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STATE MOVES AGAINST COSATU

There were strong indications during April and May that the state had launched a new drive to undermine the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Unlike those of many community, youth and other organisations, union structures had come through the first months of the current State of Emergency relatively intact, despite systematic restrictions, detentions and attacks by state-sponsored vigilantes in Natal. However from March onwards the attack on unions, and on COSATU in particular, intensified. (For earlier measures against unions, see FOCUS 66 p.3, 69 p.3)

Bantustan authorities continued to restrict union activities. In the Ciskei bantustan four Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) organisers were briefly detained in April and warned that the union's presence would not be tolerated. In April, 75 Transvaal-based members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) appeared in the Umtata Magistrates' Court in the Transkei bantustan, charged with furthering the aims of banned organisations. They had attended the funeral of a colleague in the bantustan. Both COSATU and the NUM are proscribed in the area. (City Press 5.4.87; WM 10.4.87; S 13.5.87)

RALLIES BANNED

In 1986 May Day was marked by the largest-ever worker stay-away. To pre-empt a similar response this year the government declared the first Friday in May as a new annual public holiday to be known as 'Workers' Day', (falling this year on 1 May). The UDF stated: 'This simply means that the workers' struggle for 1st May – and not any other day – to be declared a

Workers' Day will continue with even more vigour'. COSATU plans to commemorate May Day with a series of rallies were frustrated when local magistrates using powers under the Internal Security Act refused permission for the holding of outdoors rallies in 21 centres. A rally was allowed to proceed in Athlone, Cape Town, only on condition that COSATU's 'living wage' campaign was not discussed. Alternative smaller indoor meetings were held in some areas, mostly in the Durban region, some in the presence of heavily-armed police. (Star 30.4.87; BBC 1.5.87; T 2.5.87)

The authorities made a concerted attempt to discredit COSATU's living wage campaign by implying that it was 'Marxist-inspired'. The federation failed in a legal challenge in the Rand Supreme Court to overturn the banning of a Soweto rally to launch the campaign in March. Township councillors linked to the Inkatha movement and the Kwazulu bantustan also refused permission for living wage campaign rallies in Northern Natal. Scheduled for launch in March, the campaign was to have provided a focus for shop-floor demands for improved wages and conditions. (Star 26.3.87; S-Star 29.3.87; WM 30.4.87)

ACTIONS AGAINST UNIONISTS

Detentions of union officials and members under emergency regulations and other legislation have continued. According to a list obtained by the British Trades Union Congress, 342 unionists were still being held at the end of April. The unions hardest hit were SAAWU, the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, and MAWU. (Apex, May/June 1987) In April over 100,000 workers in the food and metals sectors staged stoppages in protest at the detention of union officials. Scores of SARHWU officials were detained in April and May during the SATS dispute, including the entire negotiating committee, its education secretary Mike ROUSSOS and its president

Justice LANGA. Its general secretary Nthai SELLO, held in detention in January, has since been released. (FOCUS 70 p.10; NN 23.4.87; Ind 27.5.87, BBC 2.6.87)

The number of attacks on trade unionists increased. Such attacks had been a feature of the Natal region where the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA), linked to the Kwazulu bantustan authorities, was established in 1985 to counter the influence of COSATU. (FOCUS 69 p.3) This year the attacks spread to other parts of the country. At least six trade

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FOREIGN FUNDING THREATENED

Investigations into the finances of anti-apartheid organisations were followed in May by threats of new measures to restrict foreign funds.

President Botha told a pre-election meeting in Port Elizabeth that the government might pass legislation affecting foreign funding of organisations. After the May whites-only election he told the newly-elected white House of Assembly that the government would 'no longer permit the constitutional order in South Africa to be subverted' by activities 'encouraged and/or financed outside the country or by their agents here'. (ST 3.5.78; DN 20.5.87)

After the State of Emergency was declared in June last year, the government launched a series of investigations into the activities and funding of anti-apartheid organisations. In October it declared the United Democratic Front (UDF) an 'affected' organisation, making it illegal for it to receive any funds from abroad. Since the beginning of this year it has investigated the funding of many other organisations. In February it set up a Commission of Inquiry into the financing of an advertisement in the national press calling for the unbanning of the ANC. (See FOCUS 70 p.5) According to an official statement on 16 March, the Reserve Bank of South Africa has been supplying information which makes it possible to track down the destination of all funds from abroad. (CT 16.3.87)

The government has extensive powers to control the funding of organisations under the Fund-raising and the Affected Organisations Acts (see below). New legislation would extend these powers.

A call for new controls was voiced in a report on employment policy by the Committee for Economic Affairs of the President's Council, which recommended an investigation of the funding of black trade unions. The chairperson, Dr Jacobsz, complained that there was no control over the source of funds for unregis-

tered unions and federations - whose 'basic motivation', he said, comprised 'very definite political objectives'. (CP 24.5.87)

The United Democratic Front was declared an affected organisation on 9 October last year under the *Affected Organisations Act* of 1974. This act gives the government extensive powers to investigate an organisation's activities and monitor its financial transactions. (See FOCUS 68 p.1) Any organisation can be declared affected on the ground that it engages in politics with assistance from or under the influence of an organisation or person abroad. Two organisations had previously been declared affected: in 1974, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), and in 1975 the Christian Institute of South Africa, which was banned in 1977.

As soon as it had been declared affected, the UDF applied to the courts to have the decree declared null and void. On 8 May the Durban Supreme Court did so but on the purely procedural grounds that the wrong Minister had initiated the action against the UDF - Law and Order instead of Justice. It granted the government leave to appeal. (S 14.11.86; DD 8.9.5.87)

Since the beginning of the year the government has investigated the finances of a number of organisations under the Fund-raising Act. Police confirmed at the start of February that its Commercial Branch was investigating possible charges under the Act. (CT 3.2.87)

The *Fund-raising Act* of 1978, as amended in 1981, prohibits any organisation collecting contributions including any from abroad, if the Minister of National Health and Population Development deems this to be 'in the public interest'. In 1980 the former trade union federation FOSATU was prohibited under the Fund-raising Act from collecting contributions.

Investigations under the Fund-raising Act led to the appearance of a Barclays Bank manager in the Bellville Magistrates' Court. He had been subpoenaed to release information about a bank account held by the Foundation

for Peace and Justice which was set up by the Dutch Reformed Mission Church under the leadership of Allan Boesak. The police are believed to have issued a further six subpoenas to various branch managers of Barclays Bank. (CT 3.2.87; NN 5.2.87; DN 13.3.87; S 14.3.87)

Other organisations were investigated by the Director of Fund-raising. Many provide social, educational and health services to the community which the government fails to provide. According to Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the government had investigated the funds of 80 secular organisations. (ST 3.5.87)

The Kagiso Trust, one of the main channels of foreign funds, has been under government investigation since its inception, according to its director. The trust which was set up in 1986 has been funded by the European Economic Community. Of the R8.5m committed in 1986 a third was spent on education, a third on health projects, and the rest on detainee support work, human rights projects and for training media workers. Documents and records were seized on official visits to the Trust's Johannesburg and Durban offices in December and January. 'They are concerned not so much with the source of our funding, but with who the recipients are. . . . We have broken no existing law but you must not forget we must not just look at the matter in legislation terms. What the government is doing is a political prosecution', stated the director. (WM 22-28.5.87)

Other organizations which have been investigated include: the Northern Transvaal Advice Office; the South African Council for Higher Education (SACHED); the Urban Planning Commission; the 'Grassroots' and 'Saamstaan' community newspapers; the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre; the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC); the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa; the End Conscription Campaign; the Five Freedoms Forum and the Black Lawyers' Association. (S10/16/17/19.2.87; WM 15.5.87; DD 8.3.87; DN 4.5.87)

MEETINGS BAN EXTENDED

The ban on outdoor meetings first imposed in June 1976 and renewed annually since then was again extended for a year on 1 April. Since 1985 the ban has also included indoor gatherings held to organise boycotts of educational institutions or industrial action which is not permitted under the Labour Relations Act. (This act prohibits strikes when a dispute is being dealt with by an industrial council or conciliation board). (Star 2.4.87; GG 1.4.87)

The banning order also stated that special permission could be obtained from a magistrate or the Minister of Justice to hold a meeting. However in the weeks that followed the extension of the ban COSATU was refused per-

mission for the holding of May Day rallies. As well as the general restrictions, bans can also be put on individual gatherings. This power was used to ban a rally to launch COSATU's living wage campaign. (See STATE MOVES AGAINST COSATU).

A meeting at the University of Witwatersrand to protest at the holding of the whites-only elections in May was also banned. Those who defied the ban were violently dispersed by police using teargas and whips. (Star 5.5.87)

During 1986 a total of 1,124 people were arrested on charges of attending illegal gatherings, according to the Minister of Law and Order. (WM 10.4.87)

Powers under the emergency regulations have also been used to prevent or restrict meetings. Funerals of people killed by the police have been particularly affected. In March seven Natal townships were covered by regulations under the State of Emergency stating that

no more than 200 people should attend funerals, and that they should not last more than three hours. The regulations banned joint funerals, and the use of public address systems, banners and posters. (Star 19.3.87)

Similar restrictions were imposed on specific funerals, including that of Benedict MASHOKE, who died in detention in March. (see FOCUS 70, p.11)

A thousand mourners who defied restrictions on the funeral in Soweto of two alleged ANC guerrillas were subjected to attacks by the police using teargas and sjamboks. Officials of the Release Mandela Committee and Winnie Mandela were amongst those who attended the funeral of Andrew Modise MATABANE and Phillip Mpogi MATABANE who were killed by police in a shootout at a roadblock near Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal in April. (S/Star 22.4.87)

NEW ORGANISATIONS AS PROTESTS SPREAD

In a fight back against the massive repression of the State of Emergency, at least four new non-racial organisations were established in March and April. The South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) became the biggest affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF) with a membership of over half a million. At the same time protests continued in both urban and rural areas. (See *DETENTIONS*)

The continuing strength of the democratic movement was also reflected in the support generated for a strike by SA Transport Services (SATS) workers, and in a successful two-day work stoppage during the whites-only general election. Another channel of resistance was a continuing rent boycott in townships around the country. (FOCUS 67 p.3)

NEW ORGANISATIONS

SAYCO, which was launched secretly to prevent police harassment, represents ten regional youth congresses, all organised during the six months prior to the establishment in March of the national structure. The regional congresses in turn represent over a thousand youth organisations in townships, towns and villages throughout the country.

The launch meeting heard reports from the regional affiliates, all of which stressed the severity of state repression, with detentions, killings, attacks by vigilantes and police and army operations taking a heavy toll on democratic organisation.

In a militant mood the delegates pledged to form community defence organisations, to carry out educational work, and to oppose the bantustan policy. SAYCO will campaign jointly with the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) and with the UDF. (NN 2.4.87; SS 8.4.87; Star 21.4.87)

The UDF was further strengthened with the launch in April of the UDF Women's League, which comprises women's organisations affiliated to the UDF from nine regions. In another development, the Release Mandela Campaign was relaunched at a national level and drew up a programme to campaign for the release of all

political prisoners and the abolition of unjust and repressive laws. (WM 16.4.87; CT/WM 30.4.87)

SATS STRIKE

The six-week SATS strike during March and April was harshly repressed and used as a pretext for action against the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU). (See *STATE MOVES AGAINST COSATU*)

Sparked off by the unfair dismissal of a worker and demands by the workers for his reinstatement, the dispute spread from the Witwatersrand to other parts of the Transvaal and Orange Free State provinces. Workers demanded that SATS – a state organisation controlling the railways and harbours – abolish racism in employment practices, and that workers be paid for the period on strike. They also demanded that the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU), a COSATU affiliate, be recognised.

By the fourth week at least 22,000 workers were on strike at 80 SATS depots. The largest ever strike in the public sector, it was marked by spontaneous community support. Troops were drafted in to guard stations and installations following the firebombing of more than twenty SATS trains. Leading officials of the union were detained and more than 300 railway workers arrested on charges of 'gathering illegally'. They were subsequently released on bail of R50 each. (Star 2.4.87; WM/ CT 10.4.87; CT 22.5.87; Sunday Tribune/Obs 19.4.87)

SATS refused to negotiate directly with SARHWU and set 22 April as a deadline for the end of the strike. The workers defied the ultimatum and more than 16,000 of them were summarily dismissed. On that day police shot dead eight strikers in two incidents. The dismissed workers were reinstated early in June, when SATS agreed to many of the SARHWU demands but failed to concede on the main issue, recognition of the union. (NN/FT 23.4.87, FT 6.6.87)

RENT BOYCOTTS

Emergency restrictions on the media masked the nature and extent of rent boycotts nationally, and reports concentrated mostly on the boycott in the Soweto area of Johannesburg.

Between March and May many tenants were evicted from their homes in several Transvaal townships for being in arrears. In a few cases evictions were halted by legal challenges, and in some areas tenants staged protest marches and demonstrations. In May the Soweto council began to cut off electricity and water supplies to households in arrears, and served eviction notices on prominent boycotters, including Winnie MANDELA, Albertina SISULU, Nthato MOTLANA and Ellen KHUZWAYO. (Star 25.3.87, 16.4.87, 15.5.87)

In April thousands of Sowetans observed a three-day stay-at-home to protest at evictions and the State of Emergency. Press reports spoke of a 'massive' response and 'half-empty' Johannesburg streets. There were marches and sporadic clashes with police. (Star 22.4.87; CT 23.4.87)

ELECTION STAY-AT-HOME

In response to the whites-only general election on 6 May, the UDF, COSATU and the National Education Crisis Committee called for a two-day stay-at-home starting on the 5th. Although focussed on the elections the protest drew impetus from anger at the restrictions on May Day rallies (see *STATE MOVES AGAINST COSATU*), the shootings of SATS strikers and the evictions of rent boycotters.

The stay-at-home was the largest general strike in South Africa's history, involving an estimated 500,000 industrial workers and 20,000 miners. In the Eastern Cape absentee rates of up to 99 per cent were recorded, while in townships around Durban and Pinetown – where the response to such calls has been patchy in the past – 60 per cent of workers stayed at home. Only in the Western Cape, where conservative unions predominate, was there a poor response to the stay-at-home call. (Star 5/6.5.87)

Tens of thousands of schoolchildren stayed away from classes, with total boycotts reported in Soweto, Tembisa and New Brighton. There were also boycotts at several universities, including the predominantly white English-language campuses, where there were several days of protests and violent conflicts with police in the lead-up to the election. (CT 30.4.87; BBC 2.5.87; Star 5/6.5.87)

COSATU

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unionists died in violent incidents between January and May.

Abion SEHUBUDU (30), a member of FAWU, was shot dead in January in KwaThema (Springs) by assailants travelling in a minibus. The incident occurred in the context of ongoing conflict at the local Jabula Food plant between FAWU and UWUSA. In Pietermaritzburg two officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union were seriously injured after they were attacked by alleged UWUSA members in May. Also in May, the NUM obtained an interdict in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court restraining UWUSA members from threatening NUM members. The application followed the fatal shooting, allegedly by a member of UWUSA, of Bhokuyise NTSHANGASE, an organiser, in the union office at the Vryheid colliery.

Two other unionists were killed by unknown assailants: Joseph KHUMALO (National Union of Textile Workers) was found murdered in Durban in April and Barney MADELA (SAAWU) was found shot dead in Inanda, Durban, in March. Also in March a Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) shop steward, Kenny MAKHOBHA, was abducted by vigilantes in Thokoza, East Rand, and beaten unconscious

with truncheons and electric cables. (FOCUS 69 p.3; S 28.1.87; WM 6/20.3.87; NN 30.4.87; 7, 14.5.87; Star 11.5.87)

UNION OFFICES ATTACKED

In the early hours of 7 May, COSATU House, national headquarters of the federation, was bombed. Two bombs, described as 'the most powerful ever detonated on the Reef', were placed in the basement of the building under its main supports causing explosions which rendered it structurally unsafe. Officials have not been allowed to enter since and the unions have had to seek temporary accommodation elsewhere in the city, without access to equipment and documents. (Star 7.5.87; SS 8.5.87)

Following the bombing of COSATU House there were signs of a systematic campaign to render unions inoperative by closing down or destroying their premises. During May there were fifteen instances of vandalism and other actions directed at union offices. Only one of those affected was not affiliated to COSATU. In East London two buildings housing unions were burnt down and another was vandalised. In Johannesburg two buildings temporarily housing COSATU unions after the bombing of COSATU House were also targets for arson. MAWU's Krugersdorp office was broken into and vandalised, and the regional office of

COSATU in Nelspruit was gutted. In Vereeniging the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU) and the Orange-Vaal General Workers Union were served with eviction notices under the Group Areas Act. (S 13.5.87; BBC/NN 14.5.87; BBC 21.5.87)

ALLEGATIONS

In the wake of the whites-only election, the state appeared to be creating a climate in which to further restrict COSATU unions by means of a smear campaign. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and other government media alleged that the federation was a surrogate of the ANC and South African Communist Party. Police spokesmen tried to justify the May siege of COSATU House by stating that three 'suspected terrorists' had been arrested in the building. Those arrested were however released without being charged. More specifically, police alleged that SATS workers not participating in the strike were brought into COSATU House and assaulted there. The authorities have also tried to link workers operating from COSATU House with the 'necklace' killing of four SATS workers at a nearby railway depot. This was used as the rationale for a second raid on COSATU House in which several people were arrested (see *SATS STRIKE* above).

DETENTIONS

There was some evidence in May that the number of people being held under the emergency regulations had decreased. On the other hand, the number of people held under the Internal Security Act and other laws in force in the bantustans, increased substantially.

The names of another 1,482 people held under the State of Emergency regulations were tabled in Parliament in May. This brought to 14,726 the number of emergency detainees named by the government since June last year. Like previous lists, the latest one contained only names of people who had been held for 30 days or more and who had not been named on previous lists. The Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) estimated that the total number of people detained under the Emergency was 25,000 although the government stated on 15 April that it was 19,209. (WM 8.5.87)

SOME CHILDREN RELEASED

On 15 April the Minister of Law and Order said that 1,424 children between the ages of 12 and 18 were being held under the emergency regulations. By the beginning of June a number had been released. Newspaper reports referred to 'scores' and 'hundreds' being released, but precise numbers were not given. It was however clear that some were still being held. Although he gave no information about children over 16, the Minister of Law and Order said on 2 June that there were 11 children aged 15 years or younger still in detention. Officials were said 'privately' to admit that 200 17- and 18-year-olds were in detention, but monitoring organisations considered the number to be 'much higher'. (Ind 3.6.87; BBC 4.6.87)

OTHER DETENTIONS

The number of people held under powers other than the State of Emergency powers was at a higher level at the end of March than at any time in the previous five years, according to the DPSC. The DPSC knew of 429 people then in detention under either the Internal Security Act or laws in force in the 'independent' bantustans. While the detentions were spread over most of the country, there were particularly large numbers in Natal (120), the Transkei bantustan (146), the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area (67) and the Ciskei bantustan (63).

LONG-TERM DETENTION

Many detainees are held without trial for many months. In the case of the Internal Security Act this is shown by information collected by the DPSC concerning the 429 people known by them to be in detention on 31 March.

Date detained — Number still detained on 31 March 1987

1985	15
January-May 1986	23
June 1986	42
July 1986	32
August 1986	20
September 1986	82
October 1986	29
November 1986	18
December 1986	42
January 1987	34
February 1987	73
March 1987	18
Date unknown	1

One example of long-term detention under the Internal Security Act involves community leaders and activists from Kagiso and Munsieville townships in Krugersdorp. Abel and Nomvula MOKONYANE (see List) are among at least 16 people from the area who were in detention in April, most of whom had been detained in June last year. Others previously mentioned in *FOCUS* include Sister Bernard NCUBE, Isaac GENU (*FOCUS* 68 p.5), and Morgan MONTIEDI (*FOCUS* 70 p.10). The detentions were part of a sustained attack on organised resistance in the two townships which began before the present State of Emergency. (S 7.4.87)

Lawyers concerned with the welfare of detainees held a workshop in Johannesburg in April. Two lawyers involved commented that emergency detainees were 'becoming long-term prisoners', and that thousands of people had by then been in jail for 10 months as detainees. The emergency detainees, they said, had a status between that of awaiting-trial prisoners and convicted prisoners. While some court applications had been successful in securing the release of emergency detainees, many had failed and relatively few people had been released as a result of court actions. The lawyers' workshop discussed ways of securing improvements in the conditions of detainees. Some of the court applications made by lawyers on behalf of detainees have been concerned with securing orders to restrain the police from assaulting or torturing detainees. (WM 16.4.87; see also HUNGER STRIKES under PRISONS)

OPPONENTS OF 'INDEPENDENCE' TERRORISED

Forces of the apartheid regime unleashed a reign of terror in May against opponents of 'independence' for the KwaNdebele bantustan. The action came after the bantustan's Legislative Assembly had decided to proceed with 'independence', in spite of a decision forced on the authorities last year when a broadly-based popular revolt persuaded them to shelve plans to accept 'independence' on 11 December last year. (*FOCUS* 69 p.4)

Months of repression prepared the ground for the Assembly's decision in May. It was carried out by both the regular police and bantustan police, and was directed at every section of the anti-'independence' alliance including pupils, youth organisations, civil servants, businessmen and the Mahlangu family which had exercised traditional authority in much of the area now covered by the bantustan (in particular the area now covered by the Ntundza Territorial Authority).

During the first part of the year there were reports of the regrouping and retraining of the bantustan vigilante organisation, Mbokodo, which had been one of the principal instruments of repression of the anti-'independence' resistance in 1986. Mbokodo, under the control of senior bantustan officials including Piet Ntuli (the official responsible for police and the courts in the bantustan), had been outlawed by the Legislative Assembly. Ntuli was assassinated in September last year in an action for which the ANC claimed responsibility.

It was reported early this year that former members of the Mbokodo were undergoing training as police reservists and, when their training was completed in April, would be working alongside the regular forces. The head of the bantustan authority elected in November, George Mahlangu, was a close associate of Piet Ntuli. A dossier of allegations in the possession of the Attorney-General in Pretoria was described as implicating the two officials in the

abduction and torture of youths during the intense repression of 1986. (GN 20.5.87)

By the beginning of May there were unofficial reports of the detention of more than 200 pupils, about 20 teachers and two circuit inspectors. Thousands of pupils boycotted classes in protest at the detention and distributed pamphlets calling for the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and for a day of mourning on 14 May, the anniversary of the start last year of the uprising against 'independence'. (Star 7.5.87)

Only days before the decision in May three leading opponents of 'independence' were dismissed from the Legislative Assembly. Two of them, James and Solly MAHLANGU, were in detention at the time. The authorities attempted to present the dismissal as the consequence of the men having acted without reference to their constituency in the Ntundza authority and that the action against them had been taken in response to a petition from the Paramount Chief. He, however, denied this and said the dismissals showed that 'the Chief Minister represents his own interests and not those of the people'. (Star 11.5.87)

The decision to accept 'independence' was followed by an intensification of repression. There were petrol-bomb attacks on the homes of opponents including that of the Paramount Chief. At least 70 activists were detained under the emergency regulations in the following ten days. Shops were burned and there were door-to-door raids in many areas. (DD 16.5.87)

Arrests were carried out with violence and detainees were subjected to assault and torture. The most detailed accounts of torture were given by three employees of the *Sunday Star* who were held for three days in a police station. During their detention they saw at least seven detainees being assaulted. (Star 24.5.87)

Following the detention of other leaders, Cornelius Mahlangu became the spokesman for the anti-'independence' forces. He fled the bantustan, fearing arrest, but was detained in Johannesburg on 28 May as he left the British Consulate where he had given a briefing to representatives of seven Western governments. (GN 29.5.87)

TRANSKEI BANTUSTAN

The names of 109 people were contained in a list of detainees published by the Transkei bantustan authorities in May. They were detained under Section 47 of the Transkei Public Security Act between July 1986 and February 1987. Names on the list which have not previously appeared in *FOCUS* are shown opposite. According to the authorities, 97 of those listed were held 'for offences relating to furthering the aims of the ANC, five ... for offences relating to harbouring terrorists, five for offences relating to terrorism, one for unlawful distribution of pamphlets and one for offences relating to sabotage'. (DD 20/21.5.87)

Many other people were detained during the period in question, presumably under other sections of the legislation - Rev Cas Paulsen who had been involved in monitoring detentions before his own detention in December said that at one time over one thousand people were being held. (WM 20.3.87)

The list was published shortly after a released detainee confirmed, as others had done before, that violence and torture were used against detainees in order to force statements from them. The detainee, Dr Zola DABULA, also confirmed that interrogation in the bantustan areas is carried out by both bantustan police and the regular Security Branch.

Dabula, who had been detained on 8 December last year, was released during May. He

said that he was frequently interrogated – three to four times a week in sessions that lasted five to six hours at a time. The police wanted information about a man he treated at his surgery in July 1986. They claimed the man had been injured in a shootout during an armed attack on Umtata police station, when seven people were killed, including four policemen. (S 15.5.87)

Cas PAULSEN released in March (see FOCUS 70 p.11) was also interrogated about the attack on Umtata police station. The police

alleged that he had harboured two men wanted in connection with the attack. He was assaulted on one occasion in the same way as Dabula, with whom he shared a cell during his detention.

Paulsen said that on 18 December, the day after his detention, he was made to strip, was handcuffed and forced onto the cement floor. One or more men lifted his legs repeatedly and dunked his head in a water-filled canvas bag. They then shook the bag, forcing water into his

mouth and up his nose. While doing this the policemen shouted questions at him. (WM 20.3.87; DD 25.4.87)

Dabula's release, without charge, came shortly after his wife had obtained a court order that he should be visited by a legal adviser, a magistrate and a district surgeon. (CP 12.4.87)

On his release Dabula said that during March six policemen from East London (outside the bantustan) had taken part in his interrogation. (NN 15.5.87)

DETAINEES — Additional to previous FOCUS lists (Emergency detainees not included)

Approx. date	Place	Name (age)	Details (where known)
June '86	Krugersdorp	KGOFELA, Jerry	ISA29
June '86	Krugersdorp	MOKONYANE, Abel	ISA29. Detained previously in August 1985
June '86	Krugersdorp	MOKONYANE, Nomvula	ISA29
June '86	Krugersdorp	MOLEFE, Zacharia	ISA29
June '86	Krugersdorp	MOTINGOA, Stephen	ISA29
June '86	Krugersdorp	MUSI, Zandisile	ISA29
June '86	Krugersdorp	NTLOKOA, Lawrence	ISA29. Secretary, Krugersdorp Residents Organisation
22.12.86	Transkei	NLANJENI, Bejile (20)	TPSA. Rel. by 22.4.87
12.1.87	Durban	VAWDA, Yousuf	ISA29. Lawyer. Alleged ANC member. Court application for release. Rel. June '87
Rep. 15.3.87	Transkei	MFO, Mcebisi	TPSA
Rep. 15.3.87	Transkei	MXILIKAZI, Justice	TPSA
2.4.87	Durban	MANNING, Claudia Estelle (20)	ISA29. Allegedly harbouring trained ANC guerilla. Rel. 5.6.87
Rep. 4.7.87	Krugersdorp	LESHABA, Maria	ISA29
Rep. 4.7.87	Krugersdorp	MASALAKGOKO, Albert	ISA29
Rep. 4.7.87	Krugersdorp	SETUNYA, Johannes	ISA29
Rep. 4.7.87	Krugersdorp	SITHOLE, Christopher	ISA29
11.4.87	North Natal	UNNAMED, Man & woman	ISA29. Discovery of arms cache on Tugela estate
23.4.87	Cape Town	UNNAMED, Man	Alleged guerilla. At trial of ESAU & OTHERS
23.4.87	Soweto	SERIFE, Sello	City Press reporter. Unconfirmed.
25.4.87	Johannesburg	LANGA, Justice	SARHWU President. During SA Transport Services strike
28.4.87 Rep.	Durban	JOKWENI, Tryphina	ISA29. At home, after confrontation between police and alleged ANC members. Seen during detention with chained ankle
4.5.87	Durban	ADAM, Ashraf	ISA29. SRC, Univ. of Durban-Westville. After leading SRC delegation to see ANC in Harare
19.5.87	Pretoria	UNNAMED, Man	Alleged ANC guerilla. In possession of pistol and ammunition
16.5.87	Cape Town	JACOBS, Peter (21)	{ ISA29. Mentioned in indictment in trial of ESAU & OTHERS
16.5.87	Cape Town	FORBES, Ashley (22)	
20.5.87	Venda	MASITHI, Adolphus	
10.6.87	Soweto	UNNAMED, 4 men	
			Lay preacher in United African Apostolic Church
			Shootout with police in which one alleged guerilla died

ABBREVIATIONS

Laws: ISA – Internal Security Act (Section 29); TPSA – Transkei Public Security Act. Organisations: SARHWU – South African Railway & Harbour Workers Union; SRC – Students Representative Council.

DETENTIONS IN TRANSKEI BANTUSTAN

The names below were included in a list published by the Transkei bantustan authorities in May. Some names in the list had been reported in previous issues of FOCUS and are not included below. The place names in the list appear to refer to place of residence rather than place of detention since some (for example Alice and Guguletu) are outside the bantustan.

ALICE

MAQELANA, Tamsanqa

BIZANA

MBONISWENI, Lulama
MDINGI, Leonard
MTSHIZA, Edna
MTSHIZA, Malizo
MTSHIZA, Thembeke
NOGXINA, Sandile

BUTTERWORTH

GOGWANA, Khutala
GWAGWA, Molulamo
MAKULENI, Thembekele
MFO, Moebisi
MZIKIKAZI, Justice

CALA

DUKADA, Athi Sibongile
LANDE, Zwelinjani
MAGXALA, Ntsikelelo
MDLELENI, Loyiso
MOKHOU, Teko
SEPTEMBER, Ntsikelelo
XALI, Luvuyo
XHALI, Vuyani

ENGCOBO

KAYINGANA, Sonwabo

EZIBELENI

MTANDANI, Nkosinathi
SIGCU, Sindiso

GLEN GREY

MONI, Jack Mhle

GUGULETU (CAPE TOWN)

PASIYA, Mzwamandla

IDUTYWA

MABELE, Tamsanqa
MADAKA, Mhleli
MKHENCE, Ntoyonke
MNYAMANA, Mashumi
NKOYAKHE, Mkhence

KENTANE

LADY FRERE

GANTSHO, Malixole
KATSIKATSI, Smeta
NAYO, Zanezwi

LUSIKISIKI

NKESA, Nonkonko
XAYELWA, Mvalelwa

MALUTI

LUDIDI, Ganett
MAFIKWANA, Matinisi
MAHLASELA, Makhwenkwe
MAKHOLWA, Falaza
MAKHOLWA, Parkyn
MAKHOLWA, Washington
MALUMLA, Mtshokotsho
MASIZA, Dumakude
MBUTHO, Wiseman

MNGENELA, Sikhumbuzo

MNGENELA, Zanele
MNKAYI, Sisa
MOSHOESHOE, Joseph
MSHUQWANA, Mzingisi
SIFO, Mavumengwana
VIKILAHLE, Mbulelo

MOUNT FRERE

BAM, Sivuyile

NQAMAKWE

NOMFANA, Velile

ONGELUKSNEK

GALO, Sipho
LEBASI, Ntaoe
MAPANE, Aron
MATSHABANA, Moteoli
MOSHOESHOE, Abica
MOSHOESHOE, Halipet
MYOKO, Mbuyiselo
NOKOATLE, Nimrod
ORELI, Thomas
SIPAMBO, Richard
TLADI, Kehlonolo

QUMBU

SOTSU, Ngxokolo

TSOMO

PHUKWANA, Zola

UMTATA

JAFA, Marks
JAFTA, Boy
KHONKWANE, Pumzile
LUFATA, Sicelo
MABANDLA, Nomkita
MAGEKEZA, Dugard
MAGUBELA, Mtutuseli
MAGWENTSHU, Toto
MATOTI, Nomonde
MAZIZI, Bongela
MGIJIMA, Luckey
MNGUNI, Wendy
MTSHIKILANA, Xolani
NDAMSE, Sisai
NDLAKE, Tobile
NDZAMELA, Ndibulele
NGAMLANA, Sulunga
NOMBE, Zolile Warren
NTSHOBANE, Pasika
NYOKA, Manelisi
PANI, Tozama
QITHI, Moffat
TOM, Gardiner

WILLOWVALE

JAFTA, Joyce
MACALA, Nceba
MAKHASI, William
MAQUBELA, Mtunzi
SITHONGA, Nomalizo

POLITICAL TRIALS COMPLETED

BUTHELEZI AND OTHERS

After almost a year the trial of Dudu BUTHELEZI and her eleven co-accused ended in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in April with the conviction of nine defendants. Buthelezi was acquitted. The charges, under the Internal Security and the Arms and Ammunition Acts, concerned the operation of an ANC cell in Durban held responsible for a number of armed attacks.

When the trial resumed in January (see *FOCUS 69 p.7* for earlier coverage) the state called the last of a number of unnamed accomplices who had turned state witness. Witness 'D', who later gave evidence as Mr A in the NAIDOO trial (see below), specifically implicated Dr Vejaynand RAMLAKAN.

On 18 February, at the close of the prosecution's case, two defendants – Sipho Stanley BHILA (31) and Phumezo George James NXIWENI (20) – were freed following a defence submission that the state had produced insufficient evidence against them. At the same time a charge against Buthelezi of possessing banned literature was dropped, as was a charge against Dr Sibongiseni DHLOMO of possessing an AK-47.

On 11 March when the defence closed its case without presenting evidence, more fundamental amendments to the charge-sheet were made – 53 out of 110 charges were withdrawn. Almost all of these were counts alleging involvement in specific armed actions in Durban in 1985. The most serious charge against Sibusiso Robert NDLANZI (30), of instructing Sibusiso Andrew ZONDO to carry out a limpet mine attack in Amanzimtoti (for which Zondo was subsequently executed), was dropped at this point.

On 13 April Buthelezi was acquitted. After their conviction for 'terrorism' a number of the remaining defendants gave evidence in mitigation. Ramlakan, a doctor and lecturer in medicine at the University of Natal, told the court how he was first radicalised by the poverty of his family – he was the only one of eight children able to complete his education. His later experience at Durban's King Edward VIII hospital convinced him that apartheid was the main cause of disease in South Africa. For this reason he shifted from a position of non-violence to joining the ANC, in his words, the 'body that acknowledges that violence is necessary to overcome violence'.

Ndlanzi attracted press interest by attempting to subpoena Nelson Mandela to give evidence on his behalf to explain why it was necessary for the ANC to have adopted a strategy of armed struggle. This was opposed by the Commissioner of Prisons who said Mandela's presence in an open court would 'endanger public order and safety'. In the event, Ndlanzi's lawyer spoke to Mandela in prison and the application was dropped.

On 27 April Ramlakan (29) was sentenced to 12 years for membership of the ANC, his role in recruiting and training personnel and ordering two limpet-mine attacks in 1985. Ndlanzi received a similar term for undergoing military training and acting as an ANC commander. DHLOMO (27) was sentenced to 10 years for ANC membership and for training and transporting combatants. Vusumuzi Wesley MAHLOBO (27), a factory worker, who had been trained by DHLOMO, was also sentenced to 10 years. Mapiki Aaron DLOMO (33), a former miner, and Ordway Qonda MSOMI (21), a school student, were given nine years. Msomi established a number of dead-letter boxes for

caching arms and had received military training. Bafo Bawana NGUQU (30), a former member of the Transkei Defence Force and the first of the defendants to be detained, in October 1985, was sentenced to 8 years, as was Malusi Israel MAJOLA (21). Jude FRANCIS (23) was sentenced to six years. (*Star/DN/DD/CT 21-23.1.87, 19/26.2.87, 19.3.87, 14-28.4.87; WM 23.1.87, 13/20.2.87, 8.5.87; Sunday Tribune/S Star 19.4.87*)

DU PREEZ AND McBRIDE

Antonio Arturo DU PREEZ and Derrick McBRIDE were convicted in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court on 13 May of murder, attempted murder and 'terrorism'. The most serious charges arose from the freeing of injured ANC combatant Gordon Webster from the Edendale hospital in May 1986, during which a man was killed. McBride's son Robert, who planned the escape, was charged in a separate trial. He was sentenced to death on 13 April for a bomb attack in which three people died. (*FOCUS 70 p.6*)

The dead man, Mlungisi Buthelezi, had been variously described in the press as a security guard, policeman and hospital visitor. In this trial it became clear that he was one of a group of people who had come to visit one of the two policemen guarding Webster. The men's defence suggested he was shot by Webster, a supposition supported by the judgement at Robert McBride's trial – when he was acquitted of Buthelezi's murder. The defence argued that McBride and du Preez could not have foreseen this.

Justice Kriek, however, found that Buthelezi was killed by Robert McBride and convicted the two men on the murder and attempted murder charges on the basis of common purpose. He accepted there were extenuating circumstances, particularly in the case of McBride whom he sentenced to 12 years. Du Preez, who faced a number of additional charges of 'terrorism' for his involvement in armed actions under the command of Robert McBride, was sentenced to fifteen and a half years. (*FOCUS 69 p.6, DN/DD/Star/CT April '87, 1-15.5.87; S/WM/BBC 15.5.87*)

Two of Webster's brothers, Trevor and Victor, who faced charges of assisting him after his escape, had the charges against them dropped on 30 March in the Durban Regional Court. (*FOCUS 69 p.6; Star 31.3.87; DD 1.4.87*)

MKHWAMUBI AND MKHWAMUBI

Two brothers from the Ingwavuma area of the KwaZulu bantustan have been convicted of assisting the ANC's armed struggle. On 3 April they were each sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the Northern District Supreme Court sitting in Estcourt. Khahla Daniel MKHWAMUBI (33) and Musk Gayinkami MKHWAMUBI (27) were both charged with attempted murder and 'terrorism' under the Internal Security Act. Musk Mkhwamubi was also charged under the Arms and Ammunition Act for possession of hand-grenades, landmines, anti-personnel mines and various detonators.

The charges followed an incident in the Ubombo region of northern Natal on 26 September 1986 when a delivery truck in the vicinity of an army camp detonated a landmine. The truck's three occupants were uninjured.

The state alleged that the accused had assisted their two nephews, trained ANC guerillas Ndandi MPONTSHANA and Moloyi NGWENYA. Musk Mkhwamubi allegedly assis-

ted Ngwenya to plant the mine and also established arms caches. Khahla Mkhwamubi and Mpontshana carried out an abortive expedition to plant landmines on the approach to an army camp at Maputa near the Mozambique border.

Mpontshana and Moloyi were said to have been shot dead by police.

Few details about the short trial appeared in the press. On 2 April both men were convicted of 'terrorism'. M. Mkhwamubi was also convicted of attempted murder while this charge was dropped against his brother. The additional charge against M. Mkhwamubi under the Arms and Ammunition Act fell away. The following day, after sentencing them, Justice Howard refused the men leave to appeal. (*DN 27.9.86; Tel/DD/CT 2.10.86; Star 3.10.86, 5/31.3.87, 4.4.87; DD 3/4.4.87*)

NAIDOO

Derek NAIDOO (26), a laboratory assistant, was sentenced to an effective prison term of two years in the Durban Regional Court on 15 April after being convicted on two counts under the Internal Security Act. After initially pleading not guilty to the charges, Naidoo, described as an active member or supporter of the ANC, changed his plea and was given a five year sentence of which three years were suspended.

The charges arose from two limpet mine attacks in 1985 – one on the home of Amichand Rajbansi, chair of the Ministers' Council in the segregated House of Delegates, and another outside the Chatsworth Magistrates' Court. The main evidence came from an unnamed witness, Mr A, whom the judge ruled had played a much greater role in the attacks than Naidoo. He was presumably exempt from prosecution on account of his testimony. Mr A allegedly obtained the limpet mines from Vijay Ramlakan (see *BUTHELEZI AND OTHERS* above) who also took him to a certain 'Lincoln' to be instructed in their use. (*S 16.1.87; Star/DD/CT 15.4.87; WM 16.4.87; DD 17.4.87*)

PEARCE

The trial of Alan Edward PEARCE (25) resumed in the Durban Regional Court on 22 April after the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court had ruled that his lawyers should be given a copy of notes taken down by police during their interrogation of him. (*FOCUS 69 p.7*)

Pearce was charged with arson, 'terrorism' and the possession of grenades and bombs as a result of his role in an arson attack on the Fairvale Secondary School, Wentworth, in September 1985 and the sabotage of water pipelines at Westville in June 1986. Both actions were reportedly carried out under the direction of Robert McBride. On 24 April, after changing his plea to guilty, Pearce was convicted and sentenced to an effective three years and nine months' imprisonment: 18 months (half of it suspended) for the school attack; 12 months for the pipeline (with a further two years' suspended), and two years (plus two years' suspended) for possession of weapons. (*DN 11.4.87, 25.4.87; S 23.4.87; Star/DD 25.4.87*)

PIENAAR

Major Andre Etienne PIENAAR (32), an officer serving in the South African Defence Force, was sentenced to an effective prison term of seven years on 15 May after being convicted under the Protection of Information Act. The entire proceedings were conducted *in camera* in the absence of both press and public so that even details of the charges were not revealed.

When Pienaar was detained in December 1986 newspapers speculated that he had been

spying for the ANC. In February, when it emerged that he had been picked up at Jan Smuts airport shortly before leaving for an unnamed African country, the press suggested his espionage was on behalf of one of the Frontline States. It was learned that he was based at Voortrekkerhoogte, after being transferred from Durban, and reportedly had secret military information on him when he was detained.

Pienaar originally faced charges under both the Protection of Information and the Defence Acts. After an initial court appearance on 27 February the trial commenced on 4 May. On 12 May he was convicted after apparently pleading guilty to one main charge and two alternative charges under Sections 3, 4 and 5 of the Protection of Information Act. The major charge, obtaining secret information or documents relating to defence for the purpose of disclosure to a foreign power, carries a maximum prison term of 20 years. On 15 May Pienaar was sentenced to an effective sentence of seven years: 12 years, with five suspended, on the main charge and a concurrent four year sentence on the alternative charges. (DD 31.12.86; S.Star 22.2.87; DD 28.2.87, 5/6/16.5.87; CT/Star 13.5.87)

STOFIE AND OTHERS

The trial of Rev Makhenkhesi Arnold STOFIE and four others ended in the Bisho Supreme Court of the Ciskei bantustan on 25 May with the conviction of all but one accused. Alongside Stofie, secretary-general of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front, stood his brother, Linda Michael STOFIE (28), Mzwakhe Nelson NDLELA (32), Mveleni Gladwell GOIBITHOLE (28) and Nomvuyiso STOFIE (30). Charges against a sixth accused, Noncedo Miranda NGWENDU, were withdrawn at an earlier appearance. (FOCUS 69 p.7 where N.Stofie was wrongly described as Stofie's sister)

Throughout the trial the prosecution had great difficulty finding witnesses willing to testify against the accused: two refused and were imprisoned and three others were charged with perjury following their evidence. The prosecution's case was, however, greatly helped by a number of rulings handed down by Justice Pickard allowing them to amend the indictment substantially after proceedings had begun.

Two court actions in connection with the case were heard in advance of the trial. One was to prevent the unlawful assault and interrogation of Stofie's wife, Nambitha, who was detained on 16 January. The application was supported by an affidavit from the Stofies' domestic servant who saw her employer three days afterwards when the police brought her to

search the family home at the University of Fort Hare. Stofie had been so badly assaulted and tortured that she had repeatedly urinated on her clothes. On 23 January the bantustan authorities agreed to an undertaking preventing assault, without admitting liability, and released her later the same day. The application was withdrawn and costs paid by the bantustan. (DD 20/24/28/31.1.87; WM 30.1.87)

On 16 March the five accused pleaded not guilty to charges under the Ciskei National Security Act of 'terrorism', possession of arms and harbouring of 'terrorists'.

The prosecution applied for nine witnesses to give their evidence *in camera*. The strictest regulations applied to the evidence of Mr X, allegedly a former ANC combatant, who testified that he had seen Ndlela at a military camp in Angola in May 1985. His identity was not divulged even to the court and defence lawyers were forbidden from any line of questioning which would reveal it. In view of this ruling the defence felt unable to cross-examine the witness. They stated that Ndlela totally denied receiving military training and suggested that if Mr X's evidence was to be of any value it should have been corroborated by other witnesses. The prosecution had asked for Mr X to give evidence hidden from the accused behind the witness box or concealed by a mask but these requests were rejected.

On 20 March Pierre-Andre Albertini, a French national and former lecturer at Fort Hare, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment when he refused to give evidence. He had been warned as an accomplice and offered immunity from prosecution if he testified 'satisfactorily'. Albertini was said to have been used as a courier by Stofie.

On 27 March an unnamed state witness who was also being held in detention, received a similar four-year sentence when he refused to give evidence against the accused, whom he described as his friends. He said he had been forced to make a statement by the police.

An unnamed female witness who first refused to testify later told the court that she had been assaulted by two Ciskei bantustan security policemen named Swelindawo and Hlulani, and eventually made a statement to avoid further blows. She told the court her statement was not true.

A number of police witnesses, including one called Swelindawo, gave evidence about the arrest of the accused and the alleged discovery of arms caches. Ndlela was detained on 16 October at a roadblock near Alice, in a car driven by Linda Stofie. Both denied knowledge of a bag of weapons found in the car although Ndlela admitted having a pistol which he had found on the floor of the car. Stofie told the court he had borrowed the car and picked

Ndlela up as a hitch-hiker.

Gqibithole was detained in Alice on 20 October and taken to the Tyume River where he allegedly pointed out arms caches. Under cross-examination a police witness admitted that Gqibithole fell from a precipice into the river during the search and was bleeding from the mouth.

Further controversy centred on the evidence of 'Mr W' who implicated M A Stofie in seeking safe accommodation for Ndlela and also reported seeing Ndlela dismantle and reassemble a Makarov pistol at Albertini's house. The defence challenged both the truth and the relevance of this evidence, in particular because Stofie personally faced no charge of conspiring to harbour a terrorist. The judge, however, allowed the charge-sheet to be amended to cover this. It emerged during Mr W's evidence that he had been detained not in the Ciskei but in the Transkei bantustan where he made a statement after being assaulted by police. Shortly before the conclusion of the case the defence requested the recall of Mr W who then denied the evidence he had given previously. He was subsequently detained and charged with perjury. The judge ruled that his first evidence should stand.

At the end of the prosecution's case the defence asked for the defendants' discharge on the main charge of conspiring to commit acts of violence saying no evidence supported it. The judge then allowed a further amendment to the charge-sheet, replacing this charge under Section 1(a)(i) with one under Section 1(a)(ii-iv) - conspiring to commit acts leading to violence. Certain charges against Stofie of possessing limpet mines and rifles were dropped at this point.

Three of the defendants, the Stofie brothers and Ndlela, spoke in their own defence. M A Stofie re-stated the UDF's opposition to violence as a method of changing South Africa's government. He told the court that he had not known that an unopened present placed by him in his bank safety deposit box contained a pistol and ammunition. In addition to the gun the box contained R25,000 which he said he intended to use to buy a house.

On 22 May Nomvuyiso Stofie was acquitted of the charges against her - of harbouring a 'terrorist'. Linda Stofie and Gqibithole were given effective sentences of eight years each for 'terrorism'. Gqibithole's sentence of four years for possessing arms is to run concurrently. M A Stofie received eleven years on the main charge with a concurrent one-year sentence for possessing the pistol. Ndlela received the longest sentence - 15 years - with a concurrent three years for possession. (DD/Star/CP/WM/NN/CT Feb-May 1987)

DEATH SENTENCES

Three more death sentences were passed in May on members of the National Union of Mineworkers as the regime continued to use the death sentence as an instrument of repression. In addition the Appeal Court turned down an application for leave to appeal from two men sentenced in 1986. At the same time a number of trials involving capital offences were proceeding in courts around the country.

Tjeluvuyo MGEDEZI (28), Solomon Mangaliso NONGWATI (38) and Paulos Tsietsi TSEHLANA (38) were among eight miners charged with murder and attempted murder following the killing of four team leaders at the Vaal Reefs gold mine.

At the time of their arrest in February 1986, some 19,000 miners went on strike demanding

they be released. During a two-day strike the mine lost R5 million in production. Vaal Reefs is one of the largest gold mines in the world with over 40,000 employees. In April 1985 over 14,000 miners had been summarily dismissed after protests over work practices. The mine was then described by the NUM as taking an antagonistic and provocative attitude towards it.

Mgedezi, Nongwati and Tsehlana first appeared in court with Siphiwe Mngondo MBALUMDAKA (28) and Joseph THOO (26) on 27 February 1986. They were charged with public violence but the prosecution said charges of murder would follow. They were all refused bail on the grounds that they might interfere with witnesses. The situation at the mine was described as 'explosive'. The men's lawyer argued strongly for bail.

The trial, held over a year later in the Klerksdorp Circuit Court, received no press coverage until the passing of the death sentences. Mgedezi, a clerk, was alleged to have led a

group of between two and three hundred men who killed the four team leaders. It was reported later that the team leaders, whom he was said to have described as 'sell-outs', had personal vendettas against him. In 1985 he was brought before a disciplinary committee for threatening the lives of team leaders. He was found guilty but cleared on appeal. In court his defence lawyer argued that the attack was precipitated by the mine management's refusal to search team leaders for weapons, as requested by Mgedezi a day before the killings.

A joint study into the causes of mine violence carried out in 1986 by the NUM and the Anglo-American Gold Division (owners of Vaal Reefs Mine) reported complaints about management attempts to destabilise the NUM. NUM officials said management gave preferential treatment to non-union members and noted 'the coincidence between non-support for the

continued on p.8

RESTRICTIONS

BANISHMENTS

● A total of 26 people were banished to various parts of the Transkei bantustan between July 1986 and February this year. Their names were tabled in the bantustan Assembly during May. (DD 20.5.87)

Pending a final hearing, Dumisa NTSEBEZA (37), who practises as a lawyer in Umtata, obtained an interim interdict from the Umtata Supreme Court in April. It set aside the banishment order served on him on 3 March by the Transkei bantustan administration. Ntsebeza was previously served with a banishment order in October 1985 which was also set aside later by the Umtata Supreme Court. He was also banished for a period in 1981 on his release from prison after serving a four-year sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act for allegedly 'operating Marxist cells'. In May this year he was elected first president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL) at its founding conference in Durban. (FOCUS 70 p.9; WM 14.5.87; DD 3.4.87; S 14.5.87)

In May Victor NGALEKA, Leluxolo SILINGA, and Zingisa MKABILE had similar banishment orders, served on them earlier in the year, set aside temporarily by the Transkei Supreme Court. Like Ntsebeza they were

previously served with banishment orders in October 1985 which were set aside. (FOCUS 70 p.9; WM 15.5.87, 16.4.87)

● *Dean Tshenuwani FARISANI of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa was effectively restricted to the Venda bantustan on 30 January after being released from a third period of detention. The Department of Home Affairs declared him a 'prohibited immigrant' in South Africa, barring him from going to any part of South Africa other than the bantustan without a visa. In February Farisani flew to the United States for medical treatment for the effects of intense periods of interrogation. He was granted a special visa for the journey between the bantustan and Johannesburg airport. (CT 25.2.87; NCC 3.3.87)

CENSORSHIP

Six journalists and two television technicians appeared in courts in the Cape and Natal as a result of the apartheid state's clampdown on the reporting of unrest. Section 27(b) of the 1958 Police Act, which prohibits the publication of 'certain untrue statements' about the conduct of the police (on penalty of up to five years in jail and a R10,000 fine) was used against three editors.

Humphrey JOSEPH (30), the editor of the Oudtshoorn community paper, *Saamstaan*, was fined R100 (suspended for three years) in the Mitchell's Plain Regional Court in May for publishing a report headlined 'Children Cruelly

prisoners' grievances. (DN 10.4.87)

In the first week of May a hunger strike by more than 350 emergency detainees began at the Johannesburg Prison. (WN 7.5.87)

RELEASES

● Five members of the ANC who were convicted in 1969 under the Terrorism Act of 1967 were released at the end of March after serving their full sentence of eighteen years. Lennox DLAMINI (52) of Bulwer, Patrick MATHANJANA (45) of Langa, Silas Motsepe MOGOTSI (46), of Soweto, and Matthews NGCOBO (49) of Kwamashu were freed from Robben Island on 25 March and Lawrence PHOKANOKA of Pretoria was released from Diepkloof prison in Johannesburg on the same day. They were sentenced on 26 March 1969 by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court for 'conspiring to use violence to overthrow the government'. Mogotsi and Phokanoka were trained ANC guerrillas. Silas Mogotsi, who is married and has three children, was initially threatened with banishment to the Bophuthatswana bantustan on his release but after being interrogated by government officials the threat was lifted and he was able to continue his journey home to Soweto. (CT 27.3.87; WM 10.4.87)

● Thami MKHWANAZI, formerly a reporter with *The World*, the *Weekend World*, and the *Post*, and an executive member of the Writers Association of South Africa (now MWASA),

Shot Dead' which contained a statement that police had killed three children. This referred to an incident in which police had killed two – not three – 11-year-old boys in Bongoletu in June 1985. (CP 10.5.87)

Tony WEAVER (30), the deputy news editor of the *Cape Times*, appeared in the Regional Court in April and May following an interview with him broadcast by the BBC. In it he said that seven supposed 'ANC guerrillas' killed in a gun battle with police in Guguletu in March 1986 were in fact, according to eye witnesses, killed in cold blood by the police, who later planted weapons on them. The state prosecutor conceded that if these accounts were true then the police 'have actually committed murder'. The trial was continuing. (CP 26.4.87; CT 14/15.5.87; WM 22.5.87)

J C VIVIERS, the editor-in-chief of the *Eastern Province Herald*, and two reporters appeared in the Cradock Magistrates' Court on 31 March, accused of falsely reporting a 'police action' in a local township in February 1985. The case was postponed to 8 June. (Star 1.4.87)

The cases involving two ABC television company employees and a press photographer who attempted to report police repression of student May Day activities at the universities of the Western Cape and Natal were postponed respectively to 8 June and 26 May by magistrates at Bellville and Durban. (Star 2.5.87; DN 9.5.87)

and Jeremiah Kgokong MAJATLADI, formerly a Department of Information clerk, both of Atteridgeville in Pretoria, were released at the beginning of March after serving seven-year sentences on Robben Island. They were convicted by the Pretoria Regional Court under the Terrorism Act for conspiring to recruit persons for military training. In March 1985 Mkhwanazi went on hunger strike against the 'unbearable conditions' in prison including being locked in a single cell for 23 hours a day, harassment of family visits, and poor food. (FOCUS 58 p.10) He now writes for the *Weekly Mail*. (FOCUS 25, p.12; 27, p.12; Grassroots March 1987)

● A former ANC activist, Eric 'Comrade Era' NGELEZA (50), was released from Robben Island prison in April after serving an eight-year sentence. He was convicted with five others in 1979 in the Humansdorp Regional Court of furthering the aims of the ANC. After his voice had been impaired following an operation in a Cape Town hospital five years ago, he was allowed contact visits – long before they were introduced for other Robben Island prisoners. (WM 24.4.87)

● Stanley NKOSI and Petrus Kgalema MOTALANTHE, both of Soweto, were released from Robben Island in the middle of April after serving ten-year sentences. They were convicted in 1977 in the Randburg Circuit Court under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of the ANC. (FOCUS 10, p.14; WM 24.4.87)

PRISONS

The inadequacy of medical care in prisons was recently confirmed – in comments made on his release by Eric Ngeleza (see below). He referred specifically to the deteriorating health of his fellow Robben Island prisoner, Themba Harry GWALA (66). Gwala, a veteran SACTU activist, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977 for ANC membership and assisting people to go abroad for military training. He is suffering from a serious motor-neuron disease which has resulted in his losing the full use of his right arm. 'Since professional nurses are not available in the prison hospital after 4 pm,' Ngeleza said, 'I had to assist other inmates with washing and dressing comrade Harry.' Fellow-prisoners also had to write for Gwala, who is studying for a degree, as well as wash his clothes and make his bed. (WM 24.4.87; Echo, April 1987; FOCUS 52 p.10)

At least three prisons were affected recently by hunger and work strikes, according to press reports. Long and short-term prisoners at the Pietermaritzburg prison in Natal refused to work from 9 April. 'Scores' of prisoners were involved but the nature of their demands was not reported. (DN 10.4.87)

A hunger strike by prisoners at Fort Glamorgan near East London was reported, also in April, but again there was no indication of the

DEATH SENTENCES

continued from p.7

union and team leadership'. Team leaders are accorded 'separate dining halls, separate ablution blocks and better accommodation'.

Six miners were convicted of murder but in the case of Mbalumdaka, Frans Stone MAKHANYA (36) and Edwin Nkatutu MASIKE (39), extenuating circumstances were found. Mbalumdaka, whose role in the attack was described by Justice Strydom as 'minimal as he [had] only sung and danced while the others attacked the inmates of the room' was sentenced to an effective 10 years'. He was armed with a spear and a stick while stoning the team leaders' room. Makhanya, who was said to have broken off branches from a tree and distributed them to the attackers, and Masike were both

sentenced to effective sentences of seven years' each. A seventh accused, Monwabisi SKETI (27), was acquitted on all charges. Charges were formally withdrawn against Thoo, a migrant worker from Lesotho, who died a day before the trial began. Thoo, aged only 26, was reported to have died 'of natural causes'.

The death sentence was delivered in a court packed with team leaders and mine officials. The men's families live at least three hundred miles from the mine in the Transkei bantustan. Mgedezi, Nongwati and Tsehlena reportedly 'looked at each other in disbelief' after the court interpreter told them they were to hang. During the judge's pronouncement they had merely stared at him. The men, described as NUM shaft stewards, had all worked at Vaal Reefs for many years. (FM 3.5.85; S 20.2.86, 26-28.2.86; WM 28.2.86; CP 17.5.87)

APPEALS

Mlamli Wellington MIELIES (22) and Mnyanda Moses JANTJIES (21) who were sentenced to death in November 1986 for the murder of councillor Benjamin Kinikini and five others, four of them his relatives, were refused leave to appeal in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court in late May. (FOCUS 68 p.7, DD 30.5.87)

● The appeal by six Sharpeville residents – Mojalefa Reginald SEFATSA, Reid Malebo MOKOENA, Oupa Moses DINISO, Theresa RAMASHAMOLA, Duma Joshua KHUMALO and Francis Don MOKESI – sentenced to death in December 1985 for the murder of a councillor is to be heard on 10 September. (FOCUS 63 p.1 S 11.6.87)

POLITICAL TRIALS AND DETENTIONS

namibia

HEITA AND OTHERS

Andreas Johnny HEITA, whose assault by a South African policeman was the subject of horrific revelations in the Windhoek Supreme Court in February, was sentenced on 22 May to a prison term of 18 years. Heita (23) was one of eight Namibians on trial for their alleged support of SWAPO's armed struggle. Five others received prison sentences of between 12 years and 18 months. (FOCUS 70 p.1,2)

When the trial reconvened on 21 May Justice Levy delivered a detailed judgement lasting some six hours. Two of the accused, Petrus Kakede NANGOMBE (23) and Andreas Gideon TONGENI (23) were acquitted and most of the charges against the other defendants were dropped. There were, for instance, no convictions on the nine charges of murder and 31 charges of attempted murder. Heita, Salomo PAULUS (27) and Martin AKWEENDA (23) were all convicted of contravening Section 2 of the Terrorism Act, but acquitted of all other charges. Gabriel MATHEUS (23), Johannes NANGOLO (33) and Sagaria Shipanga Balakius NAMWANDI (18) were convicted solely of possessing explosives.

Heita, a trained medical worker, and Paulus were both found to be PLAN combatants who had undergone military training in Angola. Paulus' role was mainly to make explosives available for sabotage actions and to recruit people to undertake these. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Paulus and Heita were both said to be members of a PLAN group known as Aakwaita. The group leader, Shikongo, has at various times been reported in the press as having fled the country or been killed.

Heita's much longer sentence may have been partly the result of bias by the judge. Heita was accused of abducting two girls and taking them out of the country: 'You had the arrogance not to explain to me what had happened to these victims', the judge remarked. Heita's earlier courage under interrogation had been demonstrated by his resistance to three days of beatings inflicted by the police to discover the whereabouts of explosives.

Judge Levy criticised the police conduct of the case and in particular Captain Ballach of the Counter Insurgency Unit (COIN, formerly Koevoet), who had admitted beating Heita's back to 'pulp' with a hosepipe. The judge recommended that Ballach should be prosecuted and passed on details of the matter to the Attorney-General for his decision. Prosecuting counsel was due to submit a report on all aspects of the matter on 29 May and a decision from the Attorney-General was expected in early June. Judge Levy remarked that Ballach's evidence 'was of no use to this court'.

Johannes Nangolo, a builder from Oniipa, was sentenced to 12 years for the possession and transport of explosives. He was described as an 'important link in conveying explosives from the north to built-up areas'. He used a vehicle with a false registration to bring explosives to Windhoek. A state request that the vehicle be declared forfeit was turned down by the judge who described it as 'verging on vengeance'.

Martin Akweenda, also from Oniipa, was sentenced to 10 years for 'terrorism'. He was

said to be an 'active supporter and collaborator' with the PLAN group though not a combatant himself. He was found guilty of bombing an electricity sub-station at Oluno.

Gabriel Matheus was found guilty of hiding explosives in the Windhoek area and was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. The judge said he was 'fortunate to be apprehended before engaging in any terrorist activities'.

The youngest accused, eighteen year old Sagarias Shipanga Balakius Namwandi, was sentenced to three years of which 18 months was suspended.

The public gallery was packed for the conclusion of the trial. After sentence the defendants saluted their supporters, evoking shouts of 'Viva SWAPO! Viva PLAN! SWAPO will win'. (WA 22/26.5.87; Nam 22/29.5.87; WO 23.5.87)

NDAPUKA

A young man whose hand was mutilated in an explosion in July 1986 has been sentenced to an effective prison term of three years after being convicted of sabotage.

Gabriel NDAPUKA (23) pleaded not guilty to the charge before Justice Strydom in the Windhoek Supreme Court in May. It was alleged that he had undergone training in northern Namibia in the use of plastic explosives and had transported them to Windhoek for the purposes of sabotage. On 28 July he planted explosives at an electricity distribution point in a Katutura street 'to put out of order the supply of light and/or power'. He activated a detonator connected to the timing device which then exploded in his hand. The explosives themselves did not go off. However, he suffered serious injuries and had to have three fingers amputated. (For report of his detention see FOCUS 68 p.9)

Ndapuka was reported to have made a confession to a magistrate in advance of the trial. Evidence was also given by Abisai Samuel who was with Ndapuka on the night of the explosion and had helped take him to hospital where he was arrested. On 27 May Ndapuka was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, two of which were suspended. (WA 26.5.87; Nam 29.5.87)

SIMASIKU

Evans Salwindi SIMASIKU (25) from Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi bantustan was convicted of sabotage in the Windhoek Supreme Court on 12 May and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

Simasiku pleaded guilty to sabotaging the Caprivi Second Tier Administration Building on 25 March 1985, causing R107,000 worth of damage to the building, and slightly injuring three people. At the time it was rumoured the attack was aimed at a meeting of a constitutional committee originally convened in the building but subsequently held elsewhere. Residents of the area strongly opposed South African plans to separate the bantustan from the rest of the country. In placing the mine, Simasiku evaded the heavy permanent military presence in Caprivi: the administration building is effectively part of the Katima Mulilo army base.

Simasiku admitted having received training in the handling of explosives. He told the court: 'I am a member of SWAPO, and committed to liberating my country from South Africa's illegal rule. I considered the placing of the explosive device... as my contribution towards independence for Namibia. (Uniform 9.4.85; BBC/Nam 15.5.87; FOCUS 66 p.9)

DETENTIONS

The number of people detained, particularly in northern Namibia, continues to grow although the names of only a few have been publicised.

● **KASHIMA, Oskar Joel** (28) from Onangalo was detained on 22 March. (NCC 5.6.87)

● **ELAGO, Tobias Hagai** was detained on 28 April after wounding a soldier involved in an attack on Okambembe school. (See TROOPS DESTROY SCHOOLS; Nam 1.5.87)

● **AMUKWA, Thomas** and **MICHAEL, Frans** were reported on 1 May as being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. They are believed to be PLAN combatants captured after an attack on a police base at Ohangwena. A year ago, in May 1986, the base came under mortar bombardment; its commanding officer said 15 guerillas were killed and 'two seriously wounded insurgents captured'. Rumours reported in the press said the men 'were possibly to join the Police Counter Insurgency Unit (Koevoet)'. Another PLAN combatant freed from detention in December reported how prisoners of war are pressurised into joining the occupation forces. (FOCUS 69 p.10; WA 12.5.86; Nam 1.5.87)

● **SHIUEDHA, Suzana**, a teacher, was detained on 7 May at the Ontuli Combined School where she worked. The same day her home was attacked by members of the South African armed forces in two helicopters and Casspir armoured vehicles. After ten minutes of sustained gunfire the entire homestead was set alight and destroyed as was a pick-up truck parked outside. Eyewitnesses reported seeing soldiers remove 'three things' that looked like 'human bodies'. Shiuedha's elderly mother-in-law Esther UULUMBA was assaulted by the soldiers, one of whom knocked her to the ground, put his foot on her neck and threatened to kill her after accusing her of harbouring 'terrorists'. (Nam 15.5.87)

● **IILENGE, David**; **ITENGULA, Caleb**; **PETRUS, David**; **SHOOPALA, Diogenus**; **SHOOPALA, January**; and **UUTONI, David** were all reported in detention in early May although the police would not confirm this. (Nam 8.5.87)

RELEASES

The following detainees were released by the end of April: **ENDJALA, Taimi**; **LUKAS, Abner**; **NUUGULU, Absalom David**; **SHANINGI, Eva**; **SHOOME, Isak**. (FOCUS 69 p.9, 70 p.2; NCC 29.4.87)

Shortly after her release from detention **Eva Shaningi** (60) died suddenly of a suspected heart attack on 5 May. Shaningi, from Tsandi, Ombalantu, was a teacher at the Onakazimba Combined School. She had six children of whom four are in exile. (Nam 15.5.87)

TROOPS DESTROY SCHOOLS

Church sources in Namibia have revealed that South African troops have burnt down at least 13 schools in the north of the territory. The attacks were executed during a South African campaign against a sustained offensive by SWAPO guerillas, and took place against a backdrop of continuing resistance to the education system in Namibia.

Speaking at the IDAF Annual Conference in Oslo, Norway, in May, President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO disclosed that the schools which had been bombed or burnt down included those at Onheilwa, Okalongo, Okando, Om-utundungu, Okambembe, Oheita, Ishanaputa, Onelao, Onambindi, Okatale, Oilyyahenge, Olyasiiti and Ohanti. Many of the schools were run by the Namibian churches, he said, in an area where official educational facilities were inadequate.

The principal of the Omutundungu school, Penehafo Shikongo, said that South African soldiers had visited the school and smashed the doors to classrooms before the attack. The day after the attack, explosives of South African origin were found nearby and South African army bootprints had been identified.

At Okambembe the attackers, who were not wearing military uniforms, were intercepted by local people who shot and wounded one of them. Troops who arrived on the scene identified the wounded man as a member of their unit and detained Tobias ELAGO, the civilian who had shot him. Bullets, spent cartridges and explosives found near the school were apparently all of South African origin. The footprints of the attackers led to a nearby military base. (Nam 1.5.87; Ind 1/2.5.87)

ATTACKS ON STUDENTS

Raids by troops and police on other schools in the war zone have led to a number of student protests. Pupils at Okahao Girls Secondary School boycotted classes after troops entered the school on the night of 18 March and threatened students and teachers. The girls said that they would not return to classes until South African military bases had been removed from the neighbourhood – in many areas of the north, bases have been set up right next to schools. A similar boycott was reported from Etalaleko school. (SWAPO Press Release 24.3.87; Nam 3.4.87)

A student boycott took place at the Ponghosi Secondary School in Onhangwena, after South African troops had carried out a mortar attack on 13 March. A pupil, Nghikofa VICTORIA, was killed and eight other students were injured. The school, which is near a base of the police Counter-Insurgency Unit (Koevoet) has been repeatedly attacked. In January this year a boys' dormitory was destroyed by gunfire, while on 4 May last year – the anniversary of the Kassinga massacre – a pupil was shot and injured in the leg. A meeting of 650 parents, called to discuss the attacks, unanimously demanded removal of the police base. The call was supported by local clergy and the principal of the school, Martha Hishidimbua. (Nam 1.5.87)

On 23 February soldiers detained the principal of Oshigambo High School, Timoteus NDAKUNDA and his wife, alleging that they had encouraged students to protest at military interference in school affairs. The two were held at a South African army base. (SWAPO Press Release 24.3.87)

The attacks on schools have been described by SWAPO as 'retaliatory acts' by South African troops demoralised by a successful offensive by guerillas of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). SWAPO reported that during the first quarter of the year PLAN combatants killed 128 enemy troops and wounded more than 220, in a string of at least 130 combat actions. Twenty military bases were attacked and more than 50 sabotage actions carried out. Three military helicopters were shot down. 'The indisciplined and demoralised occupation forces... are... venting their anger and frustration against innocent civilians, whom they accuse of supporting PLAN and blame for their defeat', stated a SWAPO War Communique on 16 April. (SWAPO War Communique 16.4.87)

BOYCOTTS

Protests have erupted in several Namibian schools and educational institutions this year, as students acted on a variety of grievances stemming from the inequality and segregation of Namibian education. Police in combat gear were deployed at the Okakarara Secondary School during March following student protests over food shortages, and a boycott took place at the Okakarara Technical College over the same issue. Protests were also reported at the Opuwo, Oshigambo and Otjinene secondary schools. (WA 16.3.87; Nam 20.3.87)

In Windhoek, there were protests during May at the Khomasdal Teachers' Training College. Students staged a two day boycott of classes in protest at what they described as the 'dictatorial' and 'totalitarian' regime at the institution. (WA 12/13.5.87; Nam 15.5.87)

Student militancy was also evident at the Academy for Tertiary Education in Windhoek, where there has been conflict between the administration and students over the powers of the Students' Representative Council (SRC). The SRC resigned in August last year after the governing body refused to accept a new SRC constitution drawn up by students or to recognise the Namibia National Students' Organisation (NANSO) (see FOCUS 67 p. 10). However, a NANSO branch was officially inaugurated this year and a new SRC constitution was adopted after students had rejected proposals put forward by the administration. (WA 19.3.87; Nam 8.5.87)

The participation of two Academy lecturers in a meeting in Lusaka between prominent white Namibians and President Nujoma of SWAPO, was strongly criticised by officials of the South African-installed Multi-Party Conference (MPC) administration. There were reports that funding for the Academy would be cut off or action taken against individual academics, if any further talks with SWAPO took place. At least one Academy employee subsequently withdrew from another delegation which travelled to Lusaka to meet the SWAPO leadership. (Nam 8.5.87)

EDUCATION CRISIS

The MPC administration has been making efforts to end formal segregation in schools. These efforts have been blocked by the body in control of white schools, the Administration for Whites. In March, the body dropped its opposition in principle, but officials indicated that they would resist the implementation of the new policy. Other measures will ensure that segregation will be largely retained. Prospective pupils will have to be proficient in the language of instruction, conform to academic and age

qualifications and reside within a specified distance of the school they wish to attend. (WA 25.3.87)

The deep-seated racism endemic to the white education system was revealed when two-thirds of the white schools in a swimming gala withdrew because of the participation of students from other 'population groups'. Students were warned by the committee controlling swimming in white schools that participation in the gala would disqualify them from selection for a segregated team which was to compete later in South Africa. (WA 23.2.87)

The official desegregation of Namibian schools will do little to redress the massive inequalities in education, or end the shortages of teachers, classrooms and equipment in black schools. Statistics recently released by the Department of National Education show that R500,000 would be needed to eliminate the shortage of classrooms in black schools. One hundred new schools – three thousand classrooms – would be needed to eliminate overcrowding. The budget for capital expenditure on school buildings this year is approximately R30,000. In the Ovamboland bantustan, where half the population of Namibia lives, no new classrooms have been erected for the past five years. (WO 17.1.87; 14.3.87)

At many schools, principals have no offices and pupils are taught in the open. As many as 80 to 100 pupils are crammed into a single classroom. Nationwide, an estimated 40,000 black students are taught in a second session in the afternoon, as there are insufficient places in the schools. The vast majority of teachers in black schools have no teaching qualifications. The percentage of qualified teachers varies according to the bantustan authority involved, but ranges from 40 per cent to less than 7 per cent. (WO 17.1.87; Nam 30.1.87; WA 9.3.87)

WAR ZONES

Education in the war zones of Namibia is seriously disrupted by military activity, and students have deserted official schools in protest at racist and inferior education. Many young males leave official schools in order to avoid registration for military conscription, which is conducted through the schools. To cater for their needs, the Namibian churches have established independent schools. However, church schools receive subsidies of only R1 a day per pupil from the central administration, and funds are often held back. In April, the Roman Catholic Church was forced to hand over to the administration twelve schools under its control, stating that it could no longer afford to run them. (Nam 30.1.87; 13.2.87)

Lack of funds has also hindered the expansion of the Non-Formal Education Unit of the Council of Churches in Windhoek, which caters for 850 students. Many of its pupils have left the war zones of the north to escape army intimidation and the restrictions of the curfew. The unit, which aims to provide an alternative syllabus to that taught in South African-controlled schools, opened a branch in the Caprivi bantustan this year. Thousands of pamphlets were distributed in the area attacking the unit as a SWAPO front and saying that the education it provides is 'worthless'. The pamphlets were issued in the name of 'Namibia Christian Action' but were widely believed to be the work of an army-backed organisation known as the Namwi foundation. The pamphlets were typed on the same typewriter as one used to produce military propaganda. Soldiers are stationed at teachers at many schools in the area. (Nam 20.2.87; NCC 13.3.87)

GAINS FOR MINING AND FISHING WORKERS

The Namibian trade union movement, under the leadership of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) which is aligned to SWAPO, made significant gains during the first half of 1987. Thousands of workers attended May Day rallies, while unions were involved in a number of disputes. The first two NUNW affiliates, the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN) and the Namibian Food and Allied Workers Union (NAFAU), recorded increases in membership.

In late May, a third affiliate to the NUNW was founded in Windhoek. More than 100 delegates from 31 companies met to launch the Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU). It will seek to organise among the 8,000 workers in the metals and related sectors. (WA 25.5.87)

The two unions already formed under the umbrella of the NUNW have seen continued growth since January this year. They have also negotiated on behalf of workers in several disputes. The signed-up membership of the MUN now stands at 6,700 (roughly half the country's mine workforce) at five mines, including Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM), Rossing Uranium Ltd, the Tsumeb Corporation Limited (TCL) and the Otjihase and Uis mines. (Tribune (UK) 27.2.87; Nam 6.3.87; Action on Namibia, winter 86/87)

Financial constraints have prevented the union from expanding to other mines, but it plans eventually to have five representatives from each mine in the country on its central committee. (Nam 6.3.87)

Ben Uulenga, general secretary of the MUN recently visited Britain at the invitation of its Trades Union Congress, during which he gave graphic accounts of conditions on Namibian mines. Many mines still fail to provide adequate housing for their workers and single-sex compounds remain the most common form of accommodation. In those at TCL, workers are not even provided with mattresses to sleep on. At the Klein-Aub copper mine (now closed), miners were forced to live in tin shacks, which they themselves constructed. Only at Rossing and CDM has basic housing been provided. According to Uulenga, miners also receive inadequate food. A typical diet consists of a cup of coffee and a piece of bread before going underground at 7 am and then nothing until they come up at 4 pm. They are then given a bowl of maize meal and third-grade meat. Miners, he said, earn an average wage of R300 per month with white miners earning on average 24 times more than their black colleagues. Compounds are surrounded by barbed-wire fences, and are manned by security guards, usually ex-National Servicemen from the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF). (Tribune/GN 27.2.87; AA News, April 1987)

Letters from miners to the Namibian press have amplified these accounts. One indicated that miners travelling on buses from Mondesa and Arandis townships to work at Rossing are searched every day; another stated that workers at TCL live in hostels that 'have no lockers, there are no windows (unless one can call a hole in the wall a window), the beds are made of concrete... and there are only eight general toilets for the over 2,000 employees'. (Nam 27.2.87, 6.3.87)

The MUN has assisted in negotiations to resolve several disputes on mines. In February it successfully concluded the reinstatement of a worker at TCL, dismissed from his job after

spending three months in hospital recovering from injuries in a car accident. In March the 500-strong labour force at the Klein Aub copper mine went on strike. The mine was due to close down in April and workers were demanding fair retrenchment conditions, including three months' payment in advance of the mine's closure, compensation for those injured while working on the mine and pension rights. Management offered only one month's payment (in advance) and a bonus, subject to the strike being called off. Most miners refused. MUN officials who tried to negotiate for the workers were refused a hearing. The 'Minister' of Mines in the MPC Administration, Andreas Shipanga, and his deputy arrived at the mine but the nature of their intervention was not disclosed. Van-loads of police were bussed into the area during the strike. Management used the strike as a pretext to close the mine a month ahead of schedule. The workforce was dismissed before being bussed back to their homes in the north. (WO 31.1.87/14.3.87/4.4.87; Ind 14.3.87)

Press reports indicated that in early March workers at TCL's smelter plant had walked out over pay grievances and complaints about a supervisor. The reports indicated only that the problems had been resolved. (WO 6/7.3.87)

FISHING WORKERS

The other prominent NUNW affiliate, NAFAU, now has 6,000 members spread across 27 abattoirs, food-processing plants, mills and hotels. The union's presence was extended into the fishing industry during a two-week strike by lobster fishermen in Luderitz Bay in January. The 540 fishermen involved were employed by three concerns: Sea Products (SWA) Ltd and SWA Fishing Industries (which operate as a single company) and the General Development Company of Namibia. Fishermen from the three fleets formed a single workers' committee. Since 1974 the fishermen had been paid a bonus-commission of only 11 cents per kilogram of lobsters caught. The committee demanded an increase to R1 per kilogram. The managements tried various diversionary and intimidatory tactics to break the unity of the strikers. Attempts to recruit an alternative workforce failed when unemployed residents in the area turned down job offers. Two of the three employers refused to negotiate with the joint workers' committee, insisting on dealing only with their own employees.

Security police monitored developments and two members of the committee, Andrew BRUMER and Louis DANIEL, were briefly detained. A riot-police presence was also maintained during the strike. The deadlock was resolved following intervention by NAFAU, with

worker delegates negotiating with their individual managements and then relaying management responses back through the joint committee. In the settlement fishermen's pay for a 24-hour period at sea was raised from between R10 and R12 to R19 per day and the commission per kilogram caught from 11 cents to 35 cents. (WA 7/12.1.87; Nam 16.1.87; WO 17.1.87; Southscan 21.1.87)

Following the successful outcome of the strike, most of the fishermen not already members joined NAFAU. Their strike and that at the Klein Aub mine are the largest since the 1971 contract-workers strike.

NAFAU was also active in a dispute at the Swavleis meat-packing plant in Windhoek where in May 600 workers were summarily dismissed, after striking for higher wages. They were also threatened with eviction from their hostels. In early June, negotiations for their reinstatement were still in progress. (Nam 22/29.5.87)

In February John PANDENI, NAFAU secretary general, was refused a passport to travel to Britain with Uulenga. (AA News, April 1987)

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

In an attempt to pre-empt an NUNW call for workers to celebrate May Day, the MPC Administration declared May 1 an official public holiday. The move was parallel to that of the South African government in response to a call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

At the same time trade unions aligned to the MPC Administration attempted to organise rallies to deflect attention from the NUNW meetings. In the event they were poorly attended. NUNW rallies in contrast attracted thousands of people. A crowd of 7,500 attended a rally held in Shifidi Square, Katutura (named after the SWAPO political prisoner Immanuel Shifidi, who was killed there at a SWAPO rally in November 1986). They were addressed by NAFAU, MUN and NUNW officials and the SWAPO Secretary of Labour, Jason ANGULA. Over 5,000 TCL workers attended a May Day rally in the Tsumeb township of Nomtsoub—the largest meeting ever held there. Prayer meetings were held in smaller towns across the country. (WO 2.5.87; Nam 8.5.87)

Although there were reports of an increased police presence in Katutura prior to the rally there, security forces kept a low profile, except for security police who videoed proceedings. NUNW posters were ripped down in Katutura and the town clerks of Usakos and Karibib banned fly-posting. A bus-load of workers travelling from Rundu to the Tsumeb rally was held for several hours at a roadblock and subjected to threatening behaviour. (Nam 24.4.87; 1/8.5.87)

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RAIDS ON NEIGHBOURING STATES

Threats by South African government ministers against Southern African countries have been carried out in a number of raids, bombing attacks, military operations and assassinations in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. South African threats were made on the grounds that ANC and SWAPO combatants were operating from the territories. However, the governments of these countries regard the renewed aggression as a sign that Pretoria is stepping up its war of destabilisation in the region.

ANGOLA INVADED

At the beginning of the year South African armoured reinforcements were moved into the devastated Cunene province of southern Angola. On 12 January a combined South African-UNITA force, equipped with over 30 armoured vehicles and supported by helicopters, attacked Angolan army positions near the town of Mongua. Further attacks on military forces in Cunene province continued during the second half of January. As on previous occasions, the South African Defence Force (SADF) claimed that its operations were directed against SWAPO guerrillas based in Angola, but this was denied by the Angolan authorities. (*Angop* 5/26.1.87; *BBC* 31.1.87)

February saw further acts of aggression, with a commando raid on a village in Huila province, where several civilians were killed. Widespread attacks by armoured columns took place in three Angolan provinces between 21 and 27 February. There were also reports of attacks on villages in Cunene province near the Namibian border. Villagers who fled across the border to seek hospital treatment in Namibia after being assaulted by troops disclosed that their property had been destroyed and livestock killed. Three civilians related how the men of their village had been rounded up by South African troops, and beaten with sticks or tortured. One of them, Mariu AITULA, displayed serious burns on his back which had been caused when South African troops tortured him over a fire. (*Star* 3.3.87; *BBC* 4.3.87; *Nam* 20.3.87)

The Angolan government described the renewed aggression as an effort to establish a 'permanent buffer zone' in the south and to give

support to UNITA, which has been under continuous military pressure from government forces. Interviews with captured UNITA commanders have disclosed that the South African-backed force is increasingly weakened by internal disaffection and low morale, despite the increased supplies of military equipment it received from the United States during 1986. The supplies were reported in the US press to have been delivered to UNITA via the Kamina airbase in Zaire. There were also reports that military equipment for UNITA - which could include Stinger anti-aircraft missiles - was airlifted into Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport. (*WM* 6.2.87; *Star* 20.2.87; *GN* 9.3.87; *SS* 11.3.87, 9.4.87)

By mid-May six South African infantry battalions were stationed inside Angola, and President Dos Santos stated that the build-up of forces indicated that a new offensive was imminent. (*Nam* 22.5.87)

COMMANDO ATTACKS

South African commandos launched attacks on Livingstone in Zambia in late April and the Mozambican capital Maputo a month later. An attempt was also made to destroy a house used by the ANC in a suburb of Harare.

Four civilians were killed in the Zambian raid, which was carried out by commandos brought by helicopter, probably from the Caprivi Strip in occupied Namibia. The men landed outside the town and transferred to motor-bikes, driving through the town and attempting to attack an office block. Two night-watchmen who challenged the raiders were killed - they were described by the South African Defence Force as 'terrorist guards'. The raiders also blew up a house, killing two other Zambian men and seriously wounding a woman. (*S Tel* 26.4.87; *DD* 28.4.87)

The Livingstone attack came in the wake of a number of other incidents pointing to intensified South African destabilisation of Zambia. At the end of February, a bomb destroyed a post office in a Lusaka suburb and in January a South African agent was imprisoned after being found in possession of bomb-making equipment. Four South African tourists who confessed to having been engaged in espionage were released on President Kaunda's orders on 'humanitarian grounds' after it became clear that they were not professional agents. (*Star* 25.2.87; *GN* 26.2.87)

The commando attack in Maputo on 29 May was carried out by 16 commandos who attacked four sites in the capital, killing the director of the Mozambique Entertainment

Company, Antonio Pateguana, his wife Suzana de Souza Pinto, and a nightwatchman. The commandos left military equipment and vehicles at the seashore indicating that they may have escaped by sea. (*FT/Tel* 30.5.87; *GN/MS* 1.6.87)

The Maputo attack was the first major direct act of aggression since the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984. However, there have been persistent violations of the accord as South Africa has continued operations in support of the surrogate MNR force. A number of airspace violations were detected by the Mozambique forces earlier this year. However, South African efforts to resupply MNR units by sea failed when Mozambican forces regained control of the coastal regions. By early May, Mozambican forces backed by Zimbabwean and Tanzanian troops, and with the apparent co-operation of the Malawian authorities, had restored government control over many areas of the central provinces previously ravaged by the MNR. Over 2,000 MNR members were killed during the offensive, according to the Mozambican News Agency, and the MNR headquarters in Zambezia province was captured in early May. (*Star* 25.2.87, 11.3.87, 7.4.87, 5.5.87; *S Star* 5.4.87; *MS* 8.5.87)

ZIMBABWE AND BOTSWANA

The attempted destruction of the ANC office in Harare in May involved the firing of rocket-propelled grenades, which missed their target. The Zimbabwean government blamed Pretoria for the attack. Earlier, Tsitsi CHILIZA, a Zimbabwean citizen, was killed when a booby-trapped television set presented as a gift to the ANC representative in Harare exploded. (*BBC* 18.5.87; *WM* 22.5.87)

The government of Botswana blamed South African agents for an attack on a house at Ramotswa on 1 January, in which a woman was killed. In April a car bomb in Gaborone killed three people, on the same day that a message from Pretoria threatening 'dire consequences' was delivered to the Botswana government. The vehicle involved was registered in South Africa. In May an attempt was made to kill Ronald Watson, a South African anti-apartheid activist visiting Botswana. His would-be assassin claimed to be working for the South African regime. South African pressure against Botswana was further intensified when 500 paratroopers were dropped near the Botswana border for military exercises. (*Star* 2.1.87; *WM* 10.4.87; *Obs* 31.5.87)

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