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focus

ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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CONSTITUTION REJECTED

After the referendum of the white population in South Africa on 2 November 1983 had produced a large majority in support of the government, the regime focussed its political energies on finding ways of imposing its constitutional scheme on the black majority.

Immediately after the referendum a Cabinet Committee met to discuss strategy in relation to constitutional developments (RDM 8.11.83). According to press reports two concerns dominated government thinking: ensuring that a section of the Coloured and Indian communities are drawn into the segregated tricameral parliament; and finding ways of containing, within the political structure of apartheid, the political demands of Africans outside the bantustans (T 5.11.83; RDM 8.11.83; BBC 8.11.83).

Resistance to these plans was evident, in particular in the growth of support for the United Democratic Front (UDF) and in a successful campaign for a boycott of elections of local councils in African townships outside the bantustans, held at the end of November (For details of the regime's response to the UDF see pp.2, 3, 5, 7).

In the referendum of whites 76 per cent of those eligible to take part voted. Of those, 66 per cent answered 'Yes' in response to the question of whether they favoured the implementation of the Constitution Act passed during the 1983 Parliamentary session. The 'No' votes were 33.5 per cent with 0.5 per cent spoilt papers (RDM 4.11.83).

While the pattern of opinion among whites was complex in certain respects, the result was a clear expression by the white community of support for policies which entrench and maintain apartheid. During the campaign, while government spokesmen presented the proposals as reforms, the limitation of the reforms were stressed. On repeated occasions they emphasised: that the new constitution would preserve white domination; that the new constitution was not a step towards integration; that the Group Areas Act would be retained and if necessary forcefully applied; and that the new parliament would have no place for representation of Africans who would have to exercise political rights beyond the local level through the bantustans (CT/RDM 26.9.83; CT 13.10.83; RDM 14/25.10.83; S Exp 23.10.83).

The UDF made no specific call on white voters concerning the referendum, on the grounds that it rejected the whole process leading up to it. In a statement the UDF asserted that 'an acceptable and truly democratic constitution can only be worked out in an atmosphere which is free of fear, mistrust and harassment of one section of the population by another. That includes the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the banned and the return of all those who have been forced into exile' (CT 14.9.83; Star 26.9.83).

Along with other organisations the UDF was active in campaigning for a boycott of the elections to the Community Councils and the new local councils being set up in African townships outside the bantustans, under the Black Local Authorities Act. The new local authorities have more powers than the Community Councils, but they are still ultimately subject to the Department of Cooperation and Development, and lack a sound financial basis. In addition they are to take over powers to allocate and regulate accommodation in the townships, powers which

would give them a crucial role in administering the system of influx control (see FOCUS 43 p.4).

Opposition to the elections was based on a number of considerations, but primarily on the grounds that the local authority structures being set up were part of the whole political system designed to divide the black majority and perpetuate apartheid. Apart from the UDF, opposition came from a wide range of other organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation and the Soweto Committee of Ten, as well as major independent trade union organisations (S 17.11.83).

The election results confirmed the rejection of the councils, particularly in the main urban centres. In Soweto 10.3 per cent of registered voters voted, and 11.6 per cent in Cape Town (RDM 26.11.83; GN 5.12.83).

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POLITICAL TRIALS

In the two months from the end of September 1983 four people were convicted of high treason in two major political trials. The four were sentenced to a total of 52 years imprisonment.

In one of the trials, that of Niehaus and Lourens, the conviction for treason follows the precedent established in the

trial of Barbara Hogan in October 1982, when in the view of legal observers the court equated membership of the ANC with high treason.

The two treason trials also confirm the pattern now established of charging people in the most serious political cases with treason rather than under the 'terrorism'

'subversion' and 'sabotage' provisions of the new Internal Security Act.

A number of trials under way are concerned with the possession of banned literature or objects connected with banned organisations. In several of these the possession of ANC literature is being equated with furthering the aims of the ANC, making the charges far more serious.

CONVICTIONS AND ACQUITTALS

KWADI, MOILOA AND TSELE

Three people who were charged under the Internal Security Act for creating support for the ANC by arranging a commemoration service to celebrate Women's Day on 9 August, have been acquitted.

Amanda KWADI (31), George MOILOA (29) and Reverend Molefe TSELE (27) were acquitted in the Krugersdorp Magistrates Court on 11 November 1983.

The magistrate said there was no evidence that the arrangements the accused had made for the commemoration service would be profitable to the ANC or further its aims. Defence counsel argued that the celebration was an annual event and could not be considered as an ANC event or one which promoted its aims (*RDM* 12.11.83; see *FOCUS* 48 p.7, 49 p.7).

MOLOTSI AND MOLEFE

Two self-confessed members of the ANC convicted of high treason shouted political slogans after being sentenced to a total of 33 years imprisonment in the Pretoria Supreme Court on 21 October 1983.

Alpheus Zacharia MOLOTSI (28) and Jacob MOLEFE (23) were sentenced to 18 years and

15 years imprisonment respectively. Both were accused of entering the country in February 1983 to undertake reconnaissance and prepare bases for guerilla activity. Their aim was to sabotage power stations, fuel depots, police stations and sewerage systems (*S* 24.10.83; see *FOCUS* 49 p.6).

NIEHAUS AND LOURENS

The treason trial of Carl Gerhardus NIEHAUS (23) and Johanna LOURENS (23) ended in the Rand Supreme Court on 24 November 1983.

Niehaus was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for high treason and three years for each of two charges under the Internal Security Act, to run concurrently with the 15 years. Lourens was sentenced to four years imprisonment for high treason.

The trial began on 7 November. Both pleaded not guilty to the charge of high treason and to the lesser charges under the Internal Security Act.

The indictment alleged that they learned a secret ANC code through which they regularly communicated with the ANC. They allegedly received coded instructions by telephone, post, couriers and through 'dead letter boxes'. Other messages were received during meetings with

ANC members during visits they made to Botswana.

Niehaus admitted to planting a pamphlet bomb outside the SADF recruiting office in Johannesburg and taking photographs and preparing plans for attacking the Johannesburg municipal gasworks. He is also accused of recruiting Catherine HUNTER (23) in 1982 to assist with activities on behalf of the ANC (see *FOCUS* 49 p.9).

Together they are accused of compiling and distributing various pamphlets.

On the third day of the trial a person who had shared a house with Niehaus and Lourens, Robert Whitecross, revealed that he was a member of the security police and had manipulated the activities of the accused for 18 months. Photographs were taken by the security police of Niehaus reconnoitring the Johannesburg gasworks.

Defence lawyers conceded on 15 November that Niehaus had committed high treason by furthering the aims of the ANC, but asked the court to look at the extent of the treason. They claimed that the State's case against Lourens had not been proved (*RDM* 8/9/11/16.11.83; *GN* 25.11.83; see *FOCUS* 49 pp.7 and 9).

CONTINUING TRIALS AND APPEALS

DUNA AND OTHERS

The trial of William DUNA (31), Dumisani MANINJWA (31), Jeffrey Bayi KEYE (52) and Luyanda MAYEKISO under the Terrorism Act continues in the Ciskei Supreme Court. This trial began in March 1982 and by December 1983 no end was in sight. The four are charged with engaging in 'terrorist activities', being members of the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training, and being in possession of banned literature.

At the beginning of November 1983 the defence counsel argued that the Terrorism Act under which the four are accused conflicted with the Ciskei Constitution Act which includes a Bill of Rights. This Act, which has effect in the Ciskei bantustan area, repealed the Terrorism Act in that area.

Giving evidence in September 1983, Mayekiso told how assaults during his detention had left his front teeth broken and his testicles and left side of his face swollen. When he was taken to a magistrate to make a confession he noticed that the magistrate was not recording his answers. He indicated that he was not willing to continue, whereupon the magistrate immediately phoned the security police who assaulted him in the magistrate's presence (*DD*

6.9.83; *RDM* 9.11.83; see *POLITICAL TRIALS* from *FOCUS* 42 onwards).

DIETER AND RUTH GERHARDT

The State ended its case in the treason trial of Dieter (47) and Ruth (41) GERHARDT at the end of September 1983. Because the trial, in the Cape Town Supreme Court, was held *in camera* few details have become known.

The defence began its case on 11 October 1983, also behind closed doors, and amid tight security. The trial was not expected to be concluded before the end of November 1983.

Commodore Dieter Gerhardt was the commanding officer of the Simonstown naval dockyard until his arrest on 8 January 1983 in New York, allegedly for spying for the Soviet Union.

After being arrested in New York and interrogated by United States and British intelligence he was sent back to South Africa. It is claimed in a British newspaper report that he supplied Soviet military intelligence with details about a wide range of British and South African naval equipment, including details of the South African monitoring station at Silvermine, near Simonstown (*Mail on Sunday, London* 20.11.83).

Ruth Gerhardt is alleged to have acted as a courier, taking information to Switzerland where it was passed to Soviet agents (*CT* 29.9.83; *CT* 12.10.83; *RDM* 31.10.83; see *FOCUS* 48 p.7, 49 p.6).

MOKOKA AND DAU

The case of two members of the South African Allied Workers Union, who are charged with furthering the aims of the ANC and possessing banned literature, was postponed in the Pretoria Regional Court on 14 November 1983 to 30 January.

Khomotse Gabriel MOKOKA (27) and Gerald Romaano DAU (28) were not asked to plead and were released on R500 bail each (*RDM* 15.11.83; see *FOCUS* 49 p.7).

MALISELA MOLOISE

The appeal of Malisela Benjamin MOLOISE (28) against his death sentence was turned down by the Appeal Court on 24 November 1983.

Moloiase was sentenced on 6 June 1983 for the assassination of Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe in November 1982. Warrant Officer Selepe had given evidence against three ANC members, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung and

Simon Mogoerane who were executed in June 1983 for high treason.

Throughout his trial Moloise denied the charges. He said that statements he had made to the police and before a magistrate had been made out of fear.

The Secretary-General of the ANC has issued a statement which says that the ANC is satisfied that he is being victimised, that he was wrongfully accused and is innocent of the charges against him (GN 25.11.83; see FOCUS 48 p.1).

SISULU AND MALI

The trial of Albertina SISULU (66) and Thami MALI (25) was postponed on 26 October 1983 to 23 January.

The two appeared in the Krugersdorp Regional Court on charges of furthering the aims of the ANC. Their appearance is a sequel to the funeral service of Rose Mbele, a former member of the Federation of South African Women, in Soweto on 16 January 1982.

The State alleges that the two sang songs praising the aims of the ANC, its activities and

leaders. It is further alleged that they distributed pamphlets and stickers, displayed ANC flags, draped the coffin of the deceased with an ANC flag, distributed pieces of paper in the ANC colours and wore the same as mourning ribbons, praised the deceased for furthering the aims of the ANC, created sympathy and support for the ANC and conspired with others to carry out these actions (RDM 18.10.83; S 27.10.83; see FOCUS 48 p.7, 49 p.7).

THLOLOE AND OTHERS

An appeal against sentence by Joe THLOLOE, Siphon NGCOBO, Nhlanguiso SIBANDA and Stephen MZOLO was due to be heard on 4 October.

The four are appealing against their sentences received in April 1983 for being in possession of banned literature. Their legal representatives maintain that they committed no acts of violence nor did they intend distributing the illegal literature, yet they were given sentences commensurate with having done so. The sentences ranged from two to three years of imprisonment (S 29.9.83; see FOCUS 47 p.4).

NONTLANTANE AND TSHOLETSANE

Two organisers of the African Mineworkers' Union, Themba NONTLANTANE and Patrick TSHOLETSANE, appeared in the Rustenburg Magistrates Court on 21 September 1983 to face a charge of furthering the aims of an unlawful organisation.

According to a spokesman of the trade union the two had gone to Rustenburg to recruit miners to the union when they were arrested (S 22.9.83).

THOMSON RAMANALA

Thomson RAMANALA (25) appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court on 31 September on charges under the Terrorism Act. The State alleges that he was a member of the ANC. Alternative charges are that he possessed ANC literature, which showed he was connected with the organisation, and that he had furthered the aims of the ANC.

He was not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The case was postponed to 28 November 1983. He was released on R500 bail (RDM 1.10.83).

OTHER TRIALS

TOWNSHIP PROTESTS

The widespread protests in black townships reported in the previous two issues of FOCUS continued in many areas of South Africa. These protests have mostly been in response to rent increases, transport fare increases, removals and apartheid education.

Press reporting of trials resulting from these protests is poor but the following cases illustrate the issues involved, and the ways in which the law is used against participants in the protests.

In one case the accused has been charged for alleged offences committed seven years ago — during the 1976 uprisings.

- Twenty three people, 21 of whom are journalists, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court on 7 October 1983 for holding a placard demonstration in Johannesburg on 6 October. The demonstration was to protest against an attack on journalists, churchmen and squatters by East Rand Administration Board officials in Katlehong on 4 October.

The 23 are charged with holding an illegal gathering in terms of the Internal Security Act. When they appeared in court they were told that the hearing was postponed for further investigations (GN 8.10.83; Star 10.10.83).

- Mandisi David SAMANA (29) was fined R100 (or 50 days) and sentenced to nine months imprisonment for intimidating commuters who wished to use buses. He was sentenced in the East London Magistrates Court on 6 October.

Evidence before the court was that Samana shouted and threatened people boarding buses during the bus boycott in the area (DD 7.10.83).

- The Humansdorp arson trial reported in FOCUS 45 (March-April 1983, p.5) resulted in prison sentences for five of the six accused youths at the end of April 1983. One was acquitted.

Monwabise BOSMAN (18) was sentenced to an effective three years in prison, Vuyisile KATE (18) and Solomon JACK (18) to an effective four years, a 17 year old youth to an effective six years and three months and a 16

years old youth to an effective five years.

The six were charged with setting fire to 16 schools in the Port Elizabeth area between November 1982 and February 1983.

Some of the accused were in custody as detainees and awaiting-trial prisoners for over a year by the time sentence was passed. One of the accused testified to a magistrate that his skin had been rubbed with irritants by the police. The magistrate did nothing because there were no injuries and she thus did not consider it to be an assault (Work in Progress No. 27).

- Three people appeared briefly in the Mdantsane Regional Court on 12 September on a charge of arson.

Madoda DLOKWENI (34), Bassie SKOTA (32) and Theminkosi KULA (28) were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The hearing was postponed to 25 October for further investigation.

No details of the circumstances out of which this trial arose were reported but it appears to be connected with disturbances during August and September 1983 in Mdantsane township arising out of the bus boycott (see FOCUS 49 p.10; DD 13.9.83).

- One hundred and seventy one residents of the Paarl township Mbekweni appeared in the Paarl Magistrates Court on 8 November 1983 on a charge of attending an illegal gathering and failing to disperse on police orders on 1 September.

Ninety three of the group were tried separately and were due to appear again on 28 November. The other 73 were due to appear on 13 December.

One of the accused residents explained that after they had received notices of site-and-service increases an 'angry' meeting was held and a delegation was sent to the Administration Board offices. At the offices they were told to see the Community Council but the residents considered this a 'dummy body' and refused to move even after the police had read a dispersal notice (RDM 6.10.83, 9.11.83; see FOCUS 49 p.7).

- Eleven residents of Mbekweni township and one from Paarl East who allegedly set fire to the Mbekweni municipal beerhall on 3 September, appeared in the Paarl Magistrates Court on 26 October 1983. Bail of R50 was extended and the trial was postponed to 1 December (CT 17.10.83).

- Seven people charged with the stoning of the house of the vice-chairman of the

Mbekweni Community Council, were acquitted in the Paarl Magistrates Court on 26 October 1983.

The accused were alleged to have caused R1,500 worth of damage to the Community Councillor's house and vehicle during unrest in the township in early September 1983 (CT 27.10.83; see FOCUS 49 p.7).

- John Vivian KIEL (31) appeared in the Simonstown Magistrates Court on 21 October 1983 seven years after he had allegedly committed acts of public violence and arson at the Ocean View township near Simonstown.

The State alleges that on 7 September 1976 he gathered with several other people and caused violent fighting by inciting pupils to riot and stone vehicles. It is also alleged that Kiel had produced and thrown petrol bombs at buildings and police. The hearing was adjourned to 30 January (CT 24.10.83).

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

- The public violence case reported in FOCUS 49 (p.7) of 11 University of the North students was due to recommence on 25 November 1983 after being adjourned on 30 September.

It now appears that 17 students are involved. All were released on R100 bail (RDN 1.10.83).

- A Fort Hare student, Cedric Lunga MHLONGO (19) was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment by the Ciskei Regional Court in Zwelitsha on 21 November 1983.

Mhlongo pleaded not guilty to the charge of intimidating fellow students not to write exams. There was a boycott of lectures at the time (September 1983).

An appeal was noted and bail of R500 granted (RDM 22.11.83).

UDF SUPPORTERS

- Forty supporters of the United Democratic Front arrested on 29 October in Cape Town appeared in two separate trials on 31 October on a charge of attending an illegal or prohibited gathering in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Twenty six appeared in the Cape Town Magistrates Court and fourteen in the Athlone Magistrates Court. No evidence was led in either trial and all were released on R200 bail. Those who appeared in the Cape Town court were due to appear on 18 November and those in the Athlone court on 6 December. The cars in which they had been travelling were confiscated by the police and an application to have them released was turned down as they are to be used as exhibits (CT 1.11.83).

DETENTIONS

The second half of 1983 was dominated by the intense repression in the Eastern Cape which received greater publicity after the publication of a report commissioned by the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) in September. The bus boycott against fare increases imposed by the Ciskei Transport Corporation which began on 18 July 1983 continued into November (see *FOCUS* 49 p.10).

Opposition to the government's constitutional strategy led to a number of detentions (see p.6).

In early October a report on the situation in the Ciskei bantustan was published. Entitled *Ruling with the whip* it was produced by Nicholas Haysom of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University. To some extent this report succeeded in focussing attention on the brutal attempts to repress the bus and school boycotts. In particular it challenged the figure of seven dead admitted by the bantustan authorities and claimed 90 people had been shot dead.

Haysom also provided confirmation of the rumours that the Sisa Dukushe stadium was being used as a torture centre for detainees too numerous to fit in the available police and prison cells. He interviewed former detainees who told of the squalid, overcrowded conditions in two changing rooms under the stadium's grandstand. They detailed torture and assaults, often at the hands of vigilantes brought in from the rural areas and accommodated in the stadium. There was evidence to suggest that some of those recruited arrived in Mdantsane unaware of the nature of their employment. Some rural areas refused totally to provide men for the force. In a move presumably aimed at counteracting the widespread opposition to his rule, Lennox Sebe authorised the sale of firearms to chiefs and headmen so they could guard schools and bantustan government property in their areas (*DD* 7.9.83).

Haysom reported that 59 people charged with assaulting police on the morning of 4 August 1983 (the day police shot dead at least five and possibly 15 commuters trying to board trains) have been acquitted. The magistrate stopped the case after only two witnesses for the state had testified, saying the defendants were obviously not guilty.

Many detainees were taken to hospital either as the result of assaults or illnesses caused by the unhygienic and insanitary conditions or suffering from the effects of hunger strikes. Haysom mentions at least ten cases, not all of them previously reported in *FOCUS*: THEO, NZIMANE, PHEHLA, TABATA, WAZO, MOYANI, MSAULI, JEKWA, SABATA and TWEBE.

On 14 October 1983 the bantustan Minister of Justice said he had no immediate intention of either lifting or relaxing the emergency regulations affecting Mdantsane (*DD* 15.10.83; *Star* 7.11.83).

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

A large number of schoolchildren were among those detained in the Ciskei bantustan. Eye witnesses told of children, some as young as nine years, being held at police stations and in the sports stadium. At the beginning of October it was estimated that more than 70 students were detained. Some were held before the launch of a widespread school boycott in early September but the number increased significantly after that date.

Thami KLAAS who was released from detention in Mdantsane police station on 8 October told of a number of pupils being brought in on 5 October. Two were aged between nine and 11 years. Klaas said that detainees had begun a hunger strike two days before following suspected food poisoning but dropped the strike for fear that the children would be harmed by joining in.

Haysom's report spoke of an 11 year old girl and a 14 year old boy being held as well as detained children being forced to run round the stadium singing praise songs to Sebe. In at least one instance a mother had to pay ransom for her children's freedom.

The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) came under particular attack. Six students at Mlotshana High School detained on 13 September were later charged with intimidation. In early October the authorities stepped up the police presence but newspaper reports said that in spite of higher attendance it was difficult to say whether the boycott was ending.

On 27 September there was a fire bomb attack on the Zwelitsha home of the bantustan's deputy Minister of Defence for which Lennox Sebe blamed COSAS. Shortly afterwards seven executive members of the Zwelitsha branch of COSAS were detained (see *current list*).

Vusumzi SOBANDLA, East London COSAS branch organiser, refuted Sebe's allegations stating that COSAS was a non-violent student organisation. Quoted on 3 October he said that six COSAS officials were among the more than 70 students then detained: Sindile TABATA, Mzukisi MAYANI, Zukusa FAKU, Nolinda WONTOTI, (Linda) MAJIKIKELA and M. BIZA (*FOCUS* 48 p.5, 49 p.8-9).

In Pretoria Mpho LEKGORO, the COSAS chairman, was held for two days. A secondary school student, Aubrey MOLEPO, detained with him was held for longer (*DD* 16.9.83, 22.9.83, 4/6/14/15/10.83; *Star* 3.10.83; *CT* 28.10.83).

MURDER CHARGE

A security policeman appeared in court in Johannesburg on 14 October 1983 charged with the murder of Molifi Paris MALATJI who died at Protea police station in July. A post-mortem reportedly showed that Malatji had been shot through the forehead at point blank range. Detective Sgt. Jan Harm van As was freed on warning to appear for trial at the Rand Supreme Court on 6 February 1984. The Transvaal Attorney General said that although the initial charge was one of murder this could be changed following proceedings in the magistrates court (*FOCUS* 48 p.4; *S* 5.10.83; *RDM* 15.10.83).

MUOFHE SETTLEMENT

Authorities in the Venda bantustan have paid R140,000 to the family of Tshifhiwa Isaac MUOFHE who died in detention in November 1981. An inquest into his death found two security policemen responsible but in a subsequent trial they were acquitted of his murder. The verdict was criticised by lawyers in South Africa and internationally. The out of court settlement prevented the case being argued again (*FOCUS* 46 p.8; *RDM* 13.6.83, 11.7.83; *S* 17.6.83, 11.7.83).

YCS RELEASES

• George Sello SERIPE and Samuel RATHOLO, two members of the Young Christian Students who had been held since early July 1983, were released from detention

at the end of September. Also released at that time were Stanley MOKAIWA, Welcome MOKOENA, Amos PHOKELA and Levy PHOKELA, none of whose detentions had previously been reported in the press (*FOCUS* 48 p.5; *S* 5.10.83, see also *POLITICAL TRIALS*).

• Catherine HUNTER was released from detention in Johannesburg in November (see *NIEHAUS AND LOURENS* under *POLITICAL TRIALS*; *RDM* 9.11.83).

CISKEI RELEASES

• Three members of the Committee of Ten who had organised the bus boycott were released. Priscilla MAXONGO was freed in the middle of October, shortly after she had been discharged from hospital. Newell FAKU was released on 4 November 1983 along with Nomenzi SIBEWA whose original detention was not reported in *FOCUS* (*FOCUS* 49 p.8-9; *DD* 15.10.83; *CT* 7.11.83).

• Three members of one family were released from detention in early September following the death of their father. Bangumzi SIFINGO, a SAAWU trade unionist at Chloride was released on 7 September, followed by Sindiswa SIFINGO and Yaleka SIFINGO both of whom were active in COSAS. A brother, Mthabeli SIFINGO, was not reported released (*FOCUS* 49 p.8; *DD* 10.9.83; *S* 18.10.83).

• Four trade unionists originally detained outside the Ciskei were released: David THANDANI in October 1983 and Boyce MELITAFU, Yure MDYOGOLO and Bonisile NORUSHE on 4 November (*FOCUS* 49 p.9; *S* 18.10.83; *CT* 7.11.83).

• Other people released on 4 November included SAAWU officials Godfrey SHIBA, Humphrey MAXEGWANA and Sisa NJIKELANA, the union's vice-president who had been held since 21 July; also Shepherd DUMEZWENI, Mzwandile Mampunye and student Sindile TABATA. An additional four people were released whose names had not appeared previously in the press: J. WELA, B. TUMELO, O. MJOBE and T. KWABABWANA (*CT* 7.11.83).

• Methodist Minister Ernest BAARTMAN was released on 5 September after a week in detention (*FOCUS* 49 p.9; *DD* 6.9.83).

• Thami KLAAS, organiser of Masazane Open school in East London was released on 8 October along with S. NGABASE and Priscilla ZWENI, neither of whose original detentions were reported in *FOCUS* (*FOCUS* 49 p.9; *DD* 15.10.83; see above *CHILDREN AND YOUTH*).

• Herbert JEKWA, a garage owner and boxing promoter, was released on 3 October following his discharge from Mount Coke Hospital. He was twice taken for medical care after going on hunger strike (*FOCUS* 49 p.9; *DD* 4.10.83, 6.10.83).

• Trade unionist Solomon PHEHLA of the Transport and Allied Workers Union was released from detention following hospital treatment. Cameron NZIMANE, detained with him, was also admitted to hospital (*RDM* 12.8.83).

• Lawyer Hintsa SIWISA was released on 26 September (*FOCUS* 49, p.9; *DD* 27.9.83).

• Three bantustan politicians held since early July in moves unconnected with the bus boycott were released. L.F. SIYO was held from 5 July 1983 until early September, spending at least part of the period in hospital. Sipho TANANA and Philemon MATEZA who were detained with him, were both released on 5 October 1983 (*FOCUS* 48 p.5, 49 p.9; *DD* 7.7.83, 13.9.83, 7.10.83).

DETAINEES Additional to previous FOCUS lists

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| Approx. date | Place | Name (age) | Details (where known) |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 24.8.83 | Johannesburg | Obed BAPELA | Connected with Niehaus trial, Sec. 29 ISA |
| 13.9.83 | Ciskei | Sandile NGOGI | |
| 13.9.83 | Ciskei | Totosi RABOCHI | |
| 14.9.83 | Ciskei | Vela NGOMA | Assaulted. Rel. 16.9.83 |
| 17.9.73 | Ciskei | Goodwin MAKONGOLO | Rel. 8.10.83 |
| 21.9.83 | Ciskei | Chris NGCOBO | Long-distance runner |
| 21.9.83 | Ciskei | David KHAYILE | Ft. Hare student. Rel. 12.10.83 |
| 21.9.83 | Ciskei | Cedric MHLONGO | Fort Hare student. Charged |
| 28.9.83 | Ciskei | Steve TSHWETE | Fort Hare student. Charged |
| 4.10.83 | Ciskei | M BIZA | Member of UDF interim cttee |
| 6.10.83 | Zwelitsha | Mcebisi BATA | Official COSAS |
| 6.10.83 | Zwelitsha | Andile SISHUBA | Branch chair COSAS |
| 6.10.83 | Zwelitsha | Luntu BOBO | Branch publicity sec COSAS |
| 6.10.83 | Zwelitsha | Thozamile PETER | Branch sec COSAS |
| 6.10.83 | Zwelitsha | S GQEBA | Branch treasurer COSAS |
| 6.10.83 | Zwelitsha | Xolile GASA | Branch vice-chair COSAS |
| 6.10.83 | Zwelitsha | Zanile MPAMA | Branch executive COSAS |
| 15.10.83 | Ciskei | Daluxolo GASA | Branch executive COSAS |
| 21.10.83 | Ciskei | 17 unnamed youths | Alleged assault |
| 25.10.83 | Pretoria | Mpho LEKGORO | Chair COSAS. Rel. 27.10.93 |
| 25.10.83 | Pretoria | Aubrey MOLEPO | |
| 27.10.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Unnamed man | School pupil |
| 30.10.83 | Ciskei | Rev Smangalis MKHATSHWA | Allegedly carrying bomb |
| 4.11.83 | Venda | Robert RATSHITANGE | Patron UDF |
| 4.11.83 | Venda | Alfred DENGÉ | Allegedly harbouring ANC guerillas |
| 6.11.83 | Ciskei | Ntomobazana BOTHA | Member Detainees Support Cttee |
| 7.11.83 | Queenstown; Ciskei | Sabelo NZOTA | |
| 7.11.83 | Queenstown; Ciskei | Mpumzi NZOTA | Branch sec |
| 7.11.83 | Queenstown; Ciskei | Sandla MTINSILANE | Member UDF |
| 9.11.83 | Ciskei | Stanley "Bob" KABA | Member UDF |
| 23.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Duma GQUBULE (18) | Journalist, former political prisoner |
| 24.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Dr Faith MATLAOPANE (30) | Previously detained. Sec. 29 ISA |
| 24.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Dr Tom MVUYO (29) | Doctors at Edendale hospital. Sec. 29 ISA |
| 24.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Dikobe MARTINS | |
| 24.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Sipho SHEZI | Section 50, Criminal Procedure Act |
| 24.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Aubrey NGCOBO | |
| 24.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Ondile REVE | |
| 25.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Gordon Sibusiso NGCOTIO | |
| 25.11.83 | Soweto | Pule MONAMA | Sec. 29 ISA |
| 28.11.83 | Pietermaritzburg | Mlungisi MAPHAMULO | Nat. Organiser, AZASM |
| 28.11.83 | Ermelo | Whisky NKAMBULE | Sec. 29 ISA |
| 28.11.83 | Ermelo | Christopher Tebo MOFOKING | Student, Univ. of Zululand |
| 28.11.83 | Ermelo | Knox SIMELANE | |
| 28.11.83 | Ermelo | Magcwalis MATALE | |
| 28.11.83 | Ermelo | Ronald NDAZI | |
| 28.11.83 | Ermelo | Benjamin SIBANYONI | |
| 28.11.83 | Ermelo | Mandla NDLOVU | |

ABBREVIATIONS

Organisations: AZASM, Azanian Students Movement; COSAS, Congress of South African Students; UDF, United Democratic Front

Laws: ISA, Internal Security Act

The following were detained in the Ciskei during July and August 1983 (DD3/12.9.83; 15.10.83).

Luyanda MAKUPULA
David JACK (Rel.)

D QABAKA
N NKOHLA
Vuyisile MAKI
Pama NTANGA
Thembile GXEKILALI
Mxolisi MKALIPI

Mvuyo MALGAS (19)
Hetese NTIBIXELWA (Rel.)
Phumlani MBANE
Tololo GEORGE
Madoda PULULU
Lungelo NZA

Mlamli NAZO
Magqabi NAZO
Lewis MNCONO
M MAQOSHA
Kholisile MASHIBINI
Rev Simon NGIDI (Rel.)

OBITUARY: ALEX HEPPLÉ

Alex Hepple, one of the founders and the first Chairman of both the Treason Trial Fund and the South African Defence and Aid Fund, died in Canterbury on 16 November 1983 at the age of 79. When he and his wife emigrated to the United Kingdom they offered in 1967 to set up the Research Department of the International Defence and Aid Fund. They directed the Department until their retirement in 1972. The principles which Alex Hepple established for research serve as a guide and a measuring standard for the Fund to the present day: a deter-

mination to expose the reality of apartheid and minority rule in Southern Africa with an insistence on accuracy of information.

Alex Hepple's parents were founding members of the South African Labour Party and he himself became a lifelong member. The defeat of the 1922 white mine workers by General Smuts took the right-wing Labour leaders into an alliance with the Afrikaner Nationalists to defeat Smuts and to cement the industrial colour bar. Alex Hepple was one of the few who decided to devote his life to the struggle to unite white and black workers for the common objective of a democratic socialist society. He was elected as a Labour member of the Transvaal Provincial Council and later as a Member of Parliament in 1948 and 1953. His election to Parliament in 1948 coincided with the victory of the present Nationalist regime and he made a courageous contribution to the

parliamentary resistance to their policies of racial discrimination and the violation of human rights. The South African *Sunday Express* (17 June 1956) commented on his record in the years that followed: 'Who will deny that he was the militant champion who always spoke up for the underprivileged and for social justice?' His forthright anti-apartheid policy contributed to the defeat of the Labour Party by the white electorate in 1958.

He had close links with the Congress movement and with Chief Albert Lutuli, President of the African National Congress, and took part in the Congress of the People in 1955 when the Freedom Charter was adopted. His active role as Chairman of the Treason Trial Fund and later the Defence and Aid Fund were an indication of his determination to assist those who suffered so grievously for their opposition to apartheid. In the trade union movement he assisted the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), and was readily accessible at times of crisis.

ATTACKS ON UDF

During the period preceding the 2 November white referendum, security police on various occasions interrogated UDF members and supporters, and UDF offices were raided.

- Six members, including the regional secretary of the UDF, Trevor MANUEL, were held for questioning by police for four hours after a meeting and demonstration in Cape Town organised by the UDF to protest against police atrocities in the Ciskei bantustan. Placards were also confiscated (*Argus* 3.10.83).

- The UDF publicity secretary, Patrick LEKOTA, was taken from his home in Durban and questioned at police headquarters for two hours before being released (*CT* 25.10.83).

- In the week before the referendum UDF offices in Krugersdorp in the Transvaal were raided by police, supporters and members held for questioning and four thousand UDF newsletters confiscated. In the same week police from the Narcotic Squad and the Publications Control Board raided the organisation's offices in Johannesburg and confiscated six thousand newsletters, evidently to ascertain whether the material was a 'desirable publication'. The UDF asked its lawyers to try to recover all confiscated copies of the newsletter (*CT* 28.10.83; *S* 31.10.83).

On a previous occasion in August police seized 40,000 copies of a UDF newsletter, which were later returned after threat of legal action (see *FOCUS* 49 p.5).

- Police harassment of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front (*FOCUS* 49, p.10; see *Review: Restrictions*) continued with the detention of a number of officials both before and after its official launch. On 28 September Ciskei bantustan police detained Steve TSHWETE, a member of the region's interim committee. Tshwete, a teacher and general secretary of the Border Rugby Union, served a 15 year sentence for ANC activities.

At the beginning of November three members of the branch, including the secretary, were detained by South African Police and handed over to the bantustan authorities. Sabela NZOTA, his brother Mpumzi NZOTA, and Sandla MTINSILANE were originally held in Queenstown. There have been a number of other occasions during 1983 in which people described as 'Ciskei citizens' have been detained outside the bantustan boundaries and handed over with no formal extradition proceedings in spite of the so-called 'independence' of the Ciskei (*DD* 30.9.83; *RDM* 11.11.83; *S* 12.11.83).

- On 30 October bantustan police detained Rev. Smangalis MKHATSHWA, general secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, during a visit to Fort Hare University to speak at a prayer service. The leader of the University's Catholic Students Organisation was held with him but later released. Fr. Mkhathswa has addressed a number of meetings since a banning order on him was not renewed in July. He is a patron of the United Democratic Front (*S* 1.11.83; *CT* 1.11.83; *RDM* 11.11.83).

HANGING REPORTS STOPPED

A liaison officer of the Directorate of Justice announced in mid-August 1983 that the names of those who had been executed would in future be withheld from the press to avoid 'giving prominence' to the event and to protect the next of kin and the families of the condemned person. Confirmation that an execution had taken place could be obtained from the Deputy Sheriff, the officer announced.

The making known of the names of prisoners who had been executed was introduced in the early 1950s to counter rumours that executions were not taking place.

The anti-apartheid Black Sash organisation sees this change in policy as an attempt by the authorities to eradicate protests against the hanging of guerrillas sentenced to death for armed attacks against the regime. As no announcements will be made when a hanging has taken place there can be no announcements when a hanging is due to take place.

In addition, the Black Sash suspects that the move is intended to remove from public attention the large number of hangings that take place annually in South Africa. In August 1983 there were 175 prisoners due to be executed. Only nine of these were white (*RDM* 18.8.83, 2.9.83).

APARTHEID VIOLENCE

The cases reported below are but a few examples of deaths at the hands of the police and other forces upholding apartheid. At least twenty people die every month from police shootings alone.

MXENGE INQUEST

A Durban inquest court found on 23 September 1983 that the lawyer, Griffiths MXENGE, was killed by a person or persons unknown.

Mxenge's body was found on 20 November 1981 with 45 stab wounds and the throat slit near the Umlazi cycle stadium in Durban. Nonyamezelo Mxenge, Griffiths Mxenge's wife, alleged at the time of the murder that he was killed by people who were opposed to his political beliefs. She said that she was convinced he was kidnapped on his way home from work, killed and then his body dumped. Mxenge, who was imprisoned on Robben Island and banned for three years, defended many major political cases.

Representatives of the Mxenge family said after the inquest finding that the manner in which he had been killed suggested that there had been a cover-up, as robbers would not have taken the trouble to inflict 45 wounds which penetrated vital organs, nor waited four days before burning his car on the Swaziland border. Other discrepancies were found in the investigating officer's evidence which left the family and others in doubt over the findings (*DD* 21.11.81; *ND/CT* 24.9.83; see *FOCUS* 38 p.1).

MKHIZE SHOOTING

The police captain who shot the Driefontein community leader, Saul MKHIZE, in April 1983, appeared in the Volksrust Magistrates Court on 17 November and pleaded not guilty to the charge. No evidence was led and the case was postponed to 28 February.

Driefontein residents had called a meeting to protest against their proposed removal from the area to make way for a dam. Saul Mkhize

was addressing the meeting when two policemen arrived to declare it illegal. After protests the police fired teargas and then left the school grounds where the meeting was being held. Outside the grounds they fired at the crowd and killed Mkhize (*RDM* 18.11.83; see *FOCUS* 47 p.2).

Earlier in 1983 two other residents of Driefontein, Themba MANANA (38) and Zephia SIBANYONI (16), died at a road-block near Potgietersrus on 19 August 1983. A colleague was also assaulted and sustained an injury to his eye.

LEBOWA DEATHS

A trainee magistrate from the Lebowa bantustan, Azaph Hope THEBETHE (27), died after police kicked and punched him at a road-block near Potgietersrus on 19 August 1983. A colleague was also assaulted and sustained an injury to his eye.

The police claim that Thebethe was slapped with an open hand and fell to the ground, hitting his head on the tarred road. According to a member of Thebethe's family he was stopped and asked for his pass, but before he could produce it he was forcefully dragged out of his car and assaulted. He was kicked and punched and died on the spot (*S* 24.8.83).

In another incident an 18 year old physically disabled high school student was found dead in the Mankweng Police Station in Lebowa where he was being held in connection with a charge of stock theft.

Thabo TSOLO was arrested on 12 August but on 17 August his family were informed that he had died. They were told that he had been found hanging in a courtyard in the morning but since the prison cells were locked at night the parents felt this an unlikely explanation. The police had also been informed of the family's intention to have their own doctor present during the post mortem examination, but an examination was held without the family's knowledge (*S* 24.8.83).

POLICE SHOOTINGS

The police shot 502 people during the first seven months of 1983, killing 140 of them. In 1982, 188 people were killed in police shootings and 551 wounded.

The majority of those shot are said to have been resisting or escaping from arrest. Others who are shot are alleged to have been 'guerillas', 'rioters' and those caught in 'crossfire'.

These figures apply to the South African police only and do not include those shot by other police forces. During the first six months of 1983 the South African Railways Police shot 33 people, killing seven of them (*RDM* 25.8.83; *Debates* 2.9.83; see *FOCUS* 46 p.10).

INKATHA VIOLENCE

Five students died and at least 100 were injured at the University of KwaZulu on 29 October 1983 when members of the Inkatha organisation, which is headed by the KwaZulu bantustan leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, attacked students who had attempted to stop a meeting addressed by the Chief.

The students had boycotted lectures and held a peaceful demonstration on 28 October because they had fears that the coming of Chief Buthelezi would result in violence. Earlier in the year he had visited the Durban-Westville campus and students were beaten up by Inkatha followers. Inkatha is unpopular among students on the campus because they identify it as a product of apartheid (*CT* 31.10.83; *S* 4.11.83).

In a second incident, Inkatha Youth members attacked a prayer meeting in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 20 November 1983. The meeting had been called by the Mpumalango Youth Organisation, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front. Police had to escort the UDF supporters out of the hall.

Inkatha members burnt a bus, slashed the tyres and smashed many car windows outside the hall. People who attempted to put out the fire were attacked (*RDM* 22.11.83).

REVIEW: BANNING OF MEETINGS

During the second half of 1983 the government attempted to stifle opposition by using its legal powers to an increasing extent to prohibit meetings. This followed the recent lifting of a number of banning orders on individuals and constitutes an alternative means of control to that of bannings on people and organisations.

The pattern of bans on meetings reflects the areas of growing popular resistance to apartheid, and to the government's constitutional proposals in particular. Many of the bans were issued under the Internal Security Act by district magistrates and referred to meetings of particular organisations. Almost all the bans were directed at the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Release Mandela Committee (RMC), or the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO).

During the month before the white referendum on 2 November to vote on the government's constitutional proposals, almost all major UDF meetings were banned. The UDF successfully challenged one of the bans in court. The Release Mandela Committee also said that it would take court action, after two meetings to launch its campaign were banned (see below).

Even where meetings were not banned the government on occasions responded with harassment of organisers or participants, or seizure of literature (see below and also *ATTACKS ON UDF*).

Meetings banned since the last issue of FOCUS are listed below (see *FOCUS 49 p.10* for earlier bans on meetings).

UDF MEETINGS

- The UDF received two notices on 7 October prohibiting it from holding meetings in the Johannesburg and Randburg areas respectively. The first order referred specifically to an administrative meeting of the National Secretariat of the UDF at which only ten people were to be present. The second covered not only a UDF meeting but 'any other gathering for the purpose of discussing, propagating or referring to plans for the organisation or combined action to prevent or undermine government initiatives to hold a referendum on November 2nd'. The UDF held its administrative meeting outside these two areas (*RDM 8/10.10.83*).
- The following weekend a ban on all gatherings of the UDF in the King William's Town district hindered a second attempt by the organisation to launch a Border branch. A month earlier a rally it had planned in the area was also banned (*DD 15.10.83; see FOCUS 49 p.10*).
- A UDF meeting due to take place in the Johannesburg area on 23 October was specifically banned (*RDM 22.10.83*).
- A meeting planned for Rondebosch in Cape Town on 24 October was banned in terms of a magistrate's order covering the Wynberg area for a two-day period, on the grounds that it could seriously endanger public peace. However, the UDF decided to challenge the ban in court on the basis of two arguments: that all South Africans had the right to debate the new constitution, and that past meetings of the UDF had shown no threat to public safety. An order setting aside the ban was issued by a Supreme Court judge shortly before the meeting was due to take place: about a thousand people finally attended. Legal observers said that although this development set a precedent for the setting aside of other bans issued by magistrates, bans issued by the Minister of Law and Order would be harder to

contest (*CT 25.10.83; RDM 26.10.83; CT 5.11.83*).

The following day the UDF sent a letter to the Prime Minister protesting against the banning of its meetings.

- A further ban was served on a meeting against the proposed constitution planned for the Pretoria area by the Transvaal Indian Congress, which is affiliated to the UDF. It was also reported that the meeting of another UDF affiliate, the Soweto Civic Association, had been banned (*RDM 5.10.83; CT 25.10.83*).
- The Transvaal Anti-President's Council Committee, set up to oppose the new constitution, was affected by a ban on meetings in the Johannesburg area, when a rally it had organised for 23 October was prevented from taking place (*CT 22.10.83*).
- In another development, participants in a motor cavalcade in Cape Town which was part of a UDF event, were detained and charged under the Internal Security Act with attending an illegal gathering. The event was part of a series of nationwide rallies and other activities organised by the UDF on the weekend preceding the white referendum (see *TRIALS in this issue; CT 1.11.83*).

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

- Following the previous banning of a rally to launch the new campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, another meeting, to be held at the University of the North, was prevented from taking place by a weekend ban on all gatherings except church gatherings in the Thabamooop district (*S 3.10.83; see FOCUS 49, p.10*).
- A RMC meeting to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the mass bannings of black organisations on 19 October 1977 was also banned (*S 20.10.83*).
- On the weekend of 22 October a ban was imposed on all meetings of the RMC in the Johannesburg area and any meeting referring to, discussing or propagating the campaign. The ban stopped a second rally planned for Soweto to launch the campaign. The publicity secretary of the RMC, Aubrey Mokoena, later said that the Committee would challenge the validity of any further bans in the Supreme Court. (On two occasions during this period Mokoena was held briefly for questioning by the police.) (*CT 24.9.83; S 20/21.10.83; CT 22.10.83; Star 14.11.83*).

AZAPO MEETINGS

- Over the weekend following the anniversary of the mass bannings of black organisations in October 1977, a ban was served on all meetings in the Johannesburg district commemorating the bannings and any gatherings at which 'black consciousness' organisations were referred to, propagated or discussed. The order specifically referred to a meeting organised by AZAPO to take place in Soweto. AZAPO made alternative arrangements, however, and the rally finally took place in Sharpeville.
- Meetings of 'black power' organisations were also banned in the Krugersdorp and Randfontein districts over the weekend. Elsewhere, it was reported that police stopped a commemoration meeting in Durban (*CT 22.10.83; RDM 24.10.83; GN 24.10.83*).

The bans followed a similar prohibition on meetings of black organisations the previous month when 'black consciousness week' was commemorated (see *FOCUS 49 p.10*).

MEMORIAL MEETINGS

- Memorial meetings for Dr Yusuf Dadoo, former chairman of the banned South African Communist Party, were prohibited in four areas of Natal on two occasions in September. The

first ban, covering the weekend following Dr Dadoo's death, was immediately followed by a second, which also covered memorials for Rev Michael Scott, a British-born anti-apartheid activist who died in London in September. The ban prevented a memorial meeting for Dadoo and Scott from taking place in Durban (*DN 28.9.83; CT 29.9.83; see FOCUS 49 p.10*).

- Security police removed posters publicising a memorial service in Benoni, on the East Rand, for a former ANC member, Mary Moodley, who died in 1979. The service was nevertheless attended by over 400 people (*RDM 25.10.83*).

OTHER MEETINGS

- A weekend ban in October on all meetings in Seshego, in the Lebowa bantustan, prevented the inaugural meeting of the Black Electronics & Electrical Workers Union from taking place (*RDM 1.10.83*).

Earlier in the year police warned mine-workers not to contravene the Riotous Assemblies Act by holding outdoor meetings, while employers refused to allow mineworkers to hold open-air meetings on mine property without permission from a magistrate (*RDM 14.6.83*).

- In East London a meeting organised by the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was banned in October. Many members of COSAS have been detained since the beginning of the bus boycott in the Ciskei bantustan in July 1983 (*DD 8.10.83; see DETENTIONS in this issue*).

LAWS RESTRICTING MEETINGS

- *Internal Security Act, 1982* (Section 46) A magistrate can prohibit any gathering in his district, any particular gathering, or any particular kind of gathering, at a particular place in his district, for as long as 48 hours, if he 'has reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered'. He may also place conditions on gatherings: in the case of a procession a route may be prescribed.

The Minister of Law and Order's powers are much wider. He can ban any gathering in any area or any specific gathering or any particular kind of gathering at a particular place during any period, on a variety of grounds: if he deems it necessary for maintaining the security of the State or the public peace, or to prevent the fomenting of feelings of hostility between different population groups.

The Internal Security Act of 1982 incorporated the relevant passages of the *Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956*, previously used to ban meetings.

- The annual ban on outdoor gatherings imposed after the 1976 uprising, and covering all outdoor meetings except sports gatherings, has been renewed annually, originally under the Riotous Assemblies Act and later under the present Internal Security Act. Only those gatherings for which permission has been given by a minister or magistrate are legal. The ban was last renewed in March 1983 (*GG No. 662, 25.3.83; see FOCUS 42 p.12*).

- *The Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings Prohibition Act, 1982* prohibits all demonstrations and gatherings in court buildings except on weekends and public holidays, or where permission has been granted by a magistrate. Even a one-person demonstration, if it concerns any court proceeding, can be banned (see *FOCUS 42 p.6*).

namibia

MASS ARRESTS IN KAVANGO

A massive crackdown on civilians suspected of supporting SWAPO has been reported in the Kavango region, with large numbers detained and further arrests threatened by the military throughout the whole of Namibia. Further evidence of the systematic torture of detainees and assaults on civilians has come to light in the course of inquests, trials and personal evidence from the victims.

The military and security clampdown in Kavango is part of a sustained campaign, begun in November 1982, against SWAPO guerrillas who appear to have stepped up their activities in the region.

Among those detained in October 1983 were members of the police and army, senior civil servants and politicians. The head of the security police, Colonel Sarel Strydom, confirmed that an 'intensive investigation' was being carried out into allegations that the detainees had given aid to SWAPO combatants. He confirmed that a San (Bushman) member of the SWA Police (SWAP) had been detained on suspicion that he had helped guerrillas to mine the tarred road between Rundu and Grootfontein. A member of 202 Battalion of the SWA Territory Force (SWATF), as well as several other members of the SWAP and the Special Constables had also been detained, as had officials of the Kavango administration (WA 1.11.83).

In a subsequent statement reported on Namibian radio Colonel Strydom said no proof existed that SWAPO members were infiltrating the security forces (WA 3.11.83).

The exact number of people detained in the police operation in October 1983 remains unclear. Several newspapers reported that more than 50 people had been arrested in the last two weeks of October, most of them on 19 October. The arrests were carried out by members of the Windhoek security police, assisted by police officers in Rundu, the main town in Kavango. Further arrests were reported in November 1983. Police claimed that a total of 29 were being held, and gave the names of 17 detainees in Kavango (WA 4.11.83).

In addition, a number of people were reported arrested in Windhoek at the end of September 1983 and in early November. All are believed to be held under Proclamation AG 9. The following names of persons arrested in Kavango were given by the police — some had previously been held in detention, and in some cases their release had not been reported.

Arrested on 19.10.83:

Penty DE CELESTINO, male nurse
Josef KANDJIMI, labourer at Department of Works, Rundu
Romanus KANDJIMI, school inspector
Jako KANGAJI, teacher from Nkurenkuru. Previously detained in December 1981 and tortured, released 12.1.82. Rearrested early November 1982, released 9.11.82 (FOCUS 40 p.9, 41 p.3, 44 p.2, 45 p.8)
Lucas (second name not known); from Mupapama village. Arrest not confirmed by police.

Paulus MANGUNDU SIKINDO, driver
Malakia MUREMI, driver. Previously detained in early November 1982, released 19.11.82 (FOCUS 44 p.2, 45 p.8)

Nimrod MUREMI, forestry officer. Previously arrested in March 1983, release not reported (FOCUS 46 p.3, 49 p.3)

Gideon NESTOR, accountant. Previously arrested on 8.4.83, release not reported (FOCUS 47 p.9, 49 p.3)

Gosberth SIKERETHE, clerk with ENOK. Previously arrested on 8.4.83, release not reported (FOCUS 47 p.9, 49 p.3)

Rev Johannes SINDANO, priest of Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo Kavango (ELOC) church at Kasote village

Remigius SIYAVE, paymaster. Previously arrested in November 1982, released 29.11.82 (FOCUS 44 p.2, 45 p.8).

(Sources: WA 28.10.83; CT 29.10.83; RDM 29.10.83).

Arrested at the beginning of November 1983 in Kavango:

Pastor Heikki HAUSIKU, from Nkurenkuru
Kauko NAIRENGO, employed at Department of Education in Mupini

Marcus NEKARO, employed at Department of Finance, Rundu

Edward SHIKONGO (SIKONGO), cashier at Barclays Bank, Rundu. Previously detained in March 1983, release not reported (FOCUS 46 p.3, 49 p.3).

Engelberth SIKONGO, clerk at Rundu post office

Nikodemus NAIRENGE, Dutch Reformed Church minister of Takwasa village. Arrested 7.11.83 under AG 9.

(Sources: WA 4.11.83; LWI 10.11.83; WA 11.11.83).

Arrests in Windhoek:

Seven people were reported to have been detained in Windhoek on 30 September 1983, though a police spokesman confirmed only two detentions. Rahimisa KAHIMISA and Gregor MAKGONE, both employees of the Council of Churches in Namibia, were being held under Proclamation AG 9 (WA 30.9.83). Rahimisa KAHIMISA was previously detained in 1978 and March 1982 (FOCUS 17 p.11, 22 p.14, 30 p.9, 40 p.8).

Joseph UJAH, a SWAPO member who participated in the SWAPO demonstration in Windhoek during the visit of the United Nations Secretary General in August 1983, was reported to have been arrested on 28.10.83 under Proclamation AG 9 (WA 2.11.83, FOCUS 49 p.1: See photo p.9).

Gideon SIWOMBE and Festus SIHEMBA, both from Katatura, were reported to have been arrested on 7 November 1983 under AG 9 (WA 11.11.83).

Still in detention:

A number of persons arrested since July 1983, whose names have not previously been recorded in FOCUS, were reported to be still in detention in mid-October 1983. They are:
Saima NAIKUVA, a farmer from Osamanbo
Johannes MUNDJIBALALI, a farmer from Ongobe

Timoteus NAKAFINGO } both farmers from
Sakeus NATANAEL } Oshikuni

Johannes NAKALE } farmers from Ekonghola
Maria MARTIN }

Abed NGJIPANDULUA, teacher and ELOC lay preacher, arrested September 1983

Immanuel MOONGO, postal clerk, Oniipa, arrested September 1983

Aaron MUSATI, teacher, Onayena, arrested September 1983

Asser MARKUS, teacher, Rupara, arrested 16.9.83

Joseph POKATI

(Information from Amnesty International, 18.10.83).

Releases

The release of people held in detention is in many instances not officially announced by the authorities, or reported in the press. In several cases during 1983, a person's release from detention only became publicly known when they appeared at a press conference describing their experiences in detention (see FOCUS 49 p.4).

Police did announce in November 1983 the release from detention of three teachers, Alex SIREMO, Engelhard KAKORO and Andreas KANJINGA. They had all been arrested in November 1982 in the Kavango region. While Kanjinga appears to have spent the whole year in detention, Kakoro was reported to have been released and redetained in the course of the year since November 1982, and Siremo was reported to have been released on 29 November 1982 from his earlier detention; it was not clear when he had been rearrested prior to his release in November 1983 (FOCUS 45 p.8, 49 p.3; WA 4.11.83).

Arnodus HANS, a worker at a steel manufacturing company in Windhoek, and the Secretary of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, was reported to have been arrested on 1 October 1983 and released on 28 October 1983. His house was searched by police officers, and some documents he had brought back from a Catholic conference in Johannesburg were confiscated. Hans told journalists that he had been held in Okahandja in a lice-infested cell, and had been given poor food. His back and kidney problems had been aggravated by sleeping on the floor. Police had questioned him about the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (WA 4.11.83).

Three teachers and a farmer from the Tondoro area of western Kavango who had been in detention since July 1983 appeared at a press conference hosted by the leader of the Namibia Christian Democratic Party, Hans Röhr, and recounted their experiences in detention. Adam KABONO, H. HAUSIKU, C. HAIMBILI and J. KATEWA appeared to have been released in early October 1983. (H. Hausiku is likely to be the same person as N. Hasiku, arrested in July 1983 and described then as a teacher from Tondoro) (FOCUS 49 p.3).

The four men told journalists how they had been rounded up by members of Koevoet after SWAPO guerrillas had come to their village and apparently shot dead two Koevoet members

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KOEVOET: 'SPECIALISTS IN EXTERMINATION'

The role of Koevoet as a 'machine of death' employing skilled interrogators and 'specialists in extermination' was highlighted in a number of court cases and public revelations in the last quarter of 1983. Victims of Koevoet atrocities and relatives of two men who died in detention, as well as a police officer, gave testimony of the unrestrained brutalities committed by Koevoet members. All expressed fears that their own lives were in danger as a result of their testimony (WA 11.10.83; CT 10.10.83).

The cases present a picture of systematic torture, assaults and intimidation of civilians throughout the northern region of Namibia. According to evidence given in one case, detachments of Koevoet roamed the 'operational area' in Casspir armoured personnel carriers in search of SWAPO guerillas. There were usually two or three white policemen commanding between 30 and 40 black Koevoet policemen on patrols. Their strategy was two-fold — the gathering of information and then extermination based on collated intelligence (CT 10.10.83).

The average age of Koevoet members was between 23 and 24 years, but many were under 18, a Koevoet commander told the court in another case. Giving evidence *in camera* at the trial of two Koevoet members on 13 charges of

charged with investigating the case, had a hand grenade thrown at him by one of the accused when he, Nghosi, was trying to arrest the man. Nghosi told the court that off-duty Koevoet men took their weapons home to the location near Oshakati where many of them lived. This was the main reason why the neighbourhood had deteriorated into a state of lawlessness. He refused to reveal any details about the work of Koevoet, claiming that 'they will say I spoke badly of Koevoet. They will curse me ... or kill me' (WA 26.9.83; WO 8.10.83).

The fear of retaliation was expressed most strongly by one of the torture victims present at a press conference in Tsumeb: 'For a black man to talk about what is happening in the north is to sign his own death warrant' (GN 15.11.83).

In the period between September and late October 1983, five major court hearings involving Koevoet members accused of atrocities and violence were in progress. In addition, several other cases of torture and intimidation came to light. According to one press report, Koevoet are responsible for more than 80 per cent of violent deaths in the Ovambo and Kavango war zones (RDM 4.10.83; WA 21.10.83).

DEATHS IN DETENTION

The inquests into the deaths in detention of Jonah HAMUKWAYA, a school teacher, and Kudimu KATANGA opened in Rundu in October 1983. Both had been arrested on 18 November 1982 by members of Koevoet as part of a spate of detentions in the area. Both died, in separate incidents, while in Koevoet custody (FOCUS 44 p.2, 46 p.2, 48 p.11).

At the inquest into Hamukwaya's death, a Koevoet officer claimed that Hamukwaya had died as a result of falling down steps in a dugout at a police base at Nkurenkuru. Sergeant Keith Abrahams told the court that his unit was investigating the presence of SWAPO guerillas near Hamukwaya's residence. At Namuntutu school, where Hamukwaya worked, several people were interrogated, and Hamukwaya was detained for further questioning.

Abrahams told the court that Hamukwaya had been blindfolded and put into a Casspir vehicle, where he had fallen over a chest containing mortars. A group of Koevoet members took Hamukwaya to a secluded spot on a river bank near the school. Abrahams denied that Hamukwaya was assaulted. Hamukwaya was then taken to the police base at Nkurenkuru, still blindfolded. He was escorted by two policemen to a room in a dugout where he slipped and plunged feet first down the stairs. He allegedly landed with his spine on the floor and with the back of his head on the bottom step. Half an hour later he died.

According to a pathologist's report, Hamukwaya died of a brain haemorrhage. His body had extensive lesions.

Hamukwaya's wife, Katriena Nehemia, told the court that her husband had left for the school as usual on 18 November. Later that day, she went to the river to get water. She heard thumps as though someone was being beaten. She then heard screams and recognised the voice of her husband. The screams became faint, but when she went to investigate she saw three Koevoet men coming towards her and fled.

Asked why she told police in a sworn statement that she had not heard any screams and had not been near the river that day, Katriena Nehemia said she had been afraid that if she told the truth, a Koevoet patrol would return and kill her as they killed her husband. Hamukwaya's mother stated that she had gone to the river with a group of women that day

and had heard screams. She said she had recognised her son's voice (WA 11.10.83).

The Rundu Inquest Court ruled on 11 October 1983 that unidentified Koevoet policemen had caused Hamukwaya's death. His death had been caused by 'an unlawful act or omission by certain members of Koevoet who could not be identified'. The actual cause of death was a head injury with aspiration of the stomach contents. The court ruling, while blaming Koevoet for Hamukwaya's death, meant that no individual member of Koevoet would be charged for the crime (WA 12.10.83; GN 12.10.83).

KADIMU KATANGA INQUEST

Similar leniency was shown to four Koevoet members charged with culpable homicide in the case of Kadimu KATANGA. Despite evidence that Katanga was subjected to brutalities which led to his death, two of the accused were acquitted and the other two were sentenced to fines of R30 (or 10 days imprisonment) and R60 (or 20 days) for common assault.

Katanga and a neighbour, Raimbert Mbsi, were picked up by Koevoet on 18 November after crossing the Kavango river into Namibia from the Angolan side where they had chopped wood. They were beaten by five policemen and Katanga was blindfolded. They were taken in a police Casspir vehicle to their residences, questioned, and Mbsi was taken away to search for firearms.

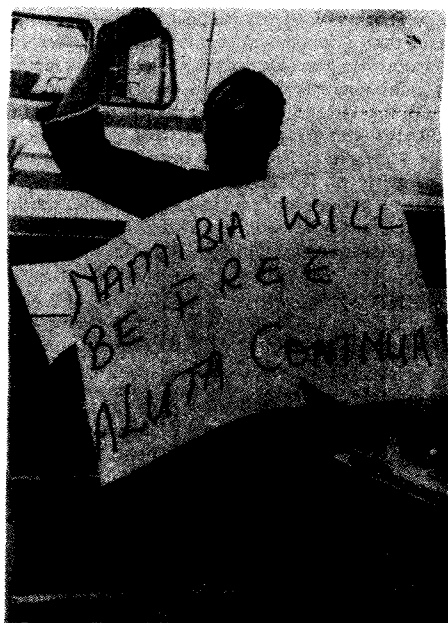
The police returned to Katanga's residence, and forced him to run from house to house, followed by some 30 Koevoet members in Casspir vehicles, ostensibly to search for weapons. He collapsed unconscious after being forced to run for several kilometres in intense heat and being beaten with an ox yoke. The chief state pathologist told the court that he had found multiple lacerations on Katanga's body and extensive injuries on the forehead and the rest of the face. The probable cause of death had been brain haemorrhage through a fall (WA 21.10.83, 9.11.83).

The four accused pleaded not guilty to a charge of culpable homicide, and claimed that their action was within the ambit of Section 103 of the Defence Act (RDM 7.11.83). At the close of the case, the presiding magistrate largely exonerated the four accused by speaking about the difficulties encountered in the field by Koevoet. Special methods had to be employed to track down SWAPO guerillas and the court took into account that the two policemen (who were fined) had acted in the heat of the struggle. From the evidence it was clear that the policemen had acted 'over-enthusiastically', the magistrate said. The court accepted that Katanga had died from brain haemorrhage, sustained through a fall, but no evidence had been led on how he had fallen or who had been responsible (WA 11.11.83).

RAPE AND MURDER

The trial of two Koevoet constables, who went on the rampage in the Ovambo region, opened in the Windhoek Supreme Court on 20 September 1983. Jonas Paulus (28), an Angolan, and Paulus Matheus (22) appeared on eleven charges including murder, attempted murder, attempted rape and robbery with aggravating circumstances. On 6 December, Paulus was sentenced to death, while Matheus received a 12 year prison sentence (T 7.12.83).

The two Koevoet members spread terror in a number of villages in Ovambo by pretending to be SWAPO guerillas. Over a period of several days in January 1983, they shot and killed one



Joseph Ujaha, a SWAPO member in detention.

murder, attempted murder and rape, Sergeant Major Norval described Koevoet operations. His men would arrive at a settlement where SWAPO guerillas had called. One section of his men would continue to follow the footprints while others would remain behind to question the inhabitants of the settlement. Those suspected of being SWAPO guerillas but dressed in civilian clothes would be taken to Oshakati, which had special facilities for questioning.

It was a standing rule that Koevoet members could take their guns with them when going home, since in many instances Koevoet members had been murdered in the past. A police officer, giving evidence in the same trial, told the court that he feared for his life if he testified on the activities of Koevoet. Detective Warrant Officer Simeon Nghosi, who was

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HEALTH CARE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Further deterioration in the social and physical conditions of life for Namibians is clearly apparent in the latest reports of South African military activity in the war zones. In the short term, lives, health and welfare are threatened by the spread of epidemic diseases, impoverished and unhygienic living conditions and the almost total breakdown of medical services — in addition to the physical dangers of intense military activity, the curfew and other counter-insurgency measures. In the long term, the country faces the prospect of widespread and possibly irreversible damage to its rich flora and fauna and their natural habitat.

MILITARY TAKEOVER

It was announced in October 1983 that the army was to take over control of all hospitals and medical services in the Ovambo region, on the grounds that this was the only way to restore falling standards of medical care. The plan, which caused anger and consternation in many quarters, particularly among nursing staff, was nevertheless reported at the end of October to have already been implemented.

The proposal was presented to the 'second tier' (bantustan) authorities in Ovambo on 11 October, in the form of a memorandum from the Administrator General, Dr Willie van Niekerk. It apparently threatened to cut off funds to the Administration for Ovambos, thereby relieving them of effective second-tier control of medical services, if they failed to agree to the plan (WA 17.10.83).

On 26 October, the Director of Government Liaison for the Administrator General, Fanuel Kozonguizi, told a meeting of the Namibia Education Forum that the army takeover had already been put into effect. He explained that 'the AG had to use the army as an agent because they are the only available machinery' (WA 27.10.83).

The South African Defence Force has in practice been deeply involved in running the health services in Namibia for a number of years, originally as part of its 'hearts and minds' public relations programme. The Broeksma Commission, whose official report into Namibia's health services was released in August 1983, noted that half the country's 180 doctors were now from the army. Many of the remainder are serving with churches and missions (WA 27.10.83).

The October announcement of a formal army takeover nevertheless fuelled fears that the work of the various church denominations in providing medical care was to be made even more difficult and that missionaries might be forced out of the Ovambo region altogether. The plan was also seen as a security measure by the SADF to prevent any possibility of hospitals and clinics treating wounded SWAPO combatants (WA 17.10.83).

SPREAD OF DISEASE

Bubonic plague, malaria, tuberculosis, various forms of venereal disease and, in some areas, typhoid, have all been reported as having reached 'epidemic' proportions in Namibia ('Caught in the Crossfire, the war in Namibia' by Tony Weaver, *Work in Progress* 29, 1983). Of these, the spread of bubonic plague has, not surprisingly, caused the greatest alarm inside the country.

Bubonic plague — also known as the 'Black Death' in the European context — almost

invariably causes death if antibiotic treatment is not started immediately after the appearance of symptoms. No inoculation against the disease is available. In the war-torn circumstances of northern Namibia, where hospitals and clinics are few and far between and travel made even more difficult by the enforcement of military curfews, this means that the actual casualty rate may be much higher than the official figures suggest.

Between November 1982 and the end of September 1983, 536 cases of bubonic plague were reported to the authorities in northern Namibia. Of these, 353 occurred in the six months from April — September 1983. Five of these people died. During the previous year, from March 1982 to April 1982, 166 cases were reported (WO 17.9.83; RDM 30.9.83).

In a statement issued in September and clearly designed to alleviate anxiety among the families of national servicemen and the population at large, the Administrator General blamed the increase in plague on the current drought. 'As is well known', he said, 'a certain restricted area in Ovambo was identified by the World Health Organisation as an endemic plague reported every year in the dry season'. Pointing out that the plague was carried by infected fleas which had been in contact with plague-infested rodents, he continued that 'the present drought, which has persisted for a number of years, has forced the rodents to look for food closer to human habitation, and this resulted in the increase of bubonic plague cases reported' (RDM 13.9.83).

Other commentators have pointed out, however, that the area most affected by bubonic plague — the 30 km-wide strip between the towns of Oshakati and Ondangua — now accommodates nearly 250,000 people, or approximately half the population of the Ovambo region. While the drought and economic recession have contributed to this situation, the main pressures on civilians to move from their homes to be nearer to urban areas and military bases arise from the war — notably the curfew and other security measures, and the efforts by the South African Defence Force to create 'free-fire' cleared zones in which SWAPO combatants will find it impossible or extremely difficult to operate (see *FOCUS* 49 p.4).

The squatter settlements and shanty towns which house the refugees from the war zones have no waterborne sewage or lavatory facilities. The strip between Oshakati and Ondangua, in particular, has been pinpointed by the head of environmental health in Namibia as a breeding ground for bubonic plague and other illnesses (*Work in Progress*, 29, op cit; RDM 30.9.83).

DEFOLIATION PROGRAMME

Chemical defoliants have reportedly been used in both the Kavango and the Ovambo regions as part of the army's counter-insurgency measures. Ecologists in Namibia have expressed fears that the bush-clearing and poisoning programme may be causing irreparable damage to the environment.

Starting in October 1983, an extensive bush-clearing operation has been under way along the main tarred road leading from the borders of the southern Kavango region to the administrative capital of Rundu on the Angolan border. All vegetation, including thousands of mature trees, is being stripped off with bulldozers to a width of 250–300m on both sides of the road. Then, according to press reports, the ground is being soaked with a powerful poison to prevent the bush from reestablishing itself (WO 15.10.83; RDM 19.10.83).

A total of 110 km of the highway is due to be treated in this way, with the aim of making

it more difficult for SWAPO guerrillas to ambush security force vehicles. A similar defoliation programme was undertaken in the Ovambo war zone some three years ago according to reports. The vegetation is less thick in Ovambo and the main tarred road between the Oshivello stock control point and Oshakati is cleared to a width of about 100m. The tarred roads in the war zones are built of double thickness tar as a precaution against landmines (RDM 19.10.83; CT 20.10.83).

A further precaution being taken in Ovambo is the erection of a large electrified fence along the border of the Etosha Pan Game Park, stretching from Oshivello into the Andoni Plains. Wildlife displaced from its natural habitat by the movements of the armed forces and military construction projects has been seeking refuge in the Etosha Park (RDM 19.10.83; *Work in Progress* 29 op cit).

At the end of October 1983 it was reported that other stretches along the Ondangua-Grootfontein highway and between Grootfontein and the Kavango district boundary were due to be cleared (BBC 29.10.83).

In a statement released on 25 October, the Namibia Wildlife Trust warned that the bush clearing was doing 'irreparable damage' to the ecology. 'It appears that a hasty decision was made and that the public had not been adequately informed', the Trust said. Wind erosion was already causing further destruction in the cleared strips, it noted (WA 26.10.83).

The South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) denied that poison was being used in combination with mechanical defoliation, and said that a forestry specialist was consulted to ensure that 'damage to the ecology was kept to a minimum'. Some trees would be left intact and the cleared strips would be levelled and planted with grass (WA 26.10.83).

A cleared strip has also been created around the parts of Rundu housing the white population, government offices, the ethnic radio system and other public institutions, businesses and warehouses. An 11 km long double security fence has been set up and the 200m strip between the two fences cleaned of all bush and shrub. Armed troops of 202 Battalion guard all crossing points (WO 12.11.83).

HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

An official Commission of Enquiry into Namibia's health services, appointed by the Administrator General in 1981, concluded that the existing ethnically fragmented system of administration had led to 'dissipation and inefficiency'. The Broeksma Commission, whose report was only released by the Administrator General in August 1983, recommended that responsibility for health services should be taken away from the ethnic 'second tier' (bantustan) authorities and consolidated under the central government of Namibia (WA 23.8.83).

The provision that health services for each ethnic or 'population group' should be the responsibility of the corresponding second tier authority is contained in Proclamation AG8, a crucial piece of legislation in what has come to be known as South Africa's 'internal settlement' for Namibia. Proclamation AG8, enacted in April 1980, sets out the powers and responsibilities of the 11 'Representative Authorities'. Its implementation, as far as the health services are concerned, means that in theory each ethnic group in any particular town or region should have its own hospital and medical facilities. The irrationality and wastefulness of such a system have been widely criticised (see 'Namibia — The Constitutional Fraud', IDAF Briefing Paper No 2 July 1981).

RED CROSS VISIT HARDAP DAM

A visit by an International Red Cross delegation to the Hardap Dam detention camp near Mariental prompted the South African armed forces to confirm that 146 prisoners were being held there. Of these, 14 were Angolan prisoners of war while the remainder were described as 'security detainees'.

It was further confirmed that 'most' of the 132 security detainees had been captured in Angola during the South African raid on Kassinga and other Namibian refugee settlements in May 1978 — i.e. that they were the Kassinga detainees.

The International Red Cross (ICRC) delegation, comprising representatives from the organisation's Geneva headquarters, visited the Hardap Dam camp on 18 and 19 August 1983. They reported seeing 14 Angolan prisoners of war and 139 security detainees, seven of whom were later released. A spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF), asked to confirm these figures, said that most of the 14 Angolans were soldiers in the Angolan armed

forces (FAPLA). The possibility of negotiations between Angola and South Africa for their release was not apparently mentioned (WO 15.10.83).

The *Windhoek Advertiser* further commented on the fact that because there is no 'declared war' between South Africa and SWAPO, the security detainees at Hardap Dam were not officially classified by South Africa as prisoners of war. The report said that they were being held under Security Proclamation AG9, which provides for detention periods of up to 30 days, renewable by the Administrator General (WA 14.10.83; CT 15.10.83).

The SWATF spokesman said that the detainees at Hardap Dam were visited by the ICRC every two or three months. The ICRC itself said that, as was its usual practice, no further details of its visit could be disclosed (WA 14.10.83).

Although the Kassinga detainees have been held in detention without charge for nearly six years, it is still not possible, due to South

African censorship and the secrecy which surrounds them, to say precisely how many there are. Apart from the main group at Hardap Dam, it is believed that some may have been transferred to other prisons such as that at the Osire military base near Hochfeld (FOCUS 47 p.11).

Until comparatively recently, when a number of relatives and clergymen who had visited the Kassinga detainees were interviewed about their experiences (see FOCUS 47 op cit), little was known about conditions in the Hardap Dam detention camp. It has been described by a journalist as 'a neat and tidy layout in the grasslands in a restricted area hemmed in between the Hardap Dam and Mariental proper' and as 'a lonely camp in the hills to the west' of Mariental (WO 15.10.83). Hardap Dam itself is a recreational centre where a new restaurant has recently been completed for visitors and tourists (WO 8.10.83).

KOEVOET

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man, raped one woman, shot and wounded three other people, assaulted and robbed six people of their belongings, tried to rape two women and threw a live hand grenade at a man. The two accused pleaded guilty to some of the robbery charges, but denied other charges of murder, rape and attempted robbery.

Counsel for Jonas Paulus told the court that his client did not understand the legal basis on which his actions were to be judged. As a member of Koevoet, he acted according to instructions to 'hunt SWAPO guerrillas'. His client believed that he had the right to shoot, and reserved the right to fall back on Section 103 of the Defence Act. A commission ranging from R100 to R300 was apparently paid for every SWAPO insurgent killed (WA 21.9.83).

A verdict of 'guilty' on several charges was handed down in the Windhoek Supreme Court on 28 September 83. Jonas Paulus, who joined Koevoet in 1980, was found guilty of murder, rape, two counts of attempted murder and four counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances. Paulus Mathews, who joined Koevoet in 1978, was found guilty on four charges of robbery with aggravating circumstances, one of rape, and one of attempted murder.

In his summing up, the presiding judge said evidence before the court had shown 'as disquieting state of affairs in Ovambo'. Sentencing was deferred while the court heard evidence in mitigation by the Group Commander of Koevoet, Warrant Officer George Norval. The hearing was *in camera* because some of the evidence to be led would be of a sensitive nature, dealing with combat situations against SWAPO, according to defence counsel for the two Koevoet members (see above).

The trial was postponed to 22 November 1983, to allow for psychiatric observation of Jonas Paulus, described by Norval as 'very aggressive'. Brigadier Hans Dreyer, the head of Koevoet, was due to give evidence *in camera* (CT 1.10.83).

FORCED TO FLEE

The case of a Namibian evangelist and his wife, forced to flee from their home after a campaign of intimidation and terror believed to have been carried out by Koevoet, illustrates the complete disregard shown by the armed forces for ordinary people's lives.

Timoteus Nakale and his wife Hiletia, both in their seventies, had lived in the village of Ekoka in the extreme north of Ovambo for 17

years. A group of armed men visited their house in June 1983 while Timoteus was out. They questioned his wife, and then left. The same day a farmer living nearby was killed. Mrs Nakale left the house in fear, met her husband and the two took refuge in a village some 30 km away.

They returned home in early August. The windows of their house had been broken, and the interior vandalised. Neighbours told them that the armed men, who had also visited their son, had returned. Nakale tried to lodge a complaint with the police but was dismissed twice.

Nakale continued to hear stories from his village about people being beaten and killed, of others being arrested, and of continued visits by the group of armed men. Many teachers from the area, including his son, had fled to the central Ovambo area (LWI 20.10.83; WA 1.11.83).

ROASTED ALIVE

A particularly horrific action by two members of the SWATF was described by Hans Röhr, leader of the Namibia Christian Democratic Party, at a press conference in Tsumeb in early November 1983 (see RELEASES).

A 63-year-old man from Kavango, Ndana KAPITANGO, was apparently roasted over a fire and later tossed into the hot coals by the two SWATF members.

The incident took place in June 1983, when several soldiers appeared at a watering post where Kapitango was giving water to his cattle. Kapitango had made a fire nearby and was

sitting next to it. Two soldiers started beating him without having said anything. They then grabbed him by his hands and feet and held him on top of the fire. When he became unconscious they threw him onto the fire.

Röhr said he had wanted to bring Kapitango to the press conference, but Kapitango, an old man, was still too ill to move. The case had been referred to lawyers for possible action (RDM 8.11.83; WA 8.11.83; T 9.11.83).

MASS ARRESTS

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staying with their father. The four described how they were blindfolded, beaten, given electric shocks and left in prison for almost three months. Three of the men said they had been beaten with a spade, and showed journalists the fresh scars on their buttocks. They told the press that they had been kept, blindfolded, in a corrugated iron cage.

All four said they had been forced to sign statements on their release which they had not been allowed to read. They had been threatened with death by their captors if they spoke about their treatment (GN 15.11.83).

BORDER ARRESTS

Nine people were arrested on 25 September 1983 while attempting to cross the Namibia — Botswana border. They were sentenced in the Gobabis magistrates court in early October 1983 to five months imprisonment, of which two months were suspended for three years (WA 7.10.83).

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DESTABILIZATION—SOME RECENT TRENDS

Discernible features of South Africa's programme of regional destabilization during 1983 have included:

- a sustained military offensive by South African regular forces in Angola
- increased and more overt support for surrogate forces in Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique in particular
- the use of economic and other pressures to influence government policies among the frontline and neighbouring states, particularly on the treatment of refugees and relations with the liberation movements. This has been particularly noticeable in Lesotho.
- greater use of the regional and international media in a 'disinformation offensive' to project South African government thinking.

In Angola, Pretoria has been seeking to consolidate and extend its two-and-a-half-year-old occupation of parts of Kunene province; while stepping up attacks in the other southern provinces of Namibe and Kuando Kubango, and the central provinces of Moxico and Huila (see *FOCUS 49 p.12*).

The offensive has been pushed forward by South African regular troops acting in close conjunction with UNITA and various mercenary and irregular forces. According to one Namibian-based analyst, a division of labour has emerged under which responsibility for aggressive, 'seek-and-destroy' missions inside Namibia is increasingly being taken by the police, particularly its specialist units such as Koevoet, while national servicemen are deployed on routine patrolling, guard duties and administration: 'It is now accepted', according to this source, 'that the major role played by the SADF is that of securing the southern regions of Angola, particularly Cunene and Cuando-Cubango provinces' (*'Caught in the Crossfire: the war in Namibia'*, by Tony Weaver, *Work in Progress 29*, 1983).

South Africa's preparations for further advance into the central regions of Angola have included reinforcing its military bases in Kunene province and improving communication lines to facilitate the movements of troops and equipment through the occupied zone and beyond (*Angola Information Bulletin No. 44, 23.9.83; ANGOP 4.11.83*).

A marked increase in South African reconnaissance flights over central and north-central Angola was reported in the second half

of 1983, together with a growing number of missions by land, air and sea to supply South African-controlled forces operating in the central region, along the Benguela railway and elsewhere (*Angola Information Bulletin No. 44, 23.9.83*).

SURROGATE FORCES

South Africa's strategy of using surrogate forces has also been clearly illustrated in Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (see *FOCUS 45, 46 & 47, p.12 in each issue*).

In Zimbabwe, court hearings and other incidents during 1983 provided further evidence of the training of Zimbabweans in South Africa for sabotage and other missions. The military camps referred to include Ntabeni camp near Louis Trichardt in the Transvaal, 'Spencer' and 'Gumbo' (*CT/RDM 2.8.73; GN 10.8.83; Herald, Zimbabwe 8.10.83*).

The Zimbabwean Minister of State with responsibility for security, Emmerson Mnangagwa, stated in September 1983 that some Zimbabweans were being trained in the Bophuthatswana bantustan. They were being infiltrated into Zimbabwe under the leadership of former white officers in Zimbabwe's own intelligence and security services (*The Chronicle, Zimbabwe 14.7.83, 8.9.83*).

Mnangagwa later gave journalists a list of names of SADF officers involved in training Zimbabwean recruits in South Africa. He said that such trainees were often sent to Namibia and deployed in Angola to gain combat experience (*Herald, Zimbabwe 8.10.83; BBC 10.10.83*).

REFUGEES

The precarious status of those South Africans and Namibians who have sought refuge in the front line and neighbouring states became sharply apparent in the aftermath of the Maseru raid and massacre of 9 December 1982 (see *FOCUS 45 p.12*).

Pressure has been exerted by Pretoria on the government of the host countries, to force them to impose restrictions on the refugees living within their borders, or even to expel them altogether.

The former protectorates of Lesotho and Swaziland have been particularly vulnerable to this kind of pressure. Immediately following the Maseru raid, a Swazi government statement warned that ANC members were in danger of attack 'from outside our borders' (*RDM 17.1.83, 11.2.83*).

In Lesotho, the pattern of attacks on government installations and facilities, assassinations and sabotage by the South

African-backed Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) continued throughout 1983. A new feature was the increasing use of economic blockades and other forms of harassment by South Africa.

Addressing the Lesotho parliament in April 1983, the Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, listed these forms of attack as including: a campaign to discourage tourists from visiting Lesotho; harassment of Lesotho citizens at border posts and the restriction of entry to South Africa; the build-up of a network of agents inside Lesotho; and a blockade on the movement of goods through South Africa into Lesotho, including military equipment (*'A brief to the Lesotho Parliament by the Prime Minister', April 1983, Maseru*).

DISINFORMATION

South Africa has been making increasing use of its information services—both official and unofficial—in support of its destabilization strategy. Activity by clandestine radio stations broadcasting to Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe has been particularly noticeable.

Clandestine radio stations based in the Transvaal ('Radio Truth' and 'Voice of the Mozambique Resistance') and in Namibia ('Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel') have been consistently used throughout 1983 in support of South Africa's surrogate forces in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola respectively. By publicising the claims to military success and advance by UNITA and the MNR ('Mozambique National Resistance'), the stations serve to give greater credibility and importance to these forces. They have also broadcast commentaries on wider political events which reflect South African government thinking or seem calculated to stir up mutual suspicion and confusion among the front line and neighbouring states, to undermine the co-operation being achieved through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) or to sour relations between independent Africa and the liberation movements.

It was to counter what was seen as Pretoria's disinformation offensive that the information ministers of the front line states met at Kadoma in Zimbabwe in July 1983 and agreed a programme of co-operation in the training of journalists, the attitude to South African-based correspondents wishing to visit the front line states and other matters (known as the 'Kadoma declaration') (*Anti-Apartheid News, October 1983*).



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