



News Bulletin of the International Defence & Aid Fund



# focus

## ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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# TORTURE OF DETAINEES

Evidence mounted during December 1981 and January 1982 that detainees were being tortured by the South African security forces in both South Africa and Namibia, on a scale even greater than previously. Protests by organisations concerned with the welfare of detainees, and court actions have underlined the seriousness of the situation. They have emphasised the extensive powers which the security forces have to hold people without trial and to withhold information about detainees from their families or the public. The apparent increase in the incidence and the severity of torture occurred in the context of a general increase in repression and an intensification of the war in Namibia.

The torture of detainees in South Africa is being carried out by the Security Police. Details of the evidence of what is happening are given in the section on Detentions in this issue.

Intense security police activity in the form of detentions began at the end of May 1981 and was still continuing in January 1982. The scale of the operation was masked to some extent by the slower pace with which it was carried out compared with earlier large-scale repressive operations (ST 17.1.82). Between the last week of May 1982 and the end of December 1981 at least 500 people were detained under various security laws in South Africa. Details of the pattern of detentions given on p. 7 of this issue: trade unionists, people active in youth organisations, and people active in the propagation of information and ideas, and church workers have been amongst the principal people affected. They include several people in the campaign against the Republican Day celebrations and against the South African Indian Council elections as well as opponents of the bantustan authorities.

The operation by the security police began with the ending of the Anti-Republic Day campaign, and followed statements by the regime indicating that a major clamp-down was being considered. Early in January 1981, the Minister of Defence claimed that 'front organisations' were being used by the ANC to promote labour unrest (RDM 21.2.81). In May, the Minister of Police said that the regime was threatened not only by the armed actions of the liberation movement, but also by the propagation of ideas through which 'the foundations of the republic were being undermined' (CT 9.5.81).

In the context of such statements it is clear that the security operation involving the detention of so many people, and the apparently extensive use of torture, is a response to the rising level of popular resistance to apartheid and activity by workers during 1980 and 1981.

In Namibia, detention and torture are carried out both by the South African army and police, and by the various tribal military and paramilitary forces created by South Africa. During 1981 there was a marked increase in the number of reports of violent incidents involving police and army actions against civilians. These have included numerous arbitrary arrests and maltreatment of individuals suspected of supporting the liberation movement, SWAPO.

Previous issues of FOCUS have reported evidence of torture suffered by SWAPO leaders and members in detention. The intensification of the war and the increased South African military presence have led to a more widespread use of torture, which seems to be applied as a routine matter on anyone picked up by the security forces (WO 19.12.81). The general pattern that has emerged in recent months is of people being picked up by police or army, taken to a police station or military camp, and tortured while under interrogation. In virtually all reported cases, they are accused of giving food or shelter to SWAPO guerrillas. In many instances, as shown in the section on torture in this issue, the security forces have no evidence or base their evidence

on the reports of informers or on 'admissions' extracted under torture from other detainees.

The leader of Namibia's largest church, Bishop Cleopas Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo Kavango Church, described the situation in the northern region of the country: 'Reports of violence and violent incidents have become the order of the day. Almost every day we do hear of violence and have even seen it ourselves.' Of the SADF he said: 'The worst part of the bush war is that besides the heavy toll in the loss of lives, mainly civilians, it also goes hand in hand with the destruction of personal property, food included, of the civilian population at the hand of mainly the SADF. (Dateline Namibia No.2, 1982).

In this situation, torture has evidently become part of a wider framework of violence and repression used by the illegal regime to entrench itself in the face of popular hostility.

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# namibia

# A WAR OF TERROR

## DEATH UNDER TORTURE

Sworn affidavits filed by a number of former political detainees with the Windhoek Supreme Court give detailed descriptions of torture and assault by the security police, and allege that one detainee died as a result of torture. A court case was due to open in February investigating the disappearance of Johannes KAKUVA, a stock farmer, who has not been seen since his arrest by security police on 4 August 1980. While the police deny the murder or ill-treatment of any of the detainees, and claim that Kakuva fled to Angola to join SWAPO after failing to keep an arrangement to work as a South African informer, the allegations of torture contained in the affidavits reinforce numerous previous reports in *FOCUS* of atrocities committed by the security forces.

Kakuva was one of 25 people arrested by security police in August 1980 and held under Proclamation AG9. They were accused of providing assistance to a group of SWAPO guerillas. In a statement made under oath one of those who were arrested, Hapeheri NDERURA, told how the detainees, including Kakuva, spent the night blindfolded in a place of interrogation near Opuwo in Kaokoland. They were interrogated about aid given to SWAPO. During

his interrogation, Hapeheri Nderura was blindfolded, handcuffed and chained at the ankles. He was forced to lie down and was beaten with a wooden stick causing him unbearable pain. He was given electric shocks to both sides of his head and lost consciousness. When he regained consciousness, he heard Johannes Kakuva screaming. He had known Kakuva for many years and could recognise his voice. He could hear the police beating Kakuva incessantly, and the prisoner's continuous screams became fainter and fainter until they finally stopped. He thought the uninterrupted assault lasted one hour. He became aware that Kakuva was being dragged in his direction and placed across his body. He managed to remove his blindfold and saw that Kakuva, who was also blindfolded, had stopped breathing.

A policeman, noticing that Nderura had removed his blindfold, hit him on the head with a rifle butt. Police then started pouring pails of water over Kakuva, and later pulled him away.

Hapeheri Nderura said in his affidavit that to this day he could still not move two fingers of his right hand. On his back and across his rib cage he bore multiple scars of the assaults he had been subjected to in detention. He remained in a critical condition for a long time and was later transferred to Opuwo hospital. He had never seen Kakuva again.

Affidavits submitted to the court by other witnesses who were themselves detained apparently contain similar details of torture. One man, Gustaf HAO, confirmed that he was assaulted repeatedly; another, Tjituuo NDONDU, said the torture applied to him was of great

intensity. If the same treatment he, a strong man, had suffered, was applied to Johannes Kakuva, who was much older, Kakuva would not have survived, he said.

Efforts by a member of the second-tier Herero authority, Markus Nderura, to visit the detainees, failed. He visited Opuwo police station with members of Kakuva's family, demanding to see the detainees. While a captain of the security police assured him that Kakuva was still in detention and 'under his personal care', he refused access. On further insistence Nderura was told that 'Kakuva has left with the terrorists'.

According to a member of the security police, Lieutenant King, Kakuva was asked to obtain information about SWAPO guerilla hideouts and activities, in return for ten head of cattle. It was 'considered wise to isolate him' while he thought about the proposal. Having allegedly agreed to cooperate, he was taken, according to the police, to a prearranged spot. Here, after having made contact with SWAPO, he would be met several days later by a police car. According to the police, Kakuva failed to turn up at the arranged spot, and was assumed to have joined the guerillas. He was placed on the security police's list of exiles.

The disappearance and likely death in detention of Johannes Kakuva is one example of the coercion and violence used by the South African and local security forces to prevent local support for the liberation movement. In many cases, such repression is applied on a completely arbitrary basis, as an increasing number of reports from the north of the country testify.

## VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIVIDUALS

A representative of the British Council of Churches, who as part of a four-member delegation visited Namibia for ten days in November 1981, spoke of the 'appalling suffering' of the people in Namibia. During its visit, the delegation had heard grim accounts of death, torture, beatings and seizure of property, according to a statement issued by the delegation's leader, Reverend Stanley Booth-Clibborn. 'These things are happening to people who believe they are innocent of any offence, and those to whom we spoke felt that they were suffering far more from the arbitrary actions of the security forces than from the activities of SWAPO guerillas', Rev Booth-Clibborn added (*WA 4.12.81*).

The leader of the Namibia Christian Democratic Party, Hans Rohr, gave examples of arbitrary police actions in northern Namibia during a National Assembly debate on the Combating of Terrorism Bill (*FOCUS 38 p.9*; see also this issue p.3). Opposing the Bill, he said it would further enhance the tremendous powers of the security forces. There would be no penalty for the deeds of terror committed by their institutions. As an example, he cited the case of a teacher in Ovamboland who was arrested for allegedly having undergone guerilla training in Zambia, put on trial, ill-treated for three days

and then released. In fact, the teacher had never left the country but had attended school every day. In another incident which occurred in October 1981, security forces searched a settlement for firearms and assaulted the women living there. They had arrived with a prisoner who, having visibly been ill-treated, had told them that a man in the settlement had hidden a gun there. According to Rohr, the man accused of hiding a gun had died two years previously. A similar incident occurred in the Kavango region, where police accused the residents of a settlement, all women, of having provided food for SWAPO guerillas. Two of the women were taken away; those remaining received no news of them for three weeks. When they finally returned, one had a broken arm. Both said they had been assaulted during their detention.

Rohr cited a number of other examples and pointed out that when people in the Kavango region held a protest meeting to complain about assaults and ill-treatment, they received no explanation but were told that it would not happen again in the future (*WO 28.11.81*).

The civilian population have no means of protecting themselves against arbitrary arrest, interrogation and torture. A number of inci-

dents in Ovamboland reported by the *Windhoek Observer* illustrate that many young people are subjected to humiliating and violent treatment, usually because they are suspected of supporting SWAPO.

In one case, a 17 year old youth, Lipinge PET-RUS, was approached by a large number of soldiers in army trucks outside a local cuca shop (cafe) in Okathitu. Asked where his gun was, he replied that he did not have one, and showed his identity papers. He was taken near a truck and forced to put his left hand on the exhaust. He and two other youths were then forced to accompany the troops, blindfolded, for several hours in the trucks before being dropped. Lipinge suffered deep burns on his hand which became infected and had to be treated in hospital.

The newspaper cited several other cases of youths being beaten by soldiers. One youth, Modestus NUUYOMA, was taken to the military post at Ogongo and charged with having taken bags of maize to guerillas in the bush. When he denied this, he was forced to spend the night in a hole in the ground, lined with truck tyres. He was unable to sit or lie down in the hole. 'The hardship and sufferings of the people in the war zone seem to have no end', commented the *Windhoek Observer* (*WO 16.1.81*).

## SUPPRESSION OF SWAPO

SWAPO's political activities in Namibia, already severely restricted by frequent police harassment and detention of its members and officials, are being further curtailed with the promulgation of the *Prohibition and Notification of Meetings* Act No. 22 of 1981 on 23 December (FOCUS 38 p.9).

The Act stipulates that no person within the borders of South West Africa may hold a meeting that has as its object, or favours, the overthrow of the government by forcible means or intimidation. The same applies if the objective is to bring about political, social or economic change by intimidation or forcible means. Section 3 of the Act requires that any gathering of more than 20 persons must be preceded by 24 hours written notice to the magistrate of the district in which the meeting is to be held. The organisers must submit information about the time and place of the meeting, and its nature. The name of the person or organisation on whose behalf the meeting is organised must be given, as well as the names and addresses of speakers. The magistrate is empowered to ask for the constitution of a political party and he may ban any meeting if he considers such a document to advocate the overthrow of the current order. He may also require the organisers of a meeting to furnish him with a written declaration stating expressly whether or not they favour the overthrow of the present order by means of force. The penalty for contravening the provisions of the Act is three years imprisonment or a maximum fine of R3,000 or both (WO 16.1.82).

The Act is clearly aimed at silencing SWAPO, but is also being used against other political groups not included in the DTA-headed 'internal government'. It legitimises the South African-

installed internal regime by prohibiting any political activities opposed to it. The SWA National Union (SWANU) was given two warnings by the security police that it could become liable for prosecution if it held its Congress in January 1982 as planned. Two members of the security police took the names and photographs of all delegates present at the Congress. SWANU had earlier indicated that it would resort to any means to hasten Namibia's independence (WA 18.1.82).

Another new security measure, the *Combating of Terrorism Bill*, has been referred to a select committee of the National Assembly for review following objections to it by a number of political groups (see FOCUS 38 p.9, and this issue p.2). Opposition has been particularly strong among the Ovambo tribal authorities. At a meeting in Ondangwa, Mr Kalangula, the president of the DTA and chairman of the Ovambo tribal authority, said the Bill would only affect Ovambos and 'we want no part of it'. It would place people in Ovamboland in an extremely vulnerable position, and make it too easy for vindictive people to frame the innocent by having to give a minimum of evidence. 'The people of Ovambo have been victimised, bullied, tortured, shot and maimed. They have all lost members of their families and it is not right to expect them to accept an additional burden', he said. Another Ovambo official said: 'The people outside Ovambo forget that the so-called terrorists are our people, our children. Why do they expect us to be so harsh on our own people?'

A legal expert pointed out that the Bill aimed to clamp down on cooperation with 'terrorists' and particularly to help track them down. Any person caught informing or feeding guerillas could get a 20 year prison sentence.

The select committee reviewing the Bill was expected to report back in March (WA 11.12.81).

## DETENTIONS AND TRIALS

Two SWAPO supporters, Simon STEFANUS and Uly BABE, were reported to have been detained by police in Windhoek and Vaalgras outside Keetmanshoop in mid-December 1981. Police confirmed that Uly Babe was being held under Proclamation AG9 (WA 12.12.81).

Three men accused of 'terroristic activities' in the Tsumeb and Ondangwa areas were due to appear in court on 23 February - they are Josef SAGARIAS, Theofilus JASON and Lucias Nangala MALAMBO (WA 18.1.82).

## PRISONS

Political prisoners held on Robben Island may be moved to Walvis Bay, according to the President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma. A new prison containing 231 units is being built in Walvis Bay (MS 25.1.82; see also this issue p.10; a list of Namibian convicted political prisoners is included in *Remember Kassinga, IDAF Fact Paper No.9, July 1981*).

According to the annual report for 1980 of the Department of Justice, there was no noteworthy overcrowding of the prisons in Namibia, with the exception of Windhoek and Grootfontein. (Many detainees are reportedly held in open air camps, military barracks and police stations; FOCUS 34 p.3). The report states that delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross visited all sentenced security prisoners as well as detainees held under Proclamation AG26 (WA 11.12.81).

ICRC delegates also visited 85 Angolan prisoners in Namibia, ten of whom were reported wounded. According to the ICRC Bulletin, six new prisoners were registered during the round of visits which began on 4 November 1981 (ICRC Bulletin No. 71, 2.12.81).

## ANGOLA: POISON GAS USED

South African troops have been using poison gas to prevent the Angolan military forces, FAPLA, from recapturing areas occupied by the South African army since Operation Protea in August 1981. According to a communique issued by the Angolan Ministry of Defence, Angolan troops had reoccupied the localities of Humbe, Peu-Peu, Mongua and Ngiva on 2 and 3 December 1981. In a massive counter offensive, using large numbers of troops, aircraft and poison gas, the South Africans forced FAPLA to abandon all the areas they had recaptured. The use of poison gas, which is banned by international convention, caused the death of an Angolan soldier and paralysed ten others, the communique stated. It stressed that the South African armed forces had continued to occupy large parts of Kunene Province since the start of Operation Protea, an action aimed at creating a buffer state in the south of the country and installing the South African-sponsored UNITA group (Communique issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola, 20.12.81).

The Angolan government reported continued and frequent attacks on its territory throughout November and December 1981. During November, South African armed forces carried out 145 reconnaissance flights, one aerial strafing, two bombing raids, six landings of heliported troops, one ground attack and 19 ground reconnaissance operations. During December, the South African airforce was reported to have stepped up its deep incursions into Angola, bombing villages in the eastern province of Moxico along the Zambian border

for the first time and penetrating 350 km deep into Angola (Communique issued 6.1.82).

A Cuban soldier was killed, three wounded and another captured when South African forces attacked Angolan and Cuban units in early January 1982. The Angolan authorities rejected South African claims that the clash had taken place very close to the border with Namibia, and stressed that in fact the fighting took place more than 310 km inside Angola (Communique issued 7.1.82).

## OPERATION 'DAISY'

In December 1981, the SADF admitted that it had carried out a 20 day large scale military incursion into Angola during November, describing it as a 'search-and-destroy mission' against SWAPO's regional headquarters. According to an SADF spokesperson, the attack, code-named 'Operation Daisy' began on 1 November. Two days earlier the South Africans had denied a report by the Angolan news agency that a large South African force had crossed the border (FT 8.12.81).

According to the South African reports, the attack was directed at what were claimed to be SWAPO's regional headquarters at Chitequeta, about 240 km north of the Namibian border. After capturing an airfield at Ionde, 120 km north of the border, South African armed forces attacked the base which, they claimed, had been evacuated a few hours before the attack. 71 SWAPO guerillas were reported to have been killed or captured,

and four South African soldiers killed (BBC 8.12.81).

Both the Angolan government and SWAPO denied that the attackers had in fact destroyed a SWAPO base. The Angolan news agency stated that there were no SWAPO bases in Angola. The South African claim could only be construed as a smoke-screen designed to cover up the continued South African aggression against Angolan territory (BBC 9.12.81). The President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, said the South African attack had in fact been directed at a vacated SWAPO military base in northern Namibia, and South African troops had suffered heavy casualties both in men and material when PLAN forces (SWAPO's armed wing) retaliated. In a hot pursuit operation into Angola codenamed 'Daisy', the South African troops killed Angolan civilians, Nujoma said (BBC 10.12.81). 'Our headquarters, either political or military, are not in Angola but in Namibia', he stressed. In Angola 'we have only refugee camps' (T 8.12.81). The South African reports about Operation Daisy, more than a month after it had been launched, appear to have alerted the western press to view South African denials of aggressive military acts against a sovereign country with more scepticism.

One British newspaper noted that the disclosures about the attack 'put repeated Angolan allegations about continued South African attacks in a different light and have demolished the credibility of the equally insistent South African denials. Angolan allegations are now likely to be taken more seriously' (T 8.12.81).

## MILITARY ACTIVITY

Further security measures taken by the SADF in the north of Namibia, the growing military presence in the remote region of Kaokoland and a predicted increase in the number of young Namibians called up for compulsory military service all appear to contradict SADF claims that SWAPO activity in Namibia dropped considerably following 'Operation Daisy' (GN 8.12.81).

A dusk to dawn curfew was imposed on the western Kavango region on 14 December 1981, in order to 'facilitate night-time action against SWAPO insurgents who were infiltrating the region under cover of darkness' (WA 17.12.81). A curfew is already in force in the south-west of Kavango (FOCUS 35 p.8). The *Windhoek Observer* reported in early December 1981 that over a fifteen month period guerrillas had been visiting the western Kavango areas as well as Kaokoland. The paper described the provincial capital of Kaokoland, Opuwo, as an armed camp. 'It is evident from the number of Panzer vehicles, the task forces of both police and soldiers, that somewhere in that remoteness, in the inaccessible hills, there must be guerrillas, and plenty of them. Such an encampment of strike power is expensive and will certainly not be countenanced unless there is a reason for it'.

There were reports of a guerrilla leader called Kayala moving around the area and often arriving in villages with a group of at least 20

guerrillas. Special police units failed to trap the guerrilla leader, who was reported to be speaking to the local people on the politics of the liberation movement and being successful in gaining their allegiance (WO 5.12.81).

South African military presence is not confined to Opuwo which, according to the newspaper, shows 'all the signs of war, barbed wire and Ribbok Panzer vehicles, with ever present soldiers and police with sub-machine guns'. Towards the west of Opuwo, a new air facility is being constructed which on completion will make it possible for heavy aircraft to land. To the north-west, approximately 8 km from the town, is a huge military base, and another one at the same distance to the south (*ibid*).

A member of the Herero tribal authority in Kaokoland, Tinus Smit, admitted in January 1982 that 'the insurgent war had spilled over from Ovambo'. The rural population was being forced to live around the South African military camps, having fled from their homes to avoid being caught in the intensifying war. Journalists visiting the region in January were told by Smit that 90 per cent of the massive human exodus into the capital Opuwo and surrounding centres was the result of increased insurgency in the north. Consequently, Opuwo's population had increased from about 500 two years ago to around 4,000, and many people were living in squatter camps. Having left all their possessions behind, many of the newly-arrived rural families have become dependent on the earnings of sons

who have joined the army for a steady wage (WA 22.1.82).

## CONSCRIPTION

More young Namibians are likely to be called up for military service in 1982 than in the previous year, when compulsory military service for all Namibians was first put into effect, according to army reports. At the same time, Namibians have been warned that those dodging national service, and those encouraging servicemen to evade military training, will be prosecuted under the Defence Act. The officer commanding the SWA Territory Force said in December that the Defence Act gave the military authorities the power to act against such persons. People resident in the Ovambo and Kavango 'homelands' were still exempted from the provisions, but Ovambo and Kavango-speaking citizens resident in urban areas were subject to call-up. Very few people were exempted on 'legitimate' grounds such as study leave. Seventeen exemptions were granted for 1982 (WO 19.12.81; DN 1.12.81).

Organised opposition to compulsory military training continues despite police harassment. The People's Action Committee held a series of meetings throughout Namibia in 1981, and was preparing for a rally in Windhoek in December. Members of the Committee were visited by special branch officers who searched their houses and questioned individuals. In Windhoek, posters advertising the rally were taken down by city police on the grounds that the People's Action Committee was illegal (WO 5.12.81).

## CONTRACT WORKERS BEATEN AND TEARGASSED

By February 1982, the Administrator General in Namibia had still apparently not responded to an appeal by the Namibian Council of Churches for an independent public commission of inquiry into incidents in Otjiwarongo in which an unknown number of people lost their lives.

The appeal, made public in September 1981, followed a chain of violent events in the Orwetoveni township over the four days 7-10 August. The disturbances not only revealed the serious tensions existing between the police and the predominantly SWAPO-supporting contract labour force but also the filthy, overcrowded and impoverished conditions prevailing at the municipal compound in Otjiwarongo for contract workers from the north of Namibia. The *Windhoek Observer*, in particular, gave extensive coverage to the events, and was outspoken in its criticism both of the brutal and shortsighted behaviour of the police and municipal authorities and of the press and media dismissal of the incidents as ethnic 'faction fights'.

According to press reports, the chain of events was set in motion by the fatal stabbing on the Friday night of a Damara-speaking woman in the Orwetoveni township. This murder remained unsolved several months later but was apparently one in a series of knife attacks on women. A number of reprisal attacks on the homes of Ovambo-speaking residents occurred in the belief that the woman's killer was an Ovambo. The township remained in a tense state until late on Sunday afternoon (WO 15.8.81).

On the Monday morning, by which time the township had quietened down, a force of Damara-speaking soldiers and/or police, together with members of the security police, made a 'belated arrival' and drove straight to the Ovambo workers' compound. The inmates were told to assemble on a soccer field outside while the dormitories were searched, apparently for

weapons. A variety of knives and sticks were confiscated by the police (WO *ibid*).

Then, according to the *Windhoek Observer*, "a total of about 50 teargas bombs were hurled into the crowd of Ovambo-speaking labourers. With gas masks on, (the soldiers and/or police) set upon the defenceless Ovambos. They were beaten indiscriminately, so badly that a large number were taken to hospital where on Monday afternoon one of them was still unconscious, unable to move a finger. Some of the fleeing men tried to reach the Church premises where four or five tried to clear the fence by scaling it. They were set upon and beaten" (WO *ibid*).

The *Observer* pointed out that none of the Ovambo workers acted aggressively when ordered to evacuate their compound; that the teargas attack was unprovoked; and that the baton-wielding police had the cover of machine guns.

In October, an inquiry was held in the Otjiwarongo Magistrates Court to determine whether four men arrested by the police - two of them soldiers and one a policeman - could be criminally charged with the death of two Ovambo-speaking men during the disturbances (WO 24.10.81).

## OTHER INCIDENTS

Instances of police and military harassment of black workers are frequently reported in the local press, sometimes in the form of letters from those affected. Much of this activity, which has been a particular feature of conditions at the large municipal hostel and workers' 'single quarters' on Katutura, outside Windhoek, would appear to be intended to crush clandestine support for SWAPO's armed struggle and to root out suspected guerrilla fighters and sympathisers.

## WORKERS' HOSTELS

Conditions at the 'single men's' hostels and compounds for contract workers are spartan in the extreme and have often been criticised by visitors to Namibia and other observers.

Hostel accommodation is provided by the mining companies and other large employers or, in Windhoek and other towns, by the municipal authorities.

In Katutura, a new hostel for 5,200 contract workers was opened in 1978, replacing the notorious old hostel which had been the focus of the 1971-72 general strike. While the quality of the material surroundings and facilities have undergone some improvement the essential features of the old system remain.

Elsewhere the harsh conditions of the hostel system continue to be found. In August 1981, for example, a reporter for the *Windhoek Observer* who visited the municipal compound for contract workers in Otjiwarongo described the interior thus:

'There can't be a place of residence in the world as filthy, as smelly and as revolting as that hovel.'

Excreta swims on the floors of the choked toilets, blocked and not functioning; from the open cooking places in the courtyard a stench emanates from the half decomposed heads of cows and other offal which seemed to be the staple dish at that place.

In the dormitories the men sleep on cement beds, the mattress is a broad piece of planed wood, the 'wardrobes' are cement-encased narrow structures...

Here you can have a radio but whatever you have can never be shared in privacy. You cannot even find a place to sit down and write your wife or girlfriend a letter. There is a dusty soccerfield nearby. There is an oppressive atmosphere of dust, stench, dilapidated surroundings, choked toilets, rubbish, dirt, litter' (WO 15.8.81).

The newspaper subsequently pointed out that conditions at the compounds in Grootfontein, Walvis Bay, Tsumeb, Keetmanshoop and the rest of Namibia were comparable to those at Otjiwarongo (WO 29.8.81).

# POLITICAL TRIALS

south  
africa

Since the last issue of FOCUS no new major security trials have commenced. However, newspaper reports in December indicated that a series of major trials were expected to commence early in 1982. It was claimed that the authorities were preparing for several major trials in which a number of people in detention would feature. The Minister of Police, Louis le Grange, confirmed at the end of December that 'within months' a number of detainees would be charged with 'serious offences'.

## CONTINUING TRIALS

### ADAM AND THEMBA

Two former members of the Sached Trust, a body furthering black education, Robert ADAM (26) and Mandla THEMBA (25), appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 6 January on three counts of contravening the Terrorism Act and two of contravening the Internal Security Act.

They have been charged with allegedly obtaining information and taking photographs of the SABC television tower in Brixton, Johannesburg, in order to assist the ANC in attacking and destroying it. The charge sheet alleges that Adam drew up a report on reconnaissance of the tower and placed it with four photographs in a dustbin used as a 'dead letter box' in a Johannesburg park.

Adam is alleged to have started working for the ANC in November 1980 and is also accused of attempting to recruit a student of his to undergo military training last year. It is further alleged that he received and distributed ANC publications.

The two were remanded in custody and were due to appear again on 15 January in the Rand Supreme Court (RDM/S 7.1.82).

### DANIEL KHOABANE

A 78-year-old businessman from Welkom, in the Orange Free State, Daniel Mashabela KHOABANE, was granted R10,000 bail in the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court in December last year.

He was detained in January 1981 for allegedly harbouring 'terrorists' on his farm. He is awaiting trial on charges under the Terrorism Act with six other men from Lesotho who were

The head of the Security Branch, Lieutenant-General Johann Coetzee, said that charges facing trade unionists and labour leaders in detention could include terrorism and furthering the aims of the African National Congress. Sources described as 'closely involved in security affairs' were reported as saying that the authorities were preparing for a major trial attempting to link a number of activities - sabotage, consumer boycotts, anti-

arrested on one of Khoabane's farms at Thaba 'Nchu.

An earlier bail application in July last year was turned down because it was feared that he might abscond to Lesotho (S 10.12.81).

### FOUR WITS STUDENTS

Four students of the University of Witwatersrand appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 25 November 1981 in connection with allegations that they contravened the Internal Security Act. The four, Elaine Rose MOHAMED (20), Leslie LAX (23), Michael YOUNG (20) (see *CONVICTIONS & ACQUITTALS*), were not asked to plead and were remanded in custody.

During the proceedings students from Wits, who were packed in the gallery, stood up and gave clenched fist salutes and shouted slogans. They were reprimanded by the magistrate for their behaviour (RDM/S 25.11.81).

### SEATLHOLO AND LOATE

Khotso Sydney SEATLHOLO (25), the former second president of the banned Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), and Masabata Mary LOATE (23) appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 1 December 1981 in connection with two allegations of contravening the Terrorism Act.

The charge sheet alleged, amongst other things, that Seatlholo and Loate belonged to the banned SSRC; that Seatlholo formed the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO) outside South Africa and became its president. The aims of SAYRCO included undermining law and order in South Africa by

Republic Day protests and trade union activity - into a single conspiracy. A single large trial could be used by the state to attempt to justify its severe repressive measures, which are subject to constant condemnation from a number of organisations, both in South Africa and internationally. The Minister of Police however said that he could not say whether there would be one major trial or a series of trials (ST 27.12.81).

using armed resistance; that they attempted to recruit others to SAYRCO to go for military training; that they attempted to make contact with certain organisations to further SAYRCO's aims; that they incited others to revolt against the government; that SAYRCO leaflets were distributed at a June 16 meeting in Soweto; that Loate arranged a meeting between Thami Mazwai, the *Sowetan* news editor, and Seatlholo and another (Mazwai was himself detained on 17 June 1981); that Loate arranged accommodation for SAYRCO members in Soweto. Both were remanded in custody until 10 December 1981 (RDM 3.12.81).

When the two appeared in court again on 10 December, Seatlholo was brought into court in leg irons amid tight police security.

The trial was set to begin in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Magistrates Court on 8 February (S 11.12.81).

### OSCAR MPETHA AND 18 OTHERS

The trial of Oscar MPETHA and 18 others continues in the Cape Town Supreme Court. The accused have pleaded not guilty to charges of murder and 'terrorism' relating to the deaths of two men who were killed in the demonstrations at Crossroads in August 1980.

The trial was adjourned in mid-December last year for the recess and was due to begin again on 9 February (CT 16.12.81).

Allegations have been made by state witnesses of police intimidation throughout the trial. Several of the witnesses claimed that their statements were made under duress and that they had been subjected to police assault (see *past issues of FOCUS*).

## CONVICTIONS AND ACQUITTALS

### MANTEWU AND BUYANA

Two South African Broadcasting Corporation clerks, Zinyusile MANTEWU (24) and Mlulami BUYANA (28), were found not guilty in the King Williams Town Regional Court on 29 October 1981 of being members of the ANC, or of participating in its activities and for being in possession of a banned publication.

It was alleged that they had taken part in ANC activities by photo-copying a banned pamphlet 'Mandela Says'. The magistrate said in his judgment that there was no direct evidence that the two were members of the ANC and that

there was no evidence that they intended to distribute the pamphlets (DD 30.10.81).

After Mantewu and Buyana were acquitted they were both dismissed from the SABC and in the second week of December 1981 Mantewu was found dead in his bathroom. No details of the cause of his death were given (DD 11.11.81; *Voice* 20.12.81).

### BESSIE MDODA

Bessie MDODA, a Transkei saleswoman was acquitted of charges of Terrorism in the Umtata Regional Court on 6 November 1981.

Mdoda pleaded not guilty to two counts under Section 9 of the Transkei Public Security Act. The state was unable to prove that the people with whom Mdoda had communicated or assisted were 'terrorists' as defined in the Act (DD 7.11.81).

### BEN GREYLING

Benjamin David GREYLING (20), a final year B.A. student at the University of Witwatersrand, was acquitted in the Johannesburg Regional Magistrates Court on 20 January of three charges under the Official Secrets Act. *cont. over*

cont. from previous page

He remains in custody pending trial for alleged offences under the Internal Security Act (see *CONTINUING TRIALS*).

It was alleged by the State that Greyling instigated or ordered Gerhardus van der Werff, a member of the Permanent Force who was sentenced to four years imprisonment last year for the same offence (see *FOCUS 38 p.4*), to make a sketch and pass on 'sensitive' documents about the Military Psychological Institute at Verwoerdbrug which could help the country's enemies.

Evidence was that the two were school-

friends and that van der Werff had supplied Greyling with the sketch and documents but that Greyling had returned them fearing 'that they would be found on him. Greyling admitted going to Swaziland with van der Werff but denied having made contact with 'South Africa's enemies'. The State had relied on the evidence of a single witness who was an accomplice and had thus not proved Greyling's guilt (*RDM 21.1.81*; see *FOCUS 38 p.4*).

#### MOHAMED OMAR

Mohamed Salek Abba OMAR (25), a student

in journalism at the Durban Technikon, was convicted in the Durban Regional Court on 23 January of contravening the Internal Security Act by distributing a pamphlet issued by the ANC.

Omar was sentenced to be detained until the rising of the court and a further 12 months was suspended for five years. He had pleaded not guilty to distributing the pamphlet and told the court he was given the pamphlet in the street and had given it to another person to make photostat copies for him (*RDM 23.1.82*).

## OTHER TRIALS

There have been relatively few political trials under the secondary security laws since the last issue of FOCUS. The trials that have taken place are mostly trials which have been postponed over a long period and which relate to events which took place many months ago.

#### FIVE YOUTHS SENTENCED

- Five youths from Beaufort West, whose average age is 16, were found guilty of arson in the Beaufort West Regional Court in October last year.

One was sentenced to two years imprisonment suspended for five years and the others were sent to a reformatory.

They were found to have been responsible for burning down the Administration Board offices in the local African township (*Cape Herald 24.10.81*).

#### MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

- Forty-four students from the University of Cape Town appeared briefly in the Cape Town Magistrates Court on 30 November 1981 on a charge of holding an illegal gathering.

They were arrested in May last year while demonstrating outside the Good Hope Centre where the Fourth World Meat Conference was

being held.

The hearing was postponed to 10 March and bail of R50 was granted (*CT 1.12.81*).

One of the students, Gavin EVANS, whose trial was separated from that of the 46 other students who were arrested at the time, was fined R60 (or 30 days) in the Cape Town Magistrates Court on 26 November 1981. The Magistrate said that Evans had shown a reckless disregard for consulting proper legal sources. Evans had believed that police officers needed to warn demonstrators three times before they could be arrested. The law had since been changed (*CT 27.11.81*).

- Fifty-one rent protesters appeared in the Benoni Magistrates Court on 25 November last year, charged with holding an illegal gathering in Wattville, near Benoni. No evidence was led and the case was postponed to 14 January.

The accused were arrested on 7 October 1981 while marching to the local administration board offices to protest against the recent rent increases (*S 26.11.81*).

- Six people appeared in the Cape Town Magistrates Court on 10 December last year on a charge of holding an illegal gathering outside the Supreme Court during the trial of Oscar Mpetha and 18 others in March last year (see *FOCUS 34 p.6*). The hearing was held *in camera* because two of the accused were youths. The trial continues (*CT 11.12.81*).

- Nicholas KELLERMAN (20) of Paarl East, was found guilty of public violence in the Paarl Magistrates Court on 16 November 1981. He was sentenced to six months imprisonment conditionally suspended for five years. Police evidence was that Kellerman was the leader of a crowd of 200 people who stoned police cars. While throwing a stone at a policeman who went to arrest him, he was shot by another policeman. He was in hospital for six months and is now paralysed on one side of his body (*CT 17.11.81*).

- The former president of the banned Transkei Youth League, Prince MADIKIZELA, appeared briefly with 10 others in the Engcobo Magistrates Court on 7 December 1981 on charges under the Transkei Public Safety Act. The case was postponed until 29 January. According to the charge sheet, the group conducted an illegal gathering in contravention of Transkei emergency regulations. Madikizela was released on R1,000 bail while the others were allowed out on R500 bail each (*RDM 8.12.81*).

- Four people, including a 15-year-old girl, were arrested after they allegedly attended an illegal anti-Republic Day demonstration on 31 May last year. They all pleaded not guilty and explained that they had merely been spectators and not part of the demonstration. The accused were on R50 bail, except the 15-year-old who is in her parent's custody (*S 12.1.82*).

## EVIDENCE OF TORTURE

In spite of the difficulty in producing evidence of torture inflicted on people detained without trial and without access to families or legal representatives, enough information has accumulated to cause widespread concern both inside South Africa and internationally.

Spokesmen for the police and the government have repeatedly denied allegations of torture and assault. However the consistency of the allegations and the nature of evidence frequently led in court, have convinced a broad section of people that torture does occur and is widespread. The editor of the *Cape Times*, for example, wrote in January that it was evident on the basis of 'even the most superficial perusal of the records' that 'there have been more than enough cases where prisoners have suffered torture' (*CT 15.1.82*). Successive issues of FOCUS have documented evidence of torture led in courts.

The powers which the security police have to detain people without trial and to withhold information about them were described in FOCUS 33. The ways in which the legal procedures in South African courts allow the effects of torture and detention without trial to be exploited by the state, were explained in FOCUS 34 and 38.

Indications of extensive and severe torture of detainees during the second half of 1981 led to several protests by detainees support com-

mittees and other organisations concerned with the welfare of detainees, both inside and outside South Africa.

Cited below are a number of instances in which allegations of torture have been made by or on behalf of detainees since June 1981. Other instances during the same period include the evidence of torture led in the trial of Tsotsobe and Others (*FOCUS 36 p.8*), and the allegations of torture and assault of two detainees, Boyboy MPULAMPULA and James KATI, made in applications for court orders by their families (*FOCUS 38 p.2*).

- Masabata Mary LOATE (24). She was detained on 17 June and held under the Terrorism Act until her appearance in court on a charge under the Terrorism Act (see *POLITICAL TRIALS*). During July her mother brought an urgent application before the Rand Supreme Court for an order to restrain the security police from assaulting her daughter. She told the court that several letters had been received from her daughter, written on toilet paper, telling of being tortured by members of the security police. They described how she was kicked and beaten with fists, and at one stage blindfolded and struck with blows on the back of the head. Without admitting the alleged assaults, the Security Police gave an undertaking in October 1981 not to assault Masabata Loate. The Minister of Police intended to contest the claims of the police as-

Below is the text of an open letter to the Minister of Police from the National President of the Black Sash. It was published in *Voice* on 6 December 1981.

'The Black Sash is deeply disturbed at the constant and recurring spate of rumours regarding the torture of detainees.

'We hear that people's teeth are being extracted, that other people are put into a bag while electric current is applied to parts of their bodies, and that some are kept handcuffed or shackled even while ill in hospital.

'Always and for all of them there is the refined torture of solitary confinement, even if it now goes by the euphemism of "isolation".

'In addition to all these "rumours" there are also the innumerable occasions when evidence has been led in courts that people have been subjected to various methods of torture during their interrogation.

'Because they operate in the greatest secrecy and are totally protected by the law the reputation of the Security Police in this regard is deservedly suspect.'

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# DETENTIONS

Security police continued their repression of trade unionists with a nationwide swoop on 27 November. Detentions were also aimed at students and anti-SAIC campaigners. The authorities in Venda intensified their security measures by detaining more people and restricting movement. The Detainees Parents Support Committee grew in strength with the new detentions. Increasing evidence of torture of detainees came to light.

## VENDA

The South African authorities in Venda continued the high level of repression which followed the October guerilla attack on Sibasa police station (*FOCUS 38*). Twenty one people were held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and in January eighteen were still in detention after two were released and one died (*ST (Jhb) 17.1.82*). Two detainees were reported to have needed hospital treatment.

The Attorney-General said that there would be a court investigation into the death of Tshifhiwa MUOFHE who died in detention in November (*FOCUS 38 p.3*). Two post mortems were carried out and reports suggested that he suffered internal bleeding and showed signs of torture (*S.Exp 10.1.82; T 14.1.82*). On 14 January Lilian MUOFHE was detained for several hours and questioned about her husband's politics (*ST (Jhb) 17.1.82*). A family friend and Dutch Reformed Church missionary, Rev.Faure Louw, was expelled from Venda in January (*RDM 11.1.82*).

The Evangelical Lutheran church feared that the detention of four of its nine full-time ministers working in Venda might be a prelude to the nationalisation of the church (*RDM 16.1.82*). Most of the detainees and 60 per cent of Venda's population belong to the church which refused to participate in Venda's independence anniversary celebrations (*S.Ex 10.1.82*). The four detained ministers were involved in youth and community work. Ms. Mukhesi, whose release is reported in the current *FOCUS*, was admitted to hospital during her detention (*V 22.11.81*).

Dean Farisani (see *TORTURE*) was returned to detention from hospital on 14 January (*S.Exp 17.1.82*). In December, Dr C MNGADI, a Durban Inkatha member, died suddenly in Venda while being held on a firearms charge (*RDM 4.1.82*). His relatives demanded an inquiry after a pathologist discovered internal bleeding (*ST 24.1.82*).

Chief F M RAMOVHA, Venda's Minister for Posts and Telecommunications was arrested and charged with seven others with the murder of a teacher in January 1981 (*ST (Jhb) 17.1.82*).

## ANTI-SAIC

Prominent members of the Indian community were detained following the successful campaign against the South African Indian Council (SAIC) elections (see *FOCUS 38 p.12*). On 27 November police in Durban detained two executive members of the Natal Indian Congress, Pravin GORDHAM, and Yunus MAHOMED. The banned Wits student leader, Feroze CACHALIA and Prema NAIDOO, assistant secretary of the anti-SAIC committee, were also detained (*S/RDM 30.11.81*). A former Robben Island prisoner, Shirish NANABHAI was detained on 5 January (*RDM 8.1.82*). Ismail MOMONIAT, secretary of the Transvaal anti-SAIC committee, was taken from his home in Lenasia by twelve security police on 20 January. Relatives were concerned for the health of MomoniAT, a lecturer in mathematics at Wits University, who suffers from a heart complaint (*RDM 21.1.81*).

## TRADE UNIONISTS

Widespread protest from the trade union movement and beyond greeted the detentions in November and December of trade union workers and leaders including two general secretaries and two presidents (see *current list*). Four top South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) officials were detained including Thozamile QWETA and Sisa NJIKELANA, for the fifth time (*RDM 9.12.81*). The organising secretary of the General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU), Rita NDZANGA, whose husband died in detention in 1977, was amongst those redetained in December under the Terrorism Act (*S 17.12.81*).

## STEVEN KITSON

Steven KITSON, a British national, was detained on 7 January during a visit to South Africa to see his father DAVID who is serving a 20 year sentence for sabotage in Pretoria Central Prison. Police alleged Kitson took photographs and drew sketches of the prison to help prisoners escape (*Star 9.1.82*).

The Commissioner of Prisons, General Mike Geldenhuys, issued a press statement the day after Kitson's detention alleging that Kitson's 'principals' were also involved in the escape of three ANC political prisoners, Stephen Lee, Timothy Jenkin and Alexander Moubarris from Pretoria Central Prison in December 1979 (*GN 9.1.82*).

The day after Kitson's detention four people connected with the escapees were detained. They are Michael JENKIN, his wife Kathy HUNTER, a friend Daphne SMITH and Ralph WORTLEY, Stephen Lee's former employer (*T 12.1.82*). The two women were released on 15 January while the other two were redetained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act (*S.Exp 17.1.82; S 22.1.82*).

Steven Kitson was released and flown home to Britain on 12 January (*T 14.1.82*). Steven Kitson's aunt, Joan Weinberg, was found murdered in her Johannesburg flat on 13 January. Ms. Weinberg visited David Kitson regularly at Pretoria Prison (*MS 15.1.82*).

## DEATH IN DETENTION

On 5 February Dr. Neil AGGETT (28) died in detention in the John Vorster police cells in Johannesburg. Aggett was the Transvaal Secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and was detained on 27 November 1981 and held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

An official police statement claimed that he was found hanged in his cell and that indications were that he had committed suicide. Friends and relatives of Aggett found it impossible to believe the police account. David Lewis, of the General Workers' Union, said 'I would say he was a remarkably stable kind of a guy. Either he was subjected to pressure beyond belief or he was killed' (*T 6.2.82*).

## 159 IN DETENTION

The number of detainees rose from 134 to 159 between early November 1981 and 5 January 1982 according to figures obtained from the Security Police by Helen Suzman (*S 10.11.81; Star 14.11.81, 9.1.82*).

	Nov '81	Jan '82
Sec.6 of Terrorism Act	108	90
Sec.22 of General Law Amendment Act	3	14
Sec.12B of Internal Security Act	23	55

The increase in the number of people detained under the Internal Security Act as potential witnesses supports the prediction that there will be a number of major security trials in the near future (*ST (Jhb) 27.12.81*). Witnesses can only be held for a maximum of six months before commencement of the trial. The authorities can however circumvent this restriction by detaining potential witnesses under alternative acts and transferring them shortly before the trial (see *Mazwai and Sisulu under RENEWED DETENTIONS*).

## DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Branches of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee were founded in Soweto, Durban and Cape Town. Publicity for detainees was obtained through weekly placard demonstrations, public meetings and prayer services. A

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## NEW DETAINEES Additional to previous FOCUS lists

Approx. date	Place	Name	Details (where known)
October 81	Ciskei	Jeffrey SOLOMON	PROC. R252
Conf. 11.11.81	Ciskei	Cameron JENGXE	West Bank worker. PROC. R252
19.11.81	Venda	Hosia MUTSHEKWE	Sec. 6 TA
20.11.81	Soweto	Rev. Frank CHIKANE	Apostolic Faith Mission minister. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
23.11.81	Soweto	Thandi MBATHA	Sister of Alex MBATHA
23.11.81	Soweto	Monty NARSOO	Former trade unionist
23.11.81	Durban	K. CHETTY	Natal medical student
23.11.81	Durban	Don SOCIKWA	Natal medical student, daughter of Transkei 'consul'
18.11.81	East London	Jongitemba TYENI	PROC. R252
18.11.81	East London	Boyce MELITAF	PROC. R252
18.11.81	East London	Samson DUBE	PROC. R252
24.11.81	Durban	Michael PACE	Natal students. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
24.11.81	Durban	Movendri REDDY	

24.11.81	Durban	Patrick MAQUBELA	Lawyer articulated to Griffiths MXENGE. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
24.11.81	Johannesburg	Morris SMITHERS	Second detention since September. Arrested during court hearing of Wits. students ISA trial YCS official
26.11.81	Johannesburg	Cecil SOLS	COSAS. Acquitted in ISA trial Feb. 1981
26.11.81	Johannesburg	Oupa MASUKU	Gen-Sec. Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Johannesburg	Emma MASHININI	Gen-Sec. SAAWU. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Durban	Sam KIKINE	Pres. GAWU. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Durban	Samson NDOU	Org. Sec. GAWU. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Johannesburg	Rita NDZANGA	Tvl. Sec. African Food and Canning Workers Union. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Johannesburg	Neil AGGETT (28)	Research Officer. Member Detainees Support Committee. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Johannesburg	Nicholas HAYSOM	Banned Wits. university student. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Johannesburg	Feroze CACHALIA	Former Christian Institute official. Recently unbanned. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Johannesburg	Cedric MAYSON (54)	Exec. NIC. Sec. 22 GLA then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Durban	Pravin GORDHAM	Wits. student. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Johannesburg	Debbie ELKON	Managing editor "South African Labour Bulletin". Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Durban	Merle FAVIS	Industrial Aid Society. Sec. 22 GLA then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81		Liz FLOYD	Former researcher SAIRR. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81		Renee ROUX	Exec. NIC. Sec. 22 GLA then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81	Durban	Yunus MAHOMED	Former Wits. student. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
27.11.81		Colin PURKEY	Sec. GAWU. Sec. 22 GLA
27.11.81		Mary NTSEKE	Anti-SAIC campaigner
27.11.81		Prema NAIDOO	Sec. 6 TA
Rep. 29.11.81	Venda	Rashaka RATSHITANGA	
		(unnamed in FOCUS 38)	
Rep. 29.11.81	Venda	Rev. Muendanyi MAHAMBIA	Lutheran minister. Sec. 6 TA
		(unnamed in FOCUS 38)	
Rep. 29.11.81	Venda	Silvia THABO	Rel. Jan. 82. Husband on Robben Island.
		(unnamed in FOCUS 38)	
30.11.81	Durban	Phulelane NGCUKA	Attorney. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
Late Nov. 81	Durban	Lita JOLOBE	Technikon student. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
Nov	Soweto	Jacob MOLEBATSI	Sec. 6 TA
Nov	Soweto	Vincent PAPANE	Student. Sec. 6 TA
Nov		Ezekiel MOYA	
3.12.81	Durban	Luanda MPAHLWA	Technikon student. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
4.12.81	Durban	Mbulelo HONGO	Articled clerk. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
8.12.81	East London	Thozamile QWETA	Pres. SAAWU. Sec. 22 GLA
8.12.81	East London	Sisa NJIKELANA	Vice president SAAWU. Sec. 22 GLA
10.12.81	East London	Eric MNTONGA	E. London sec. SAAWU. Sec. 22 GLA
Before 16.12.81	Natal	3 unnamed people. Alleged ANC guerillas	Alleged discovery of arms cache
18.12.81	Mamelodi	Alfred KGAMARE	COSAS branch chairman. Sec. 22 GLA
28.12.81	Pretoria	2 unnamed people. Alleged guerillas	After armed attach on Pretoria police station
31.12.81	Transkei	Liston NTSHONGWANA	Former Chief of Protocol. Rel. 19.1.82
Jan 82	Cape Town	Johannes MANNEL	Technikon student. Sec. 22 GLA
5.1.82	Johannesburg	Esther LEVITAN (55)	Black Sash. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
5.1.82	Johannesburg	Shirish NANABHAI	Former Robben Island prisoner. Indian Youth Congress. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
6.1.82	Johannesburg	Vuyisile MDLELENI (30)	Banned poet. Acquitted in ISA trial Feb. 81. Rel. 15.1.82
6.1.82	Venda	Rev. N. P. PHASWANE	Lutheran minister. Sec. 6 TA
7.1.82	Pretoria	Steven KITSON (25)	Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 12.1.82
8.1.82	Johannesburg	Michael JENKIN (35)	Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
8.1.82	Johannesburg	Kathy HUNTER (30)	Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 15.1.82
8.1.82	Johannesburg	Daphne SMITH	Sec. 22 GLA. Rel. 15.1.82
8.1.82	Johannesburg	Ralph WORTLEY	Wits. careers adviser. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
Rep. 10.1.82	Venda	Rev. P. PHOSISWA	Lutheran minister
		(unnamed in FOCUS 38)	
10.1.82	Cape Town	Frank ANTHONY	Recently unbanned. Sec. 22 GLA
12.1.82	Cape Town	Roger GALANT	UWC student. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
12.1.82	Cape Town	Julian SAULS	UWC student. Sec. 22 GLA, then Sec. 6 TA
Rep. Jan 82	Venda	M. KHAVELA	Student. Sec. 6 TA
Rep. Jan 82	Venda	T. MAUMELE	Sec. 6 TA
Jan 82	Venda	4 unnamed	
20.1.82	Johannesburg	Ismail MOMONIAT (23)	Wits. lecturer. Sec. Transvaal anti-SAIC campaign. Sec. 22 GLA
22.1.82	Cape Town	Frederick HENDRICKS	Teacher. Sec. 22 GLA
22.1.82	Cape Town	Benjamin JULIUS	UWC student. Sec. 22 GLA
22.1.82	Cape Town	Lionel SCHOLTZ	UWC student. Sec. 22 GLA
22.1.82	Cape Town	Tom BARENDIS	

## ABBREVIATIONS

COSAS	Congress of South African Students	SAIC	South African Indian Council
GAWU	General and Allied Workers Union	SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
GLA	General Law Amendment Act	SAAWU	South African Allied Workers Union
ISA	Internal Security Act	TA	Terrorism Act
NIC	Natal Indian Congress	UWC	University of the Western Cape
PROC. R252	Ciskei Emergency Proclamation R252	YCS	Young Christian Students



# BANS AND RESTRICTIONS

## NEW BANS

### DAVID JOHNSON

David JOHNSON was served with a five year banning order on 11 January which prevents him from attending or addressing meetings, and restricts him to the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Vereeniging. He may continue his third year studies at Wits University where he has been chairman of the Black Students Society since Feroze Cachalia was banned in June 1981 (*FOCUS 36 p.10; RDM/S 12.1.82*).

He was detained, tried and given a four months suspended sentence under the Riotous Assemblies Act in 1980 and held again in detention under the General Law Amendment Act in 1981 (*FOCUS 31 p.3, 36 p.7*).

### WILLIAM MALEFANE

William MALEFANE was reported to be seeking a Supreme Court order forcing the Qwa Qwa

bantustan authorities to lift the six month ban imposed on him on 17 December 1981. This is the second banning order imposed on him within a period of fifteen months: he was banned from staying in Qwa Qwa in September 1980 but the order was temporarily suspended by the Supreme Court. The new order became operative on 16 December 1981 and confines him to Phuthaditjhaba, the capital of the bantustan, for six months under Proclamation 195 of 1981 (*V 20.12.81*).

William Malefane has long been an outspoken critic of the policies of apartheid and separate development and is now chief whip of the opposition party in Qwa Qwa - Matla A Sechaba. Dikwankwetla, the ruling party led by K Mopeli and a member of Chief Buthelezi's Black Alliance, holds all twenty seats in the Legislative Assembly.

Following evidence by Matla A Sechaba of unfair practices during the March 1981 elections when only 3.3 per cent of the population voted, the banning orders on William Malefane appear to be designed to stifle the opposition party (*S. Post 30.3.80*).

Qwa Qwa covers an area of 48244 ha, and is situated on the north-east tip of Lesotho in the Orange Free State. Used as a relocation repository for the 'illegal' residents of Harrismith and Bethlehem (these towns still providing work for commuters travelling more than 50 kilometres on a daily basis) (*SAIRR 1972*). Unemployment in the bantustan is very high, the population increased ten-fold in the period 1970-80 from approximately 26,000 to an estimated 232,000 (*RDM 20.1.82*).

## BANNED PERSONS

### WINNIE MANDELA BAN RENEWED

Winnie MANDELA was served with her fifth banning order under the Internal Security Act, Section 9(1) on 29 December 1981, two days before the previous ban expired. She has now been either banned or detained for nineteen of the twenty years since 1962. Her last ban restricted her to Soweto but was changed in May 1977 when she was effectively 'banished' to Brandfort where she continues under house arrest. Her youngest daughter Zinzi maintains their home at Orlando West (*S 31.12.81; Obs 3.1.82; S 4.1.82*).

Winnie Madela's latest ban is harsher than the previous one. It includes an additional clause which prohibits her from lecturing to a group and therefore from finishing the practical work necessary for the Social Science degree she was studying for through the University of South Africa. 'She will turn to something else' said family friend Matthews Malefane, 'perhaps political science, at least something which does not require so much social contact'.

### THREE OTHER RENEWALS

David Siponono GASA (a former director of Umlazi Residents' Association) Mawalal RAM-GOBIN (founder member of National Indian Congress) and Sheila WEINBERG were all banned for five years from attending gatherings, on 15 January. Their orders expire on 30 November 1986, 30 September 1986, and 31 October 1986 respectively, their previous bans having ended on the same dates in 1981. (*RDM 16.1.82*).

### BANISHMENTS

The South African authorities in the bantustan areas continue to use banishment to control opposition. Recent court cases have focused attention on the extent of the security regulations in force in those areas.

• Attorney Louis Leo MTSHIZANA was banished and restricted to the Ludidi area of Maluti, Transkei, in June 1981, under Section 41 of the Transkei Public Security Act. His wife and son appealed in court for a ruling that the order did not apply to them, but the application was dismissed with costs (*DD 1.8.81*). Their lawyer Tandwefika DAZANA was subsequently

detained (*FOCUS 37 p.3*). Mr Mtshizana fled to the Ciskei where he was detained for three weeks (*DD 28.8.81*). In 1974 Mr Mtshizana was banished from Mdantsane to Sterkspruit in the Transkei (*FOCUS 19 p.16*).

• Joseph KOBO, who was banished from the Ciskei in April 1979 under Proclamation R252 challenged the right of the Ciskei to banish its own so-called citizens (*RDM 19.11.81*). A journalist and former member of the Ciskei National Independence Party and a former general secretary of Transkei's Democratic Party (*FOCUS 23 p.4, 24 p.5*) he has been detained in both the Ciskei and Transkei and in 1981 lived in Duncan Village, an area where people are due to be resettled in the Ciskei.

• Four officials of the King Williams Town and District Rugby Union (Kadru) who campaigned for non-racial sport, were detained in the Ciskei in late August (*see FOCUS 38 p.3*). On their release they were served with 'deportation' orders issued under Proclamation R252. Three of them were prohibited from being in the Ciskei and the fourth was banished from Zwelitsha and resettled in Whittlesea (*DD 8/9.9.81*).

*continued from p. 6*

sault, at a hearing whose date was still to be set (*S 24.7.81, 6.8.81, 2.10.81, 3.12.81*).

• Alex MBATHA (48) and Khosi MBATHA. Alex Mbatha was detained on 20 October 1981 and was still held in January 1982 under the Terrorism Act. His wife Khosi MBATHA was also detained. She suffered a heart attack while in detention and was taken to hospital. Alex Mbatha is a development worker for the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference, and as such was also involved in Oxfam's work in South Africa. Representatives of Oxfam, the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development and the Division of International Affairs of the British Council of Churches held an all night vigil outside the South African Embassy in London. An Oxfam Newsletter stated: 'Alex has not been heard of since his arrest in October. Lawyers and friends have been denied access to him. Khosi was reported to have had a heart attack in prison in late November and there are confirmed reports of brutal treatment' (*Observer 29.11.81; S.Ex 13.12.81; Oxfam Newsletter January 19-82*).

• Dean T FARISANI. He is one of several people detained on 19 October 1981 in the Venda bantustan under the Terrorism Act. One

of those detained at the same time was Tshifhiwa MUOFHE whose death in detention was reported in *FOCUS 38*. Dean Farisani was taken to hospital after five weeks in detention under police guard, suffering from head injuries (*S.Exp 17.1.82*).

• Siphiwo MTIMKULU (19). A member of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), he was detained in Port Elizabeth on 31 May during Anti-Republic Day demonstrations. He was shot in the arm by police, allegedly when trying to escape. He is suing the Minister of Police for R40,000 damages, alleging assault, electric shocks and forced standing for long periods in detention (*Evening Post 2.6.81; R-DM 23.12.81*).

Siphiwo Mtimkulu was released on October 20 after nearly five months in detention and immediately complained of pains in his feet and stomach. His mother who first saw him two days after his release said: 'I was horrified at how thin he was. He was unable to walk or go to the toilet because of severe cramp-like pains throughout his body, specially in his feet. He was also unable to digest any food' (*DD 28.10.81*).

He was taken to hospital and medical tests showed that he was poisoned by thallium, a rare

poison, the effects of which could only begin to show seven to eight days after the ingestion of several small doses, or within a day or two after ingestion of large quantities. He was due to be released from hospital on 17 January after more than two months of treatment (*RDM24/30.12.81; CT 16.1.82*).

• Steven KITSON. The circumstances of his detention and release are described above. On his return to Britain he described his treatment by security police. He said at a press conference that for the first 24 hours he was interrogated continuously while forced to stand upright without support. He said that he was slapped about the face until his nose bled, and had buckets of cold water thrown over him to keep him awake (*T 14.1.82*).

He also made a statement about the treatment of other detainees. These included the claim that on one occasion 'seven or eight people were being processed after arrest under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. They were all beaten up and the smallest one, a boy of no more than 16 or 17, I saw a warder smash across the face and then kick his legs away from underneath him so that he landed very heavily on the concrete floor. (*T 14.1.82*).

# POLITICAL PRISONERS

## POLITICAL PRISONERS

The majority of South African political prisoners are held in two major prison centres - Robben Island and Pretoria Central. White male prisoners are held in the maximum security condemned section of Pretoria Central while black women prisoners are held in a separate section. Robben Island is where black male prisoners are held, but this prison is soon to be closed. It is not known where the prisoners will be moved when it closes. Other prisons where a few political prisoners are known to be held are Pollsmoor (Cape Town), Kroonstad and Leeuwkop (near Johannesburg).

A number of political prisoners were released toward the end of 1981. Most of these were people who were given five year prison sentences in 1976 for the part they played in the Soweto uprisings that year.

The rights and privileges of black political prisoners were reported to have deteriorated in certain respects and this resulted in two applications to the courts to alleviate their conditions.

## RELEASES

During the last two months of 1981 a number of political prisoners were released from prison. Included amongst these were two women political prisoners.

Although there was no report of her release, Pauline LEKHULA (26) was due for release in November last year. She was sentenced, with another, to five years imprisonment in 1976 for setting fire to a railway ticket office in the aftermath of the Soweto uprising (see *FOCUS 8 p. 12*).

At the end of 1976 over 30 people were sentenced to five years imprisonment or more after being convicted of 'sabotage'. The names of 28 people given five year sentences were listed in *FOCUS 8 p.12*. Newspaper reports have only named seven of these who have recently been released. They are Fuzile MNGUNI, Sidwell Mazwi PHATHEKILE, Simon Boy FANA, Walter Tinta TSELE, Zwelakhe SUPHETHA, John SHIDUMO and Lefoka SEJAKE (*S 10.11.81; Voice 15.11.81*). Many of the 28 were minors at the time of their conviction.

The other woman prisoner released was Esther MALEKA (38). She was released with Pule David THATHE (31) on 14 December 1981. Both were sentenced in 1976 to five years imprisonment for recruiting others to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC (*CT 21.12.81; see FOCUS 8 p.8*).

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delegation had a three-hour meeting with General J Coetzee, the head of the Security Police (*Star 23.1.82*). By the end of 1981 eighteen detainees had been allowed one visit by a relative but they were only 10 per cent of the total number of detainees (*S.Exp 27.12.81*).

The committees decided not to adopt the slogan 'Charge or release' on the grounds that they did not recognize the unjust laws which would be used (*S 3.12.81*). They rejected all detention provisions of security legislation (*Star 23.1.82*). Staff members of the University of Cape Town's Department of Psychology issued a statement calling for an independent

Three of the nine people who were convicted in the marathon SASO/BPC Terrorism trial in 1976 were released on 19 December 1981. They are Gilbert SEDIBE (31), former SRC president at the University of the North (Turfloop); Zithulele CINDI (31), former BPC secretary-general; and Strini MOODLEY (35), former publications director of SASO (*S. Express 20.12.81; CT 21.12.81*).

## WOMEN PRISONERS IN ISOLATION

In October 1981 five women political prisoners serving terms for offences under the Terrorism Act brought an application in the Pretoria Supreme Court seeking to have their detention declared illegal.

The applicants were Caesarina MAKHOERE, Thandi MODISE, Elizabeth NHLAPO, Kate SEROKOLO and Elizabeth GUMEDE.

In a sworn affidavit Makhoere said she was in isolation for 23 hours each day between 12 April 1979 and 1 October 1981. She told the court that isolation 'is inflicted without any real regard for the nature of the offence, without our being given any opportunity to defend ourselves and for a duration which is indefinite and in the discretion of the prison officials'. The isolation included denial of work, restricted exercise, denial of any reading matter save the bible, restrictions on receipt of letters and visitors, and refusal of the right to study.

Makhoere said that Gumedede was over 60 and suffered from hypertension and that 'she screams for long periods of time'. The other four had been placed in isolation on 29 September 1981, with no reasons given. The cells in which they were kept were 2.5m by 2.5m with a small window high in the wall (*RDM 10.10.81; S.Exp 11.10.81; RDM 6.11.81*).

Responding to the application by the five prisoners, the State Counsel alleged at a hearing on 5 November 1981 that the applicants had been isolated because of bad behaviour, resisting orders and other disciplinary contraventions. Judgment was reserved (*RDM 6.11.81*).

According to Section 78 of the Prisons Act (No.8, 1959), which deals with the 'segregation' of prisoners, such 'segregation' may carry on for 'any period in pursuance of any scheme of treatment'. It also states that 'complete segregation . . . shall not be deemed to be . . . punishment'. Thus 'segregation' is considered as a form of 'treatment' and will go on until the prisoner has 'recovered'.

## ROBBEN ISLAND VISITS

It was announced by the Commissioner of Prisons, Lieutenant-General J N Otto, on 3 December last year that visiting privileges at Robben Island had been suspended following an alleged hunger strike by several prisoners.

Details of the hunger strike were not given

but General Otto said that the 'majority' of the prisoners' demands were 'unrealistic or, because of policy, could not be considered' (*CT 4.12.81*).

An urgent application to restore visiting privileges was made in the Cape Supreme Court on 5 December by friends and relatives who had travelled from various parts of the country to visit prisoners. The application was dropped when a sworn statement by the Commissioner of Prisons was submitted to the court. The Commissioner's statement said there was no general ban on visits, but only on visits to prisoners who had taken part in the hunger strike (*ST 6.12.81; S 9.12.81*).

However, when a second group went to visit prisoners on 10 December they were refused permission and were told that all visits had been suspended until further notice (*CT 11.12.81*).

On 15 December the Commissioner announced that visiting privileges had been restored. He revealed that a number of prisoners had refused meals from 27 November to 3 December. On the same day the relatives who had filed the application to have visits restored were awarded costs because prison officials had released erroneous information that a total ban had been imposed on visits (*CT 16.12.81*).

## 'ROBBEN ISLAND PRISON TO MOVE'

In 1978 the then Minister of Prisons, J T Kruger, said that Robben Island prison was to be closed down and replaced by a maximum security prison at Leeuwkop near Johannesburg.

The Department of Prisons has now announced that Leeuwkop will not be rebuilt to accommodate prisoners from Robben Island. A spokesman from the Department said it was not known when the prisoners would be moved but it would not be before alternative accommodation had been found. The spokesman did, however, indicate that the Diepkloof Prison now under construction near Soweto would be completed some time this year. The new prison will accommodate 4,250 people and will replace the Johannesburg Fort (*CT 8.1.82*).

A large new prison is being erected at Walvis Bay and this has led to some speculation that it will be used to house prisoners from Robben Island. As the new prison will contain only 231 units for housing prisoners, it will not be possible to accommodate the entire prison population of Robben Island which is almost 500. Unconfirmed reports put the cost of the new prison at over R2 million and believe that it will be over 3km long.

Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, said in Salisbury on 23 January that a transfer of prisoners to Walvis Bay would be an act of aggression against the Namibian people. It would also be a clear violation of UN resolutions which declared Walvis Bay an integral part of Namibia (*S 22.1.82; MS 25.1.82*).

professional enquiry into the effects of detention without trial. They described detention without trial as a form of control by terror and solitary confinement as a form of torture (*CT 5.12.81*). A Detainees Health Rights Steering Committee was formed by a group of legal and medical people (*SASPU NATIONAL Nov/Dec '81*).

## RENEWED DETENTIONS

• After his initial detention under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, Johnny ISSEL (*FOCUS 38 p.3*) was transferred to Section 6 of the Terrorism Act (*S 19.11.81*) and later to Section 10 of the Internal Security Act. In late November 1981 he was moved from Cape

Town to Modder Bee prison (*RDM 28.12.81*). Mr Issel, a former journalist on *Grassroots* is banned until 1983.

• At the beginning of December 1981 two journalists detained under the Terrorism Act, Zwelakhe SISULU and Thami MAZWAU (*FOCUS 36 pp.6,7*), were redetained under Section 12B of the Internal Security Act which provides for the detention of potential state witnesses (*S 9.12.81*). The Attorney General told their wives that they would not be allowed any visits until the completion or near-completion of the trial of SEATHLOLO and LOATE under the Terrorism Act (*S 15.12.81; see POLITICAL TRIALS*).

# REVIEW: REPRESSION 1981

Nineteen Eighty One was a year of mounting opposition to the apartheid regime. Popular mass actions against the 20th Republic Day celebrations, and the anti-South African Indian Council election campaign showed the extent to which the forces of resistance have mobilised to demonstrate their rejection of apartheid and its institutions. 1981 was also a year in which the armed struggle reached new heights. Sixty armed attacks or acts of sabotage were reported in the press during the year, 200 per cent more than the previous year.

To counteract this mass upsurge the state resorted to its traditional forms of repression — detention, torture, bannings, long prison sentences, death sentences, restrictions on meetings and gatherings, attacks on the press and the introduction of yet more repressive legislation. This review outlines some of the repressive actions taken by the state during 1981.

## DETENTIONS IN 1981

- FOCUS listed the detentions of 672 people in 1981. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee assembled a list of 622 held in 1981. These were categorised in following way: Trade unionists and workers . . . . . 306
- Students and academics . . . . . 80
- Scholars and teachers . . . . . 61
- Political activists . . . . . 36
- Community workers . . . . . 18
- Clergymen . . . . . 10
- Journalists . . . . . 7
- Other . . . . . 17
- Unknown . . . . . 85

While these figures are down on the 956 recorded detentions in 1980, there has been a marked shift in the categories of people detained. In 1980, almost half were school or university students or teachers. This was due to the police clampdown during and after the widespread school boycott that year. In 1980 only 21 workers and trade unionists were detained whereas in 1981 over 100 were detained, not counting the 205 detained in the Ciskei in September and held for 10 days before most of them appeared in court on charges of riotous assembly and related charges.

## BANNING

- A list published in the Government Gazette on 7 August 1981 named 157 banned people. A number of these have left South Africa and are living in exile but remain banned so that they or their writings may not be quoted in South Africa.

During 1981 15 people received banning orders and five people had their bans renewed on expiry of their previous bans. Many people appeared in court during the year for contravening their banning orders.

## CONVICTIONS

- Twenty-two people were named in FOCUS as having received prison sentences for committing offences under South Africa's main security laws. This does not include people who received suspended sentences. At least 15 of those sentenced were charged with engaging in activities for the ANC.

Details about minor security trials are scantily and inconsistently reported in the press. It is therefore impossible accurately to determine the number of people convicted of such offences. Mostly these are people convicted under various 'public order' laws as a result of their participation in political activity such as protests and demonstrations. As has been pointed out in past issues of FOCUS, many of those convicted of minor security offences are juveniles (see FOCUS 37 p.7, 38 p.7).

## POLITICAL PRISONERS

- There are at least 500 'security prisoners' in South African jails. These are people who have been convicted under the country's main security laws, such as the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act. A report by the International Committee of the Red Cross reported that they had visited 505 'security prisoners' from 31 August to 14 September 1981 (IC-RC Bulletin No 69, 7.10.81).

It is not known whether the ICRC visited every convicted political prisoner during this visit. It is known, however, that many prisoners, before they are sent to one of the main prisons designated for political prisoners, are kept for short periods in local prisons. Additionally, prisoners due for release are often moved shortly prior to the expiry of their sentences to local prisons in the area where they are to be released.

## DEATH SENTENCES

- Three people were sentenced to death for political activities in 1981. Anthony Bobby TSOTSOBE (25), Johannes SHABANGU (26) and David MOISE (25) were found guilty of 'high treason' in the Pretoria Supreme Court on 19 August 1981. They were accused, amongst other things, of attacking the Booysens Police Station and the Sasol oil-from-coal plant in 1980.

The three are ANC members and were badly tortured during interrogation while in detention (see FOCUS 36 p.8). They were granted leave to appeal against their sentences but by January 1982 no date had been set for the hearing of the appeal. They wait in the death cells with three other ANC militants, Ncimbithi LUBISI (29), Petrus MASHIGO (21) and Naphthali MANANA (25).

## DEATHS IN DETENTION

- Between 1963 and 1978 at least 50 people had died while in detention under security laws in South Africa. As the result of international condemnation no deaths were reported until 1981, when it was learnt that four people had died in detention since September 1980.

They were: Tshifhiwa MUOFHE who died on 12 November 1981, two days after being held by the Venda security police; Manana MGOWETA (60) died on 17 September 1981 while detained under Transkei security laws. He was a member of the opposition Transkei Democratic Progressive Party; Sifundile MATALASI (27) died in detention on 20 December 1980 after being held for 112 days under Transkei security laws; Saul NDZUMO, former Transkei 'Minister of the Interior', died on 9 September 1980 — eight days after his detention. He was accused of plotting to overthrow the Transkei 'Leaders' (see FOCUS 38 p.2).

## HARASSMENT OF JOURNALISTS

- The government's continuing attack on the English-language, black and student press resulted in a large number of journalists being detained, banned, deported and charged in 1981.

Among those detained were Nalini NAIDOO (Natal Witness), Joyce MOKHESI (Voice), Thami MAZWAI (news editor Sowetan), Zwelakhe SISULU (President MWASA), Clive VAN HEERDEN (Saspu National), John ISSEL (Grassroots). Amongst those banned were Mathata TSEDU (Post), Phil MTHIMKULU (Post), Joe THOLOE (Post) and Charles NQAKULA (Daily Dispatch). Two foreign journalists were deported. Cynthia STEVENS (Associated Press) was deported in October. No reasons were given for this action but it followed a refusal to renew her work permit. Stephen BARDEN was deported to Britain in November. It is believed that his deportation was connected with reports that he sent to Australia describing repression against trade unionists in the Ciskei (RDM 26.11.81). Nathan GIBSON (UPI) was charged with a breach of the Defence Act by reporting a military operation during a motor strike in Uitenhage. The charges were dropped without explanation in October (FOCUS 31 p.6). Charges against Richard WICKSTEED of contravening the Official Secrets Act were withdrawn in August. He was charged with allegedly possessing documents concerning the work of a committee established to counter unrest in the Western Cape (FOCUS 37 p.4).

## NEWSPAPERS BANNED

- In January 1981 two of South Africa's major black daily newspapers, the Post and the Sunday Post were effectively banned. Due to a protracted strike the registration of the two papers lapsed in December 1980. The government threatened that if the newspapers re-registered they would be banned as soon as they reappeared (FOCUS 33 p.5).

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# S. AFRICAN ATTACKS ON NEIGHBOURING STATES

The scale, frequency and geographical spread of South African attacks on neighbouring African countries have in recent years become so great that it is not possible to document them all in *FOCUS*. Most issues of the IDAF news bulletin have contained material on South African aggression against Angola, the Front Line State most seriously affected by the operations of the South African armed forces, while for South Africa's other neighbours, particular events, such

as the Matola raid into Mozambique (*FOCUS 33*) have been reported without attempting any overall analysis.

A number of clear trends are nevertheless apparent over the southern African subcontinent as a whole, which illustrate the continuing development during 1981-82 of a systematic and regionally coordinated strategy of aggression and destabilisation on the part of the apartheid regime.

In this strategy military, economic and

political means are all employed. During 1981 there was an increase in the frequency and scale of operations by South African forces or attributed to South African agents throughout the region (see *this*, and *previous issues of FOCUS*). This included an increasing number of raids and attacks against vital transport links and major economic installations. In addition, dissident groups, such as Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), and UNITA in Angola, have featured much more prominently than in the past.

Below is a report on these developments as they have affected Mozambique.

## MOZAMBIQUE: OVERT AND COVERT ACTION

The months following the raid on Matola by South African commandos on 30 January 1981 (see *FOCUS 33*) saw an increasing number of border incursions, air space violations and other open attacks by the South African armed forces. The dissident Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) obtained growing coverage for its actions in the press and media while the evidence of its origins in, and dependence on, South Africa, although less-publicised, assumed comprehensive proportions. South Africa's strategy of economic destabilisation was manifested through a number of operations for some of which the MNR claimed responsibility, including attacks on the road and rail links, and the oil pipeline, between Zimbabwe and the Mozambique port of Beira.

In the days following the Matola raid, the South African armed forces began to concentrate large numbers of troops along the Mozambique-South Africa border in the zones of Moaba, Ressano and Garcia, while Mozambique's airspace was constantly violated. Speaking at a public rally in Maputo on 14 February 1981, President Samora Machel called on the Mozambican people to be vigilant and to prepare themselves for further attacks. A wide range of civil and military defence arrangements, including the building of air-raid shelters; training schemes for first-aid workers; educational programmes in schools and among the public at large in readiness for air-raids, fires, sabotage, poison gas attacks and other eventualities; and paramilitary

training for young people (*BBC 2.3.81*).

The next open incursion by South African troops took place on 17 March, when two South African soldiers were killed by Mozambican security forces stationed at the coastal resort of Ponta do Ouro, in the southernmost part of the country. A force of about 50, predominantly black but white-led, South African soldiers crossed the border from Natal province and advanced across a hill-top just outside Ponta do Ouro town. (*RDM 19.3.81; BBC 20.3.81*).

In a broadcast on 17 January 1982 the Mozambique armed forces announced through their radio programme *Voz de Combate* that there had been 11 recorded violations of Mozambican airspace by South African aircraft during the five-week period 1 December 1981 to 8 January 1982 alone. The violations occurred in a number of regions of the southern provinces of Maputo and Gaza and the central province of Manica. Their purpose, the broadcast said, was to fly in weapons, supplies and mercenary reinforcements to the 'destabilizing armed gangs' of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement, and to carry out aerial espionage and reconnaissance missions. The radio gave details of the various incidents (*BBC 19.1.82 and communique dated 18.1.82 from Mozambique Information Agency*).

During this same period, extensive evidence of South African backing for, and direction of the MNR was uncovered when the Mozambique armed forces (FPLM) occupied the MNR's central base in the southern part of Manica province. The base, which was captured on 7 December at the end of an eight day operation, was located at Garagua, in the remote mountainous and thinly populated district of Mossurize, and about 20 km from the Zimbabwe border.

When the FPLM entered the base, it had been evacuated by its residents, leaving behind large amounts of weaponry and equipment, together with documents making clear the close relationship between the MNR and the South African armed forces. According to the Mozambique Information Agency (AIM), 'the evidence discovered at Garagua overwhelmingly proves that the MNR is little more than an extension of the apartheid army' (*AIM Bulletin 66, December 1981*).

Among other buildings and installations, the base was found to contain a landing strip and quantities of fuel for South African-supplied helicopters and residences for specialist officers and mercenaries, also believed to come from South Africa and to be responsible for training MNR cadres.

The documents captured by the FPLM included the minutes, in Portuguese, of a meeting inside South Africa on 25 October 1980 between Afonso Dlacama, the MNR leader, and a South African intelligence officer named Colonel Van Niekerk. The purpose of the meeting had been to transmit orders from South Africa to the MNR regarding Pretoria's strategy of destabilisation in Mozambique. In return for carrying out a number of 'priority actions' (including ambushes of major roads in central Mozambique, sabotage of the Mozambique-Zimbabwe pipeline and attacks on the rail links between Zimbabwe and Mozambique ports), the MNR would receive logistical support from South Africa in the shape of weapons, ammunition and communications equipment.

Van Niekerk and Dlacama also discussed the possibility of MNR-inspired 'disturbances' in Maputo and Beira, and of supplying the MNR by sea, via the mouth of the Buzi river in Sofala province (*AIM Bulletin ibid*).

### The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa 104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP

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