



# Southern Africa

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March, 1991

"Let freedom be seen taking place in our country...."

## A Conversation with Zephania Kameeta

In November-December of 1990, the Center for Global Education at Augsburg College conducted a travel seminar to South Africa and Namibia which explored the struggles for liberation in those countries. Anna Mae Patterson and Tom Witt, both from Minneapolis, were part of the delegation. Below they share their experience of meeting with Rev. Zephania Kameeta in Namibia.

Zephania Kameeta greeted us at the door of the Tinten Palace (the government office building) in Windhoek, and led us to a long conference room adjacent to the Parliament chambers. Many of us Lutherans knew Kameeta through his sermons and his paraphrased psalms. But on this day we saw him in a new role. As a pastor on leave from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia, Kameeta now serves as deputy speaker of Namibia's new National Assembly. He welcomed us as the first church group to sit with him in this government conference room since Independence Day, March 21, 1990.

Kameeta pointed to the irony that it was in this very building that apartheid's policies were carried out. It was at this palace that the former government used tear gas and police dogs on Namibians who came to demand change. It was here that Kameeta himself was many times denied visas to travel abroad. Before independence he was a "subversive", a real threat to the government.

But today was a different day. "God answers prayers," he told us with great emotion. "The cries of the oppressed are not in vain. God changes tears of suffering into tears of joy." On behalf of the Namibian people he thanked the thousands of U.S. Christians who advocated on their behalf. "Our dreams, your dreams, were not in vain...You were prophets in supporting a struggle which culminated in justice and freedom. We know that you have been standing by us and crying with us these many years. Together we now rejoice."

Kameeta urged the churches of the U.S. to continue the relationship with Namibia as he told us the story of struggle and grace during the transition to independence.

### Shaking hands with your enemies

The new government policy of national reconciliation was seen early on, with discussions on a new constitution. Former enemies sat across the table from each other; the atmosphere was full of hostility and distrust.

Kameeta confessed he was surprised how hard it was to change. It "took several months to be able to work with those who had humiliated me. Finally I realized that the issue at stake was Namibia, the future of Namibia and what's best for Namibia. In working with people we don't like and who don't like us, the Christian influence in the country helped a lot".

He told how each session was begun with a prayer to respect each other in all that was said and done. "Later I could refer to this prayer when we met in our committees. Then we could cross the gap and shake each other's hands." It is a long process, but a good beginning has been made.

Continued, page 2

### Reconciliation and redistribution

The task of dismantling apartheid will, of course, take years, maybe decades. Nowhere is that task more difficult and essential than in the process of redistributing land and natural resources to enable the African majority to have a reasonable standard of living.

"Reconciliation is a process of liberation and one of restoration," says Kameeta. "...the moment you separate people and the earth, you kill both. That's what apartheid did to our people. They were separated from the earth. They lost their integrity. It would be an illusion to say you give people freedom when they are still separated from the earth."

Kameeta is concerned that Namibia move to resolve the issue of land distribution as soon as possible. On June 27, Namibia will hold a significant national land conference in Windhoek, to which people from all over the country are invited--those who have been disinherited, those whites who own 15 to 20 farms, land experts, as well as friends from the frontline states who face the same problems.

### Addressing people's expectations

One member of our group asked whether Pastor Kameeta was worried that people's expectations were too high so soon after independence.

"I don't think the people's expectations are extraordinary," he replied. "It is simply the expectation of people to be able to share in the wealth of our country, to have a decent home and job, a salary to feed their family, a place to keep their cattle. Why should those expectations be considered too high?"

The more important problem for Kameeta is one of communication between people in government and the grassroots. "We must communicate what we're trying to do, our successes, our failures, and where we are blocked. The people's expectations are not too high. We must simply do more to meet them."

### Preparing to make mistakes

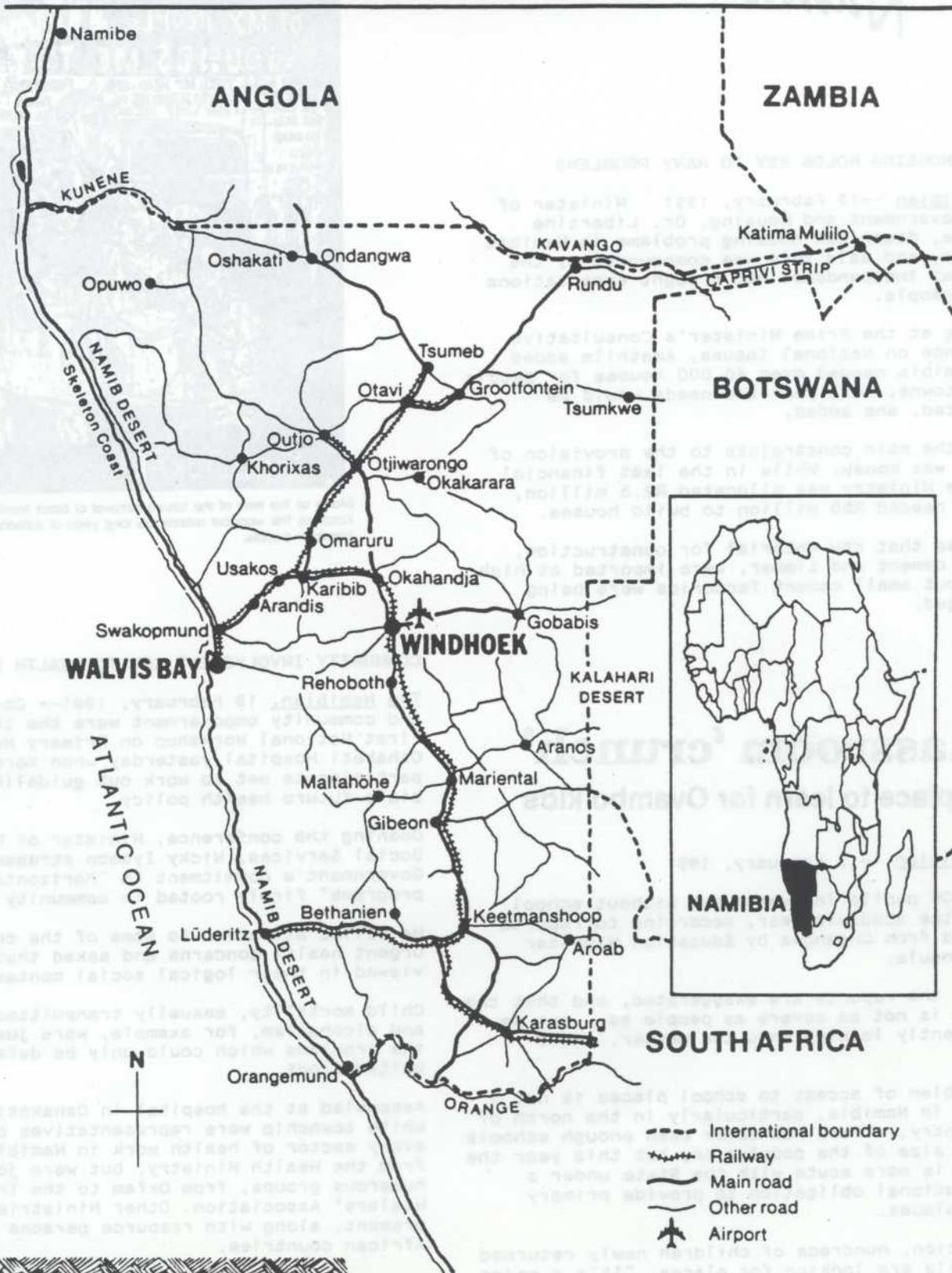
Zephania Kameeta paused a long time in response to the question: "What is the single largest challenge Namibians are facing today.

"One of the biggest challenges of living out our freedom is to be prepared to make mistakes--as we rebuild and reconcile, to admit mistakes and improve on them. We know that Namibia is being watched, and many ask, 'What will the world say about what we do?' I say, 'Let's do it! If it is good and brings good results for the people, then praise God! If we make mistakes, we won't be the only nation to do that. Let us say 'Kyrie Eleison' and then try again.

Freedom must be seen taking place in this country---that's the biggest challenge. Let democracy be eaten, not only boasted. That is what people want to see."



# Namibia



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# Namibia

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## PROPER HOUSING HOLDS KEY TO MANY PROBLEMS

The Namibian --19 February, 1991 Minister of Local Government and Housing, Dr. Libertine Amathila, described housing problems in Namibia as acute, and said this was compounded by the fact that independence had brought expectations to the people.

Speaking at the Prime Minister's Consultative Conference on National Issues, Amathila added that Namibia needed over 40,000 houses for people in the towns. Next year the needs would be duplicated, she added.

One of the main constraints to the provision of shelter was money. While in the last financial year the Ministry was allocated R2.5 million, ...they needed R50 million to build houses.

She added that raw material for construction, such as cement and timber, were imported at high cost...but small cement factories were being encouraged.

## Classroom 'crunch' No place to learn for Ovambo kids

The Namibian -- 5 February, 1991

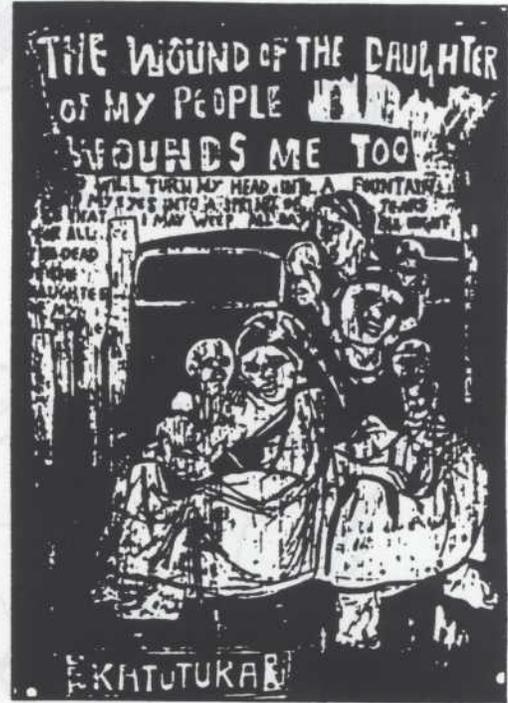
Some 7000 pupils in Ovambo are without school places the academic year, according to reports received from Ondangwa by Education Minister Nahas Angula.

"I hope the reports are exaggerated, and that the problem is not as severe as people say, but we are urgently looking into the matter," said Angula

The problem of access to school places is not a new one in Namibia, particularly in the north of the country. There has never been enough schools for the size of the population, but this year the problem is more acute with the State under a Constitutional obligation to provide primary school places.

In addition, hundreds of children newly returned from exile are looking for places. "It's a major problem if the numbers are accurate," said Angula. "Divide 7000 by 30 and you'll see how many extra classrooms are needed."

"Double sessioning" (where pupils are taught in morning and afternoon shifts) was not an ideal solution, he went on, but it was a "lesser evil" than leaving children without any kind of schooling.



Made at the time of the forced removal of black Namibians to Katutura, this woodcut reflects the long years of suffering of the Namibian people.

## COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT KEY TO HEALTH FOR ALL

The Namibian, 19 February, 1991-- Co-operation and community empowerment were the themes of the First National Workshop on Primary Health Care at Oshakati Hospital yesterday when more than 100 participants met to work out guidelines for Namibia's future health policy.

Opening the conference, Minister of Health and Social Services, Nicky Iyambo stressed the Government's commitment to "horizontal national programs" firmly rooted in community involvement.

He called attention to some of the country's most urgent health concerns and asked that they be viewed in their logical social context.

Child mortality, sexually transmitted diseases, and alcoholism, for example, were just some of the problems which could only be defeated by a united front.

Assembled at the hospital in Oshakati's former white township were representatives of virtually every sector of health work in Namibia. Most came from the Health Ministry, but were joined by numerous groups, from Oxfam to the Traditional Healers' Association. Other Ministries were also present, along with resource persons from many African countries.

The World Health Organization and Unicef, co-organizers of the workshop with the Ministry of Health, were represented by senior personnel from home and abroad.

For ten days participants will thrash out strategies and guidelines intended to achieve "Health for All" by the year 2,000.

# Farm-Takeover Plan Roils Zimbabwe

## Peasants Hail Economic Justice; Critics Cite Threat to Civil Rights

THE WASHINGTON POST

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1991

By Neil Henry  
Washington Post Foreign Service

HARARE, Zimbabwe—The 150 members of Zimbabwe's legislature broke into song and began to dance late last year when they unanimously approved a constitutional amendment allowing the government to nationalize millions of acres of rich farmland owned by predominantly white commercial farmers.

The amendment, which is expected to be signed into law soon by President Robert Mugabe, would authorize the government to purchase the large-scale farms at any price and to resettle hundreds of thousands of land-starved peasants on the properties while denying wealthy farmers any legal recourse through arbitration.

In an agrarian nation of nearly 10 million people—where only 4,000 white farmers own more than 30 percent of the land and where the vast majority of peasants labor on far less fertile, overcrowded communal farms—the land-reform amendment is being hailed by Zimbabwe's poor as an act of economic and racial justice long overdue.

But nearly 11 years after Zimbabwe gained independence in a bloody struggle that wiped away numerous racial injustices bred by white-minority and separatist rule, many other observers here consider the amendment a clear abuse of majority rule and a cynical act of political expediency that may do far more to harm than to help the nation's development.

The chief justice of Zimbabwe's internationally respected supreme court has publicly chastised the legislature, describing its amendment as an ill-veiled attempt to expropriate private property and undermine constitutionally guaranteed human and civil rights.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe—the nation's chief human rights organization, which in the past has championed rights of poor farmers and political dissidents—has found itself agreeing with Chief Justice A.R. Gubbay and siding, in general, with the wealthy farmers.

These human rights officials say that by denying the white farmers a right to court arbitration, the legislature is establishing an ominous precedent, excluding the judiciary from an important legal process and reserving for itself the sole right to decide what is fair.

Meantime, the white farmers—descendants of European settlers who boast they helped build this country, once known as Southern Rhodesia, by establishing highly mechanized farms that are responsible for most of the country's annual foreign exchange earnings—have denounced the amendment. Some have threatened to pull up stakes and start anew in war-torn neighboring Mozambique. Perhaps in Mozambique, these farmers say, agricultural expertise, outside investment and a desire to build may be more appreciated than in Zimbabwe, where they fear socialist beliefs may ultimately prevail over individual rights and private initiative.

"It's safe to say that we have a considerable degree of concern over what the future holds," said Alan D.P. Burl, president of Zimbabwe's commercial farmers' union. "We hope that reason will prevail. . . . We hope we will be able to reach an agreement with the government on a compromise where everyone will feel satisfied."

Added Nicholas Ndebele, director of the Catholic commission, "What we have is basically a mess. . . . Our feeling is that if the government can empower itself to act this way, to take property and to pay whatever it wants, everyone is in danger.

"Today, the commercial farmers are the victims," he said. "Tomorrow, it may be the government's political opponents."

At the heart of the controversy are the history and nature of land ownership and tenure, an issue triggering strong emotions in this southern African nation. The land issue and the peasants' deep desire for redistribution provided much of the momentum for the independence struggle.

Pre-independence nationalist fighters, led by Mugabe, protested that nothing was more clearly unjust and inhumane than the system that granted the white minority, accounting for less than 2 percent of the population, exclusive legal entitlement to the resources of some 40 million acres of the nation's best land.

The effects of this agricultural system remain, clearly visible to a visitor flying over the country. The vast rolling countryside presents a vista of thousands of tiny, hard-scrabble, brownish plots tilled by peasants amid huge, unbroken expanses of commercial ranches and patchwork greenery largely owned by white farmers.

A London agreement, which led to independence in 1980 and to adoption of Zimbabwe's constitution and bill of rights, stipulated, in part, that land reform take place within a compensatory framework with all transactions conducted on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis. Such stipulations played a large role in persuading about 85 percent of Zimbabwe's white farmers to remain in the country.

But with the agreement's expiration last April, the government began moving to make good on land-reform promises made a decade ago, but largely deferred.

Under pressure from millions of poor farmers demanding a fairer share as well as from political opponents sensing decay and stagnation in the 10-year-old government, Mugabe and members of the ruling party, who control all but three legislative seats, swiftly forced the amendment through—with little debate about its costs or consequences, critics charge.

The government's land-reform policy calls for resettlement of more than 110,000 poor families on about 15 million acres currently owned by commercial farmers and for abrogation of the "willing seller, willing buyer" clause.

Government officials and representatives of the peasants' union contend that no such clause was in effect when white settlers first came to this region in large numbers at the turn of the century. Peasants' land was taken by force, they argue.

The amendment was part of a package aimed at curbing social ills. Amid high unemployment and skyrocketing crime, the legislature approved constitutional changes allowing corporal punishment of youthful offenders and hanging for certain crimes.

"What is most disturbing to me is that at a time when this country needs foreign investment badly and wants to present to the world a humane and progressive image, it seems we are doing the opposite," said Geoff Feltoe, a civil and human rights lawyer and University of Zimbabwe law professor.

Other critics point to what they describe as hypocrisy by government and party officials, who have become fabulously wealthy by acquiring huge tracts since independence.

In a nation of widespread shortages where last year's economic growth rate of 4 percent barely kept pace with the population rise, commercial farmers continue to account for sizable foreign exchange earnings and about 80 percent of all crops and livestock marketed in the country.

The commercial farmers' union says the government's planned resettlement of poor families would cost about \$1 billion. It also has predicted that national agricultural production would fall by \$500 million and that annual export earnings would drop nearly as much.

The union has presented the government with an alternative land-reform package that it says will ensure economic justice and protect rights. The proposal calls for establishment of national arbitration boards to determine fair farm prices and seeks to have resettlement carried out gradually to allow farms to continue effective production.

Although the government insists that all future government land purchases will be in Zimbabwean currency, the nation remains so cash-strapped that it already has appealed to Britain for economic aid to purchase commercial lands and to fund peasant resettlement.

Meantime, critics charge that badly needed foreign investors are being scared off by the measures and have shelved several million-dollar agricultural projects. Farmers' union leader Burl says some commercial farmers have postponed improvements, such as irrigation projects. "I wouldn't say my membership is in a panic," he said. "But a lot is certainly on hold."



## MEDITATION

BY FATHER MICHAEL LAPSLEY SSM

### BOMB VICTIMS SAY SOUTH AFRICAN DEATH SQUADS STILL ACTIVE

By Cris Chinaka

HARARE, Zimbabwe, Reuter - Anti-apartheid campaigners say South Africa is still operating so-called "death squads" in bordering black states, despite its declared commitment to peace in the region.

"My information is that the killer machine is in place," said Anglican priest Michael Lapsley, who lost an eye and both hands when a letter bomb exploded in May 1990 at his exile home in Harare, Zimbabwe.

He blames South African agents for the letter bomb that maimed him and says he wants an international investigation into attacks on opponents of Pretoria's apartheid racial segregation system.

"I prefer to have the issue handled by an international commission and to see all the perpetrators of these crimes punished," said Lapsley, who spent more than seven months in hospital.

Another anti-apartheid activist, teacher Jeremy Brickhill, has vowed to sue Pretoria for \$480,000 in damages after being seriously injured in a car bombing three years ago.

Since then he has spent most of his time in London hospitals receiving treatment for the burns, internal injuries and multiple fractures he suffered in the blast at a suburban shopping center in Harare. A shoulder injury still causes him sporadic paralysis.

Brickhill, 35, who was born in South Africa and became a naturalized citizen of Zimbabwe, says Pretoria has frustrated his efforts to mount a court case by refusing to grant him a visa to enter the country.

"As victims of South African death squads and destabilization campaigns, we have the right to demand that these structures are dismantled completely," said Brickhill, who was an adviser to Nelson Mandela's African National Congress at the time he was attacked.

He says he has proof that South African death squads are still active in neighboring black states.

While such accusations were commonplace in the early 1980s, they have petered out over the past 18 months as Pretoria has moved to shed its former commitment to white minority rule.

For years South Africa ran well-documented sabotage operations against its neighbors, including years of occupation of southern Angola, funding of a Mozambican guerrilla movement at least until 1984, and night raids into Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

The so-called destabilization campaign is estimated by the region's economists to have cost black-ruled southern African countries more than \$60 billion since 1980.

Pretoria admits that until recently it employed sabotage units in neighboring black states to assassinate its opponents, mainly exiled South Africans from anti-apartheid groups that were outlawed until a year ago.

"For it is commendable if a man bears up under the pain of unjust suffering because he is conscious of God. But how is it to your credit if you receive a beating for doing wrong and endure it? But if you suffer for doing good and you endure it, this is commendable before God." (1 Peter 2:19-20)

Anyone who is serious about trying to be a follower of Jesus is very conscious of falling short of, and not living up to, the call of Christ. However there are some particular ways in which we are all like Jesus. He chose how he would live and what responses he would make to what people did to him. Jesus had no control over why others would choose to kill him.

On April 28, 1990, the South African Government tried to kill me. The method they used was a letter bomb. It came as a registered letter. I had signed for my own death. Two days later, I was due to begin a new job as a parish priest in the "ghetto" in Bulawayo. Two days after the bombing, "talks about talks" began between an ANC delegation and the South African regime.

Why now? Why me?

The letter bomb was a simple manila envelope with two magazines in it. As I opened the second magazine, the bomb was detonated. There was a hole in the floor and the ceiling in three rooms disappeared. The pain I experienced is not possible to describe. I was in darkness. Both of my hands were blown off, both eardrums were shattered and one eye was finished and . . .

And yet in a very wonderful and mysterious way, God's promise had been kept, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the age."

I felt that God was there being bombed with me.

The bombing had made me a focus of evil, of the evil of apartheid in particular. In response, by people of goodwill, and especially by poor and struggling people, and people of faith and hope, I became a focus of all that is beautiful in the human community.

Yes, I live with permanent disability. But at a more profound level, the Boers have lost. By your love and support and prayers, you have all contributed to my survival and return to participate in our life and death fight for peace in southern Africa. What you and God have done is to stop me from being scarred by bitterness, resentment or hatred.

The person who sent me the letter bomb is more a prisoner than I am. Frank Chikane has said that there are victims and victimisers. If you are not a victim, but you take sides with victims, then eventually you will become a victim yourself.

Colossians 1:24: "Now I rejoice in what was suffered for you, and I fill up in my flesh what is still lacking in regard to Christ's afflictions, for the sake of his body, which is the church."



Justice and Service  
Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe

# Mass Democratic Movement Must Move People's Agenda Forward in Mozambique

By Sessy Nyman  
Mozambique Support Network

Since the 1975 declaration of independence from Portuguese control, Mozambique's people have been waging a war for freedom and democracy. Renamo bandits, founded and funded by South African and Rhodesian defense forces, have targeted the civilian population in Mozambique in an attempt to destabilize the country's economic and social sectors and bring about the failure of the Frelimo government with its socialist agenda for development.

Under President Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique has been working for an end to the foreign based aggression, and has continually expressed a desire to concentrate on development instead of war.

Improved health care, education and agricultural production have been Mozambique's stated goals since independence.

Mozambique's increasing economic vulnerability due to the war necessitated its acceptance of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank "structural adjustment" program in 1987.

According to a story in South African Report, "increased unemployment, crime, juvenile delinquency and prostitution" have been some of the urban results of the IMF/World Bank program.

In rural areas the devaluation of the currency has caused a rapid spiraling down of the independent small scale farmer, and a rapid growth of non-governmental organizations drawing valuable resources, technology and aid monies away from the state sector.

The final goal of dismantling the state and creating a privatized sector of society has become apparent. Privatization will, in effect, benefit only a portion of the population and create a more affluent class of landowners.

Of the one million people who have fled their homes in the war, 60% are out of the system, not accounted for in any evaluation nor in any distribution of acquired wealth.

Many allies have criticized Mozambique for negotiating with Renamo, and succumbing to international pressure from the U.S., South Africa, and the IMF/World Bank. However, Mozambique's recent changes provide the only viable chance for survival. Without such changes, monetary, material, or food aid was simply not available.

The recently adopted constitution allows for: worker's right to strike, abolition of the death penalty, freedom of the press, supervision of commercial activity, and other "democratic" changes.

This is the beginning of the growth of the Mass Democratic Movement. Frelimo has put in place the legislation and organizations necessary for the socialist agenda adopted in 1983 to continue. It is in the hands of the workers to see that the government continues to serve the interests of the people of Mozambique.

The South African war of destabilization has been effective in destroying the infrastructure of Mozambique, displacing over one million people, killing or injuring millions of civilians. The war, however, has not been effective in its ultimate goal of killing the spirit and the continuing struggle for true democracy.

## DROUGHT THREATENS LIVES OF HALF-MILLION MOZAMBICANS

MAPUTO, Mozambique, Reuter -- More than 500,000 people in central Mozambique are facing starvation in the worst drought in 40 years, local authorities said Friday.

"The present crop is practically lost ... causing a grave famine situation," a government report said.

"Our province is in a catastrophic situation, and is going through the worst drought in the last 40 years," Erasmo Cardoso Muhate, director of agriculture in Manica province, said in a report released this week.

The population of the province is estimated at nearly 622,000. Of these, more than 560,000 live in areas where the most of the corn and millet harvest has been lost.

REUTER 1-Mar-91 6:18 EST

## MOZAMBIQUE REBELS SABOTAGE RAIL LINE

MAPUTO, Mozambique, Reuter - Rebels in Mozambique derailed a train on the railway linking landlocked Zimbabwe to the port of Maputo, Radio Mozambique reported Thursday.

The attack Wednesday was the fourth since Mozambique National Resistance rebels ended a cease-fire along the "Limpopo line" two weeks ago.

The rebels sabotaged the railway 105 miles north of Maputo by unbolting 36 ties, the radio said. A train pulling empty freight wagons hit the loosened track, derailing the locomotive and one car and closing the line.

REUTER 7-Mar-91 8:22 EST

Mozambique



# UN food convoys brave lawless roads of Angola

Lorry drivers take their lives in their hands when they set out to bring relief to the victims of drought and civil war, as Karl Maier reports from Luanda

LIKE HUGE BEASTS, of burden, they struggled up and down rolling hills along a deserted highway, 36 lorries silhouetted against the orange sky of a southern African sunset over the Atlantic ocean. The drivers urged their vehicles on against great odds, in the tradition of the ancient caravans that established the first links between the coast and the fertile plateau of the Angolan interior.

The trade routes of old had carried everything from fish and clothes to armies of slave-raiders who, in the 400 years between the arrival of the Portuguese and the 19th century, stripped the land of millions of souls. These modern-day trailblazers, however, were on a mission of mercy — to get food across the battle lines of Angola's civil war to hundreds of thousands of civilians facing severe hunger. As darkness fell, they were finishing a 500-mile round trip from the capital, Luanda, to the central province of Kwanza Sul, which has been hard hit by the fighting and three years of drought.

It was the third convoy organised by the United Nations since early November, when it became apparent that persistent drought and the conflict between the Angolan army and Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas had spread starvation across huge areas of the countryside. Since any food shipments organised by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's MPLA government are considered military targets by the rebels, the idea was to fly the blue-and-white UN flag and to arrange with both sides to leave the trucks alone.

The \$104m (£5m) UN relief effort got off to a rocky start because of weak donor support, poor organisation and complex communications procedures with the two warring armies. The programme came to an abrupt halt when the Angolan government, angered by a rebel attack on a bridge in the southern province of Huila, suspended the UN's right to travel to Unita areas.

While UN government and rebel officials attempt to negotiate the resumption of the operation, success or failure depends on the people in the driver's seat, such as Aurelio Cardoso, a 53-year-old father of 12. "My family starts getting quiet in the days before I leave, and they are very sad. You never know what is going to hap-

pen to you on the road."

Mr Cardoso knows only too well the dangers of driving in Angola: he has been doing it for the past 26 years. "My truck is like my wife, I like to be with her all the time," he says. His stomach bears the scar of a bullet wound sustained during an attack by nationalist guerrillas before independence in 1975. Just last year Mr Cardoso was in a convoy in the northern province of Uige when Unita guerrillas laid an ambush, looting and destroying 14 lorries. "When the shooting started, I climbed under the truck in between the tyres and hoped that God was near."

Even by Angola's low salary standards, the drivers are not paid well — about £200 a month at the highly overvalued official exchange rate, but worth about 110 tomatoes on the black market. They earn about half as much as a civil servant in Luanda. "I could say no, but then I would be out of work," said Mr Cardoso, "and jobs are hard to find in Angola."

When the convoy reached the outskirts of the isolated municipality of Cabela, Mr Cardoso said he and his fellow drivers sat in their lorries for more than two hours while Unita guerrillas inspected the vehicles. "When those Unita guys came out of the bush with their guns, my heart was beating fast," said Francisco Manuel Leitao, a 42-year-old father of nine who has been driving for a decade. "When I am sent on one of these jobs, all I think about is reaching the end." Mr Leitao had been on two convoys attacked by the rebels, once in 1983 when he was left to wander alone in the bush for 15 days, and again two years ago, when the vehicle ahead of him was destroyed by a rocket. "This time I was sure nothing would happen," he said. "Unita was just trying to intimidate us, to show that they were there."

If the UN manages to resume the convoys, some analysts believe the emergency programme's importance could lie in its symbolic value, especially when the government and Unita appear close to reaching a ceasefire. "Both armies now agree that civilians on either side of the conflict have the right to international aid," said a Western diplomat in Luanda. "In that sense it could be a small vehicle to peace."



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## IMF backs Zimbabwe market reform plan

By James Roberts

THE International Monetary Fund yesterday gave firm backing to Zimbabwe's plan to introduce market reforms into its troubled economy. The endorsement of the plan by Michel Cardessus, the IMF managing director, comes ahead of a meeting in Paris on 26-28 March, at which Harare hopes to attract nine billion Zimbabwe dollars (£1.7bn) from Western donors in funding for its reform programme.

Tight government economic control has been in force since Ian Smith unilaterally declared Rhodesia independent from Britain in 1965. In the late 1980s, acutely aware of rapidly rising unemployment and the need for foreign investment, President Robert Mugabe's avowedly Marxist-Leninist government first began to discuss seriously the liberalisation of the economy.

In his budget in July last year the Finance Minister, Bernard Chidzero, promised the lifting of price controls, an easing of import controls, more foreign exchange for industry and a higher percentage of foreign investors' profits repatriated. Progress along this path has been gradual, but yesterday Mr Cardessus said

the five-year plan had all the basic strategies for growth.

Drawn up with the help of the World Bank and the IMF, the plan will cost some £8bn in foreign and local funding over five years. Its launching has been characterised by a considerable degree of government openness about the tough times ahead. The economic corner is not expected to be turned for up to three years, during which time 32,000 jobs will be lost, with the civil service cut by a quarter. Mr Mugabe is having to tread a fine line between satisfying popular aspirations and laying the foundations of a strong economy. Zimbabwe recently responded to the perennial problem of "land hunger" by announcing plans for the compulsory purchase of land at government-stipulated prices, though the form of these measures is still vague.

There is support for the plan among farmers and businessmen, but fears about the timing. Since the Gulf crisis began, Zimbabwe has suffered a 120 per cent rise in fuel prices, while export earnings have been less than expected.

THE INDEPENDENT  
Friday 22 February 1991

Angola

6-Mar-91 11:35 EST

**SUPERPOWERS, PORTUGAL CALL FOR FURTHER ANGOLAN PEACE TALKS**

LISBON, Portugal, Reuter - Soviet, American and Portuguese officials called Wednesday for the two sides in Angola's 16-year-old civil war to resume discussions on concrete proposals for a cease-fire.

A joint statement released after a two-day meeting in Lisbon said the three delegations had agreed on proposals for a truce, multiparty elections and a single army for what will be a seventh round of peace talks later this month.

"The three delegations urge the Angolan government and UNITA to bring to the negotiating table realistic proposals regarding the period within which elections should be held," the statement said.

The delegations' proposals will be delivered to representatives of UNITA rebels and Angola's leftist government. No exact date was given for the talks, expected to take place in Lisbon.

The three countries recommended that for the first time a United Nations observer attend the negotiations to help work on a cease-fire in the war, which has raged since Angola's 1975 independence from Portugal.

REUTER

7-Mar-91 12:58 EST

**ANGOLA SAYS PEACE TALKS COULD RESUME THIS MONTH**

BONN, Germany, Reuter - Angola's leftist government said Thursday it hoped to resume talks this month with U.S.-backed rebels to set a date for a cease-fire in the civil war and a timetable for free elections.

"The Angolan government is ready, despite difficulties raised by UNITA (rebels) to delay the peace process, to go ahead with the next meeting as soon as possible," Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem told a news conference.

Talks had been scheduled for last month but failed to materialize as the two sides squabbled over the timing of a truce in the 16-year-old and an end to Angola's one-party system.

Soviet, U.S. and Portuguese officials meeting in Lisbon called Wednesday on the Luanda government and the U.S.-backed UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) to resume discussions on concrete proposals for a cease-fire.

A joint statement released after the two-day meeting said the three delegations had agreed on proposals for a truce, multiparty elections and a single army for Portugal's former African colony, at war since independence in 1975.

REUTER

Later, at a meeting of South Africa and Angola, the Angolans backed up their accusations with details on the flights of aircraft and truck convoys allegedly carrying arms to UNITA in December and January across Namibian territory, according to diplomatic sources.

The details reportedly included dates of flights, the number of planes—allegedly C-130s—and tonnage of arms. The Angolans have alleged South African aid for UNITA at past meetings of the Joint Commission but never before submitted such detailed information, the diplomatic sources said.

THE WASHINGTON POST

FEBRUARY 1, 1991

# Angola Accuses South Africa of Assisting Rebels

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, Jan. 31—Angola has accused South Africa of resuming military support of U.S.-backed rebels fighting in southern Angola just as a peace agreement in the Angolan civil war is about to be signed.

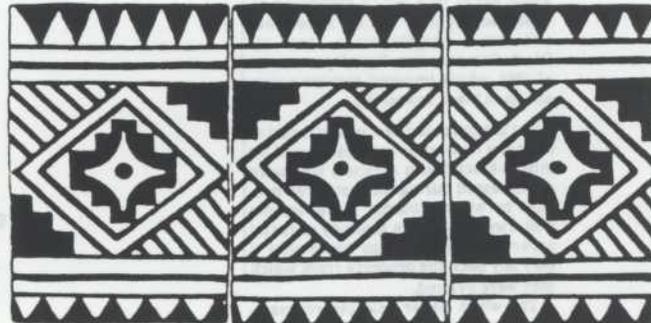
At a meeting here earlier this week of the four-nation Joint Commission monitoring the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, the Angolan delegation alleged that South Africa has been sending tons of arms and other supplies to the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Such support for UNITA would constitute a clear violation of the December 1988 agreements signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola providing both for the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops by July.

Until the signing of the agreements, South Africa was the main supplier of UNITA. Angola apparently is concerned that the aid may be resuming as the Cuban troop withdrawal is about to be completed. The United States, the main source of UNITA's arms for the last two years, has agreed to halt military, but not humanitarian, assistance once a cease-fire takes effect. An accord is to be initialed Feb. 7.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen, who attended the Joint Commission meeting as an observer, said in a telephone interview from the Namibian capital, Windhoek, that the Angolan allegations "concern us" and that the United States planned to investigate them.

U.S. officials said they had no evidence of South African supplies going to UNITA since October. "They [the Angolans] are talking about December and January," one official said.



# South Africa Moves to Abolish Racial Limits on Owning Land

## DeKlerk Proposes Ending Residential Segregation

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN  
Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, March 12 — In one of the most significant steps yet undertaken to break down the barriers of apartheid, President F. W. de Klerk introduced legislation today to scrap all racial discrimination in land ownership and to allow South Africans to live where they choose.

Five proposed laws presented in Parliament were accompanied by a sweeping program of land tenure revision detailed in a policy document issued today by the Government. Senior officials said the changes would not only put an end to residential segregation



President F. W. de Klerk

but also redress the disparity in land ownership between the country's black majority and its white minority.

Because of the old laws, nearly 87 percent of the country's land has been reserved for the 5 million whites, who now constitute about 13 percent of the total population of about 37.5 million.

Parliament, which is dominated by Mr. de Klerk's National Party, is expected to repeal the old laws and approve the new ones before it adjourns at the end of June.

In a preface to the policy document, called a white paper, Mr. de Klerk said the new program and laws "represent a historic turning point in the history of South Africa."

### No Restitution Provisions

The laws to be repealed are the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which reserved most of the land for whites, the Group Areas Act of 1966, which mandated racially segregated white, mixed-race and Asian neighborhoods, and the Black Communities Development Act of 1984, which imposed similar segregation on black townships.

But the proposed new policy failed to offer any restitution to an estimated 3.5 million black South Africans who were dispossessed during the last three decades by white minority Governments that tried to enact an ideology of racial separation. They can go home only if they buy back the property from which they were evicted.

The white paper said the repossession of such property was "unfeasible" because of what it called "the vast potential for conflict" and "overlapping and contradictory claims to such land," some of which the Government expropriated less than 12 years ago.

In the most stringent period of apartheid, blacks were confined to their own townships and were forbidden to own property outside the ethnic homelands created by apartheid. Those living in areas that the Government set aside for whites were uprooted, often forcibly and with scant compensation. Before 1986, blacks were subject to jail or fines for being found in areas designated for whites without permission.

President de Klerk has proposed opening hitherto segregated communities to all races and letting blacks buy homes wherever they can afford them. He has also offered to upgrade long-term leases held by black tenants to outright ownership and to open up more areas around cities available for informal housing like squatter camps.

Anti-apartheid groups like the African National Congress want the state to become more aggressive in redistributing land through selective nationalization.

### Plans for Ownership

The white paper spelled out plans to turn millions of blacks into homeowners. It said an estimated 300,000 sites occupied through long-term leases or grants would be converted to private ownership once the new legislation was enacted, while plans to turn another 900,000 sites over to their occupants had been approved.

Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, said another one million living sites would be made available after the property had been surveyed. With an average of six black South Africans living in each family dwelling, Mr. Kriel estimated, more than 12 million blacks could have their own homes at little or no cost.

But black tenants of rented houses will have to buy them and many lack the means. Mr. Kriel said the Government was planning a capital subsidy to help people buy homes for the first time. He said he hoped the expense of such assistance could be met in part from international loans and funding by foreign countries.

The Government's unprecedented new land program promptly drew criticism from both sides.

"The germ of racial friction and conflict is now being carried to the front door of every house and farm in South Africa," said Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the right-wing Conservative Party, which opposes any relaxation of apartheid.

The African National Congress re-

sponded with what it called "outrage and deep disappointment" over the land restructuring program, on which it said it was not consulted.

"It presents a view of the history of black dispossession that absolves the white population of all responsibility for the existing unequal land dispensation," a Congress statement said. "For the A.N.C., restoration of land to the victims of forced removal must form the underpinning of any credible land policy."

The rival Pan-Africanist Congress also said the Government white paper had not gone far enough. "Our people were dispossessed by force of arms," said a spokeswoman, Patricia de Lille. "It is illogical and insensitive to expect us to buy the same land we were dispossessed of."

Peter Soal, the spokesman on land affairs for the liberal Democratic Party in Parliament, called the Government document a final blow to apartheid, adding that the land needed to be returned to the people who lost it.

Stoffel van der Merwe, a Cabinet minister acting as spokesman for the document, said the scrapping of the four laws would initiate full or partial repeal of 189 pieces of subsidiary legislation.

In addition to its legislation repealing discriminatory land laws, the Government presented these four bills in Parliament today:

¶The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Bill, which would give property to millions of blacks whose occupancy is now based on long-term leases or other halfway measures.

¶The Residential Environment Bill, which would maintain norms and standards of existing neighborhoods and prevent their physical deterioration. Mr. van der Merwe and Mr. Kriel said neighborhoods would be allowed to set their own standards but could not exclude residents on the basis of their race or religion.

¶The Less-Formal Township Establishment Bill, which would provide for the settling of squatters and other homeless people by cutting through the red tape that has frustrated the creation of shantytowns and squatter settlements.

¶The Rural Development Bill, which would cover land and communities in the countryside. Jacob de Villiers, the Minister of Agriculture, said only land without a high potential for agriculture could be used for residential purposes. Training programs are also planned to help black farmers.

While the land package removes racial restrictions on ownership of property, it stops short of barring landlords from discriminating in private leases against potential tenants. Mr. Kriel said he expected this subtler discrimination to be challenged through the courts, as it has been in the United States.

Editorial comment...

More than 3 million blacks have been forcibly removed from their homes during the last 25 years. Now these impoverished people are told they may legally buy back what was taken from them! While the repeal of the Land Acts was essential, it does not warrant widespread rejoicing...and certainly not the lifting of sanctions.

# Land Act repeal: start of obstacle course

SOUTH Africa's hidden political volcano is beginning to rumble. It threatens to be activated by Government moves towards land reform.

The potentially explosive issue arises from the tragic legacy of apartheid in land ownership and the dispossession of millions of people through forced removals.

If not handled carefully, this emotive issue could erupt into a storm that would overshadow some of the major political crises of past decades.

In essence the looming clash is between long-established white privilege and black demands for a fair deal in land distribution and ownership rights.

White fears were echoed once again this week during the "siege of Pretoria" by protesting rightwing farmers.

And among black organisations fears are expressed that rightwing pressures will prevent the Government from fully undoing the legacy of the Land Acts and grand apartheid.

Ironically, the spark that could set off an eruption is the long-awaited repeal of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act.

Specialists in land reform have warned that the promised abolition of the Land Acts, if not done carefully, may lead to dispossession on a far worse scale than that caused by the apartheid policy of forced removals.

Even at a time - until now - when the Government has been tight-lipped about its intentions for handling land reform, demands have been building up for a fair distribution of land and removal of restrictions on ownership. The issue is being studied by various land reform bodies that have sprung up in recent years.

On all sides it has been claimed that the removal of the apartheid laws will not remove the awesome legacy of apartheid. The unequal distribution of land will remain, and so will the effects of injustices suffered by millions of people who were dispossessed under the system. Among them are 3.5 million people forcibly

Experts have warned that the scrapping of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act will not be enough to remove the tragic legacy of these apartheid measures. Removals of these laws, some say, will merely set the scene for the real battle for a just distribution of land.



removed under apartheid legislation over four decades.

Senior research officer Ms Aninka Claassens, of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, has described the consequences of such dispossession for black South Africans as "devastating". The Land Acts, she says, created the situation where Africans may own land only in the Bantustans, while whites own 87 percent of the country.

"The Land Acts have played their role - they have destroyed black property rights, and they have entrenched white privilege. To drop them now will have only a minimal effect on the racial distribution of land. Only a tiny proportion of blacks have the necessary capital to buy land at its current price."

## Disaster

Claassens warns there could be potential disaster for many people if the Land Acts were to be repealed "in a vacuum" without special measures to protect and restore the rights of black people.

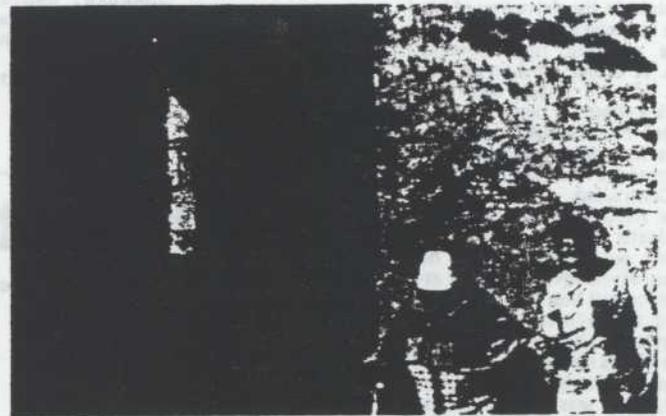
She explains that in most instances property rights are not reflected in legal documents like title deeds. This does not mean blacks have no property rights; it means the state prohibited them from having such documents.

Legal restrictions on black ownership of land are not limited to the white areas.

There are restrictions in the homelands as well. While the land in these areas may be nominally owned by the SA Development Trust, or a homeland government, or a chief, it is in fact occupied by millions of individual families and communities, whose rights are not registered on the title deeds.

If these areas are simply opened up to the "free market", many people who have owned and occupied land for generations may find their land sold from underneath them by the nominal owners of the land.

"Rural people have suffered terrible and irretrievable losses through the implementation of these policies. Now, having put these policies behind it, the state is introducing a reform. It would be



Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo escorting her Aunt Blanche to her former home which was declared a black spot in 1984. Will such land be given back to its people?

bitterly ironic if this 'reform' finally dispossesses people of their real rights to land in the name of 'private property' and the 'free market'."

According to the National Land Committee, the critical question is: What reform measures will be legislated to replace these Acts? And what mechanisms will be introduced to redress the history of dispossession in South Africa? The government's present approach to these questions is regarded by the committee as a matter of "grave concern".

It accuses the Government of having planned its reforms on this complex and politically sensitive issue behind closed doors.

Why don't the policy-makers open up the debate and consult

widely? the committee asks.

"Reforms don't work if they don't have support from the people affected by them. The Government must surely know this by now."

Ominous signs of a looming showdown over the land issue emerge from a clash of opinion between Minister Gerrit Viljoen and members of land reform bodies. The NLC, for example, says Viljoen's dogmatic refusal to consider ways of restoring land to its former black freehold owners is unacceptable.

The Minister argues that such a step would "lead to a revolution" and that the same would

happen if land ownership patterns were changed thus in countries like the US and Australia.

To this the NLC replies that the Minister ignores the fact that "we are not talking about dispossession in the dim and distant past, but about Government policy which has robbed people of their land as recently as the 1980s".

"For over 40 years black landowners were systematically deprived of their ownership and rights to land. They were forcibly removed, wholly inadequately compensated, and abandoned to barren, unproductive resettlement camps. Now they are expected to buy back land, and if they don't have ready cash they will lose their ancestral lands forever to the highest bidder."

South Africa

# Natal peace shaky after chief's killing

Patrick Laurence  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE fragile dialogue between the African National Congress and the Zulu Inkatha movement appeared to be in jeopardy yesterday as news spread of the assassination of Chief Mhlabuzima Maphumulo, a member of the pro-ANC Congress of Traditional Leaders.

Chief Maphumulo, known as the "Peacemaker" because of his campaign to turn the territory under his jurisdiction into an oasis of peace in strife-torn Natal, was shot dead on Monday night in the driveway of his home in Pietermaritzburg.

The assassin fired several shots. A bullet hit him in the back of the head, another struck a shoulder blade.

Chief Maphumulo, aged 41, was a former president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders. Contralesa.

The ANC blamed his killing on "death squads who are defending apartheid". It said he had survived several earlier attempts to kill him and had been forced to leave his traditional homestead after it was burnt down by his enemies.

The murder of Chief Maphumulo, who was locked in enmity with the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for many years, could rekindle strife between ANC and Inkatha forces and destroy the fragile peace accord signed on January 29.

"It is distressing that Chief Maphumulo was murdered so soon after the peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha," the ANC statement said.

"If the state is serious about bringing peace to Natal, it must find his killers and bring them to justice. Chief Maphumulo cannot join the many thousands of people murdered in Natal whose killers have remained free and unimpeded."

The assassination of Chief Maphumulo was the third blow to the peace pact in less than a month. The first was the death of 10 people in bitter fighting at Umgababa, south of Durban, within hours of the signing of the accord. The second was the murder of 17 Inkatha members in an ambush in the Edendale valley a fortnight ago.

So far, ANC and Inkatha leaders have moved swiftly to contain any desire for revenge and forestall the collapse of the accord.

## Buthelezi apologizes for factional violence in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (UPI) — Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi apologized Thursday to rival black leader Nelson Mandela and all South Africans for factional violence caused by his Inkatha Freedom Party, the South African Broadcasting Corp. reported.

Buthelezi "apologized to all South Africans for violence perpetrated by members of his own party," the SABC reported, while he was addressing a prayer breakfast in Inkatha territory at the Indian Ocean port city of Durban.

The Inkatha president "wept when he publicly apologized for any hurt he had personally caused to the deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela," the SABC said.

The exclusively Zulu Inkatha movement has fought the multi-tribal and nationally more popular ANC since 1987, leaving more than 7,000 people dead. Each anti-apartheid group has accused the other of wrong tactics in fighting white minority rule.

A joint call by Buthelezi and Mandela Jan. 29 for their followers to cease the conflict failed to quell the fighting, which has continued sporadically in the Natal and Transvaal provinces.

The ANC has charged Inkatha is too close to the government and has fomented the strife to widen its power base ahead of formal power-sharing talks with Pretoria.

Inkatha, denying the allegations, has in turn criticized the ANC's anti-free market policies and said the ANC refuses to tolerate rival anti-apartheid groups.

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Rocky Mountain News Sun., Feb. 24, 1991

# Buthelezi travels to rival's camp, says S. Africa struggle nearly over

### Freedom party chief hails government for reforms, warns blacks violence must cease

Associated Press

**SOWETO, South Africa** — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi traveled yesterday to a stronghold of the rival African National Congress and told cheering thousands their struggle was almost over.

He praised the government for its reforms to end apartheid and its proposed talks on a new constitution to end white minority rule, but warned that violence between blacks must cease.

"We have a government that says apartheid is wrong. We have a government that says there must now be reconciliation," Buthelezi said to a crowd of 20,000 waving Zulu spears and shields.

"None of our forefathers, none of our martyrs, none of our heroes would have wanted more than we have today."

The Zulu-dominated Inkatha, based in eastern Natal Province, and the ANC have waged virtual warfare for years in a political and tribal rivalry.

Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela met last month for the first time in 28 years and agreed to try to halt the violence

**"Democracy is made out of people dealing with their difficulties and their differences in a decent way."**

**Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
Inkatha Freedom Party**

that has killed thousands.

Yesterday, Buthelezi said the agreement showed the groups could work together despite their political differences.

"Democracy is made out of people dealing with their difficulties and their differences in a decent way," the leader told supporters packing Soweto's Jabulani Stadium.

At least three armored police and military vehicles were in the area, but police and soldiers mostly stayed out of sight.

Soweto, the sprawling black township of 2 million people outside Johannesburg, is home to Mandela and a base for ANC activities. Thousands of Zulus travel from their traditional homeland in Natal to work in the Johannesburg area and live in township hostels.

Fighting between ANC and In-

katha supporters spread to the Johannesburg area from Natal last August. Clashes in Soweto killed hundreds of people.

Attacks on supporters of both groups have continued since the Jan. 29 ANC-Inkatha meeting. Both organizations said it would take time to spread news of the peace agreement and set up joint monitoring committees in trouble spots.

"Peace is not going to come overnight," Buthelezi said.

Both the ANC and Inkatha have opposed apartheid, but differ on political strategy and policies.

Inkatha has denounced international sanctions against South Africa and mass action, such as strikes and protests, against the government. It advocates a free market economy and promotes Zulu nationalism.

The ANC supports sanctions and mass action, and has promoted more liberal economic policies. It calls for an interim government to assume power while a freely elected constituent assembly drafts a new constitution.

Buthelezi said yesterday Inkatha opposes a constituent assembly, which he said would prove divisive, and he called an interim government an unnecessary partial step toward democracy.

"Whoever commands (an) interim government will write the constitution they want to write," he said.

**Two die in separate ambushes in South Africa**

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (UPI) — African National Congress gunmen ambushed and killed a senior member of the arch-rival Inkatha Freedom Party and unknown assailants shot dead a person in a second ambush in strife-torn Natal province, police said Friday.

A group of ANC attackers fired on local Inkatha leader and cleric Servion Ndwalane while he was driving to a church service Thursday near the southern town of Port Shepstone, a police official said.

Ndwalane "was killed almost instantly" and another occupant of the vehicle was injured, he said.

Outside the central Natal city of Port Shepstone, "unknown gunmen fired a number of rounds at a private vehicle" late Thursday, a police statement said.

"A black woman was killed. Two black men and two women were wounded," it said.

The incident was "undoubtedly" related to the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha in the Indian Ocean province, a police spokesman said. The two anti-apartheid movements have been enemies over accusations from each camp that the other is using wrong tactics in fighting white minority rule.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi Jan. 29 jointly called on their followers to cease the factional violence, which has killed more than 7,000 people in Natal and Transvaal provinces since flaring in 1987.

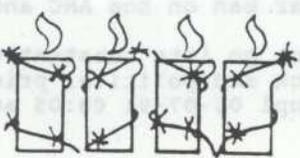
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"The so-called 'new' South Africa is hard to find. What one sees instead is the firmly entrenched apartheid system still keeping the blacks and 'coloreds' from political and economic power. To enter into their pain and suffering leaves one deeply disturbed and committed to working here at home for the democratic process in South Africa...."  
Lois Snook, following a December visit to the region

South Africa  
338,133  
Amnesty



GOD BLESS AFRICA!  
GUIDE HER RULERS,  
GUARD HER CHILDREN  
AND GIVE HER PEACE  
FOR JESUS' SAKE.  
AMEN.



**8. AFRICAN GUNMEN ATTACK WRITER PLANNING BOOK ON WHITE RIGHT**

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, Reuter - A South African journalist writing a book about right-wing extremists said white gunmen burst into her home and sprayed her with a paralyzing agent when she refused to hand over the manuscript.

Ada Stuijt said two armed white men wearing ski masks broke open the door of her Johannesburg apartment Wednesday and demanded the manuscript of her book, "The White Wolf Syndrome," due to be published next month.

The men, one armed with a snub-nosed pistol and the other wielding a knife, sprayed Stuijt with a paralyzing liquid from a canister when she refused to hand over the papers, the South African Press Association (SAPA) news agency reported.

The men went through documents concerning the book and left after 40 minutes. Stuijt, who works at SAPA, said she was unable to call for help because the telephone line had been cut.

Police said they were investigating. South Africa has dozens of right-wing white paramilitary groups who oppose the apartheid reforms of President F.W. de Klerk and seek the establishment of a whites-only state.

The existence of one of the groups, the White Wolves, became known in 1988 when former policeman Barend Strydom killed eight blacks in a shooting spree in Pretoria.

Strydom, sentenced to death for murder, said at his trial he led a group called the White Wolves that believed blacks should be shot because there were too many of them.

# South Africa gives 1,833 amnesty

## Anti-apartheid activists, right-wingers included

Associated Press

**JOHANNESBURG, South Africa** — The government yesterday announced amnesty for 1,833 exiles and people accused of political crimes, including nine anti-apartheid activists whose arrest had strained government-ANC relations.

Those given amnesty also include five right-wing extremists associated with right-wing leader Piet Rudolph, who was freed from prison Monday in an earlier amnesty.

The latest announcement followed harsh criticism from the African National Congress, which said it might suspend talks with the government if all political prisoners are not out of jail by April 30.

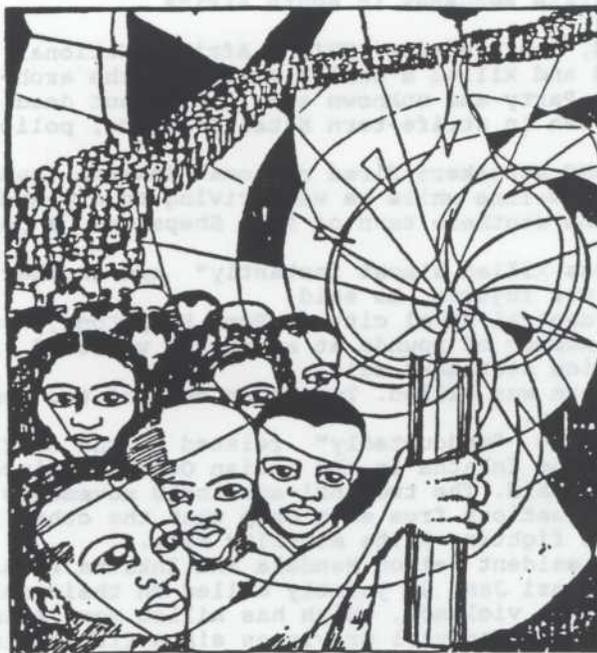
The anti-apartheid activists include Mac Maharaj, a former member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, and eight cohorts — most of them members of both the ANC and the Communist Party — who were arrested in July for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government.

In August, the ANC suspended its armed struggle and cited this as a reason the government should drop its case against the nine.

The ANC says more than 2,500 anti-apartheid activists remain in jail; the government puts the figure at less than 1,000.

Both sides agree there are about 40,000 foreign exiles, and the government has agreed to let the United Nations help repatriate them.

Most fled to avoid prosecution for involvement in banned groups such as the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress. De Klerk legalized opposition groups in February 1990 and has begun dismantling the laws of apartheid.



### First group of political exiles returns

by MALCOLM FRIED

**JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (UPI)** — The first group of returning anti-apartheid exiles arrived Thursday from the Zambian capital of Lusaka, the advance guard of thousands allowed to come home under South Africa's racial reforms.

Several small knots of relatives and friends of the 109 members of the African National Congress were waiting at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport. The exiles were to be welcomed by an ANC delegation led by General Secretary Alfred Nzo.

"Welcome home our absent heroes," read a poster held by an ANC supporter, while dozens of police patrolled the arrival terminal.

Two ANC members were reported bitten by police dogs. The ANC estimates that 40,000 ANC exiles want to return but the government disputes the figure.

Pretoria has promised to allow the return of all exiles and to release all political prisoners by April 30 to clear the way for power-sharing talks with the ANC.

Most of the exiles settled elsewhere in Africa over the past four decades and thousands were ANC guerrillas before the movement suspended its 29-year armed struggle against white rule last August in exchange for faster racial reforms.

The majority had fallen foul of laws forbidding anti-state activity, including supporting the ANC before its legalization or fomenting protest against the white minority government.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw has questioned the ANC's figure of 40,000 exiles, saying authorities received only 5,967 applications to return, including those from some 2,600 family members.

He said his department issued 2,847 travel documents, but he conceded there could be "many thousands more people who we have not heard from yet."

"I am confident that the repatriation of returnees will soon gain momentum and trust that the present level of cooperation between the interested parties will continue," Louw said.

Plans for the return of exiles and release of 1,200 prisoners were facilitated by President Frederik de Klerk's racial reforms in February 1990 when he lifted a 30-year ban on the ANC and other black groups.

The ANC has since insisted it will not go into substantive power-sharing talks until exiles are back and political prisoners freed.

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INTER PRESS SERVICE INTERNATIONAL NEWS  
FRIDAY FEBRUARY 22, 1991

**SOUTH AFRICA: INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO MLANGENI'S MURDER**  
by Gavin Evans

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 22 (IPS) -- Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has given his go-ahead for an independent investigation into the assassination of African National Congress (ANC) lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

According to the legal team from Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom, where Mlangeni worked, the investigation will involve a top international forensic expert.

Three people from the firm held a meeting with the minister. "The minister agreed to allow us independent access to the forensic evidence."

"It is possible that one of the world's top explosive experts will be coming to South Africa for this purpose," Peter Harris, who was part of the team who met with Vlok, said today.

Normally the police forensic laboratory, still headed by the discredited General Lothar Neethling, would be involved in such an investigation.

Neethling recently lost a defamation suit against Dirk Coetzee, the former police captain who blew the whistle on official death squads in South Africa's security forces.

The head of the police forensic laboratory failed to disprove Coetzee's claims that he was involved in political poisonings.

It now appears the forensic evidence will not be sent to the police forensic laboratories or removed from their current safe-keeping until the independent expert arrives.

The investigation is now being headed by the South Africa police's General Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

Harris said Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom lawyers have "strong suspicions about who was behind the murder."

"One has to ask: who had the motive and who had the capability?" he said, without elaborating.

Mlangeni died when a sophisticated explosive device in the earphones of the "Walkman" cassette recorder he received in the mail -- supposedly containing a tape with information on death squads -- was detonated by a sound signal.

It had originally been sent to Coetzee in Lusaka last May.

The tape was apparently designed to eliminate him shortly prior to giving evidence on police hit squads at a special hearing of the Harms commission of inquiry in London.

The package contained the name and legal return address of Mlangeni, who had been involved in investigating police hit squads, but took over seven months to "return" to him after Coetzee refused to take delivery.

Coetzee said he had asked the ANC to warn Mlangeni to expect it, but that this was not done. He has blamed his former colleagues at Vlakplaas police base for the murder.

Mlangeni, 32, who was the Jabulani branch chair of the ANC, was a frequent victim of state harassment.

He was twice detained without trial in the Ciskei homeland, and spent a year in detention during the 1986/87 state of emergency.



INDEPENDENT Friday 22 February 1991

# Angry MPs ask Malan to resign

NOT FOR the first time, Magnus Malan, South Africa's Defence Minister, found himself jettisoning howls for his resignation yesterday after revelations of corruption inside a clandestine army unit -- the oddly named Civil Co-operation Bureau -- accused of carrying out assassinations.

Newspaper editorials joined the clamour in parliament among MPs of the right-wing Conservative Party and the liberal Democratic Party for F.W. de Klerk to fire General Malan, a hawkish throwback to the P.W. Botha era. The calls followed a report by the auditor-general this week on the unit's dubious finances.

"Surely," the Johannesburg Star said, "the Minister of Defence... will now have the integrity to resign -- or President de Klerk will find the courage to dismiss him. The latest revelations about the sinister CCB paint a picture of a mad-dog organisation running out of control."

The police have to some degree justified the "mad-dog" description, having blamed the CCB -- which has gone so far as to admit that its job was to harass the government's political enemies -- for two as yet unsolved political murders. The auditor-general gave much substance to the perception that the CCB was out of control when he announced this week that the unit had spent 12.5m rand (€2.5m) without proper authority.

General Malan succeeded in deflecting calls for his resignation when the existence of the CCB

From John Carlin  
in Johannesburg

was revealed in the press last year, and in November, when the findings of the Harms commission of inquiry appointed by President de Klerk to investigate allegations of political killings concluded that the CCB had become a law unto itself and its behaviour had "contaminated" the security forces.

The commission also recommended police investigation into detailed evidence implicating the CCB in the 1986 assassination of two pro-ANC activists, Fabian and Florence Ribeiro. Substantial information was uncovered linking James Rubeys, a former CCB operative now believed to be in London, to their deaths.

Undaunted, General Malan sought yesterday to fight off the opposition MPs. "You are not prepared to listen to the other side impartially and you will pay a price for this," he snarled. It was a scandal to call for his resignation before granting the South African Defence Force the right of reply.

General Malan neglected to mention that the Force has been more than coy over the activities of the CCB. Its attitude towards the commission was consistently to evade, he and block access to key documents and personnel.

■ CAPE TOWN -- Seven political prisoners, all members of the African National Congress, were released from Robben Island jail yesterday. *Reuter reports.*



they have not  
silenced  
a just man  
just because  
they have  
killed him

## Comments and Reflections by Jim Knutson

For the past year, ever since the glorious event of Namibia's Independence Day March 21, 1990, a number of us have been discussing ways in which concerned Christians in the USA could continue to be involved with the struggles of our sisters and brothers in southern Africa. One result of these discussions was the broadening of National Namibia Concerns to include involvement in South Africa and the region, and to focus more attention on the linkages between racism and oppression in South Africa and the USA.

I was asked to do two things: first, to help strengthen links with persons and organizations in South Africa. Recently contacts have been made with the Rev. Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Bishop Solomon Serote and the Rev. Thomas Mbuli, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, Dr. Wolfram Kistner and Dr. Beyers Naude, two outstanding church leaders, presently operating out of the Ecumenical Advice Bureau.

These are exciting and challenging times for South Africans of all races who are hoping for and working for a new South Africa, where skin color no longer is the basis of the law of the land, a new day when there will be peace with justice. We have much to learn from our South African friends, and thus our aim is to strengthen our relationships in a spirit of interdependence and mutuality.

Secondly, I was asked to contribute regularly to Southern Africa, "reflections, comments, analysis, or whatever," as Solveig Kjeseth put it.

My wife, Arlene, and I had the privilege of serving in the Lutheran Church in South Africa from 1954 to 1972, and then from 1973 to 1989, I made annual visits to Southern Africa as part of my responsibilities as Secretary for Africa for the American Lutheran Church and then the ELCA. This experience does give one some background and perspective, but events move so quickly and the situation is so incredibly complex that one feels uneasy and presumptuous in trying to annals and comment from a distance. However, I am willing to try.

Anyone who attempts to follow the news from South Africa can be overwhelmed by the sheer number and complexity of issues. A glance at the articles in this newsletter is proof of that.

I would briefly draw your attention to one of the most crucial issues, land. On February 1st this year, President F.W. De Klerk announced that legislation would be introduced in Parliament to scrap the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, and indeed, on March 12th it was introduced. The "Land Acts" are laws which prohibit blacks from owning land outside the 13% demarcated as "tribal reserves" or "homelands". (13% of the land reserved for 87% of the population!)

Two eminent South Africans, several generations apart, have written eloquently and poignantly about the Land Act and its implications for black South Africans. In 1916, Sol T. Plaatje, Native Life in South Africa, (reprint Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1982.) the first book of its kind, was published. Plaatje, who was one of the founders of the African National Congress, writes, "Awaking on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth." (p.21)

In his excellent and comprehensive work, The Mind of South Africa, Allister Sparks states that within three years of the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, following the Boer War, the brief hope of an integrationist future disappeared. Quoting extensively from Plaatje, Sparks states that the Land Act was "the start of the most comprehensive system of labour coercion that has been devised since slavery." He goes on to say that "If the Land Act was the start of systematic exploitation, it was also the start of organized resistance relates how the impending passage of this Act led to the formation of what became the African National Congress in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912. (pp. 136-146.)

Now, nearly 80 years later, after injustice has been piled on injustice, suffering upon suffering, as millions of blacks have been "relocated", and become, in Plaatje's words "fugitives in their own land", now the Land Act is slated to be repealed.

But this is only the beginning. As Allister Sparks said in an article in the Washington Post, December, 1990: "But if the scrapping of the Land Act will be huge in symbolism, it will be fraught with more difficulties than any reform that de Klerk has attempted so far. To both black Africans and white Afrikaners, land is charged with emotion; the history of both people is writ large in the struggle over it.

In commenting on the proposed repeal of the Land Act, the Rev. Frank Chikane stated that true change is still only a possibility. He gives the example of his parents who, in the fifties, were forced to move without compensation from the land they owned. Under the new policy, his mother can buy back the land that was taken from them years ago. "That it is now legally possible to buy the land means nothing," he said. "But if she was told 'you can go now and have your land', it would be different."

Allister Sparks points out that "To blacks it is axiomatic that a scrapping of the law must be followed by a redistribution of the land." Many white farmers say they will resist any change; some are willing to fight. According to Sparks, the government's policy is: "Remove the legal restrictions, then leave it to market forces to sort out who owns what." But he goes on to point out that a modest sized farm costs about \$160,000, and there are hardly any blacks who could afford that even if credit were extended to them.

Sparks also states that sooner or later there will be a black government in South Africa which will almost certainly set about redistributing at least some of the land. "Both sides of the political divide are studying how this can be done without wrecking the agricultural production of one of the few countries in Africa able to feed itself."

From the above it is obvious what an extremely difficult issue this is, and how deep and far back its roots go. We will be hearing much more about the issue of land in the months and years to come.

## ELCA SYNOD TASK FORCES

### BUSY ON NAMIBIA/SOUTH AFRICA

#### NORTHEAST IOWA

A valuable education resource, prepared by Dorothy Diers and Ilah Weiblen, is being distributed to congregations in the Northeast Iowa Synod.

They have been matched with the Lutheran church in the southern part of Namibia (the ELCRN) through the "Partner Synod" program of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA).

The Namibia Task force is circulating a very complete multi-media resource so that each congregation may learn about their partnership country. The complete packet includes posters, maps, slides, and music, plus a complete curriculum for a four session study of Namibia: past, present and future. Excellent work!

#### LUTHERAN NAMIBIA TASK FORCE OF NORTHEAST OHIO

Building on a resolution passed at their Synod Assembly, this Cleveland group is pushing for a \$1 per member offering for development projects in Namibia. They have prepared materials which will be sent to each congregation telling of specific needs. To date they have raised nearly \$6000, according to task force member, Mark Brauer.

#### SOUTH-CENTRAL WISCONSIN SYNOD

Long a leader in Namibia work, this Synod has now broadened its focus and created a Namibia/South Africa Committee which meets regularly. They have prepared materials for displays at conference and synod conventions, materials which include boycott information and material aid projects.

In appreciation for her tireless advocacy for Namibia, this committee has raised funds which will enable Ruth Jorenby to travel to Namibia during the month of May. She will visit churches, development projects and old friends, and is expected to return with new insights into how to continue in partnership with the people of that country.

#### MINNEAPOLIS AREA SYNOD SOUTHERN AFRICA TASK FORCE

This newly formed task force will focus on the region of southern Africa, and is fortunate to have several members who have traveled or lived in South Africa. They are offering speakers or video tapes for Sunday morning adult forums.

In addition, they prepared a camera-ready bulletin insert focusing on the Sharpeville Massacre (South Africa) and Namibian Independence Day. Both events occurred on March 21st. This resource was sent to all congregations in the Synod.

# Network News

#### Freedom is Coming

Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom  
Oh Freedom, Freedom is coming  
Oh yes I know

Oh Jesus, Oh Jesus  
Oh Jesus, Jesus is coming  
Oh yes I know

Oh Justice, Oh Justice  
Oh Justice, Justice is coming  
Oh yes I know

#### We Are Marching

We are marching in the light of God.

We are praying in the light of God.

We are singing in the light of God.

We are voting in the light of God.

#### Thuma Mina

Send me Jesus, send me Jesus  
Send me Jesus, send me Lord.

Lead me Jesus ...

Heal me Jesus ...

Free me Jesus ...

Fill me Jesus ...

*(Freedom is Coming, We Are Marching and Thuma Mina are traditional freedom songs published in Freedom is Coming. Music book and audio cassette available from Augsburg Fortress.)*

#### SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA WEST SYNOD

Another newly organized group is the Southern California West Synod Committee on Namibia, under the leadership of Carl Jakobsson in Long Beach.

Their goal is to sponsor events which improve understanding about the history of Namibia, and to build a relationship between persons in the U.S. and people in Namibia.

This committee is sponsoring special worship services every other month, with the offering going toward education and development in Namibia. Their first gifts were directed to the People's Primary School in Katatura.

The next service will be held on April 14th at 5:00 pm at Community Lutheran Church in Los Angeles.

MORE REPORTS NEXT MONTH

LET US KNOW WHAT YOU ARE DOING IN YOUR AREA!

# Resources

## "SPIRIT AS POWER: MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND BLACK AMERICA"

The WORLD MISSION INSTITUTE is sponsoring an unusual and important conference in Chicago on April 26-27, 1991.

Entitled "Spirit as Power: Mission in South Africa and Black America (USA)", the conference will bring together African and African-American church leaders to discuss common issues.

The apartheid system in South Africa and institutionalized racism and classism in the U.S. have led to conditions of dehumanizing suffering and death within both societies.

In spite of these harsh realities, the power of the Spirit has enabled some people to keep prayer, healing, hope and justice at the center of their understanding of the church's transforming and redeeming mission.

Lecturing at the conference will be:

- Dr. Edward Wimberly, "Pastoral Challenges as Power: A Black American Perspective"
- Dr. Itulemeng Mosala, "Spirit as Power: Mission in South Africa"
- Prof. Michael E. Dyson, "Spirit as Power: Mission in Black America"

The preacher for the opening worship will be Rev. Allan Boesak, and on Friday evening, the Rev. Renita Weems will preach.

Sessions will be held at the Lutheran School of Theology, 1100 E. 55th Street, Chicago, IL 60615, beginning at 7:30am on April 26th and conclude Saturday afternoon at 4:30.

While there is no fee, it is necessary to register by calling the Center for Global Mission at (312) 753-0672.

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LIBRARY OF AFRICAN CINEMA, a project of California Newsreel, is a new (1991) exciting resource for schools, public libraries, and community groups.

For too long, the African continent has been ignored by Western media, or portrayed by Tarzan-like images of a "Dark Continent". Nearly always, Americans have looked at African nations and issues through non-African eyes.

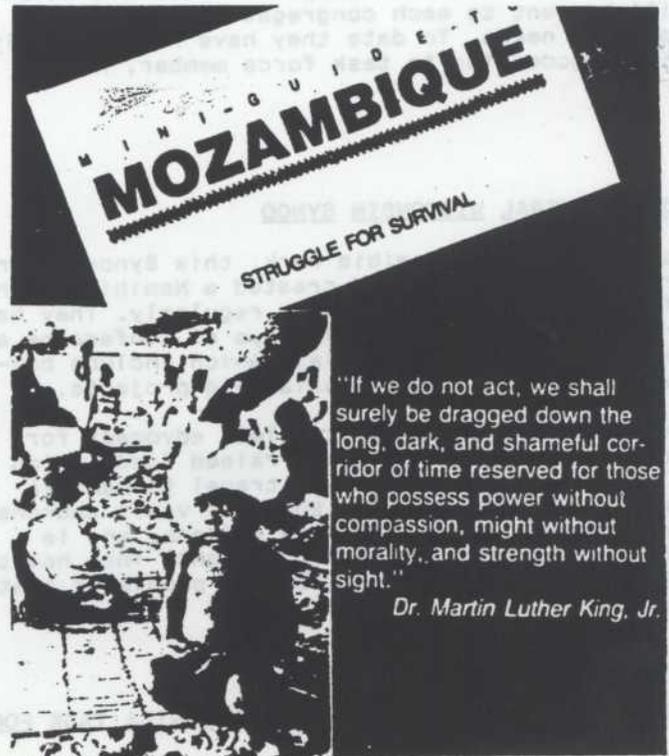
The Library of African Cinema represents the first collection of African feature films available on videos. Produced in several African countries, the films deal with contemporary concerns, such as the rights of women, the struggle against apartheid, the dangers, both to people and to the environment, of urbanization, and of dictatorship.

The films reveal the ongoing tension between tradition and change within which contemporary African issues must be seen, issues such as economic development strategies, the evolution of political institutions, relationships between men and women.

Organize a film series for your church or your community group! Share this information with your local school or library!

Call or write for a free catalogue:

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San Francisco, CA 94103  
(415) 621-6196



"If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridor of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight."

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The above picture and Dr. King excerpt are part of the new AFSC Mini-Guide on Mozambique. The guide sells for \$1.00 per copy.

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Recommended



Sol T. Plaatje

## Native Life in South Africa

Before and Since the European War and the Boer Rebellion

Sol T. Plaatje

Foreword by Bessie Head

Introduction by Brian Willan

**F**IRST PUBLISHED IN 1916 and one of South Africa's great political books, *Native Life in South Africa* was first and foremost a response to the Natives' Land Act of 1913, and was written by one of the most gifted and influential writers and journalists of his generation. Sol T. Plaatje provides an account of the origins of this crucially important piece of legislation and a devastating description of its immediate effects. Plaatje spent many weeks travelling in the countryside, and the most moving chapters in the book tell us what he saw. His book explores the wider political and historical context that produced policies of the kind embodied in the Land Act, and documents meticulously steps taken by South Africa's rulers to exclude black South Africans from the exercise of political power.

April 456 pp. Ohio

Ohio University Press paper • \$17.95\*

## Namibia, Land of Tears, Land of Promise

by Dr. Roy J. Enquist

Susquehanna University Press, 1990

Namibia, land of tears -- Enquist's achievement is to point out the hidden secret behind the painful history of Namibia. From the time the European settlers came to Namibia and throughout our history after that, nothing else can be recorded than the pain, suffering, oppression and humiliation of the Namibian people under the colonial rule of the Germans and South Africans.

The author correctly describes the history of Namibia as a "narrative of tears". It was a land of tears when Maharero and Witbooi decided to take up arms and fight against foreign rule. It was a land flowing with tears when the German troops carried out their merciless genocide of the Hereros. Even today we look back with tears to the destruction of our ancient kingdoms, at the human violation under the heretical policy of Apartheid, at the destruction of properties and killing of innocent people during the liberation struggle.

Enquist points out how the two "sister missions came to Namibia full of piety." But the Finnish and German mission enterprises destroyed Namibian cultural values and left the Namibians without the identity of their forefathers.

The irony is that the aim of these mission activities was "to complete the Reformation by seeking to transform society through the moral arm of the church so that God's holy commonwealth on earth might be established." (p. 53)

Namibia, land of promise -- Maharero and Witbooi refused to see their promised land under foreign occupation; their soldiers sacrificed their blood for Namibia's freedom. They failed. But their grandchildren have succeeded in freeing their promised land.

The indigenous Christians stood up and spoke out against the injustices of oppression because they believed that in Christ they were free. In 1971, with the famous "Open Letter" of the churches to the South African Prime Minister, the church became the voice of the voiceless people of Namibia. The churches condemned the evil treatment of God's children by the colonial forces. The path led from pastoral letters to discussions with authorities, pulpits became podiums of public protest, the appeal was no longer to friendly foreign governments but to the United Nations. And through it all, God's people, the church, endured the suffering. The true meaning of the cross became a central theme for many Namibian theologians. Dr. Enquist emphasizes the witness of Pastor Zephania Kameeta.

Enquist shows a real understanding of the Namibian people in their struggle for the freedom of their land. The shocking story of Namibia's oppression is summarized in readable English. The book is a great contribution both to the history and the theology of Namibia's struggle for freedom.

Review by Rev. Mathews Kapolo, Namibian pastor currently engaged in graduate studies at Wartburg Theological, Seminary in Dubuque, IA

**SOUTH AFRICA: RURAL BLACKS BEGIN STRUGGLE TO RECLAIM LAND**  
**AN INTER PRESS SERVICE FEATURE**  
by Eddie Koch

Johannesburg, Jan 21 (IPS) -- When the South African Parliament opens in February, high on the list of business to be dealt with will be the scrapping of the Land Acts. The country's notorious cornerstones of apartheid have given some 87% of the country to the ruling white minority.

But out in the countryside, a handful of determined rural people have already begun a vigorous set of struggles. Human rights lawyers here believe the sheer determination displayed by rural people involved in a series of recent drives to reoccupy their ancestral lands has placed the question of land redistribution high on the list of issues that must be addressed in the making of a new South Africa.

Just before Christmas, a handful of about 20 old men and women of the Barolongba-Modiboa people went back to their homes at Machaviestad, about 72 miles west of Johannesburg---from which they were forcibly removed in 1971.

The people declared they were back for good.

A similar occurrence happened at Roosboom, a small farm in the middle of the Natal province. About 350 people had been evicted from this settlement in 1975, and sent to a congested and arid resettlement camp nearby.

Both groups are small, but they see themselves as spearheading a drive that will result in full repossession for their entire communities.

The almost sacred status of these struggles, a factor that injects resilience and determination into the people, is evident in the fact that in each case they began their campaigns by cleaning the graves of ancestors who died on the land.

"We are concerned about white farmers' cattle stampeding on the grounds of our beloved relatives," says a memo to the government from the people of Roosboom.

Richard Clasey, field worker from the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA), says the significance of the land reoccupations reaches far beyond the small numbers of people involved.

"We know of 103 communities involving a population of more than 100,000 people who have been removed since 1948 in areas of Natal alone," he says.

Star Mogwetse, field worker at the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), says at least half a dozen communities in the western and northern Transvaal are considering emulating the tactics of the Machaviestad. "Basically the recent political reforms in the country and reprieves to rural people under threat of removal, have encouraged these reoccupations," says Clasey.

"People who would have considered such action suicidal in the repressive period of the past, are now saying de Klerk's talk of justice and reconciliation means he must give them their land back."

But Aninka Claasens, researcher at Wits University's Center for Applied Legal Studies, warns that "It is clear from de Klerk's pronouncements that the government hopes to head off a flood of demands for land to be returned to its original owners. The market will be open only to those black people who can afford to buy land. And de Klerk has promised white farmers that he will defend their titles."

Claasens points out that such measures will result in wealthy black people, rather than the rightful owners, obtaining rural land previously reserved for whites. This could aggravate the plight of dispossessed communities as the little available land left for redistribution gets snatched away from them.



Barbara  
Kuntz

### National Namibia Concerns

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