



Southern Africa

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NAMIBIA REVISITED

Initial Reflections on a Visit to Namibia, May, 1991
by Solveig Kjeseth

Already as the Namib Air flight landed in Windhoek, it was clear that I was coming "home" to a different Namibia than we had experienced in 1988. People walked taller, they looked directly at us, the atmosphere of tension and danger was gone!

These first impressions were confirmed in the four weeks we traveled through the country. In the north, where for more than a decade the dusk to dawn curfew had limited people's lives...now folks walked about freely after dark.

In Windhoek, the sidewalks along Independence Avenue (formerly Kaiser Strasse) were filled... with both white and black faces. In 1988, the mood on the street was anger, depression, mistrust. At that time everyone was searched as they entered stores; the fear was not of shoplifting but of bombs. Except for workers, very few blacks spent time on Kaiser Strasse in 1988.

Now the atmosphere was different as people mingled freely, shopping or loitering, drinking coffee at sidewalk cafes, hurrying to appointments. It felt like main street in a normal city.

Our group, from National Namibia Concerns, was given a wonderful welcome wherever we went. From the delegation of beautiful faces which met us at the airport, to the official reception sponsored by the Council of Churches on the evening of our arrival, to old folks of the Senior Center at Mariental, to the children of the People's Primary School in Katatura, to the Ndonga King and Queen in the north, to the students of Paulinum Seminary, and the congregations that we visited.... everywhere we met old friends who were eager to celebrate a "free Namibia" with us.

Certainly, the struggle is not over. There were many sober reminders that "nation building" will be at least as difficult a task as liberation...and will take years to accomplish.

For example, life in Katatura, the black township outside of Windhoek, looked even more difficult and unhealthy than in 1988. One reason for this is that the return of 45,000 exiles and 20,000 soldiers has made shortages in housing and jobs even more critical. Unemployment is somewhere around 45%. Population density in Katatura has increased drastically. One whole section of the township now consists of people living in tents. Near the so-called "single men's quarters" sewage was running across the muddy sand streets.

Problems with alcoholism and crime have increased. And certainly there is no overnight remedy for inadequate health care, illiteracy (nearly 60%), arid land, external debts.

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NAMIBIA REVISITED *Continued.....*

But, in the face of these daunting tasks, there was still a sense of excitement and determination. For the first time in their history, Namibians are free to tackle the problems of their nation.

Not surprisingly, there are many signs that the "new day" is not welcomed by everyone. In spite of the apparent economic boom in Windhoek, several white Namibians used the phrase "if it lasts..." Some simply seemed dubious, saying "we just keep our heads down and go about our business". Others were more hostile in their comments, bitter about the changes.

For example, the owner of a gift shop gave directions to some tourists, telling them the Post Office was "just across Kaiser Strasse". Turning to another white clerk she said, "As long as I'm still here, it will never be Independence Avenue!"

Traveling with black Namibian friends, we could see that old customs die hard. For example, a white farmer's wife in Outjo insisted (unsuccessfully) that she be allowed to be served first at the gas station, even though we had been waiting in line. And at the information center in Etosha Pan, the big game park, Selma Shejavali was told that the park telephone could only be used by employees. Moments later a white man asked to make a call, and was allowed to do so. Eventually, after a confrontation, and a conversation with a park supervisor, Selma was permitted to use the telephone.

Thus it was clear that life in Namibia continues to be difficult, and emotionally draining, for black Namibians. But the difference is that non-discrimination is now the law of the land. Apartheid laws are gone. The rights of all Namibians are protected by their constitution!

There is much to be done in Namibia, and one of the frustrations is that all the problems must be tackled at once. It is very difficult to prioritize when the needs are so urgent.

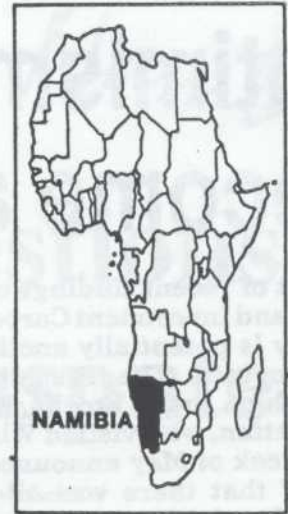
Our group was inspired by the people we met, folks who are working hard to build a new Namibia. In kindergartens and pre-schools, in hospitals and community development projects, making bricks to build their own homes, and working in government positions....their commitment and determination was evident.

Everywhere we went the message was the same: You have supported us in our struggle for liberation...now please continue to stand with us in the struggle to build a just and viable nation.

So that is our challenge--to recommit ourselves to this new phase of the struggle.

Through this publication in the months ahead we will highlight various issues or projects with which we have been asked to help. Our hope is that you will respond, that Namibia will not be forgotten.

Land rights spark heat in Assembly



THORNY questions on tribal property, who has what rights to land in the communal areas, and whether others can move in and claim land kept the National Assembly occupied for several hours yesterday.

They were continuing debate on a motion by Katuutire Kaura, opposition spokesperson on agriculture, about mass movements of people and their animals from one communal area to another and the right of traditional leaders to control land until a council of traditional leaders has been established.

Two examples were put forward. In the first the DTA alleges that Ovambo chiefs have moved some 500 cattle into a camp at Omutambomaue in Kaokoland which they say was used for quarantine of animals moved by nomadic herders.

Apparently the local people are outraged at the arrival of people claiming their ancestral land rights, and say their own ancestral rights are some-

where in Etosha and they will cut game fences, or exercise their traditional practice of attacking the new arrival.

The DTA adds that Kaura is only bringing up the issue to avoid a flare-up.

The second example given was in Western Caprivi, where Swapo speakers assumed Kaura was referring to the arrival of the development brigades.

According to Agriculture, Water and Rural Development Minister Gert Hanekom, 500 people arrived at Bagani in time for the opening of the project on May 18, and more have since arrived.

Allegations of stirring up tribal hatred, opportunism, cheap politics and hypocrisy flew around the house, as the issues are complicated and

emotive.

Can the Government start projects without debate in the National Assembly? Hanekom and Information and Broadcasting Minister Hidipo Hamutenya said yes, as the assembly only comes in when legislation is involved.

Hanekom added that as affirmative action is in the Constitution it does not need specific legislation.

Opposition leader Dirk Mudge said that Hereros did not have a right to his farm, as he had ownership. But, he asked, would he be allowed to turn up in some communal area with his cattle and settle there?

Mudge said his party had agreed to affirmative action as stated in the Constitution but that this should be exercised after proper debate and in a programme, not at the whim of individual ministers.

Ithete and Youth and Sport Minister Pendukeni Ithana both said they had grown up near Omutambomaue and remembered it as a land of harmony which Kaura was now trying to disrupt.

Ithete said the camp was a former army feeding camp then taken over by the First National Development Corporation and had never been accessible to black people.

Speaker Mosé Tjitendero tried to keep the debate away from issues to be discussed by a national land conference at the end of next month, while deputy Justice Minister Vekuii Rukoro said he personally would abstain as the House was still unclear on many key facts. The debate is set to continue.

THE NAMIBIAN
May 28 1991



'Optimism' that Namibia could become a major oil province

In the light of recent findings of the Overseas Petroleum and Investment Corporation (OPIC), the country is potentially another major African oil province. The President of Brilund Limited, which owns Etosha Petroleum, William E Schatten, who visited Windhoek during the third week of May announced that he was "optimistic" that there was oil in the Etosha basin and that drilling operations would start in September.

In a subsequent NBC report this week, however, he emphasised that there were no concrete indications as yet that there was in fact oil in the basin.

The area under review is vast, 24 840 000 hectares, and it stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the frontiers with Angola, Botswana and Zambia, and covers the entire area between these borders and 19 degrees latitude. The first prospecting grant dated 3 July 1959 was awarded to Etosha Petroleum Company but because of political uncertainty at the time, the company halted its work but the grant remained in full force.

In 1989 the grant was leased to Overseas Petroleum and Investment Corporation (OPIC), which together with a French company, CCG and Exploration Consultants Limited (ECL), were contracted to carry out advanced scientific research for oil in the huge concession the company holds in the northern portion of the country.

Interpretation of seismic data then indicated that a very sizeable stratigraphic gas accumulation (5-50 tcf in place), could be present but required additional seismic information and more drilling to define its limits. In 1989 Intera, ECL, and Halliburton Geophysical Services Inc. shot a 10 000 line km regional speculative seismic survey off Namibia.

Following the interpretation of the data they are conducting an in depth survey of some 3 500 line km.

Additionally, 5 000 line km of old seismic data have been scanned and migrated to provide greater control. Onshore, Intera ECL recently completed a comprehensive analysis of the petroleum potential of the Pan-African and Karoo basins.

Two Pan-African "successor basins" are present in Namibia.

they are the Etosha basin in the north and the Nama basin complex in the southeast. The Etosha basin is largely covered by OPIC. The announcement by Schatten that there is oil in the Etosha basin is apparently based on new seismic data acquired in this area.

Writing in an international magazine recently, Malcolm Light, a senior exploration geologist with Intera ECL petroleum Technologies, and Handupula Shimutwiken, legal adviser of Namcor, had the following to say: Oil seeps and a gas blow-out are evidence of the petroleum potential of the Nama basin.

Apart from some 300 line km of old seismic data and a few scattered wells, the Nama basin remains virtually an unexplored area of some 200 000 square kilometres.

Again, the offshore area can be subdivided into four main basins - from south to north they are:

*Orange basin, which contains oil plays in a series of Jurassic grabens to the east and gas fields to the west.

*Lüderitz and Walvis basins, both undrilled but having potential for large plays.

*Namibe basin north of the Walvis ridge, which is more analogous to the Angolan basin.

Thick sequences of sapropelic (type 11) Aptian and Albian source rocks have been penetrated at Deep Sea Drilling Project sites north and south of the Walvis ridge, whereas excellent Cenomanian-Turonian source rocks are present to the north. Thick oil prone source rocks are likely to be present offshore Namibia in the undrilled basins.

Furthermore, deep marine sand accumulations north and south of the Walvis ridge have potential for large turbidite plays similar to Namorado field in the Campos basin, Brazil.

The Ministry of Mines and Energy has set things in motion by organising promotion seminars overseas. The first seminar of that nature was held in London on 14 May and the next one was being held in Houston, Texas in the United States at the time of writing.

According to the Permanent Secretary, Leake Hangala, the petroleum seminar held in London, was "a great success". He told Nampa that 114 people participated representing 71 international oil and related companies.

Through the activities of the National Petroleum Corporation (Namcor), and Intera ECL, Namibia is emerging as one of the few remaining countries of the world where truly giant fields could be found.

The Namibian government has formulated a national energy policy and intends to assume an active role in encouraging foreign investment in hydrocarbon exploration and production as well as in other sectors of the economy.

In 1991 the Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act was ratified. However, the principal elements of the Petroleum Taxation Act are a legislated royalty (negotiable for marginal fields), an income tax, and a three tier, partially negotiable additional profits tax (APT).

These are the only amounts payable to the state out of the proceeds of the sale of oil. The government of Namibia requires no signature, levy, production, or bonus payments.

The Namibian profit sharing contract provides good investment incentives compared with many other contractual terms available internationally. Companies have got until 1 November, 1991 to obtain licences for exploration, according to an announcement from the Ministry of Mines and Energy.- Nampa

Questions about questions on the Walvis Bay dispute

LOOKING at some of Pretoria's principal political agenda, there is no doubt that internal political developments in South Africa are President FW De Klerk's main concern.

Right-wing politics

The National Party and De Klerk say they cannot afford to give back Walvis Bay now because of present parliamentary politics in South Africa. Right-wing groups have labelled De Klerk as weak and a "sell-out" because of his politics of compromise. Giving away Walvis Bay in the first instance means the loss of the Walvis Bay seat for the National Party in Parliament, but with their present overwhelming majority in Parliament, this cannot be their main concern.

Right-wing groups have also accused De Klerk of selling out the Afrikaner community at Walvis Bay to a Namibian Government run by Swapo. Their continued adherence to the policy of apartheid does not reconcile that an Afrikaner community be governed by a black Government.

They believe that Walvis Bay is an ideal place to "keep an eye on Namibia". The right-wingers appear to still want to foster a policy of regional

WITH the second round of talks between the Namibian Government and Pretoria over the Walvis Bay dispute starting today, questions about South Africa's continued claim over newly Independent Namibia's only deep sea harbour have been exhausted. The general feeling seems to be that South Africa has run out of explanations for its continued claim to Walvis Bay. The only question left is: WHAT does Pretoria then want? STANLEY KATZAO takes a look at the issue.

destabilization which is steadily disappearing from the ruling party's political agenda, as a warm wind of global political change thaws the rigid strategic outlook of the cold war mongers.

According to some reports, South Africa has already told Namibian President Sam Nujoma it just needs to soften up South African voters to accept a handover without the National Party losing too many votes.

Quid Pro Quo

Walvis Bay is obviously also being used as a strong bargaining point. South Africa will be looking at getting the most out of this valuable bargaining chip.

There have been rumours of gigantic fishing concessions which might be made avail-

able to South African-owned companies in return for Walvis Bay. Reports to this effect have already appeared in the Namibian media.

Some political analysts also speculate about the possibility of Pretoria bargaining for full diplomatic status in Namibia. This is important to Pretoria, as they want to have diplomatic credibility in southern Africa and foster regional acceptability.

However, this appears unlikely before major political changes in South Africa.

The idea of joint administration, which South Africa has put forward before, collapsed before it was even properly proposed. Apart from it being practically difficult, Namibian politics would not have allowed it. Historically Namibians regard Walvis Bay

as theirs.

Other negotiations that may feature in the Walvis Bay talks are questions of the remaining debt which South Africa is claiming from Namibia or how much Namibia should receive in payments from the South African Customs Union.

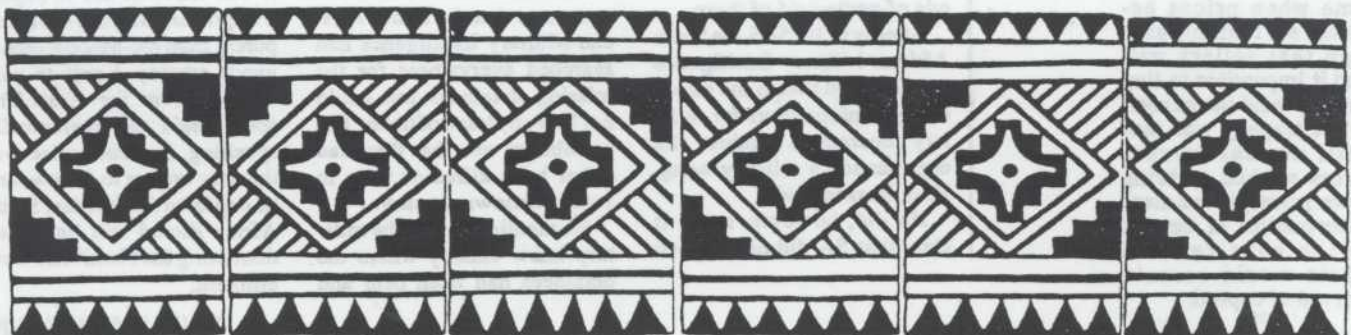
Economic considerations

Pretoria might fear that Walvis Bay, if handed over to Namibia, could threaten its financial benefits from neighbouring countries who currently channel their main exports and imports through South African ports.

Besides that, it will also mean that the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) will get a vital boost, which Pretoria might not want to see at this point in time.

However, there is little doubt that the port has no economic life separated from Namibia and continuing uncertainty about its future will not encourage its prosperity.

South Africa is already saying that the port is a financial liability not a benefit, so all the economic arguments point rapidly towards incorporation in democratic Namibia.



Prices in Zimbabwe rocket

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

Prices are becoming ridiculously high in Zimbabwe, The Herald newspaper said this week in an editorial commenting on the recent sale of a luxury car for more than a million Zimbabwe dollars.

The million-dollar mark is now frequently passed in residential property offers and even basic homes in high density suburbs, the former townships, can cost more than 80 000 Zimbabwe dollars (nearly R75 000).

The editorial said the price levels and scale of transactions in cars, homes and imported luxury goods were an indication that buying for speculative purposes rather than personal use was the chief motive behind the spending spree.

The paper said while the spree was by no means over, there was a hint at last that consumer resistance, even among those with money to spare, could be starting to set in.

Some properties were being offered at "reduced" prices, indicating that speculators could be starting to unload.

"Unless we are to see the economy spin totally out of control — and we have to believe the government has no intention of that happening — there has to come a time when prices become so ridiculously high that sellers will find it impossible to find buyers," said the paper.

The tragedy was that until normal market forces worked to bring down prices, investment opportunities of benefit to the country as a whole would remain starved of capital.

Namibia

SA's sword of total strategy falls on Swapo

JOSEPH MOTINGA

UNDER the umbrella of total strategy, the South African Government planned to deny Swapo a two-thirds majority in the UN elections and the detainee issue was but a small element in the strategy.

This information emerged during an interview with Nico Basson, a former SADF anti-Swapo propaganda expert, who said further that South Africa was intent on disrupting Swapo through a long-term strategy and to use the experiences thus gained to similarly work against the ANC.

Asked whether SA really believed that Swapo was Marxist, Basson said he did not know but added that in the past he himself had believed in that propaganda.

Basson said the aim of SA was to disrupt Swapo by bringing about a split in the party through pitting the Kwanyamas against other ethnic groups, thus sapping the organisation of its intellectual resources or future leadership.

He added that since Swapo still possessed huge intellectual resources, SA might in future utilise different methods of getting rid of them.

Already in 1975-76, the South African Military Intelligence had infiltrated Swapo and gained enough information for military operations against the organisation's military wing, Plan, Basson said.

He did, however, make it clear that SA did not as such

create the detainee issue but only made use of an already existing wrong.

In 1975-76, Swapo was imprisoning people on a small scale but usually released them after brief spells, the former propagandist said. He described the reasons for these imprisonments as normal practice with so-called Marxist regimes to keep their subjects under control.

The South African Military Intelligence saw in this trend an opportunity to use it to its own advantage, he noted. During 1979-80, the South African spies in Swapo started spreading rumours about heavy infiltration by South African spies at the same time as the SADF escalated military operations against Plan, Basson said. These military operations caused fear and panic within Swapo ranks, and the party had no other option than to start a massive witch-hunt for real spies, he went on. However, he added, mass arrests only served to give SA more military successes.

Basson reiterated his earlier statement that the South African Military Intelligence had searched everywhere for the missing detainees but could not find any trace of them. The possibility was that they had either been killed or were in some unknown country.

He mentioned that the military knew exactly where the detainees had been held and

added that a considerable number of African armies were infiltrated by SA Military Intelligence.

Basson said it was possible that South African spies within Swapo had a hand in the April 1 slaughter, but stated that Swapo had its own justified programme with the incursion as they felt it was necessary to show a military victory.

On the question as to why the South African Government should still be opposed to the Namibian Government in spite of its moderate stance, Basson said SA had problems with the Government policy on Walvis Bay, support for the ANC and Namibia's foreign policy. He stated that SA would like Swapo to think exactly the way the SA Government does.

Asked whether fears of an Angolan-type Marxist dictatorship would not give SA a good excuse to interfere in Namibian politics, Basson said he did not believe there would ever be a one-party state in Namibia, but added that SA should leave the people of this country to do whatever they wanted.

A source within Swapo said it was naive of SA to regard Swapo as Marxist judging purely from pro-Marxist propaganda employed only to gain support from the East. The source said that realistically speaking, free enterprise was the only system to follow, and he deplored the fact that South Africa should still be set on disrupting the Namibian Government.

Learning from Zimbabwe

Land ownership rather than land tenure

"The knowledge gained from problems experienced in the Zimbabwean land reform programmes could be applied to Namibia, as they have a 10-year head start and we have some catching up to do," said Mr Sakkie Coetzee, manager of the Development Fund of Namibia in an interview with the Observer.

Mr Coetzee, along with other Development Fund members recently returned from Zimbabwe on a three-fold visit to inform themselves of processes and work done by Zimbabwean financial institutions, to assess their agricultural development and also to look at the progress of their land reform policies. Broadly, the visit was to focus on how to lend support to an emerging farmer.

The Namibian delegation met with the Commercial Farmers' Union, National Farmers' Union (for communal farmers), Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union (for small farmers), Zimbabwe Development Bank, Small Enterprises Development Corporation, the Agricultural Finance Corporation and also the Deputy-Secretary for Planning in the Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr Coetzee added that in Zimbabwe they had learnt that land resettlement is simply not enough and that it should as far as possible be accompanied by agro-industrial development (this he described as "forceful urbanisation"). This is because there is not enough agricultural land to accommodate each and every person and a reasonable standard of living will be fostered by these "forceful urbanisation" programmes.

Concerning the failure of Zimbabwe's land reform programmes, he said that it is common consensus in Zimbabwe that schemes had failed partly as a result of the government's obligation

to election promises which were unable to be fulfilled as great expectations had been raised and they could not be realised.

Inexperienced people ('farmers') were also randomly resettled and were not selected on merit - some had not really wanted to be moved. Coupled with this, no comprehensive support programmes such as credit facilities, training and extension schemes were initiated and there had also been a lack of infrastructural support. The government admits they have wronged, he said.

The environmental impact of resettlement is also crucial as Zimbabwe experienced great problems in resettlement schemes for communal farming where areas underwent serious soil degradation due to neglect and overgrazing.

In the future they will also definitely be looking at economic viability. This could have lots of "spin-offs", Mr Coetzee said, as soil deterioration could eventually lead to destruction of the entire economy. "This would be particularly applicable in Namibia as we have a fragile ecosystem. We also have to look at it in the light of Zimbabwe having a greater rainfall than Namibia. Their climate is also more favourable for dry-land crop production such as maize, sunflower and cotton."

Often large tracts of once productive land were divided into smaller units for communal farmers. The farms,

due to inexperience of the farmers and the lack of necessary support, more than often produced lower yields and farmers became unproductive.

The Zimbabwean commercial farmers' Union had pointed to the tobacco industry as an example. Prior to the implementation of resettlement schemes, tobacco production had been a strong earner of foreign exchange. The money now being earned from foreign exchange has dwindled drastically due to the same problems of lack of support and inexperience. Maize production had however increased and it appears that general subsistence farming has expanded. Subsistence farming has now developed more strongly whereas the net value of the country's foreign exchange has lessened, Mr Coetzee said.

Land ownership rather than a form of tenure has also been strongly advocated by the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union as they feel farmers would be more strongly motivated towards success in caring for the land. In Namibia the government has shown willingness for people to own the land, Mr Coetzee said.

A question asked by the Namibian delegation was what would comprise an economically viable land unit for a farmer to maintain a reasonable standard of living. The Agricultural and Financial Corporation said the unit is to be determined by the farmer, whether it comprises 100 hectares, 300 hectares or whatever.

The Namibian delegation did not agree with this view as they pointed to the problems of Rehoboth where huge farms have been overdivided amongst families over the years making previously productive land commercially unviable.

An aspect to be considered for an economically viable land unit would be whether it would support a reasonable standard of living to uplift the farmer and this would have to be seriously examined as standards of living differ for each person, he said.

A controversial issue in Zimbabwe at present is the Land Acquisition Act which would allow the government to decide unilaterally and without consultation with the affected farmer, which land will be used for resettlement purposes and also the amount to be paid as compensation to the farmer.

Many Zimbabweans are in uproar as their livelihoods are to be directly affected and it would be difficult for them to start again elsewhere. They also feel that this is not in the interests of reconciliation as the designated areas form part of the backbone of the economy. If the economy suffers all will suffer, they told the Namibian delegation. A farmer from the Commercial Farmers' Union warned that by redressing the imbalances of the past one should not jeopardise the country's future, Mr Coetzee said.

In Zimbabwe about 800 000 families occupy 16,3 million hectares of communal ground, 4 800 commercial farmers use 11,3 million ha and about 10 000 small-scale farmers utilise about 1,2 million ha.

The government has already resettled 52 000 families on about 3,2 million ha and intends resettling about 110 000 families on 5 million ha. It also intends buying another 1 million ha for state farms. The land to be used for resettlement falls within the highly productive tobacco producing areas.

Namibia

Goromonzi Journal

Should the Good Earth Stay in Whites' Hands?

By JANE PERLEZ
Special to The New York Times

GOROMONZI, Zimbabwe — At a time when most of Africa cannot feed itself and deserts are eating into fertile soil, Zimbabwe stands as an oasis.

Despite a growing population, this southern African country is self-sufficient in food and even able to spare some to help impoverished neighbors teetering on the edge of famine.

Sairas Gukwe, a 68-year-old farmer whose ancestors were shoved off the country's richest territory by the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes a century ago, is well aware of this as he contemplates the Government's plan for redressing the wrongs of the past. He frets about what might happen if the Zimbabwean Government rushes into redistributing white-owned farmland among poor blacks, as has been announced.

"I am worried that if the Government gives the land to people who don't know how to use it, there will be hunger in this country," said Mr. Gukwe, a gnarled man with hands and feet calloused from wrestling with the second-rate land he inherited from his dispossessed forebears.

"We are self-sufficient now, even supporting other countries with food. Bitterness from the past won't help anything. I want the plans of the Government to be properly considered."

Mr. Gukwe is not a paid operative of the powerful white membership of the Commercial Farmers Union, although the white farmers would not have much argument with what he had to say. Rather, he was echoing the sentiments of his own union, the Zimbabwe National Farmers Union, and of many ordinary Zimbabweans who think it is a good idea to give land back to blacks, but preferably to blacks who are proven farmers.

Eleven years after independence from the British, the Zimbabwean Government plans a version of what Cecil Rhodes wrought, but in reverse.

In January, President Robert G. Mugabe signed a constitutional amendment that gave his Government the right to order the compulsory purchase at a fixed price of white-owned land, formerly owned by blacks like Mr. Gukwe's great-grandfather.

The new constitutional amendment, which must be backed by a specific land bill before the land can be procured, does not propose returning land to precise descendants of those disinherited. But it is intended to give blacks now crowded into poor agricultural areas or unemployed in the cities a better deal.

The amendment and the accompanying bill that is now being drafted touch the rawest emotional nerve in Zimbabwe, not just the practical matter of how the country of 10 million sees itself.

The central question in Zimbabwe has always been: Whose land is it, anyway? The guerrilla war to overthrow the white minority Government of Ian D. Smith was fought in large part on the premise that the land held by the whites would be recovered by the blacks.

But at independence, the new majority-rule Government settled on a policy of reconciliation. It agreed that the more than 4,000 white farmers, who own about 40 million acres, all of it the best agricultural land, should stay and continue to churn out the tobacco, beef, cotton and corn that earn a good chunk of the country's foreign exchange. Under the arrangement at independence, their properties would be purchased by the Government only on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis.

A Promise Never Kept

Last year the independence agreement expired. And at the same time, the Mugabe Government faced restlessness among the growing urban unemployed and hundreds of thousands of peasants who had been promised resettlement on better land but for whom the promise had never been delivered.

Mr. Mugabe said 162,000 families would be resettled. Instead, only 52,000 were resettled and in ways that guaranteed failure: unskilled farmers were moved onto land with few support services. They produced little.

In an effort to live up to its past promises, the Government passed the constitutional amendment, saying more than 110,000 poor families would be moved onto 15 million acres now owned by the white farmers.

Predictably, the white-dominated Commercial Farmers Union vigorously denounced the amendment. But so did the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the nation's chief human rights organization, which usually fights for the rights of poor farmers, not rich ones. The commission said that by denying the white farmers a right to court arbitration, the Legislature was excluding the judiciary from an important legal process.

And while the union representing farmers like Mr. Gukwe said it wanted to see the pressure on the communal land relieved by resettlement on white farmland, it has pressed the Government to give preference to skilled farmers who will be able to keep up the country's food production.

Since the exultant singing and dancing in the aisles of the Legislature when the amendment was passed, the Mugabe Government has shown signs of retreating. Some believe the amendment was a cynical show of solidarity with struggling peasants and the urban poor and will not be acted upon. There is already talk of the Government's being more flexible. In any event, economists point out that the national treasury does not have the resources to buy much of the 15 million acres.

If the redistribution does start, Mr. Gukwe said he was too old to move.

But his 30-year-old son, Josphat, who is struggling on six acres of sandy soil across the road, would be eligible and an ideal candidate to go back to the red loam of his forebears only 20 miles away, he said. His son is qualifying for a "master farmer" certificate awarded by the Agricultural Department to farmers with experience. "The land is getting weaker here, and we have to put on a lot of manure to make it produce," Mr. Gukwe said.

The rains were scanty this year around Goromonzi. Mr. Gukwe will not have enough corn or tomatoes to sell to pay off the year's loan for fertilizer. But at least, he said, unlike the case in many other African countries, there will be plenty to feed his family.

TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 1991



Police battle with right shakes South Africa

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

At least 25 people were killed in the latest rampage by Inkatha "warriors" in the Transvaal township of Kagiso yesterday. Residents of the Swaniesville squatter camp said the raiders struck at 6.30 in the morning with spears and machetes, hacking their way through the tumbledown dwellings to the west of Johannesburg.

Police said 30 people were wounded and 82 squatter shacks burnt down by the mainly Zulu occupants of a nearby migrant workers' hostel.

The government last week banned "dangerous weapons" in townships wracked by violence between the mainly Zulu Inkatha and ANC supporters, but it has specifically excluded spears and other "traditional" Zulu weapons.

Blanket-covered bodies, many charred and badly hacked, lay strewn around the camp after the attack. Residents gathered what was left of their belongings and trudged over the fields to safety. "I don't know where I'm going, but I can't stay here. It is finished," one said.

Despite its horror, the massacre was over-shadowed by an incident with near-farcical overtones on Saturday which is likely to go down in history as the Battle of Goedgevonden.

The battle — which was not much of one, but nevertheless has stunned South Africa — was fought between extreme rightwing farmers and security forces on a state-owned farm near the town of Ventersdorp. Casualties were low, two right-wingers being peppered with bird-shot. But the shock to the Afrikaner psyche was summed up by the banner headline yes-

terday in Rapport, the country's largest Afrikaans-language newspaper: "The blood flows."

This was probably the first clash between security forces and rightwingers, at least involving gunfire, since the second world war. And this time it was not fought over the merits or otherwise of the Third Reich, but in defence of a community of black squatters.

The rightwing farmers, reportedly led by the neo-Nazi leader, Eugene TerreBlanche, mounted what appears to have been a well-planned raid on the squatter community of Goedgevonden on horse-back and in vans. But they were driven off by police and troops who at one stage opened fire on farmers trying to destroy squatters' shacks with their vehicles.

Later the frustrated farmers — many of them imported to the area for the occasion — attacked homes in another nearby township, injuring a number of black residents including a one-year-old child who may have lost an eye.

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, flew to the scene and managed to calm the farmers, promising a further meeting with them after a court decision on the fate of the squatter camp, due to be announced on May 28. The camp is occupied by former residents of Goedgevonden who were driven off the farm by the government about 13 years ago and returned to reclaim the land last month.

The incident is likely to work to the advantage of the government, in that it gives at least some credibility to President F. W. de Klerk's claim that his administration is determined to be even-handed in dealing with political violence.

And, although the rightwing community will be incensed, it is not likely to enhance the

standing of militant extremists of the likes of Mr TerreBlanche.

Journalists at the scene claimed he was seen "staggering around" and that an open bottle of brandy was spotted in his van.

Meanwhile there was speculation in political circles that a new organisation launched yesterday by some leaders of the anti-apartheid organisation the United Democratic Front — and including supporters of the black consciousness movement, Azapo — could pose a future challenge to the ANC.

At a consultative conference in Bloemfontein attended by 160 delegates including the UDF general secretary, Popo Molefe, it was agreed that the new organisation — a national parent body for township "civic" associations — would be launched early in August.

Political commentators predict it will become a home for disaffected members of the ANC and will bid for an independent seat at the negotiating table in future constitutional talks with the government.

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Editor: Solveig Kjeseth

South Africa

**This time,
police
MUST
explain:
Where
were they?**



By WALLY MBHELE

DESPITE attempts to explain their inaction, police still face a number of questions on their role in Kagiso township near Krugersdorp on Sunday, when about 900 Inkatha supporters attacked Swanieville squatter camp, killing 28 people.

●Why was a curfew declared in a calm Kagiso on Saturday — the day before the massacre? Did the police suspect something the residents did not know about?

●How was it possible that more than 900 armed men were able to move between five and eight kilometres in an unrest area without being detected by police?

●If indeed the attack happened when police were changing shifts, how long did it take them to change shifts? Could it have taken more than three hours as, according to their own admission, the first sign of violence in the area reached them at about 6.30am? The attack, according to residents, started at about 3am.

●Could it have been possible for the police not to notice the activity at the hostel which is metres from the police station?

●Why did the police escort the attackers back to safety after the massacre rather than escorting them to the police station for arrest?

Kagiso activists this week angrily marched to the house of the local African National Congress chairman, Uhuru Moiloa, calling on the ANC to stay out of talks with the government and provide them with arms to defend themselves.

"Police and Inkatha are killing us," they said.

Moiloa says he didn't know how to respond.

Inkatha has already accepted responsibility for the killings. On Tuesday, Inkatha Freedom Party representative Suzanne Vos said squatters were attacked in response to the earlier kidnaping of two Inkatha hostel dwellers on Saturday night.

She promised a full report would be issued later on Monday but at the time of going to press no Inkatha report had been received.

At a press conference in Kagiso on Tuesday, residents of Swanieville confirmed "there was no sign of any violence before the curfew was declared. It completely took us by surprise."

Kagiso: Where were the police?

Even the police admitted at a press conference on Monday there was no sign of violence in the area at the time.

Terrified Swanieville residents told *The Weekly Mail* how police came around the squatter camp on Saturday at about 9pm telling them to remain indoors as the place had been declared an unrest area.

They were also warned they would be arrested if they walked the streets at night, as unrest regulations were in force.

However, they were awoken at about 3am on Sunday morning by the sound of rifle fire.

During the next hour, adults and young children alike were shot at, and hacked with pangas and spears. Shacks were blown up with handgrenades and property looted.

The impi left a trail of burning shacks and bodies strewn around the camp.

Swanieville resident Vuyani Radebe said he heard shots fired and, when he

looked through the window, he saw a group of people wearing red headbands firing at the shacks.

"I jumped out of the window and hid in the toilet and saw them hurling handgrenades at the shacks," he said.

He said there "was a lot of confusion as people were screaming and running in different directions, hacked with spears and pangas as they tried to flee.

"Police came to tell us not to move around the streets after 9pm and we were not aware that they were inviting Inkatha to kill us."

A young boy who did not want to be named said he saw white men standing by while residents were attacked. He claims white police who were armed with shotguns and driving in a Ford Sierra and Opel Monza arrived when the attack was already underway.

"They did nothing to stop Inkatha from killing. I saw them with my own eyes, they only stood and watched as we were attacked," said the young boy.

"As they drove away, they laughed at the dead and injured people."

In a hard-hitting statement responding to the massacre, Lawyers for Human Rights this week called for a "totally independent" commission of inquiry consisting of eminent and credible jurists as investigators.

"What we fail to understand is how this large group of armed men were able to move totally undetected from the hostels to the camp, which is approximately 10km away.

"The fact that police Casspirs were on hand immediately after the attack to escort the attackers to the hostels, lends credence to the allegation that the police had been involved in the attack," said LHR.

The organisation said it was astounding that while the police escorted the attackers back to the hostel, not a single person was arrested immediately.

"The arrest of only six persons where several hundred persons had been involved in the attack makes a mockery of our criminal justice system."

The statement called on the government to take urgent action and drastic steps to address the violence.

●At the time of going to press the South African Police had still not responded to the article.

Angry Mandela warns the state

Bitter speech at scene of weekend massacre accuses FW of racism



By GAVIN EVANS and WALLY MBHELE

NELSON Mandela yesterday delivered his toughest speech since his release from prison 15 months ago, warning the government that violence would spill over to the white areas unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

Mandela was speaking on the eve of a crucial African National Congress National Executive Committee meeting to consider the government's response to the ANC's ultimatum on violence, with talks between the two groups balanced on a knife edge.

In an angry off-the-cuff speech at a commemorative service in Kagiso, the scene of a massacre of 28 people on Sunday by Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers, Mandela warned there would be no negotiations unless the government banned the carrying of spears and sticks — and said he had been unable to move President FW de Klerk on this issue.

The ANC deputy president accused De Klerk of racism, said Inkatha wanted to "rise to power on the corpses of dead people" and blamed the government and security forces for actively promoting anti-ANC violence.

Addressing a commemorative service at the Kagiso Hall for the 28 people murdered at the Swanieville squatter camp, Mandela warned the government that the violence would spill into the white areas, and that white civilians would be hit, unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

He warned the community against taking such action.

Addressing the issue of the ANC's ultimatum for the banning of spears, Mandela said the ANC was "putting tremendous pressure on the government", adding that there was "no question of negotiations in this country" unless De Klerk conceded.

He repeated this point several times, but noted that "I was not able to move Mr De Klerk because like all average whites he has no regard for the black man's life".

He said De Klerk told him that if the government found that there was abuse of spears and sticks he would take action.

"I told him that over 8 000 blacks had died in the violence since 1984, and that these spears are being abused now. How many more people should die before you ban these dangerous weapons?"

He added that "if only 50 whites had been killed there would have been a revolution in this country" and the government would have banned all weapons immediately.

"But because it is blacks, we have to work for years to convince him that he needs to protect the lives of our people, and for spears to be banned."

Referring to Inkatha as "an organisation with no membership in the Transvaal", he said they were unable to get members by "appealing to the people to join them" and therefore were using force for this end.

"They want to rise to power on the corpses of dead people."

He added that Inkatha had a habit of bussing people to rallies in areas where they didn't have a "single member".

Dismissing police claims that they had been unaware of Inkatha plans for Sunday's massacre, he said the police had spies in every hostel, and if hostel dwellers "decide to attack tomorrow, the police will know immediately".

"It is therefore not true when they say that they were not aware of what was happening when the hostel attacked."

Mandela said these massacres were happening because "it has become the policy of the government to allow this in order to weaken the liberation movement".

He warned that when people realised "the government is working with the black organisation which is killing our people", they would move into the white areas and kill innocent people.

"The liberation movements will not support it because there are many innocent people there who have nothing to do with the violence. There are many whites who value the lives of our people, and in any attack both innocent and guilty will be killed ... We don't want you to do that."

He added the government was making a mistake because one effect of its support for violence was to help forge unity between the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation. He firmly embraced these organisations, referring to the unity which had been forged between them on Robben Island.

"By killing so many innocent people they have succeeded in bringing us together."

Yesterday's service was co-hosted by the three organisations and addressed by Dikgang Moseneke of the PAC and Pandelani Nefolohvode of Azapo, as well as by SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Hani.

Outside the hall about 15 000 people gathered, many toying, and some armed with "traditional weapons".

● Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday night accused the ANC of "moving in for the kill" by calling for the banning of cultural weapons by Zulus.

"One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted by serious drug abuse amongst teenagers."

Buthelezi said the ANC cynically knew that it was putting tremendous pressure on De Klerk to decide whether to placate the ANC by banning traditional weapons. He said if De Klerk did not do this, he would have to decide between confronting the ANC or confronting the IFP.

Johannesburg: May 19, 1991

SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH LEADER SAYS WEAPONS MUST BE BANNED

Saying that "the spear is the only obstacle" to bringing back the negotiation process, South African Council of Churches (SACC) leader Rev Frank Chikane said this week there will be no solution for South Africa until the government "acts in a responsible way to protect all the people of this country and bring an end to the violence."

Rev Chikane was speaking from first hand experience. He and his staff spent the week trying to help the survivors of a raid by 1000 spear-and-gun carrying members of the Inkatha Freedom Party on a squatter camp near Swanieville, west of Johannesburg. Twenty seven people were killed by Inkatha in that attack, for which Inkatha has admitted responsibility.

Current negotiations between the ANC and President de Klerk are stalled over the government's refusal to ban the carrying of all "traditional weapons" in public by political groups.

SACC investigations of the Swanieville incident reveal that police did not protect the residents of the squatter camp and may, in fact, have set them up for the Inkatha attack.

According to the SACC, police arrived at the squatter camp at 9 PM Saturday, May 11, telling the residents to stay indoors because "their's was an unrest area." When residents said they wanted some of their youth outside to keep watch, the police said they would put a 24 hour patrol on the area.

At five o'clock Sunday morning, 1000 or so followers of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party walked five kilometers from their hostel to attack the Swanieville camp. They spent two hours, unimpeded by police, destroying the squatters' huts and shooting and stabbing the residents.

Rev Chikane said the police had promised to protect the residents, were at the scene and had all the evidence necessary to arrest the guilty, but did not do so.

"The bodies were still where they had fallen dead, the weapons were still in the hands of the murderers and the murderers were still among the Impis (Inkatha regiment)," said Chikane. "We find it outrageous that they escorted the Impis back to the men's hostel to avoid further bloodshed," he said. "We would like to know why they did not arrest those guilty of murder and destruction of property at the scene of the crime."

According to Chikane, violence is "ravaging the communities" and there is "no possibility that there will be negotiations that will produce a solution" until the government takes strong steps to halt the violence.

The church leader said that if President de Klerk refuses to ban "traditional weapons" and goes ahead with his own "peace" conference, the ANC, the Pan African Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement will refuse to attend.

"Then the process is back to the pre-February 1990 period, where the old order will again refuse to deal with the liberation movements, which I think will be a disaster."

According to Rev Chikane, both Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi and President de Klerk know that the SACC supports the banning of "traditional weapons". "You don't need a mass conference to get a government to ban a weapon that is used to kill people," he said.

(SACN)

From: John Evenson, Southern Africa Church News

Former officer alleges campaign of dirty tricks to orchestrate township violence and fix elections

SA military 'giving arms to Inkatha'

The South African Defense Force (SADF) has deliberately fanned the township violence of recent months, including funding and supplying weapons to Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, as part of a comprehensive "dirty tricks" strategy to ensure F.W. de Klerk's National Party remains in power after the end of apartheid, a retired SADF major alleged yesterday.

Nico Basson, who said he worked for military intelligence in Namibia in 1989, added that the SADF was also working on plans to attempt, through intimidation, to engineer the elections in neighboring Angola next year in favour of the Unita leader, South Africa's old ally, Jonas Savimbi. He said he himself had been a key player in an elaborate SADF orchestrated scheme designed to prevent victory in the 1989 elections in Namibia going to Swapo, the eventual winners.

Mr. Basson said the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs had worked, and was working, hand-in-glove with the SADF in the deployment of the various stages of the plans, which were given the codename Operation Agree when first devised at the end of 1988 by the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha. In April, Mr Basson wrote to Pres. de Klerk with a broad outline of the allegations.

The SADF said yesterday that Mr Basson was "bandying about unsubstantiated allegations for reasons of his own". The statement added: "The Defence Force knows nothing about these plans, which are ridiculous."

Inkatha denied the allegations of involvement with the SADF. "I'm flabbergasted ... I know nothing about this," said a spokeswoman, Suzanne Vos.

In a two-and-a-half hour interview yesterday morning with four reporters, Mr. Basson provided a wealth of detail, including names of senior military officers, names of alleged SADF front-companies in and out of South Africa, and names of individuals allegedly running those companies, to substantiate his claims about the Defence Force role in Namibia.

Namibia, he said, was intended as a "dress rehearsal" for the much more ambitious operation currently afoot in South Africa itself. He had continued to obtain information on that operation from numerous sources working within the Defence Force with whom he is in regular contact. They share his disgust and disillusionment with the SADF's activities but fear to speak out, he said.

He also described Namibia as "a trial run" for the South African electoral game-plan, in which the same structures of the SADF and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were being employed.

"The SADF is buying AK-47 rifles on a large scale, notably from Mozambique, and supplying these weapons to Inkatha," Mr Basson said. The violence in the townships around Johannesburg, in which Inkatha supporters have been centrally involved and in which some 1,500 people have died in the past nine months, had been deliberately orchestrated by the SADF. "They could stop it immediately if they wished," Mr. Basson said.

The strategy behind the violence, he said, was to create ethnic divisions; to discredit the ANC, whose military wing has long been associated with the AK-47, and force it into political mistakes; and to build Inkatha through intimidation so as to form a strong alliance with the National Party in the first post-apartheid elections. To that end, the SADF had not only provided weapons to Inkatha, but also assistance in setting up township cells.

Pointing to the estimated 8 per cent of the government's defence budget which, it is known, is employed for secret projects, he said it was on precisely such ventures that the money was being spent. Mr. de Klerk has in recent months refused to answer parliamentary questions on where the secret money is going.

Mr Basson, an SADF officer between 1982 and 1986, said that he saw Operation Agree unfold in Namibia, where he was summoned by the SADF in January 1989 in his capacity as a volunteer member of the Citizen Force, the army reserve.

He was ordered to set up an ostensibly legitimate operation called African Communications Project with SADF funding - he personally received 64,000 rand (L13,700) a month - whose aim was to manipulate information in favour of the pro-South African "democratic" parties opposing Swapo, which had fought a war of liberation against South Africa for 23 years. The then head of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the present head, General Kat Liebenberg were the moving spirits behind the operations.

Mr. Basson, who said that he had survived three attempts on his life, told Mr. de Klerk in his letter that he had been motivated in his actions by a "road to Damascus" experience in 1989, when he underwent a radical shift in his political commitment. He added yesterday that he was appalled at the use of state resources for party political ends.

The SADF has initiated legal action against Mr. Basson in terms of his alleged contravention of the Protection of Information Act.

THE INDEPENDENT
TUESDAY 11 JUNE 1991

SA military plots its survival strategy

THE INDEPENDENT
Thursday 13 June 1991

THE South African Defence Force realised some years ago that the key to political power lay not in military might but in manipulation of public perceptions, a former SADF major said yesterday.

The destabilising of Angola and Mozambique and the destruction of their economies through support of the Renamo and Unita insurgencies, helped to convey the impression that black, left-wing rule did not work. But only the most limited of victories were possible while the government the SADF represented remained committed to apartheid and to retaining sovereignty unlawfully over Namibia, Nico Basson said in an interview.

"Winning hearts and minds", or WHAM, is what they call it in counter-insurgency manuals. Much the same strategy was employed, ultimately with more success, by the United States through support for the Contras in Nicaragua. The Americans were more successful in Central America was in El Salvador and Guatemala, where military dictatorships were legitimised after civilian elections.

Mr Basson, who pointed out that the officers who run the SADF have delved into text-books of counter-insurgency and military political control, said it was only now, when apartheid was go-

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

ing and "non-racial" elections were in the offing, that SADF strategists were beginning to see the prospect of a comprehensive WHAM success.

There can be few more brilliant South African minds in the field than Mr Basson, 34, a psychology graduate and communications post-graduate, who as a major in 1984 and 1985 rose to become the public relations officer and right-hand man of General Jannie Geldenhuys, then chief of the army and later head of the SADF. In 1989 Mr Basson was summoned back from civilian life and given £14,000 a month by the SADF to run its "communications" strategy before the Namibian elections.

"Communications Operations", he said, is the name given to the arm of the SADF running WHAM operations. "Comm Ops" has an officer in every SADF unit and, besides, has managed to infiltrate the South African media across the board.

But it is not only a question of media manipulation. In the same way that Renamo and Unita were employed to communicate a message, so were the killers sent to wage war in the townships around

Johannesburg in the past 10 months, Mr Basson explained.

The end of the violence has not been to destroy property or to kill - that has only been a means. The political objectives have been all directed towards the eventual goal of securing white control in the post-apartheid set-up.

First, the violence has proved a blow to the morale and organisational capacity of the African National Congress. Secondly, the aim has been to bolster Mangosuthu Buthelezi's conservative Zulu party, Inkatha. "Just to get their name known and fixed in the public consciousness has been enough," said Mr Basson, who contends that the SADF has been arming Inkatha fighters and orchestrating their entire strategy. Thirdly, the intention is, through the violence, to split black people along tribal lines, to create tension between the two biggest ethnic groups, the Zulus and the Xhosas.

The end goal is a divided and undermined ANC, and an alliance of the ruling National Party, Inkatha and other "moderate" black organisations, which will sweep "legitimately" to power, with the SADF's own power structure remaining intact.

Millions of pounds of secret state funds are diverted to this enterprise, which expresses itself in

countless ways, only the most overt of which, Mr Basson said, is the township violence. For example, the SADF is steering enormous quantities of money towards conservative black churches, evangelical in bent, which stress anti-communism and political moderation.

A recent edition of *The Star* reported on National Party plans to form an "alliance of moderates" which would include Inkatha, leaders of the black "homelands" and the conservative black churches. NP strategists refer to it. *The Star* said, as the Christian Democratic Alliance.

Mr Basson said the choice of the word "Christian" in the title was brilliant, designed to stress the one element which powerfully unites virtually the entire black majority of the population and which, at the same time, draws attention to the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party, a sure electoral abattoir.

Mr Basson said that although the SADF was the engine behind the strategy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also centrally involved in what was a co-ordinated strategy approved by key sectors of the state. "That's the whole thing about South Africa," Mr Basson said. "It's run in secret and in camera."

BUTHELEZI VISIT TO WASHINGTON, NEW YORK

Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the Kwazulu "homeland" and leader of the Inkatha party, will find some open doors in his visit to the United States this week. In spite of his history as a brutal, ruthlessly ambitious politician (see "The Killing Fields: Who is Gatsha Buthelezi and Why is He Killing People?" in the last issue of *Southern Africa*, reprinted from *Southern Africa Report*, November, 1990.), Buthelezi continues to be a favorite of conservatives in this country.

During his D.C. visit, Buthelezi is expected to meet with both the President and the Vice President, State Department officials, members of Congress, and the National Press Club.

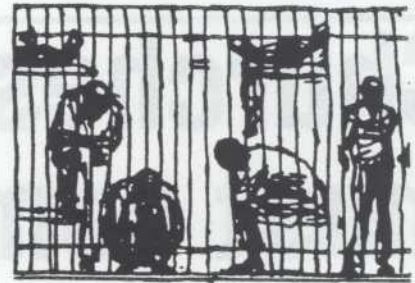
On June 19th, he will speak at a Heritage Foundation Luncheon.

In New York, Buthelezi is scheduled to make presentations before several Foreign Policy groups, and will have lunch with the CEOs of Fortune 500 companies who have maintained their company presence in South Africa. He also has appointments scheduled with the editorial boards of the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*.

One wonders if the revelations of the confessed South African agent, Nico Basson, regarding the provision of weapons and other support from the South African Defense Forces to Inkatha will dampen Buthelezi's reception.

Viewpoint

South Africa



Johannesburg: June 12, 1991

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SAYS 972 POLITICAL PRISONERS STILL IN JAIL

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) announced yesterday that 972 political prisoners are still being held by the South African government as of June 3rd. The HRC also severely criticized the government's handling of the indemnity process in a special briefing paper.

With the release of political prisoners an important prerequisite to continuing negotiations, the actual number of political prisoners has been widely debated. The HRC asserts that its finding of 972 persons is in strict accordance with the principles of the Pretoria Minute which was accepted by the government and the ANC ten months ago.

Recent statements made by government officials about the number of political prisoners remaining in jail were dismissed by the Commission as "patently false, misleading or misinformed". As an illustration they referred to President de Klerk's statement made in London on 23 April about "well below 200" prisoners yet to be released. In reality, the Commission said, the government itself has released 488 prisoners since that date....

The South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) also issued a statement on June 11 in support of an independent body to assist the government with the urgent release of all political prisoners. The SACBC said they were "saddened by what appears to be a bureaucratic snarl-up" and urged this action to be taken "so that the entire negotiating process is not further delayed to the detriment of all."

Mafeking, South Africa: June 12, 1991

BOPHUTHATSWANA POLITICAL PRISONERS PLEA FOR HELP ON HUNGER STRIKE

According to Amnesty International, there are 120 political prisoners in the South African "independent" homeland of Bophuthatswana. Following is the text of a hand written letter sent by two of them on behalf of the others in Bophuthatswana Central Prison. The letter was sent to Southern Africa Church News by the Mafeking Anti-Repression Forum (MAREF), a church-based human rights agency.

Dear Friends,

We are political prisoners in Bophuthatswana Central Prison. We are here in prison for our political beliefs. We are serving different jail terms for High Treason and Terrorism....

Most of us are here because of the part we took in the February, 1988 abortive coup. We believe that this region (bantustan) is South Africa. Bophuthatswana, the region in which we stay is a product of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's Grand Apartheid.

We abhor apartheid and the balkanisation of our country.

We have decided to embark on a hunger strike, from the 15th June until we secure our release.

Three of our comrades are well advanced in age. Mr. Samuel Slamini, Mr. Shadrack Motswatswa and Mr. Solomon Bapalamo are well over 65 years of age. Some of our comrades are not physical fit. And some of us are very, very young. Our lives are wasted; we implore you to use your influence in whatever sphere you can, in helping us in our fight.

We are treated as common-law prisoners. We are denied political status. We are not eligible for parole and remission. We are in the hands of a vicious autocrat.

We ask for prayers from you and the international and local churches communities.

Please put us in the homilies in the church across Bophuthatswana, the Republic of South Africa, and wherever your influence reaches.

Visit us please, in the name of our Lord. Our people are mesmerized by fear....

Southern Africa Church News

Churches - De Klerk must come out clean

South Africa

UNLESS state president F W de Klerk made it clear that all citizens of the country had the right to decide upon a future constitution, the church would call upon its members to resist his endeavours to negotiate a new Constitution.

The warning came after a six-day session of the Third General Conference of the South African Alliance of Reformed Churches (SAARC) in Mamelodi, Pretoria, last week.

The SAARC said that frequent statements by De Klerk that any new constitution for the country would first have to be approved by the white electorate, compelled the church to believe that his government continued to allow the ideology of apartheid to dominate the political mechanisms of the country.

"There is no moral justification for submitting a new constitution to 15 percent of the inhabitants of the country for their approval," the SAARC said in a statement.

The Conference also accused the NP government of being illegitimate since 1910.

Conscience

"The Conference wants to express its conviction that only a representative government based on a one-person one-vote electoral system, is acceptable to the Christian conscience," said the statement.

A call for the resignation of the cabinet ministers who are behind the existence and functioning of the Civic Co-operation Bureau (CCB) was made.

The church said that because the CCB members were paid by the government for their work, their actions should be openly called "state terrorism".

The conference also evaluated the declarations made during the Rustenburg Conference last year. They criticised the Steering Committee of the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC) of the Rustenburg conference on the consultations it had with the various political leaders.

The Conference regarded the consultations as a threat to the creation of a new and parallel ecumenical body.

Divide

It said in the statement that this could only further divide the already divided Christian body in South Africa.

"The Conference calls on its member churches in South Africa to consider their participation in such consultations very carefully," a statement released after the conference warned.

The attack on the NCC

came shortly after they met with the National Executive of the ANC to discuss issues raised during the Rustenburg Conference last year.

Confession

The Dutch Reformed Church's confession of guilt at the Rustenburg Consultation and the claim that it henceforth deserved to be accepted by all churches in the world, also came under heavy criticism.

"Although forgiveness and repentance are essential components of reconciliation, the justification of the sinner must not become reconciliation with the sin or sinful structures that ensued," the statement added.

However, while accusing the consultation, the Conference said it appreciated the coming together of the churches in Rustenburg, but that it had reservations about the "burning political issues", which it

felt were not fully addressed.

The Conference also resolved that a committee of willing participants from the theological, legal and political fields as well as from the newspapers who were later persecuted for their coverage of the CCB activities, be initiated to study:

*How Biblical and Confessional tradition informs and shapes "our" understanding of "State Terrorism".

*How the revelations of the existence of covert, terrorist military and police brigades relates to reality in order to uncover to what extent the Nationalist South African Government is judged by Biblical and other evidence.

It further considered an Interim Government, elected to pave the way for just and fair negotiations of a new constitution morally necessary.



NEW NATION May 17 - May 23 1991.

Rightwingers leave DRC

TENSION continues to reign within the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) since the church's confession to the sin of apartheid at the Rustenburg conference of churches early this year.

Professor Johan Heyns confirmed that there was an exodus of ministers and members who subscribed to right-wing politics. He said about 70 ministers and 30 000 members have already left the church.

Most of those who left have joined the newly formed Afrikaanse Protestant Kerk, an exclusively white denomination.

He said, however, that this was a small fraction when compared to the DRC's total membership of 1.5 million.

Asked about the main causes of the exodus, Prof Heyns said that those leaving the church were under the influence of rightwing political organisations. "It is purely on political grounds that they are leaving the church," he said.

He added that although the group comprised mainly of older members, a number of youth had also left.

Exclusive

This group was trying to keep the DRC exclusively white by justifying apartheid biblically. Professor Carel Boshoff was named as one of those seeking to reform the DRC to the old apartheid denomination.

Prof Heyns said the drop in the membership of the DRC did not



Professor Johan Heyns, former Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church

begin after the Rustenburg conference but has been ongoing since 1986, when the church adopted a report distancing itself from the sinful realities of the apartheid system.

Despite the mass exodus the DRC has not stopped trying to convince the breakaway group and those intending to leave of the wrongs of apartheid.

Optimistic

Sounding optimistic about the future of the DRC, Prof Heyns said there were individuals who were trying their best to reform the DRC from within.

In response to Prof Heyns's comments, Prof Boshoff told *New*

Nation that a number of theologians, who had gained control of the General Synod, were heading towards ending the historical nature and character of the DRC.

Criticising the General Synod, of which Prof Heyns and moderator of the DRC, Prof Piet Potgieter are members, Boshoff said that the pair sided with the social revolution in which political institutions, schools, residential areas, etc were being opened to all races while the Afrikaner was being deprived of his freedom and right to an own area.

Politicised

It said that the church therefore did not stand in isolation to what occurs in state and society.

"In fact the leaders of this movement have politicised the church and have played an active role in the liberation theology movement," said the statement from Prof Boshoff.

It added that the Afrikaans Reformed League, which opposes the Rustenburg resolution to confess that apartheid is a sin, regretted this turn of events and "in addition, the Afrikaans Reformed League calls upon leaders in the Dutch Reformed Church, to consider seriously the ecclesiastical deviation by the General Synod and the fatal participation of the church in the social revolution and to provide guidance to members as to what they should do".



Lord, give Us Shelter (Herr, gib uns ein Obdach) Holzschnitt 1974

South Africa

SADF tried to stop communities from reclaiming land

The Star Thursday May 16 1991

Thousands of farmers head for Pretoria

By Carina le Grange

Thousands of farmers are expected to converge on Pretoria tomorrow to "determine" the future of white farmers.

Among the issues under discussion will be the proposed repeal of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the forming of area defence units in conjunction with the South African Defence Force, and the economic plight of farmers.

The conference, under the auspices of the Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU), comes in the wake of increasing tension between farmers and the Government over, among other issues, squatters and the proposed scrapping of the Land Acts.

Defence units were mooted three weeks ago in response to what farmers call the increase in murder and crime because of squatters.

Last weekend, police wounded two farmers when more than 2 000 farmers, some armed, gathered in force to "remove" squatters from the Government-owned Goedgevonden farm near Ventersdorp. At least 18 squatters were injured and many shacks demolished.

Among those invited to tomorrow's conference is the Chief of the SADF, General

George Meiring, according to TAU deputy general manager Jan Human.

Mr Human said three issues would dominate the meeting: plans for the establishment of "area defence units" (gebiedsbeskermingsmagte) in co-operation with the defence force, the proposed scrapping of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, and action plans on the economic situation of farmers.

He stressed that although the farmers were opposed to the scrapping of the Land Acts, tomorrow's conference was not a protest meeting, but one at which plans would be formulated that, it was hoped, would later be ratified by the TAU general council.

Strife

According to sources, the TAU believes the conference will determine the continued existence of the "white commercial farmer".

It is expected that the meeting will overshadow the existing strife between the South African Agricultural Union and the TAU.

The SAAU is considered moderate and Government-supporting. The TAU favours white right-wing interests.

Yesterday the SAAU dissociated itself from "any actions by groups who took the

THE South African Defence Force (SADF) has tried to stop two dispossessed communities from reclaiming land that was taken from them in the mid-1970s.

The controversial role of the SADF was described by members of a committee representing some 100 000 people from 13 uprooted communities, who gave evidence before a select parliamentary committee in Cape Town.

Matlakosi Shabalala from Roosboom in Natal, whose community reclaimed its land in Decem-

ber, said the SADF had warned them to leave after the police arrests of two returned families had failed to halt the re-occupation.

"Some army people came and told us that this was now SADF land to be used for a shooting range," he said.

Inquiries by the community revealed that it was in fact the Public Works and Land Affairs Department which owned their formerly freehold land.

Further SADF action, apparently intended to deter the return of another community to its ancestral land, was reported by

Abey Maloma from Doornkop in the Eastern Transvaal.

He said that just weeks after his community announced an early return to their unoccupied ground, the SADF erected a no entry sign on it that declared the area as a shooting range.

The National Land Commission has identified another site where the SADF makes use of dispossessed land - at Bojela-gomo in the northern Cape.

And in Border region, the Ciskei Army has long had a base on expropriated land, now owned by the South African Develop-

ment Trust, at Releasee Area 60.

Shabalala and Maloma were in Cape Town as a part of a delegation that urged a select committee of MP's to agree to restore the land rights of dispossessed people, and to set up a Land Claims Commission.

Their delegation was initially refused entry into parliament, despite having an appointment.

However, representative Star Motswege said that the group had subsequently received a good hearing and it was "satisfied that they might do something about our situation."

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law into their own hands when it came to squatter problems", referring to the Ventersdorp incident.

The SAAU decided at a general council meeting yesterday to appeal to agricultural leaders who hold political office and occupy parliamentary or other seats to make a choice in the interests of agriculture and to dedicate themselves to a single cause.

Mr Human said the SAAU as well as all provincial and regional agricultural and farmers associations had been invited. No restriction had been put on the number of delegates from any one party.

He said neither the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging nor any other political, cultural or semi-cultural body had been invited.

"This is purely an agricultural matter. If other people arrive, they would have to come in their capacity of organised agriculture," he said.

"It is purely a meeting to discuss action-plans to see how we can best serve agriculture in the interests of the total population of the land.

"The police were not invited as we believe defence units are covered by consultation with the army, and farmers are used to the commando situation," Mr Human added.

SADF denies training Inkatha

THE South African Defence Force has denied that its members are involved in the training of Inkatha paramilitary fighters or members of "third force" teams. The Weekly Mail last week published allegations that members of the military were training Inkatha members at a base near Barberton. It also noted reports that municipal workers in Klerksdorp were being recruited for training as anti-ANC fighters.

"There are two bases in the Barberton area. One of these houses troops from the Cape Corps who are deployed for border protection tasks. The other is a training base for Citizen Force members (all white) and serves as a transit base," said a statement issued by the SADF.

"As far as the allegations about Defence Force involvement in the training of members of Inkatha are concerned, the Defence Force is already on record that it does not train, arm or equip anyone other than its own members."

Mozambique

17-May-91

DISPUTE OVER AGENDA STALLS MOZAMBIQUE PEACE TALKS

By John Follain

ROME, Reuter - Peace talks aimed at ending Mozambique's 16-year-old civil war have stalled, with the government and rebels at loggerheads over the agenda, mediators said Friday.

A spokesman for the religious community of Sant' Egidio, which is hosting the Rome talks, said mediators would propose an alternative agenda.

The sixth round of talks between the Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) government of President Joaquim Chissano and right-wing Renamo guerrillas began May 6. The previous round of peace talks in Rome was broken off in January with no agreement on a cease-fire.

Mozambique has been torn by civil war since Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance) was founded in 1976, a year after independence. A recent peace accord for Angola, another former Portuguese colony in southern Africa, raised hopes of an end to fighting in Mozambique.

Spokesman Leone Gianturco said the mediators would draft a proposed new agenda and put it to the two sides before the end of the month.

He gave no details of the disagreements. Political and military matters are at the center of the round of talks.

On Wednesday, Renamo guerrillas accused the government of blocking the talks by refusing to discuss several key issues.

Renamo said the government side would not discuss the dismantling of private armies and the secret police, the release of political prisoners and the return of refugees.

Diplomats said the term "private armies" referred to security forces maintained by several large companies to protect their interests in Mozambique.

The government side is led by Transport and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza. The Renamo delegation is headed by Raul Domingos.

The mediators include an Italian diplomat and Archbishop Jaime Goncalvez of the northern Mozambican city of Beira.

The government abolished one-party rule earlier this year and the first general elections are due to be held in 1992.

REUTER



Barbara Kauton

NEW NATION April 26-May 2 Page 9

Thousands of Mozambicans seek refuge in kaNgwane

THOUSANDS of Mozambicans from the southern provinces of Gaza and Maputo, who have fled from atrocities of Renamo bandits, have found a temporary refuge in the kaNgwane homeland near the borders of Swaziland and Mozambique.

But the recent resignation of the chief minister of kaNgwane, Enos Mabuza, and his statements that the homeland is preparing for full reintegration into South Africa, could turn the 20 000 Mozambican refugees here into illegal immigrants, subject to immediate deportation by the South African police.

Many of these refugees can be found in the regions of Nkomazi, Mbuzini, Mangweni and Tonga, about 500km east of Johannesburg, near the Mozambican border.

Integrated

The Mozambican community appears well integrated into kaNgwane, living in families in houses built on small plots of land distributed by the homeland authorities.

Some women cultivate tiny gardens beside their huts to produce a little food to supplement what is distributed by humanitarian organisations. But one cannot really speak of subsistence agriculture among the refugees.

Relief aid is distributed once a month, but

the food is only sufficient for a fortnight. This obliges the refugees to find ways of acquiring money to buy more food. Many of the women therefore brew and sell traditional alcoholic drinks.

Refugees say that it costs between 10 and 15 rands per day to feed a family of six.

Evade

But even those who manage to evade the South African police and work clandestinely on commercial farms do not earn more than three to five rands a day. So many look for additional odd jobs, as mechanics or carpenters, or helping build houses for kaNgwane residents - anything that might put a few more rands in their pockets. However, such employment is always irregular, and has no guarantees.

Those Mozambicans who have been settled here for a long time, and have established their own businesses could, in theory, help their less fortunate countrymen. But in practice, with rare exceptions, they are among the worst exploiters of refugee labour.

The men among the refugees, in general, do not consider returning to Mozambique: their dream is usually to seek better paid jobs inside South Africa. Many of the women, however,

say they would go back if they were guaranteed security, a minimum of assistance to resettle, and schooling for their children.

Currently the Mozambican children study alongside kaNgwane children in local schools - leading to overcrowding and an increasing pupil-teacher ratio.

The refugee bureau of the Roman Catholic Church tries to provide some cultural input in Portuguese or Shangaan for the refugees, but much of this is purely of a religious nature.

A project for teaching refugee children in Portuguese is now getting off the ground. Young adults are selected from among the better educated refugees, and are being trained, in collaboration with local teachers and schools, to teach Portuguese to the children.

Some of the adults, particularly those with an urban background, speak Portuguese among themselves, and listen at night to Radio Mozambique, thus maintaining a basic link with events in their home country.

Trade

Not every Mozambican who crosses the border is a refugee. Some come to trade, and an informal market has sprung up at one of the gates in the electrified fence along the bor-

der - a few hundred metres from the monument at Mbuzini that recalls the tragic plane crash in which Mozambican president Samora Machel lost his life in 1986.

Every Friday, women from the Mozambican town of Namaacha come here to sell - in full view of the frontier guards - Mozambican textiles, saucepans, cans of paints and other goods to kaNgwane residents.

Welcomed

The kaNgwane authorities have, with their limited resources, welcomed the Mozambican refugees, regardless of whether they are fleeing from Renamo, or whether their real goal is to seek employment in South Africa.

No such welcome can be expected from the South African police. Once outside the limits of the homeland, refugees can expect speedy deportation if they were caught.

South African legislation regarding "illegal immigrants" is among the most merciless in the world. It allows any police or customs official to deport any person merely suspected of being in the country illegally, and there is no possibility of appeal to a court. Unless the victim can prove to the police's satisfaction that he is legally in South Africa, he is liable to be summarily dumped over the border.

NATIVE LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Sol T. Plaatje
Ohio University Press, 1991

This excellent book, the first of its kind, first published in 1916, and then reprinted in South Africa in 1982, was mentioned in several contexts in the March number of Southern Africa. One might ask, with the dizzying pace of events in South Africa, why take time to encourage people to read a book published in 1916?

Quite simply, it provides an in-depth perspective on some of the very basic issues which comprise the current complex situation in South Africa: voting rights, land, housing, protest and resistance, racism and prejudice. It also gives the early history of the ANC.

The Land Act, passed in June, 1913, by the all white parliament of the newly formed (1910) Union of South Africa, forbade blacks to own or rent land in "white areas". This act was an attempt to solve two problems, the perennial labor shortage on white owned farms and in the expanding mining industry, and the fear of whites that land "gained" by conquest should be "lost" through the market. (Francis Wilson, The Oxford History of South Africa, 1971)

As we know today, this act was to have far-reaching consequences since it was one of the chief factors in developments which led to 13% of the people having 87% of the land. The immediate effect, in 1913, was to uproot thousands of blacks and send them wandering over the countryside in the cold South African highveld winter.

Plaatje gives heart-rending accounts of spending nights with some of these "fugitives" whose "skin is died with a pigment that does not conform to the regulation hue." Having lost homes, jobs and livestock, they suffered immensely from shock, hunger and cold. Plaatje relates how the Kgobadi family had to surreptitiously bury their young child at night---little children, whose only crime was that God didn't make them white, were denied even a burial place in the land of their birth.

There was some opposition to the act in parliament, and some churches and missions protested, but to no avail. The Act was not even translated into African languages, laments the author.

Recommended

Plaatje, a writer and newspaper editor, was the first Secretary General of the South African Native Congress, which later became the African National Congress. The Congress, formed in Bloemfontein in January, 1912, attempted to peacefully protest various aspects of the new South African constitution which excluded blacks from political participation. Quickly the Land Act became one of the main targets of the Congress.

When polite but firm appeals to the South African and British governments fell on deaf ears, the Congress voted to send a delegation of five, including Plaatje, to London to make an appeal in person. The author gives a fascinating account of the discussion in parliament and of debates in England over the matter. In the end, the British government concluded that the land issue was an internal matter to be sorted out in South Africa, not withstanding the fact that the blacks had no political rights! In other words, "be patient and work within the system." This they largely did until 1960 when the ANC and other groups were outlawed.

Throughout this outstanding book, the wisdom, strength, courage, dignity, patience and fairness of these early black leaders shine through. This is even more ironic when we realize that at this late date, nearly 80 years after these events, white South Africans are seeking to redress some of the wrongs and injustices which have their roots to a large part in the early years of this century. It is significant that a person like Nelson Mandela, who inherited the mantle of those early leaders, is still providing leadership at this critical juncture.

Reviewed by Jim Krutson

"Lament" by Mzwakhe Nhlabatsi



SOUTHERN AFRICA

GROUNDS FOR DISSENT: ANDREW MELDRUM reports on Zimbabwe's battle for land equality

SURVEYING the wilted maize in his dry, sandy field, Ephraim Nyakujara (76) recalled better days when his family farmed on rich land.

"We could grow everything there. It had good soil and it had good water," said Nyakujara.

His hair and beard are flecked with grey and his face is deeply lined, yet the spark in Nyakujara's eyes shows he is still sharp. Sometimes speaking in English and sometimes in Shona through an interpreter, Nyakujara animatedly described how Rhodesian authorities moved his family off their land in 1946, so the land could be taken over by whites.

"Transport was offered to move our things, but people were resisting," said Nyakujara. "Then police came and burned down people's homes and harvests. Their property was destroyed. Our people were dispersed all over the country."

When asked if people were paid any compensation for their land, Nyakujara laughed bitterly.

"Not a shilling, not a penny," he said ruefully. "We weren't paid a thing. And we weren't given any help in settling these new lands. We were just dumped here and had to develop everything from scratch. Those were very hard years. This forced our spirits to bring up the Chimurenga (the war against Rhodesian rule)."

"Even up to this day I still want that land back," he said emphatically, pointing in the southwest direction of his old land. "It belonged to my ancestors and I should have it."

A rutted dirt road leads from Nyakujara's subsistence farm across the rocky hillside and down towards the valley where 45 years ago Nyakujara and others had lived. Once in the valley, the thatched mud huts and scraggly plots dramatically give way to the wide green stretches of irrigated fields that denote the white-owned land.

"You went to the communal areas?" asked a tobacco farmer incredulously of the visit to Nyakujara's farm. "What on earth for?"

As he pours tea in his elegantly appointed drawing room, the farmer gleefully describes the high prices his tobacco has fetched at the Harare auctions. He hopes to have sales well

The huge gulf which Mugabe has to bridge

over Z\$600,000 (about the same in rands) this season. Overall tobacco exports should earn Zimbabwe more than Z\$1-billion in chronically short foreign currency.

"When we're earning so much foreign exchange, how can the government actually take us off our land?" asked the tobacco farmer of the Mugabe government's plans to resettle peasant farmers on half of the 12-million hectares owned by whites.

"Do you think the Africans will produce crops that earn foreign exchange?" he asked. "The government can't go ahead with those plans. Practicality will win out in the end."

It is mind-boggling to visit the peasant farm and then the nearby tobacco farm back-to-back. Yet the stark contrasts give an indication of the huge gulf that the Mugabe government is trying to bridge over the land issue. The war against Rhodesian rule was largely fought over land and now, 11 years after independence, land ownership is once again a burning issue.

In the country's rural areas, home to 75 percent of the population, there is widespread feeling that the plan is necessary to redress a long-standing grievance. There are indications that the peasant resettlement may not bring the disastrous collapse of the country's agriculture that doomsayers predict.

But diplomats, businessmen and Zimbabwe's white farmers criticise as unjust and uneconomic Mugabe's new plans. They argue that the 12-million hectares owned by white, large-scale farmers is one-third of the country's arable land and to turn half of that over to subsistence farmers would threaten Zimbabwe's agriculturally based economy.

Zimbabwe's 4 000 large-scale farmers, all but a handful of them white, object most strongly to the constitutional amendment which enables the government to purchase any land it

chooses and to set its own price.

"It is completely against the standards of international law," said a Western diplomat. "Any compulsory purchase must at least have judicial arbitration of the price."

"Where were the standards of international law 40 years ago when the land was taken from our people?" retorted a lawyer who is also a member of Mugabe's ruling Zanu-PF. To mollify that criticism the government is considering some form of tribunal, separate from the judicial system, to arbitrate the prices to be paid to white farmers.

The Mugabe government is hoping to strike a balance between the very different needs of the white and black farmers. By purchasing six million hectares of the commercial farm land, the government will be leaving half of the white farmers on their land. The government intends to select land most suitable for redistribution to peasants and, at the same time, retain white commercial farms which produce strategic export crops like tobacco and horticultural produce. Most white farmers are now hoping against hope that they will be in the lucky half that can keep their farms.

The Mugabe government is also hoping to satisfy the intense desire for more and better land among the black peasants, who are its main political constituency. The communal areas, where the blacks were restricted in Rhodesian times and where most remain today, have the poorest soil and the least rainfall. These marginal farming areas are overcrowded and overfarmed. A significant amount of peasants need to be moved off the communal areas to relieve pressure on the land.

The new plan calls for 110 000 peasant families to be resettled, more than double the 52 000 families that the government has man-

aged to resettle since 1980. In addition to the difficulties in redeveloping the commercial farms for peasant use, the government must also carry out a thorough redevelopment of the existing communal lands to prevent further land degradation there. All in all it is a very daunting task.

Such large scale land redistribution has often been attempted in other African countries and throughout the Third World, and has seldom succeeded. Zimbabwe's limited land resettlement since independence has resulted in many thriving peasant communities with some now reaping harvests that approach the productivity of the white-owned commercial farms. But the programme has been time-consuming and expensive, with resettlement costs averaging three to four times the purchase price of the land.

The government is now keenly studying the Malaysian model which maintains land productivity and is carried out on a commercial basis. The Malaysian peasants have been resettled on portions of large-scale plantations and then purchase the land over a 20 to 40 year period. The individual ownership stressed in Malaysia would fit in well with Zimbabwe's economic structural adjustment.

The government planners hope that with time and careful planning Zimbabwe will be able to succeed in carrying out far-reaching land reform and become a model for other African countries, most importantly South Africa.

Ephraim Nyakujara approves of the government's resettlement efforts.

"Some of the resettled people are getting good harvests," he said of those in the resettlement scheme. "Many had lost hope that the government would get good land for the people."

But the resettlement is coming too late for Nyakujara himself. He shrugged his shoulders at the suggestion that he could be moved onto rich soil.

"How can I move now?" he asked. "I am old and I don't have the strength to farm new fields. The younger people should go to the resettlement areas. I may never get my family's land back, but it would be good to see the young people farming that good land and getting good harvests."

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