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S. AFRICA: NEW SECURITY LAWS

Harsher repressive legislation, increased military spending and an extension of military conscription were announced by the South African Government during February and March 1982. They were the latest of several indications that the regime anticipates even more serious challenges to its rule than it has already experienced (see also *THREATS TO PRESS*).

The government announced in February that it had accepted the main recommendation of a commission which had reviewed South Africa's security legislation (the Rabie Commission) (*RDM 17.2.82*).

The implementation of the recommendations will have the effect of considerably tightening the already harsh security laws, and of extending their scope. Organisations concerned with the welfare of detainees and banned people rejected as totally inadequate the Commission's proposals regarding the review of bans and detentions and those regarding visits to detainees as a safeguard against torture (*S 5.2.82; RDM 17.2.82*). The principal changes recommended in the scope of the laws are clearly aimed at dealing with both armed actions of the liberation movement and mass action (*CT 4.2.82; RDM 4.2.82*).

- Existing security legislation (comprising 12 laws) will be replaced by a smaller number of new laws with newly defined offences of Terrorism, Subversion and Sabotage. Terrorism would be defined as aiming to overthrow the state or to bring about constitutional change by violent means. Subversion would cover the same aims, but does not necessarily involve violence. Sabotage is defined as the destruction or damage of strategic buildings or installations.

- Assistance to anyone committing Terrorism, Subversion or Sabotage is defined as an offence, and this includes failure to report to the police

any suspicion that someone else is committing any of these offences.

- A new law, probably to be called the Intimidation Act, would increase existing powers to act against people who the regime alleges 'intimidate' others to act against it or to resist apartheid. Such a law would add to the measures used against those taking part in or organising strikes, boycotts and demonstrations.

- Demonstrations in or near courts would be banned, and restrictions would be placed on attendance at funerals (*CT 4.2.82*).

The government accepted the Commission's proposals regarding banning and detention without trial. The Commission recommended that they be continued. It said that interrogation of detainees was the most important source of information about 'subversive' activities, and also an important source of evidence for trials. It also recommended the continuation of 'preventive detention' (*S 4.2.82*).

As a result of the government's acceptance of the Rabie Commission's proposals, control over the administration of security legislation has been shifted from the Department of Justice to the Department of Police, which has been renamed the Department of Law and Order.

Apart from recommending the kinds of changes described above, the Rabie Commission also contained remarks on what were seen as threats to 'internal security'. Inconclusive and often inconsistent, the remarks nevertheless give an indication of the directions in which it is likely that the new measures will be applied. Several aspects were of concern to the Commission: encouragement of civil disobedience by the churches; encouragement of a spirit of resistance by journalists and newspaper with a black readership and by legal organisations like COSAS and AZAPO; the expression of support for, or the giving of assistance to, illegal organisations, in particular the ANC; the intensification of armed struggle by the ANC and a possibility of armed action by the PAC (*CT 4.2.82, RDM 12.2.82*).

At the same time as initiating a tightening of security legislation, the government announced a further increase in military spending and an extension of conscription.

Although the budget introduced in March was generally restrictive, there was an 8.1 per cent increase in defence spending, which has grown ten-fold over the past decade.

Much of the military budget will be absorbed by large-scale armaments manufacture to equip a greatly expanded military force.

The expansion of the regime's military forces, to almost double their present size, would result from the implementation of measures proposed in a bill introduced in Parliament on 24 March, according to the Minister of Defence. The bill also contains measures for strengthening the commando system, consisting of part-time volunteers (*Tel 26.3.82; GN 29.3.82; T 24.3.82*).

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DETENTIONS

In the early months of 1982 fewer new detentions were recorded than in previous months, but there was increasing information on the conditions under which detainees are held. In particular there was concern about what was happening to people while held in solitary confinement, after a number of detainees were transferred to hospitals for psychiatric treatment.

It became clear as trials came to court and detainees were redetained under different laws that many initial detentions had gone unreported. Names of some such detainees appear in the current list. Many detainees kept as potential witnesses under Section 12 of the Internal Security Act are held for long periods until trials come to court. The Minister of Justice reported that 19 people detained under this law on 30 March 1981 were still in detention a year later (CT 13.3.82).

CAPE TOWN DETENTIONS

Charles and Marieta CLAIMS and their two young children were detained on 8 January at the Mafikeng border post while returning from a holiday in Zimbabwe to their home in Cape Town. Marieta Claims who was released on 22 January told reporters that while in Zimbabwe she had bumped into Frank ANTHONY, Roger GALANT, Julian SAULS, Benjamin JULIUS, Lionel SCHOLTZ, Johannes MANNEL and Frederick HENDRICKS (CT 30.1.82). These seven men whose detention was reported in Focus 39 were redetained under the Terrorism Act at the end of February (CT 26.2.82).

POTENTIAL WITNESSES

In January the East London security police re-detained 13 students and workers under Section 12B of the Internal Security Act which allows for the detention of prospective state witnesses (DD 27.1.82). Those whose original detentions were not reported in FOCUS appear in the current list. Others redetained were William MOSES, Malusi KUNENE, Nomtandazo BOOI (FOCUS 37 p.3), Bulelani DYANI, Nelson MGIJIMA (probably Monwabisi MGIJIMA), Ntombomzi BOOI, Mzimasi VENKILE, Mncedisi MAKALIMA and Thobile MANINJWA (FOCUS 38 p.3).

STUDENT INJURED

Police detained an 18 year old student, Zandi-

sile MUSI, who survived an explosion at a disused mine building outside Krugersdorp on 16 February (RDM 9.3.82). Three other students including a member of COSAS and the Young Christian Workers were killed in the blast. Mourners at their funeral carried the flag of the African National Congress (S 24.2.82, 1.3.82). Maria Musi said that her son suffered a broken leg and deafness in one ear in the blast (RDM 9.3.82).

SOWETO DETENTIONS

Two Senaoane residents were detained in Soweto on 15 February after police raids in the middle of the night during which their houses were searched (S 18.2.82). Mthuthuzeli MADALANI was brought to his house shackled in leg irons and 20 police searched the house. Mrs Sannah RADEBE was detained after a hooded and shackled youth was brought to her house at 3 am but failed to identify her. She was released on 17 March and instructed her lawyers to sue the police for alleged assault whilst in detention (S 22.3.82). Mrs Radebe is the aunt of Jabu NGWENYA (FOCUS 38 p.3) who was detained in November 1981 and was still in detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act in March.

AGGETT ASSAULT

The inquest on Neil AGGETT (FOCUS 39 p.7) was opened in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on 3 March and adjourned to 13 April. Lawyers for Aggett's family requested the adjournment to enable them to seek the appearance of detainees as witnesses (RDM 3.3.82).

On 16 February Helen SUZMAN read out in Parliament a letter from an unnamed detainee alleging that Aggett was assaulted during his detention. It said he was stripped naked, forced to do press-ups interspersed with running on the spot with arms outstretched. Throughout he was beaten with a rolled up newspaper (S 17.2.82).

Mass protest greeted the news of Aggett's death. The African Food and Canning Workers Union, of which Aggett was Transvaal secretary, called for a national half-hour strike on 11 February which was answered by over 85,000 workers (RDM 12.2.82).

RELEASES AND REDETENTIONS

• In February police reported that two of the ANC men abducted from Matola in January 1981 (see FOCUS 34 p.8) had been released (S 22.2.82). Police said that David NTOMBELA was still in detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act but Selby MAVUSO and Mothidi NTSHEKANG had been freed. Neither their

lawyers nor in Ntshekang's case, his family, could confirm the release (S 24.2.82).

• Five trade unionists were released from detention in Port Elizabeth on 17 February (Citizen 19.2.82). They were MACWUSA officials, Mxolisi DIDIZA, Dumile MAKHANDA, Maxwell MADLINGOZI, Zandile MTUZA (MJUZA) and Sipho PITYANA (Focus 36 pp. 6 & 7).

• Three Durban detainees, Philip MATHEWS, Simon NTOMBELA and Sipho GUMEDE (FOCUS 37 p.3; 38 pp.2 & 3) were released in January (RDM 28.1.82). Philip Mathews said that security police questioned him about his past membership of the ANC and the African Youth Congress (wrongly referred to as Council, FOCUS 38, p.2) of which he is President. He refused to become a state witness (S Exp 31.1.82).

• By the end of February the majority of detainees in the Venda bantustan (FOCUS 38 & 39) were released (Star 27.2.82). Rev. Muen-danyi MAHAMBAMBA and Ramano TSHIKORORO were first charged with murder alongside Revs. Phosiwa and Phaswane (see POLITICAL TRIALS). Charges were dropped and they were redetained under Section 12B of the Internal Security Act in February (RDM 10.2.82). Dean T. Farisani was also redetained under Section 12B in February (ST/JHB 21.2.82).

• Zwelakhe SISULU was released on 25 February without being called as a witness in the Seathlo and Loate terrorism trial (RDM 27.2.82).

• Johannesburg detainees Nicholas HAYSOM, Debbie ELKON, Liz FLOYD, Colin PURKEY and Morris SMITHERS (FOCUS 39 p.8), Clive van HEERDEN and Keith COLEMAN (FOCUS 39 p.3) were released on 26 March. Renee ROUX was released from hospital and detention on 27 March (ST/JHB 28.3.82). The Commissioner of Police was reported as saying they would appear as state witnesses in the case of HOGAN, MAYSON and FINE (GN 30.3.82).

• Aurret van Heerden (FOCUS 37 p.3), Hanchen KOORNHOF (FOCUS 38 p.3), Monty NARSOO (FOCUS 39 p.7) and Lilian KEAGILE (no other details) were redetained under Section 12B of the Internal Security Act (S Exp 28.3.82).

• The following detainees were also released: Charles BILL (FOCUS 37 p.3) on 2 November (Star 19.1.82); Alfred KGAMARE (FOCUS 39 p.8) by February (S 19.2.82); Patience BOKALA (FOCUS 38 p.3) at the end of January (S 1.2.82); Ralph WORTLEY and Esther LEVITAN (FOCUS 39 p.8) on 4 March (GN 6.3.82); Thozamile GQWETA (FOCUS 39 p.8) on 3 March (RDM 5.3.82).

PSYCHOLOGICAL TORTURE

During February and March five detainees were admitted to hospitals for psychiatric care, thus focussing attention on the use of solitary confinement as a form of torture. Increasing evidence was shown of the effects of what Prof. Charl Vorster of the Rand Afrikaans University described as 'a most severe mental torture'. He said that it was 'at the same level as the giving of electric shocks or other physical torture — it just appears more innocent' (RDM 11.2.82).

• Dr Liz FLOYD, a friend of Neil Aggett, collapsed on being told of his death in detention on 5 February and was admitted to a psychiatric ward at Johannesburg General Hospital. Prior to her collapse medical books and puzzles requested by her had been returned to her parents as 'unwanted'. She was refused permission to attend Dr. Aggett's funeral (ST 7.2.82; RDM 8.3.82).

• On 10 February Thozamile GQWETA, President of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) was moved from detention to the same hospital. His family were not officially informed but on 17 February his brother Robert was allowed to visit him and reported an alarming change in his condition since a visit two weeks previously. He sat with his head resting on the table, found it an effort to speak, suffered from a heavy headache, depression and amnesia.

His eyes were bloodshot, at one time he cried and he complained that his brother spoke too loudly. He had been having nightmares about the deaths of his mother and uncle in a house fire in 1981 and was severely worried about his four-year-old daughter Amandla (DD 18.2.82; RDM 18.2.82; see FOCUS 38 p.12).

Thozamile Gqweta had been detained for the fifth time on 8 December 1981. H. Barnabus, a SAAWU national organiser, expressed concern, because he had 'outlived' previous detentions without physical or mental collapse (DD 19.2.82). Gqweta was released on 3 March and said that this was for health reasons as his doctor had refused to treat him if he was returned to detention. On 4 March the Ciskei Intelligence Services detained him for several hours. Friends said he would receive psychiatric care in East London (S 5.3.82; RDM 5.3.82).

• Another SAAWU official, Sam KIKINE, the general secretary, was admitted to a psychiatric ward in Durban on 26 February and was described by relatives as being in a 'bad psychological state' (RDM 27.2.82). He was returned from hospital to detention on 10 March. Earlier a spokesman for the family said he would be discharged from hospital on condition he was not held in isolation (Star 11.3.82; S 11.3.82).

• Pravin GORDHAN, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, who was detained

on 27 November, was admitted to a psychiatric ward of St. Augustine's Hospital, Durban, in March (RDM 25.3.82). He was treated by an eye surgeon and a psychiatrist. It was reported that Mrs Pravina Gordhan had not been allowed to see her husband either in detention or in hospital (ST(JHB) 28.3.82).

• Dean Farisani whose first admission to hospital in the Venda bantustan was reported in FOCUS, 39 was readmitted to hospital twice during February. He first received psychiatric care and was later readmitted with critical head injuries (ST(JHB) 21.2.82). Dean Farisani was redetained in February as a prospective state witness in the murder trial of Revs. Phaswane and Phosiwa (see POLITICAL TRIALS).

• Two Johannesburg detainees, Esther LEVITAN and Renee ROUX were also taken to hospital. Mrs Levitan was treated for high blood pressure and stomach erosion caused by anxiety and tension; she had previously never needed hospital treatment in her life. After her release from detention on 4 March she received physiotherapy and psychotherapy (RDM 6.3.82). Renee Roux was admitted to hospital in February suffering from vomiting and fainting and was treated for potassium deficiency until her release from hospital and detention on 27 March (ST(JHB) 28.3.82).

These developments gave rise to considerable

academic, medical and other opposition to the practice of keeping detainees in solitary confinement. Protests were made by, among others, the Board of Deputies of South African Jews, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Witwatersrand University Medical Faculty and the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town. The South African Psychological Association called on the Ministers of Police and Justice to treat statements made by detainees in solitary confinement in the same way as those obtained under physical duress (RDM 2.3.82). Many political trials rely on statements made by detainees as their main source of evidence. General Coetsee, chief of security police, claimed that an unfinished statement made by Neil Aggett on the day of his death would be used as evidence in a future trial (ST(JHB) 7.2.82).

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee demanded that detainees should be seen by an independent panel of doctors but this request was refused by the Minister of Police (RDM 11.2.82; S 23.2.82). They appealed to over 180 South African and overseas medical associations, calling for support for their demands to safeguard detainees' health. They based their appeal on the 1975 Declaration of Tokyo which was adopted by the World Medical Association (RDM 19.3.82).

NEW DETAINEES Additional to previous FOCUS lists

Approx. date	Place	Name (age)	Details (where known)
25.6.81	Emdeni	Mandla NKOSI (20)	COSAS. TA. Rel 1.2.82 (see Trials)
25.6.81	Emdeni	Lumkile MFEKA (17)	COSAS. Probably unnamed Emdeni youth FOCUS 36 p.7. TA. Rel. 1.2.82 (see Trials)
June '81	East London	Mbeki NKOSINATI	TA, then ISA (12b)
11.8.81	East London	Oria NDINGANYE	TA, then ISA (12b)
13.8.81	East London	Siseko VANYAZA	TA, then ISA (12b)
9.9.81	East London	Bekinkosi DLELEMBE	TA, then ISA (12b)
26.11.81	Sebokeng	Michael TLHOBANE	Brother of Jeremiah TLHOBANE (detained Oct '81)
Rep. Jan '82	Durban	Zamini JALI	
Rep. Jan '82	Durban	Zolisa MBELE	
Rep. Jan '82	Durban	Mpilo TAHO	
Rep. Jan '82	Durban	Pumelele GABA	
8.1.82	Cape Town	Charles CLAIMS	Detained at Mafikeng on return from holiday in Zimbabwe. TA
8.1.82	Cape Town	Marieta CLAIMS	Detained at Mafikeng on return from Zimbabwe. Released 22.1.82
8.1.82	Mafikeng	2 children, CLAIMS	Released into care of relatives in Cape Town
30/31.1.82	Durban	Isaac NGCOBO	SAAWU branch treasurer. GLA
11.2.82	Johannesburg (Mondeor)	Oscar LEBELOANE (32)	GLA
12.2.82	East London	Jack MKHUSELI	Spoke at Aggett memorial meeting. R252
15.2.82	Senaoane	Mthuthuzeli MADALANI (22)	Student. GLA then TA
15.2.82	Senaoane	Sannah RADEBE (55)	GLA then TA. Rel. 17.3.82
15.2.82	Cape Town	Fatima ISAACS (32)	Former secretary to Libyan ambassador in Botswana. GLA
16.2.82	Krugersdorp	Zandisile MUSI (18)	W. Rand mine blast. TA
23.2.82	Middleburg	Mandla SELEWANE	AZAPO and former SASO member
23.2.82	Johannesburg	Linda BERNHARDT (28)	Pop group manager. GLA. Rel. 4.3.82
Rep. 26.2.82	Cape Town	Alfred APPOLLIS	TA
Rep. 26.2.82	Cape Town	Gerrit STELLENBERG	TA
1.3.82	Vaal	Gcina MALINDI	COSAS Vaal branch. Rents protest
1.3.82	Vaal	Lucky TWALA	COSAS Vaal branch. Rents protest
1.3.82	Vaal	Tsheko JOHNSON	COSAS Vaal branch. Rents protest
2.3.82	Johannesburg	Mary NTSEKE	Gen. Sec GAWU. GLA. Rel. 9.3.82
2.3.82	Johannesburg	Elliot SHABANGU	GAWU member. GLA. Rel. 5.3.82
2.3.82	Johannesburg	Solly PHOLOTO	GAWU member. GLA. Rel. 5.3.82
13.3.82	Johannesburg	Matthews OLIPHANT	Gen. Sec. National Federation of Workers. GLA
22.3.82	Johannesburg	Modisika TATSA (27)	Det. on rel. from sentence for refusing to testify. ISA (10)
23.3.82	Cape Town	Ebrahim PATEL	Univ of Western Cape student. Former detainee
23.3.82	Cape Town	Armien ABRAHAMS	Advertising rep. Cape Herald; Member Media Workers Assoc. of SA. GLA

ABBREVIATIONS

Organisations

AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
GAWU	General and Allied Workers Union
SAAWU	South African Allied Workers Union
SASO	South African Students Organisation

Laws

GLA
ISA (12b)
R252
TA

Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act
Section 12B of the Internal Security Act
Ciskei Emergency Proclamation R252
Section 6 of the Terrorism Act

POLITICAL TRIALS

Since the beginning of 1982 a number of important trials have commenced while several others which had been continuing for some time were completed.

One of the trials for 'serious offences' which the Minister of Police, Louis le Grange, confirmed would start early in the year commenced in Johannesburg

Regional Court at the end of March (see *HOGAN and OTHERS* below). As all the accused and state witnesses in this trial are whites it would appear that this trial is a presage of other related trials due to commence shortly. There has been much speculation in the South African press about the nature of these trials but most

consider that the State is planning a series of 'showpiece' trials in an attempt to focus attention on alleged links between the ANC and trade unions.

The Minister of Police announced in February that 21 'security trials' were pending and that by that time preparations for 12 independent trials had been finalised (*BBC 5.2.82; S Exp 7.2.82*).

CONTINUING TRIALS

ADAM and THEMBA

Robert Martin ADAM (26) and Mandla THEMBA (25) have pleaded not guilty to five charges under the Terrorism Act. It is alleged that they are members of the ANC, that they toured the SABC TV tower at Brixton, Johannesburg, prepared a report on the installations and took photographs. They allegedly attempted to send the report and pictures to the ANC to be used in plans for destroying the tower. It is also alleged that they incited another person to undergo military training outside South Africa, and conspired to attempt to overthrow authority in South Africa by violent means.

The two have been appearing in the Rand Supreme Court. The trial continues (*RDM 19.3.82; see FOCUS 39 p.5*).

MOTLHABAKWE and FOUR OTHERS

A report was included in *FOCUS 36* of five Galeshewe youths charged with taking part in guerilla activities, arson, housebreaking and attempted arson. Their appearance arose out of an incident which occurred during unrest in Kimberley in September 1980. The trial received little publicity in the South African press after July 1981. It appeared in January however, that the trial was continuing as there was a report of a court incident in which a defence advocate in the trial was fined for contempt of court.

The five are Neville MOTLHABAKWE (19), Johannes KERS (18), Eugene MOKGOATSI (20), Nelco HLATSHWAYO (20) and Ben FANI (21) (*S, RDM 15.1.82*).

OSCAR MPETHA and 18 OTHERS

The trial of Oscar MPETHA (72) and 18 others recommenced on 9 February after the recess. Mpetha was excused from the court because of ill-health. He and the others have been in custody since August 1980 when they were arrested after two white motorists died in the unrest at Crossroads at the time. Latest reports indicate that Mpetha's condition is considered serious and that he has had to undergo an operation on his kidneys. No further details of the trial have appeared (*CT 10.2.82; CT 3.3.82; see past issues of FOCUS*).

SITHOLE and OTHERS

Three men, Fana George SITHOLE, Jabulani

Wilfred NGCOBO and Titi Alocia MTENJANE, appeared in the Durban Regional Court on 26 February on charges of contravening the Terrorism Act.

It is alleged that between August 1980 and July 1981 they conspired with 13 people to commit 10 acts in South Africa and Botswana. They are charged with: forming and recruiting for the African Youth Congress, based on the aims of ANC; corresponding with ANC members on Robben Island and in Botswana; receiving funds from the ANC; encouraging people to leave the country to go for military training; assisting people to leave the country to go for military training; obtaining plans of the Caltex oil installations in Durban; obtaining information regarding security at the installation; obtaining firearms and/or explosives; obtaining and propagating ANC propaganda material.

Sithole also faces 15 counts of contravening the Internal Security Act by breaking his banning order. The three were due to appear again on 22 March (*DN 28.1.82; S 8.3.82*).

KORDA MANQINA

Korda Langelo MANQINA (30) appeared in the East London Regional Court on 6 January on charges under the Internal Security Act.

It is alleged that he was a member of an organisation called the People's United Front for the Liberation of South Africa and that he committed acts aimed at promoting the aims of communism. According to the charge sheet these were the overthrow of the South African government and the institution of a communist-oriented government system, the propagating and distribution of communist literature, and the organising of revolution by persuading the black population to create political, social or economic changes within South Africa through violent or disorderly ways. The trial continues (*DD 7.1.82*).

DUNA and OTHERS

Four men from Mdantsane, East London, appeared in the Mdantsane Magistrates Court on 15 January on three counts under the Terrorism Act.

The four are Mabone William DUNA (31), Dumisani Bizette MANINJWA (31), Geoffrey Bayi KEYE (52) and Luyanda Patric MAYE-KISO (23). They were not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

According to the charges they are alleged to

have conspired to instigate, incite and encourage others persons to commit certain acts which could endanger the maintenance of law and order and to further the aims of the ANC.

The first alternate charge is that they encouraged certain persons to leave the country to receive military training. The second alternate charge is that they obtained information about the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) which could be used to further the aims of the ANC. They are also charged with being members of the ANC and with being in possession of banned literature.

They were remanded in custody and will be tried in the Ciskei High Court (*DD 16.1.82*).

REV. PHOSIWA and OTHERS

Two Lutheran ministers from Venda bantustan, Rev. P. PHOSIWA and Rev. M. PHASWANE, and another, J.M. RAVELE, are due to appear in the Venda High Court on 3 May on charges of murder, attempted murder and terrorist activities. The charges arise out of the death of two policemen during an attack by a unit of ANC guerillas on the Sibasa police station in October last year.

At a preliminary court hearing in the Sibasa Magistrates Court on 10 February allegations of torture were made by Rev. Phosiwa. The magistrate was asked to record injuries which he received while in detention. These included: marks on his wrists from overtightened handcuffs, fingers which had lost their feeling, a mark over his right eye caused by a punch, scars on his head where hair had been pulled out. Rev. Phosiwa also alleged that a wet cloth had been tied around his head while he was being interrogated and that his genitals had been shocked with electric charges (*RDM 11.2.82; Cit 13.2.82*).

HOGAN and OTHERS

Two people who were detained in September last year, Barbara HOGAN (30) and Alan FINE (28), and another who was detained in November last year, Cedric MAYSON (54), appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 26 March. They were charged under the Terrorism Act and are due to appear in the Johannesburg Supreme Court on 30 April. They were refused bail and are being held in custody.

Eight other detainees who were released on 26 March (see *DETENTIONS*) will appear in the trial as state witnesses.

APPEALS

ANC THREE

The appeal by three ANC members sentenced to death in November 1980 for their attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station failed in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court on 7 April.

The three are Ncimbithi Johnson LUBISI (28), Tsepo Petrus MASHIGO (20) and Naphtali MANANA (24). Counsel for the appellants said

that a last attempt to save their lives would be made by petitioning the State President for a reprieve (*S 8.4.82*).

BERGER and PILLAY

A lecturer from Rhodes University, Guy BERGER (25), and a student in journalism, Devandrien PILLAY (21), had their effective prison sentences halved in the Grahamstown

Supreme Court on 12 March when judgement was handed down on their appeal.

Berger will now serve two years instead of four on two counts under the Internal Security Act, for membership of the ANC and activities which furthered its interests. Pillay will serve one year instead of two for the same offences (*RDM 13.3.82; see FOCUS 34 p.5*).

CONVICTIONS AND ACQUITTALS

SEATLHOLO and LOATE

Khotso Sydney SEATLHOLO (25) and Masabata Mary LOATE (23) were both found guilty on two charges under the Terrorism Act and sentenced on 11 March in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court to ten years and five years imprisonment respectively.

The two were members of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO), an organisation which was formed after the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) was disbanded in April 1979. Seatlholo was one of the founders of SAYRCO and its first President.

The magistrate found that they had both, or with other members of SAYRCO, conspired to: further the aims of SAYRCO; overthrow the South African government by violent means; recruit members in order to further the aims of SAYRCO; recruit youths to undergo military training; instigate people to revolt against the government; contact other organisations to further the aims of SAYRCO through these organisations and obtain South African passports for use by SAYRCO members (*S11/12.3.82*).

In connection with the trial seven witnesses were jailed for refusing to give evidence. One of the witnesses, Thami MAZWAI, the news editor of the *Sowetan*, was sentenced on 12 February to 18 months imprisonment for refusing to give state evidence. He gave two reasons for his

refusal: one that he had been detained in solitary confinement for nearly five months and was brutally assaulted by the police, and secondly because his image as a journalist would be harmed if he did so (*GN 13.2.82*).

Six others who refused to give evidence were sentenced at the same time: Thabo NDABENI (25); Nkhutang 'Carter' SELEKA; Solomzi SELANE (27); Stephen SOMACELE (28); Innocentia Nonkululeka MAZIBUKO (20) and Elsie MATHIBEDI (22). All were sentenced to 18 months imprisonment except the last two who were sentenced to twelve and nine months respectively. The five who received 18 month sentences appealed against their sentences and applied for bail pending the outcome of the appeal. The application was turned down on 3 March (*S 15.2.82; RDM 4.3.82*).

An eighth witness who refused to testify for the State had charges withdrawn against her when she appeared later in court (*RDM 26.2.82; S 4.3.82*).

FOUR WITS STUDENTS

Four students from the University of the Witwatersrand, Benjamin David GREYLING (20), Elaine Rose MOHAMED (20), Michael Anthony O'DONOVAN (21) and Leslie LAX (23), were sentenced in the Johannesburg Regional Magistrates Court to 360 days in prison

with 350 days suspended for five years — an effective 10 days in prison.

They had been charged with making posters and placards and displaying them to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), and with pursuing the aims of an unlawful organisation.

The defence of the four said that the evidence led by the State had not shown that they were members of the SACP or that any one of them was a ringleader. Their plea of not guilty had been changed to guilty in order to avoid a lengthy trial (*RDM 11.3.82*).

A defence attorney in the trial appeared in court on 10 March charged with attempting to take out of the Johannesburg Fort Prison, messages written by one of the accused. He is due to appear again on 10 May (*RDM 10.3.82*).

MFEKA and NKOSI

Two members of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), Lumkile MFEKA (17) and Mandla NKOSI (20), had charges under the Terrorism Act withdrawn in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court on 1 February.

The two were detained on 25 June last year and were held in detention until 4 December when they first appeared in court and were then held in custody until their appearance in February (*V 7.2.82*).

OTHER TRIALS

STUDENTS and YOUTH

- Three students from the University of the North (Turffloop) made an appearance in the Pietersburg Regional Court on 16 February on charges of public violence.

Their appearance follows an anti-Republic festival celebrations demonstration at the university last year. While students were demonstrating Lebowa police attacked them. Three students were shot and as a result one had to have a leg amputated (*V 7.2.82*).

- A University of Cape Town student, Gavin EVANS, has appealed in the Cape Town Supreme Court against a conviction under the Riotous Assemblies Act, after allegedly attending an unlawful gathering in May last year.

Evans and 46 other students were arrested by the riot police while protesting outside the Good Hope Centre during the World Meat Conference which was being held there.

In the appeal it was claimed that the students had sought legal advice prior to staging the demonstration and believed that they would not be contravening the law (*CT 2.3.82; see FOCUS 39 p.6*).

- A 15-year-old youth was found guilty of public violence at a retrial in the Fort Beaufort Regional Court on 26 January. At an earlier trial he was convicted on the same charge and sentence was postponed for five years.

Judgement was set aside on appeal and a retrial was ordered. In the retrial the youth was sentenced to be detained until the rising of the court (which means that in effect the whole of the sentence was suspended).

The youth was initially detained when a policeman shot into a crowd who were allegedly stoning policemen. The youth claimed to be in the area because he had gone shopping. Policemen had stood on him and assaulted him. As a result he sustained a broken collarbone and a fractured right thigh, besides numerous wounds from shotgun pellets. A civil case is pending against the police involved in the shooting (*DD 27.1.81*).

TRADE UNIONISTS AND WORKERS

- Fifty former post office workers appeared in the Port Elizabeth Magistrates Court in January as a result of a strike at two post office yards in October last year. They were charged, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, with having intimidated others.

About 180 workers were dismissed as a result of the strike. The General Workers' Union of South Africa (GWUSA) said that the management had blocked their attempts to organise workers (*Star 11.1.82; see FOCUS 38 p.5*).

- Three former Wilson-Rowntree workers were found not guilty and discharged when they appeared on a charge of malicious damage to property in the Mdantsane Regional Court on 15 January. Three others who appeared with them had their charges withdrawn at the start of the trial.

The charges arose out of an incident in which the house of another Wilson-Rowntree worker was stoned (*DD 16.1.82*).

- The Attorney-General in the Ciskei withdrew charges of incitement to public violence against 139 members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) at the beginning of March.

The unionists were part of a contingent of 205 who were arrested by Ciskei police on 6 September last year.

Another 35 of the group of 205 were fined R100 or 100 days imprisonment and given a nine months' sentence suspended for five years, after being found guilty of incitement to public violence (*Star 6.3.82*).

- A worker from Guguletu, Ronald VUMA-ZONKE (20), appeared in the Athlone Magistrates Court on 7 January charged with intimidation during the 16 and 17 June stayaways. It is alleged that he threatened other workers. The hearing was postponed to 3 March (*CT 8.1.82*).

- The right of trade unions to operate and

hold meetings in Bophuthatswana is to be tested in the courts. Three trade unionists of the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, Nelson RAKAU, Taffy ADLER and Martin NDABA have been charged under the bantustan's Internal Security Act for allegedly holding an illegal gathering.

The unionists argue that the law under which the three were arrested violates Bophuthatswana's Bill of Rights which guarantees freedom of association. If the courts were to uphold this argument they would also uphold the right of unions to hold meetings and operate in the bantustan.

The three trade unionists have already appeared in court and their next appearance is due in April (*RDM 13.1.82*).

MISCELLANEOUS TRIALS

- The former President of the banned Transkei Youth League, Prince MADIKIZELA, and 10 others, had charges against them provisionally withdrawn when they appeared in the Engcobo Magistrates Court on 29 January.

They were arrested by security police while preparing to hold a meeting in the district in November last year (*DD 30.1.82; see FOCUS 39 p.6*).

- Three people who are alleged to have harboured one of three ANC prisoners who escaped from Pretoria Prison in December 1979 have been charged under the Prisons Act (*see FOCUS 26 p.1*).

They are Michael JENKIN (35), Prema NAIDOO (33) and Shirish NANABHAI (44). They were not asked to plead and were due to appear again on 1 April (*RDM, CT 6.3.82*).

- A sports administrator from Oudtshoorn, Reg OLIPHANT (34), had charges of possession of banned publications dropped when he appeared in court on 23 December. The allegedly banned books were books on politics which he was using for his studies through the University of South Africa (*CH 23.2.82*).

BANS AND RESTRICTIONS

THIRTEEN BANS LIFTED

After bans on 13 people were lifted during February there were still 90 people who were banned under the Internal Security Act, and also a number of people banished under various laws operating in the bantustan areas of South Africa.

The 13 people whose bans were lifted ahead of the due date of expiry (given in parentheses) are:

ADEREM, A A (31.3.82); ADLER, D (28.2.83); DYANI, M (31.12.83); QEQUE, D (31.1.83); MALGAS, E (30.4.82); MATTHEWS, J E (31.12.82); MPUMLWANA, M M (31.12.82); MPUMLWANA, M F (30.4.82); NGUBENI, M (30.9.82); PHUNGULA, H (31.3.82); RAMBALLY, A (30.11.83); RAMOKGOPA (31.1.83); TSHUME, P (31.1.83).

BANNED MAN KEPT FROM FUNERAL

The Rev Beyers NAUDE, the former director of the banned Christian Institute, was refused permission in March to attend the funeral of a personal friend and church minister, the Rev Frikkie Conradie.

THREATS TO PRESS

Harsher restrictions on media which are critical of the government and attempts to counter the lack of credibility of the state information media were the main measures recommended by the Steyn Commission in its report in February.

CONTROL OF JOURNALISTS

Recommendations for restrictions on the media critical of apartheid are outlined in a draft bill to be called the Journalists Act. This proposes the establishment of a General Council of Journalists consisting of 12 members. Initially all of these would be nominated by the Minister of Internal Affairs. The Council would then draw up a roll of journalists, and would prescribe procedures for registration. It would establish methods of hearing cases against journalists, and would operate according to a code of conduct for journalists which is included in the

The Rev Conradie was the first white to be ordained as a minister of the N G Kerk in Afrika (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa), after he had cut his ties with the white mother church, the N G Kerk. (The N G Kerk set up segregated daughter churches for the groups segregated by the apartheid system). Beyers Naude was also a member of the NGK in Afrika, belonging to the Alexandra Township congregation of which the Rev Conradie was the minister (*RDM 6/8.3.82*).

During 1980 Beyers Naude was prevented from attending the funeral of another church minister, the Rev Mayathula (*FOCUS 31, p.11*).

CONTRAVENTION

Jamalludien HAMDULAY appeared in the Parow Regional Court in the Cape, charged with breaking his banning order.

He is alleged to have broken his banning order by working in a factory different from the one in which his banning order allows him to work.

Jamalludien Hamdulay was banned in November 1980. At the time of his banning he was acting president of the South African Students Association which was active in the Western Cape during the 1980 school boycott (*FOCUS 33 p.5*).

Steyn report, and is based on the existing Newspaper Press Union's (NPU) code (*RDM 2.2.82*).

Policies would be enforced by the Council which would subsequently consist of three members nominated by the government, three by the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), three by newspapers and three by magazines. Each section of the media would then have subordinate controlling bodies (*S 2.2.82*).

Even greater restrictions on reporting are recommended. All journalists convicted of 'subversive activities' would be excluded from registration with retrospective effect (*FT 2.2.82*). Registration would be enforced and a ban placed on using news from unregistered foreign or local agencies and networks (*Tel 2.2.82*).

Non-South African citizens would be prohibited from becoming editors (*RDM 3.2.82*).

Editors of all the major newspapers, journalists and unions (the Southern African Society

CISKEI BANISHMENTS

- In February the Ciskei bantustan authorities lifted a banishment order on Mr F MABECE, one of four members of the King Williams Town and District Rugby Union (KADRU) who were banished in September 1981 on their release from detention (*FOCUS 39 p.9*).

According to the head of security forces in the area, Mabece, who was banned from Zwelitsha, had approached the bantustan authorities and asked for a pardon.

The other three, who are banished from the whole of the Ciskei area, are Douglas MAKU, Mr A F TYULU and Mr A M NYONDO. All three are officers of KADRU, which campaigns for non-racial sport (*DD 16.2.82*).

- Joseph KOBO was found not guilty and discharged when he appeared in the Mdantsane Regional Court in February on a charge of breaking an order banishing him from the Ciskei.

Kobo is deemed to be a 'citizen' of the Ciskei bantustan, and was refused South African citizenship. He said in court that this fact meant that he could not legally be banished from the area. Press reports do not make clear what the magistrate's reasons were for finding him not guilty (*FOCUS 39 p.9; DD 2.2.82*).

of Journalists (SASJ), Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA) and the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Britain, and also the owners' organisation, the NPU, have opposed the recommendations. Journalists have stated their opposition to registration and to the imposition of further restrictions on reporting (*GN 2.2.82, RDM 4.2.82, V 7.2.82*).

STATE MEDIA

Results of an opinion poll conducted by the Commission show the SABC's lack of credibility as a source of information. The Commission recommends alterations which it believes would make the SABC appear more independent of the government, amongst them the inclusion of members of the Indian and Coloured groups on its Council. It also recommends the re-establishment of a Department of Information (*CT 2.2.82*) and 'moderate' black newspapers (*S 2.2.82*).

GROWING RESISTANCE TO REMOVALS

Protest action in March by people threatened with eviction from the Western Cape again focussed attention on the programme of forcible removal and resettlement. While hundreds of thousands of people continue to be threatened, resistance both in the urban and rural areas is taking on a more co-ordinated form and some removals have been delayed as a result. The government has however made clear its commitment to the policies which involve removals.

PASS LAWS

In the face of over 50 police raids since July 1981 on Africans 'illegally' in the area, people continued to camp in the open at Nyanga (*RDM 16.3.82; see FOCUS 36 p.5*). After each raid 'squatters' were arrested and all shelters demolished. Police used teargas and fired shots at the occupants (*CT 4.2.82*).

56 Nyanga residents fasted for four weeks in

Cape Town Cathedral in protest (*CT 15.3.82*), including 150 'squatters' evicted from a farm have requested to join the protest (*CT 15.3.82*).

The 'Coloured Labour Preference Policy', aimed at reducing the number of Africans in the Western Cape, is being enforced but over 90 per cent of Africans removed to the bantustans in July and August have returned to live and seek work in the Western Cape (*LWI 1.82*).

RURAL REMOVALS

In Natal alone, between 200,000 and 300,000 people are facing imminent resettlement, according to the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA). Several areas have been declared 'black spots' and the people who live there are to be resettled inside the boundaries of the KwaZulu bantustan. ('Black spots' are areas occupied by Africans which the apartheid government proclaims as set aside for another group.) Following concerted campaigning the threatened removal of 15,000 people living in the St Wendolin's area in Natal has been shelved while the matter is reconsidered. However,

AFRA does not believe that the government intends deviating from its policy, and it is expected that the removal policy will continue (*FM 1.1.82*).

In the Eastern Cape removals which are proceeding or threatened include those of 5,000 people at Mgwali and 4,000 people in Glenmore. The Mgwali removals, which are imminent, are proceeding after a campaign of resistance was met with repressive action: six people who formed a committee to fight the removals were detained in August 1981 (*FOCUS 37 p.3; S.A. Outlook, February 1982; DD 7.1.82*). The date of the removal of people from the camp at Glenmore, in which they were resettled after a previous forcible removal, is unknown (*DD 8.1.82*).

Amongst those resisting removal in the Transvaal is a community of 1,500 people farming land bought by their forebears in 1910. The community, at Mathopstad near Rustenburg in the Central Transvaal, is refusing to move to the Bophuthatswana bantustan (*V 15.11.81*).

REVIEW: THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE FORCE

The police are one of the principal instruments of political oppression in South Africa. This review outlines the structure and roles of the various police forces and gives some figures indicating the extent of police violence.

South Africa's Police Force (SAP) is constituted in its own right, falls under its own Ministry (Department of Law and Order) and performs certain functions distinct from the South African Defence Force (SADF). However, the SAP cannot in terms of its overall function be considered apart from the SADF. The two together form a unified security force complementing each other and at times indistinguishable from each other in terms of their roles as repressive forces.

South Africa's police force is a semi-military organisation (it is even described as such in the government's own Official Year Book.) It is constituted on a national basis and apart from its special function of combatting and preventing crime, can be considered as part of the urban defence infrastructure of the security forces (see *GROWING ARMY ROLE IN URBAN AREAS*, FOCUS 36 p.5).

The police force consists of three major branches:

- **The Uniform Branch** is concerned mainly with the prevention of crime, routine police duties and administration. The Uniform Branch is assisted by the **Police Reserve** which consists of ex-members of the force. Some do duty for periods of 30 days per year for five years after the termination of their service (Active Group), and others do duty only in times of emergency (Inactive Group). The Uniform Branch is also assisted by the **Reserve Police Force**, which is distinct from the Police Reserve in that it consists of members of the public who offer their services voluntarily on a spare-time basis to supplement regular members or replace them when they are required for more urgent tasks.

- **The Detective Branch**, or criminal investigation department, investigates crime.

- **The Security Branch** is responsible for maintaining the 'security' of the state. It is in reality the political police force. It exercises the power of arrest, detention and interrogation under the security laws. Most reported cases of torture of detainees are carried out by members of the Security Branch.

The Security Branch also performs intelligence operations, in co-operation with the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and Military Intelligence. Its scope of operation is world-wide. (*Official Yearbook of South Africa*

TOTAL SAP STRENGTH - 1981

Regulars	34,271
Police Reserve	16,500 (estimate)
Reserve Police	22,500 (estimate)

Total 73,271

(T 13.8.81; Estimates extrapolated from SAP Annual Reports)

PRISONS

POSSIBLE REMISSION FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

On 16 March the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, confirmed that a new prisons board, headed by a judge, could pave the way for the review of sentences of political prisoners.

In terms of a new *Prisons Amendment Bill* an 'Advisory Release Board' is to be established to advise the government on the release of prisoners.

At present political prisoners do not receive

1980/81; *Apartheid War Machine* Ch.6 IDAF 1980; FOCUS past issues).

OTHER POLICE FORCES

- **The Railways and Harbours Police** is a special force whose task is the prevention and investigation of crime on railways and harbours property, which includes airports. In 1978 the Railways Police formed a Reserve force, to be used mainly in cases of emergency. It consists of ex-members of the force who can be called up on a similar basis to reserves under the SAP (Post 28.7.82).

- The SAP operate in the bantustans. In the 'independent' bantustans of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei the police forces are in reality offshoots of the SAP. They are given jurisdiction in their respective areas but co-operate with the SAP at all levels. Many senior SAP officers are seconded to the bantustans and bantustan police are given training in SAP training centres (World 14.1.77; S. Post 13.1.80; DD 20.2.80; Debates 17.2.82).

- **The Traffic Police**, municipal and provincial, enforce the rules of the road but can and often do perform other policing functions such as manning roadblocks, watching the roads and reporting traffic movements. They have the power to arrest people who contravene any of the laws they enforce (CT 3.2.79).

- There are numerous other bodies which perform policing functions in South Africa. In the African townships much of the policing is done by Administration Board employees (known as 'blackjacks'). Their main work is the enforcement of pass laws. In African and Coloured townships vigilante groups (known in the Transvaal as the 'Makgotla' and in the Cape as 'Peacemakers') have the tacit approval of the police. Their task is to prevent crime and apprehend criminals. Despite numerous instances where people have been injured by these vigilantes and the vigilantes themselves have engaged in crime, they continue to exist.

Compounds attached to specific factories and mines are also policed in many cases by company police employed by companies to regulate visitors and workers and deal generally with 'security'. Private security firms abound which hire out uniformed guards with dogs.

NAMIBIA

On 1 April 1981 the SAP formally relinquished responsibility for policing Namibia to the new South West African Police (SWAP). Members of the SAP who are still serving in Namibia are officially 'on secondment' (*Apartheid's Army in Namibia* IDAF 1982).

MILITARY SERVICE

Members of the police force are not called upon to do military service in the same way as civilians, but are called upon for duties relating to the preservation of 'internal security'.

The number of members required for service in 'operational areas', that is, in areas where the defence force is in active combat, are calculated on a *pro rata* basis in respect of each police division. Divisional commissioners nominate the required number of members in their respective divisions. These members usually serve in the 'operational area' for three months at a time (*Debates* 9.5.79).

POLICE CRIMES

During the financial year 1980-81 police payments of compensation to people as a result of police action increased by more than 30 per cent over the previous year.

During 1980-81 a total of R488,888 was paid out in 150 cases by the police compared to the R370,790 paid out in 173 cases the year before. These included 49 cases of unlawful arrest, for which R76,989 was paid out, 65 cases for injuries suffered as the result of police action and two for injuries suffered during 'riots' as a result of police action, at a total cost of R317,412.

Miscellaneous payments included six cases of injuries to bystanders, seven for loss of maintenance and income, 19 for loss of, and damage to, property and two for medical, legal and funeral expenses (*RDM* 19.3.82). Figures obtained from questions asked each year in parliament reveal the magnitude of police crimes. The tables below give the number of people killed and wounded in the course of 'normal' police duties between 1970 and 1979 as well as police convictions. Figures for 1980 are not available because the relevant questions were not asked in parliament last year.

PERSONS SHOT BY POLICE 1970-1979

These figures do not include the many hundreds killed by the police during the uprising of 1976.

	Killed	Wounded	Total
White	16	75	91
Coloured	200	711	911
Asian	7	16	23
African	1,050	2,808	3,858
Total	1,273	3,610	4,883

Average number of persons killed or wounded per year - 488.

CONVICTIONS OF POLICEMEN 1970-1979

Culpable Homicide	77
Murder	89
Common Assault	1,869
Assault with Intent	2,129

(*Debates* 1970-1979)

any remission for their sentences but they are not specifically excluded from the powers of the new board (*RDM* 17.3.82).

CONDEMNED PRISONERS 'ON HUNGER STRIKE'

Five members of the African National Congress sentenced to death for treason are reported to have been refusing to eat food since 6 February.

Anthony Bobby TSOTSOBE, Johannes SHABANGU, David MOISE, Petrus MASHIGO

and Naphtali MANANA are in the maximum security section of Pretoria Central Prison. They are all awaiting the outcome of appeals they have made against their sentences. Prisons department officials claim that they are not on hunger strike but are eating food supplied to them by relatives. Lawyers, however, are demanding a report on the medical condition of the men and that an independent doctor be allowed to see them (*CT* 20.2.82; see *POLITICAL TRIALS-APPEALS*).

namibia

POLITICAL TRIALS

TERRORISM ACT

The trial opened in the Windhoek Supreme Court on 23 February 1982 of three members of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), SWAPO's armed wing. The three men, Theofilus JASON (24), Lucius Nangala MALAMBO (22) and Josef SAGARIAS, were charged with active sabotage under the Terrorism Act (see *FOCUS* 38 p.9).

The trial is the first for a number of years to involve PLAN guerillas captured during active combat. The last reported trial of a similar nature took place in November 1978, when two people were charged with the sabotage of a road bridge and the derailment of a train, following the discovery of an explosives and arms cache on a farm. A third was charged with harbouring and assisting them. The two were sentenced to 18 years imprisonment, and the third to six years (see *List of Namibian convicted political prisoners in Remember Kassinga, IDAF Fact Paper No.9, July 1981*).

South Africa has rarely admitted the capture of PLAN fighters during combat, and has refused to allow the International Red Cross to visit those SWAPO guerillas it admits to having captured (see *PRISONERS OF WAR*).

During the current trial, which was postponed until 11 May 1982 at the request of Senior Counsel instructed by the defendants while the proceedings were in progress, details were given of the events which led to the capture of the three combatants. According

to evidence led by the state, they were part of a group of 22 guerillas who had infiltrated the white farming area in the Tsumeb and Grootfontein region in April 1981. They allegedly blew up water installations, planted landmines, destroyed a railway track and cut telephone wires on farms. They also distributed leaflets throughout the area.

According to state witnesses, who all appeared to be members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) but whose names were not revealed following an order by the state to this effect, a massive counter-operation was launched by a police counterinsurgency unit and the army. A major of the SADF said 15 guerillas were killed during several encounters, four escaped and three were captured. Sagarias was wounded in the hip and right leg during fighting with the security forces and was taken prisoner during an encounter on a farm. The following day, Jason, who had also been wounded during the encounter but had escaped, was found unarmed among the local population. The security forces, using armoured cars and trackers, surrounded two guerillas a few days later. Malambo surrendered while his companion, who refused to give himself up, was shot dead (*WA* 24.2.82).

Malambo's statement, describing how the group had crossed the border into Namibia and divided into smaller groups to carry out various assignments, showed clearly the sympathy and support the guerillas have among the local population. During several days of walking through the countryside, the PLAN fighters were fed and sheltered by villagers and by people they encountered on the way (*WO* 27.2.82).

The three accused first appeared at the Grootfontein magistrate's court on 9 December 1981, when Sagarias and Jason were reported to have pleaded guilty. All three pleaded not guilty to acts of sabotage before the Windhoek Supreme Court. The trial was adjourned on 25 February after the presiding judge had already found the three men guilty of acts of terror

and of having been part of a contingent of armed men who had received instructions to sabotage and to conduct war. As the court convened to hear an address by the state, and addresses by the two defence lawyers appearing *pro deo* for the defendants, the court was informed that Senior Counsel had been instructed to act for the defendants. An adjournment was requested to allow Mr Bryan O'Linn SC to study the case. Asked by the judge the reasons for this new situation, O'Linn pointed out that the three men were held in solitary confinement for a long time, and were not in a position to do anything about their defence. Money had been received when the case had started which allowed the defendants to appoint Senior Counsel. The case was postponed until 11 May (*WO* 27.2.82). The Terrorism Act provides for the death penalty for a wide definition of 'terroristic activities'.

ARRESTS

Rahimise KAHIMISE, a member of SWAPO, was reported detained under Proclamation AG9 in March 1982 (*WA* 12.3.82). Kahimise was previously detained in April 1978 under the Terrorism Act, and was arrested again in April 1979 and detained for about 18 months under Proclamation AG26 (*FOCUS* 22 p.14, 30 p.9).

Two hundred people were reported to have been arrested in Katutura at the beginning of March for trespassing. Another 150 were awaiting trial for the same reason, according to newspaper reports (*WA* 5.3.82). The arrests took place at the Single Quarters in the black township outside Windhoek. Only people in possession of permits are officially allowed to reside there, and raids are regularly carried out by police. According to the Director of Katutura, the municipal authorities had tightened controls at the entry gates and mended the fences surrounding the Single Quarters, which presumably made it more difficult for people to escape during police raids (*ibid*).

SENTENCES REDUCED

75 residents from the Hochanas area who were sentenced to six months imprisonment or a fine of R300 for refusing to fill in census forms in late 1981 have had their sentences reduced to two months (see *FOCUS* 38 p.8). As all of them had already spent two or more months in custody before being released on bail, they had completed their sentences.

According to Pastor Marcus Kooper, one of the defendants, they were abused and shouted at in prison. They were kept barefoot and had to work for a month at an agricultural plantation at the prison in Hardap Dam. Asked whether they had had any contact with the Kassinga detainees who have been kept at a detention camp near Hardap Dam since May 1978, Pastor Kooper said that they had not met them, but could see the camp on the top of a hill about two km away (*WA* 19.3.82; *WO* 20.3.82).



Josef Sagarias, Lucius Nangala Malambo and Theofilus Jason, the three SWAPO guerillas on trial in Windhoek, pictured in the Supreme Court.

MILITARY INQUIRY INTO ATROCITIES

Concern at its image internationally, following the publication of a number of reports of atrocities committed by members of its security forces, has prompted the South African Defence Force (SADF) to set up a Board of Inquiry to investigate these allegations. The Board, appointed by the Chief of the Defence Force and headed by Brigadier Ben de Wet Roos of SADF headquarters in Pretoria, began to hear evidence in March about atrocities committed in the Kavango region the previous month. These were reported after a visit to the region by a French journalist from *Le Monde*, the leader of the Namibia Christian Democratic Party, Hans Röhr, and journalists from South African and Namibian newspapers.

Speaking to local journalists, Major General Charles Lloyd said that every allegation of Defence Force brutality would be investigated and when necessary those responsible brought to justice.

At the same time, however, a spokesman for the SADF in Pretoria denied allegations made by Rev. Peter Storey that 90 per cent of the atrocities in the operational area were committed by the SADF (see *SACC Visit*).

The SADF has stressed the need for co-operation from the local people, claiming that the soldiers are in Namibia for the protection of the people, not to act against them. Meetings between local leaders and the SADF would take place at regular intervals to discuss relations with the army (WA 15.3.82). In practice, Namibians who have suffered at the hands of the security forces have no means of redress and generally fear retribution if they complain about their treatment.

Villagers told the group of journalists

visiting Kavango of one incident where a 70-year old man was shot dead by members of the SADF while resting under a tree. There was no apparent reason for the shooting. In another incident, a man was apparently killed without reason by security forces while he was taking a can of milk to his children.

The journalists heard from Johannes TJPWA how he was taken from his home by members of the security forces one morning and taken to an army base for interrogation. He was accused of being an Angolan citizen and an MPLA spy. He was severely beaten, and was subsequently taken to another military base where he was put in a cell too low to stand up in and only big enough to hold five detainees, sitting shoulder to shoulder. Tjapwa said he and the other detainees had been forced to imitate the sounds of various animals such as dogs, cows, cats and donkeys for the amusement of their warders. Another detainee told him that he had been put in a 30 cm high cage because the security forces had mistaken him for another man they were looking for. Tjapwa was released after eight days and warned not to mention anything about his experiences to anyone.

Jaakko KANGAJI, a headmaster, was subjected to a similar experience. He was arrested by local soldiers on 29 December 1981 and kept in detention for two weeks. During his detention, he was accused of being a member of SWAPO and of conducting pro-SWAPO meetings in Kavango. He was blindfolded, assaulted and beaten with fists and a stick. He sustained a broken rib and bruises on his face and body.

While kept at the military base at Mosese, he recognised one of his fellow detainees, Emanuel SILAS, by his voice, since all detainees were blindfolded. Another detainee, Nicholas NUJOMA, was subjected to electric shocks during interrogation, and Kangaji heard him screaming in pain. Kangaji himself had been subjected to electric shock, having wires attached to his little fingers, his tongue and the back of his head.

Chief Daniel Sitentu MPASI, leader of the Kwangali tribe which, with about 35,000 people, is the largest of the five tribes in Kavango, expressed strong resentment to the journalists about the activities of the army in the region. He said that people feared the army and the secret police more than they feared SWAPO. He told the journalists about attacks on his residence at night, and about soldiers pushing rifles in his stomach and demanding that his wife be handed over for sexual purposes. Two of his children had been blown up by landmines near his farm. He said SWAPO would never have done this.

Because of his opposition to the DTA, he was being constantly harassed. Mortars had been fired near his residence. He was offered 'protection' by the army, which he declined. He was accused of being a supporter of SWAPO by a group of soldiers, and shortly afterwards found the entrance to his home burning one night.

The chief told the journalists that at a meeting in October 1981, attended by the local army commander and other high ranking officials, 200 of the 2000 people present had laid personal complaints about treatment by the army. He was later told by SWATF headquarters that the complaints had been investigated but 'only a few could be substantiated'.

On their return from Kavango, the journalists submitted a report of their investigations to the SWATF headquarters for comment. An army spokesman said: 'We view the complaints contained in the report in a very serious light. Intimidation or harassment of the type mentioned is rejected by the Defence Force in the strongest terms.' He said it was regretted that such complaints against the security forces were not made through the official channels so that immediate investigations could be carried out. However, as one of the journalists pointed out, the people interviewed said they were frightened to complain to the same people who mistreated them (WO 27.2.82; ST 7.3.82).



TWO ACQUITTED

Arnold HANS, Secretary of the Windhoek Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, and Alex KAMAUNJU, a member of SWAPO, were acquitted on 15 March 1982 of charges of having unlawfully aided persons to leave the country without passports. Originally four people were to have appeared in court, but charges were withdrawn against Moses TJIRAMBA and Emmanuel MUATARA. Hans, Muatara and Kamaunju had been detained under Proclamation AG9 at the end of January. Muatara was released from detention on 28 February, and all charges against him were withdrawn (WA 16.3.82).

The charges against Hans and Kamaunju were based on the arrest of four persons, three women and one man, near the Botswana border on 21 January 1981. They claimed to have lost direction and had wandered around aimlessly. All four were convicted at Gobabis magistrate's court of having ventured to leave the country illegally and sentenced to six months imprisonment. After being questioned by security police in Gobabis, the three women, Lea HISIKA, Sarah MUFETI and Belinda ONESMUS, were transferred to Windhoek to appear as state witnesses against Hans and Kamaunju. At the

trial, however, the women denied that Hans and Kamaunju had helped them in any way, saying that the security police had coerced them to sign false statements. Hisika stated that a security police officer wrote a statement which he asked her to sign. He threatened that if she refused, her sentence would be extended and she would be tortured. Onesmus also refuted her statement as being false. As a result, the two men were acquitted and the public prosecutor applied to the Windhoek lower court to have the witnesses declared as hostile to the state. The three women were due to appear in court on 29 March on charges of perjury (WA 16.3.82).

RELEASES

Six SWAPO officials were reported to have been released from prison in Gobabis on 4 February, after serving four months of their six month sentences. They were among 12 SWAPO members tried in the Gobabis magistrate's court in October 1981 on charges of trying to leave Namibia illegally (FOCUS 38 p.9). Jason ANGULA, SWAPO Secretary for Labour, and Nikolaas EKELA, Chairman of SWAPO's Elders Council, were among those released. The names of the others were not published (RDM 4.2.82).

Josef Sagarias, one of the SWAPO guerrillas captured by the security forces (see opposite page). He was badly wounded in the hip and leg. The SADF does not usually report the capture of combatants (see p.10).

ANGOLA: LARGE NEW INCURSIONS PLANNED

Warnings were given during March by representatives of the Angolan government and armed forces, of a substantial new South African military build-up along the northern Namibian border, apparently in preparation for a major new offensive against the People's Republic of Angola. Based on their experience of previous years, the Angolan representatives suggested that incursions could be expected to escalate around June 1982, when the advent of dry season conditions would facilitate the movement of South African ground forces.

The warnings coincided with the announcement by the SADF of a raid in Mocamedes province, southwestern Angola, in which 201 Namibians were reported to have been killed at Cambeno, 34 km from the Namibian border. While the site was described by South Africa as a guerilla base, it appears to have been a transit centre for refugees, similar to those attacked in the course of the May 1978 Kassinga raid and massacre. Attacks into Mocamedes province, overflown in preceding weeks by a growing number of South African reconnaissance flights, mark a further geographical extension of South African aggression against Angola (see below).

MILITARY BRIEFING

There have in fact been a number of fresh developments in the pattern of South African attacks against Angola since the end of 1981. South Africa has extended its operations northwards out of the 50,000 square kilometre zone of Kunene province which its forces have occupied and controlled since the 'Operation Protea' invasion of August 1981.

These new developments include:

- reconnaissance flights over the provinces of Mocamedes, Huila and Kuando Kubango
- reconnaissance flights and bombing raids into the eastern province of Moxico
- attempts to extend operations by UNITA forces northwards out of Kuando Kubango province into Moxico province
- long range sabotage missions by special units, notably the attack on the Petrangel state oil refinery in Luanda on 30 November 1981.

Lieutenant-Colonel NGONGO, of the Angolan Ministry of Defence, visited London in March to brief a conference organised by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and co-sponsored by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid ('Southern Africa: The Time to Choose', London 11-13 March 1982). He provided detailed information on the current military situation in southern Angola.

THE OCCUPATION OF KUNENE

Lt.Col. Ngongo confirmed that South African forces continued to occupy and control approximately 50,000 sq.km. of Kunene province, seven months after the launch of Operation Protea. The South Africans had not established any form of administration in the area, but were 'creating misery', he said. 160,000 people had been displaced from their homes and forced to flee northwards, while those remaining in the occupied zone were being bribed with

food to persuade them to turn informer against the Angolan armed forces. Shops had been set up in some areas by the South Africans for this purpose.

AGGRESSION EXTENDED

Recent operations by South African forces north of the controlled zone had included high altitude reconnaissance flights over Cahama (approximately 150 km north of the Namibian border and just outside the occupied zone) and Lubango (capital of Huila province, 300 km north of the border); reconnaissance flights over Porto Alexandre and Mocamedes (Mocamedes province), Mulondo and Cuvelai (Kunene province), Lt.Col. Ngongo said. Reconnaissance flights had also been intensified into Kuando Kubango province in the southeast, notably over the capital Menongue, Cuito Cuanavale and Mavinga. In the province of Moxico, north of Kuando Kubango and bordering on Zambia, the locality of Ninga, more than 400 km inside Angola, has been bombed while Cangombe had been overflown for reconnaissance purposes (see FOCUS 39 p.3 for earlier reports of the bombing of Moxico province. *Zambian air space has been violated in the course of these attacks*).

MILITARY BUILD-UP

In a statement reinforcing Lt.Col. Ngongo's briefing and issued through its embassy in France on 16 March, the Angolan government warned of South African preparations for 'a further large-scale offensive'. 'Reliable sources emanating from Pretoria' had indicated that 10,000 black troops, officered by British, Portuguese, American and other foreign mercenaries, were being prepared for extensive military operations against several important Angolan towns including Luanda, strategic economic targets, and the country's top leadership (*Angolan press statement, Paris, 15.3.82*).

ATTACK ON CAMBENO

The SA Department of Foreign Affairs made advance arrangements for nearly 50 accredited overseas journalists, normally based in South Africa, to visit Namibia over the period in which a South African attack at Cambeno in south-western Angola was announced (*WA 11.3.82*). The raid, which was alleged by Pretoria to have killed 201 SWAPO guerillas at 'a new forward base' established in connection with guerilla incursions into Kaokoland and Damara-land, received considerable coverage in the Namibian, South African and overseas press. According to the SADF it marked their most westerly incursion into Angola to date (*WA 17.3.82*).

The raid, which was supported by airborne fire from the SA Air Force, was carried out by two helicopter assault platoons, reportedly totalling 45 men, drawn from 32 Battalion (the 'Buffalo' Battalion). This elite Battalion, believed to be substantially comprised of dissident Angolans and overseas mercenaries, commanded by white South African officers, has been operating inside Angola in an increasingly overt way since its existence and character were exposed at the beginning of 1981. It was heavily involved in Operation Protea, notably the occupation of Xangongo (see FOCUS Special Issue No.2 for a full account of the origins and activities of 32 Battalion). The attack on Cambeno also involved a South African mortar group, who bombed the target area from adjacent high ground, and several 'stopper groups' used to block all escape routes from the battle zone (*WA 17.3.82*).

A number of South African and Namibian journalists were flown into Angola to view the scene of the attack on 15 March, 48 hours after the raid. They were briefed on the spot by the chief of the SWA Territory Forces, General Charles Lloyd, and other SA army officers. The journalists were not able to view all of the 201 SWAPO members allegedly killed and they reported that the tented settlement or camp, located in a remote mountainous region, contained no trenches or fortifications and no permanent buildings of any kind (*WA 17.3.82*).

In a statement issued on 19 March, the Angolan authorities said that South African forces had also attacked Iona, 47 km from the Namibian border and, like Cambeno, situated in Mocamedes province. Those attacked and killed were Namibian refugees, the statement said, and included women and children. A scenario had been prepared for the press by leaving only male bodies on view at the site, dressing these in previously prepared uniforms, and transporting in quantities of arms and ammunition (*ANGOP 19.3.82*).

PRISONERS OF WAR

Following a pattern familiar from other South African-inspired accounts of military operations against SWAPO and into Angola, no prisoners were reported as having been taken during the raid on Cambeno (*WA 17.3.82*).

Previous issues of FOCUS (see in particular No. 37 p.10) have drawn attention to the many unanswered questions surrounding the fate of prisoners of war taken by South African forces in Angola and other front line states, and of the many Namibians themselves who 'disappear' following capture by the army or police. The (estimated) 118 SWAPO members captured at Kassinga in Angola during the South African raid of May 1978 are approaching the end of their fourth year of incommunicado detention without charge, at Hardap Dam detention camp near Mariental. The International Committee of the Red Cross, which has been able to visit the Kassinga detainees on a number of occasions, was also allowed access during October-November 1981 to a total of 85 Angolan prisoners, 10 of them seriously wounded, captured during Operation Protea and other SADF missions and held in Namibia (*Cit 15.10.81; ICRC Bulletin No.71, 2.12.81; FOCUS 38 p.8*).

South African journalists who in November 1981 accompanied the SADF on 'Operation Daisy' to attack Chitequeta in Angola (claimed by South Africa as SWAPO's regional headquarters) later reported seeing captured and wounded SWAPO guerillas, at least some of whom were flown back to Namibia (Oshakati military hospital, for example) for treatment and interrogation (*RDM 7.12.81; Star 12.12.81*).

STATISTICS OF AGGRESSION

During 1981, the Angolan authorities recorded the following South African military operations against their country:-

- 95 ground operations
- 74 concentrations of men and materials
- 1651 reconnaissance flights
- 161 bombing raids and strafing attacks
- 64 landings of heliported troops

— a total of 2,045 military attacks (briefing by Lt.Col. Ngongo, March 1982. Somewhat lower and presumably provisional figures were given by the Angolan government to a fact finding mission of delegates from the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly who visited Angola at the end of January 1982, *Interim Report, Salisbury, 1.2.82*).

CHURCHES ANGUISHED

Church leaders of different denominations, both from churches inside Namibia and from sister churches abroad, have in recent months voiced their concern about the widespread violence inflicted on the people of Namibia as a result of South Africa's illegal military occupation. Broadly similar conclusions about the repressive role of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in Namibia, the degree of support for SWAPO, and the yearning of Namibians for genuine independence, were reached by two separate church delegations visiting Namibia in late 1981 and early 1982.

BCC REPORT

The report issued by the British Council of Churches (BCC) of a visit of its delegation to Namibia in November 1981 speaks of a reign of arbitrary terror maintained by the security forces against which the local people have no redress. The team collected details of 20 individual cases of brutalities in which security forces were involved. In one case, the delegation met a woman whose two sons had been killed by soldiers. She was sleeping in her hut with her blind mother and two daughters; her two sons aged eight and 15 were sleeping outside. Soldiers directed more than 1500 bullets at the hut, ostensibly to protect her against 'terrorists'. When she asked about a bundle they were loading onto a truck, she was told that 'a child had been killed', and that her other son had already been taken away dead. The woman received R1000 compensation for her dead children, damage done to buildings, grain stores and other possessions after suing in court. The soldiers had at first offered her R100 and a bag of meal.

The majority of cases collected by the delegation occurred in the six weeks preceding the team's arrival in Namibia. Many told of attacks by soldiers on women teachers, often ending in rape, or attacks on liquor stores and assaults on their owners.

A particularly objectionable practice of the security forces described to the BCC team is for soldiers to drag through the villages behind their vehicles the corpses of those killed whom they allege to be 'terrorists'. The bodies of the young men are exhibited to their parents, to villagers and to young children in school. 'This desecration of the dead, particularly their own dead, is very deeply offensive to the Ovambo people, and totally counterproductive', the BCC report noted.

The delegation found virtually unanimous support for SWAPO among most Africans to whom it spoke. They regarded SWAPO guerrillas as children of the people, and told the visitors that many of the SWAPO leaders are Christians. SWAPO guerrillas operated in areas where they were known, and they explained their actions to the local people. In contrast, the delegation said at a press conference, the conviction of many people they spoke to was that they suffer far more from arbitrary actions by the security forces. The delegation added that they had experienced first hand the deep desire of the great majority of the people of Namibia for independence under a government elected fairly and freely (WO 28.11.81; *British Council of Churches, Division of International Affairs, 'Namibia - A Nation Wronged', the Report of a Visit to Namibia by a Delegation sent by the British Council of Churches at the Invitation of the Council of Churches in Namibia, 16 to 28 November 1981; Obs 14.2.82*).

SACC VISIT

Two leaders of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev. Peter Storey, President of the SACC, visited Namibia for a week in February 1982 at the invitation of the Council of Churches in Namibia. (The Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) is an umbrella body representing the Anglican Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in SWA, the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-kavango Church (ELOC) and the Roman Catholic Church. Together they represent 75 per cent of the total population of Namibia.)

At a press conference at the end of their visit, Bishop Tutu said that all church leaders he had spoken to, with the exception of one, expressed the view that the large majority of people in the country supported SWAPO and that this support was growing every day with the continued presence of the South African security forces in Namibia, seen as an occupying army and much resented by the local black populace. The black view was summed up by one leader who said: 'the South Africans are the "terrorists", they terrorise our people' (*Information, CCN Newsletter, March 1982*).

Referring to South Africa's campaign to 'win the hearts and minds of the people' by using soldiers in social welfare services such as health and education, Tutu said people felt any contribution made in this respect was far exceeded by atrocities committed against black people. The two delegates were told of the destruction of people's property by the SADF, of killings, burning of huts, rapes and detention without trial. The security forces laid landmines which they wanted people to believe were laid by SWAPO (WA 19.2.82). The two visiting churchmen were given a long catalogue of such incidents.

ELOC SYNOD

Assessing the situation in Namibia at their synod meeting in December 1981, leaders of the 300,000 member Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-kavango Church (ELOC), in a statement issued in February 1982, said that in the last few years suffering and torture in Namibia were predominant, more than at any other time in the past.

'Hundreds of members of the Church's parishes and congregations had lost their lives', the statement said. 'Private houses have been put aflame, and many innocent civilians have had their properties either destroyed or damaged.' There were waves of persecution and torture which had caused thousands of the Church's members and other Namibians to become exiles. Hundreds of people, both male

and female, had been held in jail, said the statement, and in some cases their whereabouts were unknown to this day.

It was found that at the time of the Synod session, about 13 per cent of the 300 delegates present had at one time or another experienced imprisonment or torture. A number of church properties were destroyed, including the ELOC printing press and some of the missions. The statement called for the speedy implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, allowing people to elect their own leaders (WO 6.2.82; LWI 4.3.82).

CCN APPEAL

The call for an immediate ceasefire and free elections under the UN Plan was echoed by the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) in a statement presented to the South African Prime Minister when he visited Windhoek in February 1982. In a lengthy submission, the CCN recalled its longstanding concern about violations of human rights in the country, expressed in an open letter to the Prime Minister in 1971. Since then, the situation had grown much worse. 'We know of the killing of innocent people, of the wanton destruction of property and of beatings, detention, solitary confinement and torture of the local population', the statement said. The curfew in force in the north of the country prevented people from being taken to hospital if they fell ill or were burned or injured during the night. Local people were distressed at seeing army recruits teaching in their schools and working in their hospitals. The church itself had suffered; its leaders and workers deported, some arrested and detained, and its properties destroyed at night. The CCN statement appealed to the SA government, 'which still controls this country', to agree to the immediate signing of a ceasefire and to allow UN-supervised elections to take place (LWI 4.3.82; WA 1.3.82).

FINNISH MISSION CHURCH PLUNDERED

A mission station in southern Angola belonging to the Finnish Missionary Society, and an office and bible school belonging to the Southern Angola Lutheran Church in Kunene Province were reported to have been attacked by South African soldiers in late 1981. The South African troops reportedly plundered everything in the church, the bible school and the missionaries' dwellings. A sum of US\$6000 was taken from the safe. The Finnish Missionary Society only learned about the attack in January 1982, having been unable to maintain contact with its members in southern Angola because of the fighting in the region (LWI 28.1.82).

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ZAMBIA: SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ATTACKS

South African ground troops operating from the Caprivi area of northern Namibia mounted armed incursions into Zambia on at least two separate occasions during February and March 1982 (see below). These attacks, together with the violation of Zambian airspace early in the year by South African aircraft en route to bomb targets in eastern Angola (reported elsewhere in this issue) are among the most recent in a history of South African aggression stretching back to Zambia's independence in 1964. This issue of *FOCUS* reviews recent trends and developments in Pretoria's policy of military destabilisation as it has affected Zambia, particularly since Zimbabwe's independence in April 1980.

South African aggression against Zambia has always involved a combination of direct military incursions, covert attacks and subversion, and economic destabilisation. Prior to Zimbabwe's independence, Pretoria had the further option of close collaboration with the forces of the Smith regime and of channelling attacks through them. Since 1980, most direct attacks have been launched from the Caprivi Strip, from where the most frequent and sustained form of aggression has been the planting of landmines over large areas of Zambia's Western province. In addition to causing loss of life, displacement of local villagers, and a decline in agricultural production, this tactic, according to recent evidence submitted by the Zambian government, has deterred Western European companies otherwise interested in prospecting for minerals in the area (*Interim Report of ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly Fact-Finding Mission to the Front Line States*, 23.1.82-1.2.82, Salisbury, 1.2.82).

OPERATIONS FROM CAPRIVI

Zimbabwe's independence in fact prompted an immediate escalation in attacks from Caprivi when two battalions of South African troops equipped with tanks and armoured cars crossed into Zambia in April 1980. They subsequently divided into smaller units which continued to roam around south-western Zambia for much of the remainder of the year, mining roads, attacking villages and burning crops (*New African April 1981*).

The South African strategy, familiar from southern Angola, of disrupting and ultimately destroying the economic infrastructure, became clearly apparent in July 1980 when the Zambian government declared the region a disaster area and widespread malnutrition was reported (*New African ibid*). In April 1981, thousands of Zambian nationals and Angolan refugees living in the Western province were reported to be starving because roads leading to the area had been extensively landmined by South African troops. This, combined with the effects of recent flooding in the area, had made travel other than by helicopter extremely hazardous and created serious hold-ups in the supply of clothes, food and medicine (*FOCUS* 35 p. 11; *Zambia Daily Mail* 3.4.81; *LWI* 14/81).

It would appear that South African ground forces are able to move across the Caprivi-Zambia border with relatively little hindrance. Parts of Zambia's Western province seem as a result to have become — if only temporarily — virtual 'no-go' zones — a situation not too dissimilar from that prevailing in southern Angola. South African aircraft flying from bases in Caprivi and elsewhere in Namibia have also violated Zambian airspace on numerous occasions.

OPERATION PROTEA

A number of fresh South African incursions into Zambia took place from the beginning of August 1981 onwards, apparently linked with the general upsurge in South African aggression in the region contingent on the invasion of southern Angola and 'Operation Protea'. (*AIM communiqué* 8.8.81).

On 11 September 1981, with an estimated 11,000 South African troops actively deployed inside southern Angola, the Zambian government reported that South African soldiers equipped with small arms and four armoured cars had fired on Zambian military and civilian targets at Sesheke, from positions across the Zambezi River in the Caprivi Strip. Four South African fighter planes had meanwhile overflown the area. The attack was completely without provocation, the statement said, and Zambian forces had returned fire. The SADF denied the incident and said that the Zambians had fired first, at a South African observation post across the border from Sesheke (*BBC/GN/T/Tel* 12.9.81).

South Africa has since been reported to have impounded the Katima Mulilo pontoon ferry across the Zambezi. At Kazangulu, the extreme eastern tip of Caprivi where four

countries, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, meet, the South Africans have established a military observation post on an island in the Zambezi near its confluence with the Chobe river. The emplacement on this 'no-man's island' is apparently serviced by South African forces based in Caprivi (*ACP-EEC Fact Finding Mission, Interim Report*, op. cit.).

RECENT ATTACKS

In mid-February 1982 South African forces, including jets and helicopters, violated Zambian territory in the region of Kaungamarshi in the Western province. Mines were laid by South African troops (*Tel* 20.3.82).

A second incursion took place on 8 March, when a South African company supported by tanks and armoured cars were sighted by Zambian troops near Ngwazi Pool, Western province. The South Africans later withdrew into the Caprivi (*Tel, ibid*).

COVERT OPERATIONS

Evidence of covert activity in Zambia on the part of South African intelligence operatives and other agents, and by South African-supported dissidents, has recurred throughout Zambia's independence. Alleged South African spies have from time to time been brought before Zambian courts.

Following Zimbabwe's independence, South Africa appears to have stepped up its use of dissident forces against independent states throughout the southern African region, including Zambia. In October 1981, President Kaunda told the Commonwealth Summit in Melbourne that between 500 and 600 Zambian dissidents were being trained in South Africa for purposes of destabilisation. The total was later put at possibly twice this figure by Zambia's Secretary of State for Defence and Security, Grey Zulu (*Cit* 5.10.81; *BBC* 2.12.81).

The Zambian authorities have from time to time expressed their belief that South Africa and South African agents are partly responsible for the upsurge in violent crime and labour unrest which have particularly affected the capital, Lusaka, and the economically important Copper Belt in recent years (*Cit* 5.10.81; *Star* 15.8.81). At the level of the state, evidence has been alleged of South African involvement in at least two conspiracies uncovered by the Zambian authorities since 1980.

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