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On Wednesday 16th July I was informed by the Truth Commission that three members of the CCB (The Civil Cooperation Bureau, which was one of the death squads paid for by the military), Mr Joe Verster, Mr. Wouter Basson and Mr Abraham 'Slang' van Zyl, were believed by the Commission to be responsible for the letter bomb attack on me in 1990. They are to be subpoenaed to an in camera hearing by the Truth Commission on 17, 18 and 19th August. Their subpoena under Section 29 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act means they have not asked for amnesty, and presumably believed that they would not be detected.

I congratulated the TRC for discovering those they believed to be responsible. Whilst I did always want to know who was responsible it is another burden to come to terms with the reality of three actual human beings who are supposed to have tried to kill me.

Following is a transcript of an article which accurately represents much of my response to these revelations just a few hours after I was told.

With my prayers and best wishes,

Fr. Michael Lapsley, SSM

CAPE TIMES 17th July 1997

FORGIVENESS IS A PACKAGE - LAPSLEY

Willem Steenkamp

Forgiveness requires not only that perpetrators of gross violations of human rights ask for it, but that they also demonstrate their support for restitution and reparation.

So says Father Michael Lapsley, an Anglican priest who was robbed of his hands and an eye by a Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) letter bomb in Harare in April 1990 - the same time as the National Party government and the just-unbanned ANC were initiating exploratory peace talks.

Now he may at last find out who was behind the attack. It emerged yesterday that three CCB members, Mr. Joe Verster, Mr. Wouter Basson and Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl, have been subpoenaed to appear before an in-camera Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearing to testify, among other things, about the attack.

Although he has made a new life as the chaplain of the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture, Lapsley will always need

someone to assist him - and his health is still suffering. On a recent trip abroad Lapsley spent two weeks in a Canadian hospital with bacterial meningitis, which has been directly linked to bomb damage to the outer wall of his brain. He will have to undergo "major" brain surgery in Australia.

He said last night that he was "relieved" to hear that the three CCB members had been subpoenaed - even though he will not be allowed to ask them any questions - but it was also "sad because of what we do to each other".

He repeated an earlier statement: "Are their families only finding out now that their loved ones were perpetrators of evil and death?" It was time also, Lapsley said, that former president F W de Klerk and ex-NP government ministers acknowledged their responsibility. Even if apartheid leaders had not known about atrocities, they had created the society in which human rights abuses flourished. The NP had "created the climate for the Benziens to prosper", Lapsley said, referring to police torturer Captain Jeff Banzien, who is currently applying for amnesty.

Forgiveness for their deed "includes restitution and reparation", he said. Responsibility to the survivors of human rights violations "doesn't end with the TRC", but required a long-term commitment from all South Africans - especially the perpetrators.

They were the ones who had received promotions for their deeds, were given golden handshakes and - if they asked for it - "possibly even amnesty". But where amnesty was a legal process, forgiveness was a spiritual one - and "extremely personal".

"Forgiveness is a package - it's not glib, it's not cheap, it's not easy. There is a lot of pain." Perpetrators should show their willingness to put right the wrongs they committed. If those who had hurt him were prepared to do this, "I would love to offer my forgiveness".

African nationalism debate is growing in South Africa

Some say blacks don't wield enough power

By GILBERT A. LEWTHWAITE
SUN FOREIGN STAFF **W4**
6/25/97

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Three years after President Nelson Mandela led South Africa to the end of white minority rule, people in his African National Congress are wondering if the government is black enough.

A perception exists among Africanists within and outside the party that too many whites, Indians and people of mixed race continue to occupy leadership positions at the perceived cost of blacks in the new South Africa.

"It is part of a debate that is ongoing," said ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa. "But we have got to recognize that it is the prerogative of the president to appoint people to posts in the government."

Mandela remains stalwartly committed to a non-racist "rainbow nation," seeking its future through a free-market democracy. He refuses to endorse Africanism or nationalism.

But the issue of Africanism is gaining resonance as the party prepares for its major conference later this year, when the first steps toward the post-Mandela succession will be taken.

"Even within the ANC, tensions will flare up from time to time, especially in periods such as preparations for national conference and other allocations of positions of power and influence," acknowledged an ANC discussion paper designed to direct the debate.

"In the top structure, there are people who are feel-

[See *Mandela*, 11A]



ASSOCIATED PRESS : 1995

President: Nelson Mandela is committed to a nonracist "rainbow nation."

ing unhappy because they did not get the top positions," said Hennie J. Kotze, professor of political studies at the University of Stellenbosch. "It's an unease coming through.

"One should 'watch this space' on this [emerging Africanist pressure]. It is a worrying aspect if it comes through. There are so many other nationalisms that could be stirred up if you have a very overt stress on African nationalism."

He was referring primarily to the white Afrikaners, who are becoming restive as they perceive their futures, interests, culture and language thrown into jeopardy by black majority rule.

"If African nationalism comes to the fore now, what is under threat is [national] reconciliation because ... it will spill over into the debate in general."

Paul Pareira, political analyst with the South African Institute for Race Relations, said: "It's always been at the root of South African political life — African and Afrikaner political nationalism."

Deep roots

Africanism has deep roots in the ANC, going back to the party's radical Youth League in the late 1940s. But in the '50s and '60s, the party adopted a nonracial policy, admitting whites in 1969 and at the same time expelling nine black militants who wanted it to be an exclusively black organization.

Today the ANC is firmly non-racial, but it is challenged by what it calls "the national question": What sort of African country should South Africa become?

"What is required is ... a continuing battle to assert African hegemony in the context of a multi-cultural and nonracial society," said the ANC discussion paper.

It continued: "Related to this is the identity of the South African nation in gestation: whether it should truly be an African nation on the African continent, or a clone of, for instance, the U.S. and U.K. in outlook; in the style and content of its media; in its cultural expression; in its cuisine; in the language accents of its children?"

It warned that while the popular imagery of a "rainbow nation" was useful, it could become politically problematic if it came to mean Africans whose allegiance was to Africa; whites whose allegiance was to Europe, and Indians whose allegiance was to India.

"Apartheid," it said, "deliberately denied opportunities to blacks in general and Africans in particular." Redressing this should be the government's prime goal, and so the ANC introduced a program of affirmative action for the disadvantaged black majority.

"I think what we are trying to do now is define a national identity for South Africa, where you have white people, Indians, coloreds and Asians," said Thabo Masebe of the ANC Youth League. "Of course, such an identity would be informed by what we bring from the past. The good thing is we have started talking now in order to clarify ourselves on what do we mean by the 'national question'; on what do we mean when we say 'African.'"

Supporters of the Africans-first approach see affirmative action as delivering too little to too few too slowly. They view the "rainbow nation" as a temporary, if necessary, phenomenon on the way to exclusively black leadership.

Reacting to a recent ANC caucus where the party's members of Parliament rebuffed the Africanists by endorsing nonracialism, Maxwell Nemaadzihanani of the Pan African Congress said ordinary Africans viewed the Mandela government like a coconut — "black on the outside and super white on the inside."

But Joel Netshitenzhe, a top ANC political strategist, said that Africans already dominated the government, with 73 percent of parliamentary membership, and 69 percent of government leadership positions.

Arguing in favor of the current affirmative action program, he said: "In order to build one nation in South Africa, it is necessary to deal with the disparities created by apartheid. That means improving the lives of those people, especially blacks, disadvantaged by apartheid." But to support total black leadership, he asserted, would be incorrect.

Mandela's successor

According to political observers in South Africa, the ANC may become more Africanist after Mandela retires in two years and is likely replaced by his deputy and heir-apparent, Thabo Mbeki.

"There is every chance we will face a far more Africanist debate once he is in power," said Pareira of the race relations institute.

In a recent major speech, Mbeki cautioned that national transformation and democratic stability were far from assured. He chided conservative whites for re-

sisting formation of a national consensus.

"We are emerging slowly and painfully out of a deeply fractured society which continues to be characterized by deep fissures that separate black people from white people, the hungry from the prosperous, the urban from the rural, the male from the female.

"Running like a structural fault through it all, and weaving it together into a frightening bundle of imbalance and inequality, is the question of race and color — the fundamental consideration on which South African society was built for 300 years."

His speech was interpreted by some observers as indicating a resurgence of the Africanist tendency inside the ANC.

The major editorial in the current issue of *Financial Week* said: "Mbeki appears to be an Africanist — a cast of mind which appears ominous to those who find it difficult to embrace that ideology."

But Professor Tom Lodge, the ANC expert in the political studies department of the University of Witwatersrand, is not so sure.

Although Mbeki, he said, sometimes uses Africanist rhetoric to particular audiences, he has also appointed members of minority groups, particularly Indians, to his senior staff.

"I don't think Mbeki is any more committed to Africanism than he is to old-fashioned ANC nonracialism," said Lodge. But Mbeki, expected to be voted to replace Mandela as ANC leader in December — a step that will put him closer to almost certain election as president in 1999 when Mandela's term is up — will certainly have to deal with the Africanist issue.

"It is a widely held perception," said Lodge, "that somehow the share-out of positions is unfair to blacks. Whether that's true or not is not the point. Unless you exclude all Indians and all whites from government all together that perception is going to be around."

So is the government of South Africa black enough today or not?

"That," said the ANC spokesman, Mamoepa, "is a matter for debate."

SOUTHERN AFRICA REPORT



EDITOR: RAYMOND LOUW

EVERY WEEK

Illegal Immigration is raising tensions in ANC

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION is becoming an issue which the African National Congress-led government cannot ignore for much longer. The cry of "foreigners out" is becoming more strident in black townships as South Africans blame illegal immigrants for the rising crime wave and increasing lack of employment opportunities.

It has been disclosed that more than 400 illegal Mozambican immigrants are deported from SA every day and, even more startling, more than three-quarters of them are back in the country within 24 hours. Despairing home affairs officials and police and army officers say they are virtually powerless to stem the flood.

A reporter from a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper recently came through the SA-Mozambique border fence illegally with a group of illegals from Mozambique -- and he reported that the journey was comparatively easy. The people-smuggling pipeline he infiltrated was run by former guerrillas from the Mozambican rebel movement Renamo. It regularly brings groups of up to 300 illegals into SA from the Mozambique frontier town of Ressano Garcia.

The only visa the group needed, they were told, was a forked stick to hold up the razor wire. Almost 30 people in the group slipped through undetected, despite the fact that the fence is alarmed and supposed to be regularly patrolled by units of the SA Army.

Colonel Hein Visser, commander of SA Army's Group 33, responsible for border security, said it was likely the entry went undetected because of a manpower shortage. He said his soldiers should be fighting primary crime, such as murder and robbery.

"Illegal immigration is not a criminal activity. That is why, when we arrest the illegals, we hand them over to Home Affairs and not to the police. It is a waste of resources," Visser added.

His comments reflect an increasing impatience within the military at the border control operation, which costs hundreds of

millions of rand of the annual defence budget.

Last year, the home affairs department deported 180,713 illegal immigrants. Of these 157,000 were from Mozambique, 14,651 from Zimbabwe, 3,344 from Lesotho and 5,293 from European and other African countries. Estimates are that there are between 2.3-million and 4.2-million illegal immigrants in SA.

The department of Home Affairs says more than 350 immigration officials are employed full time tracking and deporting illegals.

The latest report sparked off an ongoing debate on whether a border electric fence -- built during the years of apartheid to keep out ANC guerrillas -- should be switched on and made lethal. Defence Minister Joe Modise has said he does not believe such a drastic measure would be taken, but he and others are coming under increasing pressure from their ANC constituents to do something about the illegal flood.

The well of anger against illegals was indicated clearly by a survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council and the Institute for Security Studies. Eighty percent of respondents were in favour of the government trying to curb a further influx of illegals by strengthening border patrols. Sixty-five percent supported enforced repatriation and 73% the penalising of employers who hired illegal immigrants.

"An analysis of the survey results according to political party support contradicts traditional stereotypes regarding xenophobia," the researcher said.

"Unlike what was expected, African National Congress supporters have indicated a stronger opposition to illegal immigrants (60%) than supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party (52%) and the Pan Africanist Congress (56%)."

Institute for Security Studies' Hussein Solomon said the average South African was 35 times better off than the average Mozambican and that the development differential was responsible for attraction of Mozambicans to SA.

Whatever SA does about the problem, it is sure to raise hackles among its neighbours, angered by the xenophobia shown by SA when the Frontline States countries helped shelter and support the ANC's exiles during the struggle against apartheid.

President Mandela's companion, Mozambican Graca Machel, has said plainly she cannot understand the SA attitudes

Condemning the anti-foreigner attitudes as "irrational", Machel said: "Building electric fences and high walls at borders is not going to keep people out of South Africa".

She said the solution lay in helping uplift the economies of SA's neighbours and warned: "If SA does not spread its riches to its neighbours, the poverty of its neighbours will spread to SA".

Comment

A migration research study by the Centre for Development and Enterprise has called for a new, positive approach to migration. It said that the international experience was that migrants were risk takers from their own societies and, overall, benefited their new host country. They did not take jobs from local workers.

CDE Executive Director Ann Bernstein said CDE disagreed with the current assumptions on migration -- both the "Fortress South Africa" and the "open door" approaches. SA needed a public debate to review the policy options facing the country and a systematic analysis of costs and benefits so that the government could then make a choice.

The worst approach was indecisive muddling through. The country needed leadership and a clear decision. The policy proposed by CDE "must support economic growth, be in the national interest, must not drain limited human and financial resources, must accommodate the regional pressures for migration, must bolster the state's legitimate authority, must be simple, implementable and within SA's institutional capacity".

CDE proposed free movement of skilled people from anywhere in the world into SA which would remove a major barrier to faster economic growth. It also proposed a three-level entry for unskilled migrants from SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) countries: To allow them in provided they registered with the Home Affairs Department and furnished a local address after which those who were law-abiding and industrious would be rewarded by incentives culminating in citizenship.

Bernstein concluded that such a policy was probably the only way left to the SA government to re-establish control over migration.



VIOLENCE AND GUN RELATED STATISTICS

Handguns and assault weapons have become the fastest growing cause of violence in South Africa.

Probably one in every five people in South Africa owns a gun and many of those illegally. If one is in a lift, bus, taxi, place of worship, school or shopping centre it should be noted that someone is no doubt carrying a gun.

1993/94

16 000 registered firearms were retrieved (According to the Minister of Safety & Security, Sydney Mufamadi, reported in September 1995).

1994

- 7 083 people were murdered with firearms
- 17 744 attempted murders involved guns (These figures only reflect the number reported and not necessarily the actual number of people killed)
- As at the end of this year, there were 3,95 million licensed firearms in South Africa.
- Of the 844 firearms confiscated in Gauteng, 386 were AK-47 rifles and 120 hand made firearms. A total of 1 650 revolvers and pistols were confiscated, 547 explosives and 67 301 rounds of ammunition. 1 214 suspects were arrested.

1995

- Between January and August, 8 738 firearms were either lost or stolen.
- Trade and possession of illegal firearms escalated from January 1994 to July 1995 (SAPS Johannesburg area Commissioner, Gen Frans Malherbe, Business Day).

No one knows exactly how many illegal firearms there are in circulation (this includes hand made firearms), but there has been a significant increase in the number entering the country. This is partly revealed through the increase in the number of illegal weapons and ammunition recovered and confiscated by the South African Police over the past few years:

Year	Weapons Recovered
1988	4,698
1991	7,322
1993	9,556
1994	8,838

The conviction rate of criminals arrested on charges of illegal possession of firearms is relatively poor at 47%.

Nearly 20 000 Criminals have Gun Licences

In a February 20 report to the media Minister of Safety and Security Minister Mufamadi shared preliminary findings about the Central Firearms Register:

- more than 19 600 people with criminal records are licensed gun-owners
- an additional 1 901 who had been declared unfit to possess firearms still had them
- between April 1993 and August 1996, 187 857 firearms had been lost or stolen
- South Africa had 653 gunshops and 3,3 million licensed firearms in the names of 2 million people. 12 470 individuals possessed 10 or more registered guns and 62 people had between 50 and 648, even though not all of them were declared collectors
- State-owned firearms were not recorded in the Central Firearms Register. A total of 18 600 firearms had been reported lost by the SA Police, 1 103 of which were later found to have been relicensed by private individuals...

Police reported a slight improvement in the recovery of firearms, from 16 291 in 1995 to 18 659 last year but this fell well short of the annual increase in the number of guns in circulation illegally.

Cape Argus 21/2/97

WORKING GUIDELINES

The Role of the Police

Although the SAPS is in the process of transforming it has a long way to go. Many South Africans still do not feel that the police have the capacity to respond to their security needs. That is one of the reasons why people continue to buy guns to protect themselves in their homes.

However, the police are not just there to protect you in your home. They are a public service and thus are also responsible for protection services in public areas such as community centres, shopping areas and schools.

When we expect the government or the police services to do everything for us, we isolate ourselves from each other.

Since the beginning of 1995 many Community Police Forums (CPF's) have been established around the country, particularly in Gauteng.

A CPF develops and maintains a partnership between the community and the South African Police Service (SAPS) with a view to:

- promoting communication between the community and the Service
- promoting cooperation between the Service and the community in addressing the policing needs of the community
- improving the rendering of police services to the community, and
- promoting joint problem identification and the solving of these problems.

In some areas CPF's have worked very well, but this has not been true for all CPF's. Effort from all parties involved is always needed to ensure success. However, where they have worked well, there has been a reduction in crime in the area.

The Gun Free Zone initiative is based on a similar idea to that of a CPF - that is empowering communities to assist in developing their immediate environment and maintaining it as a safe and healthy area to live in.

It is important to work with the police in creating a more safe and healthy environment in your community, so that you and your family can be free from the fear of gun violence.

Remember the police are here to serve you and you should try to work with them as much as possible in combating crime and establishing a more peaceful society.

It is important that you become involved in your local CPF. Encourage it to discuss the idea of your community becoming a gun free area. You can start small by making places which are most often used by children, such as the local public swimming baths, schools, parks and libraries gun free zones. If the members of the CPF agree to this it means that everyone, including the police can help keep these particular areas free from guns.

Angola in a state of near-war

Chris Gordon

THE last act in Angola's cold war is now in motion in the diamond-mining region of the Lundas as the opposition party Unita and the Angolan army FAA

confront each other across the disputed province.

What should have been a quick operation by FAA to regain control of the Democratic Republic of Congo border and bring Unita to the negotiating table has escalated to a state of near-war.

An unconfirmed report from Luanda said President Eduardo Dos Santos gave the go-ahead for a two-week offensive to contain the militias coming in from the former Zaire, and to recapture Unita-controlled diamond fields.

FAA moved into the region four weeks ago to stem the flood of Hutu militias and refugees. Reports suggest members of ex-president Mobutu Sese Seko's presidential guard were also crossing into Angola to join Unita.

Cafunfo, the mining town and FAA base in the diamond-rich northern Cuango valley was reinforced in a secret operation and used to attack Luzamba, Unita's diamond-mining base. But Unita repelled the attacks after FAA seriously underestimated Unita's armaments.

In theory, Unita had been disarmed and had quartered its troops under United Nations supervision. In reality there has been a build-up of Unita's strength over several months.

Despite the UN's efforts, elite units of the Unita army did not go into cantonment, and up to a third of the 67 000 demobilised troops have since deserted. Effectively, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's army has reduced little.

Mobutu's fall and efforts by his nemesis, President Laurent Kabila, and FAA to control the border have cost Unita its rear bases, and its supply lines through the former Zaire. Africa's long borders and open skies, though, pose major problems for real control.

One source, who cannot be named, said there

is no doubt large quantities of arms for Unita are seeping into the country, with 1994 and 1995 manufacture dates, including new Stinger missiles. The United States embassy in Luanda told the *Mail & Guardian* Unita had returned all the Stinger missiles supplied by the US as part of its covert war against Angola in the 1980s.

Much of the new materiel is from Eastern Europe. However, reports suggest arms for Unita are still being channelled via Unita's supporters in South Africa.

Though Angola's Government of Unity and Reconciliation contains Unita ministers, the party led by Savimbi from his Bailondo headquarters does not seem to be giving up his agenda. Unita controls 80% of Angola's diamond areas, which it seized in 1992 to finance the war against the government forces after it rejected the UN-monitored election results.

Control of the Cuango Valley netted Unita income averaging \$500-million a year. The organisation was expected to surrender the diamond mines after the government of national unity was installed in April, but Savimbi is clearly reluctant to cede control.

The UN peacekeeping operation in Angola confirmed this week that a group including mil-



Dos Santos: Go-ahead for two-week offensive

SA supplying arms to Unita

Peta Thornycroft

WAR materiel from South Africa is being supplied to Angola's Unita movement, according to reports by the Institute for Security Studies. One of the institute's senior researchers, Jackie Potgieter, says he has seen military supplies being off-loaded and stored in northern Mozambique for shipment to Unita forces along Angola's border with the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The origin of the materiel is unclear — many of the arms are thought to have come from eastern Europe, particularly Bulgaria, while equipment such as ration packs and medical supplies are South African-made.

The fighting in north-eastern Angola is gathering momentum for what looks like full-scale war, and South Africa's assistance for Unita is once more the subject of intense concern.

Unita's army has regrouped and, while its traditional supply route via eastern Zaire may have been disrupted, Potgieter says, it is now being re-armed via Mozambique. He says Unita also

uses this route to export its spoils from eastern Angola — diamonds, ivory and what looked like rhino horn.

Potgieter, a former artillery officer in the then South African Defence Force, went on two field trips to Mozambique last November and this March.

His reports say weapons are transported to a Taiwanese prawn-processing plant near Mozambique's most northerly port, Nacala.

"The small arms and ammunition are sent by Cessna 210s from Nampula [about 50km from Nacala] into Angola. These planes do not have South African registrations," Potgieter says.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
June 20 to 26 1997

"I also saw DC3s being used, and I have seen one of those planes at a runway near Pretoria."

Potgieter says he saw the planes being loaded in Nampula last November, when he believes the arms-trafficking began.

He also saw a coaster, with an Indian flag, discharging cargo at Nacala. Boxes of weapons and probably ammunition were stored in grain silos before being airlifted to Unita.

"In the past, South Africa supplied Unita with weapons, and it makes sense for them to order 60mm and 80mm mortars and 106mm anti-tank ammo from this country. Russian ammo doesn't fit," Potgieter says.

"Perhaps Unita is being supplied by France, or even Israel. I saw a well-known Israeli weapons dealer in Lunda Sul and Norte in March, but it is more likely the ammo comes through old contacts from South Africa," he adds.

Potgieter will be releasing two reports on the movement and proliferation of small arms and how Mozambique has become a major route for the supply of weapons in the subcontinent.

Exports of South African armaments have to be authorised by the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, chaired by Kader Asmal. The committee authorises arms exports after examining end-user certificates. It said it would never authorise the supply of weapons, ammunition or materials of war to Angola, or to any organisations or individuals.

However, falsification of end-user certificates has been going on for as long as the United Nations has been embargoing weapons supplies.





EVAPORATING SANCTUARY? *The Okavango Delta in Botswana is home to thousands of animals.*

Southern Africa's Oasis May Turn to Dust

By Judith Matloff

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MAUN, BOTSWANA

AT the edge of the Kalahari Desert, the world's largest oasis shimmers improbably near the arid sands.

The Okavango River, which rises in Angola, flows down through Namibia into Botswana to create a dazzling chain of lagoons and pools. Thousands of birds, lions, elephants, and 100,000 people depend on the water to survive in what is the planet's largest delta.

But now, Botswana worries, its neighbor Namibia may turn the sanctuary into dust.

Namibia, the driest African country south of the Sahara, wants to drain what it says is a fraction of the 5,800-square-mile Okavango Delta to offset a five-year drought. Its plan for a 155-mile pipeline would tap 20 million cubic meters out of a total 10 billion flowing into the delta yearly.

Experts in Botswana say this could ruin what is a pristine World Heritage Site and wreck the tourism that is the country's third-largest foreign-currency earner.

"Here in Africa, shortage of water is a huge issue," says Moremi Sekwale, Botswana's chief

matter has been referred to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Officials hope the water-pipeline issue will be resolved with greater ease.

Botswana's concern is that the floods that normally feed the delta have not come down from Angola's highlands for more than five years. This means there is even less water to spare.

The situation has gotten so grave that a tributary, the Thamalakane River near the delta's safari capital, Maun, has dried up — and with it the fish and tswii aquatic weed on which villagers have subsisted for generations.

Thorn bushes six feet tall now grow in the dusty river bed. There are no more river reeds to build traditional huts or weave baskets. Grazing land and gardens have withered away.

The thought that Namibia might take even more water from the Okavango River angers local residents. Among them is Lewanika Machangane, a Maun father of five who has worked as a game ranger for 15 years.

"If the delta is dry, there are no animals," he says. "If there are no animals, there are no tourists. If there are no tourists, I lose my job."

Just a drop in the bucket?

Namibia insists that the water taken would be just a small amount.

"Our demands are insignificant if one considers how much water flows into the delta," Piet Heyns, a director of Namibia's agriculture and water ministry, said recently.

The problem is not how much water is taken, however, but where it is taken from, says Lars Ramburg, director of Botswana University's Okavango Research Center in Maun.

Even the loss of a fraction of an inch could impact wildlife, he says, adding: "The magnitude of the potential damage is still unknown."

"The question is not that only 1 percent of water will be lost but where it would be [lost]. Maybe 150 square kilometers [90 square miles] of flood plain would be lost. This would be mainly on the fringe, where most of the people live."

Under a water protocol signed by Southern African Development Community states, Namibia has the right to use the water in its territory. But it must carry out an assessment study proving there will be no harm to fellow basin states Angola and Botswana.

A study was hastily done by Namibia recently, but has yet to be made public.

The three countries are trying to resolve

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Tuesday, July 22, 1997

9



the dispute in Okacom, the joint commission. Despite protestations on all sides that communications are good, they have yet to find common ground.

Search for solutions

Namibia is reluctant to explore desalination of seawater from its coast — an option proposed by Botswana's scientists — saying that would cost six times more than the estimated cost of the Okavango pipeline.

For a while, it looked as if recent rains might solve the problem. The Namibian government said it now had enough water for four or five years. But earlier this month, the Cabinet recommended that assessment continue on the pipeline idea.

"We still need to talk," Mr. Sekwale says.

AFRICA from Page 1

representative to Okacom, a joint commission dealing with the dispute. "Damage to the delta is unacceptable, no matter how small."

More precious than diamonds

It is logical that water would provoke a dispute in this normally amicable corner of Africa. Water — not oil, gold, or diamonds — is Africa's most valuable resource. It is likely to become the most-pressing issue in decades to come as droughts and growing populations empty the taps.

Egypt and Sudan are among those who have sparred over water. Mozambique accuses its neighbors of not sharing theirs. Signs asking residents to conserve water are common in the more-arid countries. So precious is the resource that South Africa named one of its most capable administrators to head its water ministry.

The Okavango squabble comes amid territorial tensions between Botswana and Namibia over a tiny island, Sedudu. That

Pretoria's arms industry fights for survival

By Alec Russell in Johannesburg

1997/6/27

SOUTH AFRICA'S multi-million-pound arms industry, the golden egg of the former white minority regime, is battling for its survival after the latest swingeing cut in the defence budget.

Arms production and military spending went unquestioned during the 1980s, when army hawks virtually ran South Africa and took the fight against the African National Congress to neighbouring countries.

But, since the end of the Cold War, defence spending has been more than halved as the "guns versus butter" debate has come to the fore.

Armcor, the state arms procurement agency, said yesterday that the latest cut of £100 million (about seven per cent of the budget) threatened tens of thousands of jobs. Some of its most prestigious projects, including the Rooivalk attack helicopter, are said to be on the brink of closure.

"It is a catastrophe," said Billy Nell, an Armcor spokesman. "It makes sense to distribute money where possible to social upliftment. But defence spending has decreased by 57 per cent in eight years."

"This will have a terrible effect on the industry and the economy. Hundreds of companies may close."

"The government says it wants the army to play a leading role in the region. It will not be able to do this with all these cuts."

Military analysts suggest that Armcor and the generals have themselves to blame and that they should have

started several years ago to reassess their role. Dr Lakkie Gilliers, the director of the Institute of Security Studies, said the army should stop squandering resources on the outdated policy of combating a military offensive.

Instead, it should concentrate on patrolling the frontiers to stem the tide of illegal immigrants and help the police in combating crime.

"The military is sabotaging itself with obstinate defiance of logic," he said. "It's obvious to all but the defence force that a policy based on high-technology warfare wins few friends."

South Africa developed a highly profitable arms industry during the years of isolation that followed the United Nations' 1977 anti-apartheid arms embargo.

After the lifting of the embargo in 1994, some of its products, including the Rooivalk helicopter and the G5 and G6 artillery, competed with the best on the international market.

After years of condemning the arms trade, on taking office in 1994 the ANC surprised the generals by the readiness with which it changed tack and accepted the pragmatic argument for maintaining the industry.

As so often President Mandela led the way by opening South Africa's first post-apartheid military trade fair.

While South Africa has less than one per cent of the world's arms sales, the industry is worth hundreds of millions of pounds annually and employs about 70,000 people.

Mobutu couldn't afford SA mercenaries

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Peta Thornycroft

STORIES are emerging about the dying days of Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo, and how South African mercenaries and desperadoes tried to make a quick buck out of the tottering regime of Mobutu Sese Selo.

As rebel leader Laurent Kabila's men prepared their final march on Kinshasa, Mobutu loyalists were in South Africa recruiting former soldiers and volunteers.

But their efforts to recruit a South African force to shore up Zaire's undisciplined and underpaid army came to nothing as Mobutu's strongmen apparently had no money. Those who went into Kinshasa had to flee for their lives ahead of looters in the Zairean army.

"We thought the deal would be for about R30-million," said Pretoria lawyer Harold Miller this week. "The mo-

ney never came, and so we didn't go." He said he and others had been talking to one of the more efficient Zairean officers, General Marc Kabeleleko Bokungo.

Among the group who tried to get military work in Zaire were those who had previously served with South Africa's best-known company of mercenaries and military trainers, Executive Outcomes.

Executive Outcomes always maintained it would have no dealings with Mobutu, but confirmed this week that some former employees were among the soldiers of fortune who either showed up in Kinshasa or tried to get hired by the Zairean government.

A recent edition of the London-based fortnightly newsletter, *Africa Confidential*, has published details of some of the efforts of Mobutu's men to recruit South Africans. One of them, a former soldier in the South African Defence Force, Marwitz le Roux of Pre-

toría, refused to answer questions this week. The newsletter reports him as a former member of Executive Outcomes who briefly served the company in its first exploit, guarding Angolan oilfields in Soyo, in 1983.

Le Roux runs a security company, Safesec, which the newsletter says has a contract to provide personal guards for a former Mobutu loyalist, Kyema Barramoto, now reportedly living in Wandrywood, north of Johannesburg.

Africa Confidential names a company, Stablico, registered in the late of Man, which hired the bulk of the recruits for Zaire. It names some of them: former air force officer Neil Ellis, and former defence force colonels Roel van Heerden and Reuter Hugo.

Most of the men who tried to get hired by Stablico never made it to Zaire, but among those who did were kills and pilot Johan Joubert, who had to escape into the Central African Republic after being attacked by

Zairean army looters when Kinshasa fell to the rebels.

The newsletter also reports that a former defence force officer, Ian Jacobus Liebenberg, together with 12 South Africans and several foreign military advisers, formed a special unit on the other side of the Congo River in Brazzaville helping President Pascal Lissouba. Liebenberg has also reportedly facilitated the purchase of South African arms and Nyala armoured cars.

Africa Confidential says some UNITA soldiers are also fighting alongside Lissouba's militia.

Meanwhile, Executive Outcomes's chairman Eben Barlow and his deputy, Lefras Lattinugh, have pulled out of the company. It is now run by CEO Nick van den Berg, the publicly-ally former paratrooper who headed up its successful and highly profitable operation for the Angolan government and its aborted contract in Papua New Guinea earlier this year. Barlow is overseas at present, and Executive Outcomes has moved offices from his home. Barlow is

understood to have retained his links with various companies formerly associated with Executive Outcomes, such as the Angolan-registered *the Air*. Lattinugh said he had "had enough of that life" and was going into business as a consultant.

Van den Berg said he, Barlow and Lattinugh remained friends, but that Executive Outcomes had severed ties with all the other companies, local and foreign.

He said Executive Outcomes consisted of security consultants and trainers and looked forward to legislation which will make it illegal for South Africans to become involved with military activities in foreign countries.

"The legislation will stop fly-by-nighters. But we hope it will allow us to respond to clients' needs quickly." He said he still had to study details of the proposed legislation. Meanwhile, he said, Executive Outcomes was at present not operating anywhere outside South Africa.

Angola prepares for final showdown

As both Unita and the Angolan government begin to redeploy their troops, US diplomats are desperately trying to save the Lusaka Peace Accord, reports **Chris Gordon**

AS evidence emerges of massive Unita military duplicity in Angola and the government in Luanda mobilises for full-scale war, frenetic diplomatic activities are under way to try to save the country's fragile peace accord.

Angola is on a knife-edge and Chester Crocker, Ronald Reagan's constructive-engagement guru, has flown into Luanda ostensibly to salvage the peace. Massive pressure is being brought to bear on Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, to disarm and hand over occupied areas of the country, including the diamond mines, to state administration.

Diplomats in Luanda have made clear that the alternative is a major military action against Unita within weeks, as it has become evident that Unita has rearmend and is regrouping its army.

While both sides prepare for the final showdown, the United Nations is fine-tuning its plans to evacuate about 5 000 troops and support personnel who had been brought in to monitor the country's transition to peace.

The weight of proof for the growth of Unita's military organisation over the past months is overwhelming, and is confirmed from inside Unita. Colonel Altino Kassanjil, who had served with Unita for 20 years then fled the organisation, claimed on June 24 that Savimbi's intention was to return to war in order improve on the terms of the Lusaka Peace Accords.

Challenged by journalists as to his motives for deserting Unita, Kassanjil told a press conference in Luanda that he no longer knew what Unita was fighting for. He said he had no personal motive for deserting; he had stayed with the organisation even though his sister, described as the Unita leader's wife, had been killed in unexplained circumstances in 1982. Kassanjil said

he would have left then if his motives had been in any way personal.

While diplomatic sources have suggested Kassanjil had left Unita before June, and been kept "on ice", no one is disputing the truth of his story. Kassanjil claimed that Unita had quartered only 25% of its 85 000 troops. Unita says it only has mining police and Savimbi's personal guard under arms.

Kassanjil said: "Nowhere else will you find mining police armed with RPG-7 and D30 long range artillery." He added that Unita's troops in Lunda Norte and Sul are organised into small bands of 10 to 15 men operating in the bush.

Since 1995, Unita's military effort has been concentrated in the Lundas where Unita has kept secret bases, airports and stockpiled weapons, out of sight of the UN Angola Monitoring and Verification Mission (Unavem III).

Diamond industry sources say weapons dating from 1995 have been identified in recent weeks in the Cuango Valley. Unita maintains its diamond mining operations there. American Stinger missiles were also seen, despite US assurances that these were handed back at the end of the US/CIA covert operation to supply Unita, prior to the elections in 1992.

Reports of a major resupply operation to Unita, via Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), from November last year onwards surfaced in *The Washington Post* in March.

The South African Institute for Security Studies investigated Unita's supply of small arms, finding supply lines were still in operation in April, when the new Angolan Government of Unity and National Reconciliation was being installed in Luanda.

The UN finally agreed Unita "has an unknown number of men under arms". Estimates vary from 25 000 to 65 000 men. A long-standing Unita



Stand to: Government troops are rearming to go after Unita

PHOTOGRAPH: STEFAANS BRÜMMER

front company Faram, operating from Johannesburg, has been flying field rations and medical supplies to Unita's Angola bases. This operation has provided supplies for between 45 000 and 65 000 people per month.

Troops loyal to Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos have reinforced Saurimo in eastern Angola and the nearby Catoca diamond mine. The

Forces Armada Angolana (FAA) has beefed up security along the main road leading to the Cuango, and established a presence along a wide area around Huambo in the highlands and the south-west.

FAA has about 70 000 men under arms, but there are concerns about the cohesion of the force since it opened its ranks to Unita youths who

showed up at the UN's quartering bases after the peace accord.

This week's visit to Angola by Crocker and his colleague Maurice Templesman, *diamantaire* and African deal-maker, may bring Unita to recognise the realities of its position following the fall of its erstwhile ally, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, which damaged part of its main supply lines.

The question is: what will Savimbi accept as a settlement to demilitarise?

The answer, says one diamond industry source is that "the US should make Unita an offer it can't refuse", while two influential US king-makers can present the realities to the Unita warlord.

Unita has already been offered shareholdings in the Cuango Valley mines, although these could not match its income of at least \$600-million last year. In an attempt to speed Unita's withdrawal from the region, Unita was given three diamond mining concessions, and allowed to form a diamond mining and buying company, SGM. Unita has made no response to the shareholding offers, and Paulino Neto, director of diamond parastatal Endiama, says that Unita is still mining diamonds illegally.

The UN has demanded that Unita provides full information on all its military personnel. The deadline for the secretary general's report is August 15. As yet Unita has not given any information. Diplomats expect the next step to be additional sanctions against Unita.

Sources close to the UN believe Unita will comply in part at the last minute, its standard response to UN pressure. This will not stave off war, though.

The question diplomats are asking is how long the Angolan government can hold off, and will it wait for the international approval of a UN resolution before proceeding against Unita. Engaging Unita during the impending wet season will make the FAA's task all the more difficult.