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ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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NEW DEATH SENTENCE

ELEVEN MORE CHARGED WITH TREASON IN SOUTH AFRICA

Only days before the execution on 9 June of the three ANC combatants convicted of high treason, the death sentence was imposed on a man who had appeared as a state witness in their trial.

Following the execution of the three there were meetings and demonstrations throughout South Africa, and elsewhere, expressing widespread sorrow and anger.

In July eleven more people were charged with high treason in the Eastern Cape, apparently in connection with armed actions in the area towards the end of 1982.

Malisela MOLOISE (28) was found guilty in the Pretoria Supreme Court of murdering a security policeman, Warrant Officer Selepe, in November 1982. He was sentenced to death on 6 June. Moloise pleaded not guilty and denied throughout the trial that he had killed Selepe. He said that statements he had made to the police and before a magistrate had been made out of fear. The State alleged that he had shot Selepe as he returned to his home in the township of Mamelodi near Pretoria.

Moloise had been a room-mate of Marcus Motaung, one of the three who were executed. He appeared as a witness for the State in the trial of MOSOLOLI, MOGOERANE and MOTAUNG, but refused to answer questions in court. During the trial, which ended in August 1982, Selepe took Moloise each day from Moloise's home to the court, and back. Selepe was amongst those praised by a judge of the Supreme Court for the part he played in the arrest and conviction of the three ANC combatants (FOCUS 47 p.5; S 26/27/30.5.83; RDM 26/28.5.83; DD 7.6.83).

The hangings of the three guerillas were

carried out on 9 June, three days after Moloise's sentencing. Vigils and meetings protesting the hangings were held across South Africa. Sorrow, anger and support for the three and their actions were given clear expression.

On the eve of the hangings all-night vigils were held in several centres, including Durban, Soweto and Cape Town, in each of which hundreds of people took part.

Following the hangings meetings and demonstrations took place. There were meetings of hundreds of people on the campuses of several universities, including Fort Hare, University of the Western Cape and the University of Zululand. At Fort Hare 22 people were arrested and subsequently charged with public violence, after a van was overturned and others stoned (see *POLITICAL TRIALS*).

In Durban 23 people were arrested when about 400 people marched through the city with ANC banners.

As the protests continued to gain momentum, the government issued an order banning meetings about the hangings for a week (SASPU Focus, June 1983; Star/Argus/DN 9.6.83).

The quoting of statements made by the executed men was made illegal when their names were included in a list of people who may not be quoted, published on 1 July (see *BANNING ORDERS REVIEWED*).

NEW TREASON TRIALS

A total of 11 people appeared in court in the Eastern Cape during July on charges of high treason and other charges.

The appearance of an unidentified person without legal representation on charges of treason, murder and contravention of the Internal Security Act is reported under *DETENTIONS* in this issue.

On 25 July 10 men appeared in the Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court on charges of high treason. They were not asked to plead, no evidence was led, and the case was postponed until 5 September.

Their appearance was linked by the press to a series of sabotage incidents in the vicinity of Port Elizabeth towards the end of 1982. During May a total of 13 people were detained in the Port Elizabeth area, allegedly in connection with explosions in the area. The police also said that quantities of arms and explosives had been confiscated (FOCUS 47 p.3; RDM 14/31.5.83; Argus 30.5.83; Citizen 1.6.83).

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South Africa

BANNING ORDERS REVIEWED

The number of people living under banning orders fell to a total of eleven in July, when all banning orders issued under the old Internal Security Act automatically expired, a year after the new Internal Security Act came into operation. Ten of these orders were immediately renewed, while one further ban issued under the new Act remained in force (*RDM 2.7.83*).

This development follows a decline in recent years in the regime's use of banning. This form of restriction on opponents of apartheid has apparently failed to destroy the influence and commitment of those subjected to it, as is illustrated by statements made by some of those recently unbanned (*see below*). The number of banned people has gradually fallen since the middle of 1981 from a peak of over 150 to a total of 67 at the end of June this year — 10 of whom were in exile.

There are also still at least 26 people banished for life to remote areas of the country in terms of the Black Administration Act, the Aliens Act and security legislation in the bantustan areas. The latest banishments occurred in July 1982 when two so-called 'citizens' of the Ciskei bantustan were confined to the Zwelitsha area in terms of the Aliens Act (*see FOCUS 42 p.6*).

The latest changes in the use of the powers to ban people are part of the new Internal Security Act of 1982, which expanded the regime's powers to suppress opposition (*see FOCUS 42 p.6/12; GG No. 662, 25.3.83*).

Those whose bans were renewed in July are listed below:

- Winnie MANDELA, the internationally known anti-apartheid activist who has been either banned or detained for 19 of the 20 years since 1962, was served with her sixth banning order, due to expire in June 1988. She remains confined to the town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State, nearly 200 miles from her home in Soweto (*CT 39.6.83; FOCUS 39 p.9*).
- Rowley ARENSTEIN, a former attorney who defended many accused of political offences and whose banning order prevents him working in any legal firm, has lived under continuous banning orders since 1970. His ban was renewed for a further five years (*RDM 30.7.83*).
- Florence MKHIZE, an organiser in the ANC from 1955 until its banning in 1960, has continued to actively oppose the apartheid regime despite being subjected to three banning orders.

PRISON CONDITIONS

In the previous issue of *FOCUS* it was reported that the prison conditions of Nelson Mandela and other long-term political prisoners had seriously worsened since their transfer from the Robben Island prison, where they had been held since the early 1960s, to mainland prisons.

In 1980 she became Natal provincial secretary of the Women's Federation of South Africa which was active in the anti-Republic Day campaign of 1981. Her new order will expire in June 1985 (*RDM 30.7.83; FOCUS 34 p.9*).

- Nathaniel MAXUILILI, Vice President of SWAPO and the only Namibian to have been banned under the South African Internal Security Act, has been restricted almost continuously since 1968, confined to Walvis Bay. His new order expires in June 1986 (*RDM 30.7.83; FOCUS 41 p.2*).

• Dumile MAKANDA, chairman of the Eastern Cape-based Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union (Macwusa), and Maxwell MADLINGOZI, an organiser of Macwusa and the General Workers' Union of South Africa, were both detained in 1981 for eight months, following industrial unrest in Port Elizabeth, and banned for two years in March 1982. They are now banned until March 1986 (*RDM 30.7.83; FOCUS 41 p.10*).

- Bonisile CEKISANI, a former member of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation and a president of the now banned Black People's Convention, was first banned for five years in 1979. His ban was renewed for a further three years (*S 7.7.83; FOCUS 27 p.14*).

• Achmad CASSIEM, who was imprisoned for sabotage from 1964–69 and banned on release, was banned a second time in 1979 and detained in April 1980 for eight months. He is also a former president of the South African Students' Association. His present ban is for three years (*RDM 30.7.83; FOCUS 27 p.14*).

- John ISSEL, a regional secretary of the South African Students' Organisation until its banning in 1977, and a former organiser of *Grassroots*, the Cape community newsletter, was banned for the third time in July, for three years (*RDM 30.7.83; FOCUS 33 p.4*).

• Mathata TSEDU, a former journalist and executive member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa in the Northern Transvaal, was first banned for three years in January 1981. He was detained in June 1982 and released at the end of the trial of THLOLOE and OTHERS in April this year. He is now banned for three more years (*RDM 30.7.83; FOCUS 33 p.5, 42 p.5, 47 p.4*).

The one remaining ban issued under the new Internal Security Act was that on Rev. Beyers NAUDE, banned for three years in October 1982. Three others whose bans expired at the same time and who are in exile, may not be quoted, under Section 56(1)(p) of the new Act. They are: Rev. Brian BROWN, Rev. Theodore KOTZE and former journalist, Donald WOODS (*see FOCUS 44 p.9; GG No. 2403, 5.11.82*). Under this section of the new Act, six other exiles whose bans were not renewed in July

may also not be quoted. They are: Barney PITYANA, Sipho PITYANA, Kgopu Isaac MOROE, Rev Pule Isaac TSHEKENG, Mszeni (Shadrack) MAPHUMULO, and Sammy ADELMAN (*RDM 2.7.83*).

Among the 56 people whose bans were not renewed was Albertina SISULU, who, despite her almost continuous banning since 1963 was constantly involved in anti-apartheid campaigning. She spoke of the expiry of her latest banning order as a temporary relief: 'If we were banned because of our convictions, we are going to be banned again.' Less than a month after her ban expired Albertina Sisulu had already assumed a leading position in the Transvaal section of the United Democratic Front. She was arrested on 5 August and appeared in court on 8 August (*see POLITICAL TRIALS*) (*S 4.7.83*).

Her son, Zwelakhe SISULU, a former president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, whose order also expired, commented: 'The banning order has served to harden my attitude and to strengthen my resolve. That is the effect a banning order has on anybody.' (*S 4.7.83*).

Also unbanned was Fatima MEER, who was one of those accused in the Treason Trial of 1956–61. She has been banned three times and was twice arrested for breaking her banning order. She said of her banning: 'No banned person is so lacking in personal integrity as to deliberately co-operate with the government and restrict their own freedom. The restrictions are so inhuman... to survive you have to break them.' (*S Trib. 10.7.83*).

300 FEWER 'LISTED PERSONS'

Over 300 of the 450 names on the government's list of persons who may not be quoted or have their work published in South Africa were withdrawn in July: these 300 may, however, still not be quoted for a further four years. The list contains some new names, including Barbara HOGAN, the ANC member serving a ten-year sentence for high treason, and three people in preventive detention: Abel DUBE, David NTOBELA and Modika TSATSA. Also included are the three ANC members executed in June: Simon MOGOERANE, Jerry MOSOLOLI and Marcus MOTAUNG (*RDM 5.7.83*).

BANS EXPIRED BEFORE JULY

The banning orders on Nelson DIALE, Petrus NCHABELENG and Reggie VANDEYAR, all former ANC Robben Island prisoners, expired on 31 May. The five-year ban on a former PAC prisoner on Robben Island, Abel CHILOANE, expired on 30 June (*see FOCUS 18 p.12, 15 p.16*).

Ms Suzman reported them to be in good health and spirits, but they had raised several issues with her. Chief among these was the lack of recreational facilities. Whereas on Robben Island they had open recreational areas, Pollsmoor Prison, where they are now being held, has only concrete courtyards with high walls. On Robben Island the prisoners had got used to single cells but now had to share a communal cell with five others (*ST 3.7.83; GN 4.7.83*).

The information was made public during May at a hearing in London before the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Since then further details have come from South Africa after a visit to Mandela and other prominent ANC leaders by Helen Suzman, an MP of the opposition Progressive Federal Party.

TOWNSHIP PROTESTS

During May, June and July, as resistance to the government's constitutional plans gathered force, there were protests and boycotts in several townships over issues that have been frequent points of conflict with the apartheid regime: education, housing and transport.

As on many previous occasions, the authorities relied heavily on the police in their attempts to break boycotts and suppress resistance.

EDUCATION

Unrest in several schools during July, particularly in Soweto, led both police and community leaders to compare the situation with that just before the protests of June 1976.

On the surface the protests were concerned with a number of different issues. Pupils and educationalists however, interpreted them as expressions of deep hostility to the apartheid education system.

There has been a substantial expansion in secondary school education for Africans since 1976.

The expansion of the system has not however improved education, according to two leading black educationalists who were interviewed by the *Financial Mail* in June.

Willie Kambule, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand said: 'The educational scene in the black community is explosive. The apparent changes have all been physical. The quality of education has in fact declined since 1976 . . . Education is still geared to apartheid and the feeling in Soweto is one of resentment.'

Curtis Nkondo, a former headmaster and a member of the Soweto Teachers Action Committee said: 'There are more students at school now, but this doesn't indicate a change in the system . . . It is still Bantu education but has simply been given another name' (*FM 17.6.83*).

Protests early in the year over poor exam results give substance to the criticism of falling standards (see *FOCUS 41 p.7*). The events in July underlined other criticisms.

There appear to have been broadly two kinds of issue motivating the protests: the presence of certain white teachers in the schools; and the responses of school authorities to pupils' grievances. In the course of meetings involving parents as well as pupils, it became clear that these issues were aspects of more general opposition to the school system.

The presence of white teachers in African

schools is partly an effect of the shortage of African teachers resulting from past restriction on African education. In Soweto the expansion of the school system has seen the number of white teachers increase from less than 20 in 1975 to about 240 in 1982.

In addition some white teachers are national servicemen (*GN 23.7.83; SAIRR Survey 1980 p.209*). According to Willie Kambule, white teachers are sometimes suspected of being 'the eyes of the system'. 'Some of these teachers carry guns and are brought to school in armour-proofed cars. They arouse suspicion.' (*FM 17.6.83*).

Protests over white teachers occurred at two schools in Soweto. At one pupils objected to the presence of a white teacher who replaced another white teacher, while at the second the objection was to the replacement of black teachers by white teachers (*S 12/19/27.7.83; RDM 23.7.83*). Boycotts and protests at four other schools during the same period (in Soweto, in Tembisa near Johannesburg, in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, in Vryburg in the Northern Cape and in Cape Town) related more directly to questions of control and representation (*S 10/15.6.83; RDM 23/30.7.83, 6.8.83*).

HOUSING

Two developments focussed attention on the issue of black housing during the first part of 1983. In African townships near Durban there was a long and bitter struggle to resist rent increases. At the same time the government announced changes in housing policy, changes which critics said would make things even worse for the poor.

Increases in rents averaging 63 per cent in the townships administered by the Port Natal Administration Board were due to take effect from 1 January 1983. A Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) was formed to represent residents in all the affected townships, and to co-ordinate resistance. The increase was postponed until 1 May (*RDM/DN 20.4.83*).

Following the killing on 25 April of Harrison DUBE, a leading figure in JORAC and a former ANC activist, tension rose in the Lamontville and Chesterville townships near Durban with clashes between police and demonstrators. Over 5000 people attended Harrison Dube's funeral (*CT 28.4.83; DD 2.5.83; Star 2.5.83*).

Shortly afterwards the government announced the deferment of the rent increases until 1 August. However, tension persisted and following the appearance in court on 22 June of four men in connection with the killing of Dube, there were more demonstrations and

attacks on Administration Board buildings. One of those charged with Dube's murder is the chairman of the Community Council (*CT 23/24.6.83; RDM 24.6.83*).

There has for a long time been acute shortage of housing for Africans, and very high rents. A government commission (the Viljoen Commission), stated in 1982 that there was an estimated backlog of 168,000 houses for Africans outside the bantustans. The Commission identified the policy of regarding Africans as only temporarily outside the bantustans, and limited government funds, as causes of the backlog (*SAIRR 1982, p.289*).

During the first part of 1982 the government announced the adoption of new policies recommended by the Viljoen Commission. They involved a switch towards greater private sector financing of housing for Africans, through employers, building societies and other private companies. Part of the scheme is the sale of a large number of houses to tenants (on a 99-year leasehold basis for Africans). Tenants who do not buy their houses within a year will face large rent increases (*RDM 20.2/4.3.83*).

Critics of the government said that while a small minority would benefit from the new policies, the housing problems of the poor would be made worse. They said the increased cost of housing would force many people to go to bantustans, thereby losing their rights to reside outside the bantustans (*ST 29.5.83*).

TRANSPORT

A ten per cent increase in bus fares for people living in African townships around East London, imposed in July, was met with resistance in the form of a boycott which continued into August in spite of intense police action against boycotters.

The policy of forcing black workers to live in segregated townships situated far from the 'white' areas in which they work, has made the cost of transport a frequent source of conflict with the apartheid regime. The boycott of bus services has been the most common form of resistance.

Mdantsane is the biggest township near East London. Situated just inside the boundaries of the Ciskei bantustan, most of its residents who are employed work in East London. A large proportion are transported there by the Ciskei Transport Corporation.

By the second day the boycott was 80 per cent effective, and continued in the face of the police actions described below. (*SNS 25.7.83; RDM 25.7.83; GN 5.8.83*).

POLICE ACTION

SCHOOL PROTESTS

In Soweto police used teargas on at least three occasions during July to disperse gatherings of pupils, both at school and as they left a meeting in a local church. Two Soweto priests involved in the protests were detained, as were a number of pupils (*S 12/18.7.83; see also DETENTIONS*).

At a secondary school in Tembisa, police arrived during a dispute over discipline on 22 July. They fired automatic hand guns into the ground in front of 700 pupils before withdrawing (*RDM 23.7.83*).

In Vryburg police arrested 31 students involved in the school protest there (*S 2.8.83*).

RENTS CAMPAIGN

Police action in Lamontville and Chesterville became intense, particularly after the killing of Harrison Dube.

In June the Joint Rent Action Committee sent an urgent letter to the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Co-operation and Development appealing to them to stop what they called a 'reign of terror'.

An opposition MP from the area alleged in Parliament that the townships were 'in a state of siege' and under 'undeclared martial law'. He said that his visit to the townships had 'tended to confirm allegations of police brutality'. There were a number of reports of children having been badly affected by teargas fired by the police (*CT 3.5.83; DN 7.6.83; CT 30.6.83; Cit 10.7.83*).

BUS BOYCOTT

Within days of the start of the boycott of buses of the Ciskei Transport Corporation, two trade union organisers were detained on 21 July (see *DETENTIONS*). This was followed by police stopping taxis at roadblocks and pulling commuters out of the cars (*SNS 25.7.83*).

On 22 July police began arresting train passengers who had decided against using buses. Five people were admitted to the local hospital after police fired on people near the Fort Jackson station (*RDM 25.7.83*).

On 4 August a state of emergency was declared in Mdantsane and at least five people were shot dead and more than 40 injured when Ciskeian police and soldiers fired on people who defied soldiers blocking access to the station to try to board trains (*GN 5.8.83*).

DETENTIONS

More evidence of the brutal treatment of people detained without trial came to light following reports of the death of Molifi Paris MALATJI who was shot dead in police custody. Additional reports of detainees requiring medical care increased fears for their safety. There was an increase in the number of detentions reported but also further indications that the press is severely restricted in what it is allowed to print. The authorities in the Ciskei bantustan continued their repressive policies in spite of personnel changes.

SHOT DEAD IN CUSTODY

Molifi Paris MALATJI was arrested by plainclothes security police at a friend's house on 4 July. His father was unable to verify his whereabouts in spite of enquiries at Protea, Moroka and Jabulani police stations. The following day, 5 July, police admitted he had been held at Protea and had died from a bullet wound that morning.

Police stated that Malatji was being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act which permits detention for up to 48 hours. Malatji's family believe he was being held for political interrogation. Samuel RATHOLO, a close friend, was detained under the Internal Security Act on 3 July, and Malatji himself had been detained twice previously in 1981. Then he was questioned about the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO) and its leader Khotso Seatlholo who was sentenced to 10 years in March 1982 (see *FOCUS* 40, p.5).

A post mortem was carried out by two pathologists on 7 July. No formal results were published but the family quoted the doctors as saying that the bullet which killed Malatji was fired at point-blank range through his head. The pistol was in contact with the skin of his forehead when the shot was fired, leaving ash and singe marks round the wound. The bullet apparently went straight through and out the back of his head.

A police investigation into the circumstances of Malatji's death was continuing at the end of July. On 13 July it was reported that a policeman had been suspended from duty for the duration of the investigation and later a spokesman said a docket would be prepared for the Attorney-General when the investigation was complete.

At the end of July the Malatji family had been given no date for an inquest but were planning to initiate civil proceedings against the police (CT 6.7.83, 8.7.83; S 7.7.83, 8.7.83, 11.7.83, 14.7.83; T 7.7.83, 9.7.83; RDM 7.7.83, 27.7.83; Star 25.7.83; SNS 25.7.83).

UNIDENTIFIED DETAINEE IN HOSPITAL

Further concern for the health of detainees was raised by the court appearance of an unidentified man who was referred to a mental hospital for observation. He was charged in the Port Elizabeth Magistrates Court on 11 July with High Treason, murder and contravention of the Internal Security Act. He had no legal representation, was not asked to plead and the case was adjourned to 22 August. At the request of the security police, the man's name was kept secret in order not to hinder their investigations. The court also ordered that the name of the mental hospital should not be revealed. This censorship in the courtroom marks a further stage in the restriction of information about detentions

which has been noted in previous issues of *FOCUS*.

Evidence in court showed that the detainee was taken from a police cell to hospital on 19 June suffering from multiple lacerations of the scalp. There he was seen by Dr. Benjamin Tucker, chief district surgeon in Port Elizabeth and one of the doctors involved in the inquest into the death in detention of Steve Biko. Dr. Tucker alleged that the accused had admitted to other doctors that his injuries were self-inflicted. Dr. Tucker reported another visit to the detainee at a police station on 28 June. He found him 'uncommunicative', answering questions slowly and only in monosyllables.

In evidence a security policeman described finding blood on the walls of the detainee's cell on 19 June. He said the detainee became withdrawn and told him he had no reason to live.

Following press speculation about this unusual court appearance the chief of security police in the Eastern Cape claimed it was necessary because only a magistrate could commit a person to a mental institution. He further stated that an assessment of the accused's mental health at an early stage would expedite trial proceedings (Star 12.7.83; RDM 12.7.83, 13.7.83).

HUNGER STRIKES

For a week at the end of May 13 people detained in terms of security legislation went on a hunger strike. They were all being held at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, and were joined by seven convicted prisoners for part of the protest. Censorship laws apparently prevented a full report of the strike. Relatives of the hunger strikers forwarded reasons for their action but the prison authorities refused to confirm or deny them (CT 31.5.83).

PREVENTIVE DETENTION

The detention of three people under the preventive detention clause Section 28 of the Internal Security Act was reported in *FOCUS* 47 p.5, although the names of only two were known. The Government Gazette of 1 July named the third person as Abel Sgubhu DUBE. According to a Parliamentary question in March, DUBE was detained under this section in November 1982. No further details have been reported (Debates 30.3.83, RDM 2.7.83).

BANTUSTAN POWER STRUGGLE

The Ciskei bantustan continued to be a centre of repression. During July the security forces were reorganised at the same time as a number of high-ranking officials were detained. The general pattern of repression, however, was sustained throughout the period of structural change.

Upheaval within the bantustan government was foreshadowed by an incident at the annual congress of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) in April. One of the delegates, Caweni SOTYELELWA, was detained, reportedly for criticising the Chief of Security, Charles Sebe, brother to bantustan 'President' Lennox Sebe (*FOCUS* 46 p.8).

After an attack on 15 July on a bantustan minister's home, Lennox Sebe cut short a visit to Israel.

After an earlier trip by the two Sebe brothers to Israel in March 1982 reports of an arms agreement were denied by Israel. In May the bantustan took delivery from Israel of a seven-passenger jet aircraft. In June Lennox Sebe announced the formation of the Ciskei

Armaments Corporation (CISKOR) as a result of 'negotiations held during Ciskeian visits to Germany and Israel'. He said a small-arms factory would be opened in Dimbaza.

On his return Lennox Sebe first demoted and then detained his brother. He reorganised the security forces placing some sections under the Ministry of Justice and others under himself within the Ministry of Defence. The Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (CCIS) was disbanded. He created a State Security Council with ultimate responsibility for security matters. The paramilitary squad, Sword of the Nation, was placed under the control of Major D. Croucamp, a former Rhodesian Selous Scout. In 1981 another former Selous Scout, Lt. Reid-Daly, took command of forces in the Transkei bantustan.

At the end of July 14 detentions had been reported, including Major-General Tailfeer Minnaar, who had been an overseas undercover agent for South African Intelligence before being transferred to the Ciskei in 1979. Other detainees included members of the Sebe family and the security forces. Colonel Nonhonho, whose name was frequently mentioned in charges of assault by former detainees was among those detained. South African security police assisted the bantustan police in making detentions (DD 10.6.83; Argus 24.6.83; ST (Jhb) 26.6.83; CT 16/19/20.7.83; S Exp 17.7.83; RDM 19/25.7.83).

CISKEI DETENTIONS

Extensive police operations of the kind reported in *FOCUS* 45 p.7 were mounted again in June. On 9 June 2,500 men and aircraft from the South African Defence Force as well as the bantustan forces were involved. Roadblocks were erected and homes searched. Armed police were again on the streets on 15 June when at least one shooting incident occurred. The bantustan authorities linked the operation to the detention of an alleged ANC courier who was said to have carried arms and ammunition between Lesotho and Port Elizabeth. They also claimed to have received information about guerrilla activity in the Hogsback region.

Throughout the period the bantustan authorities continued to harass and detain its opponents, in particular members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) and Congress of South African School Students (COSAS), as reflected in the current list. Sisa NJIKELANA, SAAWU's vice-president, was detained again on 21 July (RDM 22.7.83).

On 29 July the wife of Moses TWEBE obtained an interim interdict restraining the police from assaulting her husband, who is 64 years old. He had been seen at a doctor's surgery in King William's Town suffering from injuries consistent with having been assaulted. She was concerned at the involvement of South African security police as well as bantustan forces in her husband's detention (RDM 30.7.83).

YOUTH AND STUDENTS

The education protests reported on p.3 of this issue resulted in a number of detentions. These included four pupils from the Ibongo Secondary School where children were protesting about the re-appointment of an unpopular teacher. Kenneth FIHLA, Stanley Siphosigotyane, Khalipha Edward MBALO and Lawrence MCERWA were all held under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act which allows detention for fourteen days. The Commander of the Police in Soweto described it as a preventive clause to keep them out of

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circulation'. Sigotyane was detained at his home and the other three were taken from a house in Emdeni where they were staying. Their detention led to a boycott by their fellow-pupils (S 27.7.83; S Exp 31.7.83).

Police also detained two Anglican ministers in Soweto. Rev. Joe SEOKA is based at St Hilda's Church, Senaoane, which was used for meetings by pupils and parents of Ibhongo Secondary School and other schools in the area. Also detained was Rev. Steven MONTJANE of St Andrew's Church, Pimville. He was previously detained in 1977 (S 20.7.83).

In Soweto police detained five members of the newly-formed Azanian Students Movement (AZASM) whose inaugural congress was held in Pietersburg at the beginning of July. It was addressed by the president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and former South African Students Organisation (SASO) leaders. Just two weeks later five members of the executive were detained at a squatter camp

in Soweto where they were helping to erect tents.

They were all released after three days. They told a press conference that they had been questioned about their movement and its relation to outlawed organisations (RDM 6.7.83; CT 20.7.83; GN 22.7.83).

In Cape Town Saleem BADAT, a post-graduate student at the University of Cape Town, was detained on 10 June. His detention was condemned by staff and students at the university as well as the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO), of which he was a branch vice-chairman. Badat was writing a thesis on resettlement in South Africa (RDM 11.6.83; CT 13/15.6.83).

In Port Elizabeth three members of another new youth organisation, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO), were detained in May and June. Two were former political prisoners, Nceba FAKU and Michael XHEGO. The third is Tuli BOBO, whose detention was reported in FOCUS 47 p.3. A statement from

PEYCO said, 'Continued detentions can only worsen the already explosive situation in the townships' (SASPU Focus Vol. 2 No. 2, June 1983).

RELEASES

• Trade unionists Sydney MUFAMADI and Monde MDITSHWA were released on 25 May. Linda NGODEKA was also reported released (FOCUS 47, p.3; S 30.5.83; SASPU Focus June 83).

• Four detainees Mathata TSEDU (FOCUS 42, p.5), Mampe NTSHINGWA, Richard MARUMOLA and Michael Sipho NTSHINGANE (listed as Richard) and Sipho MICHIGAN in FOCUS 41, p.9) were all released in April at the end of the trial of THLOLOE and others for which they were held as potential witnesses although they did not testify (FOCUS 47 p.4, S 21.4.83).

• Modika TSATSA was released and banned on 10 August (S 6.8.83; FOCUS 47 p.3).

DETAINEES Additional to previous FOCUS lists

Approx. date	Place	Name (age)	Details (where known)
26.5.83	Ciskei	Xola MALI (28)	Taken from home
May '83	Soweto	Dan LEHODI	Sec. 29 ISA
May '83	Soweto	Thomas SIBIYA	Sec. 29 ISA
31.5.83	Ciskei	Nkululeko WASA	Member SAAWU. NSA. Rel. 7.6.83
1.6.83	Port Elizabeth	Nceba FAKU (27)	Member PEYCO. Former pol. prisoner 1976-82
1.6.83	Port Elizabeth	Michael XHEGO	Member PEYCO. Former pol. prisoner
4.6.83	Ciskei	Oria NDINGAYE (29)	Rel. early July. Also det. Aug. '81-Nov. '82
Rep. June	Ciskei	Elliot BANGANI	COSAS. NSA. Rel. early July
10.6.83	Cape Town	Saleem BADAT (25)	AZASO at Univ. Cape Town. Sec. 29 ISA. Rel. 24.6.83
11.6.83	Messina	2 alleged ANC guerillas	Allegedly det. with arms and ammunition following illegal entry from Zimbabwe
17.6.83	Ciskei	Linda MAJIKIJELA (19)	Members COSAS. Travelling to Cape Town
17.6.83	Ciskei	Andile MVUMSE (20)	SA Air Force HQ bomb blast, May
18.6.83	Mamelodi	Anna MASEKO	Hospitalised. Charged with high treason 11.7.83
June '83	Port Elizabeth	Unnamed man	Allegedly courier of arms and ammunition
June '83	Ciskei	Alleged ANC courier	Friend of Malatji. Sec. 29 ISA
3.7.83	Soweto	Samuel RATHOLO	Sec. 50 CPA. Shot dead in custody 5.7.83
4.7.83	Soweto	Molifi Paris MALATJI	Journalist, Sec. 29 ISA
4.7.83	Soweto	George Sello SERIPE	Friend of Malatji
4.7.83	Soweto	Khasaleso CHOCHOE	Leader, Ciskei Labour Party. Hospitalised
5.7.83	Ciskei	L.F. SIYO (74)	Student teacher. Sec. 29 ISA
10.7.83	Soweto	Sydney Rapulana MOLOKANE	ANC pol. prisoner 1963-9; also det. 1977
15.7.83	Ciskei	Moses TWEBE (64)	Anglican Minister, Senaoane
18.7.83	Soweto	Rev. Joe SEOKA	Anglican Minister, Pimville
18.7.83	Soweto	Rev. Steven MONTJANE	Nat. org. AZASM. Rel. 21.7.83
18.7.83	Soweto	Pule MONAMA (28)	Gen. sec. AZASM. Rel. 21.7.83
18.7.83	Soweto	Jake HLAPOLOSA (27)	Treasurer AZASM. Rel. 21.7.83
18.7.83	Soweto	Monhla HLAHLA (20)	Publicity director AZASM. Rel. 21.7.83
18.7.83	Soweto	Gopaul NAIDOO (21)	Former AZASM interim Committee. Rel. 21.7.83
18.7.83	Soweto	Kenny MOSIME (21)	
c20.7.83	Soweto	Kenneth FIHLA	Ibhongo Secondary school pupils.
c20.7.83	Soweto	Lawrence MCERWA	Sec. 50 ISA. Rel. 3.8.83
c20.7.83	Soweto	Khalipha Edward MBALO	
c20.7.83	Soweto	Stanley Sipho SIGOTYANE	
21.7.83	Ciskei	Sisa NJIKELANA	Vice-pres. SAAWU. At roadblock
21.7.83	Ciskei	Bonile TULUMA	SAAWU organiser, E.London. At roadblock
24.7.83	Atteridgeville	Khomotso MAKOKA (26)	Members SAAWU. Due to
24.7.83	Atteridgeville	Gerald DAU (28)	appear in court 28.7.83
27.7.83	E. London	Derrick SMOKO	Organisers SAAWU. Alleged poss.
27.7.83	E. London	Shepherd MAYEKISO	and distrib. of banned lit.
1.8.83	Ciskei	Lulamine QUMANE	
1.8.83	Ciskei	Cameron MZIMANE	Members, Transport and Allied
1.8.83	Ciskei	Mr. TAMARANA	Workers' Union (TAWU)
1.8.83	Ciskei	Mr. PHEHLO	
1.8.83	Vryburg	Bhekisizwe NDLOVU	
1.8.83	Vryburg	Johnson KGASU	Members, Huhudi Civic Association fighting
1.8.83	Vryburg	Khotso KGASU	removals to Bophuthatswana
1.8.83	Vryburg	Eddie TAU	
5.8.83	Ciskei	Humphrey MAXEGWANA	
5.8.83	Ciskei	Eric MNTONGA	SAAWU officials and members
5.8.83	Ciskei	Godfrey SHIBA	
5.8.83	Ciskei	Gardner MAMBUSHE	
5.8.83	Ciskei	At least 16 people	Bus boycott
10.8.83	Durban	Ntombi MPHEKA (21)	Lamontville Rent Action Committee

ABBREVIATIONS

Organisations: AZASM, Azanian Students Movement; AZASO, Azanian Students Organisation; COSAS, Congress of South African Students; PEYCO, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress; SAAWU, South African Allied Workers Union. Laws: CPA, Criminal Procedure Act; ISA, Internal Security Act; NSA, National Security Act (Ciskei)

POLITICAL TRIALS

CONVICTIONS

ISAAC GENU

An executive member of the Kagiso Residents Organisation who was allegedly found in possession of clothes bearing the colours of the ANC, appeared in the Krugersdorp Regional Court at the beginning of July charged with being a member of the ANC.

Isaac GENU (30) also faces alternative charges of being in possession of clothes and a publication which indicated he was a member of the ANC and with taking part in the activities of the ANC. He pleaded not guilty to all the charges (*Star* 2.7.83; 5.6.83; *Star* 11.7.83).

GENU was arrested on 4 March with Sister Bernard NCUBE (see below) and two employees of the Kagiso Self-Help Centre who were charged with the possession of banned literature. The Kagiso Residents' Organisation has been fighting rent increases in the township.

Police alleged that when they raided Genu's house they found T-shirts and scarves in the ANC colours bearing such slogans as 'Viva Mandela'. A state 'expert' witness said the ANC was mobilising schoolchildren, workers and church people to promote its struggle (*S* 10.8.83).

On 9 August Genu was convicted and sentenced to eight years: four years for membership of the ANC, four years for taking part in the activities of the ANC and six months for possession of an ANC publication, 'Mayibuye'. The six-month sentence was to run concurrently with the eight years (*S* 10.8.83).

HEADLEY KING

On 1 August, Headley KING (27) was convicted in the Paarl Regional Court of taking part in the activities of the ANC. He was sentenced to 18 months, of which six months was suspended for four years on condition he was not convicted again of contravening Section 13 of the Internal Security Act (*RDM* 3.8.83).

The court found that King had received money and documents, had submitted reports to the ANC about conditions in the Cape and had 'introduced' Michael Coetzee to the ANC.

When Michael COETZEE (23), a University of Western Cape student, was called as a state witness and asked to take the oath, he swore by Oliver Tambo, the ANC president. He was described by the magistrate as an unreliable witness after denying the contents of a sworn statement made to the security police during detention. Named as an accomplice, he was subsequently charged with perjury and held as an awaiting trial prisoner.

Another person called as a state witness and named as an accomplice, Zelda HOLTZMAN (21), continued to be held under section 31 of the Internal Security Act (detention of witnesses) (*SASPU Focus* 2/1, June 83; see *FOCUS* 46 p. 9, 47 p.5).

MOSES LANGA

A Soweto man was sentenced to an effective three years imprisonment for possession of a pistol 'with intent to commit acts of terrorism'.

Moses LANGA (38) was sentenced in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 13 July to the minimum five year prison sentence under the Terrorism Act. Two years of the sentence were conditionally suspended for five years. He was

acquitted on a further charge of gathering information for the ANC.

LANGA, who pleaded not guilty, admitted receiving the pistol from visitors from outside South Africa, but had no intention of using the gun and had sold it within four hours of receiving it (*RDM/S* 14.7.83).

MOKABA, MAAKE AND NHLAPO

The case of Peter Ramoshwane MOKABA (24), Jerome Joseph MAAKE (20) and Portia NHLAPO (24), in which they faced 32 charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts, was concluded in the Pietersburg Regional Court in early August (see *FOCUS* 47 p.5).

In a trial within a trial details were given of alleged police mistreatment used to force the accused to make statements. Mokaba claimed that he was handcuffed, chained and made to stand for several nights without sleep. At one stage his head was hit against a wall and he was denied food. The allegations of assault were however dismissed by the magistrate (*RDM* 13.7.83).

In August MOKABA and MAAKE were convicted while NHLAPO was acquitted. Mokaba was found guilty on five counts including membership of the ANC, receiving military training and setting up a dead letter box. Maake was convicted on eight counts including possessing a hand grenade and receiving military training. They were due to be sentenced on 12 August (*RDM* 6.8.83).

MOLOI AND MASHEGO

Two people were convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 10 August on charges connected with possessing and playing an ANC tape recording.

Peter Thabo MOLOI (29) and Jacob MASHEGO (24) appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court at the beginning of July. It was alleged that they played a recording of ANC music in a Soweto hotel in November last year. The two faced an alternate charge of advocating or encouraging the aims and objects of the ANC.

Giving evidence, a security policeman admitted adding 19 lines onto a transcript of the tape. He said he could not explain the discrepancies as he had transcribed the tape six months earlier (*RDM* 25.5.83; *RDM/S* 5.7.83; *Star* 11.7.83; *S* 11.8.83).

Mashego was sentenced to five years (two suspended) for furthering the aims of the ANC plus an additional year, to run concurrently, for possessing a tape of a song by Harry Belafonte and Miriam Makeba said to promote the aims of the organisation. Moloi was sentenced to two years (one suspended) for possession of a tape cassette containing a message by Oliver Tambo, ANC president.

MALISELA MOLOISE

The trial of Malisela MOLOISE is reported on p.1 of this issue.

KARABO MOTLANA

The son of Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Karabo MOTLANA (22) has fled from South Africa to Botswana where he has applied for asylum.

Motlana failed to appear in court on 26 May to answer charges of furthering the aims of the ANC and for possessing banned literature. A warrant for his arrest was issued when he failed to appear in court (*Star* 27.5.83; *BBC* 22.7.83; see *FOCUS* 46 p.7).

MOTLHABAKWE AND OTHERS

Five people from Galeshewe, Kimberley, were found guilty of 'terrorism' in the Kimberley Regional Court on 13 July and sentenced to between 10 and 13 years imprisonment. All were found guilty on a first charge under the Terrorism Act, and four were convicted on a second charge under the same Act. The magistrate ruled that three years of the sentences should run concurrently with the first charge.

Neville Sello MOTLHABAKWE (21) was sentenced to eight years for each of the charges; an effective 13 year sentence. Nello HLATSWAYO (22) was given eight years for the first charge and five for the second, an effective ten years. Ben FANI (23) was sentenced to ten years on the first charge. Johannes KERS (21) was given seven years for each charge, an effective 11 years. Eugene MOKGOASI (22) received seven years for the first charge and eight years for the second, an effective 12 years.

The trial arose out of events connected with the school boycott in Kimberley in September 1980. The police claimed that pupils had 'gone on the rampage' through a white residential area after a meeting in a community centre. The pupils claimed that the damage to property had occurred after police had used teargas and baton-charged them (*FOCUS* 35 p.4; *S* 7/13.7.83; *Star* 14.7.83; see *FOCUS* 40 p.4, 4 p.5).

MPETHA AND 17 OTHERS

In the previous issue of *FOCUS* it was reported that judgement in the trial of Oscar MPETHA (74) and 17 others was given on 6 June in the Cape Supreme Court and that sentence was pending.

Sentence was subsequently passed on 28 June. Mpetha was sentenced to the mandatory minimum five year prison term under the Terrorism Act. Ten others were also sentenced to prison terms. Their names and sentences are: Christopher SPARANYI - effective seven years (five for 'terrorism', seven for murder); Morgan MAKUBALA - effective 15 years (15 years for each of two counts of murder, five years for 'terrorism'); Aaron TSHANGAMA - effective 15 years (15 years for each of two counts of murder); Peter KUBE - effective 18 years (18 years for each of two counts of murder, five years for 'terrorism'); Aaron SABUWA - effective 12 years for 'terrorism'; Johannes HLAPO - effective 20 years (20 years for each of two counts of murder, five years for 'terrorism'); Jeffrey BAARDMAN - effective 10 years (10 years for murder, five years for 'terrorism'); Vuyisile DIBA - effective 15 years (15 years for murder, five years for 'terrorism'); Richard MAPONDO - effective 20 years (20 years for each of two counts of murder, five years for 'terrorism'); Philip NYONGWANA - effective 10 years (10 years for each of two counts of

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murder, five years for 'terrorism'). Seven of the 18 were acquitted on all charges because of lack of evidence. They are: Peter HENDRICKS, Welile MAZOTANA, Vusumzi MBETHA, Fumanekile BOOI, Vuyisile MZAZA, Makawa JABAVU and Joseph PHIKE.

Booi was re-arrested shortly after his release in connection with a charge of public violence. The arrest relates to incidents which took place in Graaff Reinet in May 1980 (CT 9.6.83).

The trial, which began in March 1981, arose out of incidents near Crossroads, Cape, in August 1980 during the bus boycotts. Two motorists were killed in the unrest: their cars were overturned and set alight at a barricade.

On 29 June Mpetha was granted leave to appeal against his sentence and was released on

compassionate bail of R1. Leave to appeal against their five year sentences under the Terrorism Act was also granted to Sparany, Makubala, Kube, Sabuwa, Hlapo, Baardman, Diba, Mapondo and Nyongwana. They were not released on bail, however (CT/S/Star 29.6.83; CT 30.6.83; SASPU Focus 2/2, June 83; See previous issues of FOCUS).

VUMANKOSI NTIKINCA

Vumankosi Lawrence NTIKINCA (25) was sentenced to an effective four year jail term in the Umtata Supreme Court on 17 June.

He was found guilty on the main charge of having taken part in the activities of the Pan Africanist Congress, and the alternative charge of possession of a firearm and ammunition

without a license. Leave to appeal was granted (DD 18.6.83; see FOCUS 45 p.5, 46 p.6).

THEMBILE PHANTSIE

The trial of Thembile John PHANTSIE was not reported in the South African press. On a list published on 1 July of people who may not be quoted under the Internal Security Act, appeared the name of PHANTSIE. It states that he had contravened Section 13(1)(a)(ii) of the Internal Security Act, which concerns being in possession of or displaying anything indicating membership of or association with organisations declared illegal.

There are no details of charges, date of sentence or length of sentence (RDM 2.7.83).

CONTINUING TRIALS

VRONDA BANDA

An alleged member of the ANC, Vronda Zebulon BANDA (25) has pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason and participation in 'terrorist' activities.

Banda appeared in court on about 14 June. The charges against him include planning acts of violence against police stations and other facilities. No other details are known.

Banda was arrested in January (Int. Herald Tribune 15.6.83; see FOCUS 45 p.3).

DUNA AND OTHERS

The trial of William Mabone DUNA (31), Jeffrey Bayi KEYE (52), Dumisani Bizette MANINJWA (31) and Luyanda Patrick MAYEKISO (23) continues in the Ciskei Supreme Court.

In the previous issue of FOCUS details of allegations of police torture were given. When the trial resumed on 23 May several former detainees gave further details of torture in a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of confession statements. Among the methods they mentioned as used by the police to extract confessions were assault, wet bags pulled over heads to hinder breathing, electric shocks, throttling, and suspension between two tables by a stick between handcuffed legs and arms. One detainee, Siseko VANYAZA (see FOCUS 40 p.3), said he was tortured for two weeks and had suffered an epileptic fit as a result. The security policemen involved denied the allegations.

The four accused went on hunger strike on 22 May. Keye collapsed in prison and was admitted to hospital. The others were kept in solitary confinement.

The four have pleaded not guilty to charges of participating in 'terrorist' activities, being

members of the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training and being in possession of banned publications.

On 2 August the judge ruled their pre-trial statements admissible (DD 24/25/26.5.83, 2/3/4/8/10.6.83; Cit 10.6.83; see FOCUS 47 p.5).

DIETER AND RUTH GERHARDT

Commodore Dieter GERHARDT (47) and Ruth GERHARDT (41) appeared in the Pretoria Magistrates Court on 16 June in connection with allegations of high treason. The couple will stand trial in the Cape Town Supreme Court on 5 September. They were not asked to plead and no formal charges were read out, although the magistrate informed them that the Attorney-General had decided that they would be charged with high treason. They were not granted bail and were remanded in custody.

The former Simonstown Naval Base Commander and his wife are alleged to have passed military secrets to the Soviet Union (FOCUS 45 p.3; Star 17/20.6.83).

KWADI, MOILWA and TSELE

Amanda KWADI, an executive member of the Federation of South African Women, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on 5 August charged with participating in the activities of the ANC. Kwadi was charged with George MOILWA (35), an executive member of the Mhlabeng Civic Association and Samuel TSELE (31) of Krugersdorp. The case was adjourned to 31 August. Kwadi has been detained a number of times previously. She played a major part in organising a week of events to commemorate South African Women's Day on 9 August (RDM 6.8.83).

SIPHIWE MAKHATINI

Secrecy surrounded the trial of Siphiwe MAKHATINI (26) which began in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in August 1982. Makhatini pleaded not guilty to charges including receiving military training and causing three explosions in the Durban area during 1982. He pleaded guilty to illegally possessing a firearm and ammunition.

The press and public were totally excluded from the court while three state witnesses gave their evidence *in camera*. On 4 August the judge hearing the case authorised the release of a summary of this evidence. Makhatini was alleged to have undergone training in Tanzania. It is alleged that he and an accomplice took up residence in a township outside Durban in April 1982, and amongst other explosions caused a bomb blast in Pinetown in May 1982 (FOCUS 47 p.5; RDM 5.8.83).

SISTER BERNARD NCUBE

Sister Bernard NCUBE, charged in the Krugersdorp Regional Court with promoting the aims of the ANC and possession of banned literature, appeared again on 6 May when the case was remanded to 9 June for trial. Since a brief appearance on 9 June, no further information has been available (FOCUS 46 p.7; CT 7.5.83; DD 11.6.83).

ALBERTINA SISULU

Albertina SISULU appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 8 August charged with participating in the activities of the ANC while she was banned. Sisulu and Thami MALI (25) were charged under the old Suppression of Communism Act (1950). They were remanded in custody to appear on 17 August (see BANS; RDM/S 9.8.83).

OTHER TRIALS

YOUTHS AND STUDENTS

- The 'Fort Hare Trial' of 17 students and a field worker of the Border Council of Churches, Alfred METELE, was concluded in the Zwisitsha Regional Court at the beginning of July. The 18 were sentenced to 200 days imprisonment, alternatively a fine of R400 each, when they were found guilty on charges of public violence.

The accused were charged following the stoning of the Ciskei 'President's' motorcade at the graduation ceremony at the University on 1 May last year. They have all appealed against their conviction (S 6/7.7.83).

- Twenty-two Fort Hare University students appeared in the Alice Magistrates Court on 13 June charged with public violence. The

students were arrested following a demonstration and a one-day boycott of classes in protest at the hanging of three ANC guerrillas (Mogorane, Mosololi and Motaung) (see p.1 of this issue).

Charges against eight of the students were later dropped and the other 14 were released on R100 bail each (DD 15/22.6.83).

- Four University of the North students appeared in the Mankweng Magistrates Court in early June on charges of burning down the campus bookshop in June last year.

One of the four, Eric HLABAHLABA (25), failed to appear and a warrant for his arrest was issued. The other four are Ian PETJE (21), Mangalam HLONGWANE (23), Gerson KQOBE (23) and Rhuleni MAHLABA (22). The case was due to resume on 29 July (RDM 30.3.83; 5/3.6.83).

- Three University of the North students

appeared in the Mankweng Magistrates Court on 14 July on charges of public violence.

The three are Rose Maphuti LEPHONDO (21), Josephine RAMUSHU (20) and Jacob RAFAPA (23). The charges against them arose from an incident at the University on 16 June 1982. All three were allowed bail of R100 each and the case was postponed to 31 August (S 15.7.83).

MISCELLANEOUS

- A field worker of the Dependents Conference has been found not guilty on two counts of possession of banned literature.

Mzwandile MSOKI (40) was acquitted in the Zwisitsha Regional Court on 30 June. The State failed to prove that the documents were in contravention of the Ciskei National Security Act. Msoki was detained on 30 December last year (DD 29/30.6.83).

namibia

PRESS SILENCED CENSORSHIP TAKES EFFECT

Efforts by the South African authorities to prevent any independent reporting of the war in Namibia have been stepped up, with actions taken or threatened against several newspapers. Since the introduction of new censorship regulations at the end of February 1983, there has been virtually no news about the activities of SWAPO's armed wing or the South African Defence Force (SADF), apart from official army news briefings (see *FOCUS* 46 p.1)

JOURNALIST QUESTIONED

The political correspondent of the *Windhoek Observer*, Gwen Lister, was facing charges under the South African *Customs and Excise Act*, the *Publications Act* and the *Internal Security Act* in connection with a number of documents found in her possession. Ms Lister had been attending a United Nations Conference in Support of the Struggle of the People of Namibia, held in Paris from 25 to 29 April, as a reporter for the *Windhoek Observer*. On her return, she was detained by security police and customs officials at Jan Smuts airport, Johannesburg, for several hours. The documents she had brought back from the Conference were official UN publications and other papers freely available to conference delegates, including an IDAF publication, *Apartheid's Army in Namibia*. Most of the documents were confiscated though some were later returned to her. Subsequent to her return to Windhoek, a

number of the documents were officially banned.

In June, Ms Lister was summoned to the headquarters of the security police in Windhoek and warned that charges were pending against her. She was asked whether she wished to make a statement, and declined. The case was being investigated by the Attorney General of the Transvaal, who was to decide whether or not to press charges (*WO* 28.5.83, 18.6.83).

NEWSPAPER RAIDED

The offices of the *Windhoek Observer* were raided by a police squad from the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) on 20 May, and photographic material seized after a thorough search of the premises. According to the *Windhoek Observer*, four pictures showing scenes of mass graves were taken by the police. Three were due to have been published by the newspaper in its weekend edition the following day.

The raid followed the publication by the *Windhoek Observer* on 14 May of a colour photograph showing blood being washed away with a broom — the caption stated that it was a 'scene of incidents taking place in our country and of human blood being washed away'. The paper stated that it had concluded its own investigation into what was happening, and promised that 'the full horror will be published' as soon as the legal aspects had been cleared. Another picture in the same edition showed dead bodies being buried in a mass grave (*WO* 14.5.83).

Reporting the police raid, the *Windhoek Observer* disclosed that it had over a period of

three years been engaged in trying to obtain material on a number of mass graves, one containing 13 people, another 11 people, and a third, eight people. It had had the assistance of several 'sources', and a reporter had been taken to a fresh grave in the border area between the Etosha Pan and the Ovambo region.

The editor of the *Windhoek Observer* was given notice by the police that he must reveal the 'sources' who gave him the pictures, by the end of June. According to the head of CID in Namibia, the matter was being investigated and a file would eventually be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision.

Further criminal charges under the Police Act, involving classified material on prisons, were also pending against the editor of the *Windhoek Observer* (*WO* 21.5.83, 28.5.83, *WA* 20.5.83).

CHARGES PENDING

Several South African newspapers were warned by officers of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of the South African Police that they might face charges under Section 27(b) of the Police Act. The police were investigating charges in connection with statements made by Archbishop Denis Hurley about atrocities committed by the South African security forces in Namibia. The *Rand Daily Mail*, the *Sowetan*, the *Citizen*, *Die Burger* and the South African Press Association all reported comments made by Archbishop Hurley at a press conference in Pretoria.

Section 27(b) of the Police Act makes it
continued on p.1

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR CHALLENGES SA LAWS

A young Namibian called up for military service has challenged the right of the South African authorities to draft black Namibian men into the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF). After all attempts to gain exemption from military duty had failed, Erick Binga (20) applied for a declaratory order before the Judge President to have his call-up orders declared invalid. He cited the Administrator-General, the South African Minister of Defence, and the Military Exemption Board as respondents (*WA* 8.6.83).

Compulsory military service for all Namibian men was introduced in 1980, though those resident in the northern regions of Ovambo, Kavango and Caprivi were initially exempted, and have tended not to be called up. There were widespread protests when conscription was introduced and thousands of young Namibian men fled across the border into Angola (*FOCUS* 33 p.6, 34 p.4).

Conscripts who identified themselves as SWAPO supporters were reported to have been victimised during their training period. In a policy statement the Officer Commanding SWATF announced in July 1981 that SWAPO

supporters would be treated as conscientious objectors and employed in a non-fighting capacity (*FOCUS* 36 p.3).

Binga's case, the first to be taken to court, has been described by legal experts in Namibia as 'historic' and of 'fundamental importance for the country' as it challenges the very basis of South Africa's administration of Namibia (*CT* 6.6.83).

In papers filed by Binga's attorneys in the Windhoek Supreme Court, he stated that he had joined SWAPO in June 1977, and handed in his SWAPO membership card. He asserted that the objectives of the SADF and the SWATF were exactly the same, and that laws passed by South Africa regarding Namibia were essentially in its own interests and not in the interests of the people of Namibia.

'It is impossible for me to identify myself with the conflict waged against SWAPO', he stated. He had no ties now or in the past with South Africa. He described South Africa's imposition of laws on Namibia as a completely illegitimate exercise of power. The majority of his countrymen had no say in the legislation made by South Africa and applicable in Namibia, he said. Yet that legislation included the law which now rendered him eligible for military service for South Africa. The application was of great importance to him, since he would be liable for arrest and detention on the

basis of the very laws he now sought to attack.

Binga's application was supported by his father, Edward Binga, in a sworn statement. He said his son had been called up in November 1982, to serve from 10 January 1983 to 1 January 1985. He was due to join the second South African Infantry Battalion and undergo military training in Walvis Bay.

Binga snr. underlined his own support for SWAPO, which was 'the only organisation fighting for the true liberation of the country'. As black Namibian, he was convinced that the conflict between the South African armed forces and SWAPO's military wing was the result of the unfair treatment of his people under South African laws. Many Namibians have left the country and were now engaged in the armed liberation struggle against South Africa. He said that his older son, Ismail Hangwe Binga, had left Namibia in 1978 and 'I suspect that he is now a member of the military wing of SWAPO'. It was unacceptable to him that there should be a conflict against his own brother. He described himself as a believer in 'the justice of SWAPO's struggle'.

The case was reported to have been postponed indefinitely. Another report said it was expected to come before the Windhoek Supreme Court early in 1984 (*WO* 4.6.83; *WA* 8.6.83; *CT* 6.6.83).

LABOUR CONDITIONS

UNEMPLOYMENT

Retrenchment programmes adopted by most of the big private sector employers in Namibia have led to dwindling job opportunities with little prospect of any decrease in the unemployment rate among black workers.

By the end of 1982, some experts were putting the total unemployment figure in the territory at about 75,000, with the underemployed figure at a further 50,000. Assuming an average dependency rate of three persons per employee, these statistics, if correct, suggest that as many as 500,000 people, or nearly half of Namibia's population, are suffering from the effects of unemployment (WA 19.10.82).

By October 1982 there had already been more than 2,000 retrenchments, affecting all grades of skilled and unskilled workers, in construction-related firms. Most of the main mining, industrial and trading companies had embarked on policies of selective retrenchment, leaving vacancies unfilled, or of cutting back on overtime and related labour costs. In the agricultural sector, for which statistics are very rarely available, the number of workers displaced by the drought and depressed export market was estimated to run into 'thousands'. The only notable exceptions to the general pattern of cut-backs and lay-offs were in the banking sector and in some larger commercial and broadly-based groups (WA 19.10.82).

In April 1983, the director of the SWA Bureau for Development Coordination and Statistics was reported to have told a conference in Cape Town that five per cent of Namibia's population was unemployed — i.e. 55,000 people. (The 1981 official census indicated a total population of 1,100,000) (BBC 26.4.83).

Specific examples of large employers who have retrenched include Rössing Uranium (not replacing the 40–50 employees who normally leave each month, amounting to up to 600 job losses in the course of the year to July 1983) and Tsumeb Corporation (250 vacancies in July 1982 out of a total labour force of 7,000, none of which were to be filled) (WO 3.7.82, 17.7.82).

Businesses which increased their staffing levels during 1982 included the Olthaver & List group (involved in a wide range of activities including property, farming, white fish, food manufacture and the hotel trade) and Namibia's two leading banks, Barclays and Standard.

At Barclays, the total staff contingent in Namibia rose from 440 in mid-1978 to 659 at the end of 1982. The proportion of black workers employed rose to 30 per cent of the workforce during the period, according to the

General Manager. Standard Bank anticipated a continuing increase in recruitment during 1983, focussed on a number of banking growth points such as Windhoek, Tsumeb and Swakopmund (WA 19.10.82).

The general picture nevertheless remains one of rising unemployment with consequent social disruption and hardship. According to the *Windhoek Observer* unemployment, manifest in the 'horde of young black men without work... wandering aimlessly through our streets', has become 'problem number one, about which nothing is being done, other than to barricade shop windows, to put fierce dogs onto premises to prowling around at night and to place armed guards around such places' (WO 22.1.83).

SOCIAL SECURITY

Black workers who are laid off from their jobs or fall victim to retrenchment programmes (such as migrant workers who find that their contracts cannot be renewed) are likely to have no other source of income and no alternative jobs to go to. Black workers receive no severance pay or pension money, and are likely to forfeit rights to hostel or other accommodation in the urban areas, besides.

A spokesman for the Civic Affairs and Manpower department confirmed at the beginning of 1983 that employees were not entitled to any compensation or redundancy pay on being discharged, although outstanding holiday money would have to be paid. He added that employers had the right to dismiss workers if the company had financial problems or if there was a decrease in production (WO 12.2.83).

Workers who have been ill or who have had to spend some time in hospitals or clinics have no job security and may well find themselves fired, despite possessing doctors' certificates. A black employee of the state water and electricity corporation SWAWEC, for example, found his job filled when he returned from three months' hospital treatment for tuberculosis. He had been a SWAWEC employee for four years. He was eventually given all the back pay due to him but told that the firm could not reemploy him (WO 29.1.83).

STRIKES AND DISPUTES

Three strikes by black workers in Namibia were reported during the first half of 1983.

At the Table Top fish processing factory in Walvis Bay, half the factory's female workforce of 150 went on strike on 28 December 1982,

over a holiday pay dispute. Eighty women workers walked out when the management failed to satisfactorily explain why they had not been paid the recognised double rates for working on 16 December, a public holiday.

The management declined to negotiate with the workers and urged them to form a committee, which they did. Negotiations between the committee and management were successful in securing the outstanding pay, and no actions were taken against the workers involved in the strike (WA 12.1.83).

In April 1983, the entire 660-strong workforce at the Tsumeb Corporation's Otjihase Mine staged a 40 hour walkout in protest at a new work regulation. The strike was initiated by 100 mechanical equipment operators, who were followed the next day by the rest of the labour force.

Following negotiations with the strikers, the management announced that it could not accede to their demands but that detailed investigations would be initiated. All workers who failed to return to work within a period of 30 days would be considered to have resigned, and arrangements would be made to pay them off inclusive of the period during which negotiations were being concluded (WA 22.4.83).

A fleet of police vehicles was sent from Windhoek and stood by in the mining compound while negotiations were in progress. According to the general manager of Tsumeb, they did not intervene and said that they could only do so in the event of violence being threatened (WO 23.4.83).

The Tsumeb dispute was described by a local newspaper as 'the biggest single strike for a long time', and one which 'once again illustrated the unity in the ranks of South West Africa's mine labour task force' (WO *ibid*).

A month later, workers at Rössing Uranium reported that 84 truck drivers at the mine's open pit had staged a wildcat strike for the duration of one eight hour shift. The action had been prompted by dissatisfaction with a supervisor.

The Rössing management, however, denied that the strike had even taken place and claimed that the dispute had been settled by agreement through the mine's industrial relations system (WA 11/16.5.83).

ARRESTS FOR VAGRANCY

Increased unemployment has prompted the authorities to take steps to remove those without work from the streets and public places.

Despite the supposed abolition of the pass laws in Namibia, substantial numbers of people continue to be arrested by the police in Windhoek and other urban areas, as 'vagrants', 'illegal lodgers' or for illegal entry to premises. Many of those picked up are unemployed.

The police claim that their raids — which they tend to mount in the middle of the night — have enabled them to solve a number of criminal cases on their files (WO 12.3.83; WA 18.7.83). They can also serve as a pretext for apprehending suspected SWAPO sympathisers.

Over a weekend in July, for example, over 200 people described as 'unemployed blacks' were picked up by police in Windhoek during 'an anti-crime and anti-urban terrorism swoop' (WA 18.7.83).

Seventy five people were arrested on 16 July and 238 (*sic* — the figures appear to conflict with the total reported) on 15 July. Most were released once they had 'proved they were employed', according to a police spokesman (WA *ibid*).

CHARGES PENDING

continued from p.8

illegal to publish any statement 'regarding the SAP or any part of the force, or any member of the force' in relation to the performance of their functions without having reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true (CT 1.7.83; WA 4.7.83).

GERMAN CITIZEN FINED

While the media are clearly the main target of police action to prevent the publication of damaging reports, any person found to speak of incidents relating to South Africa's illegal military presence in Namibia is likely to find him or herself under attack.

A West German citizen, resident in Namibia for two years, was found guilty in June in the Windhoek Magistrates Court of spreading

rumours about the Defence Force. Hans Henning Schreiber (24) was sentenced to a R100 fine or 10 days imprisonment under Section 118 of the South African Defence Act.

Schreiber first appeared in court on 15 April on charges that he had harmed the SA External Relations Department and alarmed members of the public with comments made in Windhoek about activities of the SADF. The State also alleged that Schreiber had contravened the Official Secrets Act by making use of information gained through a government contract in the 'operational area'. Schreiber worked for a company dealing in photographic material. The state claimed that Schreiber had used information 'to the disadvantage of South Africa' (WA 28.6.83).

TOWNSHIP CONDITIONS

A survey of living conditions in Khomasdal, a suburb of Windhoek occupied mainly by Coloured people, has revealed widespread deprivation and poverty among the inhabitants.

The report, published by the Department of Planning of the Municipality of Windhoek, which conducted the survey in 1982, points to a desperate housing shortage, high unemployment and deteriorating health and hygiene in the community.

According to the survey, approximately 30,000 Coloured people (South Africa's term for people of 'mixed race') live in Khomasdal. The research team found severe overcrowding in the rented housing sector; on average, 13 people occupied a rented house. Up to 35 people were found to be living in a number of houses. Those who could not find room inside the houses slept in cars or outside in the yard. Living conditions in the private sector were slightly better: an average of 7 people occupied each privately owned unit.

It was found that 16 per cent of the economically active population were unemployed. The remainder was mainly employed in the building industry and in government insti-

tutions. 13 per cent worked in the private sector outside the building industry.

The report noted that employment in the building industry was subject to a high degree of fluctuation, leading to periods of great instability for those employed in it. The average income per household was estimated at between R300 and R400 per month with 29.5 per cent earning less than R300.

The household subsistence level (the minimum income required for daily life) for a Coloured family in Windhoek, of which Khomasdal is a part, was given in September 1982 as R325 per month (*The Namibian Review*, No 28, April-June 1983, p.36).

Windhoek is now the second most expensive city in South Africa and Namibia, with Cape Town in the first place.

In July 1983, following the approval of the capital's 1983-84 budget by the Windhoek City Council, water rates for residents of the black townships of Katutura and Khomasdal were increased from 38 to 53 cents per kilolitre. Basic monthly water tariffs tripled in addition.

Basic sewage charges, bus fares, bread prices, hostel and rubbish removal tariffs have all been increased in 1982-83 (*WA 31.1.83, 3/26.5.83*).

The municipal survey found that many people were forced to supplement their income, and some gained their entire income, by engaging in all kinds of 'informal' activities, such

as different types of home industries, welding motor mechanics and woodwork.

Health conditions in Khomasdal were strongly influenced by other socio-economic factors, according to the survey. Hygienic conditions deteriorated noticeably where houses were overcrowded. This in turn caused general weakening of health, making people prone to diseases such as tuberculosis. Many children were found to be suffering from influenza and chronic chest diseases.

The shortage of facilities for entertainment, recreation or relaxation, combined with the factors of poverty, unemployment and overcrowding, had led to a serious problem of alcoholism among the community, which affected both men and women as well as children. It was found that about 45 per cent of the community could be regarded as total or 'weekend' alcoholics.

The survey identified the housing shortage as one of the main causes of the poor conditions in Khomasdal, and recommended a strategy which would eradicate this within the shortest possible time (*The Namibian Review*, No 27, Jan-March 1983, pp 16-19).

While the survey dealt with one particular black residential area in Namibia, its findings would seem to apply to the majority of the black population, both in urban and rural areas

PIGSTY DWELLINGS FOR BLACK WORKERS

Black workers and their families in Okahandja are paying R20 a month rental for hovels in converted pigsties, in some of the most squalid and poverty-stricken squatter camps in Namibia.

Investigations conducted by the local press have revealed that the great majority of residents in at least two camps are full-time employees of the public sector, several of them of many years standing, for whom permanent and legal accommodation is simply not available. It has also been made clear that the squatter camps themselves are the direct consequence of official legislation and administrative policies.

Squatter camps, always a feature of Namibia's black townships, have expanded rapidly in recent years due to the war and rising unemployment. Many people from the north of Namibia have fled to the towns to escape the dangers of landmines, curfews and of being caught in crossfire. As political and economic uncertainties have prompted white farmers to leave the land, hundreds of black agricultural workers have found themselves laid off and without alternative employment. Closures and retrenchment in the mining industry and other sectors have accelerated the drift to the squatter camps in the urban areas.

Okahandja, on the main road leading north from Windhoek to the Ovambo region, contains some of the most notorious squatter settlements in the country. Two camps in particular, on the north and south of the town respectively, each housed about 1,000 squatters in March 1983, with new hovels being added every day.

Conditions in both camps were described at this time as 'appalling'. Between seven and 12 people were living in each hovel. Many of the squatters, men, women and children, were

living in pigsties crudely covered with corrugated iron sheeting as roofs, while pigs continued to be housed in other sties further along the same sections. Health regulations were non-existent, with no toilet facilities or arrangements for rubbish removal. Rubbish lay strewn among the hovels, some of which adjoined goat kraals and chicken runs.

At one camp there were only four water taps for 150 dwelling units containing 1,000 squatters; at the other camp there was no fresh water at all. Drinking water here was pumped from a reservoir covered with a thick layer of slime. Both camps were characterised by drunkenness and prostitution (*WA 8.3.83*).

A medical expert who visited one of the two camps commented that it was 'unbelievable that a place like this exists in SWA. It makes my hair stand on end when I think how rapidly an epidemic could be started' (*WA 28.3.83*).

Further inquiries revealed that the camp on the south of the town, built on land owned by a well-known public figure and former President of the SWA Agricultural Union, Andries Pretorius, was the direct consequence of actions taken by the Department of Water Affairs in Okahandja. The residents had been obliged to become squatters because neither the Department nor the municipal authorities provided any alternative, legal housing.

The Department of Water Affairs had 675 Ovambo workers on its payroll, but only 72 of them had been provided with housing. White and Coloured employees, by comparison, appeared to be well cared for.

Despite the fact that many of the Ovambo workers had been employed by Water Affairs for many years, most were expected to find their own accommodation. The Department gave tacit recognition to the inevitability of their squatter status by having its own recognised squatter camp until December 1981.

In December 1981, the owner of the land at that time occupied by the Water Affairs squatters told the Department that he wanted

the site vacated for vegetable growing. Forty squatter families were given notices to quit by the Department and their homes were bulldozed. No alternative housing was provided by the Department or anyone else, and the squatters went to live on the land owned by Pretorius, where he charged them R10 a month rental. In March 1983, 281 of the 1,000 or so squatters at this camp — almost all the breadwinners — were found to be Water Affairs employees (*WA 28/31.3.83*).

At the end of March 1983, steps were taken by the Department of National Health to evict the squatters from Pretorius's property. The landowner himself, who appeared relatively sympathetic towards the families' plight, approached both the Department of Water Affairs and the Okahandja municipality for advice and assistance. Press reports suggested that he received none whatsoever, and was indeed ordered by the town clerk to leave the latter's office (*WA 28.3.83*).

Pretorius remarked that a bulldozer would be no solution. 'Any inhuman moves will get the backs up of these people and there will be substantial antagonism against the authorities', he said (*ibid*).

Such antagonism later appeared to have been aggravated by a report that residents of the camp had been refused registration as workers and workseekers by the Labour Recruitment Board precisely because they were squatters. In clear acknowledgement of the vicious circle of legislative and administrative bureaucracy that entraps black people in this predicament, the manager of Nau-Ais township confirmed that it was highly unlikely that the squatters would be registered as workers. 'You must have housing to get a job', he maintained. He added that the labour office gave preference to applicants for work permits who were already registered tenants in the township, and that 'we are not going to allow squatters to work here' (*WA 30.5.83*).

JOHANNES KAKUVA: DIED UNDER TORTURE

Johannes Kakuva, a stock farmer from the Kaoko region who disappeared in August 1980, was severely assaulted before dying in the custody of the security police. A ruling to this effect was handed down by the Windhoek Supreme Court in mid-June 1983. It was the first time that a Namibian court found that a political detainee died while in detention. The application by Uaringa Kakuva, the wife of the deceased and Wilpard Kakuva, his brother, for a presumption of death of their relative was upheld (*FOCUS 47 pp.10-11; Star 20.6.83*).

In his summing up, Justice Mouton rejected claims by several security policemen that Kakuva had disappeared while acting as a spy for the security forces. He found the evidence of Captain King, a security police officer charged with interrogating the detainees and a key witness for the respondents in the case, 'unsatisfactory'.

He accepted the testimony of seven men detained at the same time as Kakuva, that they had been severely assaulted by the security

police. He found that the scars on the buttocks of the former detainees were consistent with having been beaten. Some of the detainees had been locked up in a toilet which the judge said was 'typical' of the way the security police investigated the case.

Justice Mouton also criticised the blind-folding of the detainees which he said was designed to 'disorientate them' (*WA 15.6.83; WO 18.6.83*).

The court ordered that the Administrator-General and the Minister of Police, the first and second respondents in the case, should pay costs, including those of the Kakuva family's second advocate (*Star 20.6.83*).

The case is likely to have further repercussions, following an appeal lodged by the respondents in early July 1983, which is to be heard before a full bench of the Namibian High Court and, if it fails, will be taken to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein, South Africa (*WO 9.7.83*).

A week later, Kakuva's relatives filed a

cross-appeal to get an increase in the payment of costs awarded to them. The total legal cost of the trial is thought to amount to between R250,000 and R300,000.

The Kakuvas also claimed in their cross-appeal, among other things, that Justice Mouton erred in exempting from blame the former Chief of the Security Police in Windhoek, who failed in his duty to institute a thorough and impartial investigation into the disappearance of Johannes Kakuva. Such an investigation would have prevented the costly litigation (*WO 16.7.83; WA 15.7.83*).

KOEVOET ACCUSED

Criminal proceedings are to be brought against four members of the special police counter-insurgency unit Koevoet in connection with the death of Kadumu Katanga, who died shortly after being arrested by police in Kavango on 18 November 1982.

An inquest court will hear oral evidence on the findings of a post-mortem, conducted in Pretoria, on the body of Jona Hamukwaya, who died on the same day as Katanga, also after having been detained by Koevoet. The magistrate is to decide whether anyone is liable for the death of Hamukwaya, and forward the ruling to the Attorney-General in Windhoek for review.

No dates had been fixed for the hearing by the end of July (*WA 15.6.83, 4.7.83*).

LEAVE REFUSED

Ida JIMMY, who is serving a seven year prison term on political charges, was refused permission to attend the burial of her youngest child, who died at the end of May 1983. Jimmy was pregnant at the time of her trial in October 1980 and gave birth to a baby boy, Richard, while in Windhoek Central Prison in December 1980 (*FOCUS 33 p.9*). The child remained with her until he was one year old, and was subsequently cared for by her mother in Luderitz.

At the news of the death of the child, Jimmy's lawyers requested that she be allowed to leave prison for a short period to be present at the funeral. The prison authorities refused the request (*WO 11.6.83*).

RELEASES

Five people, arrested in the Kavango region in March 1983, are reported to have been released. They are Frans KATURA, Jona OIVA, Amos SIRONGO, Elia NGHILUNDILUA and Asser LIHONGO. Lihongo was briefly detained in November 1982 (*FOCUS 44 p.2, 46 p.3; Amnesty International, 15.6.83*).

STATE COUNCIL PROCLAIMED

The creation of a State Council, established by Proclamation of the Administrator-General on 18 July 1983 (Proclamation AG 14 for the Establishment of a State Council for South West Africa), signalled a renewed attempt by the South African government to promote an 'internal settlement' in Namibia and to further delay the implementation of the United Nations Settlement Plan.

The State Council, a body consisting of nominated members from a limited number of political parties, has been condemned by SWAPO and boycotted by most political groups in the country. It has been set up at a time when the United Nations Secretary-General has been mandated by the Security Council to consult the parties involved in the Namibian conflict, South Africa and SWAPO, to promote a speedy solution in accordance with UN Resolution 435, which provides for United Nations-controlled and supervised elections in Namibia.

The new body can be seen as a replica of previous organs created by South Africa to entrench its apartheid policies in Namibia, on the basis of the bantustan blueprint. These included the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference, and the Council of Ministers, National Assembly and second tier (ethnic) authorities set up subsequently (*see FOCUS 45 p.10*).

The brief assigned to the Council of State is to draft what amounts to a constitution for Namibia. This was also the task of the Turnhalle. The Council's members are to produce 'comprehensive proposals on the nature and functions of an interim government', and submit them to the Administrator-General. Decisions will be taken by a two-thirds majority, and the body has initially been constituted for six months. This term may be extended if so requested by the Council. The Council will consist of between 50 and 55 paid members, to be nominated by political parties.

It will function as a consultative body without legislative powers. Proposals emanating from the Council of State are to be submitted to voters in a country-wide referendum. The ethnic affiliation of each voter will be recorded and the votes counted twice - once on a national basis and once within each of the eleven 'population groups' into which South Africa has divided the Namibian population.

The AG will, on the basis of the Council of State's final report, take steps to implement the

proposals and the State Council is to be disbanded on completion of its task (*WA 14.7.83, 19.7.83; Africa Confidential 22.6.83*).

The Chief Justice of the Transkei bantustan, J.J.F. Hefer, has been appointed chairman of the State Council, and the President of the Northern Transvaal regional court, W. Kruger, its vice-chairman (*BBC 19.7.83*).

While the AG stressed that this initiative was not designed to promote a unilateral declaration of independence, but only intended 'to address needs' until internationally recognised independence was achieved, it would appear from the time-scale envisaged for the latest 'interim solution' that South Africa is determined to prevent genuine independence for Namibia for as long as possible (*WA 9.6.83*).

SWAPO has condemned the setting up of the State Council as another manoeuvre originating from South Africa to delay the implementation of the UN Plan (*BBC 13.6.83*).

Despite intensive consultations between the AG and numerous political groups and parties in Namibia, only the DTA and five or six other parties were reported to be willing to participate, though some of these have expressed doubts about particular aspects of the council and reserved their final decision.

Those who have declined any role in the Council include SWANU, the Namibian Independence Party, the SWAPO-Democrats, and the CDA, a breakaway group from the DTA (*WA 27.6.83, 25.7.83; WO 9.7.83*).

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SOUTHERN AFRICA—THE FOOD WEAPON

Southern Africa's worst drought on record has created new opportunities for Pretoria to extend its economic stranglehold over the region. The efforts of the front line and neighbouring states to achieve self-sufficiency in food and energy production, in particular, have been singled out for apartheid attack.

Amidst the vast human tragedy of the drought, the South African state information services have made the most of the propaganda value of the country's role as a producer and exporter of food. Meanwhile, a variety of tactics, ranging from direct military attacks to commodity price manipulation, have been used to undermine the growing capacity of SADCC member states to co-operate among themselves in the management and control of food resources.

South Africa's strategy is well understood within the SADCC (Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference). The final communique of the fourth SADCC heads of state and government summit, held in Maputo on 11 July, noted that the apartheid regime had stepped up its attempts to destabilise member states. Its aggression, the communique suggested, was partly due to 'a fallacious belief' that the drought, combined with the world recession and the economic policies of various other countries, would 'undermine SADCC's commitment to political and economic liberation' (Bulletin of Mozambique Information Agency (AIM) 11.7.83).

HARVEST FAILURE

A report prepared by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization in July 1983 appealed for an immediate rescue operation for at least 18 African countries facing famine through drought, pestilence and war. The drought is at its worst in Southern Africa, now facing its third successive year of bad harvests and where in some areas the rains have not fallen adequately since 1976. The 1983 harvest is expected to yield only nine million tons of grain, half the normal total, and five million tons less than even 1982's severely reduced crop (ST (Lon) 15.5.83; Obs 10.7.83).

South Africa, the main producer and exporter of food in the region, was expected to harvest 4.4 million tons of maize in 1983, half

the 1982 total (8.32 m tons) and one third the total for 1981 (14.6 m tons). In June, South Africa imported 600,000 tons of yellow maize, mostly to be used as animal fodder, from the USA and Argentina. It was expected that a further 900,000 tons or more would be imported in the course of the year. White maize for human consumption has continued to be exported to Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho (Obs 10.7.83; BBC 14.5.83, 21/30.6.83).

Zimbabwe is the only other country in the region normally able to export the staple food, maize, as well as feed itself. In July, the president of the Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe warned that only two weeks supply of maize would be left in stock by the time of the next harvest in March 1984 (GN 29.7.83).

SOUTH AFRICAN SABOTAGE

In Mozambique, food shortages are the most acute in the region apart from South Africa's own bantustan areas. In appealing for international aid at the end of June, the Internal Trade Minister, Aranda da Silva, warned that the drought had caused 'nearly total failure of the summer crop in southern Mozambique, and severe reductions in the harvest in central Mozambique'. Relief operations, he reported had been hindered by 'bandit actions supported by South Africa', although 'the situation has improved in this respect in the last three months' (AIM 28.6.83).

South Africa's surrogate forces in Mozambique, the 'Mozambique National Resistance' (MNR), have made a particular point of attacking transport links and distribution networks as well as various productive enterprises.

Mozambique's Internal Trade Minister has said that 'under normal climatic conditions, and if the level of South African aggression diminishes', the country could achieve self-sufficiency in maize, rice and vegetables (MS 6.7.83).

Lesotho, which normally expects to import over 40 per cent of its food, almost entirely from South Africa, has been facing intensified border controls, imposed by Pretoria in May on the pretext of clamping down on African National Congress guerrillas. These have led to food shortages and petrol rationing in Maseru.

PRICE MANIPULATION

South Africa's economic strength often enables it to undercut efforts by SADCC members to develop trading relations among themselves in preference to dependence on apartheid.

In May, however, the Zambian government decided to import Zimbabwean maize at US \$28 per 90 kg bag, in preference to accepting a South African offer of US \$10 per bag less. The move was attacked in scathing terms by the South African external radio services, which dismissed Zambia's decision as 'ideological stupidity', 'illogical and impractical', and 'politically motivated move' which harmed the 'Zambian man in the street' (BBC 18.5.83).

Mozambicans, on the other hand, have been charged up to R32 for a 70 kg bag of maize and up to R40 for mealie meal in the border area of Komatipoort, by South African middlemen apparently anxious to make the most of Mozambique's economic difficulties. These are more than double the normal prices. A Komatipoort resident, who asked not to be identified for fear of reprisal from South African dealers, described the maize trade with Mozambique as 'an industry of enormous proportions, and yet there are people who are apparently prepared to abuse it by charging these inflated prices for a basic commodity' (ST 20.3.83).

SADCC RESPONSE

The drought was one of the main topics on the agenda of the SADCC July summit in Maputo. The final communique warned that production 'cannot possibly provide the basic food necessary for many people in the rural areas to subsist until the 1984 harvest. More terrifying still is the threat that even this harvest may be devastated by drought' (AIM 11.7.83).

Natural climatic problems had been exacerbated by South African armed action and economic sabotage, aimed at forcing member states to divert a large part of their human, financial and material resources to defence. 'With these actions', President Samora Machel told the summit, 'apartheid wants to keep on the offensive in the bantustanisation of its own country and in turning the rest of the region into its satellites' (AIM 11.7.83; FM 15.7.83).

Each SADCC member state coordinates one or more sectors of the organisation's programme for economic development. Zimbabwe has been given responsibility for food security and agriculture, and has been working on proposals for coordinated efforts to fight the drought. Nine regional food security studies have been carried out, and ten agricultural projects of regional significance have been approved. Seven are in Mozambique and include food storage facilities, the others are in Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe (FM 15.7.83).

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