



THE NAMIBIA National Students Organisation (Nanso) held a public rally in Katutura last weekend to announce a campaign of 'positive action' in view of the present widespread school boycott situation. Pictured at the rally, a woman holding aloft a Nanso banner.

The student protest in Namibia - with support from the Nation - continues. Join those in the international community standing with these brave people fighting for their freedom. Send your messages to:

NANSO (Namibia National Students' Organisation)
P. O. Box 22013
Windhoek 9000
NAMIBIA*

PHONE: 264-61-215418

POLICE UPROAR OVER DOCUMENT

Swoop on offices of The Namibian to confiscate copies

STAFF REPORTER

OBSERVER SUNDAY 26 JUNE 1988

Pretoria turns the screw on Namibian Press

JOHN MATISONN ■ Windhoek

AS PREPARATIONS were being made for this weekend's talks in Cairo on Namibian independence and peace in Angola, here in the Namibian capital the editor of an anti-government newspaper began a hunger strike in solitary confinement.

The sole human contact for Gwen Lister, founder and editor of the fast-growing paper, the *Namibian*, came when Colonel Willem Nel of the security police interrogated her about the source of an article in her paper that embarrassed the Government.

Lister, aged 34, had been detained so the security police could find out who leaked a document that described a new government plan that Lister says would in effect create a state of emergency in South-African-ruled Namibia.

Unlike South Africa, Namibia is not formally under a state of emergency, and its Press and politicians, including the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo), consider themselves freer than South Africans.

The security police told Lister that she would probably be charged under the Protection of Information Act for publishing the document. But her incarceration under Administrator General's Decree No 9 was simply to establish her source. She

refused to provide it and began a hunger strike. Lister says Colonel Nel admitted to her that there was strong diplomatic pressure for her release and after five days she was allowed home.

The Cairo talks, involving South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States, come at a time of increasing tension inside Namibia, which has brought Lister into conflict with the authorities.

During a schools boycott, which continues, Lister was called before a military board of inquiry to give her source for an article saying that the Government is planning to introduce a cadet system in some black schools.

The schools boycott became an issue in the growing union movement and last week Namibia had its biggest strike since 1972. An estimated 50,000 workers



Lister: Hunger strike.

stayed away from work last Monday and Tuesday in sympathy with the students' demands that South African military bases be moved away from schools.

Lister says the Government is now planning to introduce a measure that would indemnify government Ministers and security forces from criminal or civil court action and give the Government the power to close newspapers and political organisations.

She says the politicians here do not expect anything to come out of the Cairo talks, which are intended to bring agreement on a process for withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola and implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for free elections and independence for Namibia.

She is dismissive of the Cairo talks. 'The talks are not going to bring independence to Namibia. Neither are they going to bring about the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola. We see it as largely a PR stunt.'

Then why has the Government tolerated the *Namibian*? Lister thinks it is because of the international status of Namibia. 'The South African Government pretends to keep the door ajar for the implementation of 435. So I think they tolerate the *Namibian*, but there is no doubt the pressure is going to increase.'

POLICE are in uproar about a document apparently 'leaked' from their offices. Colonel Willem Nel of the Security Police, and Colonel Harry Homann, the police legal affairs officer, swooped on the offices of The Namibian yesterday midday, to confiscate the document in order to investigate the matter. Although neither the document, nor copies of it, are presently in our possession, it sets out a draft law for the maintenance of law and order in Namibia, and allocates sweeping powers to the Police Commissioner.

Colonels Nel and Homann said they had been informed that the newspaper's editor, Gwen Lister, had a copy of the document, and demanded the said papers for the purposes of investigation. They said that although they would not like to do so, they could invoke the provisions of AG 9 and search both the offices of The Namibian as well as Lister's home, if the document was not handed over.

The only copy in the newspaper's possession was then handed to the police, and Lister declined to answer questions as to how or when it had come into her possession.

Lister in turn inquired about the status of the document in question, and was informed that it had been 'confidential at the time of the leak', but that the police officers would return later to inform her of further developments.

At the time of going to press, the officers had not yet returned.

As far as can be recalled, the document itself is presumably a draft law prepared for the National Assembly, apparently by the police, for the maintenance of law and order in this country, and makes provision for extensive and sweeping powers to the Commissioner of the SWA Police.

It further provides for orders prohibiting freedom of movement and the declaration of certain areas as no-go zones. The document even makes provision for the temporary closure of any business or enterprise without giving any person affected by such an order, the opportunity to be heard.

In addition, in what would seem to be a virtual 'state of emergency' for

Namibia, the document provides for sweeping powers to prohibit meetings, prohibit people from attending meetings, and to declare certain people as affected persons.

Wide indemnity is provided in the police document for any civil servant (whether they be police, army or interim government member), and members of the public are prevented from taking legal action against any of the above.

The proposed draft law provided that offences in terms of this draft are punishable by a fine of R20 000 or ten years imprisonment. Various things are determined as 'offences'; one concerns the disruption of educational institutions. In terms of this document it would also be an offence to undermine or discredit conscription.

The police also expressed concern about the fact that people were able to hold meetings and mobilise others in the manner that they chose. The police further 'motivated' the draft law by saying radicals were even using the courts and the press to try and capitalise on the watering-down of certain legislation.

A legal source, when told about the proposed draft law, said it was in complete conflict with most of the basic rights contained in the Bill of Rights and therefore would probably be struck down by the courts if ever applied. He further expressed surprise at the 'arrogance' of those who would legislate against people trying to change existing security legislation, because these people included judges, many of the legal profession and even members of the National Assembly.

ULENGA ON BOYCOTT CALL

Today is D-day for the interim government to meet demands

BY MARK VERBAAN

TODAY is D-Day for the interim government to meet certain demands made by Namibia's most powerful trade unions - and if it fails to do so, a general strike could bring the country to a standstill on Monday and Tuesday.

The Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN), the Namibia Food and Allied Union (NAFAU), the Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU) and the Namibia Public Workers Union (NAPWU), all under the umbrella of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), have demanded that the interim government take constructive action on several crucial issues.

The unions have set an ultimatum for the interim government - either it resolves the issues, or 60 000 workers will down tools in a two-day stayaway beginning on Monday, June 21.

A joint statement released in Windhoek by the unions this week said: "The prevailing feeling among union members is that parents cannot go to work while the lives of their children are endangered by brutal police action."

"Only the removal of SADF bases from the vicinity of schools in the north, the release of detainees, and an end to Koevoet violence in the townships will defuse the steadily deteriorating situation," the statement said.

The MUN General Secretary, Mr Ben Ulenka, said in an exclusive interview this week that it was the workers themselves who had insisted on a national stayaway - and not the union leaders.

"The idea of a strike on Monday and Tuesday did not come from any organised political force... it came from those thousands who are directly affected by South Africa's occupation and the presence of the SADF in Namibia," said Mr Ulenka.

Speaking from the union offices in Katutura, he said: "In the last two or three years there have been dramatic calls for South Africa to withdraw from our country... coming not only from the inhabitants of the war-zone, but from countless others who are also affected by South Africa's presence."

With regard to the present situation, Mr Ulenka said that workers in and around Windhoek became actively involved in the campaign calling for South Africa's withdrawal when pupils in Katutura and Khomasdal began boycotting classes two weeks ago.

"When workers arrived home they found their children had been teargassed, beaten or arrested. As parents, this alone was sufficient reason for serious concern," he said.

Mr Ulenka emphasised that Namibian workers around the country were affected by the presence of the South African army.

"The vast majority of migrant workers have children in schools in the north... the presence of the SADF and the location of its bases are a constant threat to the lives of their children. What affects their children affects them too."

Mr Ulenka said that the question of a national stayaway arose last Wednesday, when several shop stewards met in Katutura.

"They decided that unless the police violence ended, and their demands were met, action would be taken."

Union officials then contacted worker committees throughout the country and, said Mr Ulenka, "the feelings were the same everywhere".

On Saturday, he said, there was a report-back meeting attended by worker representatives from more than 80 companies and businesses.

"The people were angry at the meeting. Some workers said they had approached their employers in an attempt to get them to negotiate with the police to stop the violence, but there wasn't a positive response."

"The feeling was that words were no longer helping, and that only through action would they be heard. It was agreed that a statement should be issued through the unions, aimed at the interim government and listing the issues and demands," he said.

"The sentiment was strong that if by Friday no steps had been taken to meet the demands, then protest action would be taken. This is when it was decided that a nationwide stayaway would take place on Monday and Tuesday next week."

Mr Ulenka added that if the demands were ignored, then the strike could be seen as an "expression of how serious the workers feel about South Africa's occupation of Namibia".

"It will serve as an example of how the patience of workers has worn out over the years," said Mr Ulenka, stress-

ing that it was "not a political issue for any political grouping".

"Before we had even held a meeting, workers were going home in the evening and seeing what was happening in Katutura. Some workers are still looking for their children, who disappeared when police moved in with rubber bullets and teargas," he said.

One such case is that of Mr Stefanus Shipulwa, an employee of the South West Breweries. He has still not found his son, who went missing two weeks ago during police action in the township.

"This is an example of how the issues affect workers. They work all day to provide for their children, and then something like this happens," Mr Ulenka said.

Regarding Cabinet accusations that the schools boycott was sparked by instigators from South Africa, Mr Ulenka said: "It is not a question of instigating. It is a question of the people having waited too long with no indication that things are improving... South Africa is still ruling Namibia... the South African army still occupies and oppresses in the north of the country."

The union leader estimated that 99 per cent of all workers in Namibia have at some stage been directly affected by the presence of the SADF here.

"They have all had relatives or friends arrested, family members assaulted or harassed, or had property destroyed by the army. It really is surprising that the workers have not risen up before now," he said.

The last time a general strike took place in Namibia was in 1971, almost 18 years ago, which involved 5 000 contract workers.

"The workers initially wanted to go on strike for an entire week, and were keen on downing tools immediately. The unions had a tough time trying to channel all this energy and reduce the stayaway to a two-day period," said Mr Ulenka with a smile.

On the question of workers being fired if the stayaway goes ahead, Mr Ulenka said he was sure there would be a certain number of dismissals.

"We will fight each dismissal which affects a member of our unions. We will go to the courts," he said. He also said that many employers had told the unions "off the record" that they wanted the war to stop, wanted South Africa to withdraw and wanted the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

"But they will, of course, never go public with these sort of sentiments, so what else can we do but question their sincerity?"

"Very soon we are going to demand that each company tells us exactly where they stand on these issues," he added. Estimating that the unions could mobilise a force of up to 60 000 workers in time for the stayaway next week, Mr Ulenka said: "The people in an around Windhoek are more than ready to stop working. We also expect that the 10 000 unskilled workers on Namibia's three major mines will down tools on Mon-



BEN ULENGA - MUN General Secretary, this week spoke to Mark Verbaan of The Namibian on the NUNW's call for a general stayaway on Monday and Tuesday next week if demands are not met.

day morning, if the demands have not been met."

He said that the mining and meat industries were "quite sensitive" to stoppages.

If the strike goes ahead, it is anticipated that the three mines, CDM, TCL and Rossing, stand to lose millions of rands.

"Production would stop and the

losses would be high," said Mr Ulenka. The union offices in Katutura were a hive of activity this week.

Cars laden with pamphlets giving details of the stayaway and listing the demands stood ready to depart to all corners of the country.

Unionists, rushing from office to office amid the jangle of ringing telephones, all seemed optimistic that the strike would be a success.

Riots in Rundu

BY RAJAH MUNAMAVA

SCORES of students were injured Monday, some seriously, when police waded into Rundu Junior Secondary School firing rubber bullets, teargas and laying onto students with sjamboks and batons according to sources in the area.

Police moved into the school to disperse boycotting students from that school and Rundu Senior Secondary School Monday morning and at least 19 students were arrested.

The 19 students appeared in court in Rundu Wednesday on charges of public violence and 6 of them who were minors were released in the custody of their parents.

The rest were released on a bail of R300.00 each and the case was postponed to July 15. They were all not asked to plead.

Reports reaching The Namibian said police moved into the school and brutally beat up students with sjamboks and batons.

Students fled into the township where they pursued by the police. Prior to the arrival of the police at the school, students marched and sang freedom songs peacefully without incident according to the sources.

The sources said some parents were out looking for their children who have since disappeared and who have not either arrived at their homes nor taken in by the police.

An emergency parents meeting was held on Monday where parents demanded to know who had sent the police onto campus.

It is reported that the Director of Education for the Kavango Authority Mr Chris Taalard had told the meeting that he had only asked the police to monitor the situation at the school and not to move in.

Parents also learned at the meeting according to our sources that four white teachers at Rundu Junior Sec-

ondary School had joined the police in beating the students.

The parents reportedly took exception to this situation and resolved to request the Kavango ethnic authority to remove the four teachers not only from the school but the whole of Kavango before their children could go back to the school.

They are also demanding that the director of education be removed from

the region as a condition for the return of their children to school.

The Executive Committee of the Kavango Ethnic Authority has promised to come with an answer on the parents demand for the removal of the five people by Monday.

Meanwhile unconfirmed reports said Kandjimi Murangi Secondary School and Levy Hakusende Junior Secondary School in western Kavango have joined in the schools boycott which started Monday at Rundu Junior and Senior Secondary Schools. There were no immediate reports of incidents.

Outbursts over 'instigators' causing a scare at schools

BY RAJAH MUNAMAVA

THE hysteria and outbursts against 'instigators' claimed to be influencing students to partake in the countrywide solidarity boycott action with the students of the far north of the country by certain politicians and the military, is sending a scare through the ranks of certain principals and education authorities who summon police before hearing the grievances of their students.

Indeed, interim government Minister of Education Mr Andrew Matzila has sounded the alarm and any 'incident' at schools now results in panic on the part of those in charge of running the school and the next move is that police are called in even if not a single stone is thrown.

What follows then is that a situation of confrontation is created between the police and students who take to throwing stones on seeing the armed police on their campus.

The corridors of some schools are being 'eavedropped' by men who come under the cover of darkness to try and detect and identify voices of dissent.

Some students recounted this week how despite having opted not to join in the boycott, they were kept under surveillance by undercover agents and how footprints of unknown people are seen around hostel facilities.

This generates insecurity on the part of students who feel haunted and rumour-mongering becomes rampant hence a situation of general instability at schools.

A case in point is the closure of Drimopis Secondary School near Gobabis on Sunday after a demonstration last week Thursday by students to protest what students called 'excessive punishment' meted out to students by their Principal.

According to a student source at the school, three students were expelled on Thursday, after they had been found to have left their classroom during a study period.

The three had finished writing an examination paper on that day and were preparing themselves for another paper on the following day when they went to go and occupy another classroom which was vacant, so as to be able to study in peace.

At the start of this term, five students were expelled for late-coming while another 5 or 11 were expelled during the same quarter for taking a weekend off without permission, according to the source.

This, the students feel, is over-reaction on the part of the Principal, a certain Mr Nel.

Bitter about the latest expulsion measure, students staged an impromptu march around the school last Thursday to protest the decision to expel their three colleagues.

They marched to the Principal's house before proceeding to an open spot near the school where they continued to sing freedom songs. Not a single stone was thrown at this stage nor was the principal molested, the source emphasised.

On their return to the school, students found a number of policemen and officials of the Tswana Administration. The officials the Tswana Administration demanded that the police and soldiers leave before the meeting could take place. The officials acceded to the demand and the police left.

Students then demanded that the Principal Mr Nel be removed from the school whereupon the officials said

those students wanting Mr Nel to go must stand on one side and those wanting him to stay on another side.

Stone-throwing between the two groups of students ensued and the police were immediately there to intervene. Police called on the students to halt the stone-throwing or face action and the students stopped immediately.

Later, seven students were picked up for questioning and were later released.

Also, the students are complaining about the conduct of four other teachers whom they say often refer to them "kaffirs, dom" etc.

It is understood that officials from the Tswana administration told the students that those who did not want the teachers should leave the school and that the teachers in question would not be sent away.

Meanwhile the school was declared closed on Sunday and will reopen on June 20. Parents have been asked to accompany their children to the school when they register on June 20.

Comment on the closure of the school could not be elicited from the Tswana administration at the time of going to press.



DR ZEPHANIA Kameeta addresses the Nanso rally in Katutura last weekend.

NANSO ANNOUNCES POSITIVE ACTION CAMPAIGN FOR NAMIBIA STUDENTS

BY RAJAH MUNAMAVA

NAMIBIAN students have embarked on a campaign of 'positive action' deliberately designed to force the government to come to grips with the daily realities of students in the country, Nanso President, Mr Paul Kalenga, told a rally last Sunday in Katutura.

The students, he said, had felt that only pressure from below could force racist South Africa to see the urgency of removing their 'Koevoet' bases from the schools.

"The past weeks and days have seen our courageous and selfless young people going on the streets to demonstrate and register their disgust at the further location of military bases near schools."

"This action has put the ruling class in a deep educational crisis, confronting its minority rule to its very roots" Mr Kalenga said.

He said that many students have been subjected to beating and teargassing in the past few days and that repression was intensifying as never before.

Mr Kalenga called for the immediate release of the detained students saying that their continued detention would only escalate the crisis.

Another speaker, Dr Zephania Kameeta, told the Nanso rally that Namibians want education and advancement in life but not education under South African slavery.

Dr Kameeta, on behalf of the Committee of 7 representing parents of the boycotting students and petitioning the South African government to remove bases from the proximity of schools, charted the course of the committee's meeting with the Administrator General last week.

He said that his committee had been well composed and at ease as compared with the Administrator General who seemed nervous.

Dr Kameeta told the meeting that the South African representative had replied that South Africa had no military bases near any schools in Namibia and that only the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL) had bases. He added that the committee had come to the "wrong address" since the police force resorted under the Interim Government.

In a round-about turn and despite having charged the interim government with authority over the bases in question, the AG assumed answerability again on the matter and stated that the bases in the north would not be moved and that if need be - schools could be removed - alternatively bomb shelters would have to be built at the schools in question.

This stance was criticised by Mr Kalangula last month by Mr Louis

Pienaar and in all likelihood he was not acting as an emissary of the interim government.

The Cabinet of the interim government has seemingly chosen to remain silent on the issue of army and police bases near schools, ostensibly for fear of revealing where they stand on this rather sensitive issue.

The Cabinet has only been vocal on the schools boycott, or which they have blamed so-called 'agitators and instigators'.

Dr Kameeta spelled out as requirements in the freedom struggle - responsibility, organisation, determination and discipline.

A student who also spoke at the rally said rubber bullets would strengthen students in their quest to continue with the struggle.

He cited previous attacks on students such as Tses in 1976, Augustineum in 1986 and said that this had not been the work of political groups, which are now being blamed, but the police.

The student said that the shooting of students with rubber bullets and beatings would make them no more students but soldiers.

YOUNG GIRL CLAIMS RAPE IN HOSTEL

A FIFTEEN year old school girl has reported to the office for the Ovambo Administration that about six armed men, believed to be members of the Police Counter Insurgency Unit (Koevoet), recently broke into their hostel and raped them.

The girl, Aina Tuukondjele, from the Iipumbu village, near Elim, in northern



Aina Tuukondjele, 15

thern Namibia, said in a sworn statement that about six armed men, in uniforms similar to that of Koevoet, arrived at their hostel at Oshakati Secondary School and broke into a room she shared with ten other girls.

She named her room mates as Foibe Shiimi, Loini Iipinga, Rauha Iimbangula, Biliha Amupolo, Veronika Tshimweethereni, Elizabeth

Hangula, Justina Shikongo, Liina Negumbo, Johanna Nghiwete, and Sulvia Katangolo.

The young girl stated that it was about midnight, on June 4, 1988, when she was suddenly awoken by a noise, only to see that about six armed men in uniforms like those of Koevoet had entered their room trying to rape girls.

She said some of her room mates were hiding under their beds out of fear of being raped, and that she saw how one of her friends, Elizabeth Hangula was seized and thrown onto a bed by one of the men.

"Two men grabbed me, took off my pants and held me onto a bed, while one tried to rape me. He was too big for me, and I screamed very loud, but he was shouting that this was what we wanted. He asked why we had come back to school while others were boycotting."

"Two other men grabbed Veronika Tshimweethereni, and completely raped her. When they left, we all went and locked ourselves into a storage room until the following day," she stated.

She said further that she and her friend Tshimweethereni laid charges with police at Oshakati on the following day. She said they also went for examinations at the hospital, whereafter they reported the matter to the office for the Ovambo Administration, at Ondangwa.

Police at both Oshakati and Windhoek were not available for comment at the time of going to press.

Martin Luther governing board support student demands

THE governing board of Martin Luther High School this week came out in support of the students demands for the removal of army and police bases near schools and said that the boycott by Martin Luther High School students on May 3 must be seen in the broader context of the national struggle for liberation but particularly with regard to the problems of education.

"The governing board and the staff support the demands of the students for the removal of the SADF bases from near the schools in the north and the withdrawal of South African troops from schools all over the country" the Board statement, signed by Bishop Hendrik Frederik said.

The statement said arrangements for the opening of the school will be determined by the development of the current situation in Namibia.

The board called on the South African government and its 'surrogates' to heed the voice of the people of Namibia and to respond positively to their demands in order to ensure peace and tranquility in the country.



LAWYERS' COMMITTEE
FOR CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER LAW

SUITE 400 • 1400 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • PHONE (202) 371-1212

CABLE ADDRESS: LAWCV, WASHINGTON, D.C.
TELEX: 205662 SAP UR
FACSIMILE: (202) 842-3211

June 13, 1988

ACTION UPDATE

Today, June 13, 1988 the application to reopen the trial of the Sharpeville Six on the basis that there had been a fraud practiced on the Court by police procuring two witnesses to give false evidence failed. Justice J.W. Human also denied the six Death Row prisoners the right to appeal his decision.

Defense lawyers immediately asked for and were granted a second stay of execution for the six until July 19, 1988 to enable them to petition the Chief Justice to overturn this denial of the right to appeal.

Should the Chief Justice reject this application, the only recourse left will be for lawyers to once again appeal to State President P.W. Botha to use his statutory powers to:

1. intervene and grant clemency
- or
2. reopen the trial of the Sharpeville Six

The Sharpeville Six and other political prisoners on Death Row in South Africa are still living in the shadow of judicial execution by the Apartheid legal system - a system which violates the most fundamental norms of international law. The level and intensity of past international pressure must be sustained.

We urge you to :

1. Send a telegram/telex/air mail letter urging that immediate clemency be granted to The Sharpeville Six and those other political prisoners presently on Death Row.

President P.W. Botha	Telexes:
State President 's Office	3-21695 SA;
Private Bag x213	3-21890 SA;
Pretoria 0001, South Africa	3-22158 SA;
and	
Ambassador Pieter G. Koornhof	
Embassy of the Republic of South Africa	
3051 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.	
Washington, D.C. 20008	

Remember, time is of the essence. All messages of concern must be received by July 19, 1988.

Thank you for your concern.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT:

Esmeralda Thornhill
or
Gay McDougall
at
Telephone: (202) 371-1212
Facsimile: (202) 842-3211
Telex: 205662 SAP UR

Five men and a woman whose lives depend on South Africa's willingness to listen to the outside world



Francis Don Mokhesi, Joyce Mokhesi's brother, is 28. He was a professional footballer. He has a 10-year-old daughter and is a churchgoer. He was accused by Mr X and Mr Y of petrol bombing Dlamini's house. He claimed an ankle injury made it impossible for him to play a match the day before the march and that he could only walk with difficulty.



Mojalefa Regnaid Safatsa is 30. He was a fruit and vegetable seller. He has a baby daughter, Brigitte, born after his arrest. He has never been allowed to see her. He was implicated by Mr X and Mrs Dlamini though their evidence conflicted. One said he was throwing stones and the other that he wrestled Dlamini's gun from him. He denied being present.



Oupa Moses Diniso is 30. He was an inspector at a steel firm. He has a son and a daughter. He is described as a quiet family man. There is no evidence of his being at the scene of the crime, but police found Dlamini's gun at his house. Diniso claimed he had taken the gun from a group of young boys who were playing with it the day after the protest march.



Theresa Ramashamola, the only woman, is 24. She was working in a roadhouse at the time of her arrest. She was implicated by Mr X who alleged she shouted "let's kill him" and thus incited the crowd. She was shot in the head during the early part of the march and claimed that she did not rejoin it in the later period when Dlamini was killed.



Reid Maleba Mokoena is 22. He was a steel worker and union member. No evidence was brought against him, except his own confession of throwing one stone against Dlamini. The defence said his confession was made after he had been assaulted with electric shocks in police custody. Both Safatsa and Theresa Ramashamola also claimed assault in custody.



Duma Joshua Khumalo is 26. He was doing a teachers' training course when he was arrested. He has a six-year-old son. He also claimed to have been in only the early part of the march. Mr X and Mr Y claimed he had made and thrown petrol bombs. Witnesses said he was out of the crowd helping an injured friend at the time when Dlamini was killed.

The thin thread of evidence that led to Death Row

THE TOWN of Sharpeville, the scene of an infamous massacre in 1960 that echoed round the globe and continues to reverberate today, lies in the centre of the Vaal Triangle. Here the resistance to the new tricameral constitution is strong.

On September 3, 1984, there was a protest march to the offices of the Orange/Vaal Development Board. It began as a peaceful demonstration, many thousand strong, protesting against rent increases. But it ended in a battle. At least 250 people were injured, mostly by rubber bullets and sjamboks, and 14 people died. Ten were killed by the police on their own admission. Caspans full of military, and lorry loads of police attacked the march, according to church and other observers. Three local black councillors died in the affray. One of them was Khuzwayo Jacob Dlamini. More than a month after the event, the five men and one woman who have become known as the Sharpeville Six were detained under the Internal Security Act. Their trial began nearly a year later, in September 1985, in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The Six, and two others who were later acquitted, were accused of "subversion" and of the murder of Councillor Dlamini.

The evidence against the Six came mainly from two secret witnesses, Mr X and Mr Y. Mr X contradicted himself on numerous occasions and was also contradicted by Mr Y. Evidence for the defence came from a dozen eyewitnesses who cast doubt on almost every aspect of the accusations against the Six.

The most significant eyewitness was Mrs Emily Moekeetsi who said that no petrol bombs had been manufactured — the allegation against Khumalo and Mokhesi. She also said that Mr X could not have hidden in her shed, from where he claimed to have witnessed Councillor Dlamini's death. It had been locked.

Who stands up for the Sharpeville Six?



Painful progress . . . Joyce Mokhesi.

PHOTOGRAPH GARRY WEASER

Victoria Brittain on the woman who begs Europe to intercede

JOYCE Mokhesi is the sister of Francis Mokhesi, one of the Sharpeville Six who are scheduled to be executed next month. Since last December when an appeal for clemency was turned down by the South African President P W Botha, she has had a rare education in the workings of Europe's power centres. She has met almost every foreign minister in Europe, been received by Mrs Mitterrand, and addressed the European Parliament at the invitation of its President, Lord Plumb.

Mrs Lynda Chalker, a junior minister at the Foreign Office, told her that Whitehall was "following the process of law," and that she should be patient while all the legal process was exhausted.

"It is very hurtful," she says. "This business of going around on your knees, asking people to save lives, could break a person. What would it cost Mrs Thatcher to pick up the telephone and ask Botha for a retrial?"

Today, in another attempt to persuade the British Government to take action on what has become the most notorious court case in the world, Geoffrey Bindman will lead a delegation to see Mrs Chalker again. Mr Bindman, a solicitor, is the chairman of SATIS, an arm of the Anti-Apartheid Movement which campaigns on behalf of political prisoners.

"If Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl were really interested in this case, it would have made all the difference," says Joyce Mokhesi.

She points to the astonishing changes of mood in South Africa itself. Last week the judge in charge of the case rejected a retrial. He said that he had no

power to re-open the trial and that the presentation of new evidence had made no difference to his view. He had not, he said, relied on it in the first place. Yet in March, when he had ordered a stay of execution, he had said that new evidence could have altered the entire case. Had he known that the evidence of Joseph Mante had been given after he had been assaulted by the police, his view might have been different.

"At the time," says Joyce Mokhesi, "the stay of execution defused the political atmosphere. Now, a harsh decision is expected in preparation for

What would it cost Mrs Thatcher to pick up the phone and ask Mr Botha for a retrial?

the October elections. This is so clearly a political trial of the black community."

She says that her brother and his closest friends among the six, Duma Joshua Khumalo and Oupa Moses Diniso, are not asking for mercy. "They are only asking for justice. If we had a fair retrial, the defence can do its work."

Her confidence comes from the weakness of the evidence against most of the Six that they had even been at the scene of the crime, let alone that they had committed it.

Every day in South Africa the families and friends of the Six make the 200 mile journey, from Sharpeville to Pretoria, to visit them. "It takes all day starting from 5 am, but we have

to do it to keep up their spirits," says Joyce. "They're all held in solitary confinement and, although they can't describe their conditions to us, we know they don't even have books, except religious ones."

In the months since the appeal for the Six was turned down in the appellate court last December, Joyce Mokhesi has been forced out of the close knit community of Sharpeville where her father lives. A graduate of Ruskin College, Oxford, with a place at Sussex University to continue her studies in development issues, she was the natural choice of the community to send abroad as its representative. Most of her circle have only been to primary school. Many had their secondary schooling disrupted by the school boycotts and military occupations of schools which characterised the late 1970s.

The twists and turns of South African law have often proved incomprehensible to those who wait. "The worst was in December," she says, "when the appeal was rejected. Diniso's wife understood the opposite from the radio. I went to her place and she was spring-cleaning for his home-coming . . . Telling her was one of the most awful moments of my life, she just could not believe it. It took her days to take it in."

Perhaps the saddest aspect of the case of the Sharpeville Six is that it is not an exception. At least another 50 people are on death row in South Africa for their alleged involvement in political activities. One case, which almost exactly parallels that of the Sharpeville Six, concerns the "Uppington 25". They have been convicted of the murder of a policeman which occurred some time after a crowd attacked his house. There are three women among the 25, one of whom has had a baby since she was arrested. They are due to appear in court again next February.

Dukakis, Blacks Urge End to Angolan Rebel Aid

UNITA Leader Is Here Seeking Support

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis and 15 black American leaders yesterday called for an end to U.S. covert military assistance to rebel forces fighting in Angola as their leader, Jonas Savimbi, arrived in New York to begin an intensive lobbying campaign to try to assure its continuation.

At a news conference here, TransAfrica Executive Director Randall Robinson, three black members of Congress, including Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), various black civil rights leaders, and Mayors Marion Barry of Washington and Kurt L. Schmoke of Baltimore made strong statements opposing further U.S. aid to Savimbi.

"We are here to reiterate our opposition to any aid for Savimbi, whose forces are fighting side-by-side with South African troops against the government of Angola," Randall said. "Aid to Savimbi is aid to South Africa," he added.

Organizers of the news conference handed out a statement issued yesterday by Dukakis, the apparent Democratic presidential nominee, in which he asserted that the Reagan administration's Angola policy "must be changed" and that U.S. aid to Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) should be ended.

"U.S. military support for UNITA has only increased Angolan dependence on the very Cubans and Soviets that we want to see leave," Dukakis said. "The continuing military aid to UNITA fans the flames of regional conflict in southern Africa and should be halted."

The news conference marked the start of an intense struggle between Savimbi and his U.S. supporters and Savimbi opponents for the support of the U.S. black community and the Democratic Party.

Savimbi is reportedly concerned about the prospects of a Democratic victory in the November elections and anxious to broaden sup-

port for his cause among both congressional Democrats and the black community.

He is scheduled to travel to Mississippi and Alabama this weekend to seek the support of southern black leaders.

The Reagan administration reportedly has asked Congress for an increase in funding from \$15 million to \$40 million for the covert program of largely military assistance to Savimbi.

While some increase seems probable, a congressional source said the administration request had been cut back somewhat by the Senate and House intelligence committees.

A high-ranking Angolan government delegation that arrived here earlier this week is also involved in the anti-Savimbi lobbying. Led by the ruling Politburo's No. 2 person, Planning and Production Minister Pedro Castro Van Dunem, the delegation met Wednesday with national security adviser Lt. Gen. Colin L. Powell and Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

U.S. officials said the talks focused on the prospects for reconciliation between Savimbi's UNITA and the Angolan government, an issue that is not part of the next round of four-way negotiations on an overall southern Africa peace settlement beginning today in Cairo. Those talks include the United States, Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

In an interview with Washington Post editors and writers yesterday, Van Dunem denounced Savimbi as a "big traitor" and made it clear his government would not allow him in the government. But he said it was ready to find a place for some other UNITA leaders on a "one-by-one" basis and to "create conditions" for other UNITA supporters to join the process of "national reconstruction."

Van Dunem said Angola was dealing with its demand for an end to U.S. aid to Savimbi in separate "bilateral discussions" with the United States and South Africa. They are being held parallel to the



JONAS SAVIMBI
... trying to broaden support

U.S.-led, four-way negotiations over the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and independence for South Africa-administered Namibia.

He said it was "absolutely" necessary for the United States and South Africa to end aid to UNITA before the start of proposed U.N.-supervised independence elections in Namibia.

Van Dunem said Angola had proposed a two-phase, four-year timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops, estimated at nearly 50,000. South Africa, which has sent an 80-person delegation to Cairo for the four-way negotiations, is expected to submit its reply now to the Angolan proposal and to demand a far shorter withdrawal period.

10 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Jonas Savimbi puts on a show for journalists in south-eastern Angola

Bush warfare, Gucci-style

THE GUARDIAN
Friday June 24 1988

Shaun Johnson
in Jamba, Angola

THE only ways of getting to Jamba, isolated bush headquarters of the Angolan Unita rebels, are unorthodox ones.

The least taxing of these, it seems, involves boarding an unmarked turbo-charged Dakota aircraft at Pretoria's Wonderboom airport, overflying one independent country (Botswana), one occupied area (the Caprivi Strip), and skimming the treetops of southern Angola for as long as it takes to reach General Jonas Savimbi's spanking new secret airstrip.

It's a four-hour trip if there's no tailwind, and has distinct advantages over more traditional forms of international travel.

The irritation of having to carry a passport, for example, is dispensed with. Cabin service is rudimentary, but to the point: two voluminous garbage bins, filled with the finest (South African) beer, expertly packed in enough ice to keep them frosty for the duration of the venture into the interior.

The beer, and the flight, are courtesy of the rebel movement which must rank among Africa's most skilled in the art of public relations. "Unita Shall Provide" is a catchphrase around Jamba, and it is difficult to argue with it.

The human cargo on this particular junket — or *Jambaree* — comprises journalists. The world's media is being spirited into Angola's intractable south-eastern corner to hear the commandante pronounce on the

current peace negotiations, and to be reminded that Gen Savimbi remains a serious player in the sub-continental game.

Certainly, his "capital" is extraordinary. As soon as the Dakota crosses the "security road" running along the northern perimeter of the Caprivi strip, the pilot sends the plane careering earthwards, dropping from normal flying altitude to what he says is about 50 feet above the trees, but feels more like an imprecise exercise in foliage-pruning.

On Angolan soil, the Dakota is met by burgundy-bereted Unita troops, who lead the way to two unprepossessing mud huts: Customs and Immigration. Arrival forms must be completed, to record entry into the "Freeland of Angola."

A bumpy one-hour ride on an open truck leads to Jamba, said to be the base for some 15,000 Unita men. Built inconspicuously in undistinguished bush, it consists of hundreds of solidly-constructed thatched mud huts, varying in size rather than style, and spread over a vast undefined area.

Heavily camouflaged air defence nests are in evidence, but their contents can only be guessed at. "We are not worried," smiles a smooth young captain when asked about the possibility of a raid. "We have plenty inside there to encourage the Migooos to go home."

The first certain indicator of arrival is a bizarre traffic circle manned by a uniformed, white-gloved soldier who, given the infrequency of vehicles in these parts, has probably secured the cushiest job in Angola.

Stiff-armed, he makes a tremendous show of directing the truck toward the centre of Jamba, but can be seen sitting down once it has passed.

The well-being of visitors is the responsibility of what can best be described as Unita's equivalent of the South African Bureau for Information: a specially trained unit of articulate and urbane minders who can be trusted not to diverge from the party line in "informal" conversation.

They are omnipresent. Food and drink is plentiful and served with bonhomie, but any attempt to stray from the camp is met with polite, firm refusal.

The troops spend their time talking in small groups, smoking furiously, and greeting one another with the comical Unita handshake.

This involves a slapping clasp of open hands, followed by an energetic banging together of clenched fists. At any time of night or day, someone, somewhere, in Jamba, is greeting someone else in this manner.

A few uniformed whites can be spotted, at least one of seemingly high rank. The question "Are they Portuguese?" drew a tart response from a Unita captain: "Unita has no Portuguese — only white Angolans."

There is no money in Jamba. This does not mean it is scarce — it does not exist. One young lieutenant saw his first coin last week. The principles of utopian socialism are alive and well here: if you need something, ask, and you shall receive.

Jamba is meant to give the impression of a dedicated, happy, community, united be-

hind its revered leader. This it does quite successfully: "Savimbi is Our Guide" reads one of dozens of didactic posters. And: "Unita is ready for dialogue with MPLA for peace in Angola." Newcomers are quickly acquainted with the rebels' philosophy.

There is a clinic, run by a charming Portuguese-trained doctor, a uniform factory, a weapon-repair workshop, and so on. Vehicles are in tip-top condition, and clothing neatly pressed. How, in a dustbowl without running water and very little electricity? "Unita Shall Provide."

Gen Savimbi is a masterful performer. Long dubbed the Gucci Guerrilla, his outfit is the last word in rebel chic: pearl-handled Colt, ivory-topped cane, gold ring, silver wrist chain, appropriately faded battle dress, buffed boots, raffish beret.

He manages, rather than subjects himself to, a press conference. Journalists are heavily outnumbered by Unita officers and the "LP" (local population), and they respond to him like zealous converts at a revivalist meeting.

His message is unequivocal and insistent: "The MPLA must talk directly to Unita to end the civil war in Angola and bring independence to Namibia! There is no other way."

Is this just bluster from a man who has been sidelined in the Angolan peace talks, and whose 13-year personal war is coming to an end? The answer, whatever it may be, is probably not to be found in the oddity that is Jamba.



Savimbi, the Unita leader, at his headquarters in Jamba where he announced his mission to Europe and the United States

Trumpets sound for Savimbi

by Peter Godwin
Jamba, Angola

JONAS SAVIMBI, leader of Unita, the Angolan rebel movement, has left his bush base with a send-off by brass bands to launch a diplomatic offensive in America, Africa and Europe, including Britain.

On a dusty parade ground in the flat scrubland of southeast Angola, a military brass band, an electric band, traditional singers and dancers in leopard skins, and African tom-toms competed in farewell celebrations for the leader his supporters already address as President Savimbi.

White-gloved officers and a lone bugler led six squads of Unita soldiers in a tight display of drill against a backdrop of captured Russian artillery, tanks and "Stalin organ" rocket launchers.

Journalists were flown by Unita from South Africa to the celebrations in an American-registered DC3, scattering herds of elephant and buffalo for the final 20 minutes as the former South African air force pilot flew at tree-top height "to stop any fannies firing shoulder-launched missiles at us".

In his command bunker at Jamba, which a banner proclaimed to be "Freeland of Angola", Savimbi appeared in green battle fatigues, armed with a pearl-handled Colt re-

volver slung low over one hip. He said he now felt more optimistic than ever about a peaceful resolution of the Angolan war, in which Unita is supported by South Africa and the United States against the Angolan government, backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

"For the first time," he said, "the Soviet Union seems to agree with a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola, the independence of Namibia and reconciliation in Angola."

Savimbi said he could not disclose the itinerary for his tour, but in Washington he will meet a group of both Republican and Democratic politicians, and he is also expected to meet Chester Crocker, the assistant secretary of state with responsibility for Africa. Crocker is organising the present peace talks between the Angolan government, the Cubans and the South Africans, in which America is playing a mediating role.

Although unrepresented at the first two rounds of these talks, Savimbi said Unita strongly supports the negotiations — ending speculation to

the contrary. Eventually, he said, the government in Luanda would be forced to talk to him to bring about a government of national unity.

Savimbi said that secret contacts between Unita and Angolan government envoys had been taking place for some time, but that Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, "gets annoyed" at talk of national reconciliation. Recent aggressive Cuban military action is now the main threat to the peace process, said Savimbi.

He claimed that the Cuban 50th division had been sent to reinforce Cuban strength, bringing the number of Cuban troops in Angola to 57,000. About 12,000 of these troops had dug themselves in seven miles from the Namibian border "right in front of the South Africans".

According to South African reports, Cuban fighters have been flying provocative "dash" sorties just inside Namibian air space, and there have already been several skirmishes on the border.

Savimbi said Unita saw six possible motives for the Cuban advance: to confront the South Africans; to attack Savimbi's Jamba headquarters from the south, cutting Unita's supply lines; to assist Swapo guerril-

las' infiltration into Namibia; to enhance the Cubans' negotiating stance; to delay the talks until the US elections; or to sabotage the talks completely.

Whatever Castro's motives, Savimbi condemned the Cuban advance as a "dangerous game". Eventually Cuba would, however, be forced to comply with the Soviet Union's wishes, he said.

The Cuban forces on the ground, said Savimbi, were also losing heart. "In the past three months there were more Cubans killed and wounded than in the last three years," he said, and 51 Cubans had been killed in the last six weeks alone.

Despite the peace talks, Unita had gone on a guerrilla offensive, said Savimbi. "We are not going to lay down our arms. There is an old saying, 'If you want peace, keep the powder dry.'" Since the beginning of May, he claimed, his forces had carried out 403 attacks, killing 1,150 Angolan government troops. Unita had knocked out 14 tanks and armoured cars and shot down four helicopters, two Mig23s and two transport planes, and destroyed five military supply trains.

WE STAND TOGETHER WITH OUR CHILDREN!

WE, AS WORKERS AND PARENTS, MAKE THE FOLLOWING
DEMANDS TO THE GOVERNMENT:

1. SADF and Koevoet bases near schools in the north must be removed before Friday night, June 17.
2. Everyone in detention, including union official, Chief Ankama, must be released before the night of 17 June.
3. Police and Koevoet must leave our townships and immediately stop their violence.

ACTION

1. We call on all workers to explain these demands to their employers. The employers must be asked to pressure the government to accede to these demands.
2. If, by 17 June, our demands are not met, then workers have decided not to go to work on Monday June 20 and Tuesday June 21.



AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

ISSUED BY NUNW, MUN, NAFU, MANWU, NAPWU



EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA
339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012-2725

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. Postage
PAID
New York, N.Y.
Permit No. 8125

