

Steel file closet m

PR



News Bulletin of the International Defence & Aid Fund



focus

ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE & AID FUND
for Southern Africa

P. O. Box 17
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138

VED FOR
NORTH AMERICAN DISTRIBUTION

1978 No. 21 March-April 1979

UNIV. WIS. LIBRARY

ZIMBABWE: HANGINGS CONFIRMED

Despite repeated claims to the contrary by the black parties to the internal settlement (notably Bishop Muzorewa), it has now been confirmed that political prisoners are continuing to be illegally executed in Rhodesia.

Previous issues of *FOCUS* (nos. 16-20) have documented the various assurances by spokesmen for the regime on the hangings issue, since the signing of the internal settlement agreement in March 1978. In September 1978 the Rhodesian Attorney General, apparently refuting previous statements by Bishop Muzorewa and his colleagues, stated that the regime's Executive Council had not in fact formulated any policy of its own on the execution of political prisoners. (*FOCUS* 19 p.12) In other words, it appeared that the *status quo*, under which persons sentenced to death or political offences are hanged without undue delay after the dismissal of the appeal and the rejection of any final petition for clemency, remained in force.

It is now clear that this is the case. Reports published in the British press have also revealed that many more people have been sentenced to death under the internal settlement and are now facing execution, than were previously known. The additional cases are of people sentenced to death by military courts in martial law areas.

On 8 February, the London *Evening Standard* reported that two people convicted of recruiting or helping guerrillas had been hanged within the previous

three weeks. This information came from church sources and relatives. Relatives have since reported to IDAF that in fact at least six people were hanged in January (see EXECUTIONS). The *Guardian* of 9 February further reported that prison sources had stated that two "tribesmen" convicted by the military courts set up under the regime's martial law regulations, had been hanged at Salisbury's maximum security prison on 19 December 1978. These two executions, the paper said, were believed to be the first since March 1978. (*Ev. St.* 8.2.79; *GN* 9.2.79)

According to both the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*, a further nine people were at this time awaiting imminent execution in Chikurubi prison, 12 miles from Salisbury. All of the nine were believed to have been sentenced to death by military courts. Their names are not known. (*GN* 9.2.79; *Daily Mail* 10.2.79)

Information about the proceedings of the special courts martial established in martial law areas by the regime, under emergency legislation enacted in September 1978, is extremely sparse. Hearings have been held in camera and, as previously reported in *FOCUS* (20 p.6), defendants have been unable to secure legal defence at their trials. Under the regulations, the only form of appeal against a death sentence imposed by a special court martial is to a specially constituted Review Authority. A warrant signed by three or more members of a Review Authority shall confirm a death sentence and this will be carried out by secret hanging in any prison recognised

as such in any part of the country (rather than exclusively in Salisbury Central Prison as in the past). No appeal to the civil courts will be permitted against decisions or other proceedings of either the Review Authority or the special courts martial themselves. (See *FOCUS* 19 p.8 for a full description of the martial law regulations) Martial law now covers most of Rhodesia — the only areas excluded are Salisbury and Bulawayo and the main urban centres along the main road between them.

With the inclusion of these eleven reported death sentences from special courts martial, it appears that at least

continued on p. 2.

In this issue:

SOUTH AFRICA

- New political prisoners p. 8
- Political trials pp. 9-11
- Banning orders p. 12
- Detentions pp. 13-15

ZIMBABWE

- Political prisoners p. 2, 16
- Political trials pp. 3-4
- Death sentences p. 3
- Elections p. 4-5
- Detainees p. 16

NAMIBIA

- SA attacks p. 6
- Arrests and detentions p. 6
- Harassment and torture p. 7

rhodesia ZIMBABWE

FROM A FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER

"How does it feel to be in prison for so long?

"When I entered prison I was barely 23 years old. Like many young men at that age I was optimistic about many things. I was looking forward to finding a good job and enjoying the excitements of that age. That was not to be for me. I went in a young man and came out old. I spent the most important part of my life in prison and the bitterest moments were those when I saw my colleagues slowly but surely die. We did engage in discussions to keep our spirits up but I think the most important factor that kept many going was the belief in the rightfulness of our cause. To demand equality cannot be a crime. Whether

we were huddled together for warmth under the stern eyes of the prison officers, some armed with shot guns and others in the watch towers armed with submachine guns, at Khami, or walking round and round within a small area at Gwelo we knew that finally we would win. We fully realised that our struggle for equality — for human dignity and social justice would be long and costly but that did not damp our resolve to see our country free. There were hard times when we were locked up for months on end and only allowed out of the cells for a few minutes and when in the cells, were not allowed to talk to each other nor lie down.

"Any who whispered and had the

misfortune to be seen through peep holes would be pulled out and be assaulted. When we complained to the senior officers about this we were told that we could not complain of assault as this was part of the punishment. This left us with no protection at all."

The writer served a 10-year prison sentence under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act in Khami Maximum Security prison, having been arrested in October 1965, only a few weeks before UDI. On completion of his term he was immediately served with a detention order and transferred to Gwelo prison. He was finally released in May 1978, along with several hundred other detainees.

At the middle of March 1979, the names of over 1,600 people serving prison terms for political offences were known to IDAF.

continued from p.1.

25 people have been sentenced to death under the internal settlement, of whom at least eight have already been hanged (see list of known names below). The real totals may possibly be considerably higher than this.

Over the period April 1975 (when the regime adopted its policy of carrying out executions in complete secrecy) to March 1978, a total of 121 people are known to have been sentenced to death on political grounds, (or in some cases were awaiting execution in April 1975). In only eight cases is the death sentence known to have been commuted. 14 convicted men are definitely known to have been executed, from information from relatives or other sources, and the great majority of the remainder have probably also been hanged.

(According to ZAPU (Patriotic Front), however, a total of 203 people were awaiting execution on political grounds at the end of 1978 — suggesting that the above figures may again underestimate the real situation. *Paper presented to the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regimes in Southern Africa, Brussels, February 1979.*)

QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT.

The regime has warned that further executions will be carried out and that it has no intention of altering its policy on the issue. On 9 February, Mr. Bwanya, Member for Zambezi, asked the Joint Ministers of Justice in the Rhodesian House of Assembly "if they can confirm that eight tribespeople convicted under martial law have been hanged or are about to be hanged; and how they reconcile this with the Transitional Government's pledge not to continue with hangings during the transitional period".

Mr. Francis Zindoga, the Joint Minister of Justice and a prominent official of Bishop Muzorewa's UANC, replied that: "The death penalty is meant to be a deterrent. This object will be defeated if the penalty is not put into effect. The suggestion that the Transitional Government gave a pledge not to continue with

hangings is not correct. No such pledge was given. The Agreement of 3rd March was not intended to, and does not, protect criminals and especially terrorists from the consequences of their criminal conduct. Not only was there no such pledge by the Transitional Government but on 28th September 1978, it published a Government Notice concerning the establishment of Martial Law Courts expressly empowered to impose the death sentence for offences for which it could be imposed by the High Court.

"The question indicates that some people believe that death sentences are not carried out. If such an impression is abroad and especially if it is believed by terrorists and the *mujibas* used by them, we must correct it. Such sentences have been, and will be carried out. We will not tolerate banditry and terrorist activity which can and does result in the death of innocent men, women and children.

"On previous occasions in answer of the same type of question, the number of persons executed has not been disclosed as a matter of policy. We see no reason to change that policy." (*Debates 9.2.79*)

FIRING SQUADS

There is further evidence that the regime is now executing convicted prisoners by firing squad as well as by hanging. ZAPU (Patriotic Front) has reported that a resident of Chinamora reserve was put before a firing squad in January 1979 for allegedly breaking curfew regulations. On 23 January a total of eight people were sentenced to death by a court martial in the Salisbury region for allegedly assisting and failing to report guerrillas. They were shot afterwards. (*ZPV 3.2.79*) These reported death sentences are in addition to the 25 cases referred to above. Given the regime's total clamp down on information from the martial law areas, it is impossible to assess the full extent of these summary trials and executions. What is particularly disturbing is that under the martial law regulations, members of private armies and foreign mercenaries serving in the regime's security forces, have been granted the same powers of arrest and detention as other members of the security forces (see *FOCUS 19 p.9*)



Reuben Donga, sentenced to death in August 1978



Augustine and Aggrey Nyerenyere, sentenced to death in August 1978.

Steel File Closet m

AP
3 F6525
06805

POLITICAL TRIALS

With the establishment by the regime of special courts martial under the control of the security forces, the main focus of political trials has shifted away from the civil courts. Fewer prosecutions under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act have been brought before the civil courts in recent months, a trend which is apparent from the list of trials reported below.

The large number of death sentences

already imposed by special courts martial (at least 11 since November 1978 — see HANGINGS CONFIRMED), however, indicates that these have been very active. Under the regulations governing these military courts (whose jurisdiction now extends to 90% or more of the country), the rights of defendants are seriously reduced (see FOCUS 19 pp.8-9). Hearings are held in camera

and virtually no information is available on convictions and sentences.

While lawyers have been unable to reach court martial hearings to represent defendants, attorneys are known to have been called up by the regime to assist in their administration as either court presidents or legal advisers. (BBC 26.1.79, reporting Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation)

21-4.3

CONVICTIONS

6 November: Bulawayo

JOSEPH NJUBALALA SIBANDA was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment (8 suspended) for failing to report guerillas.

13 November: Bulawayo

JOHN RICHARD NDLOVU was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment (20 months suspended) for failing to report guerillas.

14 November: Bulawayo

BEKITHEMBA JOSEPH MPOFU was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment (18 months suspended) for failing to report guerillas.

15 November: Bulawayo

TIMOTI SIKOMBOYA NDLOVU was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment (18 months suspended) for failing to report guerillas.

16 November: Bulawayo

MOFFAT MPOFU was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment (19 months suspended) for failing to report guerillas.

17 November: Bulawayo

MYANGANA THOMAS TSHUMA was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment (18 months suspended) for failing to report guerillas.

(?) January 1979

JACOB GIDEON RASHAYI (32) was sentenced to an effective prison term of 17 years on conviction of assisting guerillas who allegedly committed robberies in the Chiredzi area at the end of 1977.

14 January: Salisbury High Court

JAMES JEREMIAH KAWAKA (20) was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment for possessing arms of war. He had been captured in Chiduku TTL in December 1977 during a contact between guerillas and security forces.

19 February: Salisbury High Court

TIKI ADAI (16) was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment on conviction of murder by common cause with a guerilla group. The court heard that Adai had undergone six weeks of guerilla training in Mozambique in 1975, when he was only 12 years old. In October 1977, when he was considered old enough to fight, he was sent into Rhodesia with a small guerilla group. In February 1978 the group ambushed an army convoy on the road from Chiredzi to the Mozambique border, resulting in the death of three security force members. Adai was wounded, captured and later treated at Chiredzi

Security Hospital. Passing judgement, Sir Hugh Beadle remarked that "It is a formidable problem to know what a just sentence would be in your case. The prospect of sending you to prison is enough to fill any ordinary person with dismay." (RH 20.2.79)

FURTHER CASES

13 February: Salisbury High Court

Sentence was due to be passed on TOM NCUBE (19), on conviction of possessing arms of war. A further charge of murder, arising out of the deaths in June 1978 of two Jesuit priests, Father Gregor Richert and Brother Bernard Lissan, of St. Rupert's Mission near Sinoia, was withdrawn by the State. According to a statement of agreed facts, Ncube, alias Rikki Ndlovu, had received guerilla training in Zambia. He was arrested in Highfields in August 1978. He subsequently gave information to the security forces leading to the discovery of arms caches at a guerilla base camp and to a fellow guerilla, allegedly responsible for the death of the two priests, being killed by Rhodesian troops. (RH 13.2.79)

continued on p.4.

DEATH SENTENCES — NAMES KNOWN FROM CIVIL COURTS

The names of those known to have been sentenced to death on political grounds by civil courts since 3 March 1978 are as follows. Of the 14 known death sentences, two have been commuted to life imprisonment on submission of petition for clemency to the regime's President.

1. MAJODZI MUZAYA (23)

Sentenced 17 March 1978. Salisbury High Court. Appeal dismissed 14 June 1978. Petition for clemency submitted.

2. DANIEL NDHLELA (ZAPU official)

Sentenced 10 April 1978. Special Court, Bulawayo. Appeal dismissed 29 May 1978. Petition for clemency submitted.

3. JOHN MUREWA (20)

Sentenced 13 April 1978. Bulawayo High Court. Appeal dismissed end May/beginning June. Petition for clemency submitted.

4. SAVEOUS CHINGWE HOVE (50)

Sentenced 1 June 1978. Salisbury High Court. Appeal dismissed 11 September 1978.

5. PIAISON NDHLOVU

Sentenced 28 July 1978. Salisbury High Court. Appeal dismissed 18 September 1978. Petition for clemency successful in having the death sentence commuted to life imprisonment on 8 December 1978.

6. AUGUSTINE NYERENYERE (26)

Sentenced 4 August 1978. Salisbury High Court. Appeal dismissed 19 September 1978. Petition for clemency believed to have been submitted.

7. AGGREY NYERENYERE (23)

Sentenced 4 August 1978. Salisbury High Court. Appeal dismissed 19 September 1978. Petition for clemency believed to have been submitted.

8. REUBEN DONGA (22)

Sentenced 23 August 1978. Salisbury High Court. Appeal dismissed beginning October 1978. Petition for clemency submitted; refused January 1979.

9. DANIEL MOYO

Sentenced September 1978. Appeal dismissed 22 November 1978.

10. PETER CHIKONO

Sentenced 2 October 1978. Bulawayo High Court. Appeal dismissed 23 November. Petition submitted; sentence commuted to life imprisonment 26 January 1979.

11. WALTER JELEMANI NCUBE (21)

Sentenced 2 October 1978. Bulawayo High Court. Appeal dismissed. Petition for clemency believed to have been submitted.

12. JOHN M. MASEKO

Sentenced 6 October 1978. Bulawayo High Court. Appeal dismissed 25 January 1978. Petition for clemency submitted.

13. AMBROSE NDHLOVU

Sentenced 6 October 1978. Bulawayo High Court. Appeal dismissed 25 January 1978. Petition for clemency submitted.

(For further details of the above, see FOCUS 16-20).

14. GEORGE MOYO

Sentenced to death in the High Court in

February 1979 on conviction of possessing arms of war; committing acts of terrorism or sabotage by destroying a bus belonging to the Rhodesian Omnibus Company and property belonging to an African Council and attacking security force vehicles; and the murder of an African police reservist killed in an ambush. The accused was arrested during a contact in the Lupane area and was described as a member of ZPRA. Appeal noted.

EXECUTIONS

One of those known to have been hanged is DANIEL MOYO (see list above and FOCUS 20. p.6). He was executed in January 1979. His brother-in-law, Mr. Sam Makari, who travelled to Salisbury from the United Kingdom on receiving news of the execution, has reported that the relatives of condemned men are under extreme pressure from the authorities to suppress any information that they possess about executions — to the extent that a father who learned of his son's execution from his wife, the deceased's mother, was threatened by the authorities and told that this information should not have been passed on to him.

For this reason, it is not possible to reveal the names of any other condemned men known to have been hanged. Mr. Makari spoke to the relatives of five men, executed on the same day as Daniel Moyo — all of the relatives stressed that their names could not be revealed for fear of intimidation.

VOTING UNDER MARTIAL LAW

TROOPS ON THE ALERT TO ENFORCE TURNOUT

The general elections which the Smith regime is proposing to organise on 20 April will (if they take place at all) be held amidst a climate of desperate and uncompromising purges by the security forces, and intense political repression.

There are really no objective grounds for arguing that, if nothing more, the elections should at least be taken to indicate that the internal settlement retains some measure of popular support within the African community and that the results should therefore be taken into account in any subsequent negotiations over Zimbabwe's future. On the contrary, the election arrangements that have been put in hand by the regime indicate that voting will be a traumatic experience for the great majority of the black population. According to the *Observer's* Salisbury correspondent, for example, "an all-out military sweep has been launched in tribal areas with the aim of ensuring a high turnout. The methods used, however, hardly appear gentle. One company commander told me: 'The way we're going about it this country will end up with a white majority.'" (*Obs* 4.3.79)

POLITICAL REPRESSION

Even if the Patriotic Front were willing to take part in elections held under the terms of a constitution which entrenches white rule for at least the next decade (and which hence makes the election result a foregone conclusion) its component parties would be unable to do so. Both ZAPU (ANC (Zimbabwe)) and ZANU (People's Movement) are illegal organisations inside Rhodesia (the bans were reimposed at the time martial law was declared in September 1978), and the great majority of their internal leadership are in detention, with no prospect of release (see *DETAINEES*). (*Details of the regime's proposed independence constitution were published in FOCUS 20 p.5*).

Arrests under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and emergency legislation continue at a high level. According to one journalist, "people suspected of 'collaborating' are picked up and held without charges ever being brought

against them. There is evidence to suggest the existence of what amount to concentration camps where people are being held. The places that I heard most frequently of were Nkai (where over 500 women and children are held in the most appalling conditions — no shelter whatsoever, mealie meal and water only once a day), Connemara, Lupane, Tjolotjo and Ross Camp. These places have been brought to the attention of a legal aid organization and the ICRC (Red Cross), who have requested permission to visit and met with a complete refusal." ("Report on a visit to Rhodesia 10th to 22nd January 1979", SANA; see *FOCUS 18 p.2* for allegations in the Rhodesian House of Assembly that Keyara security forces base camp had been turned into a "forced labour camp")

MARTIAL LAW

Over 90% of Zimbabwe is now subject to martial law. On 12 January a further 15 martial law districts, mainly in the north, the east and the Midlands and including both tribal reserves and white farming areas, were promulgated. Salisbury and Bulawayo, and areas each side of lines connecting these two main centres, and between Karoi and Umtali, are now reported to be the only parts of the country still under "civilian" rule. At the end of February,

the convoy system on the main highway running south of Salisbury was extended to begin only 45 miles from the capital, while within the Salisbury boundary itself, a dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed on the Kopje overlooking the city. Curfews have also been imposed on industrial areas in Salisbury and Bulawayo. (*RDM* 13.1.79; *BBC* 15.1.79; *Obs* 4.3.79)

Conditions in the martial law areas are extremely difficult. There is evidence that the security forces have embarked on a programme of systematic reprisals, burning homes, confiscating property and carrying out mass arrests. On 8 January, for example, the regime itself reported that black civilians who had allegedly given shelter to guerillas in the eastern operational area had been forcibly evacuated from their homes by the security forces. A large number of huts had been set on fire and destroyed to prevent reoccupation. Instructions for the operation had been issued in December under the martial law regulations. (*BBC* 10.1.79)

Further evidence that large scale destruction of homes and property by the security forces is now extremely common in the martial law areas has been collected by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and

continued on p.5.

STARVATION THREAT

"The results of martial law in the rural areas are quite devastating.

"The food situation in many TTLs has reached a crisis point. Not only have curfew restrictions badly disrupted the subsistence farming of the peasants, and crops been destroyed by security forces, but climatic conditions (too much rain last season and very late rains this season) have combined to produce a situation where a 50% crop failure is expected this year. Many people are already being forced to buy all their food supplies. This is a situation fraught with difficulties even where people have enough money to buy supplies. In Matabeland, the majority of the rural stores have been forced to close. For example, in the Gwanda, Kezi and towards Gwaai areas, over 50 stores were forced to close last year. In the area north and south of Plumtree, 25 stores were closed in November. The reasons given by the authorities for the closure of the stores is that they are targets for the 'terrorists'. The real reason, a store-keeper who had had his store closed told

me, was far more sinister: 'It is an attempt to stop food getting to the boys, but it is also to starve the people in the countryside. It makes it easier for them (the security forces) to intimidate people as well. When they come to the store that the army has left open, they are beaten up, and sometimes have the food that they have bought taken away.' He also talked about the impossibility of many people getting to the stores, which can involve a walk of more than 20 kms, within the noncurfew hours.

In some areas, mealie meal rationing has been introduced. In Gwanda, a coupon signed by the district commissioner has to be produced before any purchase of mealie meal is possible. All traffic between the towns and the TTLs is subjected to road blocks and security checks. No-one is allowed to carry more than 10 kgs of mealie meal and often less, depending on the whims of the security forces conducting the searches. The food situation in the so-called protected villages is every bit as bad." (*SANA Report, ibid*)

Pol. Trials continued from p.4

CONSCRIPTION

LIVINGSTONE WAZVAREMHAKA (20) became the first African to be sentenced for failing to answer his call-up, when he received a 6 month prison term in Harare Magistrates Court on 19 January. The sentence was suspended on condition that he report for duty the following week. Wazvaremhaka pleaded guilty to contravening the 1976 National Service Act by ignoring a call-up notice for 12 months Phase 1 national service, served on him in December 1978. (*RDM* 20.1.79; *BBC* 22.1.79)

APPEALS

An effective prison term of 3 years (5 years, 2 suspended) imposed on BITON ARADON

in September 1978 was increased to 6 years by the Appellate Division in November. Aradon, a farm employee in the Mtoko area, was convicted of failing to report guerillas who planted landmines in the vicinity. His employer was subsequently killed in an explosion. In increasing the sentence, the appeal judge said that it had been "manifestly inadequate and quite out of line with the sentences in other cases." An appeal by PHINEAS SUNDAY, sentenced to 5 years, 3 suspended, was dismissed. (*RH* 11.11.78; *FOCUS* 19 p.12)

An appeal by an official of Rev. Sithole's organization (referred to as ZANU by its members and by the regime), was dismissed on 28 November. PETER MOMBESHORA, secretary for housing, had been sentenced to 5 years (2 suspended) by a regional court at

Sinoia for failing to report a guerilla who visited his home in the Chitomborwizi African Purchase Area, seeking medical assistance. (In other instances, of course, members of Rev. Sithole's organization claim to have had extensive contact with guerillas, in the course of negotiating the transitional government's policy of "ceasefire"). (*RH* 29.11.78)

Appeals by WHISKY TENNIS, SANDARAKI CHESANI, BEANS KANIKA and WINGIRORI TAWARA, all sentenced to 12 years imprisonment in October 1978 for failing to report guerillas, have been dismissed. EDWARD DZAMONDA, however, had a 10 year sentence reduced to 3 years, while a similar sentence on KENNETH ENOS (18), the sixth accused in the original trial, was reduced to 5 years (see *FOCUS* 19 p.12)

continued from p.4.

Christian Care. Over a four month period from September 1978, the CCJP recorded that 718 families had their huts burnt down by security forces in three of the country's Roman Catholic dioceses — Salisbury, Gwelo and Umtali. Four complete villages were burnt down on 13 January in the Mangweni TTL east of Salisbury, in addition. (Obs 28.1.79)

Numerous atrocities by the security forces have also been reported by the liberation movement. In the course of the week ending 27 January 1979, for example, ZAPU (Patriotic Front) recorded the deaths of more than 195 people shot or tortured to death, or in some cases killed through the use of poison. The incidents occurred in the Lupane and Sipolilo areas, among others. (ZPV 3.2.79)

Steps taken by the regime to isolate the guerrilla forces from sources of support within the local African population have led to critical food shortages in the rural areas. Tactics such as closing down stores and grinding-mills as a form of reprisal against villagers suspected of assisting guerrillas have assumed a familiar pattern over the last five years. In areas such as Mount Darwin, maize meal may only be bought retail on production of a permit from the District Commissioner. (Debates 9.2.79; see STARVATION THREAT)

PRIVATE ARMIES

The evidence that private armies, or "auxiliary forces", recruited by Bishop Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole in particular, have been responsible for persistent looting, robbery, intimidation, rape and murder is now extensive and well-documented. Examples of both men and women being forcibly "conscripted" by the private armies are numerous, while the high incidence of factional violence between the black parties to the internal settlement is another important factor to be taken into account in considering whether elections can possibly be "free and fair". In fact, the black internal leaders have made no pretence of the function which their armed supporters are intended to fulfil during the election period i.e. to ensure a high turn-out. Inmates of a military training camp on the outskirts of Salisbury for UANC supporters and recruits for example, told journalists who visited them in 1978 that their mission was to "teach people how to vote". (Illustrated Life Rhodesia 4.1.79) (The origins and growth of the private armies, and the responsibility which the regime bears for their existence and activities, are described in "Private Armies in Zimbabwe", a paper presented by IDAF to the first session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regimes in Southern Africa, February 1979).

CONSCRIPTION

On 23 February the regime's Combined Operations Headquarters announced that there would be a special call-up in all services of the security forces for the period 12 to 24 April inclusive — in other words, a general mobilization. All deferments and exemptions from military service issued before 2 March would be withdrawn with the exception of a limited number of key personnel or in the event of extremely urgent private affairs. All regular members of the security forces, and all public servants with military commitments had previously been told that all leave would be cancelled during this period. The statement concluded that the security forces would "spare no effort to ensure the safety of voters" (BBC 10/26.2.79).

The regime's decision, announced on 12

January, to introduce compulsory military service for men in the 50-59 age group, was undoubtedly made with the elections in mind. The first group to be called up were to be men with military experience who had recently turned 50. An official statement explained that they would be used for "short duration static guard duties in urban areas" and would serve a maximum of 42 days a year, mainly part-time. (FT/Tel 13.1.79)

The regime itself has admitted that its military manpower resources are too thinly spread to allow continuous security in any one area. Although the date of 20 April has been announced for the elections, it appears that the regime is planning to conduct polling on a province by province basis, spread over several days. This would enable each province or district to be saturated with Rhodesian troops at the time voting takes place. (Obs 4.2.79)

In an interview on 15 February, the Commander of Combined Operations Lt-Gen. Peter Walls said that "any question of disruption of the elections must be met by a maximum effort from us. Therefore we have had to arrange that a lot of people will be available to help... not only to afford security at the polls and a general atmosphere of security, but also to help with the administration of the election itself... It won't stretch us beyond our means at all, but we will be making a flat-out effort... Obviously we are not just going to go and sit round the polling booths and suggest to people that they make their way there. We will continue to operate internally and externally to make sure that we create the right atmosphere for people to be able to vote. The guarding of polling booths, the protection of routes, and all the rest of it — that's all part of the overall deployment plan and tactics". (BBC 17.2.79, reporting Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation).

WAR REFUGEES

Since 1975 over 160,000 Zimbabweans have fled into exile in neighbouring Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia, and will obviously be excluded from the April elections. Thousands of other refugees from the war zones, however, are now living in squatter camps on the outskirts of the main urban centres. It is estimated that Salisbury, where the population at June 1978 was officially given as 610,000, in fact has a population approaching one million. Bulawayo (officially 358,000) is estimated to have nearly half a million. Despite their destitute condition, the war refugees are being required by the municipal authorities to pay rent for the ground that they are occupying, and with the exception of the few who have managed to find some means of livelihood by selling produce or as casual labourers, are totally dependent on the Red Cross and other relief organizations. In other words, they constitute a captive electorate as far as casting their votes is concerned.

PROTECTED VILLAGES

Residents of protected villages or keeps are similarly in no position to boycott the elections on political grounds. Despite a few well-publicised moves by the transitional government to open protected villages and allow inmates to leave, the overall number of keeps seems if anything to have increased. In the Beitbridge area, for example, there are reported to be a total of six protected villages housing nearly 10,000 people. Starvation is a serious threat, with some keeps now totally dependent on food provided by relief organisations. In one keep at Tshiturapadzi 26 children were reported to have died in November 1978, and 35 in December. ("Report of a visit to Rhodesia", *ibid*, SANA).

VOTING ARRANGEMENTS

As previously reported in FOCUS (20 p.5), voters of all races are due to elect the 72 black members of the reconstituted House of Assembly. The country is to be divided into 8 provinces based on existing administrative boundaries, to which parliamentary seats will be allocated in proportion to the number of potential voters in each region. Voting is to be conducted on a party list system. Seats in the House of Assembly will then be apportioned according to the number of votes cast for each party.

In January, the regime's Executive Council appointed a full-time directorate to organize and coordinate all matters relating to the 72 black seats. In keeping with the militaristic nature of the whole election exercise the directorate is comprised of senior representatives of the National Joint Operations Command and the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Information. The directorate's main function is to secure a high turnout. (BBC 19.1.79)

There will be no prior registration of the estimated 2.8 million black voters, who need only to present themselves at polling stations with proof of identity. One of the tasks of the directorate is to specify what such proof may consist of. According to a statement from the Registrar-General, non-citizens will be permitted to vote for the 72 black seats if they are qualified to register as citizens but have not yet done so.

An estimated 100,000 registered white voters will be electing 20 white reserved seats in addition to voting for the 72 black seats. The 50 white constituencies for the old House of Assembly are being reduced to 20 by a delimitation commission. (BBC 8.2.79, 26.2.79)

Voting is to be staggered over several days, to enable Rhodesian troops to move between polling booths (see above under CONSCRIPTION).

According to ZAPU (Patriotic Front) the regime is planning to keep the election of polling booths a secret until the last moment. Voters will be transported to the booths by the police and army. (This procedure was according to ZAPU followed in the 23 January white referendum, for which all polling points were in urban areas. The regime subsequently reported that 71.5% of the white electorate had gone to the polls). (ZPV 3.2.79)

In spite of the massive military precautions being taken to get both black and white voters to the polls, Mr. Ian Smith has stated that he would be satisfied with a 20% turnout and that this is sufficient for international recognition of the minority rule independence constitution. (GN 5.2.79)

CROSS-BORDER RAIDS

The regime has in recent weeks stepped up its bombing attacks into neighbouring African countries including, for the first time, Angola (see SA ATTACKS INTO ANGOLA p.6). Regime spokesman have explained that these attacks form part of its election preparations and are intended, like its general mobilisation of troops inside the country, to create a conducive atmosphere for voting. Speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg on 13 March, Lt-Gen Walls promised that the raids would continue. "We have always made it clear that defence of the country and its people means aggressive defence". Asked about the possibility of the regime receiving military assistance from South Africa, he said that he certainly hoped that South Africa would be prepared to extend not only good will but also moral and material support, "as a non-combatant, non-taking-of-sides type of thing". (BBC 15.3.79)

namibia

SA ATTACKS INTO ANGOLA

Attacks by South African forces into Angola on 5 March — the date set by the UN Secretary-General for a response to his ceasefire proposals — represent the latest in a long series of violations of the northern Namibian border by the SADF. Information released by the Angolan authorities suggests that the raids were a deliberate attempt by South Africa to intimidate and provoke its independent African neighbour into withdrawing its cooperation from the UN negotiations on Namibia's future.

According to the South Africans, the raids were directed against SWAPO bases. They were prompted by military intelligence reports that SWAPO were moving their guerilla forces southwards from camps deep inside Angola, and had set up a number of new bases close to the Namibian border, preparatory to crossing into the territory in force as soon as the ceasefire was announced. This version of events is clearly calculated to bolster up the South African government's denial of the very essence of the Namibian guerilla war — namely, that by this stage, the bulk of the liberation movement's fighting forces are no longer inside Angola or indeed any neighbouring country, but are operating inside Namibia itself.

In fact, according to a detailed communique issued by the Angolan Defence Ministry, the attacks were exclusively directed against Angolan civilian targets.

First details of the raids were given by the SA Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha, in a parliamentary statement. An announcement by the Chief of the SADF on the same day, 6 March, stated that "elements of the South African Army and Air Force have attacked identified terrorist bases

north of the South West African border". The SADF had been "compelled to launch the operation" because guerillas were "concentrated in bases near the border". On 7 March, military headquarters in Windhoek said that SA forces had suffered no casualties in the ground and air attacks against SWAPO bases. The SWA Commander, Maj-Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, also stated that SA troops had encountered very little resistance and that a total of 12 bases had been destroyed in less than 60 hours. Quantities of large and small calibre weapons, documents, equipment and medical supplies had been taken. Some of the bases had simply been strafed by fighter aircraft, he said, others had also been attacked by soldiers, including members of the Ovambo battalion. (FT 7.3.79; BBC/GN 8.3.79, 13.3.79)

A communique from the General Staff HQ of the Angolan Ministry of Defence broadcast on Luanda radio on 10/11 March, however, gave a totally different picture. The communique revealed a wave of attacks on Angolan villages, on 5/6/7/8 March:

5 March — 6 Mirage 111 jets bombed Muandi village, wounding 2 people.

6 March — 2 Mirage 111 jets bombed Chitumbo and Muandi villages; 4 Mirage 111 jets bombed Namatopa and Kapembe; 7 aircraft, including 3 Mirages, together with 8 Puma helicopters, bombed and burned down the villages of Turi, Matimba and Domongo. The troops placed anti-personnel and anti-vehicle landmines on access roads. One person was killed.

7 March — 3 Mirages bombed Oshitumba and Cajiva; Mirages flew over Mapanda, Chitudo, Kalukeke and the city of Ondjiva.

8 March — 6 helicopters equipped with artillery bombed the villages of Chana, Angadima and Melonga, causing 5 dead and one wounded; a Mirage bombed Jofima village.

The communique added that all these places were in Kunene province. (BBC 13.3.79)

There is further evidence that South African jets may have been involved in the attack on 26 February on what the Rhodesian regime described as the main training camp in Angola for ZAPU (Patriotic Front) guerillas. According to communiques issued by the Rhodesian Combined Operations Headquarters and other

reports based on Smith regime sources, British-built Canberras and Hawker Hunters of the Rhodesian Air Force flew from Wankie air-base in north-western Rhodesia in the early hours of 26 February. They flew across Zambian airspace and into Angola to mount a bomb and rocket attack on a ZPRA camp at Villa da Boma, south of the regional capital of Luso. Combined Operations reported that the camp was 1300 km from Salisbury and that all the aircraft involved had returned safely to base. (Tel/FT 27.2.79; BBC 27/28.2.79)

If this account is accurate, this is the first time that the Smith regime has attacked targets inside Angola.

According to communiques issued by the Angolan authorities, however, the aircraft involved were five Mirage fighter jets, which bombed a Patriotic Front school and a Zimbabwean refugee camp at Boma, Moxico Province, about 30 km from Luena. A total of 192 people were reported dead, including at least 14 Angolans, and over 500 wounded, who were taken to Luanda for treatment. (Ev.St./BBC 28.2.79; BBC 1.3.79)

The Smith regime is believed to possess Mirage fighter planes of its own — reports to this effect date back to at least the beginning of 1977. These aircraft have clearly been made available to it by South Africa and Rhodesian pilots are believed to have undergone training courses on the Mirages at bases in the Transvaal. (See "Smith's Settlement", IDAF Fact Paper No. 6). The further possibility remains that the attack on Boma actually originated in South Africa and involved South African pilots. Unconfirmed reports suggest that the aircraft flew from a base in the Transvaal, via Wankie, and returned to the Caprivi Strip in Namibia. While this remains speculation, the evidence that Mirages were used is a further pointer to South Africa's military collaboration with the Smith regime.

On 12 March the Zambian government revealed that 11 SA planes and helicopters had attacked villages and an army camp in the Sinjambele area of south-west Zambia, killing nine people and wounding 14. (FT 13.3.79)

ARRESTS AND DETENTIONS

According to SWAPO's Windhoek office, a total of 10 SWAPO members were detained under Section Six of the Terrorism Act between 18 December 1978 and the end of January 1979. They include:

- Pastor **Hendrik Witbooi**, SWAPO's Secretary for Education, detained for questioning, apparently in connection with the building of a SWAPO office block in Gibeon, southern Namibia, without first obtaining the permission of the authorities. (WO 10.2.79)

- **Jason Angula**, SWAPO Secretary for Labour, arrested in January and extensively questioned before being released in regard to recent strikes at Rossing Uranium and other mines in Namibia. Security police also raided his house and confiscated several documents. (WO 13.1.79) (All five SWAPO members arrested and detained under the Terrorism Act in Swakopmund at the beginning of January,

apparently in connection with the strike by black workers at Rossing Uranium, were reported to have been released by 15 January. They included Pastor **Festus Naholo**, SWAPO Secretary for Foreign Relations). (WA 17.1.79; see FOCUS 20 pp. 1/16)

Cases involving non-SWAPO members include:

- The editor of *Swanu News*, the official organ of SWANU, Mr. **I.M. Uirab**, was reported to have been detained at the beginning of January. He subsequently appeared in the Uis Magistrates Court on charges of intimidation under the electoral proclamation AG 63. The case was postponed until late February. (CT 5.1.79; WO 13.1.79)

The *Cape Times* further reported that **Edwin Crail** (26) of Paarl, Cape Province, and **Neil McDonald**, had been detained in Windhoek under the Terrorism Act (CT *ibid*).

THE WORKERS OF NAMIBIA

by Gillian and Suzanne Cronje
IDAF February 1979 Price \$3.95,
134 pp; illustrated; maps and tables

This new IDAF publication describes what it means to be a black worker in Namibia today, and shows how the demands of the Namibian people for an end to the contract labour system lie at the heart of the national liberation movement SWAPO.

Available from IDAF Publications
P. O. Box 17
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138

CASE-STUDY OF HARASSMENT AND TORTURE

The case history of **Axel Johannes**, SWAPO's Administrative Secretary, is a striking illustration of the persistent harassment and official intimidation to which SWAPO members and officials are subjected inside Namibia.

Previous issues of *FOCUS* have recorded Axel Johannes' extensive experience of detention without charge, imprisonment, interrogation and torture:-

- 1974 — spent five months in solitary confinement under the Terrorism Act.
- August 1975 — arrested in Windhoek following the assassination of Ovamboland Chief Minister Filemon Elifas, along with virtually the entire leadership of SWAPO inside Namibia. Detained incommunicado for more than five months, during which he was tortured. Sentenced in March 1976 to a year's imprisonment for refusing to give evidence in the trial of Aaron Muchimba and five other SWAPO members.
- February 1977 — rearrested in Ovamboland and detained for several months on completion of his prison sentence.
- November 1977 — arrested and detained after failing to respond to a subpoena requiring him to appear as a state witness against Victor Nkandi, charged with complicity in the Elifas assassination.

On 14 April 1978, Axel Johannes was again arrested under Section Six of the Terrorism Act, and told that he was being held for questioning in connection with the assassination of Chief Clemens Kapuuo. (*FOCUS 16 p.6*)

According to detailed information compiled by SWAPO in Windhoek, Axel Johannes was interrogated on the first day of this detention by Brig. van Niekerk, head of the CID, and told that the police were prepared to use rough methods if he did not cooperate. Johannes told them that on the day of Kapuuo's assassination, he was at the Tsumeb Corporation's Matchless Mine, hundreds of kilometers to the north of Windhoek, at a meeting with workers. Despite this alibi, he was transferred after the first week to Seis prison east of Windhoek, where he was held until 28 April. Then he was brought to a first floor office of the Security Police Headquarters in Windhoek. Captains Coffee and Nel, Sergeant Botha and four black security policemen began interrogating him about his participation in the Chief's assassination, an allegation which he denied.

His interrogators then handcuffed his arms behind his back, attached a rope to the handcuffs and led the rope through the bars on the overhead window and back to the floor. The four black policemen pulled on the rope until Axel's feet left the floor, putting a great strain on his arms and shoulders. A cloth was tied over his mouth behind his head, and Captain Nel struck him repeatedly on the face with open hands. The other policemen struck him in the buttocks and stomach with a map-pin causing bleeding. A blanket was tightened around his neck making breathing impossible. The cloth gag caused bleeding from his mouth. He was hit over the upper arms and shoulders with a wooden plank. Hairs were pulled out of his head and beard. He was then taken by his interrogators to his house to search for a pistol, the murder weapon, allegedly hidden there. Nothing was found.

A little while later, when they were back at the Security Police Headquarters, the police suggested that Axel had hidden the pistol in a river bed north of Windhoek. They drove him along the Okahandja Road to a bridge over the Okapaka river. They walked along the dried-up river bed, and when Axel was unable to show them the pistol, handcuffed his wrists from behind, attached a rope which they threw over a branch and began pulling him off the

ground. According to Axel, "I was crying and screaming". He finally "confessed" that he had buried the pistol in a hole in the sand and would show them where. He was let down and began digging a hole in the sand nearby.

The policemen then forced him into the hole, and covered his whole body with sand including his head. Three policemen stood on top. He was unable to breathe and lost consciousness. He was taken out and, when he revived, placed in a nearby pool of water. One policeman held his feet while another held his head under to get another "confession". (Another SWAPO member, Festus Thomas, was undergoing the same treatment of being buried alive about 100 metres away — Axel could hear him screaming. Details of Festus Thomas's torture were reported in *FOCUS 18 p.16*)

Other forms of torture used during Axel Johannes' detention included being hit on the nose, causing bleeding and being forced to lick up the blood from the floor; being struck on the ears, causing bleeding; being forced to fight with an ex-SWAPO man, Moses Paulus Triko, who had also "confessed" responsibility for Kapuuo's death; sleep deprivation; denial of toilet facilities, during which he was forced to lie face-down on the floor, his wrists handcuffed to two chairs, and repeatedly struck on the buttocks with a rubber petrol hose; having bullets fired so close to his legs that he could feel them pass.

Axel Johannes eventually signed a full "confession" prepared by the police. On 5 May 1978 he was interrogated by a magistrate who promised to send a doctor (who never arrived). On 7 May he was returned to Seis prison and held in solitary confinement until 27 June 1978. On 28 June he was told he was being released from custody under the Terrorism Act but would continue to be detained under the Administrator General's Proclamation AG 26. He was then transferred to Gobabis prison, further to the east, where he joined 15 other SWAPO members also detained under AG 26. They were finally released on 16 September 1978 on condition that they did not participate in public meetings or ask people to boycott the South African-organised elections planned for December 1978. (*Namibian Political Prisoners Conditions of*

Detention, paper issued by SWAPO in Windhoek, December 1978)

On 3 December, the day before the start of polling, Axel Johannes was again arrested with five other members of the national executive. Most of the six had been due to speak against the elections at a mass rally in Katutura township that afternoon. They were released after the election results had been announced. (*FOCUS 20 pp.2-3*)

In the latest in this long chain of arrest and detention, Axel Johannes was found guilty in the Ondangwa Magistrate's Court on 16 February 1979 of having contravened regulations imposed by the Administrator General prohibiting the movement of vehicles at night in "security districts" in Namibia. He had been arrested the day before while travelling in Ovamboland and detained in Oshakati. He was fined R200 (or 100 days) (*WO 17.2.79; WA 19.2.79*)

In December 1978, SWAPO's headquarters in Windhoek pointed out that Axel Johannes, now aged 33, had spent 7½ years of his life in detention and imprisonment.



Axel Johannes demonstrating how he was suspended by a rope from this tree. (Photo: SWAPO)

SWAPO MEMBERS WARNED

57 SWAPO Youth League members were found guilty by the Windhoek Magistrate's Court on 26 February of demonstrating in a municipal area without the prior permission of the municipal authorities. They were discharged after being warned and cautioned by the magistrate. Warrants of arrests, however, were issued at the hearing for a further eight SWAPO members who had failed to attend the court. (*WA 27/28.2.79*)

The group of 65 people was arrested during a SWAPO demonstration outside the Windhoek post office on 2 December 1978 — the same day that two bombs alleged by the police to have been planted by SWAPO exploded in the city (see *FOCUS 20 pp.2-3*). In letter to the *Windhoek Advertiser*, three of those involved stated that they were "really disappointed over what the government of this country is doing to lawful organizations such as SWAPO. Its members were detained for staging a peaceful demonstration on December 2. Why? Because we did not 'have permission'. What is surprising is that many organizations in the country regularly have demonstrations without permission but are not arrested. The DTA were having a demonstration on the very same day —

were they also taken to court? Where is the so-called 'Justice' in this country?" (*WA 24.1.79*)

NEW POLICE CHIEF

Colonel Attie Drotsche has been appointed as Divisional Commissioner of Police in Namibia in place of Major General Vic Verster. Colonel Drotsche, who was born in Namibia, was, among his other police posts, the last District Commandant in the Transkei before its "independence" in 1976. He returned to Windhoek in August 1978 to take up the post of Divisional Inspector of Police in Windhoek.

Maj-Gen Vic Verster, who served as Namibia's Divisional Commissioner for four years, has been transferred to police headquarters in Pretoria to take charge of riot control for both South Africa and Namibia. According to the *Windhoek Observer*, Maj-Gen Verster is "generally acknowledged as one of the toughest policemen ever to take command". He is "uncompromising and rather relentless" and regards the police as playing a key role in counter-insurgency. (*WO 27.1.79; WA 2.2.79*)

south africa

194 NEW POLITICAL PRISONERS IN 1978

The total number of serving political prisoners in South Africa at the beginning of 1979 was around 550. This compares with a total of 440 on 1 January 1978 (official figures released in June) and is arrived at by adding the 194 persons convicted and sentenced in 1978 (see next page) and subtracting those known to have been due for release during the past year (the number of releases may have been slightly greater, as no complete lists of prisoners or release dates is made available by the authorities, but it is unlikely to substantially affect the total number of those now in prison).

WOMEN IN JAIL

There are currently believed to be six women political prisoners in South Africa. They are:

Dorothy NYEMBE (48) sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in 1969 for ANC activities and recruiting.

Edith Thenjiwe MBALE (50) sentenced in 1977 to three years for distributing pamphlets for and furthering the aims of the ANC.

Paulina LEKULA (22) Soweto student sentenced in 1976 to five years under the Sabotage Act.

Happy Joyce MASHAMBA (28) librarian sentenced in 1977 to five years for membership of and recruiting for the ANC.

Zandisile TSIKI (24) Port Elizabeth student sentenced in 1976 to five years under the Sabotage Act.

Esther M. MALEKA (35) sentenced in 1976 to five years for recruiting for the ANC.

All these are believed to be in Kroonstad prison in the Orange Free State.

PRISON REGULATIONS

According to the handbook issued to prisoners these are among the regulations which apply in South African prisons:

14. Labour

Every sentenced prisoner is required to work a maximum of ten hours a day unless the Medical Officer certifies that he is incapable.

17. Legal Representatives

A prisoner who is a party to, or a witness in, a civil or criminal case or action, shall be afforded the opportunity to consult his legal representative in respect of such case or action. The same also applies to a prisoner charged with a disciplinary offence.

18. Correspondence

The various categories of prisoners write and

receive letters as follows:-

i) unsentenced prisoners: one letter per day.

ii) prisoners serving sentences under 2 years: one letter per month

iii) unclassified prisoners with sentences over 2 years: one letter per month.

iv) 'C' and 'D' Group prisoners: one letter per month

v) 'B' Group prisoners: two letters per month

vi) 'A' Group prisoners: three letters per month

All letters must not exceed 500 words in length and must be written in a language understood by the prison staff members who censor correspondence.

19. Visits

a) visits take place in prescribed visiting rooms in the presence and hearing of a member of the prison service who is conversant with the language used.

b) children between the ages of one year and 16 years are only allowed to accompany visitors under exceptional circumstances.

c) one letter may be written and one letter may be received in lieu of a visit.

d) in exceptional circumstances, the Commanding Officer may authorise a special visit.

e) The various categories of prisoners may receive visits as follows:-

i) unsentenced prisoners: 2 visits each not exceeding 30 minutes by 2 persons simultaneously per week.

ii) prisoners with sentences under 2 years: one visit by one person per month.

iii) unclassified prisoners: one visit by one person per month.

iv) 'C' and 'D' Group prisoners: one visit by one person per month.

v) 'B' Group prisoners: one visit by 2 persons simultaneously per month.

vi) 'A' Group prisoners: 2 visits by 2 persons simultaneously per month.

44. Studies

a) Dependent upon a prisoner's term of imprisonment and personal aptitude, he may be allowed to follow an approved course of studies in his spare time.

b) The Commissioner can prescribe compulsory studies and the conditions under which such studies should be conducted.

31. Library and Reading Matter

a) where possible, a library containing books of an educational and instructional nature is made available and maintained at every prison.

b) in terms of prescribed conditions and regulations a prisoner may receive books and magazines from outside sources, viz. approved books, magazines and newspapers direct from a bookseller or publisher.

It is under the last two of these regulations that political prisoners are deprived of study and reading privileges (see FOCUS 18 p.12, 19 p.5 and below).

NEWS DEPRIVATION UPHOLD

In the appeal by Denis Goldberg and other long-term political prisoners against the Prisons Dept. refusal to allow them newspapers etc., judgement was given on 26 September in the Appellate Division by a panel of five judges, one dissenting, to the effect that prisoners had no rights in law which would overrule the Commissioner of Prisons' power to determine the manner in which individual prisoners are treated.

The court further held that "as the appellants had described themselves as political prisoners, which was to be understood to mean that they had sought to achieve political objectives by resorting to criminal conduct, it would not be unreasonable for the Commissioner to determine that appellants were to be denied access to news of the progress (or lack of it) of opposing political ideologies in the Republic and abroad".

In his dissenting judgement Justice J.A. Corbett said that he would have allowed the appeal and have ruled that in regard to books and periodicals sent to applicants from outside sources, the Prisons Dept. was not entitled to apply a policy depriving applicants of all access to news.

It was not disputed that the material allowed in terms of the regulations was already severely restricted, with magazines like *Financial Mail*, *SA Digest*, *Time*, *To the Point* being altogether prohibited, and permitted publications such as *Readers Digest*, *Farmer's Weekly*, *Huisgenoot* and *Fair Lady* having international current affairs articles removed before reaching the prisoners. This stringent system of censorship, Corbett confirmed, is not applied to other prisoners of equivalent grading,

who have not been convicted of 'political offences'. In the replying affidavit the Prisons Dept. claimed that this was not true and all prisoners were treated equally, but Corbett established that "political prisoners" are treated differently from others in this respect. He said:

"In my view, the inescapable inference to be drawn from these facts is that... the prison authorities consciously and deliberately apply a system of censorship which is designed to prevent such prisoners from having access to news of contemporary or even recent events in the outside world".

The censorship of material is, according to the Prisons Dept. affidavit, practised on the basis of excluding matter deemed by the prison authorities to be "sexually stimulating", "inflammatory or seditious", "propagating unlawful ideology" or likely to assist a breach of security. None of these, in Corbett's judgement, could justify a blanket ban on world news reaching political prisoners, and the Prisons Dept. exercised its censorship discretion improperly. This constituted "a drastic inroad upon the basic rights of the appellants". Nor did it require medical evidence, such as was presented by the appellants, to convince him that "to cut off a well-educated, intelligent prisoner from all news as to what is happening in the outside world for a long period of time, in one case for life, is a very serious psychological and intellectual deprivation indeed". For these reasons Corbett would have allowed the appeal, with costs, but the majority verdict was otherwise. (*South African Law Reports 1979* (1))

POLITICAL TRIALS

A total of 76 political trials took place in South Africa in 1978, compared with 95 in 1977. A total of 194 persons were convicted and sentenced to a total of 688 years' imprisonment. Of the remaining 100, 39 were acquitted or had the charges withdrawn, while the rest were still on trial at the end of the year, when the courts adjourned for the summer recess.

All the 76 trials took place under South African security laws — the Terrorism, Sabotage, Internal Security and Explosives Acts — and do not include other politically-motivated cases which are held under illegal gathering and public violence charges. Of the 76 trials, 32 were under the Terrorism Act and 22 under the Sabotage (General Law Amendment) Act. (RDM 6.2.79, from figures collected by SAIRR; see FOCUS 15 p. 2 for breakdown of 1977 figures).

The legal recess took place during December and January and is responsible for the relative lack of progress in many trials since the last issue of FOCUS. However press reports indicate that in February 1979 at least 14 political trials were in process, involving some 55 persons.

SOLOMON MAHLANGU

The third appeal on behalf of Solomon MAHLANGU, sentenced to death in March 1978 (see FOCUS 16-20 POLITICAL TRIALS) was turned down on 19 January when the Bloemfontein Appeal Court refused leave to appeal against a ruling that no irregularities had been committed during the trial. (RDM 20.1.79)

In July 1978 Mahlangu was refused leave to appeal against conviction and sentence, and in November an application for a retrial on the grounds of irregularities was also refused. The final appeal is a petition for clemency to the State President (Mr. Vorster). According to the press 'several European governments have made appeals for clemency through their diplomatic missions' in South Africa, including Britain, France and Netherlands. At the United Nations the representatives of Mozambique, Yugoslavia and Sri Lanka approached the Secretary-General in support of Mahlangu. (CT 16.1.79; RDM 15.2.79)

Mahlangu is awaiting execution in Pretoria Central Prison, and is visited by members of his family on Wednesdays and Saturdays. (Voice 20.1.79)

CONVICTIONS

WILFORD MARWANE

The young ANC guerilla convicted under the Terrorism Act in November (see FOCUS 20 p. 18) was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment by BophuthaTswana Supreme Court on 29 January. Marwane was captured after a clash between guerillas and police in the Western Transvaal in August 1978.

Passing sentence, the judge said the incident was one of the first in "an onslaught from outside upon the existing order in this country and the RSA" and that "the rising tide of terrorism makes the element of deterrence the overriding one in the whole situation", adding that "the courts operate in a phase where the Terrorism Act is intended to be wielded with telling effect and not be eroded by considerations meant for ordinary crime". He said he had taken Marwane's age into account, but that those recruited for such missions were mainly from the same age group.

Defence counsel advanced arguments in mitigation, including Marwane's age, his immediate surrender and his non-combative role in the clash. (RDM 30.1.79)

MAKAE and TLELIMA

The two members of the Young Christian Workers' Movement on trial in Kroonstad Regional Court were convicted at the beginning of February and sentenced to five years' imprisonment each for conspiracy to commit sabotage.

The two were Petrus Mpho MAKAE (27) and Jacob TLELIMA (23) brothers-in-law from Kroonstad; they were among a large number of YCW members detained by security police last June (see FOCUS 17 p. 6).

Evidence was given by fellow YCW detainees that the accused plotted to destroy a bottle store. They were also alleged to have planned to attack a power station, military camp, courtroom, police station and railway station in Kroonstad during a black workers' strike to commemorate the 16 June shootings. The state claimed that songs at the YCW national congress held at Brits early in 1978 incited young people to commit violence. The songs related to the death of Steve Biko, the banning of Winnie Mandela and the Minister of Police Jimmy Kruger. (Voice 11.11.78; Star 10.2.79)

NICODEMUS PHAKE

The student from Phahama High School, Mhlakeng, accused of sabotage in Randfontein Regional Court (see FOCUS 20 p. 12) was convicted on 4 November and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

Nicodemus PHAKE (not PHAKWE) was charged with damaging a West Rand Board office and beer depot, and with setting fire to a bakery van. (Post 19/22.9.78)

MOKGOSI and OTHERS

The four Kagiso youths on trial on sabotage charges in Johannesburg Regional Court (see FOCUS 20 p. 12) were on 15 February convicted and sentenced.

David MOKGOSI (20) Stanley MOLUSI (18) and Hendrik MOLEFE (19) were sentenced to nine years' imprisonment each; the 15-year-old youth was sentenced to five years'. The four were said to have attacked UBC members and Bantu Education teachers with petrol bombs. Evidence that the four accused had had statements forced from them by torture was rejected by the court. (Star 16.2.79)

SHADRACK MOLEFI

The student from Bloemfontein, Shadrack MOLEFI (20) on trial under the Terrorism Act (see FOCUS 20 p. 12) was convicted on 20 February in Johannesburg Regional Court and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

It was alleged that Molefi met a member of the Soweto Students League in Bloemfontein early in 1978 when he was given financial assistance to leave the country for military training. He went first to Swaziland but returned because student refugees were being arrested and then attempted to travel to Botswana but was arrested by security police when the train reached Mafeking. This was in May, since when he had been in custody.

Defence counsel disputed the admissibility of a "confession" made by Molefi to a magistrate, saying Molefi had been assaulted and his statement dictated; this was rejected by the court, which also turned down an application for bail pending an appeal. (RDM 17.2.79)

EZRARD MANQUPU

It was reported that Ezrard MANQUPU, convicted with three others of possessing arms and ammunition (see FOCUS 19 p. 4, 20 p. 12) was sentenced to five years' imprisonment by Johannesburg Regional Court in November. Manqupu claimed to have found the arms hidden in the veld. (Cit. 3.11.78)

CONTINUING TRIALS

MOTHOPENG and 17 OTHERS

The trial of 18 alleged members of the Pan-Africanist Congress continues in Bethal Circuit Court; it has now been in progress for over a year. (see FOCUS 15-20 POLITICAL TRIALS)

The accused are Zephania MOTHOPENG (65) former president of the Transvaal Teachers' Association and founder member of the PAC, sentenced to two years in prison in 1961 and subsequently to three more years, being restricted on his release from jail; John GANYA (48), from Soweto, who previously served five years in jail as a PAC member; Mark SHINNERS (37) former PAC political prisoner who is accused of 'being the key PAC underground organiser in the Northern Transvaal and Pretoria area'; Hamilton KEKE (42) former PAC political prisoner sent to Robben Island with his brother for alleged involvement in Poao activities in the Eastern Cape in the early 1960's. These four 'veterans' are accused of plotting to reorganize the PAC and recruit members — activities said to have taken place over the past 15 years since the four were in jail. ('South Africa's Secret Trial' by David Sibeko, Dec. 1978)

The other accused are Bennie NTOELE (38); Michael KHALA (24); Alfred NTSHALI-NTSHALI (47); Julius Daniel LANDINGWE (30) a former member of the Black Peoples Convention in the Western Cape (see FOCUS 2 p. 5, 7 p. 7 etc); Zolile NDINDWE (26); Moffat ZUNGU (28) photographer with the now-banned World newspaper, accused of distributing PAC funds; Johnson NYATHI (22) who was tortured and thrown out of a window during interrogation (see FOCUS 12 p. 12); Jerome KODISANG (26) former member of SASO, accused of having been trained in Libya and 'smuggled

POLITICAL TRIALS CONT.

back' into South Africa; Themba Hlatshwayo (21); Mothlagegi Thlale (22); Rodney Tsoletsane (20); Daniel Matsobane (31) and Goodwill Moni (24).

Among those listed as co-conspirators in the case are four people who died in security police detention - Dr. N. Ntshuntsha, Samuel Malinga (see *FOCUS* 9 p. 8), Aaron Khoza (*FOCUS* 10 p. 13) and Bonaventura Malaza (*FOCUS* 14 p. 11).

In the trial two of the younger accused, Themba Hlatshwayo and Mothlagegi Thlale, gave evidence about student activities in Krugersdorp. After the recess the trial resumed in February. Peter Jones, who was detained with Steve Biko, was released from detention (see under *BANNINGS*) and subpoenaed to give defence evidence, but did not do so. One of those who did give evidence was Lawrence Ntlokoa, Krugersdorp student held in detention in 1977 and 1978 and banned on release (see *FOCUS* 20 p. 8). He had told the court he had attended a meeting called by the Young African Christian Movement in March-April 1976, but said he knew of no link between this and the PAC. (*Voice* 15.2.79; *RDM* 15.11.78)

Accused Moffat Zungu, Goodwill Moni and Zolile Ndindwe gave evidence in their defence during February. Zungu told the court that his contacts with students had been established while in detention; he denied being a PAC member or supporter. Moni described student meetings at schools in the Cape Town area during 1976, and five trips he made to Swaziland in 1977. Ndindwe admitted in cross-examination that he had helped others to leave the country illegally.

The Bishop of Swaziland, Mandlenkosi Zwane, also gave evidence, relating to an educational and refugee fund and school in Swaziland, run by a joint PAC-ANC committee, which were established to help the refugees from South Africa. (*DD*, 21.11.78; *RDM* 29.11.78, 15.1.79, 9/15/16/19/20/21/22/13.2.79)

The witness who denied the statement he was alleged to have made to the police and was threatened with prosecution for perjury (see *FOCUS* 20 p. 11) was apparently recalled the following day when he said he had lied to the court and asked to be forgiven. On 15 November Kagiso student Churchill Luvuno (22) denied the statement made in 1977 on the grounds that it had been compiled from other statements, but on 16 November he agreed with the judge that taken separately each paragraph was true and that he had lied to the court. (*RDM* 17.11.78)

On 19 February two of the accused, John Ganya (whom the judge suspects of suffering from mental disturbance) and Jerome Kodisang, discharged their attorney, Mr. Griffiths Mxenge. (*RDM* 20.2.79)

ASSAULT CLAIM DISMISSED

One of the accused in the PAC case, Johnson NYATHI, who was thrown out of a window by Krugersdorp Security Police (see above) submitted a claim for R25,000 damages from the police for injuries to his spine and legs. Nyathi spent eight months in hospital recovering from the incident.

The Pretoria Supreme Court ruled that the claim had been submitted too late in terms of the Police Act, which states that a claim must be made within six months of the alleged assault. Nyathi's lawyers argued that the assault had taken place on 31 January 1977 and that as he had been held in detention under the Terrorism Act until 5 December 1977 he had been effectively prevented from submitting his

claim within the prescribed time. The court held itself 'powerless to extend the meaning of the Act to accommodate this case of hardship'. As a result of the assault, Nyathi is now partially disabled. (*Post* 22.12.78)

SASM ELEVEN

The trial of the eleven members of the South African Students Movement and the Soweto Students Representative Council (see *FOCUS* 20 p. 11) resumed on 1 February in Kempton Park Circuit Court with the defence case.

When the state case closed in November, press commentators pointed out that the evidence led did not support the charge of perpetrating violence, as there was little direct evidence and 'so far not one witness has identified any of the accused as being personally involved in such incidents' (*T* 29.11.78). It was also noted that no evidence had been led on some of the most serious charges such as alleged meetings to make petrol bombs and listen to a 'terrorist'. (*RDM* 1.2.79)

The accused are Sechaba Daniel MONTSITSI, Seth Sandile MAZIBUKO, Wilson 'Chief' TWALA, Mafison MOROBE, Ms. Susan Sibongile MTHEMBU, Thabo NDABENI, Reginald Teboho MGOMEZULU, Khotso LENGANE, Michael KIBA and George NKOSINATI.

The defence case eventually opened on 5 February with an application for the discharge of Seth Mazibuko on the grounds that he had been in detention more or less continuously since 2 July 1976 and could not be responsible for the acts alleged, and for that of six others who had joined the SSRC only in 1977 and could therefore not be held liable for violence committed at other times.

The defence further argued that the state had proceeded on the basis that SASM and the SSRC were interchangeable, whereas the two were separate organisations and a member of one would not be legally responsible for what members of the other had done. The state had proved that SASM and the 'Action Committee' had planned a peaceful demonstration on 16 June but not that the violence which broke out was part of a conspiracy.

The state responded to the discharge application by presenting a 'report-back' from the SSRC to SASM, claiming that this showed the SSRC was a branch of SASM, and two letters allegedly from Seth Mazibuko in which he described the pre-June strikes in Soweto schools and said that SASM had given birth to the SSRC. The six who had joined the SSRC in 1977 were held liable for the planning of the commemoration meeting on 16 June 1977 although they were arrested before it took place. It was also submitted that the methods employed by the SSRC during the five 'stay-aways' in 1976 made nonsense of the claim that it was a non-violent organisation. All the documents appended to the indictment were admissible as evidence since most had a bearing on what happened in Soweto in June 1976 and subsequently; songs and poems could have an emotional effect on student marches.

In a counter-argument the defence said that one of the documents allegedly found on accused Wilson Twala was of unknown authorship and contrary to SSRC policy; if not explained it could be prejudicial. Nor was there any link between evidence of attacks on buses (given by Putco drivers) and the policy of the SSRC.

The discharge application was refused on 23 February (*RDM* 2/6/7/8/23.2.79).

ASSAULT CLAIM

Sechaba Daniel Montsitsi, one of the accused in the SASM trial, is currently suing the Minister

of Police for R6750 damages for assaults by security police. In his claim Montsitsi says that during his detention between June 1977 and July 1978 various members of the security police beat him with a rubber truncheon, smashed a gun butt on his head, blindfolded him and squeezed his genitals.

It is also alleged that while blindfolded he was made to squat against a wall with his hands above his head holding a brick, which dropped on his neck if he lowered his arms. Other assaults included his being dropped spread-eagled on the floor and being pulled around the room by his hair. As a result he suffered injuries to his body and head. (*RDM* 2.2.79)

PERJURY CHARGE

One of the state witnesses in the SASM trial has himself been charged. Ezekiel MOLEFI of Soweto, who had told the court that he had been forced by police to make a statement and was thereupon arrested (see *FOCUS* 20 p. 11) was on 9 February accused of perjury in Kempton Park Regional Court.

The charge sheet claimed that on 26 October 1976 Molefi made a statement to the effect that he had set a Soweto policeman's house alight using paraffin in August of that year, but that in court on 10 November 1978 he denied all connection with the incident, saying that police had used electric shock torture to get him to say he had stoned police on 16 June and poured paraffin into the Soweto house. In fact, although he had witnessed the latter incident he had not participated. According to the state, this was a perjured statement.

Molefi was bailed to appear on 6 March. (*RDM* 10.2.79)

WAUCHOPE and MLAUZI

Mrs. Ethel WAUCHOPE (52) a Soweto woman detained in September (see *FOCUS* 19 p. 6) and Washington Chilot MLAUZI (36) also of Soweto, appeared in Johannesburg Regional Court on 1 March charged under the Terrorism Act.

The charges, which were only made available to defence lawyers the previous day, relate to recruiting or encouraging others to go for military training. (*RDM* 2.3.79)

CHURCHILL LUVUNO

One of the witnesses in the PAC trial has himself been charged under the Terrorism Act. Churchill LUVUNO (22) a student from Krugersdorp was on 28 February sent for trial on charges of leaving South Africa for military training and forming a PAC cell in 1978. (*RDM* 1.3.79)

The charges followed LUVUNO's evidence for the state in the trial of Zeph Mothopeng and others (see above).

PASS LAWS AND CURFEW

A total of 272,887 arrests for pass and influx control offences were made in 1978, according to official figures. Of the total, 124,910 were men and the rest women. (*RDM* 3.3.79)

During the period July 1977 to June 1978 there were a total of 17,472 prosecutions under South Africa's curfew regulations for the urban areas. (*RDM* 24.2.79)

POLITICAL TRIALS CONTD.

MZILIKAZI KHUMALO

The trial of Mzilikazi Godfrey KHUMALO (see *FOCUS 20 p.11*) resumed at the end of January when the accused took the witness stand in Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, where he is accused under the Terrorism Act. Khumalo told the court that he believed that state witness Samuel Makhanya had "made up" his evidence on military training because of security police assaults. He also claimed to have been in the Transkei and Johannesburg at the time he is alleged to have left the country. (*DN 7.2.79*) Col. Dreyer, former SB chief in Natal, told the court that Khumalo had been questioned for long periods without rest or food because it was "necessary in his case" and normal security policy practice. (*Natal Mercury 26.1.79*)

NGOBESE AND OTHERS

The trial of six men and one woman under the Terrorism Act in Durban Regional Court (see *FOCUS 20 p.11*) resumed in January with further evidence from fellow students and alleged accomplices.

The seven accused are Sithembiso NGOBESE (26) Themba NXUMALO (26) Nhlania NGIDI (26) Eric MLABA (26) Penuel MADUNA (26) and Ms. Sibongile KUBHEKA (29) and they are charged with recruiting 75 people for military training abroad.

One witness, Caleb Mandla Mkize (21) described as 'the leader of the South African Students Movement (SASM)' said that he became interested in politics in 1977 after accused Mlaba had told him that the South African government was oppressing black people through its homelands policy. Mkize had been in detention since 1977 and told the court how he had been driven around town by the security police on one occasion. Another witness, a 19-year-old girl who gave evidence in camera, claimed that an offer of free education in Botswana turned out to be recruitment for military training.

The trial continues (*RDM 23/26.1.79, 2.2.79*)

PORT ELIZABETH SIX

The trial of four men and two women from Port Elizabeth, alleged ANC members accused under the Terrorism Act (see *FOCUS 20 p.11*) opened on 29 January 1979 in Humansdorp.

The six accused are Uppington Mziwamadoda KALAKO (22) Mrs. Koleka FOLEY (25) Greeves TINI (22) Mrs. Josephine Feziwe BOOKHOLOANE (40) Eric NGELEZA (41) and Weaver Siyalo MAGCAI (38). They are alleged to have recruited 75 youths for military training abroad on behalf of the African National Congress, between September 1977 and June 1978. Among the detailed allegations are claims that the six provided transport and accommodation for recruits en route from Johannesburg to Swaziland. Eric Ngeleza is from Soweto; the others apparently from Port Elizabeth. (*Post 7.1.79*)

An unidentified witness aged 18 told the court she was recruited for military training in 1977 when unrest had closed black schools in Port Elizabeth (see *FOCUS 15 p.7*). One of the accused, Mr. Kalako, obtained train tickets to Botswana for her and four others and "at Gaborone we filled in forms to join the ANC". But, said the witness, she returned to South Africa because educational scholarships were not forthcoming. (*RDM 3.2.79*)

MRS MAPHIKE

A 38-year-old woman from Soweto, Mrs. Nto Mitta MAPHIKE is currently on trial in Johannesburg Regional Court on charges under the Terrorism Act.

Mrs Maphike first appeared in court on 14 December 1978 and again on 6 February 1979 when she was alleged to have assisted persons to undergo military training. Her defence lawyers made several complaints to the court in respect of security police behaviour, claiming that documents relating to the case, including the charge, had only been received a couple of days previously. In addition the police at John Vorster Square refused to accept clothing and spectacles for Mrs Maphike on 10 January, saying that their office did not function 'as a missing persons' bureau' and that inquiries seeking to confirm a detention would not be replied to (at this date Mrs Maphike was awaiting trial, not in detention).

The magistrate said the police had shown a 'remarkable lack of co-operation' especially in relation to so serious a charge, and agreed to a defence request for postponement. Mrs Maphike was remanded in custody till 27 March. (*RDM 7.2.79*)

HECTOR NCOKAZI

The trial of the leader of the Transkei Democratic Party, Hector NCOKAZI (see *FOCUS 17 p.4*) opened in Umtata Supreme Court in October. He is charged on two counts under the Transkei Public Security Act with subverting the authority of the state (Transkei) its constitutional independence and sovereignty.

It is alleged that at a Democratic Party congress at Engcobo on 31 December 1977, he uttered the following words:

"I saw the dreams turn into nightmare when on October 26, 1976 the Transkei people braved the inclement weather and attended the celebration that marked the final sacrifice of their future and the future of their children on the altar of Pretoria's independence.

"The Transkei people were victims of that political swindle at the hands of that racist white-minority Government of South Africa. During the last half of 1976 these people (the Transkei leaders) were trying to convince the world that Transkei independence was a progressive political venture in terms of black liberation politics. Their political statements were simply glosses of deceit lulling the people into acquiescence and servility . . .

"With the backing of the OAU and the UN we shall fight the independent Bantustans. Now the SA Government in connivance with the TNIP has limited our scope of political operation by legally forcing us to operate within an area bounded by the Umzimkulu and Kei Rivers. We don't want to swim with the whites on beaches; we want to swim with them in the legislative chambers of South Africa".

and:

"These Transkei leaders are living in luxury, getting thousands of rands a month when the masses are floundering in poverty. They roam about under cover of darkness with women using government cars without public consent.

"They are rich because they have unduly enriched themselves and when we ask them why they do these things they react by locking us up in their prisons. The Transkei people are cursed with the worst government in the history of mankind, a government that is scandalously corrupt and is prone to suppress the DP which always castigates them for their corrupt deeds.

"They waste money on propaganda and on other trivial undertakings when people are smothering in poverty."

Evidence was given by a member of the Transkei security police who attended the meeting and handed his copy of Ncokazi's prepared statement to the police chief in Umtata.

THE DEATH PENALTY

During 1978 a total of 132 prisoners were hanged in South Africa according to the Minister of Prisons. All were males convicted of criminal offences and 105 were Africans. The remainder comprised one white and 26 coloured men. (*GN 17.1.79*)

Ncokazi was allowed R200 bail and the case was postponed. He has been detained three times since 1976 — firstly in July 1976, then in October 1977 and lastly from January to October 1978. (*DD 4/24/26/28.10.78*)

OTHER TRIALS

NHUNHU SOLO

An Eastern Cape student, 18 year old Nhunhu Andile SOLO was in January reported to have been sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment (3 suspended) by East London Regional Court. Solo was convicted of arson in the burning of a school near King Williams Town. Strictly speaking arson is a non-political charge and those convicted do not share the status and restrictions applied to political prisoners in terms of security legislation.

Three unnamed youths were acquitted of the same charge, and of intimidating others not to attend school, a charge on which Solo was also found not guilty. (*Voice 27.1.79*)

A 13-year-old witness told the court that he and others had been shown a skull wearing a hat and told by police that they would be killed if they did not make statements. They were then hit with a stick. (*DD 17.11.78*)

MVOVO AND MBILINI

Two former detainees, Mxolisi MVOVO and Fumbathile MBILINI (see *FOCUS 19 p.6*) have appeared in court in King Williams Town charged with encouraging feelings of hostility between race groups through distributing Heroes Day pamphlets on 3 March 1978.

Both were remanded on bail to 22 February. A third man, Cliff MARAI, is also accused but failed to appear. (*Voice 16.12.78*)

DAVID RUSSELL

The charge against Rev. David RUSSELL (see *FOCUS 13 p.4*) of producing an undesirable publication on the role of the riot police in Cape Town in December 1976 was withdrawn on the instructions of the Attorney General in October. Rev. Russell was one of those banned on 19 October 1977. (*RDM 27.10.78*)

KALLIE KNOETZE CASE

The heavyweight South African boxer, Kallie Knoetze gave evidence in a Pretoria magistrates court in November against a 15-year-old boy appearing on charges of public disorder and assault.

Stanley Popliza NDLOVU (who was not named in court) was acquitted of the charges that he was involved in stoning the police in Atteridgeville during unrest in 1977. The charges were brought after the boy had instituted a civil action against the police for the loss of his leg. The boxer, at that time Const. Knoetze, told the court that he had shot at the boy after being hit by a stone. "The boy tried to escape over the fence. I shot him while he was hanging there like a fly", said Knoetze. Ndlovu's leg was amputated and he spent 21 weeks in hospital. (*DD 10.11.78; CT 10.11.78; Post 10/11.1.79*)

Knoetze was later refused a visa to enter the United States for a boxing match; despite protests his appeal succeeded and the contest was allowed to proceed. (*RDM 12.1.79*)

168 UNDER BANNING ORDERS

A total of 1,385 people have been banned in South Africa since the introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act (now known as the Internal Security Act) in 1950, according to a report recently issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations. The report is entitled "The Silenced: Bannings in South Africa"; the authors are Sean Moroney and Linda Ensor.

Of the 1,385 persons banned, the authors state that 168 are under current banning orders. The report also states that of the 1,385 persons, more than a quarter have left South Africa.

An updating addendum to the publication shows that banning orders are often served on detainees as they are released from detention. Of the 22 people banned in November and December 1978, 21 were ex-detainees. (RDM 6.2.79)

VENDA BANS

Kuligwe SIGWAVHULIMO (SIGWAHULIMI), one of the over 50 persons detained during the Venda clampdown in August and September 1978, (see FOCUS 18 p.8) was house-arrested on his release under a proclamation signed by the Venda Minister of Justice, Chief J. Rambuda.

Mr. Sigwavhulimo who was formerly a senior clerk with the Venda government, was released in September 1978, apparently because of ill-health. (Post 22.9.78)

J. NETSHISHESHE was also apparently released from detention for reasons of ill-health and was also served with a banning order. No further details were reported. (Post 30.10.78)

Paulus R. NGWANA, former Inspector for Education for Venda, was served with a 90-day banning order in late October, which also restricts him to his home from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. He was an opposition candidate in the recent elections in Venda. This is the second ban on Mr. Ngwana under Venda Proclamation R 276. (Post 30.10.78)

OTHER NEW BANS

Lizo Gladwell SITOTO of Kwa-Nobuhle, Uitenhage was served with a 2-year banning order on 4 October 1978, to run until 31.10.78. (GG 24.11.78)

Malcolm Mbonisi DYANI, former Robben Island prisoner who served a 15-year sentence for sabotage, was banned on his release from prison and restricted to Duncan Village, East London. (RDM 20.1.79)

Khayaletu Luckyboy MQAYISA of Port Elizabeth, former Voice reporter, former detainee. (see FOCUS 13 p.5; 14 p.13). (RDM 20.1.79)

Mbuyiselo MADAKA of Kwazakele, Port Elizabeth, former BPC member, detained in late 1976 and again in March

1977. (see FOCUS 7 p.7; 10 p.13). Redetained in June 1977, reported to be transferred to ISA detention in April 1978, released by 10 August; redetained early September 1977. (RDM 10.1.79)

Peter JONES, former organiser of the BPC, who was arrested and detained with Steve Biko in August 1977, was released on 13 February 1979 after spending more than 17 months in detention. He was served with a five-year banning order on his release, restricting him to the magisterial district of Somerset West and Strand until 28 February 1984. (CT 14.2.79)

BANNED PEOPLE FLEE

Lucas NGAKANE, the former Soweto teacher under a five-year banning and house-arrest order, is believed to have fled South Africa. He was a member of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and was banned on 16 May 1978. (see FOCUS 17 p.7) He had been restricted to the area of Kwa Thema, and police were reportedly searching for him after finding he was no longer at his house. (post 27.11.78)

Thenjiwe Ethel MTINTSO, former Daily Dispatch reporter, serving under a five-year banning order, has left South Africa and has been granted political asylum in Lesotho. Her five-year banning order restricting her to Soweto was served on her on 28 December 1976. Ms. Mtintso a former SASO and BPC leader and former detainee, was due to appear in court in February on a charge of contravening her banning orders. (see FOCUS 11 p.5; 12 p.13; 13 p.5; 15 p.6; 12 p.14; 18 p.7) (RDM 2.2.79)

Silumko SOKUPHA, former permanent organiser for SASO in Durban, serving under a five-year banning order (see FOCUS 11 p.4), was also reported to have been granted political asylum in Lesotho. He is believed to have left South Africa in January. He is a former detainee. (see FOCUS 6 p.8; 11 p.5; 15 p.6; 18 p.7)

Ntsizi MOREMI, a former community worker with the Christian Institute, banned for five years in early 1978, was also reported to have left South Africa. (RDM 2.2.79)

CONTRAVENTIONS

A Soweto youth visiting the Brandfort home of Mrs. Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, has been charged with being in Brandfort illegally.

The youth, Petrus Seakanela, pleaded not guilty at his appearance in the Brandfort Magistrate's Court in early January. Two 16-year-old youths were also arrested for hindering the police in the exercise of their duty following an incident in early January when an administration board official was at Mrs. Mandela's home. (Post 11.1.79)

David GASA (Gaza) former director of the Umlazi Residents' Association who is serving a five-year banning order appeared in a Durban regional court in leg irons on 29 January on charges of contravening his banning order six times. He is also being charged with assaulting a woman. The regional magistrate objected to the use of the irons and adjourned the court until they were removed. The case was later adjourned to 28 February.

On 17 January Mr. Gasa was sentenced to 16 days' imprisonment on a separate charge of contravening his banning order. (DN 31.1.79)

Police are reported to be investigating possible charges against former BPC chairman Kenneth RACHIDI. He allegedly broke his

banning order by communicating with a journalist Ms. Caryle Murphy on 3 February. She was later fined R 50 for being in Soweto without a permit.

Rachidi was placed under a five-year banning order in December 1978 soon after his release from a year's detention. (see FOCUS 20 p.8)

BEAUTY LOLWANE

Mrs. Beauty Lolwane, who had been ordered to leave the Ciskei under a banishment order signed by the Ciskeian Minister of Justice in April 1978, and was reported to be still defying the order, has won her appeal. (see FOCUS 18 p.12; 19 p.16)

Her appeal against her conviction and 90-day prison sentence imposed by a Mdantsane magistrate for failing to comply with her banning order, was set aside on appeal by the Supreme Court in Grahamstown. (RDM 20.2.79) (see DETENTIONS)

WEINBERG APPEAL

Judgement has been reserved by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein in the case of the appeal by Sheila Weinberg, a banned person, against her conviction for having a (pre-arranged) lunch with one other person in February 1977, as this was found to be a contravention of the restriction prohibiting banned persons from attending social gatherings. (see FOCUS 10 p.10; 17 p.7) It should be noted that Ms. Weinberg was acquitted of communicating with another banned person, Jeanette Curtis who lived in the house she went to visit. She was convicted of having (an arranged) lunch with Ian Robertson at the house.

Counsel for Ms. Weinberg stated in his argument that what was at issue in the case was whether people who had been subjected to bannings would in future be able to consort with others. (RDM 23.2.79)

BAN LIFTED

In January 1979 a man who had been under banning orders for 14 years, Mohammed Suliman BHANA (38), received a notice lifting his banning order. First banned for five-years in 1964, his order was twice renewed and his third order was due to expire on 31 July 1979. (ST 28.1.79)



Deborah Matshoba and her son Sechaba. Ms. Matshoba (now Mrs. Mabale) was released from detention in December 1978 and immediately banned (see FOCUS 20 p.8). In February 1979 she was refused permission to attend a gathering in Kagiso to celebrate her wedding in 1977 to Gilbert Mabale. (Voice 25.2.79)

CHILDREN IN DETENTION

According to official figures 252 teenagers under the age of 18 were detained in 1978 in terms of the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts.

These figures were given by the Minister of Police, Mr. J. T. Kruger in the House of Assembly in reply to a written question from Mrs. Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton. Kruger stated that 227 were boys and 25 girls, but refused to disclose their periods of detention, or any further information. (RDM 22.2.79). (For a report on school pupils and teenagers in detention, see FOCUS 18 p.7).

Mrs. Suzman said it was necessary to ask how many of the young people who were charged were actually found guilty in the courts. "My information is that of the persons actually charged with sabotage, public violence and other crimes there was a 70% acquittal rate of

those who were defended", (RDM 22.2.79)

WESTERN EMBASSIES REFUSED ACCESS

Two Western embassies in Pretoria were told that they have no legal right to visit detainees interned under the Internal Security Act, unless detainees are their own nationals. This refusal was in response to requests by the Australian and Canadian embassies. (RDM 3.2.79)

DETAINEES ESCAPE

Two men, described as "dangerous armed terrorists", escaped from Jeppe police cells in Johannesburg on 18 January. A young black constable went with them. A senior police officer said the two men were "extremely dangerous" and were awaiting trial on charges under

the Terrorism Act. No names were given, but the officer said that the two men were arrested with a number of other suspected guerillas on the Witwatersrand "some time ago".

A massive manhunt had been launched, but the officer said it appeared the guerillas had made their way to Botswana. (RDM 24.1.79)

RELEASES

The following are among the detainees who have been released in recent months:

Duma LAMANI, Virginia Nomsa NGUBENI, Busiswe Elizabeth NGUBENI, Thembi NGUBENI, David MTHIMKULU, Thami ZANI, Thami GGWETA, Madock RAVHUANZO, Ronnie MATHABATHE, Sipho SIMACELE, Jan TUGWANA, Willie BOKALA, Oupa MOLOTO, Tsariki MODIAKGOTLA, Andrew MBELE, Beauty LOLWANE, Fr. F. MAKORO, Fr. C. MOLEKO, Zodwa MFENYANE, Sadi PULE, Esther RAMETSI, Chabedi POOE, A. B. TOYANA and Peter JONES.

KNOWN DETAINEES

additional to previous FOCUS lists

Key: Terrorism Act = TA, General Law Amendment Act = GLA, Internal Security Act = ISA, Transkei Security Act = TSA.

Date	Place	Name (age)	Details (where known)
September 1978	Johannesburg	Washington MULAUZI (36)	Chiawelo undertaker, detained after returning home from Malawi, seen by his sister being escorted from a police van 3 days after his arrest with swollen face and unsteady walk. Secondary school principal
September 1978	Venda	Vhulahani NEMAKONDE (28)	
October 1978	Transkei	six members of music band <i>The Monks</i>	
October 1978	Port Elizabeth	Moki CEKISANI	former president of BPC in Port Elizabeth, and former detainee (ISA).
late October	BophuthaTswana	Elias DLAMINI Mrs. DLAMINI Cornelius NGWENYA Beauty LUKHELE Stephen UKOBO (31)	4 members of Inkatha living in Winterveld; released after a month.
early November	E. Cape	P.R. MOSALA (53)	V-Pres. of N.E. District Chamber of Commerce; released after 18 days.
mid November	Transkei	Wandile KESI (21) Johannes MOKAE Prince Mzimkhulu DUBU	circuit inspector for QwaQwa Government; detained at his home in Matatiele clerk in East London
27.11.78	Mdantsane		detained at home by security policemen
29.11.78	Soweto		former Soweto student, reportedly not seen by his family since 1976.
4.12.78	Soweto	Mrs. Francina MSWANE (42) Hazel KHUMALO Mongezi DOTWANA (20)	relatives of Prince Dubu, detained in the same house, released later same day.
5.12.78	Natal		Fort Hare student from Benoni, nephew of Chief Buthelezi.
8.12.78	Mdantsane	Ben Buyisile NTONGA (32)	lawyer detained in September in Ciskei released on 8.12.78 and re-detained at his office two hours later under Ciskei Emergency Regs.
10.12.78	Soweto	Unnamed young woman	Member of SSL — arrested by riot squad police at meeting.
15.12.78	BophuthaTswana	Emily MAPHAHANE (23) Geoffrey MASHOKWE (22) Pat MOENG with 4 others Twoboy TABANE Alfred NONGAUZA (76) James NDIZIBA Raymond LINDA Wilberforce SIGILA Mhlobo MAGENGE Peter MAHLANYANA Russell RADASI Cecil MTOBI Mahlubi LUDIDI Ninini NDLAZILWANA Phila SIGILA Johannes MOLOI	typist student Bophutha Tswana army officer all released on 22.12.78
mid December	Transkei		from Mdantsane, arrested in Butterworth (TSA)
late December	Ciskei		male nurse in Fort Beaufort postmaster male nurse in Fort Beaufort headman male nurse in Fort Beaufort male nurse in Fort Beaufort male nurse in Fort Beaufort
5.1.79	Johannesburg		insurance agent (GLA)

from Healdtown area, all detained under Ciskei Emergency Proclamation R 252.

Date	Place	Name (age)	Details (where known)
5.1.79		Mrs. Elizabeth MOLOI Mpho Winifred MOLOI (16) Sesame Priscilla TSHABALALA Elizabeth GUMEDE (57) Emmanuel GUMEDE (28) Velly GUMEDE (14) Berry GUMEDE (12) Velile MDAZANA	detained with Johannes Moloi, but released 10.1.79. family detained in Johannesburg and released a few days later; interrogated on whereabouts of son/brother Ernest who left the country in 1976.
early January	Ciskei		SABC announcer from Healdtown, detained by Ciskei Security Police.
?	Ciskei	George QUINGA	Mdantsane businessman
	Ciskei	A.B. TOYANA	held at Dimbaza, later released
	Ciskei	Q. NDINGAYE	held at Dimbaza
17.1.79	Mmabatha (BophuthaTswana)	Thami MKHWANAZI Thomas KHOZA Walter NKOSI	employees of <i>Post</i> -newspaper detained while on news assignment; released on bail after 2 days, charged with entering the "independent" Bantustan without permission.
23.1.79	Springs	Lauretta MASEKO (21)	Detained with several Kwa-Thema students (who were released after questioning)
27.1.79	Johannesburg	Ewen MAPHANA (also known as Collin KOTU)	chairman of Soweto Students League (GLA)
27.1.79	Johannesburg	Azael Shadow PHIRI	detained with Maphana (GLA)
late January	Johannesburg	Isabella MATHANDA	mother of six (GLA)
	Johannesburg	Michael KOMANE	all of Soweto
	Johannesburg	Bennet Panties KOMANE	
	Johannesburg	Zinetta TLAPANE (44)	
	Johannesburg	Shimi GAOLEFELE (37)	
	Johannesburg	Barney MONGWADI (41)	from Soweto, released the same day
	Johannesburg	Toki MONAGENG (44)	
	Johannesburg	Oupa MARUPING	
	Johannesburg	Levy RAMOITHEKA	
	Johannesburg	Hector MATHANDA	released a week later
	Johannesburg	Bradley TLHAPANE	
	Johannesburg	Nick KUDJOANE (42)	
	Johannesburg	Chris MATHABE	
early February	Vereeniging	Martin MAHAU (16)	secretary of SSL
	Vereeniging	Lazarus LEBELOANE (17)	Soweto students
	Vereeniging	Terrance PHIRI	
	Vereeniging	Oupa MASHIGO	
	Vereeniging	Seven unnamed students	
12.2.79	Port Elizabeth	Nuyani VENA (16)	released within a day of detention.
late February	Johannesburg	2 guerillas	Std. 6 pupil in New Brighton Security police said they arrested 2 'highly trained' well-armed guerillas near Middelburg, E. Transvaal.

COMMUNITY GUARDS IN SOWETO

The Soweto Community Council, elected on less than 5% percentage poll in early 1978, (see *FOCUS 15 p.8*) has decided "in principle" to establish a community guard as a vigilante force to supplement the police in Soweto. This community guard was provided for in the Community Council Act of 1977, and fears were widely expressed at the time that these guards would in fact be a legalisation of the Makgotla tribal courts, which would be used for political repression in African townships (see *FOCUS 12 p.14; 15 p.9*).

The Soweto Community Council is considering draft regulations for the setting up of the guards. Some of the regulations are: people found guilty of obstructing the black community guards will be liable to fines of R90 or 90 days imprisonment; guards will be allowed to carry knobkerries (clubs) and "more lethal weapons", but not firearms; there will be three ranks in the guard forces — Main guard, Supervisor and Guard, all of whom will be subordinate to all members of the South African Police.

The chairman of the Soweto Council, Mr. David Thebehali, has apparently given assurances that he will not allow guards to be used as an instrument of political control. (*RDM 26.1.79*)

Although these guards will supposedly be under the direct control of the Soweto Community Council, it seems likely that they may be integrated with the black law enforcement officers of the Government West and East Rand Administration Boards. These officers are popularly known as 'blackjacks'. They are responsible for tasks such as collecting rents, checking passes and conducting evictions from township houses, and they were armed after the Soweto uprisings in 1976. All 22 Administration Boards governing South Africa's African population employ these law enforcement officers.

In a recent interview with the *Rand Daily Mail*, Mr. Schalk van der Merwe, chairman of the East Rand Administration Board (ERAB) said: "The Act on Community Councils makes provision for the councils to have their own police

forces. White city councils do not have this function. We hope the East Rand community councils will take over these highly trained men to serve as community guards."

The article revealed that in 1979 more than R20,000 would be spent by ERAB renovating the "training farm" for these officers, so that 100 men at a time would be able to attend courses.

In the same article a spokesman for WRAB was quoted as saying that his board had a three months training programme for their law enforcement officers, after which some were chosen for firearm training. (*RDM 20.2.79*)

CORRECTION

In *FOCUS 18* on page 6, in the list of detainees who died in detention, a misprint occurred. The date of Joseph Mdluli's death should have read 19.3.76. Please correct your copy accordingly.

Steve Galt 2/15/79 m

RELEASED

Four detainees who were released from detention just before Christmas 1978 after 18 months and more in prison, photographed on their release: (from left) Willie Bokala, Elias Masinga, Super Moloj and Billy Masetla.

Bokala, former World reporter, had been detained since 14 June 1977. Elias Masinga was detained early in 1977 and first appeared as one of the 12 accused in the Pretoria ANC trial on 18 March 1977. He was one of the six finally acquitted in the trial on 5 April 1978. He was re-detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act three days later. Billy Masetla and Super Moloj, former students, were brought from detention to give evidence for the State at the Pretoria 12 trial in September 1977; they refused to do so and were sentenced to six months imprisonment, together with Mafison Morobe (who is now appearing in the SASM 11 trial — see Political Trials). When the three were released after serving their sentence they were all detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act.



CHILDREN UNDER APARTHEID

A photographic exhibition entitled CHILDREN UNDER APARTHEID has been prepared by IDAF for the Belgian Government as a contribution to International Year of the Child. It was shown in Brussels on 21 March, and will form the basis of a publication later this year.

YEAR OF THE CHILD

Infant malnutrition afflicts a high proportion of children in the Bantustans.



Eve Arnold



Teenage school students were in the forefront of the demonstrations in 1976-7.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO FOCUS

Individuals: \$10 a year; institutions: \$25 a year; students: \$7 a year. Student group rates available on request.

INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE & AID FUND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

P O BOX 17

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

Name.....

Address.....

.....Zip code.....

I enclose a remittance of \$

ZIMBABWE: POLITICAL PRISONERS BRIBED

Evidence has been received by IDAF that Zimbabweans serving prison terms under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act have been approached by the regime and offered their release in return for co-operation with the internal settlement. Detainees have also been exposed to this kind of bribery, in an apparent attempt by the internal leaders to win friends and supporters during the run-up to elections planned for 20 April. The regime is in acute need of manpower to contain the military situation and is clearly prepared to use a variety of unorthodox methods to win recruits who can subsequently be presented as "volunteers".

According to information from detainees in Wha Wha, members of the Rhodesian Special Branch have been visiting a number of prisons to interview prisoners with a military background, i.e. former guerilla fighters. The prisoners are apparently being offered their freedom on condition that they join the Rhodesian army as "auxiliaries" to train new recruits in counter-insurgency tactics. (The introduction of compulsory national service for Africans at the end of 1978 has meant that black conscripts are now

entering the security forces, though clearly not in the numbers that the regime may have hoped for).

In the terminology of the internal settlement, "auxiliaries" is the word used by the regime to describe members of the private armies built up by Bishop Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole in the course of the last year and sent into the rural areas to enforce the "ceasefire". Bishop Muzorewa and Rev. Sithole also seem to have been doing their own recruiting in the prisons. According to a letter received from a political prisoner in Khami prison, Bulawayo: "The prisoners who are being released here are only on conditions that they join private armies (auxiliaries). So far only Muzorewa people have been released and have already joined the so-called auxiliaries in the war of genocide. Ndabaningi Sithole paid a special visit to Khami prison last January (1979). He promised to release political prisoners shortly. His remarks were received with continuous jeers by prisoners".

Africans awaiting trial are also subject to this sort of inducement. The Rhodesian security forces have for a number of years made use of captured guerillas who are prepared to cooperate, as an alternative to pro-

secution and imprisonment. They have been used as spies and informers or as showpieces in the Psychological Warfare Department's "hearts and minds" campaign. The Selous Scouts in particular are believed to include former guerilla fighters. Sometimes it appears that false promises are made in an attempt to elicit information from captives, as for example in a trial before the Salisbury High Court in September 1978, at which an unnamed defendant revealed that, rather than going to prison, he had (erroneously) been led to expect that he would be "attached to the security forces so that I would help them". (FOCUS 19 p. 13)

More recently, a 19-year-old member of the Rhodesian African Rifles stated in an interview subsequently screened on British television that he was a former guerilla fighter with the liberation forces. He had been captured by Rhodesian security forces and underwent seven months of torture at the hands of the Special Branch. He had then been offered the choice of execution, life imprisonment, or switching sides and joining the security forces, and had opted for the last. (New Statesman 19.1.79)

According to General Walls, the regime's Commander of Combined Operations, "it had once taken Rhodesian forces seven minutes to convert a terrorist after capture and use him to return fire at the people he was initially fighting for". (Interview given in Cape Town in September 1978, RH 8.9.78).

DETAINEES TO STAY IN GAOL

The regime has confirmed that it has no intention of releasing political detainees to enable them to take part in the forthcoming April elections. Mr Ian Smith told the House of Assembly on 9 February that "it would be folly to release those who are openly committed to assisting terrorists"; the assumption being that they would thereupon assist the Patriotic Front in disrupting the elections. He further stated that "there is no such thing as a political detainee in our country. Persons who are in detention are there because they were actively assisting one or other of the terrorist organizations who seek to seize power through intimidation, murder, rape and assault." (Debates 9.2.79)

(In fact, those detained without charge by the Smith regime are never given any reason for their arrest and imprisonment. In many

cases, they have been detained on being acquitted by the courts of precisely the type of charges referred to by Smith).

Out of 58 detainees who appeared before the Review Tribunal in January 1979, only five have been released. They are: Francis Mudyiwa Gunda, Evans Maruma Mpofu (both of whom previously served prison sentences in Khami and were detained on release), Enos Gama, Cephas Cyprian Marozva and Dr. Edward Munatsirayi Pswarayi, the chairman of the People's Movement (the internal organization of ZANU (Patriotic Front)). Dr Pswarayi was arrested in September 1978 at the time martial law was declared (see FOCUS 19 p.9)

LETTER FROM WHA WHA

"I, a detainee at the above mentioned address, received a letter from my nephew informing

me that my home was completely burnt down by the security forces. All the seven houses, including five granaries, were levelled to the ground, save one house, where a few belongings were also saved.

"Roughly the whole number of people arrested number about 20. As for livestock the whole herd of cattle, whole flock of sheep and goats were also impounded and I have absolutely no knowledge of their whereabouts at the moment of writing this letter. My reason of notifying you about this saddening incident at my home is merely that I am so desperate and so heartbroken that I really do not know who I should turn to for assistance in any form for the rescue of my family and property in their miserable plight."

—December 1978



The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa
104 Newgate Street, London EC1 7AP

P. O. Box 17

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138, USA

The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa has the following objects:

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

President: Canon L. John Collins
Vice-Presidents: Mr Kader Asmal (Ireland), Dean Gunnar Helander (Sweden) and Mr Gilbert Rist (Switzerland).

Affiliated committees of IDAF exist in the following countries: Australia, Britain, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden,

Switzerland and United States of America. Further information can be obtained from the London headquarters.

Under Clause (iii) of its objects, IDAF has a broad publications programme of books, visual material and pamphlets, which are distributed world-wide. A catalogue of available publications may be obtained from IDAF Publications Dept., 104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP.

FOCUS is published six times a year by IDAF under Clause (iii) of its objects. It aims to keep international opinion informed about repression in Southern Africa, in support of the call for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Material may be freely quoted or reproduced provided full acknowledgement is given to IDAF. A subscription form is overleaf.

Sources and abbreviations: BBC — British Broadcasting Corporation Survey of World Broadcasts; Cit — The Citizen, Johannesburg; CT — Cape Times; DD — Daily Dispatch, East London; Debates — House of Assembly Debates, Cape Town; DN — Daily News, Durban; GG — Government Gazette, Pretoria; GN — Guardian, London; FM — Financial Mail, Johannesburg; FT — Financial Times London; MS — Morning Star, London; NW — Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg; Obs — Observer, London; Post — Post, Johannesburg; RDM — Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg; RH — Rhodesia Herald, Salisbury; ST — Sunday Times, Johannesburg; Star — Star Weekly edn., Johannesburg; Tel — Daily Telegraph, London; T — Times, London; WA — Windhoek Advertiser, Namibia; WO — Windhoek Observer, Namibia; ZT — Zimbabwe Times, Salisbury; ZPV — Zimbabwe People's Voice, Lusaka.