



News Bulletin of the International Defence & Aid Fund



focus

ON POLITICAL
REPRESSION IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

NO1 — NOVEMBER 1975

NEW WAVE OF DETENTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A heavy crack-down by Vorster's security police on 'Black Consciousness' activists during October brought the total number of known detainees to 67 by the end of the month.* Amongst those detained three persons who have already spent several months in detention since September 1974. The new batch of arrests follows an earlier swoop in August and September when numerous white students and others were detained following the capture of the Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach, who was in disguise and about to leave the country after a brief visit, (see "Political Trials" p. 3).

All the detainees are being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act of 1967. This allows for indefinite detention in solitary confinement without trial, without access to relatives or lawyers, without reading matter or writing materials. By 1972 22 persons were known to have died while in detention, in circumstances indicating deliberate use of torture and psychologically disorienting techniques of interrogation. Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who was herself detained for nearly 18 months under the Terrorism Act, has recently spoken of the experience of being arrested:

"I had heard what being detained under the Act meant. Yet the actual experience remains petrifying. It means being seized at dawn, it means lifting sleeping children from their mattresses to look under them. Informers are installed in the schools of the children, among friends and colleagues. Employers are interrogated as to why they employ you." (CT 6.10.75)

Mrs. Sheila Suttner, mother of a detained law lecturer (see p. 3 for details) has publicly described the 'hideous experience' which the families of detainees have with the 'front room boys' of the Security Police. (Her son was tortured with electric shocks). Addressing a meeting at Witwatersrand University to protest against detentions she spoke of the 'suave, well-groomed, well-spoken, kindly and courteous gentlemen (of the Security Police) who attempt to lull one into a sense of self-security'. They make 'small concessions which appear tremendous gains momentarily.' But anything of significance such as access to family, doctors or lawyers is refused. 'The ultimate horror is the eventual discovery that the front room boys, who act as though they are all on a committee of child-welfare, are also the backroom boys who administer 'the treatment'. My family no longer has to surmise about what happens to people detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. We know what happens and we are filled with bitterness.' (RDM 27.8.75)

Evidence of police brutality in relation to the SASO/BPC activists detained since September last year has repeatedly emerged. (Some of them are currently on trial under the Terrorism Act. The full story of this case, one of the longest political trials under the Act, will appear in the next issue of 'Focus'.) Details are as follows:

- In November 1974 the fathers of four of the detainees and the fiancée of a fifth made an urgent application for a court order restraining the police from assaulting the detainees. The application was made

on behalf of L. Mabandla (see also p. 4), Saths Cooper (who later collapsed in Pretoria Central Prison and was treated for 'suspected convulsions' — CT 6.2.75), Revabalan Cooper, Mosioua Lekota and Muntu Myeza.

In a supporting affidavit a Durban attorney Mr. S. Chetty, said that in an interview with Saths Cooper, the latter alleged that many detainees were being brutally assaulted, that Mr. Mabandla and Mr. R. Cooper were the most severely assaulted and as a result could not walk, and that his own knee was 'busted'.

Police officers and other state witnesses denied the allegations, and the judge accepted their version of the facts. The application was refused. (RDM 8/12.11.74; CT 8.11.74; Times 8.11.74)

- In April one of the accused, Strini Moodley, appeared in court on crutches. (RDM 22.4.75)

- In September, challenging some of the accomplice evidence given by fellow-detainees, a defence lawyer alleged that detainees had been "punched, kicked and slapped" by their captors, who did so "whenever they were so disposed". Counsel, Mr. David Soggott, spoke of "brutal treatment" of detainees. He said six of the accused had been forced to maintain a "painful crouching position" during interrogation with their backs

* This does not include Namibian detainees — see list on p. 11. Nor does it include persons detained without trial under Proclamation 400 in the Transkei, details of which are not disclosed. No official notice is given to the press or relatives regarding detentions without trial under South Africa's Terrorism Act. Estimates may therefore be incomplete.

against a wall in a sitting position but without a chair for support. They were forced to stretch their arms out at the same time. When they could no longer bear the cramps and the pain they slipped to the floor.

Two of the accused were also refused food and drink during interrogation and were not allowed to go to the lavatory. There had been a "consistent series of assaults and psychological pressures" on all the accused, added Mr. Soggott. (GN 2.10.75)

• Early in October six former detainees issued summonses against the Minister of Justice for a total of R21,500 (about £12,500) for alleged assault and torture suffered in detention. Mr. Mabandla and his wife, who were detained for 172 and 171 days respectively, are suing for R2,000 each; Mr. Barney Pityana, former SASO president, who was detained for 160 days, is claiming R3,000; Mr. Revabalan Cooper (see also p. 4) who was detained for 189 days, is claiming R6,000; Mr. Mzimkhulu Gwentshe, formerly an organiser for the National Youth Organisation who was detained for 164 days, is claiming R6,500; and Mr. Mapetla Mohapi (see also p. 4),

detained for 160 days, is claiming R2,000. (Star 4.10.75; GN 2.10.75)

Organisations chiefly affected by the latest arrests are the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black Peoples Convention (BPC). Most recent detainees as at 31.10.75 were the following (with date of detention in brackets):

CEKESANI, Moki. BPC member in Port Elizabeth (16.10.75)

JORDAN, Mike, SASO fieldworker in Durban (20.10.75)

KHUTSWANE, Kingdom. SASO permanent organiser in Durban (appointed to replace Mapetla Mohapi, who was banned in September — see 'TEN MORE BANNED' p. 3)

LOUW, Ben. Organiser of the SASO 'free university scheme'. Was detained on 29 January 1975 and held without charge until 25 June. (16(?).10.75)

MAJEKE, Phumzile (25). SASO local chairman at University of Fort Hare 1972-3; Natal regional sec. of SASO from 1974. Detained 11 October 1974 and held without charge until 24 March 1975. Arrested in Cape Town. (? October 1975)

MANTHATA, Thomas Madikwe. Former vice-president of SASO, now employed by SA Council of Churches. Detained without trial from 7.11.74 to 25.6.75. (20.10.75)

MOATSHE, Theo. (35) Son of Ambrose Moatshe, a Lichtenburg businessman and executive member of the Seoposengwe opposition party in BophuthaTswana homeland, who died in October. Theo, a married man with one child, was arrested after his father's funeral. (26.10.75)

MTHOMBENI, Lwandle Charles. Executive member of the Reef branch of SASO. (24.10.75)

NKONDO, Winston. Director of the BPC Black Community Programmes in Johannesburg. (16.10.75)

NTSHONA, Boyce. A SASO activist detained in Cape Town (16.10.75)

ZANI, Thami. Secretary-General of SASO. Arrested in the SASO head office in Durban. (16.10.75)

(Sources: RDM 17/18/22/28.10.75; Star 25.10.75)

(For a full list of detainees as at 31.10.75 see p. 6)

INTRODUCING focus

A message from the President of the International Defence and Aid Fund, Canon L. John Collins.

I am happy to commend FOCUS to all who wish to see Southern Africa freed from Apartheid and all other such forms of racial discrimination. FOCUS is a new venture undertaken by the International Defence and Aid Fund as one of its means of "keeping the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake".

FOCUS aims to provide the facts behind the news concerning current affairs in Southern Africa, the verified facts about detentions, political trials, the banned, the banished, about "protected villages", about all who are persecuted and silenced in South Africa, in Rhodesia, and in Namibia. It will also assist in the international campaign for the release of all political prisoners in Southern Africa, and it will be a part of the Fund's service to the Liberation Movements. It will, it is hoped, be published 6-8 times a year.

Our reason for launching this new publication is that Mr. Vorster's detente policies obscure what is happening to those who challenge and oppose Apartheid. In terms of this policy, Mr. Vorster, it would seem, seeks to normalise South Africa's policies with Africa, to 'settle' the Rhodesian question, and to impose a Bantustan type of Constitution on Namibia, while creating the illusion of flexibility and change in his domestic policies in South

Africa, by the removal of some Apartheid signs and the opening of a few theatres and other amenities to blacks. Simultaneously, he has increased his military budget to almost R1,000,000,000 (over 20% of the total budget and double the 1973 total). He has also embarked on new waves of oppression inside South Africa. More trials in terms of the Terrorism Act are now under way than ever before. More than 60 persons are detained without trial: black and white students; black workers; members of Christian organisations; University teachers; Namibian leaders; Coloured youths; an Afrikaner poet. It matters not who they may be — if they oppose Apartheid, they face detention and torture.

The Smith regime, at this crucial time of negotiation, has not attempted to create an atmosphere of conciliation and goodwill. The contrary is true. So many people are facing charges in terms of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act that an additional Regional Court has been established to hear the cases. The number of people held in detention without trial has risen to at least 600. Horrifying reports of conditions of the people forcibly removed to the 'protected' villages and of police and army brutality have been authenticated by our research department.

South Africa is currently spending vast sums of money on propaganda, much of it false to the facts, which would seem to be



designed to "whitewash" the dark and grim realities of Apartheid and to denigrate those who are opposed to it. Perhaps more than ever before, there is a great need now to "keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake". To this end we are launching FOCUS; and I hope and believe that it will play an immensely useful role in helping to rid the world of the incubus of racialism in the white regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

MORE TRIALS UNDER TERRORISM ACT

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**South
Africa**

Under the Terrorism Act any person who is found guilty of the widely defined crime of 'terrorism' faces a possible death sentence, and a minimum imprisonment of five years. The following is a brief outline of recent and pending trials under the Terrorism Act (excluding the main SASO/BPC case, to which a special article will be devoted in the next issue):

BLOEM & MOLOBI

Bernard Trevor Bloem (21) described as a Coloured clerk living in Noordgesig, Johannesburg was arrested on 6 February 1975 at Jan Smuts airport on his return from a visit to Denmark where he had apparently met Godfrey Beck, an exiled Coloured leader & trade unionist. Following his arrest "at least ten" other people were detained in Johannesburg, including Eric Molobi (28) of Klipspruit Soweto, described as a radio technician, who was arrested on 20 February.

In August Bloem & Molobi were charged in magistrate's court under the Terrorism Act or, alternatively the Suppression of Communism Act, the Customs & Excise Act and the Obscene or Indecent Photographic Matter Act. In addition Bloem was charged under the Prisons Act. At the Rand Supreme Court a month later Molobi's case was fixed for 3 November & Bloem's for 17 November. (ST 31.8.75; RDM 12.9.75; Star 13.9.75).

VARIAVA AND HARE

Rubin Hare and Sadeque Variava, originally defendants in the main SASO-BPC trial, were accused on separate charges under the Terrorism Act when the indictment in the main case was altered. They were remanded to appear separately, on 4 and 10 September respectively in the Supreme Court. When Hare appeared, his case was postponed until 29 October, but the charges against him were suddenly withdrawn on 3 October because, according to the police "the main state witnesses had disappeared". Hare was then freed after nearly a year in custody. (RDM 4/5.9.75, 4.10.75)

When Variava appeared he was charged under the Terrorism Act with "participation in terroristic activities", the evidence apparently consisting of three articles in the Peoples Experimental Theatre newsletter and his presentation of Black Consciousness plays and poems in Johannesburg in 1973. He was bailed

for R5,000 to appear on 29 October, the case was remanded until 10 December. (CT 11.9.75; RDM 30.10.75)

BREYTENBACH

Breyten Breytenbach (36) the distinguished Afrikaans poet who has lived in Paris for several years because he cannot legally live under SA's race laws with his Vietnamese wife, was detained under the Terrorism Act on 19 August two weeks after he arrived in South Africa in disguise and under a false name. He is to be charged under the Terrorism Act, and possibly under the Suppression of Communism Act, with working for the banned African National Congress, co-operating with the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Defence and Aid Fund in Europe, entering South Africa to arrange for information to be forwarded to hostile groups outside the country, planning to start an underground publication, and importing forged pass-books for Africans. According to the press, some of the 20 or so whites and Africans who were detained shortly after Breytenbach was arrested may be charged with him, and others may be called to give evidence for the state. The case commences on 10 November and press conferences will be held in Paris, London and other European centres to boost the international campaign for his release and that of other political prisoners. The Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Dr. Percy Yutar, who led the prosecution team in the Rivonia trial of Nelson Mandela and others, is to conduct the prosecution. (ST 19.10.75; GN 27.10.75)

SUTTNER

On 17 June this year Raymond Suttner (29) a lecturer in law at Natal University was arrested and held under the Terrorism Act. According to the police the arrest followed a long period of investigation. The next day a Natal lecturer in Zulu, Miss Jennifer Roxburgh (30) and a law student Laurence Kuny (26) were also arrested and held under the Terrorism Act. Police also searched university offices and took away alleged ANC pamphlets and other documents.

Suttner, a former member of the Students Representative Council at the University of Cape Town, was charged at Durban Magistrate's Court on 4 August with participating in terrorist activities. At the Supreme Court on 30 September

the trial was fixed for 3 November; the state alleges Suttner formed a Communist Party or ANC cell in Durban, conspired with members of these banned organisations to print and distribute literature about them, incited Black workers to organise clandestinely in their factories, had received training outside SA and had trained others. (RDM 20/21.6.75, 27.8.75, 1/4.10.75)

SELEOANE AND NGALO

In April this year two young Africans appeared at Bloemfontein charged under the Suppression of Communism and Terrorism Acts with leaving the country illegally. When their trial opened in June it was alleged that David Thabang Seleokane (20) and Wezile Oshode Guga Ngalo (24), members of a football team who listened to Freedom Radio broadcasts from Lusaka, had attempted to join the ANC in Zambia for the purpose of receiving military training. The two had reached Botswana, been arrested, escaped from Gaborone jail and returned to South Africa, where they were arrested.

Giving evidence Ngalo claimed they had gone in search of schooling, not military training, that he did not know freedom fighters were also known as terrorists and that he thought the ANC was a broadcasting station like the SABC. In the middle of the trial Seleokane changed his plea to guilty. Both men were convicted but the prosecution said the state would ask for the minimum sentence only to be imposed; accordingly Seleokane and Ngalo were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment. (RDM 25.4.75, 3-7/10/12/14/18/19.6.75; RH 5.6.75).

SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION CASES

Ever since members of the Christian Institute refused to appear before the Schlebusch Commission in 1973 the Rev. Beyers Naude, Rev. Theo Kotze and Peter Randall have been pursued through the courts by the state authorities.

Naude was originally charged with refusing to testify in November 1973, found guilty and fined. His appeal against conviction succeeded in March 1974 but in June the state was granted leave to appeal against the decision, and at the end of the year his conviction was upheld by the Appeal Court. In the Supreme

Court in March 1975 Naude again appealed, this time on the grounds that he had sufficient cause in refusing to testify without legal representation. Judgement was reserved. (RDM 26.3.75)

The trials of Kotze and Randall began in January 1974 and were repeatedly adjourned until March 1975 when both pleaded not guilty, saying they could not trust the commission to produce unbiased reports on the organisations they scrutinised and therefore their consciences for-

bad them to give evidence. Judgement was reserved pending the finding in Naude's appeal and now, nearly two years after they were originally charged, neither Kotze nor Randall know what the outcome is to be. (RDM 11/26.3.75, 29.5.75; CT 11/12.3.75, 29.5.75, 12.8.75)

Simultaneously the three directors of the Christian Institute-supported publishing house Ravan Press were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act with publishing an article by a banned person

(former NUSAS president Paul Pretorius) in the "NUSAS dossier". The three directors are Naude, Randall and the Rev. Danie van Zyl and they were acquitted, since the book had been printed before the article's author was banned. The state appealed against the decision and after a hearing in September judgement was reserved. (GN 30.5.75; RDM 18.8.75; CT 23.9.75)

TEN MORE BANNED

In the first nine months of 1975 the following persons were banned in South Africa under the Suppression of Communism Act (the duration of the ban is shown in brackets):

- 'Oupa' John Maroo, of Garankuwa, near Pretoria. Detained under the 90-day law in 1963, he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in 1964, and released on 28 December 1974. (2 years) (GG No. 4561 7.2.75).

- Simon Nkosi (35) formerly of Benoni, who in July 1963 was sentenced to 12 years for sabotage and membership of the Pan-Africanist Congress. On completion of his sentence he was allowed to visit his father's grave, then confined by his banning order to Komatipoort — a place where he has never lived. (5 years) (RDM 23.6.75/1.9.75)

- Joe Gqabi, of Soweto, Johannesburg, was banned on completion of a 10-year sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act for encouraging others to undergo military training outside SA for the purpose of furthering the aims of the outlawed African National Congress. Mr. Gqabi, whose son Jomo was only 1½ when the father went to prison, was formerly a reporter on the radical weekly *New Age*. (2 years) (RDM 21.8.75/1.9.75; GG No. 4840 12.9.75)

- Lindelwe Mabandla (30), son of the Transkeian Minister of Agriculture; a teacher, former vice-president of SASO, and chairman of the Lamontville Durban branch of the Black People's Convention (BPC). Originally banned for 5 years in November 1973, he was detained on 25 September 1974 along with many other young black militants, and released without charge on 20 March 1975. Previously restricted to Lamontville, he has now been restricted to Tsolo in the Transkei. (CT 24.9.75)

- Revabalan Cooper (23), former BPC public relations officer and member of the Theatre Council of Natal. Detained on 25 September 1974 and released on 3 April without charge, he is the brother of Saths Cooper, one of the accused in the SASO/BPC Terrorism Act trial. (3 years) (RDM 26.9.75)

- Mapetla Mohapi (29), SASO regional secretary (Eastern Cape). Detained on 11 November 1974, he was released without charge on 2 April and is now restricted to Zwelitsha (Kingwilliamstown). His wife is a secretary for the Black Community Programme. (CT 24.9.75)



- Lilian Ngoyi, of Orlando West, Johannesburg; former president of the ANC Women's League and of the Federation of S. African Women. Ex-treason trialist;

previously banned for a total of 11 years. (For details of her life see IDAF booklet "For their triumphs and for their tears" by Hilda Bernstein, price 50p) (5 years) (GG No. 4823 22.8.75)

- Mantsoe Samuel Ramokgoase (23) of Sharpeville, Vereeniging, formerly an executive member of the Sharpeville Youth Club, who fled to Lesotho in 1974 during the repression of 'Black Consciousness' activists. According to his father, he was handed back to the South African authorities, who imprisoned him for leaving the country without a passport. He was banned upon being released in August. (RDM 27.8.75, Africa November '75)

- Brigitte Mabandla (25), wife of Lindelwe above, Youth Programme organiser for the SA Institute of Race Relations, who was detained on 28 September 1974 and held until 20 March 1975. Banned for 3 years, also to Tsolo. (CT 24.9.75)

- Steven Carolus (36) who was detained in Cape Town on 7 November and held until 11 April 1975. A BPC supporter, he was a business associate of Johnny Issel, banned former regional secretary for SASO in the W. Cape, who was also detained from November 1974 to April 1975. The ban on Carolus prevents him from communicating with other banned persons unless special permission is obtained, and may therefore endanger his livelihood. (RDM 26.9.75; CT 24.9.75)

WHAT A BAN MEANS

Under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, about 1,300 persons have been banned. A ban is an administrative measure imposed by the government which cannot be effectively challenged in the courts (see, for example, the Neville Alexander case — *Appeals* p. 6). In terms of the Act the Minister of Justice is empowered, for periods of five years at a time (renewable repeatedly) to prohibit a person:

- from entering or being in a certain place (e.g. any African location or trade union office or factory or printing works or publishing house or educational institution);
- from going outside a particular area or place, usually a given magisterial district or African reserve, or even (under the so-called house arrest) a

flat or house;

- from communicating with other banned persons;
- from attending any gatherings including social gatherings, which has been interpreted to mean any assembly of more than two persons for a common purpose (such as a bridge party of 4);
- from belonging to or holding office in any named organisation or from doing specific acts such as teaching or writing for publication.

In addition, the banned person is required to report to the police regularly (usually once a week); failure to comply is a criminal offence. A banned person may not change address without notifying the police.



PRISON POPULATION GROWING

The average daily total of prisoners of all races in SA has been steadily increasing, as the following figures show:

1969-70	90,500
1970-71	91,000
1971-72	91,200
1972-73	95,000
1973-74	98,821

This is despite a small decrease in the total number of those imprisoned yearly, from 364,000 in 1972-73 to 342,000 sentenced prisoners in 1973-74. Short term prisoners (sentenced to less than 4 months) account for four-fifths (277,000 in 1973-74) of all those jailed; the vast majority of these are Africans convicted

under the 'pass laws.' If 'awaiting trial' prisoners are included with sentenced prisoners, then the total number of admitted prisoners for the year 1973-74 was 625,000. Of these, 87 were under sentence of death. (*Star* 11.1.75, 17.5.75)

«REHABILITATION CENTRES»

In June 1975 the press uncovered a government plan to open 'rehabilitation centres' in the homelands. They are intended to accommodate Africans convicted of pass law contraventions, in order to reduce the numbers going to prison. The stated first object of the centres is to train inmates "in habits of industry and work"; secondary aims are 're-orienting' them towards their respective 'national units' (i.e. tribal homelands) and fostering regard for observance of the laws of the country. In fact the institutions will be virtual prison work camps, for every inmate shall be obliged to work, for up to 56 hours a week, either within the institution or for the state or the 'Bantu authority' concerned. Payment for this work "shall be a

privilege to be earned by work" and the rates determined by the Secretary (i.e. the permanent head) of the Prisons Department. As in the South African prisons, an inmate found guilty of indiscipline can be sentenced to extra work, one day without food, or solitary confinement.

Although situated in the Bantustans, the centres will be controlled by the Pretoria government. The first two centres are already under construction, by prison labour. The outcry against these institutions has been so great that the government may be forced to cut back or even shelve the plan, but this is not yet definite. (*Proclamation R.133, GG.4735 6.6.75*)

"NO AMNESTY", SAYS KRUGER

Twice this year Mr. Kruger, Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, has said that there will be no amnesty for prisoners. He has also rejected suggestions that Nelson Mandela would at some stage in the future be offered the chance of release to an

independent Transkei. "He has been sentenced by a court of law to a life sentence," he said, "and he will have to serve his sentence to the full." There is no remission for political prisoners in South Africa. (*RDM* 30.4.75; *ST* 7.9.75)



ROBERT SOBUKWE

Mr. Robert Sobukwe, the banned leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, has received a demand from the Dept. of Justice for R1,102, being the costs he incurred in 1971 in legal action against the Minister. Mr. Sobukwe had sought an order compelling the Minister of Justice to relax his banning order to allow him to travel to the airport to use the exit visa granted to him by the Minister of the Interior. His application failed both in the Supreme Court and on appeal. The *Rand Daily Mail* said of the demand for costs, coming four years after the event, that, "it smacks of petty vengeance on the part of the State." (*RDM* 22.9.75)

PASSPORTS REFUSED

The SA government has refused passports to the following:

* Hassan Howa, vice-president of the SA Council of Sport and a leading figure in the campaign for non-racial sport. It is his third refusal. (*Star* 31.5.75)

* Nimrod Mkele, an industrial psychologist and marketing consultant, was refused a passport to travel to West Germany to participate in a symposium on conflict in Southern Africa. (*Star* 14.6.75) (*continued overleaf*)



* Norman Middleton, a Natal leader of the Labour Party and executive member of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, was denied a passport after refusing to give the government an undertaking that he would not "damage South Africa's image abroad." (RDM 8/9.10.75)

Mr. Middleton, who is also the president of the SA Soccer Federation and of the non-racial South African Council of Sport, has previously been refused a passport when he wished to attend the 1974 annual conference of the world soccer body, FIFA, (CT 8.10.75)

APPEALS

* Dr. Neville Alexander, the outstanding Coloured specialist in German literature who served a ten-year sentence under the Sabotage Act on Robben Island, and who in April 1974, shortly before he had completed his sentence, was banned for five years, applied to court last year for an order compelling the Minister of Justice to place before the court the information upon which he relied in making the banning order. Although his application failed on the terms in which it was made, the court did order the Minister to reveal to the court what relevant documents he had in his possession, and to state how public policy might be prejudiced by their disclosure.

The Minister appealed against this decision and in August the appeal was upheld by the Appellate Division. Thus the arbitrary powers of the Minister remain untrammelled and banned persons cannot challenge the act of banning in the courts with any hope of success. Dr. Alexander now works as a clerk in a supermarket. (RDM 20.8.75)

* Patrick Laurence, a reporter on the *Rand Daily Mail*, in August 1973 was found guilty under Suppression of Communism Act of attempting to publish (in *The Observer*, London) an interview with a banned man, Robert Sobukwe. He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, suspended for 3 years. He appealed to the Transvaal Provincial Division and lost in June 1975. He appealed again, to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein, and lost again, on a majority verdict in September 1975. (RDM 10.6.75, 6.9.75; Star 27.9.75)

* Clive Keegan, 24, banned former vice-president of NUSAS, was found guilty in January 1975 of contravening his banning order by attending a social gathering, namely a party held to celebrate the opening of Keegan's bookshop in Rondebosch, Cape Town. On appeal to the Supreme Court the conviction was not upheld. (CT 21.1.75, 19.8.75; RDM 4.10.75)

* Christopher Wood, another former NUSAS leader, lost his appeal against a conviction under the Suppression of Communism Act for breaking his banning order by the playing of bridge with another banned person, Neville Curtis, and others. However, his appeal against the sentence of 14 days imprisonment was successful, and a suspended sentence was imposed. (CT/RDM 18.2.75)

SOUTH AFRICA: DETAINEES UNDER TERRORISM ACT

(as at 31.10.75; does not include names listed on p. 2)

BREYTENBACH, Breyten — see p.3 for details.

BURGERS, Raymond (22) of Noordgesig, Johannesburg. Arrested in February, soon after Trevor Bloem (see p.3).

CURTIS, Jenny (24) SA Institute of Race Relations archivist, arrested 23.9.75. Sister of Neville Curtis, banned ex-president of NUSAS now in Australia; in 1974 she was administrator of a black workers' organisation on the Witwatersrand called the Industrial Aid Society.

DISEKO, Matheo, of Orlando East, Johannesburg. Poet and formerly president of National Youth Organisation (NAYO); arrested 17.2.75. In November 1973 he was banned for 5 years.

DWORKIN, Lawrence Philip (21) trainee journalist with SA Associated Newspapers; formerly NUSAS activist at Rhodes University. Arrested 3.9.75.

DYANTYYI, Phumza, nurse, arrested 20.8.75 in Kuruman, N. Cape. (According to Major General M. Geldenhuys, head of the Security Police, eight other blacks were arrested around the same time as Miss Dyantyyi, but he revealed no names or details, except that their arrests were unconnected with those of the NUSAS leaders — RDM 22.8.75).

GODDARD, Christopher (also known as WEIMERS) of Noordgesig, Johannesburg. Arrested 14.2.75.

HAMILTON, Weizman (20) of Noordgesig, Johannesburg. Arrested 15.2.75.

KGOSANA, Kgaungelo, nurse, detained mid-August, apparently in the Kimberley-Kuruman area.

KLEINSCHMIDT, Horst (29) former vice-president of NUSAS, now assistant to Dr. Beyers Naude, director of Christian Institute. Tried in 1974 for refusing to give evidence to the Schlebusch Commission, but the charge was dropped.

KUBHEKA, Themba (26) of Durban, arrested late September 1975.

KUNY, Lawrence (26) law student at Natal University. Arrested 18.6.75.

LANGA, Bheki (23) executive member of NAYO; brother of Ben Langa, a banned SASO leader (who was himself detained from October 1974 until September 1975). Arrested around 11.9.75.

LANGA, Mandlenkona, poet, ex-Fort Hare University. Brother of the above. Arrested 1.4.75.

LENKO, Basil of Diepkloof, Johannesburg. Arrested 14.2.75.

LEWIS, Norman (21) salesman, Johannesburg. Arrested 15.9.75.

LUBIMBI, Rev Enoch of Meadowlands, Johannesburg. Arrested around 2.10.75.

M(a)CGLUWA, Patrick (23) of Noordgesig, Johannesburg. Arrested 14/15.2.75.

MAKOENG, Jannie. African journalist on Afrikaans newspaper *Die Vaderland*; arrested around 2.10.75 apparently after writing an article 'New movement formed for Black freedom' quoting statements by Rev. E. Lubimbi (see above).

MARE, Gerry (28) executive member of NUSAS responsible for worker and community projects. Arrested 20.8.75.

MARTENS, Patrick (24) commerce student, arrested with N. Lewis (above) on 15.9.75, apparently in connection with the Breytenbach investigations.

MASONDO, Amos (22) of Soweto, clerk with Chamber of Mines. Arrested 15.9.75. Possibly connected with the high school students organisation SASM.

MBAU, Hector (23) of Western Township, Johannesburg. Arrested 10.2.75.

MBETE, Mphakama, student at University of the North, Turfloop. Arrested late September 1975.

MFENYANA, Sandile of Diepkloof, Johannesburg. Member of NAYO; arrested late July 1975.

MOLOBI, Frank (27) of Meadowlands, Johannesburg. Employee of a computer company. Arrested 10.4.75.

MOLOKENG, Malabelle, of Mapetla Extension, Johannesburg. President National Youth Organisation. Arrested 25.7.75.

MOLOTSANA, Kgotodwa Andrew of Orlando West, Johannesburg. NAYO member; arrested late July 1975.

MOSEGOMI, Nathaniel M. Clerk, Soweto. Arrested late September 1975.

MOSS, Glenn former chairman Students Representative Council, Witwatersrand University. Arrested with K. Tip on 20.8.75.

NUSE, Xola of Rockville, Johannesburg. Former SASM member; arrested 4.2.75.

PHETO, Molefi Phineas, of Meadowlands, Johannesburg. Member of black drama group Mehloti. Arrested 5.3.75.

PILANE, Raymond. Matriculation pupil at the Morris Isacson high school, Soweto. Arrested 18.9.75.

POLLEY, James (38) senior tutor in extramural studies, University of Cape Town. Formerly a Methodist minister, member of the board of management of the Christian Institute (W. Cape), and executive member of the now-defunct University Christian Movement. Friend of Breytenbach. His girl-friend Megan Riley was arrested on the same day (20.8.75) and detained for 15 days.

RADEBE, Monamodi of Rockville, Johannesburg. Teacher, ex-SASM leader. Arrested 4.2.75.

RAMROCK, Johnny (23) of Noordgesig, Johannesburg. May be connected with AFRO (a Coloured group opposed to the Coloured Peoples Representative Council and the pro-government Federal Party). Arrested 15.2.75.

ROXBURGH, Jennifer (30) lecturer in African languages, Natal University. Detained 18/19.6.75.

ROHM, Clara Durten (33) pregnant wife of a nuclear chemist Dr. H. Rohm. Arrested 26.8.75. Her brother, Jobst Grapow, who lives in Rome is reported to be a friend of Breytenbach's.

SELANTO, Vuyisile of Johannesburg. Believed to be a SASM member, arrested in March 1975.

SELOANE Clive Mandla (23) teacher of English at Mhluzi Township, Middleburg, Transvaal. Arrested 27.8.75.

SITHOLE, Vusi, insurance clerk of Orlando West, Johannesburg. Arrested late September 1975.

TIP, Karel. President of NUSAS. Arrested in Johannesburg on 20.8.75.

WILLIAMS, Bernard, of Eldorado Park, Johannesburg. Arrested 10.2.75.

YOUNG, Gordon (22) final-year economics student at University of Cape Town, former vice-president NUSAS, son of a Port Elizabeth city councillor. Arrested 15.9.75.

4 schoolboys from the Orlando West High School (no further details known). Arrested 2.10.75.

The following were reported to have been arrested on the dates shown, but further details have not emerged and it is uncertain whether they are still detained:

BEUKES, Albert. Arrested 7.11.74 in Cape Town.

BUKWE, Buma, of Kokstad. Arrested November 1974.

KUBEKA, Sibongile, of Durban. Receptionist/secretary at SASO head office. Arrested 28.1.75.

MOODLEY, Kessi, of Durban. Member Theatre Council of Natal. Arrested 27.1.75.

TITUS, Nicky. Arrested 7.11.74 in Cape Town; former SASO publications director.

SECURITY FORCES GAIN LEGAL PROTECTION

Highly controversial new legislation being introduced by the Smith regime had its third reading in the Rhodesian House of Assembly on 2 September this year. The Indemnity and Compensation Bill sets out to prevent civil or criminal proceedings being brought against the regime or its employees — including the security forces — for any act done in "good faith" in the course of suppressing "terrorism". A second major provision empowers the State President, Mr. Clifford Dupont, to suspend any such proceedings that have already been initiated against a servant of the state. Thirdly, the Bill provides for any person who has suffered loss or injury in circumstances to which these terms apply, to put in a claim for compensation to a special Board appointed for the purpose, as an alternative to going through the courts in the conventional way.

The Indemnity and Compensation Bill, in short, removes from the judiciary the common law safeguards which would ordinarily control the actions of the security forces and confers discretionary powers instead upon members of the Rhodesian Cabinet. It has been widely criticised, both in Zimbabwe and outside, for the protection it apparently gives to the military and police to commit atrocities unchecked by the prospect of legal proceedings.

During its second reading on 28 August, the Bill was sharply opposed by African members of the House, who pointed out that its provisions cut across the rule of law. Over the weeks that followed their protests were joined by Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist church leaders, the former Federal Chief Justice, Sir Robert Tredgold, and many ordinary citizens. Two Anglican bishops, the Rt. Rev. Paul Burrough of Mashonaland and the Rt. Rev. Mark Wood of Matabeleland, together with the District Superintendent of the Methodist Church, the Rev. Andrew Ndhlela, issued a joint statement supporting those who regarded the Bill as "an ill-timed and ill-constructed piece of legislation". (RH 9.9.75)

In a statement issued on 31 August, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) condemned the state's failure to make the terms of the Bill available for public study and comment before putting them before parliament. They pointed to the nebulous, ill-defined and subjective character of such critical phrases in the Bill as "good faith", "terrorism" and the "maintenance of law and order". Above all, the integrity of the judicial system was being dangerously impaired. (RH 1.9.75)

In an article in the *Rhodesia Herald*, Sir Robert Tredgold (who in 1960 resigned

in protest at the introduction of the notorious Law and Order (Maintenance) Act argued that the sole precedent for the Indemnity Act which could be said to bear more than a remote resemblance to it was the South African Indemnity Act of 1961. "So what we are now doing", he went on, "is taking yet another step in the assimilation of our laws to the draconian laws that South Africa has deemed it necessary to pass to support its system of apartheid". (RH 6.9.75)

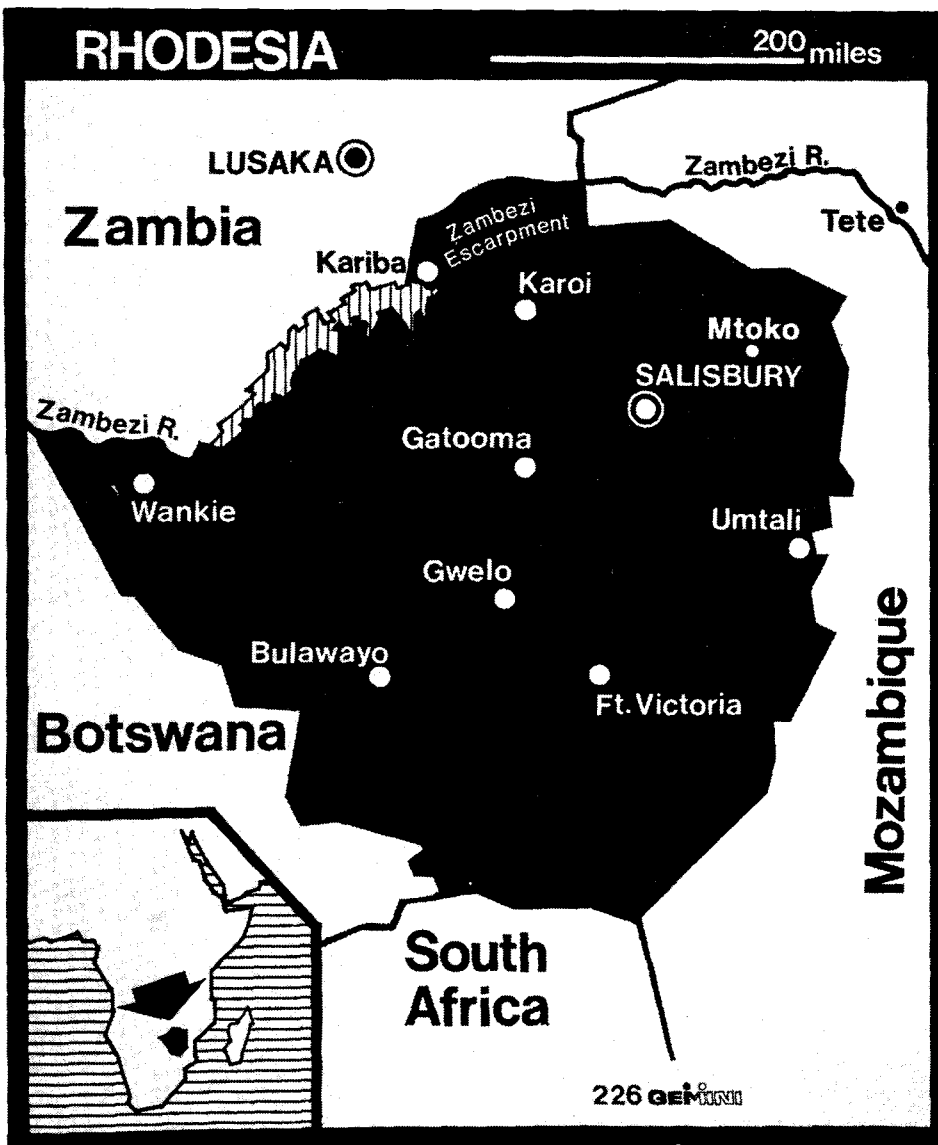
The determination with which the Rhodesian Front is prepared to force through measures to expand and consolidate the state machinery for political oppression became apparent during the later stages of the Bill. On 2 September, Mr. Ronald Sadomba, the Independent African MP for Nemakonde, gave notice of a motion calling upon the House of Assembly to deplore "the atrocities being perpetrated by the security forces throughout the country" and to appoint an independent commission of inquiry to investigate such incidents. (RDM 5.9.75; RH 3.9.75, 5.9.75)

(On 12 June, for example, 21 African civilians, according to the CCJP, had been killed when security forces opened fire at

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Karima Kraal, near Mount Darwin.) Mr. Sadomba's motion was never debated. On 4 September the Rhodesian Front used its huge majority in the House to strike the motion from the order paper. Proposing its discharge, Mr. R. Cowper, Minister of the Public Service, said that it "defied comprehension" that any Rhodesian could put such a motion forward during the present climate of anti-terrorist war. (RH 5.9.75)

The House of Assembly has now adjourned until 17 February 1976. Meanwhile, the Indemnity and Compensation Bill has been temporarily blocked by the Senate, which on 17 September approved a report from its Legal Committee that sections of the Bill were inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights which forms part of the constitution.



DRASTIC PENALTIES FOR ZIMBABWEAN LEADERS

News is awaited of the result of the trial of Maurice Nyagumbo, a leading member of the ZANU Executive who was released last December after 15 years of almost continuous detention and imprisonment to take part in the Lusaka talks. Early in April 1975, he was arrested again in Rusape, eastern Rhodesia, and charged under Section 23A(1) of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act with recruiting a number of young people for "terrorist" training in Mozambique.

The recruiting "ring" which the regime's security forces later claimed to have smashed included, among others, John Mutasa and Moven Mahachi, two men of outstanding personality and well known in international circles. With Nyagumbo, they were charged in Umtali Magistrate's Court soon after their arrest with recruiting freedom-fighters — a charge which, since November 1974, has carried the mandatory death penalty. John Mutasa, (elder brother of Didymus Mutasa, the author of *Rhodesian Black Behind Bars*), was for 10 years Farm Manager at the non-racial co-operative development scheme at St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, and is now an honorary director of the Nyafaru Development Company. Nyafaru, a collective farm in Inyanga District, has been closely associated with the struggles of the adjoining Tangwena people to regain their rightful lands and homes. Moven Mahachi, a former vice-chairman of the Cold Comfort Farm Society, has been Managing Director of Nyafaru since 1971.

According to evidence submitted to the Salisbury High Court when Moven Mahachi finally came to trial in mid-September this year, it was Nyafaru's strategic location only 10 miles from Rhodesia's eastern border with Mozambique that caused him to become involved in the ongoing exodus of young people from the country. The prosecution claimed that Mahachi had been approached by John Mutasa to assist in ferrying groups across the border. From the end of March, a total of 48 African youths arrived at Nyafaru and stayed at a camp near the farm boundary. From there following negotiations between their Zimbabwean sponsors and the local FRELIMO command, they were able to cross over into Mozambique.

On 16 September, Moven Mahachi was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, 6 years being conditionally suspended, by the Salisbury High Court. He was saved from the death penalty on the grounds that although he had undoubtedly assisted, he had not himself instigated the process of recruitment. Mahachi, the defence argued had also not been a member of any political party or organisation.

The Court's verdict on Mahachi and

also that on John Mutasa, who on 13 October was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, 8 conditionally suspended, clouds the prospects for Maurice Nyagumbo, a member of an avowedly political organisation, who, in his brief spells out of prison, has been actively involved in the liberation struggle. (RH 17.9.75; RDM 14.10.75)

MORE DEATH SENTENCES

In April this year, the Rhodesian Ministry of Justice announced that, in future, no public announcements would be made when executions of convicted prisoners took place. A Ministry spokesman explained that the decision had been taken because the whole question of executions was "an emotive one".

Previously, the Government Gazette had normally published notices confirming that death sentences had been carried out. Since April however, the difficulties of monitoring the progress of political trials in Rhodesia have been compounded by the regime's clampdown, under section 403^A of the Criminal Code, on the publication of court proceedings. That the Smith regime has continued to execute persons convicted under the Law and Order Order (Maintenance) Act, in particular, seems all too likely, despite undertakings given at the Lusaka talks in December 1974 to release political prisoners, revoke death sentences that had been imposed, and halt political trials. Instead, the Ministry of Justice said in April that when a death sentence has been passed and the appeal turned down, it must be accepted that the sentence has been carried out.

In Jan/Feb. this year, 6 men were executed at Salisbury Central Prison. On 24 January, Mahobo Kabondo and Eirya Kamire were hanged for assisting 'terrorists' to murder. Then, on 8 February, Jerowa Sibanga was executed for murder, and on 28 February, Katsara Matabajira-Momo, Alfred Changiri and John Matairu were hanged for acts of "terrorism" and for possessing arms of war. Two months later, the Ministry of Justice refused to confirm whether the sentences on 2 Africans, reportedly executed on 18 April, had in fact been carried out. (BBC 29.1.75; 11.2.75; 3.3.75; RH 28.1.75; 1.3.75; 22.4.75)

Persons who have probably been executed since the April ban on publication include:

- Clever Mabonzo and Baya Tsauke — appeals were turned down on 6 March after both were sentenced to death for murder and possessing arms of war.
- Kariba Herbert Tobias — appeal against death sentence dismissed on 21 March after conviction on charges of murder, ambushing a vehicle and possessing arms of war.

- Elly Wandiauwona — sentenced to death on 18 March for murder and firing on security forces.

In June, Edson Sithole, publicity secretary of the ANC, claimed that executions were being carried out secretly and at night in Salisbury prison. He cited the case of two men who had recently been hanged at 7 o'clock in the evening. Formerly, he said, people who were to be executed were given advance notice and allowed a last opportunity to see their relatives and friends. This practice had now been abolished, so that prisoners were being told only an hour or so before their impending deaths. (RDM 10.6.75; RH 17.6.75)

On 15 August Benson Ncube and Robbie Nyambabvu were sentenced to death on charges of recruiting six youths for 'terrorist' training. Appeals were noted in the Salisbury High Court. That the regime intends to continue meting out the death penalty on the nebulous charge of "recruiting" was made clear by Mr. Justice Beck on 16 September in the Salisbury High Court. Sentencing Philip Foya to life imprisonment for assisting recruitment, he emphasised that in future, others could not assume that they would be let off so lightly.

On 15 October, Chireza Wayeni was sentenced to death on charges of taking part in a "terrorist" raid on a European farm in north-eastern Rhodesia in October 1974, and involvement, with other guerrillas, in murder. In both his case, and those of Benson Ncube and Robbie Nyambabvu, appeals have been noted. Two weeks later, at the end of October, a 65 year old man, John Hlengani, was sentenced to death for having taken three of his nephews across the border into Mozambique. The prosecution alleged that Hlengani had told the three boys that he was taking them to find jobs in Mozambique, while intending to hand them over to the freedom-fighters for training. Following Ncube and Nyambabvu, Hlengani is the third person this year known to have received the mandatory death sentence for the offence of "recruiting", under the November 1974 amendments to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

Barely a week after the decision on Hlengani, and as white Rhodesia was preparing to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Ian Smith's illegal U.D.I., the Salisbury High Court sentenced 3 more guerrillas, Elliot Dube, Reza Nyamarupa and Ignatius Moto, to die on charges of killing members of the security forces, "terrorism", and being in possession of arms of war. The total number known to have been executed or sentenced to death this year has been raised by these latest convictions to 22. Between UDI in 1965 and April 1975, at least 30 freedom fighters were hanged by the regime. (BBC 17.10.75, 11.11.75; RH 31.10.75)

RHODESIA'S SECURITY NET

On 25 July this year, a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed by the Rhodesian regime along 500 km of Rhodesia's eastern border with Mozambique, from the Ruenya River in the north to the Sabi River in the south. Between 6pm in the evening and 5am in the morning, no person may move more than 50 metres from his or her house or hut within a one-kilometre strip inside Rhodesia along the length of the border. Offenders run the risk of being shot on sight by the security forces, a jail sentence of up to two years or a substantial fine. The curfew has also been applied to 23 missions and schools in Manicaland, and is explicitly intended to prevent young people crossing the border into Mozambique as well as to tighten the security screw on guerrilla fighters. Over the four weeks leading up to the

imposition of the curfew, more than 400 teenagers disappeared from schools in the eastern area and were presumed to have left for training with the freedom fighters.

On 6 August, the curfew was extended to Rhodesia's western border with Botswana, along a 400 km strip from the Limpopo river at the border with South Africa up to the southern boundary of the Wankie national park. The curfew, which excludes the road and rail links between Rhodesia and Botswana where they cross the border at Plumtree, is being enforced between 6pm and 6am and extends over a strip 5 km deep. With the addition of a 220 km strip of the border with Zambia, from Kariba to the Chewore game park, declared a "protected area" in July, the Smith regime has surrounded itself with a defence ring more than

1,100 km long. Besides these recently introduced curfews are those declared in certain Tribal Trust Lands and Purchase areas in the north eastern operational area in June 1974. The measures have been imposed under the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) regulations and within a fortnight of their inception, had been drastically enforced through the murder of four Africans by the security police. Two of the young men, who were shot on 4 August near the Mozambique border 125 km north of Umtali, were later identified as 15-year old Raymond Kunaka and 16-year old George Gunda. Both were students at the Mazoe Secondary School near Salisbury and had travelled 220 km in their attempt to reach Mozambique, before they met their deaths. (RDM 25.7.75, 5.8.75; RH 26.7.75, 6.8.75; Star 9.8.75)

SECURITY CLAMPDOWN

Over the last few months, the Smith regime has been stepping up its programme of mass population removals for security reasons in the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs). "Consolidated villages", a concept put into operation in June this year with the removal of 7,500 people in the Maramba TTL, Mrewa district, are intended as a second line of defence to

NUMBER OF DETAINEES MOUNTS

Christian Care, an organization in Rhodesia that helps the families and dependents of people imprisoned or detained for political offences, stated recently that it had a total of 664 detainees on its books. This figure is considerably higher than the 432 names known to the organization towards the end of 1974. In December 1974 a number of leading detainees, including Joshua Nkomo and Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, were released by the regime to take part in the Lusaka talks. One of the undertakings subsequently made by Smith's representatives in Lusaka was to secure the immediate release of all political detainees and restrictees.

It is quite clear that this promise has been disregarded and that the regime is continuing to make full use of detention without trial as a way of suppressing its political opponents. Christian Care has pointed out that even its latest figure of 664 does not necessarily represent the total number of detainees, as an unknown number of people are being held incommunicado, often in remote police stations. Britain's Minister of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. David Ennals, speaking in parliament in the debate on continuation of the Sanctions Order on 31 October, stated that 800 Africans were known to be in detention in Rhodesia. In addition to these figures, it must be remembered that an unknown number of people, probably at least 400, are serving prison sentences in Rhodesia having been convicted of political offences under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, the Unlawful Organizations Act and other security legislation. (Times 27.10.75, 1.11.75)

the notorious protected villages in areas of "incipient insurrection". Like the protected villages, they are formed by moving villagers into compact groups of kraals so that, according to official propaganda, they gain safety in numbers against terrorist attacks. Consolidated villages, however, are not ringed by wire security fences or lights and do not carry armed detachments. The decision to impose a curfew and to restrict movement in and out is taken at the discretion of the security forces. Their purpose is to minimise contact between local villagers and freedom fighters, making it correspondingly more difficult for the latter to operate, at lower administrative cost.

An increasingly hard line attitude towards security in the Tribal Trust Lands is becoming evident. At the beginning of August, the Minister of Law and Order Mr. Lardner-Burke, issued an order under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act making

it illegal to hold any meeting in a TTL without the permission of a district commissioner. Previously, political meetings of fewer than twelve people had been permissible in the TTLs, and according to the Minister, had been taking place on a wide scale as an alternative to fewer, larger meetings. Even such small gatherings are now illegal if, in the opinion of the authorities, they are of a political nature. The growing political consciousness of African villagers in the rural areas is evidently worrying members of the white establishment: Mr. Des Frost, speaking at the annual congress of the Rhodesian Front at the end of September, called for a "more ruthless" approach towards tribesmen who aided guerrillas in the operational areas. Innocent people would have to be sacrificed, Mr. Frost said, "if we wish to reassert our control and authority in the north east". (RH 3.6.75, 31.7.75, 14.8.75) (RDM 26.9.75)



10 years of suppression: November 11, 1965, African protest against UDI

POLICE ROUND UP OPPOSITION

Virtually the entire leadership of SWAPO and its sister organisation, the Namibia National Convention (NNC) have been arrested and held incommunicado in gaol under the Terrorism and General Law Amendment Acts, during the past four months. At the same time major constitutional talks have been held in Namibia's capital, Windhoek, and a 34-member delegation of Namibian homeland chiefs, ministers and White government officials have toured the United States, Britain and Europe, as part of a powerful drive by Pretoria to convince the world of its good intentions for Namibia's future.

The wave of arrests and the authorities' clamp-down on security were sparked off two weeks before the opening of the Windhoek talks by the assassination of Chief Filemon Elifas, Chief Minister of Ovamboland, on Saturday 16 August. On the following day, a Sunday, a number of people were arrested in Katutura, outside Windhoek, on charges of disturbing the peace and possessing dangerous weapons. They had been marching through the Ovambo residential section of the township, singing songs, and were followed by a large crowd of young people and children. It appeared that the death of Chief Elifas, a stern and dictatorial figure and a leading exponent of South Africa government policy, had been greeted with joy by many Namibians.

Three days later, on 20 August, it was reported that Herero vigilante squads, followers of Chief Clemens Kapuuo, had broken into homes of top SWAPO officials in Windhoek and Katutura, and handed them over to the police. It was later confirmed that Othniel Kaagunga (SWAPO secretary for Internal Affairs), Aaron Muchimba (SWAPO National Organizer), Axel Johannes (SWAPO National Secretary-General), Elifas Munjaro (SWAPO Secretary for Foreign Affairs), and Alfeus Naruseb (SWAPO Youth League Secretary-General) had been arrested and were being held in Windhoek under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act. The home of David Merero, Vice-Chairman of SWAPO, was also reported to have been broken into by twelve men during the early morning of 19 August. He succeeded, however, in escaping while his two children were being questioned, and crossed the border into Botswana.

The following Sunday, four arrests were made when armed mobile units of the South African Police moved in on an NNC meeting in Katutura African Township. Albertus Kanguuehi (Chairman of the Namibia National Convention and a teacher from the Martin Luther High School, Okambahe), Pastor Zephaniah

Kameeta (NNC Secretary of the Interior and Principal of the Lutheran Paulinum Theological College at Otjimbingwe), Pastor Festus Naholo (Secretary of the Walvis Bay SWAPO branch) and Lazarus Guiteb (Chairman of the Otjiwarongo SWAPO branch and administrator of the Otjiwarongo diocese of the Lutheran Church) were picked up for making what a police spokesman described as "extremely provocative" speeches, and in connection with the Elifas assassination. After arresting the men, the police, according to an observer, broke up the meeting with batons and dogs.

On 11 September, Windhoek police raided the offices occupied by Daniel Tjongarero, Publicity and Information Secretary of the Namibia National Convention and an employee of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. He had recently planned a demonstration march through Windhoek, ultimately banned by the authorities. Police in camouflage dress sealed off the exits from the offices, while plain clothes men made a systematic search. Daniel Tjongarero told newsmen a few days later that two more people had since been arrested during police raids.

Meanwhile, numerous arrests were being made in Ovamboland, under Proclamation R17/1972 which provides for indefinite detention without trial. Sam Shivute (SWAPO Organizing Secretary in the north) and Rueben Hauwanga (SWAPO secretary for Information and Publicity) were picked up in Oshakati. Other detainees included pastors of the Ovambo - Kavango church, and a 15 year old girl, Marita Matthias, the niece of another detainee, Mrs. Elizabeth Namjembo. SWAPO estimates that the total number of persons detained in Ovamboland, many of whom have yet to be identified, runs into scores. They have been held incommunicado, with relatives, clergymen and lawyers reportedly denied access. Five Namibians were also reported to have been killed in the north by South African security forces, and the homes of three persons, including that of Albertus Kanguuehi, burned down. South African police and army reinforcements were flown out to both Windhoek and Ovamboland in preparation for the opening of the constitutional talks on September 1st. Six weeks later, SWAPO claimed that all those arrested in Ovamboland were still being held in detention, although a number of people had been released in Windhoek. By the end of October, no date had yet been set for anyone to appear in court in connection with the assassination of Chief Elifas, and the Deputy Commissioner of Police in South West Africa, Brigadier N. Walters, was unable to make any definite statement on the matter. (WA 12.9.75; Star 30.8.75; 9.10.75; CT 20.8.75; 26.8.75, 12.9.75; RDM 26.8.75; 16.9.75, 18.10.75)

namibia

THE AGONY OF NAMIBIA'S PRISONS

Theophilus Kalimba, one of the SWAPO members detained in Ovamboland following Chief Elifas's assassination, succeeded in escaping from Oshikango prison on 28 August, 2 days after he was picked up by the police. He managed to jump the border into Angola, from where, on 7 September, he wrote to the SWAPO offices in London. The following extracts from his letter describe the conditions at Oshikango prison:

"I would like to let you know how I and the others are treated in jail. We are accused of being guilty of killing Filemon Elifas. Our legs and arms are tied, we are hung from the roof and tortured. Sometimes we are hung by the legs, sometimes by the arms, from the roof, and tortured. We are given only a cup of water at 12pm.

The South African government are trying to destroy the Namibians physically and mentally. The people in jail are watched over by soliders so that they do not get a chance to sleep. The soldiers do that in turns. To tell the truth, and I want to tell this as I know by experience, not theory, if the others are being treated in the same way as I was treated for those days I was in jail, then they will die or their mental capacity will be damaged. I cannot really understand what will happen to someone who is forbidden to sleep even half a second day and night. When I was being held at Oshikango, I did not see any of the others, because I was being kept alone in a cell. If the South African Police could get hold of me, I would be shot dead". (SWAPO Press Release - L/10/75/7; 6.10.75)



David Merero, SWAPO's National Chairman, is to lay evidence of the tor-

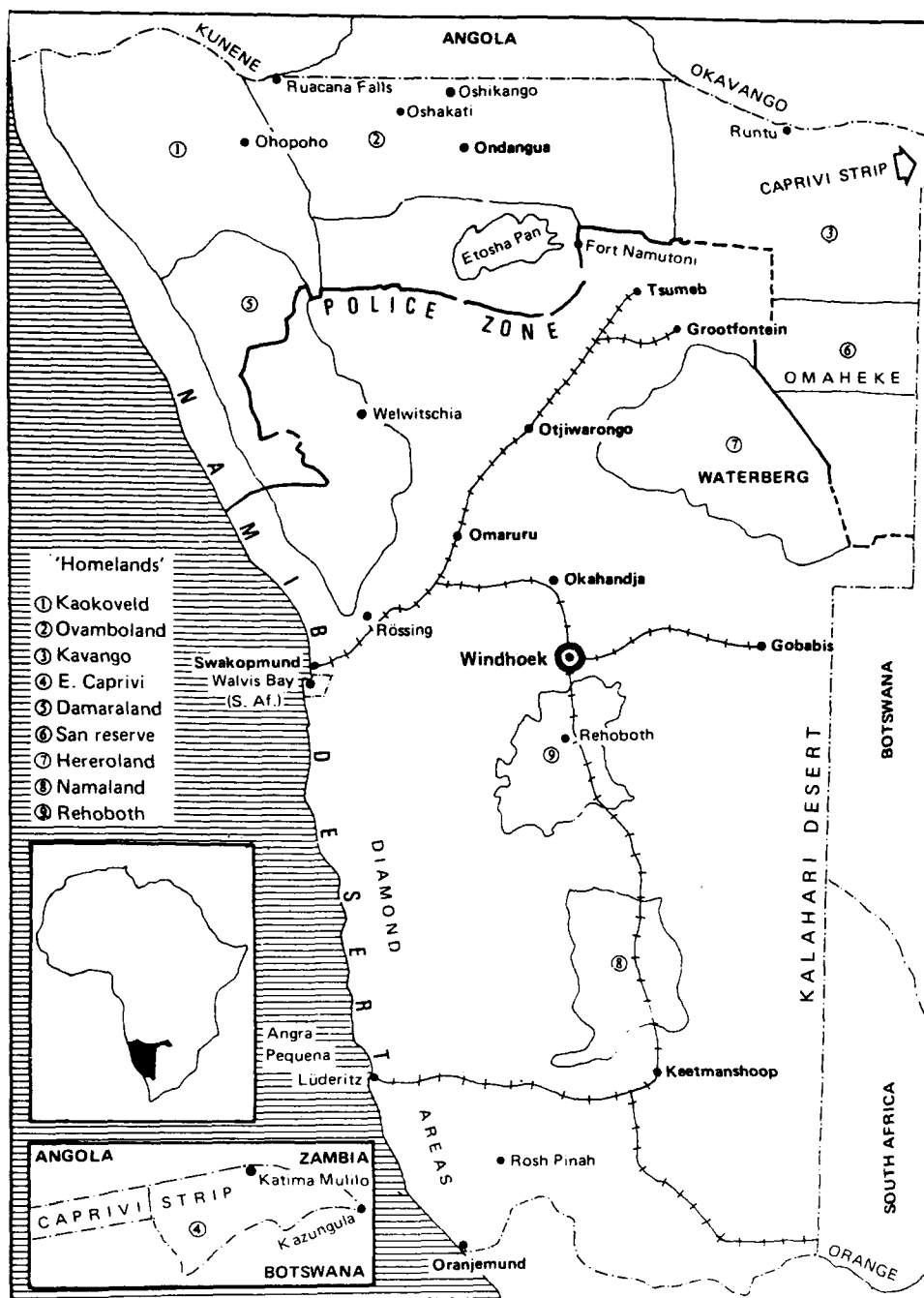
ture of Namibian detainees before the United Nations General Assembly, the Committee of 24, and the UN Council on Namibia. Merero himself was tortured by the security forces during six months of solitary confinement in Namibia in 1974.

No-Go area in Ovamboland

By the middle of October, all but three of the eleven SWAPO and NNC officials arrested by the security police in Windhoek were reported to have been released. No charges were ever brought, and their detention neatly coincided with the Windhoek constitutional talks. In Ovamboland, by contrast, all those detained following the Elifas assassination were still, at the end of October, being held under the emergency regulations, and security generally in the northern region has been considerably tightened up. Following South African reports that SWAPO guerrillas had killed eight Ovambos, including a number of tribal policemen, it was announced that South African Defence Forces had been instructed to take "appropriate action" against SWAPO bases inside Angola. Two SWAPO camps were subsequently reported destroyed, and seven freedom fighters killed, in reprisal raids by South African troops. Another crucial development on the Namibian border with Angola was announced on 17 October, when Mr. Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General of the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, stated that civilians in the Kwan-yama Tribal Authority area were to be evacuated as a security precaution. He denied that anyone would be forced to move and estimated the numbers involved at "less than 100". The cleared area would be up to 3km deep and would be patrolled. Depopulated zones with fortified villages on the fringes of the no-go area are nevertheless familiar features of counter-guerrilla action, and a well established pattern in Rhodesia. The intention would appear to be to create an effective base for military incursions into Angola by South African troops, in addition to clamping down on political activity in Ovamboland. (RDM 18.10.75, 21.10.75)

ARRESTED IN OVAMBOLAND DURING THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST, (Unless otherwise indicated:)

EKANDJO, Pastor Sebulon — Editor of "Omukwetu", publication of the Ovambo-Kavango Lutheran Church. HATUTALE, Immanuel — SWAPO member in the north.



HAUWANGA, Reuben — SWAPO Secretary for Information & Publicity in the north. HILUNDWA, Skinny — SWAPO Chairman in the north. HITOPI, Mulendweni. JIFETE, Lamaka — SWAPO official. KAMBAKULA, Frans. KAPAANDA, Pastor Junias — Ovambo-Kavango Church. KAGADHINWA, Vaino — Businessman. KALIMBA, Theophilus, escaped 28/8/75. MATTHIAS, Marita — 15 year old niece of Mrs. Namjebo. MTOTA, Leonard. NAKAWA, Johannes — SWAPO official. NAMJEBO, Elizabeth. NAMPALA, Pastor Hosea — Ovambo-Kavango Church, teacher in Ovambo Education Dept. NANGOLO, Andreas. NANGOMBE, Jason — Teacher. NANGULA, Pastor Petrus — Lutheran Church. NGULA, Pastor Titus — Ovambo-Kavango Church. SHANIKA, Festus — Storeowner, Odibo & Oshakati. SHIVUTE, Samuel — SWAPO Organising Sec. SHUJA, Frans. SHOOME, Isak — SWAPO official. ZAKARIAS, Joseph. ZAKARIAS, (brother of Joseph).

ARRESTED IN WINDHOEK:

GUITEB, Lazarus — SWAPO Secretary, Otjiwarongo branch, & administrator of the Otjiwarongo diocese, Lutheran Church,

arrested 24.8.75 at NNC Rally, Katutura, released early October. JOHANNES, Axel — SWAPO National Secretary, arrested 19.8.75. KAAKUNGA, Othniel — SWAPO Secretary of the Interior, arrested 19.8.75, released early October. KAMEETA, Pastor Zephaniah — NNC Secretary of Interior, Principal of the Paulinum Theological College, Otjimbingwe, arrested 24.8.75 at NNC Rally, Katutura, released 15.9.75. KANGUEEHI, Albertus — NNC Chairman, teacher at Martin Luther High School, Okambahe, arrested 24.8.75 at NNC rally, Katutura, released early October. KHAMO, P. — NNC official (?), arrested 13/14.9.75. MUCHIMBA, Aaron — SWAPO National Treasurer & Organizing Secretary, arrested 19.8.75. MUNJARO, Elifas — SWAPO Secretary of Foreign Affairs, arrested 19.8.75, released early October. NAHOLO, Pastor Festus — secretary of Walvis Bay SWAPO branch, arrested 24.8.75 at NNC rally, Katutura, released early October. NARUSEB, Alfeus — secretary-general SWAPO Youth League, arrested 19.8.75, released early October. UUANIVI, Pastor Hiskia — NNC official, Evangelical Lutheran pastor, arrested 13/14.9.75.

LUTHERAN PRIEST SPEAKS OUT

Earlier this year Pastor Zephania Kameeta, principal of the Paulinum Theological College at Otjimbingwe, in northern Namibia, was arrested at a rally at which he was a key speaker (see 'Police round up opposition'). Subsequently he was detained for three weeks under the South African Terrorism Act. In a letter intended for publication in the outside world he has graphically described his experiences:

Dear brothers and sisters,

Right at the outset I should like, on behalf of my wife and children and all Namibians, to thank you all most sincerely for your prayers and support during the past days and weeks. Once more it has become clear that the South African government is not dealing with just "a small band of agitators and terrorists," but with thousands of Christians around the world, and with all who, irrespective of their faith or nationality, stand for what is right and just.

Through this letter I wish to share with you some of the thoughts which I had while, like many others, I was locked up in solitary confinement. Many questions were roused in me, and I want to discuss these with you....

Allow me to share with you what I experienced in jail.

I tried to look back on my life; and here I must honestly say that I have never lived so closely — day and night — with the Word of God as I did during the three weeks of my detention. Before I had always read the Word with an eye to other people. I always asked, What does the Word of God say to 'them'? But in these three weeks I began to ask, What does the Word of God say to me in this situation? I not only studied his Word, I EXPERIENCED it! Every word and sentence took on a new meaning for me in those days....

There were also moments when anxiety took over. My hands sweated with fear. In such moments I did not want to open my Bible; and when I tried to pray my mouth felt dry and I could find no words. This fear especially descended on me before the interrogations. My unease was at times so great that I feared that there was something wrong with me. But then a great calmness came upon me. I was strongly aware of the many prayers going up to God....

And so let me get to the next question: Can us preachers not leave this struggle to the politicians? The struggle in our land has not only to do with the liberation of Namibia, but it goes further and deeper than that. The presence of the South African government is not just a political question, but it is a threat to the Gospel

of Jesus Christ! Thus I see it as the task of every Christian to work for the knocking down of this government. In this country which claims to be Christian you can be a Christian ten thousand times over, but if you are not white you are treated like a dog. I know that at this moment much propaganda is being made abroad about the "new era which is dawning in Southern Africa." The government of SA is doing everything in its power to blind the already blinded eyes of the Western World. In Windhoek this government is committing the greatest political deceit of the Century! While they are busy removing the Apartheid signs from the buildings (but not from their hearts!) high officials are still fighting for the superiority and dictatorship of the so-called white man. They are convinced that the well-being and future of the whole world is in the hands of the white man. They are working to keep the white race "pure"....

The South African government and its supporters proclaim — especially by what they do — a message which is diametrically opposed to the Gospel. While God tells us that in Jesus Christ he has broken down the wall of separation between himself and us, and between us and our fellow men, the South African government proclaims and builds the wall of separation which brings about alienation, mistrust, prejudice, fear, hatred and enmity between man and man, and therefore between man and God. This message stands in direct opposition to the Gospel of Reconciliation, love, peace, brotherhood and justice....

Therefore, I see the struggle in Southern Africa, and especially here in Namibia, not merely as a political struggle, in which only politicians may participate, but as a struggle in which all Christians are called to participate. And if this should happen an armed struggle can be avoided, *because the Word of the Cross is enough for us to be able to tackle this task!* ...

It is not surprising that when the pro-government Churches proclaim a day of prayer for the 'Constitutional Talks', this is not politics. But when the Churches who reject the South African government and its policy intervene and speak for the thousands who are exploited, humiliated and trodden underfoot day and night, this is politics and subversion! ...

If anybody should be charged with terrorism then it is most surely the South African government! For instance let us look back at the events of 24 August. In the days preceding this date an appointed band went about in one part of the location and assaulted people. On Sunday 24 August the NNC (Namibia National Con-

THREE DEMONSTRATORS IMPRISONED

Three men who took part in a demonstration in Katutura township, Windhoek the day after the assassination of the Ovamboland ruler Chief Elifas, were arrested and given prison sentences on charges of disturbing the peace and of possessing dangerous weapons. Silvanus Haimbili was sentenced to 5 months; Malakia Petrus and Frans Filemon were sentenced to 6 months each.

vention) called a public meeting with the aim of informing the public about these happenings, and to express their strongest condemnation of what was happening; furthermore the NNC wished to make known the steps which it would take. The speakers made their judgement and condemnation of these events known in clear language, and they called on the public to remain calm.

The South African Police — as always — took up their positions with dogs, batons, firearms and pick-up vans — amongst people who stood there quite empty-handed! Immediately after the third speaker had finished his address they attempted to violently disperse the crowd. The speakers and other leaders who were present at the meeting were arrested under the "Terrorism Act". To save time I leave it to your judgement....

Your brother,
Zephania Kameeta.



The International Defence & Aid Fund for Southern Africa (President: Canon L. John Collins) has the following objects:

- (i) to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures;
- (ii) to support their families and dependants;
- (iii) to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.

Focus is published by the Fund to inform international opinion about repression in Southern Africa, and in support of the call for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Material can be freely quoted or reproduced. Contributions towards the work of the Fund will be welcomed and should be sent to IDAF, 2 Amen Court, London EC4M 7BX.

Sources and abbreviations: "Africa" — monthly, London; BBC — British Broadcasting Corporation monitoring service; CT — Cape Times; Debates — House of Assembly, Cape Town, (Hansard); GG — Government Gazette, Pretoria; GN — Guardian London; RDM — Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg; RH — Rhodesia Herald, Salisbury; SAIRR — South African Institute of Race Relations; SM — Sunday Mail, Salisbury; ST — Sunday Times, Johannesburg; Star — The Star, Johannesburg (overseas weekly edition); Times — The Times, London; WA — Windhoek Advertiser.