



Southern Africa

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Welcome to the first mailing of Southern Africa !

We hope this publication will become a useful tool in education about southern Africa issues.

Our goal is to provide:

- a news service, with clippings that might not appear in every newspaper;
- a format for the exchange of information and ideas;
- a bulletin board to list new resources and announce upcoming events;
- a means of linking persons who are concerned about the region--- to form a network of activists who are willing to do advocacy at key points;
- a way of "personalizing" the struggle for freedom and justice in southern Africa so that news reports are not simply information or statistics. We hope to let the voices of Africans be heard, so that the suffering, the struggle, the strength, and the dignity of the people become real for us.

In the next months we will return again and again to certain themes: negotiations, education, violence, housing shortages, land distribution, women's issues, unemployment. As we follow developments in these areas, I believe we will see the inter-relatedness of the countries, and the problems, of the region.

For example, ten years into independence, Zimbabwe is still struggling with inequities of land distribution, a question that must be addressed in the near future by Namibia and South Africa as well.

Some of us know more about one country than another, for example, Namibia, as compared with Angola. Some on the membership list are southern Africa experts....others are just beginning to discover the issues in that region. I hope we can learn together, from each other and especially from the people of southern Africa. Please share information, opinions, reactions, suggestions.

With world attention focused on other, very real crises, our goal is to remain in solidarity with our friends in southern Africa, so that their struggle may not be forgotten.

Again, welcome to our new network. We're grateful for your support and concern!

2 BLACK FACTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL END RIVALRY

A BREAKTHROUGH ACCORD

Mandela and Zulu Chief Meet and Agree to Turn Energy to Fighting Apartheid

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

DURBAN, South Africa, Jan. 29 — South Africa's two largest black political movements agreed tonight to set aside their differences and put an end to a bitter rivalry that has cost thousands of lives.

The accord between the African National Congress and rival Inkatha Freedom Party, a breakthrough for black unity against apartheid, followed the first meeting in nearly three decades between Nelson Mandela, the Congress's deputy president, and Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha's president.

After months of procrastination and recrimination, the two leaders met today with their executive committees in a luxury downtown hotel here to discuss ending the factional violence.

Appeal for Tolerance

In addition to appealing to their members to stop fighting, the Congress and Inkatha declared that both political organizations had the right to exist independently. They called for mutual tolerance and said coercion, intimidation and vilification by their supporters should stop.

They further pledged to monitor violations of the peace accord and to see that the police act impartially. And they announced that Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi together would tour all areas affected by the violence.

"If we are to fulfill the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors or losers as between the A.N.C. and Inkatha," Mr. Mandela said this morning. "Only our people must be the victors, and the only losers should be those whose racist policies are served by carnage among blacks."

Recognition for Inkatha

For the African National Congress, the meeting offered the opportunity to eliminate a major obstacle to its attempt to forge a united front against white minority rule. For Inkatha, it amounted to recognition by the Congress of its legitimacy as a kindred anti-apartheid organization.

It is not clear whether the agreement will have any effect on the negotiations with the white minority Government of President F. W. de Klerk over the future of South Africa because Chief Buthelezi has always said he is willing to take part in such talks. The Inkatha leader also said that he would work with the Congress to end the violence but that he would not necessarily be an A.N.C. ally in all matters.

The African National Congress and Inkatha both say they actively oppose apartheid but they differ over the strategies for eliminating it. Chief Buthelezi has criticized the Congress's reliance on economic sanctions and armed struggle against apartheid and he advocates a market economy, opposing nationalization measures espoused by the Congress. The two organizations split in 1979 at a meeting of their leaders in London.

Death Toll in Violence

Factional fighting began five years ago in Natal province between members of Inkatha and supporters of the United Democratic Front, a surrogate for the then-banned African National Congress. By local estimates, 4,000 people have been killed in Natal in the last few years. Another 1,000 died since the hostilities erupted around Johannesburg last July, though the two organizations today said the death toll had been much higher.

The fighting has involved victims of poverty and discrimination on both sides. Mr. Mandela today said the blame for violence must ultimately be laid "at the door of the apartheid regime which has created conditions of such squalor and degradation among our people."

It was uncertain how quickly sup-

Mandela and Buthelezi pledge to work to end the killing.

porters would honor the call to end the violence, which has been perpetuated by revenge, criminality and competition for turf. A similar appeal by Mr. Mandela 11 months ago in Durban was widely ignored. Chief Buthelezi, who has made similar appeals, said it was simplistic to think the violence could be ended at a stroke.

At a news conference after the meeting, Mr. Mandela acknowledged that considerable differences separated the Congress and Inkatha.

'Breakthrough' Is Claimed

"Naturally, you cannot expect that we would be able to reach agreement on all the issues that kept us divided," Mr. Mandela said. But, he added, "in this discussion, we have reached a breakthrough."

Mr. Mandela, who was freed from prison Feb. 11, consented in March to appear with Chief Buthelezi at a peace rally in Natal but backed out. For months thereafter, Mr. Mandela dodged any potential encounter with Chief Buthelezi.

After violence around Johannesburg rose, the Congress resolved to meet with Inkatha and announced on Oct. 22 that a meeting would take place, though it did not happen for more than three months.

For all their past acrimony, Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, who knew each other back through the 1950's, displayed mutual cordiality today. They embraced warmly outside the Royal Hotel and smiled broadly as they walked into the conference room.

"Right at the outset we want to make one thing crystal clear," Mr. Mandela said in an opening speech. "We have not come here to apportion blame for the fact that it has taken so long before we managed to sit around a table of peace and reconciliation."

"Nor do we think that it would benefit the cause of peace if we spent our time in this meeting pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the terrible carnage which has left so many thousands of our people dead and wounded," Mr. Mandela said. He went on to thank Chief Buthelezi for having worked for his release from prison.

Buthelezi Attacks Rivals

Chief Buthelezi, in his speech, catalogued the affronts that he accused the Congress of having directed against him personally, which he said lay at the root of the violence.

"We all know that the reason why we have not met with the Deputy President of the A.N.C., Dr. Mandela, is because some people in the A.N.C. think this would amount to him contaminating himself with me."

Chief Buthelezi emphasized that differences still divided Inkatha and the Congress. He said Inkatha opposed the Congress's call for the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new



non-racial constitution and for an interim Government to oversee the nation's transition to majority rule.

Such a position, Chief Buthelezi said, would leave "no room for negotiation" and could lead to new violence.

Chief Buthelezi earlier described his vision of the two organizations' future relationship.

"I will seek common cause with Mr. F. W. de Klerk, the National Party and the Government wherever the common cause is justified," the Inkatha leader said. "I will seek common cause with the A.N.C. wherever that common cause is justified. Inkatha has a political mind of its own and it will choose allies on the basis of the issues being fought."

Black South Africa's Moment

Two proud black leaders, one a radical and the other a conservative, met in South Africa on Tuesday and called for an end to the murderous clashes between their followers. Nelson Mandela was at his generous best; his rival, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, grudgingly sought to score political points. Yet their meeting, the first in nearly three decades, may well turn out to be a defining moment in South African history.

In the last five years, at least 5,000 blacks have perished in township riots between supporters of Mr. Mandela's African National Congress and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. Black disunity has caused rejoicing among die-hard supremacists opposed to ending apartheid through negotiations with President F. W. de Klerk. Even so, Mr. Mandela's allies have resisted any meeting that might enhance Chief Buthelezi's claim for an equal seat at the bargaining table.

Wisely, Mr. Mandela decided otherwise. In their meeting in Durban, both leaders promised to tour townships ravaged by violence, to monitor the peace accord and to assure that police are not fomenting trouble. But Mr. Mandela went on to

declare that there should be no victors or losers: "Only our people must be the victors, and the only losers should be those whose racist policies are served by the carnage among blacks."

For his part, Chief Buthelezi rehearsed his many grievances with the African National Congress, charging that its violence had been directed against him personally. He scratched the wound that both men vowed to heal. Nevertheless, however prickly the chief, denying him a place at the table would mock the A.N.C.'s call for a genuine multiracial democracy. It is hard to see how there can be any democratic system that ignores Inkatha and its predominantly Zulu following.

Ending the cycle of violence will take more than words. Once before, a year ago, Mr. Mandela pleaded with his supporters to throw down their weapons; he was ignored. But having come to his rival's stronghold in Natal Province, and having joined with him in a fresh appeal, Mr. Mandela has reconfirmed his own stature without diminishing that of Chief Buthelezi. If their appeal for tolerance succeeds, South Africans of every race will be the victors.

Reform Called Incomplete in South Africa

No Action Planned Soon On Key Black Demands

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 10—Despite President Frederik W. de Klerk's recent announcement that several basic apartheid laws will soon be repealed, government leaders have made clear that virtually no fundamental changes giving blacks a role in government are contemplated in the immediate future.

De Klerk announced Feb. 1 that legislation will be introduced to repeal laws restricting where and how South African blacks live, but the changes are unlikely to meet the expectations of the black majority and could fuel demands for further reform.

Since the announcement, top government ministers have clearly indicated that the segregated tricameral Parliament and its racially separated voting system that excludes blacks entirely will not be changed until a new constitution is negotiated several years from now.

Black nationalist groups say this is the essence of the apartheid system of segregation and discrimination, and until blacks are granted the right to vote and elected to Parliament, they will remain excluded from the political process.

These groups say the reforms amount to an attempt by whites to keep South Africa safe for continued segregation and white privilege in new guises, and could heighten frustration among blacks.

De Klerk made his announcement in Parliament on Feb. 1, saying legislation would be introduced to scrap the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which reserve 87 percent of the country's land for the white minority, as well as the 1984 Black Communities Act, which enforces rigid segregation.

He also said the Population Registration Act, which separates all South Africans into racial groups for living, voting and identification purposes, would be eliminated.

The United States and the European Community welcomed de Klerk's announcement, and some governments indicated that sanctions imposed to protest apartheid could now be lifted. The African National Congress, South Africa's largest

black nationalist group, said the reforms would have little impact on the daily lives of blacks here and urged foreign governments not to be hasty in ending sanctions.

Ever since de Klerk's announcement, Pretoria's new buzzword in discussing the reforms has been "community rights." But the minister of constitutional development, Gerrit Viljoen, admitted last week in a briefing that "there isn't really much difference" between "community rights" and "minority rights," a concept blacks regard as a euphemism for maintenance of white privileges.

The ministers also said no changes will be made during the interim period in the government's "town-affairs" policy, in which whites, Indians and mixed-race Coloureds run separate education, health and other services.

The only hint that some radical change might occur in the near future, at least at the local level, came from Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Herus Kriel. He said formation of a single municipal council and voting for its members on a common voters' roll that includes blacks would be possible now—if neighboring black and white town councils agreed to such steps in negotiations.

Viljoen, however, seemed opposed to such voting, saying the issue of giving blacks the vote was "a basic and fundamental matter of a new constitution" that could not be negotiated "in a piecemeal, interim, transitional way."

Viljoen said the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 will be repealed in the current session of Parliament, but he did not indicate what would replace these laws or suggest any massive restitution of land to its original owners.

He also acknowledged that "much more" was necessary than just the repeal of the two acts to ensure that all South Africans have equal access to land and that existing private property and title rights are protected.

However, according to Kriel, there are "no plans underway" to provide compensation for land and property forcibly taken from black individuals and tribes by the government. He also dismissed "so-called affirmative action" as a failed approach to correcting social wrongs in Western countries that would not be adopted here.

About the best non-whites could hope for, at least those with sufficient money, was access to loans from the Land Bank to enable them to buy farms and plots of land just like whites do now, according to Kriel and other ministers.

While de Klerk also announced that the Group Areas Act of 1966 will be scrapped, he left unclear just what would happen afterward to promote integration, if anything.

According to Kriel, the integration of segregated neighborhoods would be left to "market forces" to resolve over time. "We're not going to try and force through some gimmick that neighborhoods go black or go white," said Kriel.

He acknowledged that the repeal of this act would do little to resolve the housing problem for blacks "because the majority of black people in this country do not form part of the higher-income group" with money to buy homes in white areas.

"We will have to live with informal housing for a long, long time to come," he said. "We haven't got the money. It is just not possible to provide formal housing for everybody in this country of ours."

South African Reforms Unlikely to Satisfy Blacks

The government, he said, intends to allow each community to set its own "standards and norms" short of discriminating on the basis of color, race or creed. Kriel said these would include regulating such things as housing density, health regulations and animal ownership.

The only piece of proposed new legislation dealing specifically with racial discrimination—which was not mentioned by any of the ministers—is the General Law Amendment Bill. Press reports say it prohibits any discrimination on the basis of race or class in any land or property transactions.

The biggest surprise in de Klerk's announcement was that the Population Registration Act of 1950—which separates all South Africans into four major racial groups at birth, affecting virtually all aspects of life—would be repealed. But it will be replaced by "temporary transitional measures" keeping the present tricameral Parliament in place and assuring that any by-elections will still be on the basis of separate voters' rolls.

Ministers also made clear that as long as the apartheid Parliament remains in place, there is unlikely to be any progress toward establishing a single national education system, a chief demand of blacks.

"The [education] system as we know it is part and parcel of the constitution," Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar told reporters. "If you want to change that, you need to change the constitution."

Similarly, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok quashed expectations of fundamental changes in the Internal Security Act, notably its Section 29 which allows the police to detain people for unlimited time without trial. Vlok said this was needed to combat "terrorism" from both white and black extremists opposed to the reform process.

Saying that the police had solved 90 percent of white right-wing terrorist cases, he said this would not have been possible "if we were not able to use Section 29 to detain people and question them until they give satisfactory replies to our questions."

Keep sanctions, U.N. panel urges

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations' anti-apartheid committee has urged the European Community and all nations to keep economic sanctions on South Africa until it adopts a new constitution.

On Monday, European Community foreign ministers said they planned to scrap sanctions as soon as South Africa's government formally asks Parliament to repeal key apartheid laws.

The U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid said yesterday that the EC's plans were premature. Committee chairman, Nigerian Ambassador Ibrahim A. Gambari, said sanctions should be maintained to keep bargaining pressure on Pretoria until the nation adopts a constitution that guarantees racial equality.

Driver Post 3-7-91

Mandela warns of unrest if sanctions lifted

By David B. Ottaway
The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela threatened yesterday to unleash a new wave of "mass action" aimed at making new investment in South Africa impossible if the United States and European nations lift their sanctions.

It was the first time the ANC has hinted at using such tactics against foreign companies. Mandela's threat suggests his organization has become angry and frustrated by the recently announced plans of many western governments to ease or end sanctions.

Speaking to reporters at a press



Mandela

Klerk's announcement a week ago that he will ask Parliament to repeal three basic apartheid laws.

Mandela said he had "no doubt" Bush would not proceed the same way the European Community did

conference, Mandela said he was sure President Bush would be "keen" to consult with the ANC before taking any decision on easing sanctions in response to President F.W. de Klerk's announcement a week ago that he will ask Parliament to repeal three basic apartheid laws.

Monday, when its 12 foreign ministers announced that their governments would lift sanctions once the repeal takes effect. Bush has so far followed "very correct procedures" in dealing with the ANC, even briefing him by telephone on de Klerk's visit to Washington last September, the ANC leader said.

"I believe that Mr. Bush will be keen to consult with us as to how he should respond to the address of Mr. de Klerk," Mandela said.

Mandela said European governments made "a very serious mistake" and "error of judgment" in announcing their decision before consulting with the ANC. He accused them of wanting South Africa "to be turned upside down" with

protests by deciding to lift their last economic sanctions.

"You can expect that mass action in this country is going to be the order of the day and that the situation in the country is going to be so unstable that no wise businessman is going to want to invest in this country," he warned.

The term "mass action" refers to the current ANC campaign to press for its reform demands through street demonstrations, mass rallies, boycotts and other forms of protest. The government has denounced the campaign as contrary to the ANC's commitment to end its armed struggle and enter peaceful negotiations for a new constitution.

Mandela says keep sanctions

De Klerk plan seen as still only words

By David B. Ottaway
The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress pleaded with the world community yesterday "not to be hasty" in lifting sanctions against South Africa even as it praised President F.W. de Klerk's pledge Friday to scrap three of the main legislative pillars of apartheid.

"Whatever changes have been brought about, or the government intends bringing about, the reality is that apartheid is still in force," ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a news conference in Johannesburg.

'No votes'

"We still have no votes. We can't be members of parliament. The state organs are still dominated by whites. The police are still harassing, persecuting, even killing, our people," he said, speaking of South Africa's 30 million blacks.

The ANC leader made a special appeal to the Bush administration and Congress, saying that "until the reality (of apartheid) changes," the sanctions imposed by the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act "must be maintained in spite of what Mr. de Klerk has said."

De Klerk's reform process still could be reversed, Mandela warned. The dismantling of apartheid will become "irreversible" only when "we ourselves control the process," he said.

But in a formal statement reacting to de Klerk's opening speech to parliament Friday in Cape Town, the ANC "commended" the president on his new reform proposals. De Klerk said he would soon submit legislation canceling the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which have reserved 87 percent of all land for whites; the Group Areas Act of 1966, which enforces segregated housing and living; and the Population Registration Act of 1950, which classifies people by race.

'Manifesto' praised

The ANC also praised de Klerk's "Manifesto for the New South Africa," which was released at the time of his speech. The document contains a long list of basic values and principles intended to form the basis for a new non-racial, democratic constitution and political and economic system.

The ANC said de Klerk's proposals brought about "the narrowing of the distance between the positions" of the ruling National Party and the ANC.

But the black nationalist organization added that it was "ironic" that de Klerk still rejected the ANC's call for an elected constituent assembly and interim government, saying this amounted to an insistence that "a minority regime, which has no legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of our people, presides over the transition to democracy."

Denver Post
2-6-91

ANC names violent police it wants removed

Nelson Mandela talks to Patrick Laurence about the next moves towards black freedom

THE African National Congress has given President De Klerk a list of police officers it believes have orchestrated violence in the townships and demanded their removal, the ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, told the Guardian.

"I have said to him 'These are the officers who are regarded by the community as responsible for the violence. Please remove them and put in police

officials who can work with the people and put an end to what is going on,'" Mr. Mandela said.

But, he added on the eve of a critical week which will see the opening of parliament in Cape Town and a protest march through nearby streets, Mr. De Klerk had "not been able to do so."

Looking remarkably fit and relaxed for his age, Mr. Mandela, aged 72, added of President De Klerk: "He has difficul-

ties because they continue to behave with arrogance and they continue to do things which are unacceptable."

The listed officers, Mr. Mandela charged, raided ANC offices, tore up ANC enrolment forms, connived with "vigilantes on the rampage", and created serious difficulties for the ANC.

"The people are asking us: 'What is the point of continuing to negotiate with a government which is killing our people? You are talking peace but they are conducting war against us.'"

"It is quite clear that there are influential elements in the

establishment which want to cripple the ANC. It is also quite clear that the government would like to negotiate with a weak ANC."

Mr. Mandela, however, left no doubt about the ANC's commitment to negotiations, saying: "We have taken the correct step in pressuring the government to agree to negotiate."

"Our position is that we should ensure the success of these negotiations and I think we carry the support of our membership."

Mr. Mandela emphatically rejected the government's contention that mass action precipitated violence and was in con-

travention of the ANC commitments to suspend its armed struggle "and related activities."

Declaring that the ANC had made its position clear to the government when it agreed to suspend its guerrilla war, Mr. Mandela said: "Until there are effective mechanisms which allow people to express their grievances and put forward their demands, we cannot accept their demand that there should be no mass action."

Pausing for a moment to allow his words to sink in, he added: "We have no vote. The only way in which he can focus attention on our grievances, after we have failed to convince the government through persuasion and argument, is to go into the streets and demonstrate. We are going to do that."

Land Act Repeal to Mark South African Watershed

Blacks Seek Ways to Return to Farming

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG — Early in 1991, President Frederik W. de Klerk is expected to announce the scrapping of one of the oldest and most fundamental of South Africa's apartheid laws—the Land Act, first passed in 1913, which prohibits blacks from owning land outside the 13 percent of the country demarcated as tribal reserve or "homeland" territory.

The promised scrapping of the Land Act and the Group Areas Act, which apportions separate living areas for the different races in towns and cities, will mark the turning point between the country's segregationist past and its integrationist future. Thereafter, race will no longer be the determining factor in where a South African may live.

But if the scrapping of the Land Act will be huge in symbolism, it also will be fraught with more difficulties than any other 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, and both invest it with a significance out of all proportion to its intrinsic worth. It is a matter of blood and soil, of faith and roots, of sacred ancestors.

To blacks, it is axiomatic that a scrapping of the act must be followed by a redistribution of land. To them, the Land Act entrenched in law the dispossession of their land by the white pioneer settlers nearly two centuries ago, and scrapping the law will enable them to re-establish themselves as farmers. As they see it, their stolen birthright must be given back. Little attention is paid to how this redistribution is to be brought about, or to its possible impact on the agricultural industry and the ability of the country to feed itself.

The Freedom Charter of the African National Congress, the movement's basic policy document, states that "the land shall be shared among those who work it." In almost Biblical terms, it goes on to declare that the "restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger."

The more radical Pan-Africanist Congress says it will nationalize all land and resettle "the people," meaning blacks, on it. There is no talk of compensation.

White farmers say they will resist. Some talk of fighting another Boer War—in which the Afrikaners, or Boers, descendants of the Dutch colonists, fought and lost to the British in South Africa in 1899-1902—if there is an attempt to force them off their land. Andries P. Treurnicht's far-rightist Conservative Party, which has the bulk of support among white farmers, says it has extensive plans to oppose the scrapping of the act. While not disclosing any details on what it plans, Dries Bruwer, the party's spokesman on agriculture, says de Klerk is in for a shock. "The future of any country is built on land. Wars have started over land," he said darkly.

The government, seeking a middle way, is relying on the free market to resolve the land problem, and its tight spot. The official line for this and other problems brought on by reform is: Remove the legal restrictions, then leave it to market forces to sort out who owns what.

The government is anxious to keep out of the treacherous political waters of redressing past injustices. Asked whether people who have been dispossessed of their land should not get first option to it once the act is gone, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit N. Viljoen replied recently that the acceptance of such a principle around the world would cause chaos, beginning with the United States and Australia.

There are many whites, including some close to the government, who regard the free-market approach as a cop-out. A modest-size farm in South Africa costs around \$160,000, and there are hardly any blacks who could afford that, even if credit were extended to them. The change in the law would not automatically alter the lopsided state of land ownership.

Aninka Claassens, a land specialist at Witwatersrand University's Center for Applied Legal Studies, worries that it might even make things worse. She points out that the present imbalance is not just a matter of the ruling minority—5 million whites—holding 87 percent of the land and the majority—28 million blacks—13 percent, but also that the blacks do not even own the 13 percent allocated to them.

THE WASHINGTON POST

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1990

It is nearly all held in trust for them by the white government and its tribal homeland administrations. Although this land is occupied by millions of black families and communities who have rights to particular parcels of it by grants, certificates of occupation, purchase or inheritance, these rights are not registered on the title deeds, Claassens notes.

"That means if it is simply opened up to the free market, many blacks who have owned and occupied land for generations may find it sold from under them by the nominal owners," Claassens warned.

"The perception that blacks can't farm and that people can't make a living on small pieces of land in South Africa is a fallacy. ... Black farmers have shown that they can farm as well as whites."

— Johan Kruger of Development Bank

But whatever the government's present intentions, South Africa is in political transition, which sooner or later will bring in a black government that almost certainly will set about redistributing at least some 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.

Most white farmers say it is impossible, citing as testament the impoverished communal grazing lands in the homelands, scrub cattle, the few patches of corn and sorghum growing among the thorn trees.



Barbara
Kautson

But a handful of agricultural economists working for the Development Bank, a semi-governmental agency, disagree. Five years ago, the bank began financing a number of agricultural support programs in the homelands that involve giving a package of aid—seed, fertilizer, a few implements, basic advice—to black subsistence farmers at a cost of \$150 each.

According to the bank's general manager, Johan Kruger, these have been "quite remarkably successful." They have significantly upgraded the production of about 25,000 of these smallholders, greatly improving their ability to feed their families.

"The perception that blacks can't farm and that people can't make a living on small pieces of land in South Africa is a fallacy," Kruger said. "Provided they have the necessary support services and infrastructure, black farmers have shown that they can farm as well as whites."

Potchefstroom Journal

As Apartheid Fades, Uprooted Try to Go Home

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

POTCHEFSTROOM, South Africa, Jan. 2 — The graves, neatly piled with red stones pulled from the stony void, offer proof that the Barolong tribesmen lived at this place they called Matloang until 1971, when the Government evicted them in the name of apartheid.

The Barolong people, who are of ethnic Tswana origin, have been allowed to return for a few days every year to tend their ancestral graves, pulling up weeds and sweeping away the windblown dirt.

"This is the land of our forefathers," said Ezekiel Kobedi, a 65-year-old retired plumber whose father and grandfather are buried under the mounds of red rock.

But this year, a clerical error by the Potchefstroom town clerk's office raised hopes when it granted permission for them to enter the area on Dec. 22, 1990, and leave on Dec. 26, 1991.

Taking the permit at face value, 80 Barolong people returned and put up a canvas shelter before some went back to their jobs in town. But Andreis Viljoen, Potchefstroom's acting town clerk, attributed the 1991 date to a typing mistake, and on Wednesday the police arrested the 25 settlers remaining at the site for trespassing.

Within a few weeks, President F. W. de Klerk is expected to announce legislation to repeal the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which reserve 87 percent of South Africa's land for the white minority. But while blacks could then buy land previously reserved for whites, the legislation is unlikely to address the thornier problem of returning land confiscated from three and a half million people who were uprooted from their homes because they were black.

'Taken by Force'

"It's our birthplace," Ishmael Seroalo, a community patriarch, said shortly before the police took him and his companions off to jail. "This place was repossessed and was taken by force by apartheid."

Mr. Seroalo, who is 75 years old, recalled how on Aug. 1, 1971, 184 families were forcibly removed from the rolling pastures that the tribe had occupied for as long as its people could remember. Each family was paid compensation of 18.50 rand, now worth \$7.30.

Losses and theft reduced the community's cattle from 250 to 70 head. "Our houses were destroyed and damaged, all of them," Mr. Seroalo said.

The land, a dozen miles outside Potchefstroom, was designated by the Government for whites, yet it was never resettled and now local farmers use it to graze cattle.

As the Barolong people tell it, when



Christopher S. Wren/The New York Times

"It's our birthplace," said Ishmael Seroalo, right, a leader of the Barolong tribe, whose land near Potchefstroom, South Africa, was appropriated in 1971 in the name of apartheid. He, Israel Motsamai, left, and others were arrested for trespassing when they visited old graves.

the Boer "voortrekkers," the first white pioneers, arrived in the 1830's, the Tswana inhabitants let them settle along the Mooi River and helped them chase down cattle stolen by raiding Zulus. The grateful Boers agreed in turn not to interfere with the native inhabitants or their land. This agreement was later noted in an 1885 document that is now lost.

The Tswanas traditionally viewed land, like water and air, as gifts from God inappropriate for private ownership. But because they lacked any written title, the Government treated the Barolong community as squatters. Starting in 1907, it tried to push them off the land where they were born, fencing off their land and closing the local school. On Aug. 1, 1971, most families were removed to Ika-geng, a township outside Potchefstroom. The others were trucked

west and dumped at Roolgrond in the nominally independent Tswana homeland of Bophuthatswana.

The desire to return is rooted in the need to survive as much as by ties to ancestral land.

"We cannot stay in the township where we have to pay rent and the cost of living is high," Mr. Seroalo said. His friend Israel Motsamai, 73, said that at his age he could not afford the stress and expense of urban life.

"It is better to come here and stay and live out of town," Mr. Motsamai said.

Koos Kwena, 62, was laid off from a job putting up fences for a concern in Potchefstroom. He was born here, he said, and his father and mother were buried here.

"We could survive if we were left alone," Mr. Kwena said wistfully.



The New York Times

About 80 Barolong people returned to ancestral lands at Potchefstroom after a clerical error raised hopes for resettlement.

"We would have cattle again and we could still survive."

James Sutherland, a Johannesburg lawyer who has taken on the case of the Barolong people, said the land was psychologically important to those who had been dispossessed.

"You'll find that people live and work in the town but they'll visit their ancestral homes," Mr. Sutherland said.

Others supporters of the Barolong people include the South African Council of Churches, which wants President de Klerk's repeal of the Land Acts to open the way for the return of those removed from their homes on racial grounds.

'Robbed of the Land'

"People were robbed of the land and it is coming clear that they must get justice," said Charles Ndabeni, a Council of Churches worker. Mr. Ndabeni, who is helping the Barolong people, said their plight was central to the repeal of the Land Acts because they were victims.

"We feel very strongly that if the government of the day is committed to doing away with apartheid and changing the land policy, our argument is that these people should remain forever and ever on their land," Mr. Ndabeni said.

While the repeal of discriminatory land legislation will make more land available to blacks, the Barolong people could be penalized anew if the land they once occupied were to be sold to the highest bidder.

"We feel that because there are changes, we want those changes to find us on our land again," Mr. Seroalo said.

Former exiles find hard times in Namibia

Little work to do, job prospects poor for ex-combatants

By Jonathan Kapian
London Observer Service

MWANZI, Namibia — In the Caprivi region of northern Namibia, one doesn't expect to be addressed in Spanish.

But Richard Sikabelezi, 27, who lives in Mwanzi village on the Cuando River, speaks it fluently, along with German, English and several local dialects.

When he left his family 10 years ago, fleeing north into Angola to join SWAPO, he expected to be infiltrated back into Namibia as a guerrilla. Instead, he was sent to Cuba and then East Germany, where he was trained as a pharmacist.

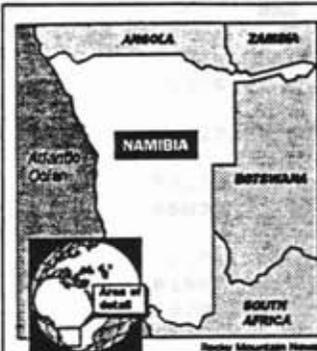
He considers himself fortunate not to have been a fighter. "The war was terrible. I saw some things, working two years in a (SWAPO) hospital in Angola. Many died. Many of the boys from around here did not come back."

Sikabelezi has been lucky. The fighting is over and he has come home, but now he faces an uncertain future.

"Where can I work?" he asks. "There is no hospital here, until 120 kilometers (74 miles) away in Katima Mulilo. They do not need a pharmacist there; I have asked. My father died while I am gone, and one of my sisters was killed by the army. So I must stay with my mother in Mwanzi."

For most returned Namibian ex-

NAMIBIA: At a glance



The land: Namibia is 317,818 square miles — slightly more than half the size of Alaska — and is located on the Atlantic coast of southern Africa. It's bordered by Angola, Botswana, Zambia and South Africa. The climate is desert, the terrain mostly high plateau. Natural resources: diamonds, copper, uranium, lead, tin, zinc, salt, fish and natural gas.

The people: About 1.3 million people, of whom 86% are black, 8% white and 6% mixed. About half the blacks belong to the

Ovambo tribe. White Namibians are mostly Christian, and non-whites are Christian or have tribal beliefs. Afrikaans is the principal language. The literacy rate is 100% for whites and 16% for non-whites.

The government: Sam Nujoma has been president since Feb. 16, 1990. Windhoek is the capital; the country has 26 local districts.

The economy: Mining accounts for more than 40% of the gross national product; agriculture and fisheries, 10% to 15%; and manufacturing about 5%. Namibia is the fourth-largest exporter of non-fuel minerals in Africa and the fifth-largest producer of uranium. Alluvial diamond deposits are among the richest in the world. Namibia also produces large quantities of lead, zinc, tin, silver and tungsten, and has substantial coal deposits.

iles there is little to do. They lounge around the trading store near the old Fort Kongola police post, talking and drinking beer if they can afford it. Reggae music blasts out from a speaker under the trees, drowning the thumping of the generator.

Many of them would be prepared to go to Windhoek, 600 miles to the south to work, but for most of the more than 40,000 returned exiles employment oppor-

pects are poor. Some ex-fighters have been incorporated into the new army of Namibia, but the need for a large standing army has gone.

For those like Sikabelezi, who have acquired skills and hopes for a better life after independence, opportunities remain elusive.

Shortly after the independence celebrations, 100 returnees, trained in Zambia in government administration, gathered in Wind-

hoek for a graduation ceremony. After being presented with their diplomas by President Sam Nujoma, one stood up. "We thank you for welcoming us home," he said. "Now give us jobs."

These have not been forthcoming. A clause in the constitution guarantees that pre-independence civil servants can keep their posts, while low academic standards among the returnees mean that they require further training.

Attempts by the returnees to find other work have been frustrating. Despite international investment in Namibia since independence, the economy is failing to expand fast enough to meet expectations.

Namibia has little industry apart from mining, and the markets for her main exports — copper and uranium — are static, with little immediate likelihood of an increase in world demand.

Rural development projects, such as a scheme for large-scale sugar-growing in eastern Caprivi, will take some years to become fact. International sugar prices are low and probably will remain so, making this a doubtful venture.

With unemployment currently over 50%, the plight of the returnees is shared by many of Namibia's poor.

In Ovamboland, in the north of the country, the rewards of independence seem least tangible. The Ovambo people, overwhelmingly pro-SWAPO, suffered greatly during the prolonged liberation struggle as their land became a war zone.

See FOCUS on 23

End of fighting, occupation mean less trade

FOCUS from 4

The South African army occupation was harsh, but its presence at least brought trade to the small *cucua* bars that sprang up along every road. This cash economy has dried up completely, leaving many with little source of income.

Outside the homes, small piles of metal lie by the roadside, to be sold to scrap-metal dealers who drive out from the towns. The merchandise consists mainly of rusty South African army ration tins and the aluminium tail sec-

tions of rocket-propelled grenades.

During the rainy season, much of Ovamboland floods and children catch catfish that have lain dormant in the dry mud. Once the rains end the region is arid.

Plans to bring piped water to the villages aren't scheduled to begin for several years. In the meantime, voracious herds of goats eat everything, even the bark off the thorn trees. Overpopulated and impoverished, large areas of Ovamboland are becoming a desert.

The majority SWAPO government, in power after decades as an exiled liberation movement, is committed to a policy of national reconciliation.

While trying to reassure the country's professionals — most of whom are white — that their standard of living will not decline following independence, the government appears uncertain how to repay the debt it owes to those, such as Sikabelezi or the Ovambo people, who supported it during its long years of struggle.

[Y]ou cannot understand the situation of suffering people in Southern Africa if you do not understand the situation of the poor, the blacks, and the oppressed here in the United States. . . . There can never be a true sharing among the sisters and brothers in the one church of Jesus Christ while some of us are sharing in the complicity of the oppressive power structures of our societies while we are blind to the poor, the oppressed, in our midst.¹¹⁰

DR. ZEPHANIA KAMEETA, quoted in *Namibia: Land of Tears, Land of Promise*, by Roy J. Enquist.

WINDHOEK, Sept. 7 (IPS) -- Erika Tjendapu dug the foundations, molded the bricks and is now building her own house on the newly-born soil of independent Namibia.

Africa's last colony, Namibia became independent from apartheid South Africa on March 21, 1990, after 23 years of armed struggle.

But winning independence was the first step in a long battle, Namibians say.

The great work of reconstruction and building the "new nation" lies ahead and a major part of the task will be in building homes for the people.

Under apartheid, 11 ethnic groups were segregated by law into different "homelands" and residential areas. Black Namibians were banned from living in towns unless they had employment contracts, while no-one outside town could buy property.

Although the segregated laws were relaxed slightly before independence, there was no change in apartheid economics. The contrast between housing available to whites and blacks remains great.

Esther Dax lives in Rehoboth, southern Namibia. Her house is a rickety shack cobbled together from flattened oil-drums and rusty iron pieces, and stands at the back of nowhere, on a dust plain.

Dax and dozens of others were forced to move from better land when the old administration built a dam and gave the land to luxury housing for whites -- a common story in colonial Namibia.

Further south in Gibeon, local nurses say disease and high mortality in the black township is directly related to poor housing. Overcrowded and badly ventilated housing increases the incidence of tuberculosis (TB), the major cause of early death in adults.

Poor sanitation is another aspect of the housing problem. Taxes charged by the colonial authorities rarely found their way back as water, drainage, roads or other public service to the community.

Gibeon's colonial authority invested almost nothing in public services. The communal toilets, which most people depend on, are nothing more than buckets, emptied once a week when they are already overflowing.

The bad hygiene aggravates gastroenteritis and diarrhea which, added to malnutrition, are largely the cause of high infant mortality in the area, at roughly 10 percent of children under five, according to official estimates.

Severe urban over-crowding is another growing dilemma. Community workers from Katutura, the black township just outside the Namibian capital of Windhoek, report that often five to six families are sharing the same house to cut costs.

Low-cost housing is meant to be provided by the parastatal housing corporation, Nasboukor, but as Katutura residents complain, with their wages of between \$85-\$430 a year, the \$400 deposit and monthly rent of \$125 is more than they can afford.

The housing shortage has intensified with urban migration, a population growth rate of 3.2 percent and the recent return of more than 45,000 exiles to Namibia after independence.

Since independence, the new housing minister, Libertine Amathila, has promoted private home ownership. Nasboukor will be renamed the national housing enterprise and encouraged to work "with the community."

But after years of hostile relation, locals are skeptical of the plan.

Namibians also are wary of housing benefits to new government ministers, enabling them to be first among blacks moving into the former white town of Windhoek -- a place of gardens, swimming pools, servants and micro-wave ovens.

In Katutura, residents are taking their own housing initiative through "saamstaan" (standing together)."

Saamstaan is a credit union and building cooperative which aims to make homes affordable to more than 500 members, 97 percent of whom are women, mostly domestic workers.

Every member is taught how to make bricks and must save regularly to get a housing loan.

As one of the first women to learn brick-laying skills, for Tjendapu, membership of saamstaan has meant a kind of liberation.

She's now employed by the coop and earns \$200 a month, far more than she got as a domestic servant. "Very soon," she says, "I'll have my own house. Like my country, I'll be independent."

Dateline: Namibia

AMERICA LAGS IN AID TO NAMIBIA

The international community has begun marshalling resources to help Namibians confront the poverty, underdevelopment and racial injustice that is the endowment of apartheid colonialism.

Namibian President Sam Nujoma flew to New York in June to meet with possible financial donors. Namibian officials arrived with detailed proposals for \$810 million in assistance over the first three years of independence.

Partnership

The resulting pledges, some \$360 million in grants and loans, were welcomed by Namibian Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab as a "good first step." But Eastern Europe, Central America and the Persian Gulf are putting heavy demands on Western treasuries, and the chances of finding additional money for Namibia appear slim.

Additional assistance is coming from Christian and secular non-governmental organizations in Europe and North America.

American Episcopalians, for example, are providing funds to Anglican Namibians for the reconstruction of the Odibo education and health care center.

U.S. Role

In the future, the most important contributions by U.S. Christians to Namibia's future may come in the crucial area of education and training.

Many of Namibia's church leaders, including Anglican Bishop James Kauluma and CCN General Secretary Dr. Abesai Shejavali, studied in the United States. An extensive scholarship program for Namibian students was developed by the Lutheran college system. Expansion of educational opportunities for Namibians in the United States over the next few years would be an important form of solidarity.

Many United States citizens have assumed that their government, a vocal champion of democracy around the world, would be a leading provider of assistance to Namibia. Sadly, however, the world's newest nation appears to be at the bottom of Washington's priorities.

For this critical first year of Namibian independence, the Bush administration had originally budgeted just \$500,000. Concerned Congressional leaders eventually increased Namibia's funding to \$10 million. But even this amount is scheduled to drop to just \$7.8 million in 1991.

It is worth considering the views of Howard Wolpe, the head of the Africa Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives, who said of American aid to Namibia:

"For us not to encourage the reform process there as well as throughout Africa -- and see it through," Rep. Wolpe noted, "leads to the perception that we have a racial double standard."



Angola voices its longing for peace

A YOUNG man in a red shirt scrambled around, raising the arms of the children as they marched with their blue flags and chanted: "We want peace, we want peace." A sweaty chorus leader shouted into a microphone: "Louder, louder." Suddenly, eight youngsters in khaki boy scout uniforms and white gloves pumped their arms across their chests and goose-stepped down the road.

The scene was a rally at 1 May Square in Luanda, the Angolan capital, as President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) celebrated its 34th anniversary with the slogan: "Peace, National Unity and Economic Recovery." The rally was one of the MPLA's last as the sole legal political party. Faced with a population exhausted by 30 years of war and ruinous, centrally-planned economic policies, the MPLA has acceded to demands for a multi-party democracy. Thus one of Africa's most costly wars — one that has laid waste to a country rich in oil and diamond reserves and cost tens of thousands of lives — is nearing an end.

The final push to stop the fighting came last week in Washington, when the US Secretary of State, James Baker, and Eduard Shevardnadze, his former Soviet counterpart, told their respective clients — Mr Savimbi's Unita rebels and the MPLA government — that they would no longer aid the war effort. The two sides are scheduled to approve ceasefire proposals at their sixth round of talks next month in Portugal. The US-Soviet plan has three aims: first, to obtain agreement on a scaling down of the fighting; second, to arrange for the arrival of international observers; and, third, to establish a multi-party system on 31 March. Only then

With the US and Soviet Union no longer taking sides, one of Africa's most costly and brutal wars is nearing an end, writes Karl Maier in Luanda

will a formal ceasefire be declared and signed, at which time the US and Soviet Union will implement the "zero, zero" option, cutting off all military support to both sides.

No one expects the end to come easily. A solution will require a general election, which has been delayed since independence. As the Portuguese were pulling out in 1975, the MPLA, Unita and the now-defunct FNLA had committed themselves in the Alvor Agreement to put their claims to power to a popular vote. But the accord broke down in fierce battles that left the MPLA in control of the capital and the other movements banished to the countryside. Angola then underwent repeated South African invasions and Cuban counter-attacks.

Now the MPLA is wary of facing an election. Its ethnic base of support among the Mbundu people of the north-central region accounts for about 20 per cent of the population, while Unita's traditional Ovimbundu constituency comprises about 35 per cent. And Mr Savimbi is a powerful personality, perhaps too much for the self-effacing Mr dos Santos to handle in a straight fight for the presidency. Mr dos Santos has shown great skill in manoeuvring his faction-ridden party along a reformist path in recent months, however. The Third Congress

this month put him in his strongest position yet since he took office 11 years ago.

The civil war has always been particularly brutal, with at least 25,000 civilians mutilated by landmines placed by Unita and, to a lesser extent, by the government army, the FAPLA. Concern for the country's 9.5 million people has been secondary. Only this year have the United Nations and international aid agencies been able to cross the battle lines to help hundreds of thousands of war and drought victims.

There has been no shortage of funds for the war effort, however. The US provides Unita with about £30m in military support each year.

Both sides have seen powerful military allies pull out of the conflict. For Unita, the departure of the South African Defence Force and the independence of Namibia last March have cut supply routes and left the movement heavily dependent on the US and neighbouring Zaire. The Cubans, on whom the MPLA relied to counter the South Africans and to put down a coup attempt from within the party in 1977, will send their last 12,500 troops home in June.

■ Unita has denied government allegations that it was responsible for a bomb explosion at Luanda airport on Thursday night, **Reuter reports.**

A Unita statement issued in Lisbon yesterday said the blast might have been the result of in-fighting within the MPLA.

The explosion caused extensive damage to the centre of Luanda international airport but there were no reports of casualties.

The explosion was the second in the Angolan capital in two weeks; the first was at the Petrangel refinery.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

ANGOLA SUPPORTS PLAN TO END WAR

Slightly Amends Proposal for
Truce With Savimbi Group

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, Jan. 23 — The Angolan Government announced today that it had accepted in principle a peace plan to end the 15-year-old civil war against Unita, the United States-backed guerrilla movement led by Jonas Savimbi.

The Angolan News Service said the Government had accepted, with only "slight amendments," a plan outlined by Portuguese, Soviet Union and United States diplomats earlier this month in Portugal. Leaders of the rebel group have said previously they are in broad agreement with the plan for the former Portuguese colony.

"We agree with the principles as presented to us by the Portuguese mediators and we are ready to go to the next round of negotiations," said Jardo Mulekalia, Unita's chief representative in Washington, in a telephone interview.

A sixth round of talks are expected soon in Portugal, and leaders of both sides have predicted that a cease-fire will likely come out of that meeting.

Diplomats Relate Details

Mr. Mulekalia declined to discuss details of the peace plan, and there was little elaboration in the statement from the Angolan News Service, which is based in Luanda, the capital of the southwest African nation. But diplomats familiar with the negotiations said the agreement includes the timing of new elections and the details of where the two sides can station their armed forces during a cease-fire.

The two sides are also said to have agreed that the cease-fire should be guaranteed by international observers and that outside military assistance would stop once the cease-fire accord was signed.

A key stumbling block to an agreement was overcome last November when the Luanda government pledged to install a multiparty political system and discard Marxism-Leninism in favor of democratic socialism as its official ideology.

A Civil War Since '75

Mr. Savimbi's group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, had been fighting a Marxist Government that came to power soon after Portugal granted its Angolan colony independence in 1975. The Government is led by another faction that fought the Portuguese, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which has been backed in recent years by tens of thousands of Cuban troops.

Over the last several months the United States and the Soviet Union have grown increasingly involved in Angola's peace talks, beginning with their direct participation as observers in September and their offer to help police a potential cease-fire as part of an international monitoring force.

The Soviet Union has been supplying Angola with more than a thousand advisers and an estimated \$800 million in annual military aid. Washington has been backing Mr. Savimbi's group, known as Unita, with \$60 million in annual covert assistance. Some 350,000 people have died in the fighting.

Peace On the Horizon?

After nearly three decades of almost continual conflict, hopes for peace in Mozambique and Angola have risen. Major hurdles stand in the way of final accords, but negotiation efforts have produced signs of movement towards a cease-fire in both countries.

Within a few weeks, Portuguese intermediaries hope to convene the sixth round of talks between the government of Angola and the Unita rebel movement headed by Jonas Savimbi. The session will be scheduled when both parties have agreed

to terms of a settlement.

Last month, in an attempt to break the logjam in the negotiations, U.S., Soviet and Portuguese officials met in Washington with representatives of both Angolan parties to draw up a draft accord. The meeting, at the State Department on December 13, followed an unprecedented tete-a-tete between Savimbi and then-Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and a separate discussion between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van-Dunem Loy.



ALM photo

For half of all Mozambicans, food could be difficult to find this year.

Following the Washington meetings, Savimbi announced that Unita's leadership - which had gathered in Washington - had accepted the entire draft. The government negotiators returned to Angola to report to President José Eduardo dos Santos.

The accord calls for legalization of political activity within a multiparty system in Angola, international monitoring of the cease-fire, an end to all outside arms shipments, free and fair elections monitored by outside observers and an understanding on a firm date for a nation-

al election prior to a cessation in hostilities. These points bridge many of the differences which have divided the two sides in months of previous discussions.

The government in Luanda has not issued a formal declaration on the Washington accord. And, with distrust remaining high, Unita and the government have been trading accusations, each blaming the other for delay. Following a high-level meeting at Unita headquarters in southeastern Angola, a Unita communiqué on January 8 reiterated support for the Washington accord and charged the other side with blocking a settlement.

But Luanda saw in the Unita communiqué what it regarded as new preconditions for peace. The document said the ruling MPLA should "present its proposed law on political parties at the next round of negotiations" and also asked that the U.S. and the Soviets become direct participants rather than observers in the negotiations. The government rejected both of these steps as infringements on its sovereignty and promised to respond "forcefully" to Unita maneuvers "designed to gain time."

Meanwhile, the intermediaries have been seeking to find a compromise on the election timetable issue, which appears to be the main obstacle to a cease-fire agreement. The government favors a three-year process while Unita wants a vote within 12 months. The formation of a new national army may also still be a sticking point, although compromise language is contained in the Washington accord.

U.S., Soviet and Portuguese officials have been meeting to forge other language, which they hope will be accepted by both parties.

Like the political negotiations, emergency relief operations have suffered from ups and downs which have left most of Angola's neediest people without adequate assistance. A United Nations food program launched late last year with U.S. backing has encountered numerous roadblocks, despite an agreement by both the government and Unita to allow shipments through contested areas. About 110,000 tons of food aid are required to meet the needs of 1.8 million civilians, the UN says.

In Mozambique, a new round of talks between government and the Renamo rebels are expected this month, following last month's agreement on a partial cease-fire. Under the December pact, 7,000 Zimbabwean soldiers, who had been fighting alongside Mozambique government forces, have withdrawn to the Beira and Limpopo corridors - the narrow strips of land along which run the railways and highways linking landlocked Zimbabwe with the Mozambican ports of Beira and Maputo. The Zimbabwean troops are allowed to guard the corridors, but their movements are restricted to within three kilometers (1.8 miles) of the edge of the strips, and the Zimbabweans are barred from offensive actions against Renamo units.

On January 10, an international commission established to oversee the partial cease-fire said Renamo rebels had apparently broken the pact. Heavy fighting reportedly took place near the Beira corridor when Renamo forces sought to take over positions evacuated last month by the Zimbabwean troops.

The membership of the 40-member monitoring commission includes the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Renamo and nine other nations chosen by the two sides - four permanent UN Security Council members (the U.S., USSR, Britain and France), plus Congo, Italy, Kenya, Portugal and Zambia.

Following the partial cease-fire accord, talks between the government and Renamo resumed in Rome last month without any reported progress. Currently, the Italian government is seeking to identify and narrow the differences that prevent a full cease-fire accord. Already, the government has taken most of the steps Renamo has been demanding. A new pluralist constitution was adopted in November, and the parliament last month approved legislation creating a multiparty electoral system.

Nevertheless, the fighting continues, putting more and more Mozambicans at risk of serious privation. The two million people uprooted by war within the country are in most immediate danger, a report compiled by UN and government experts says. "Massive, direct, emergency assistance is needed now," according to the report, which was completed last month.

More than a million tons of food aid will be required this year, including 354,000 tons for free distribution to the totally destitute. The remaining 687,000 tons would be placed on sale in towns and rural areas, the report says.

MOZAMBIQUE NEEDS A MILLION TONS OF FOOD AID TO AVERT HUNGER

By Iain Christie

MAPUTO, Mozambique, Reuter - Mozambique will need more than a million tons of food aid next year to avert mass starvation, according to the government and the United Nations.

A report, to be presented to a World Bank meeting in Paris Monday, said "massive, direct, emergency assistance is required now."

Half the country's estimated 1991 population of 16.3 million faces starvation or serious deprivation, it said.

The report, jointly prepared by the government and the United Nations, said 354,000 tons of food was required for free distribution and a further 687,000 tons was needed for sale in towns and rural areas.

Nearly two million of those people needing food aid are displaced within the country as a result of Maputo's 15-year-old bush war against rebels of the right-wing Mozambique National Resistance Movement (Renamo), who have been fighting to topple the government.

The rest of those threatened with starvation are urban and rural people with money to spend but little or no food to buy, the report said.

The Paris meeting will take place amid high hopes for a negotiated end to the civil war which has cost thousands of lives.

The government says it hopes the limited accord will lead to a cease-fire and that Renamo will participate in a multi-party general election planned for next year.

But the joint report on famine says peace would increase food needs even more.

"If, and when, a peace accord is reached, and the one million refugees now living in Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe were to suddenly return, neither the government nor the international community would be in a position to assist them adequately."



MOZAMBIQUE SUPPORT NETWORK

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February 6, 1991

The fifth round of peace negotiations between Renamo and Frelimo have temporarily come to a standstill. Sources from the region, as well as members of the nine country joint commission of observers, have attributed the postponement to three fundamental disagreements between the two delegations.

According to the December 5, 1990, agreement (the fourth round of talks), "peace corridors" were to be established around the Limpopo and Beira corridors as of December 18, 1990.

Unsubstantiated accusations from the Renamo delegation have claimed that the Government of Mozambique has breached the agreement, stipulating that all (some 10,000) Zimbabwean troops must be stationed within 1.8 miles on either side of the actual transport route within the corridor.

Secondly, Renamo has rejected the first report submitted by the joint commission of observers, claiming that this report is biased towards Frelimo and the Government of Mozambique.

Finally, the Renamo delegation disagrees over the definition of "corridor" as established in the December 5th talks. The joint commission determined that the corridors included the ports of Beira and Maputo, as well as other cities and towns which lie within the 1.8 miles. Renamo rejects the inclusion of the vital cities of Beira and Maputo within the corridors of peace.

It is suspected by members of the joint commission that foreign influence has contributed to Renamo's hesitation to continue the talks at this time. With the call for a multi-party, free election in 1991, it would seem that Renamo is trying to assure a place for itself in the transitional power-sharing arrangement before being subjected to a vote by the Mozambican people.

by Sessy Nyman, Mozambique Support Network

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The Mozambique Support Network (MSN) is a developing network and national coalition of organized groups and individuals promoting greater understanding between the people of the United States and Mozambique. Initiated in 1987 by US activists who have spent years working in Mozambique, and expanded by others within the anti-apartheid movement, the MSN conducts educational, medical and cultural exchanges, technical assistance resourcing and other humanitarian efforts.

The network consists of a number of local chapters throughout the country and a national office in Chicago. The Chicago office houses a library of literature and videos on the subjects of Mozambique and other topics concerning Southern Africa. In addition, the national office produces and distributes a quarterly newsletter concerning policies and developments in Mozambique, and concerning world-wide solidarity work. Anyone interested in receiving our newsletter or catalog of our resources, or in becoming involved with the MSN is encouraged to contact the national office.

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By Iain Christie

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The report, jointly prepared by the government and the United Nations, said 354,000 tons of food was required for free distribution and a further 687,000 tons was needed for sale in towns and rural areas.

Nearly two million of those people needing food aid are displaced within the country as a result of Maputo's 15-year-old bush war against rebels of the right-wing Mozambique National Resistance Movement (Renamo), who have been fighting to topple the government.

The rest of those threatened with starvation are urban and rural people with money to spend but little or no food to buy, the report said.

"There has been no real overall improvement in the overall emergency situation," it said.

"Without increased donor support for both relief and market food in 1991, food shortages and increased malnutrition can be expected to occur throughout the country," the report said.

Mozambique, worried about the low response to previous general appeals for emergency food aid, said it would approach individual donors for assistance this time.

The estimated food aid needed for the totally destitute will rise to 354,000 tons in 1991 from 229,000 tons at the last appeal.

The Paris meeting will take place amid high hopes for a negotiated end to the civil war which has cost thousands of lives.

At talks in Rome a week ago, Renamo agreed to stop attacks in two transport corridors linking landlocked Zimbabwe with Mozambique's Indian Ocean ports, in exchange for a commitment that Zimbabwean troops in Mozambique would be confined to the two areas.

The government says it hopes the limited accord will lead to a cease-fire and that Renamo will participate in a multi-party general election planned for next year.

But the joint report on famine says peace would increase food needs even more.

"If, and when, a peace accord is reached, and the one million refugees now living in Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe were to suddenly return, neither the government nor the international community would be in a position to assist them adequately."

REUTER

Reut13:27 12-09-90

Nationalizing farmland may hurt Zimbabwe

President may order seizure of fertile land

By Peter Younghusband

Special to the Rocky Mountain News

HARARE, Zimbabwe — Zimbabwe's white farmers are a tough breed of survivors.

They endured international sanctions against Rhodesia's government, a brutal guerrilla war in which their families were in the front line, and then the turbulent transition from white minority rule to a black socialist government.

Now they are facing a new threat that may have them packing their bags and heading for greener pastures.

On Dec. 12, Zimbabwe's parliament enacted the Constitutional Amendment Bill, which will enable the government to nationalize land some whites have been farming for four generations.

After President Robert Mugabe signs the bill, the government may seize white farmland and pay compensation at the rate it chooses. The legislation expressly prevents aggrieved landowners from appealing to the courts.

Previously the farmers had been protected by a "willing-buyer, willing-seller" clause in the British-brokered Lancaster House agreement, which guaranteed white minority rights for 10 years after white-ruled Rhodesia became black-ruled Zimbabwe in 1980.

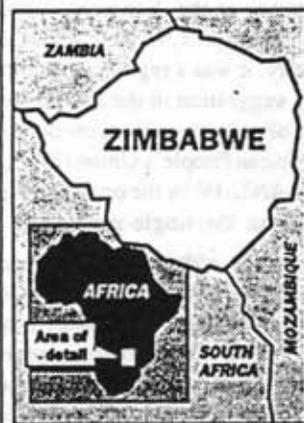
Now the 10 years are up, and the government is not interested in paying market prices.

The government intends to use the bill to acquire 12 million acres of white-owned farmland, most of it in the fertile maize and tobacco belt of northeast Zimbabwe, and distribute it among 110,000 peasant farming families.

Besides outraging white landowners, the government's action does not sit well with some of its most prominent blacks.

Enoch Dumbutshena, Zimbabwe's first black chief justice, said the constitutional amendment "flies in the face of all accepted norms of modern society and the rule of law."

ZIMBABWE: At a glance



The land: Slightly larger than Montana, Zimbabwe is bordered by South Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique. It is mostly high plateau with mountains in the east and game-rich lowlands in the north and west. The climate is semitropical.

The people: more than 10 million people, of whom 100,000 are white, 100,000 Asian and the rest black. The Shona tribe forms a 71% majority, but the minority Ndebele tribe, descendants of Zulus, dominates the province of Matabeleland. The birthrate is high — 47 per thousand population.

The government: Robert Mugabe, a former guerrilla leader and self-avowed socialist, has led the country since it achieved independence from Britain in April 1980. As prime minister, he forced a merger of the

two main parties in 1987, became president that year and now rules what is, in effect, a one-party state.

The economy: Zimbabwe is rich in coal, chromium, gold, nickel, copper, iron, vanadium and lithium. The nation is self-sufficient in food, with agriculture employing 75% of the labor force and accounting for 40% of exports.

But Agriculture Minister Witness Maagwende said it is the only way the government can keep its promises to resettle 6 million land-hungry blacks from overcrowded and ecologically degraded peasant-farming reserves to more productive agricultural land.

Since independence, only 52,000 families have been resettled, and then only because outside donors — primarily Britain — funded land acquisitions.

Although the government has purchased 7.5 million acres of white-owned farmland in the past 10 years, less than a third of it is in the fertile maize and tobacco belt. Even at market prices, farmers there, protected by the "willing-buyer, willing-seller clause," weren't interested in selling.

As a result, 4,600 white farmers and multinational corporations own 30 million acres — 35% of Zimbabwe's arable land and 29% of all the land in the country. Six million black farmers are crowded onto 49% of the land, and the remaining 22% is taken up by national parks and game preserves.

Resettlement delays are fueling anti-government passions. Many black Zimbabweans also resent the fact that a decade after independence, there still exists a wealthy, white elite that owns nearly a third of the country.

On the face of it, it does seem unfair. But it is the white farmers who have made Zimbabwe that rarity in black Africa: a nation self-sufficient in food, with an exportable surplus.

Since 1980, agricultural production on white-owned farms has soared from \$538 million to \$2.5 billion, and the total value of agricultural exports has increased from \$269 million to \$1.7 billion.

Conversely, agricultural production on black-owned land has declined.

Ironically, if Mugabe scares off the white farmers, he will be going against the advice of his two closest friends and mentors — former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and the late Mozambican President Samora Machel.

In their own countries, both Nyerere and Machel had expropriated white farmers and turned their land over to communal farming experiments — with disastrous results.

...The white Commercial Farmers Union, the strongest non-government lobby group in the country, has been trying to see Mugabe to persuade him not to sign the constitutional amendment. But he has refused to meet with the CFU, which usually gets an appointment within hours of asking.

CFU President John Brown said white farmers are "very agitated" about the new law, which he called "a bizarre return to the reckless politics of the 1960s," when new African nations hurt their economies by victimizing whites.

Brown warned that if Mugabe signs the bill, he will "create racial inequality and restrict the national output."

Zimbabwe's industrial and financial sectors also regard the legislation as a comprehensive exercise in shooting oneself in the foot, since it comes as Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero is trying to attract foreign investors.

And Britain has made it clear that no more money will be forthcoming for the resettlement program unless land is acquired on a "willing-seller basis."

But that just means the government will have even less money to compensate white farmers. For them it has become a game of Russian roulette: which farm will the government choose first and who will be the last to leave.



Barbara Kauter

Zimbabwe: Mugabe loses his shine

Africa Confidential

21 December 1990

President **Robert Mugabe's** Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) is emitting a set of signals that may be considered confusing. In July, it allowed the state of emergency to lapse and in September the party's Central Committee shelved plans to impose a one-party state (AC Vol 31 No 20). These moves, which might be considered liberal, have been followed by others which point in the other direction: amendments to the laws governing the University of Zimbabwe, passed by parliament in October, changes to the Labour Relations Act and, most ominous of all, the latest constitutional amendment on 12 December.

The first reduces one of Africa's most respected teaching institutions to the status of a government high school. The second outlaws the right to strike in a variety of occupations. The third allows the government to nationalise farm land with no right of recourse to the courts for the owners.

Central Committee levels. This stimulated other regional factions to oppose the one-party state also.

The emergence of the Ndebele as a force within ZANU throws into disequilibrium a hierarchy hitherto dominated by power struggles between the Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika sub-groups of the Shona language group that also provide distinct regional identities. Vice-President **Joshua Nkomo**, the acknowledged political chief of the Ndebele, is also seen as having forced Mugabe into reviving the land issue, through a concerted populist campaign against white landowners which left Mugabe no option but to follow suit.

The still-dominant Zezuru faction is deeply concerned over Nkomo's ascendancy, not because the bloc of ex-ZAPU men poses a threat on its own - it would be unlikely to withstand historical Shona/Ndebele animosity - but because of its capacity for joining forces with the aggrieved Karanga. The 'Karanga-Ndebele alliance' is a phrase increasingly heard in political circles.

The fourth faction, the Manyikas, is still in disarray after the suicide of former Politburo number three **Maurice Nyagumbo**, as well as the split loyalties to **Edgar Tekere's** Zimbabwe Unity Movement.

The structure and dynamics of ZANU's leadership are not substantially different from what they were at independence, apart from the new Ndebele strength and the fact that the system of regional political patronage is now thoroughly entrenched. But the country the party rules over is dramatically altered.

This year has been a watershed. It saw an election in which, for the first time, many results were seriously suspected of having been rigged and which produced a *de facto* one-party parliament. It is also the year in which, through the constitutional amendment, the independence of the judiciary was compromised. The civil service is also seen as having degenerated and of now being incapable of implementing the rare decisions which emanate from the government.

In trying to make ends meet, urban Zimbabweans are under pressure as never before, even by comparison with the bad old days of Rhodesia. The township-dweller's resources, curtailed by inflation that will hit 25 per cent by year's end, are being dissipated by the influx of relatives from the overcrowded rural areas whom he is obliged to support. Home ownership has become impossible for anyone below upper middle-income levels and rented accommodation is scarce and overcrowded. Public transport is woefully inadequate and increasingly expensive.

These two approaches do not necessarily contradict each other, however. The constitutional amendment and the clamp-down on the right to strike suggest that the government does not need a state of emergency to endow itself with extraordinary powers. As for the one-party state, although it is intellectually acceptable to most Central Committee members, it frightens many since it would also offer a potential means of installing one of ZANU's rival regional factions in power to the detriment of the rest. Hence the opposition of the majority of the ZANU Central Committee.

Significantly, it was a regional grouping that put paid to the one-party suggestion in the ZANU Central Committee. The presence of politicians from the defunct Ndebele-based Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), who have been grafted onto ZANU-PF by the unity agreement, provided the first challenge to the single-party ideal at Politburo and

In an attempt to address appalling unemployment and other economic ills, the government has, on paper, initiated a wide-ranging structural adjustment programme. But despite fervent rhetoric, the process appears stalled. So far, almost its only effect has been to relax price controls. If the government does decide to implement adjustment seriously - as it must, to break out of shrinking economic growth rates - life will become harder still.

In the rural areas, the bedrock of ZANU support, loyalty is being tested by the inability of the Department of Social Welfare to mount an effective emergency food relief operation. For the first time in recent history, there are large areas of hunger. But, unlike many other countries, Zimbabwe also has a maize stockpile of over a million tonnes.

Criticism of party and government is being expressed more forcefully than ever before. It is no longer just bar-room talk but, increasingly, is to be found in the columns of the avidly read independent press. ZANU has stopped holding urban rallies. Recent attempts at meetings as part of a 'grassroots restructuring programme' are, at best, thinly attended. Protest is often violent, with party officials and members of parliament being chased away from rallies. Everything points to an escalation of this year's labour unrest, with the added concern that a tradition of violent confrontation with authority has been established by the university student body. Wider unrest next year could easily run to the limits of control.

The next parliamentary elections are not due until 1995, although it is hardly likely that ZANU would allow itself to be removed from office by an election. In any case, there is no obvious alternative to the present dispensation. Mugabe is perceived as being astute enough to continue, for the immediate future, to manipulate tensions between rival regional barons to his benefit. He has cultivated a hierarchy of mediocre figures who cannot match his stature and are beholden to him. Similarly, the growth of a credible opposition outside ZANU has been crushed by the strength of the party organs and the climate of fear on which they thrive.

It is directly against Mugabe that the public directs its resentment. He is seen as solely responsible for the country's predicament. The venom accompanying public criticism is astonishing, compared to the near-deification of barely two years ago. It is only a matter of time before his party seriously regards him as a liability. The range of short-term political palliatives has all but run out, but Mugabe is still protected by the divisions within the ZANU hierarchy and the amorphous nature of public discontent ●



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NELSON MANDELA

IS FREE BUT

HE CANNOT VOTE



They say things are changing in South Africa. But 30 million black people are still denied the right to vote because of the color of their skin.

Now President Bush is talking about rewarding the Pretoria government by lifting sanctions.

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Resources

APARTHEID IS WRONG

Three excellent resources on the so-called "Black on Black" violence in South Africa are:

"South Africa: Behind the Violence", by William Minter. Published in Christianity and Crisis, January 7, 1991;

"Apartheid's Hidden Hand---The Power Behind "Black on Black Violence", by Michael Fleshman. Published by The Africa Fund, October, 1990; and

the November, 1990, briefing paper by the Washington Office on Africa, entitled "Natal/Kwa-Zulu, Buthelezi, and the ANC: What's Behind the Violence?"

Contact us for reprints.



Have you seen the new edition of Apartheid Is Wrong: A Curriculum For Young People? The cover is the colors of the African National Congress flag - gold, green and black. The new cover reflects the central role played by the ANC in the liberation of South Africa.

Do you know a gym teacher, a math teacher, a science teacher, a home economics teacher who is progressive but has been unable to find a way to bring the issues of apartheid and racism into the classroom? The new edition of Apartheid Is Wrong is just right for them! These do not have to be viewed as "neutral" subjects. The responsibility for social issues is not the sole domain of social studies teachers. The curriculum provides hundreds of activities for parents and teachers of every subject area. There is even a subject area index!

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UNITED STATES ANTI-APARTHEID NEWSLETTER



The U.S. Anti-Apartheid Newsletter is published by the Peace Education Division of the American Friends Service Committee to promote communication among organizations involved in efforts to end apartheid in South Africa. The Newsletter will also publicize the activities of grassroots, regional and national organizations that educate, campaign and organize against apartheid in North America.

Organizations wishing to list activities should mail a calendar of events or other information to the editorial address.

Editorial offices are located in the AFSC National Office, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7168.

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South Africa's Moment of Truth
Edgar Lockwood; Foreword by Allan B. Boesak
#40-180-93, Augsburg Fortress
\$5.95

Introduces us to South Africa's current situation, lets us hear from both black and white people of South Africa, and analyzes the myths and realities of the complex crisis.



Until We Are Free
John and Patricia De Beer
#40-183-93, Augsburg Fortress
\$3.95

Study Guide to South Africa's Moment of Truth. Excellent for retreat use, these nine study sessions deepen our understanding of the struggle in South Africa, provide scriptural guidance, and correlate South African's issues with north Americans' experiences.



Recommended

For your children...or your local library:

"Why the Crab Has No Head" and "How the Guinea Fowl Got Her Spots: A Swahili Tale of Friendship", two folk stories by Barbara Knutson.

Writer/illustrator, Barbara Knutson, whose graphics make this publication more attractive, recently had her work reviewed in the New York Times Book Review. The Times said:

BARBARA KNUTSON clearly has the gift of storytelling. "How the Guinea Fowl Got Her Spots" is an endearing retelling of a Swahili story, in which Ms. Knutson has woven together the elements of a wonderful friendship and a traditional "explanation" folk tale to create a fine and appealing new story.

Ms. Knutson's illustrations are striking, as much for their batik-like style as for her adroit use of the white space that makes both the drawings and the text jump off the pages. She was born in South Africa, and her love for the continent, where she spent many years traveling and teaching, is clearly evident in the rich detail of her scratchy watercolors.

Publishers Weekly and the Minneapolis Star-Tribune had their own reviews:

One of the best of this year's folk stories is a hometown product that can stand with the best books made anywhere. Minneapolis writer and artist Barbara Knutson and Carolrhoda books, a Minneapolis publisher, can be proud of How the Guinea Fowl Got Her Spots: A Swahili Tale of Friendship (\$12.95, ages 3 to 8). The creation story explains how one detail in nature came about, from the generosity and bravery of one creature for another. "A long time ago, when everything had just been made," Nganga the guinea fowl was perfectly black, with no white spots. Nganga and Cow were friends who foraged together every day. Repeatedly the little bird with stubby wings, who couldn't fly, saved Cow from the ferocious Lion. In return, Cow spattered milk on Nganga's black feathers with the tassel on her tail. Her new markings allowed the bird to lie unseen in grass and shadows.

Knutson's vigorous, suspenseful story is a masterful example of picture-book craft. Her scratchboard illustrations, painted with watercolor and India ink against clean white backgrounds, incorporate African designs.

WHY THE CRAB HAS NO HEAD

Retold by Barbara Knutson. Carolrhoda, \$9.95 ISBN 0-87614-322-2

One night Nzambi Mpungu, who made earth and sky, grew too tired to finish her latest creature, the Crab. "Come back in the morning," she promises, "and I will give you a fine head." Crab convinces himself that because his creation takes two days, he must be a finer specimen than any of the other animals. He brags to all the animals, and by next morning, a crowd has gathered. ("Vulture showed up in case there might be food, and the Lizards arrived when the sun was warm on the walls where they liked to bask.") But Crab is shamed and punished for his pride: he gets no head at all. So today, he shuttles sideways from embarrassment, and can only push his eyes out of his shell. The beautifully written text is matched with striking black-and-white illustrations that suggest stark woodcuts. This African tale is artful, using ancient elements to portray a still relevant message: to lie to oneself will surely lead to dishonesty with others. Ages 4-8. (November)

PUBLISHERS WEEKLY / DECEMBER 11, 1987



Illustration from "How the Guinea Fowl Got Her Spots" by Barbara Knutson.

Recommended

The Mind of South Africa by Allister Sparks.

Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1990. \$24.95

At the end of January, 1991, South African President, F.W. de Klerk called for the dismantling of his country's major apartheid laws. It was a profoundly hopeful sign, another step in the long, bitter march of the black majority population in South Africa toward reclaiming dignity and sovereignty in their own land.

To read Allister Sparks', The Mind of South Africa, is to appreciate the agony and drama of de Klerk's move---and its inevitability.

A fifth-generation South African, Sparks has over a period of four decades observed the South Africa scene as reporter, editor, and independent scholar. This book is a masterful presentation of the big picture in South Africa, the interplay of cultural, religious, economic, and political forces. Yet Sparks never loses sight of the individual African, Afrikaaner, or English person. His intent is clear:

"to bridge the gap between the mountain of academic literature and the mine-dump of popular journalism on South Africa" (p. XIV).

The mind of South Africa is, finally, two minds, the African and the Afrikaaner. Giving the lie to any Marxist or Capitalist notion that economics determines the mind of a people, Sparks sees the successful English community as being relatively insignificant to the mind---or soul---of South Africa.

The mind of Afrikaanerdome is symbolized by the "Hedge of Bitter Almonds" planted around the first Dutch settlement, a hedge that ultimately became the massive structure of apartheid by which the Afrikaaner tried to "have it both ways", be separated from the rest of Africa and still remain in Africa. This is the hedge that is now coming down.

The mind of black South Africa is characterized by the Xhosa proverb:
"People are people
Through other people."

Sparks unscrambles day to day events, puts them in perspective, and finally articulates the vitalities and inevitabilities of history, "...the pressure of millions of ordinary people, multiplying and migrating and overrunning the barricades that were erected to preserve the illusion that South Africa was a 'white' country (p. 372).

The new South Africa will be born out of the African soul, out of its deep, historic commitment to communalism: people are people through other people. When, after agonizing pangs, the new South Africa is born, it will become a symbol of "national reconciliation and racial harmony, of coexistence between black and white, a bridge between the haves of the first world and the have-nots....

Reviewed by Peter L. Kjeseth

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303/733-0770

South Africa Seems Headed for Multiparty Talks

NY Times 2/7/91

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, Feb. 6 — A conference of political parties representing blacks, whites and other racial categories to be drawn from both inside and outside Parliament is rapidly shaping up as the next step leading to negotiations that President F. W. de Klerk has proposed on the nation's future.

The white minority Government views such a conference as the best way to identify political groups prepared to negotiate a new constitution extending political rights to blacks. And it is prepared to include them in limited decision-making on other issues during the subsequent transition to a nonracial democracy, according to Gerrit Viljoen, the minister entrusted by Mr. de Klerk to get negotiations under way.

At a briefing for journalists here on Tuesday, Mr. Viljoen, who is Minister of Constitutional Development, made clear that the Government was anxious to get the conference started.

"As far as the Government is concerned, the sooner the better," he said when asked about the date for such a meeting. "We've had quite a number of preliminary discussions on this matter."

President de Klerk endorsed the idea in his major speech here on Friday.

"There is growing consensus that the time has arrived for a multiparty conference," Mr. de Klerk said. "The Government is playing a key role in promoting this idea. So have others."

Four weeks ago, Nelson Mandela, in unveiling the African National Congress's plans for 1991, called for an al-

most identical "all-party congress." The Government, through Mr. Viljoen, promptly expressed interest.

A political scientist with good contacts in the Government said he understood that Mr. de Klerk broached the notion of a multiparty conference to Mr. Mandela in a meeting late last year as a way of overcoming the standoff in discussions between the Government and the African National Congress.

Mr. Viljoen, who also spoke on the subject in Parliament Monday, said the first step would be to decide whether all political organizations with proven support would attend and how their support would be determined.

The ruling National Party, the African National Congress, the white liberal Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party have expressed varying support for a multiparty conference. The white right-wing Conservative Party rejected the idea, as have

the black Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organization, which espouses a black consciousness philosophy.

Mr. Viljoen suggested on Tuesday that one of the tasks of the conference would be to work out the composition and functions of the more formal body that would conduct negotiations on a new constitution.

"It would also, I think, be good if such a multiparty conference tried to determine as far as possible common ground existing among the participants about the basic principles on which a new constitution has to be formulated," Mr. Viljoen said.

The conference, he said, should also devise a way to reward parties that joined the talks by giving them a voice in broader decisions at the executive and legislative level while the negotiations are going on.

The African National Congress dif-

fers from the Government in that it wants the multiparty gathering to pave the way for the election of a constitutional assembly that would draft the constitution and function as an interim Government. Congress officials say such an election would be the best way to prove who had popular support.

Mr. de Klerk has repeatedly rejected the call for the election of a constituent assembly, in which the African National Congress would probably win a plurality if not a majority of the seats.

In such an election, Mr. Viljoen explained on Tuesday, "the role of negotiations really falls away because then the majority would decide." He also said an election would make the constitutional drafting process one of confrontation and not cooperation.

But Mr. Viljoen assured reporters that "we will certainly look very seriously at the alternatives that have been suggested" by the African National Congress and others.

The Crumbling of Apartheid

South Africa's President, F. W. de Klerk, has proved even bolder than his word. As expected, his speech to Parliament last Friday called for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the law imposing residential segregation. But he went much further than anybody expected by urging the revocation of the Population Registration Act of 1950.

When this law disappears, so will the legal framework for apartheid, which is why white supremacists in Parliament stormed from their seats as Mr. de Klerk spoke. Americans can help influence this struggle by easing U.S. sanctions as defined conditions are met, but eliminating all penalties only when negotiations for a new multiracial democracy are truly under way.

Voiding racist laws won't undo the inequalities that keep a huge black majority living in segregated townships, nor will it give blacks a vote. Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and other black groups are right to check their applause. Nevertheless, by pledging to revoke the Population Registration Act, and calling for a free and equitable economic system, Mr. de Klerk has taken dramatic steps in the right direction.

Under the act, every South African was given a

racial designation, duly recorded on an identity card. Besides white and African, there were seven further categories for other races or people of mixed blood. In 1966 there were still 150,000 borderline cases, and the Interior Ministry's decisions resulted in suicides, broken families and shattered careers.

When apartheid laws are scrapped, South Africa will have met one of the key conditions for easing sanctions imposed by Congress. Mr. de Klerk has already legalized long-banned political parties, ended emergency rule in most of the country, promised good faith negotiations with representative black leaders and freed Mr. Mandela and many other political prisoners. By April, if South Africa has complied with all essential conditions, President Bush might be tempted to press for a complete lifting of all sanctions.

Mr. Bush would be well advised to resist that impulse and avail himself of the leeway provided by the sanctions legislation. There's no reason to abandon all sanctions until irreversible progress has been made toward the new democratic charter that Mr. de Klerk has promised. When that promise is fulfilled, lifting sanctions will be a fitting reward.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1991



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