contemplated attack made it reasonable for the judge to impose such a sentence. Moreover the evidence of the 'third accomplice' had not been challenged by any of the accused. The accused did not take part in the trial and were not legally represented (*RDM* 22.8.80).

In giving judgement the Appeal Court (Justices Rumpff, Kotze and Trengrove) stated that the trial judge had not misdirected himself, but Mange's sentence was unreasonable because lesser sentences were imposed on the other accused. Had all the others been sentenced to death it might have been the correct sentence (*RDM* 12.9.80).

A world-wide campaign to save James Mange's life had been mounted by the ANC in co-operation with anti-apartheid organisations.

POLICE ACTION AGAINST BUS BOYCOTTS

Commuters in South Africa have frequently resorted to bus boycotts to campaign against high fares. The Group Areas Act forces Africans, Coloureds and Indians to live in townships a long distance from their workplaces, and from shopping centres. This means that bus fares are generally much higher than people can afford to pay out of their low wages, despite government subsidies to the bus companies.

There have been several bus boycotts in recent months and in some cases action by the police and other government departments has been brought to bear to try to break them.

Increased fares, or threats of increases, led commuters to begin boycotts of services in Cape Town, Estcourt and Seshogo (near Pietersburg) in June, July and August.

The boycott in Cape Town started at the beginning of June. After fare increases of between 30 and 100 per cent were announced, a meeting was called by a Bus Action Committee, which had 40 community organisations affiliated to it. The meeting decided to boycott all buses of the City Tramways Company which provides bus services for the African and Coloured townships around Cape Town.

Street committees were formed to organise alternative means of transport. One of the main forms were what were described by the press as 'pirate taxis'. Owners of private vehicles transported commuters from the townships to railway stations, several kilometers away, where they could get trains to work. They charged a fee considerably below that charged by the buses (*CT* 14.8.80).

After some weeks police and transport officials cracked down on this form of transport, raiding the points at which people were picked up. Numbers of drivers were arrested, vehicles confiscated and many were charged with contravening the Road Transportation Act. It was alleged that they were carrying passengers for hire without the proper authorisation. In the first weeks of August many appeared in court. About 50 appeared before a Retreat magistrate, for example, on 11 August. In many cases bail was refused and vehicles confiscated. Those convicted received fines of R200 or six-months imprisonment (*Post* 24.7.80; *CT* 12/4.8.80).

Numerous eyewitness accounts indicate that in their attack on alternative means of transport, the police used batons, both against the drivers of alternative transport and commuters trying to board the 'taxis' (*Post* 24.7.80). Department of Transport officials were seen, and photographed, armed with semi-automatic carbines at Mowbray station

(*CT* 2.8.80). As a result of these actions, commuters were forced to walk at least four kilometers to get alternative transport, or spend three hours in queues waiting for legal transport (*CT* 5.8.80).

The police action in Cape Town caused great anger and made the people even more determined. A community leader commented, 'This action of the police and Road Transport Board officials has simply made people angrier and more united because they see the government is helping City Tramways. Instead of making the company look into its fares, they came with guns and dogs and tried to force the people to board the buses' (*CT* 14.8.80).

The South African Institute of Race Relations warned that the harassment of commuters boycotting buses had led to increased frustration and anger. A fortnight later two vehicles were attacked in Crossroads and a man stoned and burnt to death. Community leaders and the South African Institute of Race Relations attributed the violence to the government intervention in the boycott (*CT* 1/12.8.80; *S.Exp.* 17.8.80).

Apart from these methods, the government also detained some of those active in organising the boycott, such as Oscar MPETHA, Chairman of the East Nyanga Residents Association (see *DETENTIONS*).



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The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa has the following objects

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