INTERVIEW: THE REVEREND T.S. FARISANI

Reverend Tschenuani Farisani, a dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa, is presently a visiting scholar at Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary in California. Rev. Farisani has written Diary from a South African Prison, Justice in My Tenets, and In Transit. He was interviewed in February by Kevin Brennan, Editor of SASPOST.

SASPOST: What human rights changes did you notice during your two trips in 1990?

FARISANI: Politically, organizations forced underground are now operating aboveground. There is more freedom of movement and expression. But security laws remain in place, political prisoners remain behind bars, people remain in exile, and the State of Emergency remains in effect in certain areas. There is informal repression, by vigilante groups, right wingers, and police. There are problems with the psychological, political, and ideological orientation of the community because of the socialization processes through which people were prepared for their role in society. We have problems in education, in the facilities, the discrepancy between expenditure per capita, the qualification of teachers, and in the substance that is taught in schools. Blacks start out disadvantaged, but whites are also disadvantaged, because their education prepares them for life in a distorted fashion. We must create a radically new structural context within which to build a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa.

No oppressor ever elevated the oppressed to his own level. It is not until our Mandelas, Tambos and others are taking part in the government that we will begin to see meaningful change.

SASPOST: How is the indemnity process working, as you’ve seen it?

FARISANI: The government has come up with strict requirements and forms to fill in. These forms have proven unpalatable and unappreciated to the liberation movements and our exile community. The government is making it as difficult as possible for people to return to South Africa. This was not unexpected. It’s not as if we’re dealing with a new government that fell from heaven yesterday.

My own experience with the exile community was that the majority feel these forms are abominable, are meant as an insult, and are a humiliating instrument. Some of the questions asked are associated by people with interrogation in solitary confinement.

I am hoping that as the consultative conference demanded, the government will understand these problems and solve them as soon as possible.

SASPOST: How much hope do you have of that?

FARISANI: I’ve always regarded myself as a diehard optimist. The liberation struggle of our people started many centuries before I was born. We were taught of South Africa’s having power, militarily, to drink tea in Cape Town, lunch in Lusaka, and dinner in Cairo.

We battled the apartheid regime because we believed that if we fought, it would give way, and a tunnel would be bored, a tunnel that would lead us to a free South Africa. Without idealizing the process of negotiations, I am aware that things can go wrong, and one can not rule out the possibility of our people going back to the bush.

The government signed the Nkomati Accord and what happened? They entered into agreements with Angola and what happened? You can not trust them too far, but you want to give them the benefit of the doubt, and I am optimistic that most white people and by far the majority of our people want to see a negotiated settlement. We think too many have died, too many have suffered and too much economic hardship has come to our country.

SASPOST: Is there anything you can say about those formerly in exile, who have returned permanently?

FARISANI: I think for the majority of our people, South Africa, in spite of everything, is the best country in the world. Many people who have returned to the country are happy to be with their kin, to see the rivers, the trees, the mountains and the towns they have missed for so long. They look forward to taking part in the transitional period and in the birth of a new democratic, non-racial South Africa.

I would think that the experiences of most of our people who go home are a mixed bag. You want to believe that you will be walking in downtown paradise when you go back to South Africa, but it doesn’t take long before you are reminded that a difficult situation still exists. People know they have potential but they are still being denied the driver’s license, though they can drive better than the person who is now behind the driver’s seat.

The mood is one of expectation of hard work. Our people realize that they are the last country to become free on the continent, and all the difficulties serve to inspire them to harder work, because they don’t want to move into the next century still as slaves. 

SASPOST: How do you see what is happening in South Africa as reported in the western press, as opposed to what you saw while you were there?

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FARISANI: I will say that our case is not represented solely by the media. It is represented by individuals. There are many human rights groups presenting our case. I don’t want to ignore these contributions about which the media in this country has reported. For example, Congress would not have passed the limited sanctions against South Africa were it not for these groups.

Clearly, there are conservative media that continue to project the liberation movement as a struggle of devilish communists who want to throw the white people into the ocean. It is in their interest to keep the status quo, because they benefit economically.

I think I must be democratic. People have the right to differ with our position. Some may agree with ending apartheid but disagree ideologically on some aspect of our aspirations. I must be realistic to accommodate those who differ with us. I am disappointed that the changes are attributed to de Klerk as if he used some magic wand to turn things around. When there are changes in the Soviet Union or the People’s Republic of China or Eastern Europe, the same media attributes the changes to the struggles of democratic forces.

The changes in South Africa must be attributed to those willing to spend years behind bars in the struggle for liberation, and to our men and women who sacrificed their lives in this struggle.

South Africa has one of the world’s most oppressive governments, but every change that comes is credited to the oppressor and not to the oppressed.

I think history will judge in our favor. The changes in South Africa must be attributed to those willing to spend years behind bars in the struggle for liberation, and to our men and women who sacrificed their lives in this struggle. Credit must go to our allies—the Non-Aligned Movement, the UN, and the OAU who threw their weight behind our struggle and made the apartheid regime feel isolated and vulnerable. If we must percentage the credit, I would give 95% to our people and 4% to the international community.

Clearly de Klerk is different from his predecessors. He is intelligent, and he has a level of integrity. So, I think de Klerk deserves 1% of the credit.

Unfortunately, the media deified de Klerk. He’s a white Messiah saving the black people of South Africa. These media people want to lift sanctions now. They won’t wait for those of us in the apartheid oven to tell them when the temperature is low enough.

In saying credit must go to our people, we are not just referring to black people. We include people from the Asian community, the colored community, even the white community, who participated in the struggle that has brought de Klerk where he is today.

SASPOST: How has the media changed within the country?

FARISANI: The New Nation, the Weekly Mail and others, these progressive newspapers have literally earned their right to live. They fought in the streets and in the courts, using every means at their disposal to defend their right to exist. Our greatest problem is the SABC, which projects government perspectives and promotes black puppets, while distorting the image of the liberation movement.

I would say that the progressive media in South Africa compares with the progressive media in the U.S., and most of the media in the U.S. compares with the government-controlled media in South Africa. In fact, I detect some cooperation between the main line media here, and the South African government-controlled media.

SASPOST: Any final things which you might offer to those who are here?

FARISANI: In a sense, we South Africans are a most unprivileged group in that we are the last country in the continent to work towards our freedom. On the other hand, we have been scattered all over the planet, studying and experiencing different political, economic, social, and cultural systems. With the wisdom that we’ve gained, I hope that we can create a South Africa that we have been dreaming about. I encourage those of our people who live abroad to go back and touch the grassroots. We used our skills to destroy apartheid. Now we need those skills in a new, democratic South Africa. At the same time, I think it is important that the changes not so overexcite us that we drop our study programs, but inspire us to greater academic heights, so we can go back to our country and occupy crucial positions when the day of freedom comes.

Another thing I observed is the unity of the people across the country. They are inspired, and that spirit could also affect those of us abroad to reach even greater heights of unity. I’m not minimizing the problems that are taking place. We’re aware of these problems, but they affect only a small fraction of our people willing to be used in destabilizing the process of liberation and freedom. A majority of our people support the ANC/UDF/Cosatu Alliance. Others support the BCM, some would support Inkatha.

The existence of the different political parties should serve democratic ends, not military ends. Because then we can begin to build a democracy, for which so much has been sacrificed.
South African Violence Escalates

Inkatha recruitment drive targets rift between ANC rivals and black township councilmen

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DAVEYTON, SOUTH AFRICA

The Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party is flexing its political muscle in townships like this where police shot and killed 12 people on March 24.

The rival African National Congress condemned the shootings as "savage and unprovoked murder" and demanded an independent investigation and the immediate suspension of the police involved.

The police shootings took place a mile from a Daveyton sports stadium shortly before an Inkatha rally on March 24.

Escalating conflict in the townships coincides with the slowing of the national negotiating process in which the government appears increasingly confident and the ANC under mounting strain from a constituency resisting joint rule.

Eyewitnesses told the Monitor that the police had opened fire without provocation on the 200-strong crowd from two sides and that the men had been forced to defend themselves.

The men, armed with axes, spears, and sticks, were discussing strategy in the event of an Inkatha attack, the witnesses said.

But a police spokesman said the police opened fire in self-defense after being attacked by the crowd.

During the clash, a white policeman, Lance Sergeant P. van Wyk, was killed by the crowd.

Benecath the tragedy of Daveyton, another episode in a spiral of violence in the country's segregated black townships, lies a pattern of increasing political and tribal tension.

The pattern suggests that the ANC is battling to control some of those it counts as its supporters — notably young radicals, known as "comrades," and Xhosa-speaking migrant workers, known as the Amabutho.

Inkatha, also facing divisions between "warlords" and peace advocates, is relying on a more hierarchical tribal authority to exploit the ANC's organizational weakness. It appears to be pursuing an aggressive recruitment drive under the mantle of spreading the message of the peace accord between ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha finds focus

Inkatha appears to have found a focus for its political campaign in the urban townships by appealing to beleaguered black councilors, who are under ANC pressure to resign because of their collaboration with apartheid.

The most notable feature of the last two outbreaks of urban violence — at Alexandra and Daveyton near Benoni — is that key local black councilors are recent Inkatha converts.

In Alexandra, Prince Mokoele, the non-Zulu mayor of the non-Zulu Alexandra Town Council, joined Inkatha shortly before the outbreak of violence there three weeks ago.

In Daveyton, a township about 30 miles from Johannesburg, Mayor Marius Mhlongo, who replaced the more popular Tom Mhlongo after he quit last year, is also a recent Inkatha convert.

"For a long time these councilors did not have a political home," says Inkatha Central Committee member Musa Myeni, the most senior Inkatha official in the Johannesburg area. "They came to us and we urged them to rise above local politics and join a national political party like Inkatha, which has the capacity and ability to protect citizens in various areas."

Mhlongo, who attended the Daveyton rally, said it was held to inaugurate the local Inkatha branch and to spread the Mandela-Buthelezi peace pact message.

Mr. Myeni, who attended the Daveyton rally, said it was held to inaugurate the local Inkatha branch and to spread the Mandela-Buthelezi peace pact message.

Mr. Mhlongo said he was prevented by soldiers at a gispoint from taking two seriously injured people to the hospital after the shootings.

President Frederik de Klerk vowed that there would be a proper investigation of the shootings, but he demanded that political leaders put an end to the "faction fighting" among their supporters.

Since Chief Buthelezi and Mr. Mandela signed their peace pact at the end of January, political violence has left more than 200 dead. The toll this month is already approaching 1990 levels, when about 300 people a month were killed and a total of 3,500 people died in political violence.

The ANC campaign against the councilmen — scores of whom have quit — is led by the recently-formed Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (CAST), an umbrella-group headed by the ANC's Moses Mayekiso.

In recent months, Inkatha has launched a counteroffensive by actively recruiting the beleaguered councilors and offering them a political home. "CAST knows very well that if they dare touch one of our members there will be trouble," says Inkatha's Musa Myeni.

Groups add recruits

Inkatha does not take part in local council politics, but it appears to have found fertile ground for recruitment, often beyond Zulu ranks, by befriending black councilors.

"In this way we have been able to penetrate areas which we were unable to reach before," says Myeni.

The Inkatha strategy, which puts them in a natural alliance with the ruling National Party and the security forces, appears to have slowed down the earlier success of the ANC-backed campaign.

The Pretoria government has acknowledged that segregated black councils must end but insists that the present councils should remain until a more representative system of local government is negotiated.

In its reaction to the March 21 police shooting, the ANC did not claim political responsibility for the armed vigilantes and came as close as it has to admitting a tribal element in the township tension.

The ANC statement said that the police had confronted a crowd of "mainly Xhosa-speaking migrant workers armed with cultural weapons" while their leaders were still negotiating with the police.

Talking with the police

Khaya Leve, who was one of a three-person delegation who negotiated with the police minutes before the shooting, said the men — known as the Amabutho — were discussing how they could protect the community in case of an Inkatha attack.

"We had no intention of attacking Inkatha," says Mr. Leve. "The only purpose of the gathering was to protect the community in case of an Inkatha attack."

But Myeni insists Inkatha's intelligence was that the group had plans to disrupt the meeting and precipitate a major war between the two sides.

"The police spotted them just in time," he said.

But Leve counters that local ANC-backed civic leaders of the Daveyton Interim Committee had taken steps to avoid a confrontation by meeting twice earlier with Inkatha officials and a priest.

"The community of Daveyton is not opposed to the existence of any political organization in our township," Leve says. "But we insist that their members must act in a peaceful way."

Matches by the warrior-like Zulus armed with sticks, shields and axes are the source of major tension in the black townships and are invariably preceded by rumors of a Zulu attack.
The Killing Fields
Who Is Gatsha Buthelezi and Why Is He Killing People?

Too sensationalist a sub-head? No indeed. For it seems necessary to underscore, as graphically as possible, a few home-truths about the grotesque slaughter that has been occurring in South Africa in recent months, first in Natal and now in the Transvaal. Necessary because so much media coverage of these events has tended to miss the main point, using time-honoured clichés about "tribal warfare," "black-on-black violence" and the like to mask a reality that, at least in certain of its crucial particulars, is much more straightforward than that. Thus Toronto's Globe and Mail talks glibly of "intercultural conflicts amongst two distinguished ethnic groups" while ridiculing "the ANC [suggestion] that the violence has been orchestrated solely to bring Mr. Buthelezi more prominently into the political picture." Yet the ANC's explanation is substantially correct, certainly far closer to the truth than the Globe's "orgy of tribal bloodletting" synopsis of events.

At the root of the troubles is, indeed, Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland and principal leader of the KwaZulu-based political movement, Inkatha. Accepting participation in the government's Bantustan scheme in 1970 (though consistently refusing "independence" thereafter), he revived a moribund Zulu nationalist organization, Inkatha, in 1975 in order to provide a political base for himself. Painted as a moderate because of his capitalist leanings (including firm rejection of any form of sanctions) and his rejection of armed struggle (and indeed of most other militant forms of confrontation with the state), he and his cronies proved, more or less from the outset, to be anything but moderate in their brutal manner of consolidating their hold on power in KwaZulu. (Inkatha's extraordinary rape of the university campus at Ngoye in 1983 is merely one particularly graphic example of a far more general pattern in this respect.) It is from this Bantustan base that Buthelezi, a man of infinite personal ambition, then sought to make himself available for any political outcome which could further this ambition.

In particular, he sought to position himself as a possible compromise candidate for the day when the contradictions of the apartheid system would seem to dictate some kind of reform option. The discussions around a power-sharing model for Natal (orchestrated around the "Buthelezi Commission" and within the KwA Natal Indaba) represented one earnest of this intention. Yet such was the strength of pan-South African nationalism within the black community that Buthelezi could never convincingly carry his tribal-tied and conservative politics beyond Natal. Moreover, it became increasingly apparent throughout the 1980s that the rising "Mass Democric Movement" — the chief protagonist of a broader national project — was also winning increasing support amongst the Zulu people themselves. Faced with the possible eclipse of its position, Inkatha slashed back brutally at ANC/UDF/COSATU supporters in Natal.

Take careful note: the violence that surfaced so dramatically in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere in 1988 and 1989 was between political groupings within the Zulu community. (It was not, that is to say, "tribal violence" in any meaningful sense.) And it was largely initiated as a political tactic by Inkatha, now increasingly on the political defensive and attempting to reconsolidate its position by force of arms. Of course, 1990 brought even more bad news for Buthelezi: the clear recognition by President F. W. De Klerk of the ANC's primacy within the black community and of its claim to co-equal status with the government in negotiating the future of South Africa. Buthelezi thus saw himself being shut out from the crucial early rounds of bargaining over a new constitution. He was no longer a preferred intermediary and, indeed, became increasingly fearful of a democratic constitution that promised not only to ignore all his mumbo-jumbo about "power-sharing" but even to sidetrack the prospect of recycling the Bantustan system — so long the chief underpinning of his power, in some kind of "federal" system.

How, then, to get to the bargaining table before having to face the none too tender mercies of the ballot box? There was an answer: if no longer quite credible, he could at least try to make himself indispensable. If you want a peaceful transition, he seemed to say, include me in, include me in or a great many more people will die. In some such mood, Inkatha carried its bloody tactics beyond Natal and into the Transvaal.

True, Buthelezi does have some social base, especially in the remote rural areas of KwaZulu where Inkatha's machine-style politics can dispense its patronage, where its closed and aggressive methods can serve to intimidate dissenters, and where its ethnic sloganeering can have some added resonance. This kind of politics has not played nearly so well in the more sophisticated urban townships of Natal, even if, in the mushrooming shanty-towns that now begin to ring the formal townships, the notorious Inkatha "warlords" have been able to establish some similar patterns of social control amongst a desperately impoverished and marginalized population. Moreover, this kind of warlord system seems to have found some echo in the tribally-exclusive and isolated migrant-labourer hostels of the Transvaal cities. It is from these hostels, of course, that Zulu men have been mobilized as the cutting edge of Inkatha terror.

Where are the denizens of the white power structure while this terror tactic has been playing itself out? White politicians have never been unduly worried by the fact that Buthelezi is not quite their creature. By and large, his ambitions could be absorbed in such a way as to reinforce their own, especially when he chose as his role to be the hammer of the popular movement. The evidence is strong that the police played, at the very least, a facilitating role on Inkatha's side in the Natal violence of the past several years. Now, perhaps, De Klerk and company (including his friends in

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the business community) may be less sanguine about Buthelezi’s utility – if they have, indeed, begun to define a new strategy, one premised on accepting the ANC as the primary interlocutor for (controlled) change. Yet it is also clear that there have been whites up to their elbows in the recent violence. Who are they?

They are right wing whites, needless to say, who have a brief or do they represent some shadowy whites, presented with the spectre of more generally, to panic other interlocutors. More likely, some argue, is up the ANC to be more pliable interlocutors. But they are right wing whites, needless to say, who have a brief or do they represent some shadowy “third force”? In fact, this latter distinction cannot be easily made, given the well-documented degree of police participation in ultra-right political groups. What can be confirmed more unequivocally – from numerous first-hand accounts – is the fact of active police involvement in the Transvaal killings, working alongside Inkatha to mobilize and transport the death squads within the townships.

Indeed, the involvement of the security forces in the violence may cut even deeper than that. A recent report in the Weekly Mail (September 21, 1990) documents the fact that, on at least one occasion (in 1986), an elite unit of Inkatha fighters was trained in guerrilla warfare by a division of the South African Defense Force at the Hippo Base in the Caprivi Strip. Further evidence points to the on-going training of Inkatha “hit-men” by the SADF at camps in KwaZulu itself. And there are signs, too, of collusion, in training and in general logistics, between these Inkatha forces and Renamo (the South African backed wrecking crew that has inflicted such damage upon neighbouring Mozambique) – including suggestions that some Renamo units may actually have been actively involved with Inkatha in the recent township offensives!

We return, inevitably, to the question of De Klerk’s role in all of this. Opinions differ, and no one can know for certain what that role is. Some see him as following a two-track policy, negotiating with the ANC while giving Inkatha just enough space to chip away at the ANC’s credibility and bargaining power. This is plausible, though it would be a dangerous tightrope for De Klerk to walk – at least as likely to produce a kind of social anarchy unattractive to De Klerk’s cronies in the business community as to soften up the ANC to be more pliable interlocutors. More likely, some argue, is that De Klerk cannot fully discipline his security apparatus which may now, to some degree, be operating at cross purposes from him. Whatever the case, the current situation certainly places the ANC in a particularly awkward position. They are inclined to accept De Klerk’s bona fides for purposes of getting on with negotiations but must remain uncertain of them, nevertheless. And they are inclined to call for state intervention to keep the peace but must continue to underscore, simultaneously, the fact that the state cannot be trusted to be even-handed in doing so.

These complexities suggest, in turn, another question. Could Buthelezi have been coopted to the popular movement by more political means before things had degenerated to this point? Could he even now be so coopted? A gesture by Mandela in this direction earlier this year was apparently ruled out of order by the ANC when Buthelezi tried to force his own extreme terms upon any such reconciliation. Was Mandela merely being naive about Buthelezi’s agenda on this occasion (or, to take another example, on the occasion of his Ted Koppel Town Hall appearance when he refused an opportunity to expose Buthelezi’s complicity in the violence as aggressively as he sought to expose the complicity of the South Africa police)? If so, there now seems even less excuse for such naiveté regarding Buthelezi’s role and intentions, but, with the possibility of Mandela’s meeting with Buthelezi now being revived, there may also be less room for manoeuvre. Buthelezi is, in effect, holding a gun to Mandela’s head, and one fears he may be having some success in his attempt – running far beyond any legitimate claims he might otherwise have – to bully his way to the centre of the negotiations table.

Alternatively, could the MDM – the ANC in particular – have been more successful in grounding its political presence in the townships in such a way as to erase the social tensions that Buthelezi and the security forces now seek to manipulate? For cooler heads have not always prevailed in the townships: Inkatha’s invocation of Zulu identity has sometimes triggered counter-ethnic claims, for example, and the radicalized youth has not always acted with the kind of political deftness and diplomacy that might help diffuse tensions rather than exacerbate them. Perhaps one can say that the ANC, deeply hostile to “tribalism,” deeply committed to a smooth transition to democracy, has been less effective than might have been hoped in establishing its active leadership on the ground – including within the hostels! – inside South Africa (cf. Anton Harber, “The ANC begins to wobble as it nears the home straight,” Weekly Mail, September 21, 1990). But one makes such criticisms ginerly, and at some risk, if only by implication, of permitting an underestimation of the ruthlessness of the enemies – those who seek to turn the townships into “killing fields” – who still block the road to establishing the premises of a peaceful democratic politics in South Africa.
From Dean T.S. Farisana comes an urgent message:

**THE SITUATION IN THE VENDA BANTUSTAN -- AN UPDATE -- APRIL 24, 1991**

While the whole world seems to be already celebrating the death of Apartheid, the situation here at home is quite different. The structures of Apartheid are still very much intact, and new forms of repression are coming into being. For us here we are experiencing in the most painful way the fact that oppressors do not give up oppression willingly. In Genesis 14:5 we read, "when the king of Egypt was told that the people had fled, Pharoah and his officials changed their minds about them and said, 'What have we done? We have let the Israelites go and have lost their services!'" And so he started to pursue them....

Apartheid here has created and continues to create "paradise" for white people and "hell" for the majority of black South Africans. Those who benefit from the system cannot let go that easily, and so while some of their outdated tricks are exposed, they devise new ones. In many areas of South Africa, the strategy of the oppressor is to support, encourage, and ignite violence all over South Africa, particularly in very poor areas. In our areas the strategy has been that to rely on oppressive laws and courts for repression.

**Thirteen Siloam Hospital Workers Arrested**

The crisis at Siloam Hospital started when the workers, under their "workers committee" started to challenge and expose unacceptable discriminatory practises done by the health administration and the hospital superintendent.

Eighteen workers were suspended, and just when the Congress of South African Trade Unions was trying to legally challenge this action, the crisis took a dramatic turn. On Friday, April 19th, 13 workers were arrested. On Monday, they had ridiculous charges thrown at them. They were charged with sabotage and intimidation (the latter was under a law that was quickly passed in order to protect racist officers from being challenged by black workers).

The workers must each post bail of R1000 to R2000, surrender their passports, report to the police station fortnightly, and obtain a permit to leave Venda. Only three have managed to raise the bail money.

All appeared without legal counsel. By labeling these activists as "criminal", the government knows it will be difficult for them to get legal assistance, especially when overseas donors have been led to think that the time of state repression has passed.

**Our Appeal**

We would like to make a special appeal to friends, brothers and sisters, to all freedom loving people to:

a) continue to support our struggle for a just and free South Africa by praying for those who continue to be victims of the repressive Apartheid govt.
b) continue to campaign for sanctions until South Africa is free.
c) write letters of protest, demanding the unconditional reinstatement of Siloam workers, the withdrawal of charges against them, and an end to state intimidation and repression of our people.

to: Brigadier Ramushwana, Chairman of Council for National Unity, Republic of Venda, Private Bag 2288, Sibasa, VENDA, (South Africa)
d) Support the workers financially. Money is needed for bail, for legal representation, and for support of families.

(Contact National Namibia/Southern Africa Concerns for instructions)
Homelandless
THE ECONOMIST MARCH 23RD 1991
FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

BY THE end of June, says President F.W. de Klerk, South Africa’s statute book will be cleared of all racially discriminatory laws. One such law sets aside 13% of the country’s land for the 75% of the people who are black, while reserving 87% of it for whites. The government has now published its plan of action to remedy this. Most opposition spokesmen see it as a move to protect apartheid’s beneficiaries without properly compensating its victims.

Some blacks, to be sure, have been allowed to use land outside the meagre acreage set aside for them, always on terms dictated by whites. But for nearly 30 years, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, successive governments sought to clear white-designated South Africa of the “black spots” where, in the past, blacks had acquired ownership rights. Some 3.5m people were forcibly moved, sometimes at gunpoint, into their allotted tribal homelands.

The government now says it is impractical to think of giving these dispossessed people back their land; the present position, it says, should be accepted in the interests of “peace and progress”. The smooth-talking minister of education and training, Stoffel van der Merwe, argues that some whites, too, had to give up land. But they were not moved at gunpoint and (often after much haggling) they were generously compensated for their losses; the payments made to blacks were meagre and arbitrary.

The government’s idea of restoring land rights consists of permitting blacks to buy it back, and making loans and aid available for that purpose. The black opposition, usually divided, has united to oppose this. The Pan-Africanist Congress protests that people cannot be expected to repurchase land that was usurped by white settlers. The African National Congress insists that land must be restored to the victims of forced removals.

Groups of progressive whites have backed the black organisations’ claim. They say the reforms are intended “to legitimise and entrench the legacy of apartheid while repealing the laws which created it”; the government should indeed repeal the Land Acts but should also restore land to the victims of apartheid. The government’s own Law Commission calls for “expropriation of property with compensation”, to meet the aspirations of all South Africans. The ANC’s constitutional guidelines of 1988 said much the same.

And, with apartheid gone, what is to become of the “homelands” set aside for blacks? The government says that repeal of the Land Acts and related discriminatory laws will not affect the status of the homelands. Mr de Klerk himself, in presenting his plan to end apartheid, avoided the subject, which is made more complicated by the fact that 9m South African citizens were deprived of their nationality by the pseudo-states’ creation. In 1986, blacks got the right to reclaim South African citizenship; facing restrictions and red tape, few have done so. The government has not responded to a request from the “independent” Transkei to acknowledge its 3m residents as the South Africans they are. Mr de Klerk says apartheid is going. Its legacy is tenacious.

Johannesburg: April 11, 1991

SOUTH AFRICAN LUTHERANS CRITICISE LAND REFORM PLANS

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa has strongly criticized the South African government’s proposed land reform policies. In a statement signed by ELCSA General Secretary Theo Mbuli, the church welcomed the repeal of discriminatory laws such as the Group Areas Act and the Land Act, but said “the intended (land reform) legislation will not bring about sufficient changes for the future.”

In March, the government of President de Klerk declared that future legislation would permit all South Africans to purchase land irregardless of race. But the government stated it had no intention to redistribute land or compensate the millions of Africans who were forcibly removed from their homes and farms under past apartheid laws.

It is this position that ELCSA cannot accept. According to Rev Mbuli, “no serious attempt can be seen to reverse as much as possible the injustice done in the past.” Mbuli urged the government to further negotiate the land issue with “the majority of the black South African population or their chosen representatives.” From: Southern Africa Church News

UN’s role in return of 40,000 SA exiles

JOHANNESBURG (AP) — The United Nations will be asked to help in returning 40,000 political exiles to South Africa as part of plans to scrap apartheid, government officials said yesterday.

A statement by Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, said the UN High Commission for Refugees could assist in the return of exiles from nations with which South Africa does not have diplomatic relations. He said this “mutually acceptable” conditions would have to be worked out, but gave no details.

“The government realises that in spite of all the planning that has been done to ensure [that] . . . the return of ex-patriates proceeds smoothly, problems may nevertheless arise because the government does not have representatives in all countries of Africa,” Mr Botha said. “The orderly and peaceful return to South Africa of South African expatriates is an important matter,” he added.

The return of exiles began earlier this month with the arrival of some 100 people from Zambia. Government officials say another 6,000 exiles have so far applied to return home.

Provisions for the return of exiles was made in an agreement last August between the African National Congress and the government. Thousands of anti-apartheid activists have fled to neighbouring nations over the past 40 years.

The ANC has favoured UN involvement in the repatriation process. The UN refugee commissioner’s office held talks with the government and anti-apartheid groups recently on the exiles, but no agreements were reached. Government officials said yesterday that further contacts would be held to work out an agreement.

THE INDEPENDENT
Saturday 23 March 1991
The Broeders creep back to the centre

In the age of good Broeder FW, the Broederbond has made a comeback to centre stage, reports CHARLES LEONARD

In an interview with the NP-supporting magazine Isiagi, Broederbond chairman De Lange hinted that the 17 000-strong Broederbond might have to "open up", but remained vague about membership for people of other language (other than Afrikaans-speakers) and race (other than white) groups.

The interviewer, fellow Broeder and Free State University historian Ockie Geyser, paraphrased De Lange as follows: "The interdependence of different voices has become so interwoven that if you want to promote Afrikaner interests, you will also have to promote those of other groups."

De Lange merely hinted at "liaison" with a broader Afrikaans cultural community "across the colour-line". It is also clear from the interview that the primary objective of the Broederbond is still to further the interests of the Afrikaner. He said: "If the Broederbond does not get involved in the constitutional problematic of the day, it cannot lay claim to defending Afrikaner interests in a changing South Africa."

De Lange's personal ideal, he told Geyser, is for the Broederbond to play a role in reconciling a divided Afrikanerdom.

Unlike another Broederbonder, who claimed in an interview with The Weekly Mail that the organisation has become merely a "think-tank" without any say in government decision-making, De Lange admitted that the Broederbond periodically has "serious discussions" with members of the government about a specific range of viewpoints.

"The discussions which take place between the Broederbond and members of the government are open, and even critical," De Lange added.

Another Broeder, who did not want to be named, said his organisation was still recruiting members in much the same way as outlined in The Super-Afrikaners.

In the book journalists Strydom and Ivor Wilkens tell of the protracted screening process prospective members have to survive before joining the ranks of Afrikanerdom's elite.

Membership demands specific cultural, family, moral, religious and political characteristics. Even if you come from a good Afrikaner background, but have married an English-speaking woman or perhaps do not attend one of the four major Afrikaans churches regularly, your chances are nought of becoming a Broeder.

Nowadays, the political affiliations are not that important. Prominent Democratic Party members like former leader Wyand Malan, founder member Advocate Langalibalele van der Merwe and General Kat Liebenberg.

make the NP's policy. Rank and file members have no say in this process," Du Randt says.

"Viljoen is not going to convince the ordinary person that the NP is an open, democratic party when it still has a strong link with the secretive Broederbond."

"The last time the electorate makes its input is when it votes the party into power — then another machine gets into action and takes over," he says. "If the NP allows this to continue it will be building its new South Africa on sand.

"This would not only 'sting' (bead-ner) the neo-Broeders, but also blacks and coloureds who can now be members of the party," he says.

"If the NP beats Mandela in a clean match it will be fine, but not when there is a secret agenda determined by the Broederbond. They will try to chop him up."

He proposes that the NP immediately sever ties with the Broederbond.

"If they do, it will give the party credibility. If they do not, it will throw it 50 years back in time. It is time for the NP to plan its strategies visibly within the party."

Du Randt says he still sees the Broederbond operating daily.

"Here at the university, in the party and even in the church," he says.
South Africa is still waiting for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles as the deadline of 30 April draws nearer. Beyond this date there are yet further obstacles to overcome.

Peace Process Monitor

30 April should see the completion of Stage I of South Africa’s ‘peace process’ – the removal of the obstacles to negotiations. But with time running out, few observers expect that De Klerk will have fully met the demands of the UN Declaration for –

- the release of all political prisoners and detainees
- the repeal of repressive laws – especially the Internal Security Act
- an end to political trials and political executions.

Linked with these issues is the vexed question of the safe return of political exiles. Without indemnity, they could be detained on arrival, tried and imprisoned for their anti-apartheid activities. If free political activity is impossible, the climate will not exist for negotiations.

It remains to be seen whether De Klerk will relent enough to allow Stage II to get under way. The evidence is contradictory. For example, the trial of ‘Mac’ Maharaj, Billy Nair and others, launched in a blaze of publicity last year, has now been quietly dropped. But prosecutions of less well-known people are continuing.

In the second of a regular series, Anti-Apartheid News reviews the progress and the problems of South Africa’ s ‘peace process’.

STAGE I

REMOVING THE OBSTACLES TO NEGOTIATIONS

Release of political prisoners, end of trials

Progress in this area has been very uneven. According to the latest official figures, by 23 March some 830 political prisoners had applied for release, and 310 had been granted it since last August. On any reckoning this still leaves the great majority of political prisoners behind bars.

On 19 March some 33 persons were granted amnesty and released. They included the Yengeni trialists, and also Piet (‘Shoot’) Rudolph and other right-wing defectors known to be hostile to the peace process. The ANC voiced concern at the ‘sluggish pace of the process’ and contrasted it with the alacrity with which Rudolph had been released.

Two days later, whilst 31 ANC prisoners newly freed from Robben Island were holding a press conference in Cape Town, in Johannesburg an ANC member was being sentenced to 24 years’ imprisonment on several charges of attempted murder and illegal possession of hand-grenades – all relating to incidents that occurred four years previously.

Then on 22 March came news that some 786 people on trial or awaiting charges had been granted indemnity. They include ‘Mac’ Maharaj, Billy Nair, and the seven other leading members of the ANC and SACP charged in the ‘Operation Villa’ case. This brought the total number granted indemnity to 2,974, said Justice Minister Kohie Gscse.

There has also been a marked drop in the number of detainees being detained. In the third week of March, 44 persons were released, leaving 18 still held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act (ISA), which allows indefinite detention without trial.

Repeal of repressive laws

The good news is that on 22 March the regime announced the relaxation of the blanket ban prohibiting all outdoor gatherings except sports events and funerals. In force since 1976, it required the organisers of marches and demonstrations to seek permission – which was usually refused. During the Defiance Campaign of 1989 the law was widely flouted, but in the past year it has frequently been invoked by the police to break up anti-apartheid processions.

The bad news is that the authorities are resisting demands to repeal Section 29 of the ISA. They have used this power to detain a handful of ultra-right wing white racists in recent months – as well as hundreds of black activists. For some weeks there has been a decline in the use of Section 29, which probably signifies that De Klerk intends to hold on to it, but keep it out of the news by using it sparingly.

In the nominally independent bantustan of Bophuthatswana, the embattled dictator, Chief Lucas Mangope, has lifted the state of emergency and amended his local version of the ISA. These moves are intended to make it easier for De Klerk to claim that all obstacles to negotiations have been removed. But Mangope has now made it compulsory for all groups involved in political activity in ‘Bop’ to register themselves, failing which their activities will be deemed illegal. The Mafileo branch of the ANC pointed out that Mangope was ‘actually restricting political freedom more than ever before’.

Return of exiles / granting of indemnity

Two tangible signs of progress have appeared in the past month.

The regime has at last agreed to allow the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to assist in the return of exiles, variously estimated to number between 10,000 (the regime’s figure) and 40,000. The bone of contention was Pretoria’s claim that to allow the UNHCR to operate in South Africa was in conflict with national sovereignty. This clashed with UNHCR’s standard practice of monitoring the whole process of repatriation from places of exile to arrival at home.

De Klerk’s capitulation on this issue was triggered by the widely publicised last-minute cancellation of a flight from Lusaka which should have brought 110 exiles home. Now agreement with the UNHCR will unfreeze grants made by some western governments towards the costs of the operation – estimated at $40m.

Secondly, the regime has granted amnesty to all those who have had military training in exile, provided they furnish details of their training and have not committed related offences within South Africa (for which they would have to apply separately for amnesty). On 22 March the names of 1,419 ANC members who would benefit from the operation of this provision were published in the Government Gazette – the first big breakthrough for Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC’s armed wing) in terms of securing the return of its personnel.

Continued on next page
STAGE II
TALKS ABOUT TALKS

Constituent Assembly

As reported on page 1, the ANC and its allies are stepping up their campaigning activities around the call for an elected Constituent Assembly as the best forum for drawing up a new constitution. The campaign launched last month is expected to reach a climax in mid-June, by which time the All Party Congress could be meeting (see below).

But De Klerk’s National Party remains adamantly opposed, as do De Klerk’s allies outside the sphere of white parliamentary politics, eg, Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party, most other bantustan parties, the Revd Allan Hendrickse’s Labour Party, and the Indian Solidarity party.

De Klerk’s preference is for a round-table forum, where he hopes to have enough allies to outnumber the ANC and SACP.

Interim Government

There has been no progress at all on this issue in the last month. De Klerk is still proposing a ‘super-cabinet’ but its composition and powers remain undefined. The ANC is seeking an Interim Government that genuinely represents both those inside and those outside the existing parliamentary system. But the Pan-Africanist Congress and Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) reject any form of government that would include some participation from within the existing system. They maintain that the whole structure is illegitimate.

All Party Congress

The only area of agreement on the Stage II issues is that there should be all party talks. Some discussion has taken place between the ANC and the regime about how these might be organised, but no details have emerged yet.

The general expectation is that once Stage I has been passed, these talks could start in May or June. They would cover not only the issues of a Constituent Assembly and Interim Government, but also the basic principles that should guide the drafting of a new constitution.

STAGE III
DRAFTING A NEW CONSTITUTION

Both the National Party and the ANC are already agreed that there should be one-person-one-vote, and a Bill of Rights that can be tested in the courts.

Where disagreement could be hard to resolve might be if the National Party (NP) tries to secure the preservation of group rights, masquerading as ‘community rights’, in the composition of an elected second chamber for the legislature. But the NP has not yet published its constitutional proposals.

Census row

The question of what sort of electoral system will also have to be sorted out. An early skirmish on this battleground was fought in March when the ANC sharply condemned the way in which the new population census is being conducted - the first for ten years.

South Africa has never conducted a complete census of its black population. Nor is it doing so now. Whereas enumerators are covering all adult whites, Coloureds and Asians, some 84 black townships will be ‘covered’ by aerial photography instead of door-to-door counting. And the four ‘independent’ bantustans are also being left out.

The regime admits that the last census probably under-counted the black population by almost 25%. Since the current census will form the demographic basis for the operation of whatever electoral system emerges from the Stage III talks, the ANC is insisting that the whole country be covered in the same way, without racial differentiation. The regime is ignoring this demand.

Here in prison
rage contained in my breast
I patiently wait
for the clouds to gather
blown by the wind of history.

No one
can stop the rain.

—Agostinho Neto,
Luanda prison,
July 1960
Mandela's Group Offers Charter Ideas

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 13 — In anticipation of negotiations with the Government on South Africa's future, the African National Congress is circulating for discussion proposals for a new constitution that would give political equality to the disenfranchised black majority.

The congress on Friday issued a set of constitutional principles and a draft model for a constitution guaranteeing a non-racial democracy with basic freedoms enshrined in a bill of rights.

In the document, which follows several months of discussions by the organization's legal experts and supporters, the African National Congress envisions an elected president as well as a prime minister and a two-chamber parliament.

It proposes free elections by universal franchise at least once every five years and an independent judiciary to interpret the Constitution and uphold the bill of rights.

And in a concession to the white Afrikaner minority, it accords Afrikaans equal status with English and indigenous African languages.

Economic Issue Addressed

The constitutional principles diverge from the Government's reported views on many other points, however, like the need for economic as well as political redress for those disadvantaged by apartheid.

"A new South Africa can never evolve if the white part of the population lives in relative luxury while the great majority of black South Africans live in conditions of want, squalor and deprivation," the document said.

"It is particularly important that the Constitution facilitates access to education, employment and land, so that people have real and effective opportunities for improving their situation and pursuing happiness," it said.

The congress proposals appear to narrow the gap, however slightly, with what is known of the Government's positions on a new constitution. Both sides could introduce their proposals at a preliminary conference of all political groupings that would discuss the mechanisms for constitutional change.

In promulgating its proposed constitution, the African National Congress apparently signalled its willingness to pursue negotiations with the white minority Government, despite its threat made on April 5 to boycott such talks unless the Government took specific steps to end the political violence afflicting black townships.

Speaking today at a funeral for nine victims of violence in Alexandra, the congress leader Nelson Mandela said he had wanted to break off discussions with the Government earlier but had been overruled by colleagues until last week.

The African National Congress seems willing to talk.

Suggestions Are Asked

The African National Congress, which is the paramount organization of black skin groups, is apparently willing to talk.

A less tentative model could be approved at the organization's policy-making conference, which is scheduled for June.

The congress has long called for the election of a constitutional assembly to enact a constitution and become an interim government during the transition to black majority rule. The Government has resisted this, contending that such a national election cannot precede a new constitution.

South Africa's present Constitution, adopted in 1984, provides for three racially segregated houses of Parliament — a dominant chamber for whites and two smaller ones for non-whites. In December, President F. W. de Klerk has entrusted with opening negotiations, and other Government officials have spoken of a federal model with a devolution of power and a two-chamber parliament, one popularly elected and the other representing political parties or groups according to cultural, linguistic or regional interests but not race.

Two-Chamber Idea Criticized

The African National Congress, which wants a unitary state with centralized authority, has criticized the Government's two-chamber proposal as a device to perpetuate the primacy of the white minority.

Its constitutional model unveiled on Friday also offers two parliamentary chambers, called the National Assembly and the Senate, but with both elected through popular representation. The proposed electoral process, in which parliamentary seats are given to political parties according to their relative showing in a national vote rather than by individual constituencies, was also seen as a concession to whites.

The African National Congress said a bill of rights incorporated into the constitution should "guarantee all South Africans against the violations of human rights associated with apartheid and stress the principle of the equal dignity and worth of all South Africans."

The document stresses the principle of the equal dignity and worth of all South Africans.
South Africa Extends Cutoff Date For Prisoners Seeking Immunity

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

CAPE TOWN, April 25 — With a deadline for the release of all political prisoners only five days away, Justice Minister H. J. Coetsee said today that the process of indemnifying those who had committed crimes in opposition to apartheid would be extended into May.

In doing so, he tacitly acknowledged that not all the prisoners would be free by April 30, a date agreed on with the African National Congress last Aug. 8.

He said at a news conference that another 1,500 applications for indemnity from prosecution could be completed within the next two days and about 148 applications were still unprocessed because of inadequate information.

"We are still encouraging new applications to come in, and even if they do not reach us before April 30, they will still receive proper attention," he said.

His comments came a day after the Government broadened its indemnity policy to include all those who had committed a politically related crime that did not result in death or injury before the findings were released.

On Wednesday that 124 more political prisoners would be freed "as soon as possible." In December, the African National Congress, concerned about the Government's slow progress, threatened to boycott talks if political prisoners were not freed and exiles returned by the end of this month.

Elsa Jones, a spokeswoman for Mr. Coetsee, expressed the Government's contention that April 30 was a target date set for the release of all prisoners. The A.N.C. saw this as a deadline.

The Justice Minister said today that he had reached agreement with two anti-apartheid organizations, the Human Rights Commission and the Lawyers for Human Rights, to extend indemnity for political prisoners.

Today, the Human Rights Commission, which monitors civil rights from a perspective sympathetic to the African National Congress, noted in a statement that the release of 339 prisoners was authorized in the last two weeks, compared with 218 in the nearly 13 months from Feb. 2, 1990, when several liberation movements were legalized, through March of this year.

The commission said it had identified about 1,000 others in jail and estimated that hundreds remain to be identified. Mr. Coetsee said the lawyers group had given him a list of 1,230 prisoners, but that only 129 of them have applied for indemnity. The A.N.C. has estimated that there are as many as 3,500 political prisoners.

South Africa Extends Cutoff Date

THE NEW YORK TIMES

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1991

Mandela Is Insistent on Moving To Provide Arms in the Townships

BY CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 17 — The African National Congress is pressing ahead with plans to help restless blacks form paramilitary self-defense units, despite the Government's threats of a purge of the police and rival black groups.

Nelson Mandela, the congress's leader, has called on township residents to defend themselves against continuing violence between rival black groups, which has killed more than 500 people so far this year.

"If it is O.K., far whites to have neighborhood watches and civilian guards, it should be equally acceptable for blacks to have their own defense units," Mr. Mandela said in a speech Saturday.

He said his organization's commitment to suspend its guerrilla struggle did not preclude it from helping blacks defend themselves.

In May, Mr. Mandela said at a news conference that "the defense units are going to be formed." A police spokesman, Capt. Craig Kotze, had warned earlier against doing so, saying this would only perpetuate the violence.

"We are going to ignore the threats of the police," by the South African police," Mr. Mandela said. "It is no longer a question of what we want. It is a question of what we regard as necessary."  

On April 5, the African National Congress threatened to boycott future talks with the Government unless it moved by May 9 to stop the violence. The manual, titled "For the Sake of Our Lives," said guerrillas from the congress's military wing, the Spear of the Nation, should assume a "leading and active" role in training volunteers.

Until firearms could be obtained, the booklet said, "our people must be encouraged to make homemade weaponry for purely defensive purposes." It mentioned iron bars, clubs and firebombs.

On Tuesday night, Mr. Vlok said the police had been instructed to confiscate axes, machetes and bush knives in situations of potential conflict.

In its May 5 ultimatum, the congress demanded a prohibition on all weapons at political gatherings. Inkatha members have been allowed to display traditional weapons, ostensibly as part of their Zulu identity, which have figured in subsequent fighting.
Community officials said the ministers argued that they had exclusive authority to decide about the sanctions. A European Community official in Washington said it was likely it would take several months to re-establish trade lines cut off since the mid-1980s. The official said there would be a good market for South African gold, in Europe and business could easily reach the pre-sanctions levels, but for iron and steel the outlook was less promising.

There have been major changes in the structure of the European industry, the official noted, with less interest today for types of steel supplied by South Africa. "They must have lost their traditional trade lines, and I can't imagine there would be an immediate pickup," she said.

At the meeting today in Luxembourg, which currently holds the meeting presidency of the community, foreign ministers also agreed to press for a war crimes trial for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, accusing him of aggression against Kuwait, using chemical weapons against civilians and condoning genocide against the Kurds.

Talks With U.N. Leader

European officials said that, after Germany's Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, made the proposal, it was agreed that Luxembourg's Foreign Minister, Jacques Poos, would raise the issue with the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, when they meet Tuesday.

The officials said Mr. Hussein should be tried, but they recalled that, in the months leading up to the gulf war, the community repeatedly warned the Iraqi leader that he would be charged with war crimes. Eager to play a diplomatic role in the wake of the gulf war, community foreign ministers are also to meet the Secretary of State James A. Baker III in Luxembourg Wednesday to coordinate their policies towards the Middle East in general and the Kurdish refugee crisis in particular.

Much of today's meeting in Luxembourg, though, was given over to discussion of the community's broader attitude to sanctions. Aides above all plans to draw up common foreign and security policies that would enable it to play a more active role in future crises than it did in the gulf war.

De Klerk Welcomes Move

JOHANNESBURG, April 15 — President F.W. de Klerk tonight welcomed the European Community's decision to lift economic sanctions against South Africa, calling the latest move "positive and most encouraging."

In a statement, Mr. de Klerk thanked the European governments for standing by commitments to lift the sanctions. "It is another important step for South Africa and all its people towards improved economic conditions and normal international relations," Mr. de Klerk said.

Mr. de Klerk said he would refer to the issue in greater detail when he visits Western Europe later this month.

The African National Congress, which has repeatedly opposed any lifting of sanctions without its approval, expressed concern that the decision could make the white minority Government more intransigent.

NAUDE SAYS NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN JEOPARDY

The real changes needed for the dismantling of apartheid are being delayed to such a degree that the whole process of negotiations is being seriously jeopardized, warns Dr. Beyers Naude, well-known South African church leader.

"In the address of the State President to parliament on February 1, he made no reference to security legislation at all," said Dr. Naude, referring to South Africa's laws permitting detention without trial and banning of government opponents.

According to Dr. Naude, two other prerequisites to negotiations; the return of the exiles with full indemnity and the release of the political prisoners, were also not mentioned by President de Klerk.

"This is accounting for a lot of frustration, anger and bitterness in the hearts and minds of millions of people at the grassroots," said Dr. Naude.

Naude also decried the fact that every time the South African government talks about a proposed shift, it is used by the Western governments as an proven example of change. "The South African government has the support of the Western governments because basically the majority of them want this government to continue," he said.

"If these matters are not handled properly and rapidly, it may lead to violence which again would not be understood by the outside world. That is one of the reasons why we in the churches are deeply concerned about what is not happening."

According to Dr. Naude, "What is needed in order to bring about meaningful change in South Africa is continued pressure." (SACN)
The map printed here, courtesy of the Mozambique Support Network, is the third in our series of maps of the region. It is hoped that these will be of help in better visualizing the news reports that we pass on. Please duplicate any materials in Southern Africa that will assist you in "telling the story" to others.
Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots?
by Joseph Hanlon
Indiana University Press, 1991

Joseph Hanlon raises central questions about aid by looking at the example of Mozambique. Why do donors give aid and what do they expect from the recipients? What is the balance between charity and political pressure? How subservient must recipients be? Aid donors and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) have become the agents of the recolonization of Mozambique. Dr. Hanlon, author of Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (ZED), argues that Mozambique tried to avoid the traditional aid relationship. This was unacceptable to big western powers, who used destabilization to weaken Mozambique to the point where the country was forced to accept aid, and thus enter the conventional subservient relationship with the donors.

This book is essential reading for people concerned about the relationship of the rich world with Africa. As the western countries scramble for the re-colonization of Eastern Europe, the central Cold War question for Mozambique and other weak countries remains: Who Calls the Shots?

Liberating the Law
by Albie Sachs and Gita Honwana Welch
Zed Books, 1990

Prominent civil rights lawyer Albie Sachs and Mozambican judge Gita Honwana Welch chronicle one of the most remarkable exercises in socio-political change in post-colonial Africa -- the transformation of Mozambique's inherited colonial system of justice. Heading the team given the task of rewriting Portuguese law, they created a legal system and code compatible with evolving tradition and the principles of the FRELIMO Party.

A unique study, Liberating the Law, tells the story of ten years of achievement and setback and reveals the basic features of the concept of popular justice. As part of an elaborate and revolutionary consultative process, tribunals were established across the country to listen to what the people wanted. New laws of property, inheritance, marriage and family were forged from the marriage of western and customary law. Although the process was tragically disrupted by the South African sponsored war, Liberating the Law is a celebration of Mozambique's attempts to create a law finally free from its colonial past.

Running to Maputo
by Albie Sachs
Harper Collins, 1990

Ironically light in tone, Running to Maputo recounts the 1988 bombing of Albie Sachs, an exiled white South African freedom fighter living in Mozambique. In a narrative "stream of consciousness" technique, Sachs tells of his psychological and physical recovery and his ultimate return to the daily struggle against apartheid.

As the author weaves varied tales of political and emotional battles as a white South African working for an end to apartheid, the reader can appreciate the growth of Sachs' strength and sensitivity. Sachs' experience reinforced his conviction that people "born into privilege," rather than despising themselves, should focus their efforts on the struggle and on refining their "sensitivity to the culture and longings of the oppressed."
ANGOLA: "FINAL" PEACE TALKS TOMORROW

LISBON, Apr. 2 (IPS) -- In a climate of heightened optimism, delegates from the Angolan government and the rebel "Unita" movement begin another round of talks in a beach resort west of here tomorrow.

Demonstrating the determined spirit in which the talks are taking place, the two sides have agreed to continue the discussions "until a ceasefire is agreed upon," spokesmen said.

Lopo de Nascimento, Minister of Internal Administration and special adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, will head the delegation from the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) at the talks, being held in Estoril, nine miles from Lisbon.

Jeremias Chitunda, vice president of Unita (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) will head the rebel group's delegation.

Operating mainly from southern Angola, Unita has been waging a bitter guerrilla campaign against the Angolan government for the past 15 years, with support from South Africa and the United States.

The government in Luanda agreed to open negotiations with Unita in April 1990.

But previous talks have collapsed because of sharp differences.

For the current round, two permanent working teams from each side dealing with the political and military questions involved, will maintain "direct and prolonged" contacts until differences are overcome and the war brought to an end, reports here said.

Media reports say that April 10 Angolan President dos Santos, who begins a tour of Spain, France and Senegal April 4, will make a stop-over in the city of Faro in southern Portugal to be informed first hand on how negotiations are going.

Dos Santos may meet Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Antonio Cavaco Silva.

On arrival in Lisbon, Chitunda declared that an eventual ceasefire would have to be signed personally by President dos Santos and the Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

U.N. Renews Food Aid To Angola

LUANDA, Angola (AP) _ A U.N. program to feed two million Angolans resumed Friday after the government lifted a three-month ban on deliveries.

Forty-five trucks flying the U.N. flag left the central Angolan port of Lobito carrying corn, beans and vegetable oil to the interior provinces of Huambo and Bie, officials said. Another convoy left Luanda for the port of Sumbe, 170 miles south.

The United Nations in November began a six-month relief effort to deliver $70 million worth of food, clothes and medicine.

But the government ordered deliveries stopped Dec. 21, saying rebels were disrupting transport. The U.S.-backed UNITA rebels claim they never attacked convoys.

This southern African nation suffered a severe drought last year, and its agriculture has been ravaged by 16 years of civil war.

Rebel leader Jonas Savimbi said earlier this month UNITA would scale back military action in anticipation of a cease-fire that both sides say they want to sign next month.

But state television reported Friday the rebels this week occupied and sacked the port of N'zeto, 100 miles north of Luanda. The report said 10 people died and 200 civilians were kidnapped by rebels.

AP-NY-03-29-91 1845EST
As Angola embraces democracy, it cuts ties to Cuba

By Kenneth B. Noble
New York Times

Luanda, Angola

The streets of Angola's capital are festooned with posters of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and other Cuban revolutionary heroes. There are slogans on peeling facades proclaiming the valiant role Cuba has played in African liberation movements. But the feeling in Luanda these days is that these are outdated and perhaps na"ive artifacts from another era.

As Luanda's formerly hard-line Marxist government moves fal"ulously toward becoming a multiparty democracy, the Cubans are increasingly seen as symbols of a policy that has failed and that many Angolans would like to forget.

Cuban soldiers first came to Angola in 1975 at the end of Portugal's colonial rule to help Angola's Marxist leaders estab"lish an independent "people's republic."

In the years that followed, while Cuban soldiers helped Angola's young government survive a civil war fought against rival guerrilla armies, including some supported by the United States and South Africa, hun"dredsof Cuban civilians taught in Angolan high schools, built roads and dams and ran hospitals and clinics.

At the height of Cuba's 15-year-long" military intervention, there were more than 50,000 troops and military advisers. Now, there are fewer than 10,000 Cubans and under a regional agreement signed in December 1988 that also included provisions for the independence of Namibia from South Af"rican rule, virtually all of them are scheduled to depart by July 1.

As recently as January 1989, when the first Cuban troops began heading for home, the Cubans' presence was hailed by the Luanda government as a triumph of "internationalism."

"The Cubans who died here," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said at the time, "irrigating Angolan soil with their generous blood, will have their names engraved forever in the hearts and in the minds of the people of Angola."

Such lavish praise of Cuba is rarely heard these days. Rarely, in fact, since the last Cuban troops have begun to head home not, as they mentioned much at all in official government circles.

"We owe the Cubans a huge debt," said a government official who spoke approvingly of Cuba's past support for the ruling party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, whose leaders once styled Luanda as Africa's Havana. But, he added, "Let's face facts, Cuba will not have much of any role in Angola's future."

At the same time, the mood among the Cubans, say Angolans and diplomats who are in regular contact with them, is increasingly resentful. "A lot of the Cubans," said a Western diplomat who knows them well, "are sick to their stomachs over the political changes that are occurring. They feel they gave their lives for these people and for what?"

To be sure, relations between Cuba and Angola, at least at the upper echelons, remain warm and supportive. "Dos Santos has a great deal of respect and admiration for Castro and Cuba and that feeling hasn't changed a bit," said one diplomat.

What has changed, however, is the ruling party's commitment to Marxism-Leninism, which it discarded last fall as the official ideology. "Once they got rid of Marxism-Leninism, one envoy said, "they also cut the umbilical cord that has long tied them to Cuba."

Already, some "revolutionary" measures - state-owned farms, nationalized industries and restrictions on speech and association - are now referred to even by party stalwarts as "our mistakes."

The official Cuban position is that the new spirit stirring within the ruling party is an "internal affair." Carlos Pereira, first secretary of the Cuban Embassy, said: "We did not come here to defend Marxism-Leninism. We are here to help the Angolan people defend their sovereignty."

Independent interviews with Cuban soldiers were impossible because virtually all of them are based in military camps outside of Luanda. But in talks conducted out of the earshot of Cuban officials, several Cuban civilians voiced frustration over what they regard as their waning influence.

"It's not up to us to decide where Angola goes, it's up to Angolans," a Cuban electrician said. But, he added, "people are very disappointed to see the choices that Angolans are making. Another Cuban civilian spoke of feeling "betrayed."

From the moment the Cubans arrived, their presence was deeply res"ented in Washington. The Reagan administration refused to recognize Angola's new government and the Regan administration insisted on the withdrawal of the Cubans to the independence of Namibia in brokering the 1988 regional settlement.

Because of the Cuban role, Washing"ton gave at least $15 million annually since the mid-1980s to Jonas Sa"mbi, leader of the anti-government rebels.

But while Washington bitterly op"posed Castro's ambitions in Africa, the Cubans, particularly the skilled technicians, appear to have been well wel"comed by Angolans. Angola's school and hospital system and much of the country's public works virtually collapsed in the mid-1970s after 90 per"cent of the 350,000 Portuguese residents abandoned the former colony. A large contingent of Cuban doctors, construction workers and teachers provided desperately needed assistance.

S. Africa Aiding Angola Rebels?

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP) _ An Angolan army officer has charged that South Africa directly aided rebels during a battle in eastern Angola, in what would be a violation of a regional peace accord, according to a report Monday.

South Africa denied the allegation made in The Star newspaper. It was believed to be the first claim of a major violation of the agreement since South African troops left Angola in 1988.

The regional accord signed the year before mandated the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola's civil war, and granted Namibia independence from South African rule. The Star quoted Col. Higino Lopes Carmesio, chief of operations of the Angolan general staff, as saying South Africa used parachutes to drop military supplies to rebels during fighting for the town of Luena.

He also said white men seen with rebel forces at Luena were believed to be South Africans and that South Africans were directing rebel artillery in the battle, The Star said.

A statement from the South African Defense Forces said the allegation was "ridiculous and is emphatically denied."

The newspaper said Carniero made his allegations during a weekend news conference, but it did not say where the conference was held.

Luena, about 500 miles east of Luanda, the Angolan capital, is a strategic city on a railway that intersects with an important north-south highway.

Angolan rebels have been fighting Angola's Marxist government since the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

Rebel demands, being negotiated in a series of peace talks in Lisbon, include multi-party elections within a year of a cease-fire.

AP-NY-04-15-91 2316EDT
Angola, rebels near accord for cease-fire, officials say

Associated Press

LISBON — The Angolan government and U.S.-backed rebels are close to agreeing to a cease-fire in their 16-year-old civil war, Western officials attending peace talks announced yesterday.

One sign of progress, the officials said, is that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are sending their top African affairs officials to the talks, which began April 4 at the Portuguese resort of Estoril. The U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Herman Cohen, and his Soviet counterpart, Jeremias Chitunda, were expected to give a response after consulting with the movement's leader, Jonas Savimbi.

Jose Alberto de Sousa, a spokesman for the mediation team confirmed Wednesday that the two sides had agreed to unite their armies into a single national force. The talks announced yesterday are as good as the potential spoils of pursuing their 16-year war against the leftist Angolan government.

"Those who have worn this uniform have a guarantee that they will not be forgotten," Savimbi told 3,000 cheering delegates at a UNITA (National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola) national congress this month. Congress sources said some delegates had expressed a desire to fight on, interpreting the government's willingness to negotiate as a sign of military weakness.

"We want to create an Angolan government that can take care of its sons and especially society's weakest." Savimbi, a stocky, bearded figure, told the congress: "Go back home, my dear friends, go back home. I have no doubts that those who have participated in the war will not be forgotten ... We want a vocational training center so that these people will be equipped for their lives."

"We want to create a movement that can take care of its sons and especially society's weakest." The peace process Savimbi is trying to hammer out in talks with the government may culminate in the return of several thousand UNITA members to the Angolan capital, Luanda, one of Africa's most dilapidated cities.

That could be an anti-climax for UNITA guerrillas facing the unfamiliar task of civilian administration.

"How do you convince a 27-year-old UNITA colonel who has spent his whole life in the movement to accept a lowering of status that a return to civilian life will bring," asked Sean Cleary, a former South African diplomat who provides Savimbi with political advice.

"A move to civilian life would strip away the security UNITA has provided to soldiers with little education in peace-time skills or knowledge of city life, he said.

"The message from here (UNITA's congress) to foreign governments has been 'Help to retrain our people for peace," Cleary said.

"UNITA is a hierarchical organization in which Savimbi's word is law," said Richard Cornwall, analyst at Pretoria's Africa Institute. "Becoming a political party means adapting to more open discussion in the movement.

Rusty Evans, head of the Africa Department of the South African Foreign Ministry, said persuading UNITA troops to accept a return to civilian life was the major topic of the congress.

"Savimbi opposes a government proposal that UNITA be integrated into existing military structures. He says UNITA and government forces should disband and a new, smaller Angolan military should be built from scratch, with retraining in civilian skills for unemployed soldiers."

Observers with experience of guerrilla movements elsewhere say UNITA has achieved a rare feat for an irregular force in performing more like a regular army than a band of fighters. That image was much in evidence at the UNITA congress in Angola's far southeast, an area which Portuguese colonists used to call "The End of the World" or "No One's Land." That was much in evidence at the UNITA congress in Angola's far southeast, an area which Portuguese colonists used to call "The End of the World" or "No One's Land."

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Katutura Journal
For Namibians, After the Battles, a Civics Class

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

KATUTURA, Namibia — As he makes the rounds of high schools in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, Pero Nampila lugs a cardboard carton stuffed with facts about this new nation's most precious possession.

The democratic Constitution adopted by Namibia before it gained its freedom from South Africa nearly a year ago has been called one of the most enlightened in the world. It enshrines an extensive bill of rights that include not only freedoms of speech, religion and movement but also prohibitions against racial discrimination and capital punishment. It provides for regular parliamentary elections and an independent judiciary.

But the path to independence for some countries has been littered with well-intentioned constitutions that deteriorated when they were ignored. So Mr. Nampila, a paralegal worker for the Legal Resources Center in Windhoek, has set out to convince high-school students born and raised under South African colonial rule that their own Namibian Constitution can make a difference.

"The law has been used as an oppressive instrument, but the law is a tool that can be used to defend yourself," said Mr. Nampila, who for all his 27 years looked hardly older than the students he addressed the other day at Jan Jonker Afrikaner Senior Secondary School in Katutura, a satellite township of Windhoek.

Rights and Responsibilities

Engaging his audience with banter and body language, Mr. Nampila asked what they would do if they were asked what they would do if they were sold a sack of rotten potatoes or a radio that did not work. Raising her hand, one girl said she would return the purchase and demand her money back.

"You are exercising your legal right because giving money you are expecting something in return," Mr. Nampila said as he nodded. Namibia's Constitution, he said, guarantees similar legal rights accompanied by responsibilities. He handed out to the curious students copies of a simplified guide explaining how the Constitution worked.

"They are not really familiar with what a constitution is about," Mr. Nampila said as he headed for his next class. "People begin to think the Constitution is something they ought to know. So people come back and ask for copies because their parents and friends want to know.

Bringing the Constitution to Namibians who for years saw the law as an instrument of apartheid was conceived by David Smuts, a Namibian lawyer who directs the nonprofit Legal Resources Center. Before independence, it reached out to defend Namibians who were detained or mistreated under South African rule. Then Mr. Smuts decided it was time to show Namibians how the law could work for them.

"We're looking at ways the community can assert its rights better," Mr. Smuts said. "We need to go beyond complaints. We should go out into the community to make people more aware of what their rights are."

With the approval of Namibia's Education Minister, Nahas Angula, Mr. Smuts has sent paralegal workers into high schools in five rural and urban areas, where they are distributing the center's guide to the Constitution in English, Afrikaans and four indigenous African languages.

"One of the biggest problems is we don't have any tradition of respect for human rights, so we have to instill a human rights culture," Mr. Smuts said.

"The program itself is welcomed from the students," said Nicodemus Goreseb, 26, a paralegal worker who shares responsibility for Windhoek's high schools with Mr. Nampila.

"They do enjoy it. The questions are around the Constitution as a whole and around the Government as a whole."

But first, Mr. Nampila said, he and Mr. Goreseb had to overcome a traditional reluctance among students to ask questions.

"They expect you to give them the information," he said. But after a few classes, Mr. Nampila said, "they come to understand the principle of democracy and how the Constitution came about, how parties with different ideas reach a consensus."

Sometimes, Mr. Nampila said, students asked him what happened to the apartheid laws left by South Africa. He said a legal unit of the Namibian Government was working to bring the old laws into line with the new nonracial Constitution.

Many questions have been more personal. At a Roman Catholic high school, some pupils asked whether the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom would let them skip the school's compulsory worship service. Mr. Nampila told them that the parochial-school rules took precedence here.

Mr. Goreseb recalled that a student at another school inquired whether the Constitution would let him smoke marijuana, since the Rastafarian cult from the Caribbean used the narcotic as part of its religious practices.

"We told him, O.K., religion is welcome but introducing drugs is not allowed," Mr. Goreseb said.

Mr. Nampila said he had to explain that "there are some limitations to freedom that must be obeyed, so you must exercise your rights under those limitations."

The program to teach Namibians about the Constitution receives only moral support from the Government. Mr. Smuts said the Legal Resources Center had not applied for state funds because it had to stay independent.

"We cannot accept Government money for our activities because sometimes we have to criticize the Government," Mr. Smuts said.

Namibian Woman
Elected To WCC

Ms Nangula Kathindi, who is the Women's Desk Regional Coordinator for the Council of Churches in Namibia, was elected to the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches during its seventh Assembly held in Canberra during February.

Ms Kathindi described her election as "an opportunity for churches in southern Africa to be heard at international level." Her term will run for seven years. She attended as a delegate of the Anglican Province of Southern Africa.

Also at the WCC Assembly, the CCN's Youth Desk Co-ordinator Mr Willem Hanso was elected a member of the WCC's Youth Sub Unit.

Namibia Report
**Investment Conference Successful**

A "turning point in the new Namibian government's relations with business" was how chief organizers described the Private Sector Investment Conference which was held in Windhoek between February 3 to 6.

Conference co-ordinators Hans-Gunther Stier of accountants Price Waterhouse and Martin Kingston of merchant bank Morgan Grenfell said that, despite flying fears caused by the Gulf war, the turnout included 100 overseas companies, 60 South African firms and 300 local businesses. In addition, over 600 embassy officials, civil servants, development agency experts and Namibian government ministers participated.

Demand for places by local business people was so great that the Namibian government had to organize a special reportback for them after the Conference ended. Many overseas firms used the occasion to discuss business with their South African counterparts, but Namibian public and private firms did make many contacts too.

There were fifteen US firms, including Chevron, Sheraton and Colgate Palmolive, fourteen UK firms, including BP, British Aerospace and Shell, and twelve Japanese firms, including Marubeni, Mitsui and Mitsubishi. Other major participants were Total from France, Siemens from Germany, Alfa Laval and Atlas Copco from Sweden and one of South Korea's largest companies, Daewoo.

President Sam Nujoma said: "Our policy on foreign investment is to have an open door" while Trade and Industry Minister Ben Amathila stressed Namibia's strategic location for selling European and American goods and services to central and southern Africa.

**Namibia: U.S. Urged to Press Pretoria for Walvis Bay**

**by Jim Lobe**

WASHINGTON, Mar. 22 (IPS) -- Namibia would "appreciate" greater U.S. pressure on South Africa to get Pretoria to return the vital Port of Walvis Bay to Namibia, the country's ambassador said here today.

Namibia also hopes Washington will end its covert military assistance to "Unita" rebels in neighboring Angola, especially since Luanda has indicated it is willing to open up the political system and observe a cease-fire, says Ambassador Kinyangerwa P. Ashekee, who is also Windhoek's United Nations representative.

Speaking to a group of reporters one day after the first anniversary of Namibia's independence from South Africa, Ashekee also said Windhoek "stands firm" in its advocacy of the use of economic sanctions against South Africa to pressure its government to end apartheid.

And on U.S. assistance to Namibia, set at only $7.1 million this year, Ashekee said Namibia "would appreciate more assistance" to help it cope with the challenges of independence.

The administration of President George Bush has asked Congress to approve $12 million in economic and development aid for Namibia for fiscal year 1992, which begins Oct. 1.

Additional U.S. aid, said Ashekee, would help the government of Namibian President Sam Nujoma deal with its development priorities which he identified as agriculture, education, health care, and housing.

Ashekee described Namibia's ties with Washington as the "best of relations" but indicated Windhoek could use more help from the United States in getting Pretoria to give up Walvis Bay and offshore islands in the Atlantic.

The only deepwater port available to Namibia, Walvis Bay was retained by Pretoria after last year's independence ceremonies.

South Africa claims that the port never formed part of South West Africa, the colonial name for Namibia, and was instead ceded to the British in the nineteenth century.

This has been rejected by Namibia and the United Nations which have taken the position that the cession of the enclave to the British was invalid and that the port, which now handles some 90 percent of the country's exports, is an integral part of Namibia.

Negotiations over the fate of the port -- described as a "lifeline" by Ashekee -- began in Cape Town only last week.

"We would appreciate the U.S. government putting pressure on South Africa" on the question, he said, adding that his government had "security concerns" about the presence of a South African military base in Walvis.

On Angola, Ashekee said Namibia has appealed for a cease-fire and has repeatedly declared its willingness to a peaceful resolution of the civil war there.

Representatives of the U.S.-backed Unita (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and the Luanda government are scheduled to meet in Lisbon in two weeks for talks which officials here hope will result in a final cease-fire agreement and a schedule for future multi-party elections in Angola.

Ashekee expressed confidence about future investment in Namibia which he said had recently hosted a meeting attended by more than 1000 potential investors. He said representatives of U.S. oil, fisheries, and diamond interests have all indicated interest, but he declined to name them.

At the same time, he said continuing sanctions against Namibia by local jurisdictions in the United States may be hampering investment.

While the federal government in Washington lifted all of its sanctions relating to Namibia at independence, local jurisdictions which maintain sanctions against South Africa have been slow to react to Windhoek's new status.

Both the Namibian embassy here and the State Department are reportedly working hard to identify those jurisdictions and get them to lift sanctions.

The Namibian Ambassador also said a modest military-training program which Washington has offered as part of its aid package would help the country's new coast guard "stop the plunder of (Namibia's) fisheries."

With some of the richest fishing grounds in the world off its coast, Namibia has suffered serious economic losses as a result of unrestricted fishing there for years by South African and other fishing vessels.
CHICAGO METROPOLITAN SYNOD (ELCA)

The Working Group on Southern Africa, chaired by Ann Hoberg, sent a letter with several resource pieces to all ELCA pastors in the Chicago Metropolitan Synod. They included updated information on Namibia, with a focus on problems faced by the new nation, a calendar of important dates, suggested prayers for the commemoration of the Kassinga Massacre, and an explanation for the observance of Soweto Day on June 16th.

For copies of these materials, or for continuing information on the activities of this Working Group, contact Ann Hoberg, 20 Essex Road, Elk Grove Village, IL 60007.

NAMIBIAN STUDENT KILLED

The headline read: "Death of a Student Peacemaker" following the stabbing death of Kissinger Shiimi, a student leader at Ramapo College, in New Jersey.

Shiimi, who fled Namibia in 1981, lived as a refugee in Zambia for five years. While there, he won a Bishop Desmond Tutu scholarship, one of just 17 awarded each year.

At Ramapo College he served for three years as president of the college's International Students Organization, and was known as a bridge-builder, and a friend to all. Shiimi had planned to return to Namibia and his family after graduation this year.

Hinyangerwa Asheeke, Namibia's ambassador to the United Nations, attended memorial services for Shiimi at Ramapo on April 7th.

12) "SASPOST", AAI/SATP, 833 U.N. Plaza, New York, NY 10017. (212) 949-5666. SASPOST is a newsletter featuring articles by South Africans and Namibians, as well as information on conferences, fellowships, internships, jobs, new publications, and other notes of interest. "SASPOST" is currently sent free of charge to South Africans and Namibians in North America, as well as individuals and groups active in the fight against apartheid.

TEXTBOOKS TO BE SHIPPED TO SOUTH AFRICA

ST. PAUL, Minn., March 22 /PRNewswire/ -- 3M and an elementary school in New Hope, Minn., a suburb of Minneapolis, are teaming up on an "adopt-a-school" program and will be shipping 21 pallets of used textbooks to schools in South Africa.

Preparing the books for shipment will take place March 25-26 from the RHS Resource Center (former Robbinsdale High School), 3730 Toledo Ave. No., Robbinsdale, Minn., from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. each day. Fifth-grade students and their teachers will be sorting, packing and labeling the books for shipment to the Moduopo Primary School in South Africa's Tembisa Township. Tembisa is a black residential area near Johannesburg.

This effort is part of a larger "adopt-a-school" program involving a number of other U.S. companies which operate subsidiaries in South Africa. In 1990, 50 to 60 3Mers in South Africa contributed 532 eight-hour employee days to the project. More than 11,300 students are the beneficiaries of the project, which also includes programs for improving teacher literacy; science education; health care concerns; and facilities upgrades for students, teachers and their facilities.

• Our Developing World and the South African Council of Churches are sponsoring a study tour to South Africa July 31-August 20. The tour's purpose is to observe the present situation and to learn about community development and "empowerment programs" designed to prepare South Africans for a multiracial future. Our Developing World also designs and distributes teaching kits on South Africa and southern Africa. For more information on the trip or the teaching kits, contact Barby and Vic Ulmer, Our Developing World, 13004 Paseo Presada, Saratoga, CA 95070. Telephone: (408) 379-4431.
Dana College hosts first-ever Namibian student conference

This past weekend Dana College was the host of a first-ever national gathering of Namibian students studying in America. The purpose of the gathering was to establish an organization which will serve as a support group for present and future Namibian students in this country.

The gathering came following the one year anniversary of Namibian independence from South Africa and its apartheid system. Namibian independence was achieved on March 16, 1990.

Dana College currently sponsors 7 students from Namibia as part of a scholarship program through the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA). Since 1986 nine Namibian students have studied at Dana. The first to graduate was Klemens Namwira who returned to his native Namibia this past December where he is one of the first American trained teachers to return to Namibia.

Helen Ochs, a Dana Senior from Namibia who served as coordinator for the weekend's event, was pleased with the response by her fellow countrymen and the results achieved. "I was pleased to see the interest everyone had in this cause," said Ochs, "including Dana College, the Lutheran Church, the Namibian students and everyone associated with this group. It is our hope that there will continue to be the means to support Namibians in their efforts to come to America to study." There are no colleges or universities in Namibia. Thus far ninety Namibian students have studied in Lutheran College of the ELCA.

Speaking to Namibian students attending the conference, Dr. Myrvin Christopherson, president of Dana College said, "We are proud to be the host of this important conference. Dana has been privileged to provide free education to one tenth of all Namibian students sponsored by the ELCA. You have helped us expand our global awareness and involvement. We are pleased that Dana College, the smallest ELCA college, will have a big hand in shaping the educational future of Namibia and we have been blessed because hundreds of Dana students will leave with a friendship for this vibrant, newly freed nation."

Several events were planned throughout the weekend including a dance, a cookout of traditional Namibian food, receptions and business sessions.

"I was pleased to see the interest everyone had in this cause," said Ochs, "including Dana College, the Lutheran Church, the Namibian students and everyone associated with this group. It is our hope that there will continue to be the means to support Namibians in their efforts to come to America to study." There are no colleges or universities in Namibia. Thus far ninety Namibian students have studied in Lutheran College of the ELCA.

Shell Boycott Victory in New Jersey

After years of hard work, including informational picketing at rest stops on the NJ Turnpike, Shell Oil Company's exclusive contract to be the sole provider of gasoline and related services on the New Jersey Turnpike will not be renewed! This is the most significant victory worldwide in the Shell Boycott Campaign!!! Congratulations to the New Jersey Anti-Apartheid Mobilization Coalition!

VIDEOS

The Los Angeles Observer Committee to Namibia has produced a 30-minute video "One Namibia, One New Nation," that traces the struggle for independence, the election victory and independence celebration through the eyes of a seven-person team sent to Namibia from southern California. Copies are available at $15 for individuals, $50 for schools, and $90 for 3/4" tapes. Order from: L.A. to Namibia, 2824 S. Western Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90018.

The 1990-91 catalogue from The International Defense and Aid Fund for South Africa (IDAF) offers an extensive list of films and videos for rent or sale. The subject area ranges from regional music, art, and poetry to political movements and sociological studies. Titles include: Voices For Namibia; To Be Against Apartheid is Normal; Free Mandela; Fruits of Defiance; Images in Struggle; Blowing Home; and Mzwakhe Mhuli, The People's Poet. For order forms and further information, please contact: IDAF, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR. Telephone: 071-359-9181.
WHERE IS THE WAY: SONG AND STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Helen Q. Kivnick
Penguin, 1990 $9.95

There are so many excellent books being published on South Africa that it is difficult to maintain an up-to-date bibliography, much less read even a fraction of them. But Where is the Way by Helen Kivnick is more than just another book on the complex and troubling situation in South Africa. It is an exceptional and unique portrayal of black South Africans, illustrating how music is an integral component of their very being.

As the back cover states, "Weaving together music and politics, Helen Kivnick...explores the importance and power of music in the land of apartheid. She analyzes the music itself and the traditions of its major forms. And in colorful moving anecdotes of her experiences in South Africa--talking and singing with people at weddings, homes, union meetings, churches and work camps--she demonstrates how music is the unifying element of black culture and the wellspring of people's strength and spirit in resisting oppression."

Helen and her husband, Gary Gardner, first visited South Africa in 1984, so the book was seven years in the making. The result of this long and intensive effort is by far the best book of its kind that I have encountered in my years of involvement with South Africa.

Quotes from several South Africans can give a flavor of the book more effectively than I can. "Those already familiar with South African music will hold their breath as they set out on Helen's exploration. Those uninitiated will be brought into the exuberance and vitality of our life through the author's narration. Her book touches our history with great sensitivity, a trait usually lacking in researchers who go into our communities." Nomgcobo Sangweni, Cultural Liaison for "Sarafina".

"Helen Kivnick, in her powerful chronicle of this music, found her way into the heartbeat of our culture....whenever there is an occasion to celebrate or mourn, you can rest assured that South Africa will always sing....Bodies in motion, celebrating this life or the next, she will sing. Songs of struggle, she will sing, songs of freedom." Mbongeni Ngema (producer of "Sarafina") and Duma Ndlovu in the Introduction

Finally, from Joseph Shabalala, leader of Ladysmith Black Mombazo, "The work that she is doing, studying and documenting this music, is important and needs to be encouraged. Nobody else writes about us and gets it right, as she does."

Kivnick, who is a clinical psychologist teaching at the University of Minnesota School of Social Work, is a consultant on aging, life cycle development, and human relations. She also performs as a singer-songwriter. Thus she is uniquely qualified to write such a book.

Kivnick states she went to South Africa because that country's black singing had intrigued her for years. She knew something of the oppression of apartheid and wondered if singing hadn't been more important than we acknowledged in black people's survival within that system.

In singing, black South Africans share a second way of communication "that we in nonsinging cultures don't even imagine as possible. Inseparable from the struggle to survive and the exhilaration of living, singing is a way of expressing everything and sharing anything."

As Kivnick weaves together interviews, experiences, and songs, she is also providing a very valuable sketch of South African history.

One further bonus in this book is the list of recordings which Helen Kivnick and Gary Gardner made which are fundamentally inseparable from the book. "Let Their Voices Be Heard: Traditional Singing in South Africa" and "Mbube: Zulu Men's Singing Competition". In addition there is a helpful list of other recordings related to the categories in the book. If you are like me, you won't finish the book before you have gone out to buy some.

Where is the Way, with its title taken from one of the many songs discussed in the book, is must reading for anyone wanting a deeper and broader understanding of who black South Africans are and how they live, work, celebrate, rejoice, mourn, survive, and keep hope alive.

Reviewed by Jim Knutson
Independent a Year, Namibia Is Pragmatic at Home and Ideological Abroad

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

WINDHOEK, Namibia — When Namibia gained its independence on March 21, 1990, after 75 years of South African flight, some departing skeptics jibed that goats would soon graze on grass pokings through the cracked asphalt on Kaiser Street, Windhoek’s main thoroughfare.

Others predicted that the South-West Africa People’s Organization, the nationalist movement that became the governing political party, would impose its Marxist ideology on the world’s youngest nation.

Both suppositions proved wrong. Kaiser Street is now called Independence Avenue, but little else has visibly changed in the year since the South African authorities left Namibia. The multiparty democracy, born out of elections supervised by the United Nations during the transition to majority rule, is alive and well.

At the same time, Namibia’s economic reliance on South Africa seems undiminished. The white minority, which accounts for 5 percent of a population estimated at 1.5 million and a ratio of blacks living as well as it had, and the black majority as poorly, as before independence.

Flying First Class

The Government’s shortage of money to remedy the legacies of joblessness and bureaucracy has been made worse by sometimes frivolous spending.

When President Sam Nujoma and four Cabinet ministers flew to Cuba on a state visit earlier this month, they set off a furor at home by chartering a South African jettliner at a cost of more than $250,000 instead of flying via Frankfurt on the state airline.

“We are all learning,” Namibia’s Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, said recently in his office here. “We make mistakes. People are making mistakes on both sides. It’s expected in a new democracy.”

Namibia, a scenic and arid land of 318,000 square miles — slightly smaller than Texas and Oklahoma combined — was called South-West Africa during decades of foreign rule.

Germany controlled the territory until 1915, when it was seized by South African forces in World War I. Last year, after many rounds of international diplomacy and foreign pressure, the South Africans gave it up under a regional agreement that included the departure of 50,000 Cuban soldiers from Angola, to the north.

Modifying Ideology

Namibia has avoided quick, radical solutions to the poverty that besets most of its people. The South-West Africa Peoples Organization, popularly known by its acronym, Swapo, won 57 percent of the vote in the elections preceding independence, short of the two-thirds required to impose its own constitution reflecting its belief in a socialist system.

Instead, it compromised with rival political parties on an American-style constitution with democratic safeguards. Since forming the Government, Swapo has been watched by a contentious political opposition and sobered by its own exposure to the realities of power.

“When you are in the struggle, you can shout anything,” the Prime Minister said, describing the period before his movement came to power. “There’s no direct accountability or responsibility for what you’re saying.”

That changed when the nationalist rebels found itself the Government of Namibia. Now, Mr. Geingob said, “no policy is written in indelible ink.”

Despite the bitter struggle of the South-West Africa People’s Organization against South Africa, Namibia remains dependent on its former overlord. Most of the merchandise in stores comes from South Africa, which also remains a major market for Namibia’s minerals and cattle. Exports and imports move through the only deep-water port, at Walvis Bay, which Namibia claims by its acronym, Swapo, won 57,000 civil servants.

To a limited degree, such advice is sought. In interviews, officials emphasized Namibia’s need to compete with other countries.

Self-Sufficiency Emphasized

Prime Minister Geingob, who has driven 10,000 miles around the country since taking office, complained that too many Namibians, paralyzed by the paternalism of apartheid, expected the new Government to solve all their problems. Mr. Geingob said he reprimanded the diplomat deliberately to create confidence.

“South Africa left Namibia with good highways and telecommunications and also with a bloated bureaucracy of 57,000 civil servants.”

The cost of independence has included a benign neglect by much of the world. In interviews, officials expressed disappointment that more assistance was not forthcoming, not least from South Africa. West Germany, Britain and the Scandinavian countries gave Namibia most of its foreign aid. The United States offered $16 million in the latest fiscal year.

Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the official opposition party, said the Government was naive to expect international sympathy to continue unabated.

“These guys really believed that countries would be standing in a queue to support them,” Mr. Mudge said. “They didn’t realize that they will have to compete with other countries.”

Foreign policy more closely reflects the Namibian Government’s leftist sentiments. During the Persian Gulf land war, the state-owned broadcasting system invited a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which supported Iraq, to analyze who was winning the war. On the night of Iraq’s humiliating defeat, the television news led with a lengthy report on antiwar protests in San Francisco.

The Government has not forgotten old South African aid agreements and financial problems. It pledged $400,000 of taxpayer money to the African National Congress. It also maintains close ties with South African forces. Mr. Nujoma invited Fidel Castro here to celebrate the anniversary of Namibia’s independence next Thursday.

Mr. Mudge said the Government was cultivating the international community.

“We must now look to countries who can help us,” he said. “It doesn’t make sense to go to Cuba and say Communism has been rejected by most countries in this world.”

To a limited degree, such advice is being accepted. American Peace Corps volunteers teach English in some high schools and British advisers are training Namibia’s Army and police force.

“We could have easily asked the Soviets and Cubans, but we said people are going to be suspicious,” Mr. Geingob said. “We went to the British deliberately to create confidence.”

South Africa left Namibia with good highways and telecommunications and also with a bloated bureaucracy of 57,000 civil servants.

Namibia remains reliant on South Africa economically.

“I would say that the standard of medical care in the country is quite high,” said Dr. Solomon Amadhila, the Permanent Secretary for Health and Social Services. But Dr. Amadhila, a pediatrician, said the health of Namibians was undermined by deficiencies in their housing, diet and education.

The new Government is dogged by inordinate expectations that Swapo raised among Namibians when it was a national liberation movement.

“They created the impression that once they came to power, everything would be rosy in the garden, and that’s where the problem lies,” Mr. Mudge said.

Education Minister Nahas Angula said last month that 26,000 Namibians, many of them with their own children, wanted to go back to school. He said his ministry was hard pressed to cope with a 70 percent illiteracy rate, inadequate schools and teachers, and a high failure rate among students.

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