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focus

ON POLITICAL
REPRESSION IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

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WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS UNDER ATTACK

Black workers' organizations, despite some significant gains during the earlier part of 1980, are now facing intensified attacks from both employers and the apartheid regime. Bannings of trade union leaflets, sackings of contract workers and deportation to the bantustans, arrest and detention of union organisers and strike leaders, and armed police action against strikers, have all been used to break strikes and industrial action.

The strike by Ford workers in January 1980 was only resolved when management agreed to unconditionally reinstate workers. The dispute had arisen over specific issues, including a demand for equal overtime pay. Under SA law, the workers broke their contracts by withdrawing their labour and were at best only entitled to reemployment. The agreement negotiated by their elected committee of representatives, however, in effect established their right to withdraw their labour without forfeiting their jobs. A further important element in the strike, apart from the leverage gained by those involved in the workplace, was the support which they rallied in the townships. A meeting of PEBCO (Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation) called for a temporary boycott of white businesses, African students planned a week's school boycott, and there were pledges to raise money for the strikers (*RDM 11.1.80; FM 11.1.80*).

The dispute in the Cape Town meat industry contained similar features. The workers in the abattoirs and storage depots, who went on strike at the beginning of May, won overwhelming support from the black townships in Cape Town and other parts of the country.

The dispute began over the refusal of management to recognise an elected workers'

committee at Table Bay Cold Storage. 11 out of 14 meat firms in the Cape recognised such committees at that stage. At Table Bay, however, workers were told to collect their pay and sign off. They won the immediate support of workers in other firms and an industry-wide committee decided to approach the three firms still not recognising elected workers' committees.

On the following morning, 20 May, workers found the factories surrounded by riot police. They decided to stay away from work right across the industry in the Cape, calling for unconditional reinstatement and elected committee recognition. A mass meeting on 21 May called for support from the community at large, through a boycott, financial support for the strikers and their families, and the discouragement of blackleg labour. A broadly based support committee was established, together with support committees elsewhere in the country, and information leaflets were issued. (*Based on bulletins produced by the Western Province General Workers Union (WPGWU), to which the meat workers belong, as well as press reports*).

This action coincided with the start of the school boycott, and police action against the strikers coincided with that against students. In the days that followed new and more intense repression took effect (*see FOCUS 29 pp. 1-5*). WPGWU organisers were detained and union leaflets were banned in an attempt to prevent support for the strikers being mobilised within the community (*CT 21.6.80*). 42 contract workers from the Table Bay Cold Storage hostel were arrested under the pass laws and (because they were legally unemployed) endorsed out to the bantustans (*RDM 13.6.80*).

The ban on meetings also interfered with efforts to organise the strike and to mobilise support through boycotts and financial collections. Nevertheless the strike held.

Other strikes at this time were attacked in

similar fashion, with arrests of workers at firms in Natal and Johannesburg (*see FOCUS 29 p. 2*).

The strikes at Fords and in the Cape Town meat industry concerned workers' rights. Other major strikes have concerned pay — the largest being in the Eastern Cape motor industry in June, and among Johannesburg municipal workers in July and August. These also involved the most conspicuous intervention by the state, in the form of mass police action.

In Uitenhage near Port Elizabeth, for example, police closed the whole area to journalists during the height of a strike involving at least 12 factories and about 7,000 workers. Strikers were exposed to teargas and shotguns on several occasions (*RDM 20.6.80; S.Tel 22.6.80*).

The Johannesburg municipal workers' strike concerned a demand for a pay increase to raise

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MASS REMOVALS

Forced removals and resettlement of Africans have been increasing steadily in South Africa, and many thousands of people are being or soon will be forcibly uprooted from their homes. This article is based on IDAF's evidence to the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, during their visit to London in August 1980. Each of the cases below is an example of the implementation of "separate development".

NEW ANTI-SQUATTER LEGISLATION

In April the government brought in legislation which further curtails the rights of squatters. The main provisions of the *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act 1980* are:

- A squatter structure erected without local authority permission is now illegal. Previously the squatter had only to get the permission of the land owner before building a structure.
- The Minister of Community Development can make an ad hoc extension to the area of jurisdiction of a local authority by declaring an area outside its jurisdiction to be within its jurisdiction of a local authority by declaring it is not needed by the government. This provision is the result of the events at Crossroads in 1977 when the local authority was not prepared to demolish the camp. As the Financial Mail points out this new provision 'implies that the area of jurisdiction of Kimberley municipality, for example, could be extended to include either Soweto or Crossroads for the purposes of the Act.'

The Act applies to any squatter structure or camp no matter how long it has been in existence. Previous legislation, through an oversight, applied only to structures erected after 1977 (*FM 22.2.80*).

Colin Eglin of the Progressive Federal Party pointed out during the third reading of the Bill in Parliament that the legislation means "a squatter's shack which has been erected with the consent of the owner in terms of the law as it presently exists and which in no way contravenes any existing statute or local authority by-law or regulation, can now be demolished" (*Debates 14.2.80*).

The first reported case of the new law being invoked was in May when 1,000 squatters at Hout Bay near Cape Town were served with eviction notices. The people live on three areas of land at Hout Bay and in two of the areas the land-owners had given the squatters permission to build their shacks and were agreeable to them remaining. Prior to the new amendment the squatters were acting legally and the government had no right to evict them or demolish their homes.

The third area of land is owned by the Tucker Development Corporation which is allegedly co-operating with the government in removing the squatters although the company itself denies requesting that the squatters be moved (*RDM 3.7.80*). In May these people were told they must demolish their homes before 29 June. The 350 squatters did so and were left homeless. The men were

then offered accommodation in Langa township, Cape Town, and the women and children were told they would be sent to their 'homeland'. By July several families had been sent to the Transkei but it appears the government has allowed some families to live together in Langa.

Accommodation at the Main Barracks in Langa, where 60 Hout Bay squatters are now being housed, is described by the Cape Town Medical Officer of Health as unfit for human habitation. Despite improvements in washing arrangements and water supply the barracks will still have to be demolished and the people of Hout Bay moved again ("*SA Officials Act on the Sly*" pamphlet on the situation issued in Cape Town; CT 15.5.80, 26.6.80, 11.7.80).

MASS EVICTION OF FARM SQUATTERS EXPECTED

An estimated 175,000 African squatters and labour-tenants were due to be evicted in August from farms in the Weenen areas of Natal to be resettled in KwaZulu. August was the date of the expiry of the last labour tenancy contracts which could no longer be renewed. The evictions are part of the government's attempt to control the number of Africans living and working on white farms and to make sure those who do so are migrant labourers (*S. Post 6.7.80*).

A labour tenant is an African who agrees to render services to a white farmer in exchange for a piece of land which he can use for private farming. Rural squatters are Africans who are given permission to live on a white farm with their families if the family will work for the farmer (*UN Document 37/76*). The labour-tenancy system was abolished in 1970 but because of opposition from white farmers it was agreed that it would be a gradual process with the last contracts not expiring until August 1980 (*S. Post 6.7.80*).

Most of the former tenants and squatters will be taken to resettlement areas in KwaZulu such as Nondweni and Msinga. Some of the men will be allowed to remain on the white farms and work as migrant 'farm labourers' on a yearly contract basis. Some of the women and children from resettlement camps near to white farms will be picked up in trucks and taken to work on the farms on a daily basis when work is available (*RDM 20.2.80*).

Despite growing government restrictions, the two systems of labour tenancy and squatting have survived until now because they provide a cheap and in some cases free source of labour for the farmer, and because Africans have strongly resisted pressure to retreat to the Bantustans and become migrant farm workers. Tenants and squatters have heard of conditions in the resettlement camps like Nondweni where their neighbours have been sent and have decided they prefer life on the white farms — all be it feudal and demeaning.

A 1980 British television programme showed what had happened to an African squatter who had been endorsed out to a bantustan. The African's baby had developed kwashiorkor — a disease of malnutrition. The man faced the prospect of never working again; the child, of death from the disease. (*David Dimbleby 'Walking on Coals', Panorama Special BBC1 TV 14.7.80*).

EVICCTIONS IN THE NORTHERN CAPE

One of the latest removals involves the 3000 African residents of Valspan township in Jan Kempdorp. They are being moved 26 kms away to Pampierstad in BophuthaTswana, and will have to become commuters to retain their jobs in Jan Kempdorp.

The first phase of resettlement involves 280 of the estimated 400 families. The rest are to be moved when houses become available. There is disagreement between the government and the Valspan Community Council as to the willingness of the people to move. The *Rand Daily Mail* concluded from its investigations that many residents were signing applications to be moved without fully understanding what they were doing. Although some of the residents do seem to be in favour of resettlement, the majority want their houses and facilities at Valspan to be improved instead.

WELGEVAL (BOPHUTHATSWANA)

In June 1979 the BophuthaTswana government moved one hundred families of the Bakgatla tribe from their village of Welgeval in the Pilanesberg mountains to tents and shacks at Sandfontein. The purpose was to make way for a 60,000 hectare game reserve. The establishment of the reserve is supported by the World Wildlife Fund and this international recognition was obviously an important factor in the decision to give wild animals priority over the Bakgatla people who have lived in the area since 1500 and who purchased the land in 1898.

The people were paid an average R1,800—R2,000 in compensation per family. They reportedly consider this insufficient to build new homes from scratch and are concerned that the land allocated for their 10,000 head of cattle at Sandfontein is already being used for grazing by other residents and is not adequately supplied with water (*Star 5.7.80*).

As a result of the evidence submitted by IDAF to the UN Working Group, the World Wildlife Fund will be called before the Group in Geneva later this summer to explain its support for the project (*GN 7.8.80*).

WOMEN UNDER APARTHEID

A portable exhibition of photographs on 14 display sheets 25 x 17½ inches (63 x 44 cms)

Apartheid policies such as the migrant labour system, the resettlement programmes, and influx control have particularly affected the lives of women.

This portable exhibition illustrates the conditions under which the majority of South African women live.

PUBLISHED PRICE £5.00 incl.
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Available from: Publications Department, International Defence and Aid Fund, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP. Phone: 606-6123

ZINJIVA NKONDO SPEAKS TO FOCUS

Zinjiva NKONDO (Victor MATLOU) was seized by SA Police on 12 December last year while in transit between Mozambique and Lesotho. He was arrested at the Ladybrand border post after his scheduled Lesotho Airways flight from Maputo to Maseru was forced to land at Bloemfontein due to engine trouble.

Nkondo, who left South Africa in 1976 after spending a total of 384 days in solitary confinement, is now the Director of Internal Propaganda in the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity in Lusaka. He was formerly the Director of the Black Peoples Convention Black Community Programmes in Johannesburg.

Following his arrest in December 1979, Nkondo was detained under the Terrorism Act and eventually charged with various offences in connection with his work for the ANC in exile. He appeared in the Orange Free State Supreme Court on 10 March 1980, when the case was remanded until 4 June.

Meanwhile, an application against the SA Minister of Police was made to the SA Supreme Court by Nkondo's brother Curtis Nkondo (former president of the Azanian People's Organisation, AZAPO). The application, accompanied by affidavits from the Lesotho government and others, sought Nkondo's release on the grounds that his detention infringed Lesotho's territorial integrity. The application was dismissed with costs in the Bloemfontein Supreme Court in March.

On 14 May 1980, however, charges against Zinjiva Nkondo were dropped by the state. He was then escorted to the Lesotho border by South African police, and released. (See *Focus* 1 p. 2; 26 p. 4; 27 p. 13; 28 p. 6)

Zinjiva Nkondo spoke to FOCUS in July 1980 about his five months in detention

Lusaka, then in terms of boosting their morale and the morale of their followers, it's quite a catch.

Thirdly, they thought that they could perhaps bargain with the ANC. They wanted somebody outside the country, for instance, in exchange for releasing me.

What happened after you were kidnapped? How were you treated?

I was immediately taken to Brandfort police station and kept there overnight. The following morning I was taken to an interrogation room in this little police station. The situation was not very nice.

They brought two AKs and threatened to shoot me, saying "Now, if you don't talk we're going to shoot you with your own weapons." It was an attempt to break my morale. I had been in their hands before and I knew how to deal with them. I discovered that they didn't do anything. It was just threats and pushing around.

On the morning of 13 December, the Lesotho Government lodged a complaint. Pretoria immediately phoned the police station, and I was removed to Bloemfontein. All the way they were threatening to kill me if I didn't play ball.

When I got to Bloemfontein the situation had completely changed. The security police did their usual story: "You are working with whom?" "What are your connections?", and that type of questioning. But there was also the other element of security, real security — BOSS (they've changed their name now to Department of National Intelligence.) Their line was a political one: "What is the political line of the ANC?" "Why are the ANC not negotiating?" Now it's not very difficult to tell them that there's a Freedom Charter, and that we still believe in the Freedom Charter, and that they can get it if they want to. But other questions were very difficult for me to answer. It was done very

cleverly. I was interrogated from 7 o'clock in the morning until 11 at night, and they were going in relays, which was very strenuous. I think it was even worse than being beaten up.

They said they wanted negotiations, they wanted amnesties. Now that becomes a problem for the liberation movement, because in their type of negotiations, we must lay down arms first, and negotiate on the basis that the bantustans are a reality that we must accept, that they are viable and acceptable to the people. On that basis the liberation movement could come back into the country. I asked them why they didn't unban the organisation first before thinking of negotiating with it. That made them very very annoyed, that I should think of the ANC being unbanned in the country.

This went on for days on end, from 13 December until I think 4 February, the day I was given by indictment by the magistrate.

What impression did you get of the situation inside South Africa and of their strategy for coping with the liberation struggle?

They are not coping with the struggle. That is the problem for them. Inside the country the people have accepted the ANC. I wouldn't say 100% of them; there is still a lot to do inside the country in terms of politicising the people. But on the whole we are accepted as a liberation movement. That's why most of the operations are successful. The people have come to accept that we are fighting, and that they must protect us.

The regime has been trying to hasten the policy of the homelands, the divide and rule policy.

Another strategy they're following is to be very harsh on activists, both ANC activists and non-ANC. Where there's an ANC operation they became very very harsh on the people around that area.



Zinjiva Nkondo

Why did the South Africans kidnap you, and what were they trying to find out?

They knew I was from the ANC Headquarters, and I think the main thing they wanted was information about plans and lines of action — which police station is going to be hit next, who is coming in and from what area. The struggle is escalating inside the country and they don't have all the information they need about what's happening. I believe that they cannot control the situation. Immediately I got into their hands they wanted me to tell them about plans. Fortunately I don't have such information, because I don't deal with military matters.

Secondly, it was a show of power. If they can get a person from the ANC, right from

BANTUSTAN LEADERS AGAINST STUDENTS

Students and pupils in schools and colleges in the bantustans taking part in the protests against apartheid education have found themselves attacked by the bantustan authorities just as students elsewhere have been attacked.

University students at the University of Zululand picketed the entrance in protest at a visit by Buthelezi, and were dispersed by police with teargas and batons (*DD 26.5.80; ST 25.5.80*). This was a few days after a 200 strong group of supporters of Inkatha (the political movement led by Buthelezi), armed with knobkerries, spears and knives, confronted 500 boycotting school children in Kwamashu and were prevented from attacking them by a police intervention (*CT 19.5.80*).

During the last few days of May — a phase of more intense repression with a wave of detentions and threats to expel students — a similar tough line was taken in the bantustans.

In the Ciskei a wave of detentions of school pupils took place on 21 May, followed by a news blackout on what had happened (*DD*

27.5.80). Then on 26 May students at a high school near the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly were baton-charged by Ciskeian police when they refused to leave the school. They had been told either to write their half-year exams or go away (*DD 18.5.80*). The next day the Ciskei Chief Minister claimed the anti-apartheid education protest was "a militant campaign of hate directed against South African whites by radical blacks" (*DD 28.5.80*).

Chief Buthelezi stated that boycotting students should be expelled if they were not back in class by the end of the month and threatened to close all schools under his control if the boycott continued (*CT 29.5.80; MS 30.5.80*).

In Witsieshoek, in the QwaQwa bantustan, 2,000 high school students staging a protest were dispersed by police (*RDM 25.5.80*).

Drastic measures were taken in the Transkei where a state of emergency was declared by means of a promulgation confining all students, scholars and other "affected persons" to their schools or homes in terms of a 24-hour curfew invoked in terms of the Transkei Public Security Act. Those covered by the promul-

gation could only leave their homes or school hostels between 6 a.m and 6 p.m if they were going to attend classes. The promulgation outlawed virtually any expression of support for the boycott, any "shouting or displaying slogans or making any gestures or signs likely to incite affected persons to absent themselves from classes" (*Post 6.6.80*). Education authorities drew up a questionnaire to university students and post-primary school pupils, containing such questions as "what guarantee can you give that you will not be a trouble-maker when you become a teacher?" (*S.Post 29.6.80*).

In July, with the boycott still continuing, the action against the students went on. More than 700 secondary school students in Zwelitsha near King Williams Town were baton-charged by Ciskeian police when they refused to attend classes after the morning coffee-break. They were boycotting the classes and demanding that the education system be scrapped and replaced by an integrated one. Later the head of the Ciskeian Intelligence Service said that seven pupils had been detained (*CT 22.7.80*).

POLITICAL MEETINGS BANNED

Faced with the threat of protests and demonstrations on a massive scale, the apartheid regime has virtually outlawed public political activity by banning all meetings of a political nature of more than ten people.

The ban was imposed on 13 June as plans were being made to commemorate the June 1976 uprising. The army was ready to enforce the ban in Soweto (*see FOCUS 29 p. 2*). Legal experts described it as 'a blanket ban on politics' (*RDM 16.6.80*). The ban, which followed a request to the Minister of Justice by the Minister of Police, was to be in force for two weeks, covering both 16 June, day of the Soweto commemoration, and 26 June, day of the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People. It covered 25 magisterial districts (*CT 16.6.80*).

But as the date of its expiry drew near, and it appeared that meetings were planned to further the boycott of schools and other protests, and as the venue of meetings appeared to be shifted to districts not covered by the ban, a new ban was imposed, extending the first one for two more months to the end of August, and to 45 magisterial districts (*RDM 3.7.80*).

The wording of the prohibition is wide ranging. It prohibits "any gatherings of a political nature at which any form of state or any principle or policy or action of a government of a state or of a political party or political group is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised or discussed, or at which any protest or boycott or strike is encouraged or discussed or which is held in protest against or in support of or in commemoration of anything" except for such gatherings which the Minister or the magistrate concerned expressly authorises.

During July the Minister of Police stated that the police would rigorously enforce the ban to prevent gatherings of boycotting students on school premises. The ban was also used to arrest more than a hundred workers gathered outside their factory (*see OTHER TRIALS*).

The magisterial districts concerned are: Durban, Maritzburg, Pinetown, Inanda, Lower Tugela, Ndewedwe, Port Shepstone, Umzinto, Cape Town, Paarl, Stellenbosch, Somerset West, Strand, Worcester, Wynberg, Belville, Goodwood, Simonstown, Kuil's River, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Albany, Cradock, Kirkwood, Graaf-Reinet, Fort Beaufort, East London, King Williams Town, Victoria East, Queenstown, Aliwal North, Johannesburg,

Pretoria, Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Roodeport, Springs, Benoni, Brakpan, Germiston, Randfontein, Westonaria, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad (*CT 1.7.80*).

In a further restriction of meetings, the Grahamstown Chief Magistrate banned weekend funerals at the beginning of August, in order to prevent large numbers of mourners, attending the funerals of two young men killed by the police at a demonstration (*see POLICE SHOOT DEMONSTRATORS DEAD*).

TU FUND-RAISING BAN

The non-racial Federation of South African Unions (FOSATU) was banned from raising funds by a proclamation in the Government Gazette on 6 June, under the Fundraising Act. FOSATU officials understood this as barring them from raising finance overseas or from FOSATU's 14 affiliates, with 45,000 members.

FOSATU applied in December 1979 to the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions for temporary permission to raise funds and was told the Department was waiting for a reply from the Department of Manpower Utilisation. Commenting on the proclamation the Minister of Manpower Utilisation said that no money could be allowed to come from outside to facilitate strikes (*S. Post 12.6.80*).

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the minimum monthly wage for an unskilled worker from about R140 to R245. (According to the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce the minimum wage on which an African family can reasonably survive is about R220 a month) (*T 4.6.80*).

The municipal employers refused to negotiate with the workers' union the unregistered Black Municipal Workers Union, led by Joseph MAVI. By 30 July 10,000 workers — about two thirds of the municipal workforce — were on strike (*RDM 30.7.80*). Following a meeting between the Minister of Manpower Utilisation and the city's management committee the Minister said

that the strike had bypassed the conciliation machinery and that it "undermined the basis of law and order". (Although the BMWU had applied for registration it had not yet been granted) (*RDM 31.7.80*).

The City Council then took extreme measures to break the strike. The strikers had converged on one of the workers' compounds where a strong contingent of police had cordoned off the area and were manning the gates. The men were allowed into the compound one by one as police scrutinised their pass books. Council officials and police — armed with shotguns, R1 rifles or semi-automatic pistols — separated the men into two groups: those who were prepared to return

to work, and the remainder. The latter, amounting to 1,200 contract workers, were put on buses (at gunpoint according to an eyewitness) and despatched back to the bantustans (*FT 2.8.80; RDM 1.8.80*).

Joseph Mavi, the BMWU President, was arrested in a corridor of the Rand Supreme Court, where he had gone to discuss with lawyers the possibility of an injunction halting police action against the strikers. Charges against him under the Riotous Assemblies and Sabotage Acts were reportedly being considered by the police. Both Acts refer to breaches of contract by employees in public utility services, and the threat of disruption of such services (*RDM 1.8.80*).

POLITICAL TRIALS

Over the past few months the number of political trials coming to court in South Africa has been lower than at any time since 1976. This is explained partly by the mid-year recess in the courts and partly by the fact that many cases have been postponed and remanded. A number of important trials, such as that of the nine guerillas charged with treason (see below) are expected to take place in the near future.

CONTINUING TRIALS

NINE GUERRILLAS

The nine ANC men charged with treason, attempted murder and terrorism reappeared in Pretoria Supreme Court on 2 June, when the case was postponed to 4 August (see *FOCUS* 29 p. 10).

The nine are Ncimbithi Johnson LUBISI (28) Petrus Tsepo MASHIGA (20) Naphthali MANANA (24) Ikan Yeng Moses MOLEBATSI (27) Hloli Benjamin TAU (24) Phumulani Grant SHEZI (24) Jeremiah RADEBE (26) Boyce Johannes MOGALE (26) and Thomas MNGADI (29).

The charges are as follows: conspiracy to further the aims of the ANC and endanger state security; and conspiracy with Fanie Mafoko, Oupa Jaolde (a.k.a. Matue) and Khulu Mkiye — who were killed in the Volkskas Bank, Silverton; murder and attempted murder as a result of the deaths of two women in the Silverton operation; and undergoing military training outside South Africa.

Benjamin Tau is alleged to have planned the Silverton operation; Tau and Molebatsi to have conspired with the three dead men to attack petrol storage and police stations in the Pretoria area; Lubisi and Manana to have directed various guerilla operations from a base in the northern Transvaal; Lubisi to have conspired with others to attack the Soekmekaar police station in January; Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana to have attempted to murder persons at Soekmekaar; Shezi and Radebe to have conspired to attack a Port Natal Administration building; Shezi to have recruited two men to go for military training. In the charge sheet a guerilla base near Ga-Rankuwa is also mentioned (*Cit* 3.6.80).

MOGALE AND MAKUNYANE

The two students charged under the Terrorism Act with promoting the aims of the ANC (see *FOCUS* 29 p. 10) reappeared in Pietersburg Magistrates Court on 24 June when the case was postponed to 25 August.

Ephraim MOGALE (23), president of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), and Thabo MAKUNYANE, student at the University of the North, are alleged to have produced and distributed pamphlets, to have formed youth clubs to promote unrest between 1977 and 1979 and to have recruited members for the ANC. They were detained in November 1979 together with 12 other COSAS members. Ephraim Mogale was taken to hospital in December 1979 with injuries allegedly sustained 'while trying to escape'.

The two have not yet been asked to plead and press reporters were barred from the court when they appeared (*RDM* 25.6.80).

MODISE, NKOSI, MOGALE

The trial of three young people under the

Terrorism Act (see *FOCUS* 29 p. 10) opened in Kempton Park Regional Court on 16 June.

Thandi MODISE (20) is charged with being a trained ANC guerilla who returned to the country with intent to commit sabotage and damage property; Moses NKOSI (24) and Aaron MOGALE (21) are charged with aiding Modise after her return.

Two witnesses told the court of the group of students who left South Africa with Modise in November 1976. Mogale's father gave evidence relating to a gun the three accused were said to have hidden in the backyard of his Soweto home. The prosecution case is that Modise brought arms and ammunition into the country in preparation for guerilla attacks on government offices and police stations.

Thandi Modise told the court that after she was detained in October 1979 she was interrogated and assaulted by a police team under Maj. Cronwright at John Vorster Square police HQ. Pregnant at the time of her arrest, Modise gave birth to a daughter in police custody. She told the court that as a result of her interrogation she had contemplated suicide and that she felt so grateful to the one police officer who showed her kindness that she named her daughter after him. Defence lawyers submitted that the 'confession' Thandi is alleged to have made was not made voluntarily.

The trial was remanded to 13 August (*RDM* 17/18/21.6.80, 5.7.80; *SP* 6.7.80).

BENTLEY and MZINYATHI

The defence case in the long trial of Bingo Mbonjeni BENTLEY and Archibald Monti MZINYATHI (see *FOCUS* 29 p. 10) opened on 7 July in Johannesburg Regional Court, when Mzinyathi told the court of having been forced by police to copy sketches of a 'carbide bomb' while in detention. The sketches were then produced as evidence to the court.

The case continues (*RDM* 9.7.80).

CHAUKE

Jimmy CHAUKE (19) was found guilty on 29 July in the Pretoria Regional Court on a charge under the Terrorism Act concerning the distribution of banned literature. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison of which nine months were suspended for five years.

Chauke was found not guilty on two other charges under the Terrorism Act, one of recruiting people for terrorist training and the other of making himself available for such training. He had made copies of a banned book *ANC Speaks*, which he had been given by a teacher and had shown the copies to others (*RDM* 30.7.80).

OTHER TRIALS

13 STUDENTS

13 students at the University of Cape Town who allegedly distributed the Freedom Charter and pamphlets calling for Nelson Mandela's release, appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court on 2 July. They had been on bail since April (see *FOCUS* 28 p. 4). They were charged with distributing pamphlets declared undesirable in terms of the Publications Act.

Policemen from South African Railways, the Security Police and the uniformed branch told the court that on 28 March the students gave the Freedom Charter, and a pamphlet calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, to commuters. One constable described how he

found students handing out copies of the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955 and then adopted by the African National Congress as its programme for changing South African society.

The students all pleaded not guilty to distributing an undesirable publication. They were acquitted on 28 July. (*CT* 3/29.7.80; *RDM* 5.7.80).

MENTE and NTLAKI

Two men pleaded guilty to assisting banned person Thozamile Botha to leave the country (see *FOCUS* 28 p. 7) and were sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Port Elizabeth on 21 May.

Pakamisa MENTE (31) and Nikelo NTLAKI (26) were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, according to a press report. They were not legally represented in court (*DD* 22.5.80).

DALINDYEBO and OTHERS

The case against Patrick DALINDYEBO (Chief Sabata's 21-year-old son) Nicholas BOYCE (24) Tembikile MAGINGXA (21) and Zoyisile NELANI (46) opened on 10 April and was remanded to 19 May. Two of the accused, Magingxa and Nelani, were reported to be undergoing hospital treatment (*DD* 11.4.80; see *FOCUS* 28 p. 5).

MANCOTYWA

The case against Florence MANCOTYWA, publicity secretary with the Transkei Democratic Progressive Party (see *FOCUS* 26 p. 6.) was on 3 April postponed to 23 May, and she was released on bail (*DD* 4.4.80).

RIOTOUS ASSEMBLY

A total of 125 men and a 17-year old youth appeared in a special Magistrate's Court at Cambridge police station in East London on 11 July on charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

They were arrested near a factory and were charged with attending a gathering of more than ten people. All meetings "of a political nature" of more than 10 people have been banned. (see *POLITICAL MEETINGS BANNED*).

All the men are believed to be employees of National Converter Industries who were refused entry to the company's premises following a dispute over the operation of a trade union committee. They were remanded to appear in court on 16 July (*S. Post* 13.7.80).

FORD WORKERS

The Port Elizabeth Regional Court decided on 16 June to move the trial of 18 Ford workers to Humansdorp. The men face charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act and were arrested after a meeting of Ford workers on strike in December (see *FOCUS* 28 p. 4).

The defence said they would ask the Supreme Court to review the magistrate's decision. The prosecution applied for the move on the grounds that big crowds might attend the hearings and that "in the present climate of unrest" this might disturb the functions of the court (*CT* 17.6.80).

155 BANNED PERSONS

A total of 155 people are banned under the Internal Security Act. A list of 154 names was published in the Government Gazette in July, and since then Fanyana MAZIBUKO has been banned (*see below*). A year ago the total was 154.

15 new names were on this year's list. Information about them has been given in previous issues of *FOCUS*. They include Thozamile BOTHA, Bonisile CEKISANI, Lizo PITYANA, Dan QEQE, Phalo TSHUME and Mono BADELA, all members of PEBCO (Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation) (*see FOCUS 26 p. 3, 27 p. 14*); Eddie DANIELS, Tukuza MASHABA and John MATTHEWS (*see FOCUS 26 p. 2*), Kader HASSIM and Mogame MOENG (*see FOCUS 29 p. 2*), all banned on release from prison after serving sentences of several years; Priscilla JANA (*see FOCUS 24 p. 2*); Achmad CASSIEM (*see FOCUS 27 p. 4*); Helen JOSEPH and Curtis NKONDO (*see FOCUS 29 p. 12*).

NEW BANS

Fanyana MAZIBUKO was served on 13 July with a three-year banning order under two sections of the Internal Security Act. He was secretary of the Soweto Teachers Action Committee (STAC) which represents the majority of teachers who resigned during the 1976-77 schools protests. Its Chairman, Curtis NKONDO, was banned for 3 years on 23 May (*see FOCUS 29 p. 12*).

The order prohibits Mazibuko from attending social or political gatherings and from

entering any township other than Soweto where he lives, any factory, printing or publishing house, or the Supreme or Magistrate's Court except as a witness or an accused. The ban means he will have to give up his job as assistant director of the South African Committee for Higher Education.

CONTRAVENTIONS

Aubrey MOKOENA appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 1 July charged on five counts of breaking his banning order. This is the third time he has been charged with contraventions of his banning order, which prohibits him from attending meetings. On the first occasion he was acquitted on a charge of failing to notify police of his change of address (*see FOCUS 24 p. 6*), and he was acquitted again on a charge of having attended two church meetings (*see FOCUS 28 p. 7*). This time the counts again included allegations that he attended two church meetings and three other meetings.

Mokoena, who was an executive member of the now banned South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black Community Programme (BCP), told the court that he did not take part in the discussion at a church meeting he attended. He had sought legal opinion before briefly attending the meeting. He pleaded not guilty to all the charges. The case was adjourned to 6 October (*Post 11.6.80; RDM 2.7.80*).

MONO BADELA

Civil proceedings are to be instituted against a

security policeman who is said to have assaulted Mono BADELA during questioning. Badela, a journalist and member of Pebco (Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation), was banned along with two PEBCO leaders, Thozamile BOTHA and Phalo Tshume, soon after their release on 27 February after seven weeks of detention without trial (*see FOCUS 27 p. 14*).

Badela was summoned by police to report to Sanlam Buildings in Port Elizabeth, headquarters of the Security Police in the Eastern Cape. On his release, after two and a half hours of questioning, he had to see a doctor. His wife said he returned home with a swollen face. "He was slapped on the right side of his face, punched and his head knocked against the wall," she said.

The police interrogated him on WASA (the Writers Association of South Africa) and the visit of top American journalists to South Africa the week before.

An application three months ago to the Chief Magistrate to have his banning order relaxed so that he could take up employment with a newspaper, has not been replied to (*S. Post 22.6.80*).

PHILEMON KUNGE

Philemon KUNGE, a former political prisoner, died in June after a short illness. He served years on Robben Island for ANC activities. He lived in the Port Elizabeth area before arrest, but on his release he was banned to the illinge resettlement area near Queenstown (*Post 8.6.80*).

DETENTIONS

According to statistics kept by the South African Institute of Race Relations, 393 people were believed to have been detained between April and the end of June 1980 (*RDM 2.7.80*). Of these 133 were named in a list given by the Minister of Justice of people held under the "preventive" Section (10) of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention. They included leaders of political organisations, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Natal Indian Congress (NIC), two Labour Party members, and numbers of students, lawyers and trade unionists (*RDM 2.7.80*). No list was given of those held under the other security laws.

The Minister said that four of the Internal Security Act detainees had been released by 1 July, and since then a number of others have been released; 16 are thought to have been released in July (*RDM 29.7.80*) and another

36 on 3 August in Cape Town and Paarl (*RDM 4.8.80*). The Department of Justice refused to give a list of those released, saying: "The Minister has previously indicated that he does not intend issuing lists regularly" (*RDM 29.7.80*). According to unofficial sources, such as the South African Institute of Race Relations, those released are believed to include two Labour Party members of the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee (Miley RICHARDS and Mohammed DANGOR, Natal Indian Congress leaders (George SEWPERSADH, A. CHETTY, Thanne PILLAY, Rabi BUGWANDEEN and Farouk MEER) as well as Trevor SMITH (Natal University SRC), Edna VAN HARTE (University Western Cape Lecturer) and Esme FILLMORE and Jean NAIDOO from Cape Town (*RDM 29.7.80, 4.8.80*).

Some of these releases are thought to be due

to a hunger strike by detainees. It was started on 8 July by Internal Security Act detainees at the Victor Verster maximum security prison in the Cape, 66 in all. News of the hunger strike came from relatives who were allowed to visit them (unlike those held under the other security laws) (*GN 12.7.80*).

They were joined by seven women detainees at Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town (*Star 15.7.80*). One of the men on hunger strike collapsed during an internal prison trial, which he and four others were charged with contravening prison regulations by refusing to be quiet after the 8pm bell had gone. The continued talking and shouting slogans such as "amandla" (power), it is alleged (*Star 15.7. CT 12.7.80*).

It appears that a substantial number of Internal Security Act detainees may have been released on 10 or 11 August 1980.

NEW DETENTIONS

Additional to previous *FOCUS* lists

Approx. date	Place	Name (Age)	Details (where known)
29.3.80	Atteridgeville	Mbulelo Nimrod TANTSU	
26.5.80	East London	Derrick POSTMAN Grey FREDERICKS	arrested in connection with Silverton siege. SRC
26.5.80	Fort Beaufort	Bongiwe LINDA Thobile NDIEBE	Fort Hare student
26.5.80	Port Elizabeth	Thembisile NDZOTHUYI Godfrey BOTHLILE Thango MSIZI Vusumzi PIKOLI Vuyisile OLIPHANT Archie SOBUKWE Mziwandile SIMANGA (19) Zama TUTU (18)	trainee nursing assistant at a mental hospital unemployed Cosas member Cosas member Detained under Section 22

Continued on

Continued from p. 6

27.5.80	Queenstown	Peter BOTHERA T. ARENDS B. MCPHERSON E. O'CONNOR Yunus SHAIK Prof. J. GERWEL Nombulelo MELANE Mulie RICHARDS Mohamed DANGOR Sam SOLOMON Joe GWABENI	student at Maria Louw Senior School teachers at Maria Louw Senior School student, member of committee of Six leading figure on the university campus acting President of AZAPO Coloured teachers student at Cicira Teachers Training College, former Robben Island prisoner school master of St. John's College school master Umtata Tech. College
28.5.80	West Cape		
30.5.80	Umtata		
2.6.80	Umtata	L. MPONGWANA Themba GUN Paul JUMAT Bradley POTGIETER Glynn ESAU Daniel NETNOU Ashraf KAROCKA Xavier BOSSMAN Paul ADAMS Paul DAVID Theo ANDREW Winston MIDDLETON Allie PARKER Mzwandile MSOKI Bonisile NORUSHE Bangumzi SIFINGO Humphrey MAXEQWANA Lungile NJONGWENI Mandla GXANYANA Rufus RWEXU Ryan MAPISA Bhekinkosi NDLELEMBE Harold BOOYSENS (30) Charles MENTOOR (18) Norman JANTJIES Trevor FRANCIS Ebrahiem PATEL Wilson SIDINA Zora MEHLWAMAKULU Adhir MAHARAJ Bobby SUBRYAN Altaf KARRAM Rishi BUJRAM Nicolette VAN DRIEL Nazeema MUHAMAD Peter JONES Songso NDLETYANA	student at Uitenhage High School Secretary of Release Mandela Campaign student student Landsdowne Printer field worker trade union organiser
June	Cape		
10.6.80	Grahamston		
10.6.80	Durban		
13.6.80			
18.6.80	Greenhaven		
18.6.80	East London		
18.6.80	East London		
19.6.80	Cape Town		student, member of
20.6.80	Guguletu		student pupil
23.6.80			Organisers of the West Province General Workers Union
24.6.80			student, member of the Committee of Six student, member of Constitutional Committee of Six student student, member of Committee of Six student student a friend of Biko member of Transkei Opposition Democratic Progressive Party Youth League student teacher, arrested three times in three months Rhodes University Student a leader of the black Municipal Workers Union
29.6.80			
10.7.80	Cape Town		
16.7.80	Umtata		
26.7.80	Soweto	Sipho NHLAPO Grey FREDERICKS Devon PILLAY Joseph MAVI	
29.7.80	East London		
2.8.80			

CENSORSHIP

During the past few months the regime has made frequent use of its powers of censorship to ban leaflets and pamphlets which have been produced to mobilise support for the struggles of students and workers, and for the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela.

Two versions of a poster put out by the Transvaal Free Mandela Committee were banned at the end of April: they contained the Freedom Charter, as did a pamphlet published by the Committee, which was also banned (RDM 2.5.80). A T-shirt with *Mandela - the people's leader* printed on it was listed in June as "an undesirable publication" (CT 21.6.80).

Several publications connected with the school boycott were banned. There were a number of pamphlets by a group "Student Action for Non-Racial Education" (SANE); a pamphlet produced by the boycott co-ordinating committee entitled *Students in South Africa*; pamphlets by student organisations or societies at the University of Cape Town - *Students and parents in solidarity*, *Call*

for Solidarity; a pamphlet *The Silent Boycott* listed as published by the United Parents Front. Copies of the *Muslim News* of 23 May and 6 June were banned, as were several newspapers of student representative councils at the Universities of Natal, Cape Town, Rhodes and Witwatersrand. A newsletter of the Black Student Society at the University of Natal was banned too.

In May the Directorate of Publications made it a crime to possess copies of a number of leaflets mobilising support for the bus and red meat boycotts, including some put out by the Western Province General Workers Union, with such titles as *Support the meat workers, don't eat red meat* and *'Struggle of the meat workers is the struggle of the community'* (CT 19/26.4.80, 3/24.5.80, 21.6.80; RDM 2.5.80).

MAPETLA MOHAPI INQUEST

Nohle MOHAPI's R35,000 claim against the Minister of Police was dismissed by the Supreme Court on 4 July. She was suing for damages following the death of her husband while in security police detention on 5 August 1976.

Attorneys representing Ms. Mohapi are

considering appealing against the judgement. The case as a whole is already estimated to have cost R250,000, and the judge ordered Ms. Mohapi to pay costs, authoritatively estimated at R100,000 (CT 4.7.80; RDM 5.7.80).

Ms. Mohapi said that her husband's death was the result of assault on him by members of the Security Police and that an alleged suicide note was a forgery.

The judge said that the evidence before him, taken at its face value, showed that the probabilities were against Mapetla Mohapi wanting to commit suicide. He had been young, in good health, devoted to his family and had confidence in the future of black people in South Africa.

The judge said that the letters he had written on toilet paper while in detention did not seem the letters of someone contemplating suicide. However, he said, they were written before his interrogation and so might not be a true reflection of his state of mind the day he died, and in any event, he added, there was no accounting for why a person might commit suicide. The judge felt that handwriting experts had not proved the note was a fake, and he ruled that it was genuine and that Mapetla Mohapi had hanged himself (CT/RDM *ibid.*)

namibia

BANTUSTAN ELECTIONS DUE IN NOVEMBER

The SWA Administrator General Dr. Gerrit Viljoen announced on 1 August that the elections for "second tier" ethnic authorities in Namibia would take place early in November 1980. A proclamation setting out dates for nominations and for the elections themselves would probably be issued in early September.

Viljoen said that the elections would be held over three day periods, but that only eight of the eleven tribal groups into which black Namibians are classified by the apartheid system would actually participate. The exceptions would be the Ovambos (comprising nearly half of Namibia's total population), Rehoboth Basters and Bushmen. Viljoen said he did not consider it advisable to hold an election in Ovamboland because the scale of military operations in northern Namibia "might lead to criticism that either direct or psychological influence had been exerted". In the case of Rehoboth, the existing national assembly had been elected only a year ago, while as far as the Bushmen were concerned, it had been decided that the appointment of a nominated body to look after their interests "should be taken further". (BBC 4.8.80).

These tribal elections represent the second stage of South Africa's programme to implement its own constitutional solution or "internal settlement" in Namibia, derived from the bantustan blueprint first set out in the 1964 Odendaal Commission report. On 1 July,

a number of constitutional developments were brought into effect at the national level by South Africa, as part of this plan. A "Council of Ministers", the equivalent of a Cabinet and comprising one representative of each of 11 black tribal groups under the chairmanship of the DTA leader Dirk Mudge, was inaugurated; the National Assembly of tribal representatives acquired certain executive powers; new constitutions for the "second tier" representative authorities came into effect; a separate public service commission set up within the territory began work; and penalties were introduced for racial discrimination in hotels, restaurants and cafes (BBC 4.7.80).

MILITARY REORGANISATION

Also on 1 July, the SWA Administrator General announced the establishment of a separate defence department for Namibia. This new department came into operation on 1 August 1980, when more than 90 SADF units, headquarters, battalions, field regiments and area forces were transferred to the Namibian defence authorities. These, together with SWA defence units established previously under SA's programme for developing an indigenous Namibian Army, are now known as the "SWA/Namibian Territory Force".

Namibia's defences remain fully integrated with those of South Africa under these arrangements however:-

- the "SWA/Namibian Territory Force" remains part of the South African Defence Force until such time as Namibia becomes independent, and the SADF remains directly responsible for Namibia's defence and security.
 - the officer commanding the SWA/Namibian Territory Force will also act as officer-in-charge of the SADF in Namibia.
 - executive control over the SWA/Namibian Territory Force will rest with the Administrator General and the newly inaugurated Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers has to be consulted about operations, particularly raids into neighbouring states. However, in matters concerning Operational Command, the officer commanding the Territory Force will be answerable to the chief of the SADF rather than the Administrator General.
 - Overall planning and liaison between the SADF and SWA Defence authorities is the responsibility of a Joint Defence Committee (RDM 1.7.80; FOCUS 29 p. 8).
- The Council of Ministers, as the central authority in Namibia, is due to assume responsibility for the police force in the territory, with the exception of the Special Branch, at the beginning of September. The South African Police operating in Namibia currently fall under the jurisdiction of the SA Minister of Police. Plans for the establishment of an indigenous Namibian police force on the same lines as the SWA/Namibian army, are "well-advanced" (WA 10.7.80; RDM 11.7.80; BBC 4.8.80).

SECURITY IN THE NORTH

South African journalists who have recently visited northern Namibia have reported an intensification of military activity and a number of new developments in the SADF's security arrangements.

- SADF infantry patrols in Ovamboland, supported as necessary by riflemen on horseback, motorbicycle units or helicopter gunships, are said to have become "more aggressive".

Patrols go inside kraals more frequently and entire areas may be cordoned off. (Post 18.6.80).

- The SADF concede that SWAPO guerrillas have shifted towards less risky operations and are having success in knocking out telephone poles, water pipelines, culverts, road bridges and electricity pylons. The underground power stations at Ruacana Falls on the Angolan border has not been able to supply electricity to the rest of the country since April, as every time pylons are repaired, others are blown up. New unspecified security measures are being introduced. Supplies from the power station

at Rundu in the north east have also been disrupted (Post *ibid*; WA 17.7.80).

- According to SADF sources SWAPO guerillas are now planting landmines up to 100 km inside Namibia, both in Ovamboland and Kaokoland. The tarred road north from the Oshivello gates to Ondangwa has been frequently mined, for example, and normal traffic is by military-escorted convoy (RDM 11.6.80).
- Security force guards and escorts are regularly provided for townships, bantustan ministers and chiefs, government inoculation teams, schools and building inspectors and other officials (RDM 9.6.80).
- SADF personnel are increasingly taking over posts in the schools, medical and other public services in northern Namibia. This is in the first instance for security reasons but also reflects the failure of the apartheid system to promote trained personnel from among the indigenous population. There were only 40 matriculants in the whole of Ovamboland in 1979. Out of 2,000 teachers in the area, only 800 had standard 6 or 8, or two years teaching experience. Ovambo graduate teachers are almost non-existent. Six schools were forced to close during the year (RDM 9/11.6.80).

MISSIONARY VIEW

Olaf Erikson, a Finnish missionary interviewed at the headquarters of the Ovambo-Kavango Lutheran Church at Oniipa, said that he had gained the impression after working for many years in Ovamboland that "the more South Africa raved against the SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma, the stronger the support of the people for him and for (SWAPO) grew, such was their disenchantment with Pretoria's presence in Namibia." The Lutheran missionaries had suffered no atrocities at the hands of SWAPO, he said, and those mission stations which experienced difficulties arising from guerilla activity, such as getting caught in crossfire or having children abducted from the schools, were nearly all situated near SA military bases. The all-night curfew prevented people from socialising normally in the rural areas and made it difficult for the missions to administer medical attention at night. (RDM 11.6.80).

In July, the board of the Finnish Missionary Society announced that it had decided to recall all its workers in Namibia due to the disturbed situation there, following consultation with the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Finnish missionaries themselves. The Society has just under 50 missionaries in Namibia, compared with nearly 100 five years ago (LWF Information 26/80; 16.7.80).

DETENTIONS

The head of the security police in Namibia, Col. Johan van der Merwe, stated on 15 July that a total of 11 people were at that time being detained under Proclamation AG 26. He said that 15 detainees had been conditionally released in the course of the past few months, and that there had been no new detentions recently (CT/WA 16.7.80).

Proclamation AG 26 was promulgated by the SWA Administrator General in April 1978. It provides for the indefinite detention of persons who "promote violence or intimidation".

Those still detained under AG 26 include:-

Axel JOHANNES, SWAPO Administrative Secretary, arrested and detained at the end of April 1979 in a countrywide purge of the SWAPO leadership.

Skinny HILUNDWA, Chairman of SWAPO's Northern region, detained at the end of April 1979.

Johannes KONJORE, Secretary of the SWAPO Youth League, detained in October 1979, following an attempt by the liberation movement to reopen its Windhoek office (Post 28.5.80).

Jason ANGULA, SWAPO Secretary for Labour, detained in December 1979 (see TRADE UNIONISTS RESTRICTED).

An unknown number of people, in addition, are detained under Proclamation AG 9, the "martial law" regulations. AG 9, promulgated in 1977, was amended by the Administrator General in May 1979 to provide for detention without charge for up to 30 days for persons arrested in "security districts". Approximately 80% of Namibia's population live in security districts, under *de facto* martial law.

Two leaders of the Youth League of the Namibia National Front, Lazarus NUNUHE and Albertus KANGUOOTUI, were arrested and detained under AG 9 in the first half of July. Other recent detentions, probably under AG 9, include:-

Rev. Titus NGULA, a Lutheran pastor from Ovamboland, detained on 26 May 1980

Rev. Micah ILONGA, a Lutheran pastor from Okahao and Dean of the Western Area, detained on 27 May

Kefas SHIPUATA, Nangolo JACOB and Sylvanus VATURE, all businessmen, detained on 27 May.

Eliakim NAMUNDJEBO, a businessman and church warden of St. Mary's, Odibo, arrested at the Kalahari Sands Hotel, Windhoek, around 11 June.

Amon KALOMBO, a headman from Onamutayi.

Col. van der Merwe confirmed in May that two men were being detained in connection with an armed guerilla attack on a farm three months previously. Police dockets had been handed to the SWA Attorney General for possible prosecution. The attack, in which no-one was killed, took place on the farm Goabis, about 82 km north-east of Grootfontein, in February 1980 (RDM 10.5.80; WA 12.5.80).

The small but influential elite of wealthy Ovambo businessmen appears to have joined church and political leaders as a particular target for arrest and detention. A number of such businessmen have also been murdered by persons unknown, but suspected by SWAPO to be South African soldiers or government agents. (See FOCUS 29 pp. 7-8)

The Windhoek Observer has suggested that police operations against the Ovambo business community have been prompted by the fact that a number of businessmen have paid substantial amounts of money to SWAPO and that some of them have sons or close relatives fighting in the guerilla movement. The newspaper claimed that "Windhoek's wholesalers are facing a potential crisis because the collective value of the men suspected of SWAPO activities and support, run (*sic*) into tens of millions of Rand". The arrest of so many shop owners and entrepreneurs implied, the paper suggested, that in future an increasing proportion of commerce would be channelled through the state corporation ENOK (WO 14.6.80).

Eliakim NAMUNDJEBO (41), for example (see above), was arrested in his suite at the Kalahari Sands hotel by six plainclothes secret police. He is one of Namibia's richest black men providing valuable business for Windhoek wholesalers, in turn supplied by South African manufacturers. His wife said she was afraid of never seeing him again (WO *ibid*).

STOP PRESS

According to unconfirmed reports, Axel JOHANNES has been released from detention, together with two other SWAPO officials, Rahimiese KAHIMIESE and Immanuel MWATARA. They had all been detained in April 1979 (see FOCUS 22 p.4). It is not known whether they have been placed under restriction.

RACE RELATIONS

Under the penalty clause of the Abolition of Racial Discrimination Act, which came into force on 1 July (see BANTUSTAN ELECTIONS), owners of public amenities in Namibia who refuse entry on the basis of race or colour are liable to a fine and can have their licences withdrawn. Owners of hotels, restaurants and other amenities are permitted under the Act to protect "civilized standards" by retaining the right of admission, but this should be exercised in such a way that it does not amount to "blatant discrimination on the basis of race or population group". (WA 25.6.80).

When a white businessman and his Malaysian wife visited the Windhoek Public Library in July however, she was refused admission on the grounds that the library was not yet open to Coloureds. The Windhoek Town Clerk later commented that the public library and the swimming pool were "two very delicate issues", and that opening these facilities to all races would mean "the eventual closure of both". A mixed marriage, he went on was "an extraordinary problem and it is difficult to cater for such circumstances" (WA 18.7.80).

Hotel and restaurant owners in Namibia have been taking elaborate steps to evade the implications of the new legislation, for example by converting their premises into takeaway-only cafés. At the whites-only Apollo restaurant in Windhoek, a system for screening prospective customers has been introduced. According to the owner, "any potential new customer not solicited by me will be given a chance to prove that he will be a long-term asset. This will be done at the client's expense through a private detective agency". (RDM 25.6.80).

SA's POPULATION FIGURES

New statistics compiled by the SA authorities in Namibia indicate that the territory's population increased from an estimated 761,500 people in 1970 to an estimated 946,000 in 1979. (The United Nations, on the other hand, have estimated Namibia's population as 1½ million people in 1978.) (BBC 18.7.80)

SA's statistics also reveal that the number of schools for white children decreased by six between 1970 and 1979. Official concern at the prospect of a declining white population probably underlies a decision by the recently constituted Council of Ministers to sanction a recruitment drive for new immigrants to Namibia from West Germany, Greece, Zimbabwe, Spain, Iran and Britain (BBC *ibid*).

EX-DETAINEE THREATENED

In a letter to the *Windhoek Observer*, a recently released detainee has described how he was threatened in Khorixas by members of the Damara Commando, together with white soldiers.

H. BOOYS, a SWAPO member, wrote that he was shopping in the town centre of Khorixas on 12 July 1980 when a group of Damara and white troops were alerted to his presence by a local DTA organiser. He was beaten and insulted before escaping and running away.

Booys was previously detained under Proclamation AG 26 for alleged political violence and intimidation. He was restricted on release to the municipal area of Khorixas (WO 26.7.80, H. Booys is possibly the same person

as M. Boois, alternatively B. Boois, whose arrest, detention and release in February/March 1980 were reported in FOCUS 27 p. 4).

SWAPO OFFICIAL FINED

Basie SAAYMAN (22), a Coloured member of SWAPO, was sentenced to a fine of R175, or 75 days imprisonment, by Windhoek Magistrate's Court on 18 July, for being in possession of illegal publications. Evidence was brought that members of the security police had found four forbidden posters in Saayman's possession, reading *Solidarity with SWAPO and the people of Namibia; Fight to Liberate Namibia; Biko and Solidarity; We will not move - The Struggle for Crossroads*. He also had

various editions of the newspaper *People's Korea*.

At the time of his trial, Saayman had been working in SWAPO's office in the centre of Windhoek. The office, the liberation movement's headquarters inside Namibia, had been re-opened in May 1980 by a group of SWAPO Youth members, having been closed for nearly a year following a raid by the extremist White Resistance Movement. Subsequent attempts during 1979 and early 1980 by SWAPO members to reopen the office were foiled by police harassment and the arrest and detention of key personnel (see FOCUS 23 p. 2, 25 p. 7, 27 p. 4)

Following Saayman's conviction, the SWAPO offices were once again deserted (Post 28.5.80; WO 19.7.80; WA 22.7.80).

TRADE UNIONISTS RESTRICTED, DETAINED

Three prominent Namibian trade unionists, released from detention in the course of the last few months, have been restricted in their activities by the SA authorities. Two more trade unionists, both senior SWAPO officials, are still detained following their arrest at the end of last year.

The SWA Administrator General announced in January 1980 that AG26 detainees might in future be released under certain conditions, including being restricted to specified areas and prohibited from attending meetings or receiving visitors (*FOCUS* 27 p. 4). It seems that bans of this kind, not widely used in Namibia in the past, are becoming more common.

The five trade unionists are:

- Arthur PICKERING, a SWAPO member and a senior official of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW). He was arrested on 14 January 1980 and detained, either under Proclamation AG9 or AG26. Having being released from detention, he is now restricted to the Windhoek municipal area, and banned from taking employment or from being in the company of more than four persons at any time. Pickering, who was previously detained in January 1979 following a labour dispute at the Rössing uranium mine and a bomb explosion in the nearby town of Swakopmund, is the first Coloured advocate to have been admitted to the bar in Namibia. Prior to his detention he worked for the Rössing mine (*FOCUS* 20 p.16, 26 p. 9; *Namibia Today* Vol 4 No. 2 1980 p. 17).

- Henry BOONZAAIER, SWAPO member and Assistant General Secretary of NUNW. Like Pickering, he previously worked for Rössing and was detained in January 1979. He was arrested again on 11 January 1980 and alleged to be in possession of banned literature. He is now restricted under the same conditions as Pickering (*FOCUS/Namibia Today, ibid*).

- Gerson KAPUKA, chairman of NUNW. Detained for three months, he is now restricted on the same terms.

- Jason ANGULA, SWAPO Secretary for Labour inside Namibia, he is still in detention having been arrested on 14 December 1979 (*FOCUS* 26 p. 9; *Namibia Today, ibid*).

- Mr KANGORE, a senior official in SWAPO's Department of Labour. He was arrested in Windhoek together with Jason Angula, a few days after an incident at the workers' compound in Okahandja. According to SWAPO, heavily armed contingents of the South African army and police, accompanied by dogs, raided the compound at night and ordered the inmates out of their sleeping quarters. One worker was killed and 14 others wounded when troops subsequently opened fire within the compound (*Namibia Today, ibid*).

MOST SERIOUS SA AGGRESSION

Attacks mounted by the SADF into Angola's southern provinces during June and July 1980 constitute the most serious South African aggression against this front line state since 1975-76. The situation in southern Angola has nevertheless attracted relatively little attention in the Western press and media (see *FOCUS* 29 p. 8).

In a statement issued at the beginning of August by the Political Bureau of its Central Committee, the MPLA Workers' Party said that South Africa's attacks on Angola since the beginning of June had "in fact assumed the proportions of an invasion of Angola's free and sovereign territory, when one (considers) the material and human resources being used and the depths of penetration into the territory of our fatherlands". (*BBC* 2.8.80) Although the military tide appears to have turned in favour of the Angolan defending forces at the end of June, SA attacks were still continuing more than a month later.

According to figures issued by the Angolan government, South Africa mounted 529 incursions of various kinds into the provinces of Cunene, Cuando Cubango, Huila and Mossamedes over the six month period January - June 1980. This total comprised 476 reconnaissance flights, 27 bombing attacks, seven strafing attacks involving machine gun fire from the SA air force along the Lubango-N'jiva road, four parachute drops, and two major ground attacks and artillery bombardments against Angolan military units. There were 13 instances of troop concentrations along the Angolan frontier (*BBC* 1.8.80).

On 7 June, this long established and systematic pattern of SA aggression escalated sharply when 3,000 SA troops, according to Angolan figures, Mirage aircraft and ML-90 tanks, supported by armoured personnel carriers, transport planes and helicopters, were deployed into southern Angola in what the South Africans termed "Operation Smokeshell" (see *FOCUS* 29 p. 8). The South Africans entrenched themselves at various positions in the southern provinces and fighting continued. On 28 June, a battalion of FAPLA troops (Angolan regulars) succeeded in dislodging the South Africans from the town of Mongua. Evale was retaken on 1 July after heavy fighting.

A communique issued by the Angolan Ministry of Defence said that FAPLA troops were then able to establish defensive positions on the line Xangongo-Mongua-Evale and to mount a counter-offensive. Cuamato and Chiede were retaken on 2 July, and the village of Mulemba, where the South Africans had installed their command post, on 4 July (*Communique issued* 7.7.80).

Despite denials from the SA authorities, the Angolan government reported that eight SA infantry battalions remained in southern Angola, particularly Cunene province. Over the month from 7 June, 600 people were killed in the attacks. On 3 July, for example, two people were reported killed, and three wounded, when two SA Mirages strafed an ambulance carrying three patients to the Tchiulo hospital 90 km from the Angolan border (*Angolan Defence Ministry communique* 7.7.80; *statement issued by the Angolan Embassy in Brussels* 3.7.80).

Speaking at the end of July, the Commander of the Fifth Angolan Military Region said that although South Africa had started to withdraw its troops from the interior of Angola, its territorial violations and landing tactics continued. The SAAF were still making daily reconnaissance flights along the Angolan frontier, while attempting to infiltrate UNITA bands into Angola (*BBC* 1.8.80).

On 12 July, for example, SA troops were reported to have attacked the head office of Calai municipality near the Namibian border. Boatloads of SA soldiers were sent across the Cubango river in an attempt to occupy the town of Calai. Five SA lorries were also seen transporting metal bridges to the confluence of the Cubango and Cafulo rivers. Six SA soldiers were reported killed and two boats sunk by the Angolan forces (*Angolan Ministry of Defence communique* 15.7.80).

On 28 July, allegedly in response to a mortar attack by SWAPO guerrillas on the town of Ruacana in northern Namibia, in which six SADF personnel were killed, SA airborne troops penetrated into the area between Cuamato and N'jiva on the Angolan side. The town of Chitade, 20 miles inside Angola, was attacked by a helicopter-borne force and occupied for a 10 hour period. A SADF spokesman said that 27 Angolan soldiers and SWAPO guerrillas had been killed and that all the 80 SA troops involved had been withdrawn after blowing up buildings in the town and conducting a house-to-house search for arms, ammunition and documents. Chitade was allegedly used by SWAPO as a transit camp for incursions into the Kaoko region of north-western Namibia. The spokesman added that about 20,000 leaflets had been dropped on Chitade before the raid "explaining" that the South Africans did not wish to fight Angolans (*FT* 31.7.80; *T* 1.8.80).

SCHOOLS BOYCOTT

About 650 students of the Dr. Lemmer High School in Windhoek boycotted classes over a two day period in June, in protest at poor hostel facilities, unfairness in granting bursaries, the lack of a biology teacher and the fact that Namibian students had to attend South African universities. The boycott ended after an urgent meeting of parents and the drawing up by the Students Action Committee of a constitution for a students council (*CT* 3.6.80; *WA* 6.6.80).

INFORMER NETWORK

Information obtained by SWAPO from an unidentified source inside Namibia indicates that detainees have been offered substantial financial rewards in return for information on guerilla movements and activity. A document received by the liberation movement's Western European office describes how the S.A. Defence Force are engaged in building up a military informer network in the north of the country.

The source reported that, while in detention, s/he and others were given a paper in Afrikaans headed *Since we returned to the country*, which urged the reader:

- Report yourself to the defence force
- Report where your gun is
- Show your gun to the soldiers and you will receive R1,000
- Ask for a job with the defence forces

The paper assured the reader:

- We shall not reveal your presence to the defence forces
- Any revelation will be done with your consent, and you will again receive R1,000

The same source noted that:

Many of the detainees were innocent people but were simply detained in those camps to be persuaded later to join the SA Defence Force. You hardly see these people (detainees) speak freely, because they were told that they would be tortured for every single word that they would not let out their mouths. Most of the detainees were told that they would be freed on condition that they would report without delay anybody who might be suspected of being a SWAPO Freedom Fighter and they would be paid R500. They must also never tell this to their wives or their neighbours — so they were warned.

At Oshakati I managed to whisper to some handicapped detainees — some of them are without legs and some without arms. According to those handicapped detainees they were shot at by the SA forces while they were in their houses and then later on were brought out to the detention centres.

Among those people (detainees) were mothers with small babies, some of whom had to leave their children in the camps or in their homes.

All the detainees I met in those camps weep whenever they listen to the SA soldiers imitating the voices of people being tortured with electricity and in many other ways by these fascist white South African soldiers. (SWAPO of Namibia: Information and Comments Vol 2 No 5 July 1980)

TOIVO SPEECH BANNED

Forced Landing, an anthology of short stories edited by Mothobi Mutloatse, was banned by the SA authorities in May because it included the speech made by Herman Toivo ja Toivo at his trial in 1968. The SA Publications Control Board said that the speech had no literary value of note and could only discredit the state in the eyes of the black man. It was therefore deemed undesirable under the Publications Act (Post 22.5.80; extracts from ja Toivo's speech from the dock appear in FOCUS 29 p. 6-7).

ASSAULT ALLEGATIONS CHALLENGED

Four members of NNF's Executive Committee are due to appear in the Windhoek Regional Court on 15 September, on charges of fraud arising out of the detention of an NNF youth leader, Albertus KANGUOOTUI (see *DETENTIONS*). The trial is a sequel to certain allegations made by the four — Tjeripo NGARINGOMBE, Ms Nora CHASE (an employee of the Namibia Council of Churches), David KASUME and Reinhard RUKORO, the NNF Publicity and Information Secretary — in a sworn affidavit and letter sent to the Administrator General's office, implicating the security police in torture and assault.

At a press conference at its Windhoek office on 22 July, the NNF alleged that Kanguootui had been rushed to Katutura hospital on 15 July, a few days after being detained. Kanguootui had allegedly told the NNF leadership that he had been brutally assaulted in detention, to the extent of incurring paralysis of his left side and the loss of the full use of his left arm and leg, and that he was in poor mental shape as a result. Kanguootui had also allegedly been deprived of food and drink and had been threatened by his interrogators.

The fraud charges subsequently laid against the NNF leaders allege that the accused had, by false pretences, been intent to induce the

Administrator General to accept and believe that Kanguootui had been brutally assaulted by a member or members of the police force or other government officials. This would have been prejudicial to the police or official concerned.

A medical report on Kanguootui was later submitted to the Administrator General, while Kanguootui himself was removed to Pretoria for medical tests in the Voortrekkerhoogte military hospital (WA 23/24/25.7.80; WO 26.7.80; RDM 24.7.80).

In a press release, the Administrator General stated that he viewed allegations of the kind made by the NNF extremely seriously, and that he was not prepared to tolerate such a situation without having the allegations tested and the truth investigated in court. Should they be found to be false the necessary steps would be taken. (WA 23.7.80)

Detailed evidence of torture and assault by members of the police and army, supported by sworn affidavits in many cases, has been collected over the years by various bodies in Namibia, notably the church. In the past, the SA authorities, including the Administrator General, have always refused to mount any investigation of such charges.

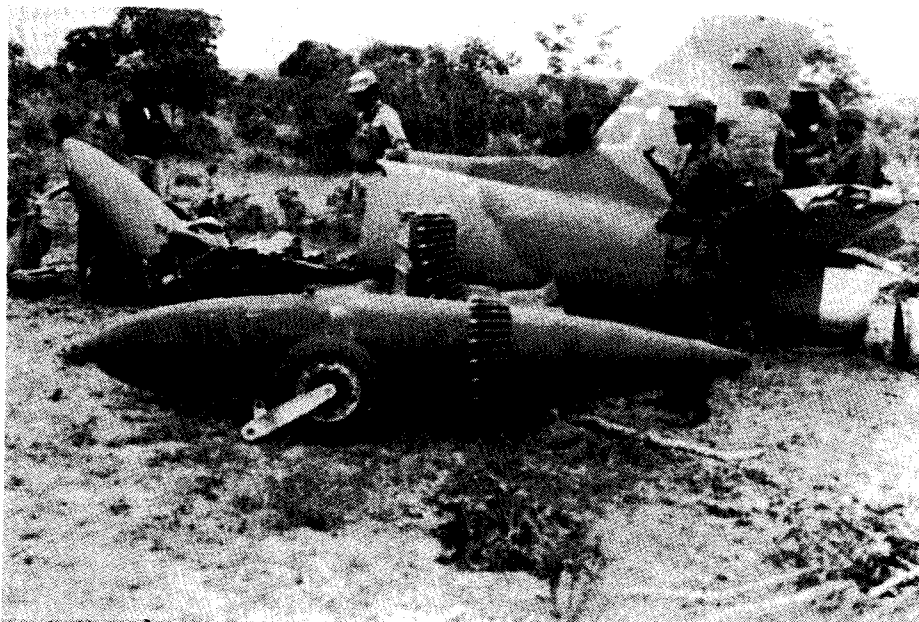
NNF = Namibian National Front

NNF-SWANU TRIAL FOR RECRUITING

Willipard KANDJINOMUINI, a member of the Namibia National Front, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment or R1,000 fine by Gobabis Regional Court on 28 July, under Act 34 of 1955. Half the sentence was conditionally suspended for three years. Kandjinomuini was alleged to have helped a group of nine SWANU-NNF members across the border to Botswana on 11 July. Similar charges against Albertus KANGUATIVI, a staff member at the NNF's Windhoek office, were withdrawn after

Kanguativu turned state witness (WA 29.7.80).

Reporting the trial the *Windhoek Advertiser* noted that about 85 members of SWANU had already left Namibia for military training abroad. All the recruits were in Botswana, pending negotiations between the leader of SWANU, Gerson Vei, and Quett Masire, the President of Botswana. The paper claimed that the SWANU leadership had been in contact with Libya and China with a view to organising its own armed struggle. (WA *ibid*)



South African 'Impala' aircraft shot down by SWAPO Forces

ZIMBABWE: KATUMBA BROTHERS FREE

Benchard and Leavit KATUMBA, both sentenced to death by special court martial in 1979 on conviction of assisting guerillas and possessing arms of war, are alive and well and living under the care of the ZANU (PF) party near Salisbury. A representative of IDAF was able to meet the two young men, aged 20 and 17 respectively, in June 1980.

The case of the Katumba brothers attracted significant attention overseas and was the subject of demonstrations in Britain against the Smith-Muzorewa regime organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other support groups. Legal defence provided by IDAF, supported by representations to the British government, undoubtedly helped to save them from execution.

The Katumba brothers were arrested at their home in the Sipolilo area of north eastern Zimbabwe on 1 June 1979. They were subjected to extensive torture and assault involving beatings and electric shock, and induced to sign "confessions" which featured prominently in their trials. Their death sentences were subsequently commuted after detailed

petitions had been presented to the Rhodesian regime's President. They were released from Chikurubi Maximum

Security Prison in March 1980, under Lord Soames' amnesty. (FOCUS 25 p. 1ff; 26 p. 14)



Benchard (right) and Leavit (left) Katumba

SA: POLICE SHOOTINGS IN E CAPE

Four people were killed by gunshots in the Eastern Cape during July. Police admit to killing three of them though they deny they were responsible for the death of the fourth person.

At the end of June police killed a 17-year-old youth in Uitenhage when they fired birdshot into a crowd of 300 people in Kwanobuhle township. They claimed that the crowd was intimidating workers and that they shot when the crowd advanced towards them (CT 2.7.80).

In Grahamstown police baton-charged

pupils at six schools and used teargas at others. 27 pupils were arrested on charges of public violence. By this time at least 40 Eastern Cape schools were affected by the boycott, (CT 11.7.80). While the boycott in the Western Cape by Coloured school students was suspended on 17 July, the Eastern Cape boycott by African students continued (Tel 18.7.80), and pupils made it clear that they would stay out till September and the expiry of the ban on gatherings (CT 22.7.80).

There were more general protests and demonstrations in the area (Tel 18.7.80), and people's anger was especially expressed at

funerals. After police had dispersed one gathering a woman, Violet TSILI (57), was found shot dead on the ground. Police denied they were responsible (CT 11.7.80). Over 2,000 people attended her funeral, during which police used teargas and birdshot to break up the crowd. In doing so they killed a youth Boyson NOBIBA (16) (RDM 21.7.80; GN 21.7.80; BBC 22.7.80). After Nobiba's funeral police fired again at the crowd of mourners who they said were attacking a police 'Hippo' machine. The shots killed two men, Tuunu NXAWE (28), and Freddie TSILI (33), Violet Tsili's son (ST 27.7.80; GN 28.7.80).



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Sources and abbreviations: BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation Survey of World Broadcasts; Cit - The Citizen, Johannesburg; CT - Cape Times; DD - Daily Dispatch, East London; Debates - House of Assembly Debates, Cape Town; DN - Daily News, Durban; GG - Government Gazette, Pretoria; GN - Guardian, London; FM - Financial Mail, Johannesburg; FT - Financial Times, London; MS - Morning Star, London; NW - Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg; Obs - Observer, London; Post - Post, Johannesburg; RDM - Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg; SP - Sunday Post, Johannesburg; ST - Sunday Times, Johannesburg; Star - Star weekly edn., Johannesburg; Tel - Daily Telegraph, London; T - Times, London; WA - Windhoek Advertiser, Namibia; WO - Windhoek Observer, Namibia.