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CAPE TIMES
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MR DE KLERK: How very sad that you seem to have refused to take any personal responsibility for the gross abuse of human rights carried out in the name of the National Party to which you have been committed for so long. You disappoint me. I can no longer remain silent (*Jer. 20:9*). I feel called and moved to write to you to ask if you will agree to a public debate with me on this urgent matter. A great deal is at stake here, and it is this sense of urgency and the importance of the issues involved that has prompted me to make this request and challenge.

It seems to me that you truly need help in understanding the meaning of the phrase, "gross abuse and violation of human rights", when it comes to dealing with our past history. For the last 40 years I have been deeply concerned about these violations for which you and your party have been so overwhelmingly responsible. My own commitment to the struggle against these cruel abuses has flowed directly from my Christian faith and the Lord continues to feed and fire my concern.

I would like, under the following headings, to mention here just some of the gross abuses of human rights committed by the National Party in which you played a central role for so long:

1. The Bantu Education Act, involving the deliberate and systematic butchering of black education and black opportunities. Was this not abuse? Did you not know?

2. The Pass Laws, enforcing the migratory labour system, the gross and cancerous undermining and destruction of black family life. Was this not a criminal violation of human dignity?

3. The Population Registration Act, trampling on the human dignity of, among others, the coloured people and morally compromising every human being in SA. Was this not gross?

4. The 90-day Detention Act and the torture of people through solitary confinement.

5. The uprooting and forced removal of people in the brutal implementation of the grand scheme of apartheid.

Did you not know how much God's people were hurt and atrociously abused by all these laws and policies so systematically and zealously implemented by your National Party?

Let us talk about the graves at Dimbaza. I have experiences in my ministry that will help you to acknowledge and recognise the manifest guilt of your National Party, concerning the gross violation of human rights and the cruel abuse of countless numbers of people.

I hope that you will agree to see me and to share with me in a public debate. Let us meet face to face, not to try to score points, but to seek the truth under God. Our commitment is to seek and further the process of reconciliation in our land, however uncomfortable, painful and costly it may be. May God be with you and free you for this.

Yours sincerely in Christ.

DAVID RUSSELL
GRAHAMSTOWN



David Russell, the Bishop of Grahamstown, in 1980 when he was sentenced to prison for breaking banning orders.

'I DON'T THINK HE CAN COPE WITH THE TRUTH.'

Of course de Klerk did not accept Bishop Russell's call for a public debate. The two did meet in the National Party leader's office in Cape Town and the bishop emerged to say 'I don't think he can cope with the truth. He cannot let himself be touched by it.'

David Russell speaks from 40 years of opposing and acting against apartheid, as a student, an organizer, priest, a bishop. A graduate of the University of Cape Town and of Oxford, he has lived with impoverished people in an African township - subsisting for 6 months on the pittance of 5 Rand pensioners receive each month, has lain in front of bulldozers destroying shanty homes in Crossroads settlement outside Cape Town. His secretary Ms Dot Cleminshaw was fined for possessing a book on Steve Biko. A close friend, Bishop Patrick Matolengwe - who married Dorothea and David Russell (they met at Crossroads) was among the many who constantly suffered the wrath of Pretoria's police. David Russell's life and consistent witness stands in stark contrast to the sordid career of F.W. de Klerk and his colleagues.

Doctors warned by TRC for apartheid era abuses

At least 24 doctors have been warned by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that they may be implicated in gross human rights abuses at its two-day hearing this week on the medical profession's role during the apartheid years.

Some of the doctors are named in a 200-page submission by the Health and Human Rights Project, a joint initiative of the department of community health at the University of Cape Town and Cape Town's trauma centre for victims of violence and torture.

The health hearing in Cape Town this week is the first in a series of hearings in which the TRC intends probing the role of the media, judiciary and prison officials in colluding with or resisting human rights abuses.

Among the health organisations due to present their submissions at this week's hearing are SAMDC, Masa, the SA Nursing Council, the SA Medical Service, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Psychological Society of SA.

The submission, one of 20 due to be presented by various health organisations at the hearing, is a damning indictment of the medical profession's failure to protest against apartheid policies and to provide adequate treatment and protection to patients under their care.

It contradicts the notion that doctors who colluded with security forces in human rights abuses were just "a few bad apples."

Health professionals had covered up the torture of detainees by security forces, placed security interests above those of patients, issued false medical certificates, failed to record evidence of torture and provided inadequate medical treatment to detainees.

"In almost all the cases, it appears that perpetrators have not been held accountable, and some are still enjoying the benefits of state service," Dr Leslie London of UCT medical school, and a member of HHRP, told a media briefing on Monday.

The HHRP submission also looks at the role of military health personnel in the torture of prisoners, the development of a biological warfare programme and in practices such as aversion therapy for gay soldiers.

London also called on the Truth Commission to investigate Dr Lothar Neethling, former chief state forensic scientist in Pretoria, and in particular any evidence linking him to the poisoning of political activists. The 'alternative press' weekly *Vrye Weekblad* won a court case after making these allegations, but later lost to Neethling on appeal and subsequently folded.

The HHRP recommended that the commission pay particular attention to the role of district surgeons in facilitating the torture of detainees and refusing to provide adequate health care to political prisoners.

London singled out the Medical Association of SA and the SA Medical and Dental Council for particular criticism.

Section 29 hearings

Six leading security officials will appear before the TRC at in-camera hearings between 16-31 July. The following officials have been subpoenaed: Niel Barnard, former State Security Council (SSC) member and head of the National Intelligence Service; Vice-Admiral Andries Putter, a member of the SSC; General Basic Smit, a former head of the security police; General Johan van der Merwe, former SAP head and former chief of the security police; General Jac Buchner, former head of the KwaZulu police; and General Mike van den Berg.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE OF SOUTH AFRICA

CAPE ARGUS 19 June 1997

Nats lash out at bishop over talks with FW

Meeting a 'media stunt'

OLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The National Party has accused the Bishop of Grahamstown, David Russell, of staging his meeting with NP leader FW de Klerk as a media stunt and of giving journalists an incorrect version of events.

Bishop Russell told a media conference after an hour-long meeting with Mr De Klerk in Cape Town yesterday that he believed Mr De Klerk's apologies for apartheid were sincerely meant.

Mr De Klerk appeared puzzled and somewhat hurt that they had not been accepted as offered.

However, Mr De Klerk appeared to be "in a profound condition of denial" and really believed there was a case to be made for what the NP had been trying to do.

Bishop Russell told the conference that he was deeply disappointed Mr De Klerk still presented the original motivation for apartheid as something morally acceptable

and justifiable at the time.

The NP said Mr De Klerk had invited Bishop Russell for discussions on his own initiative after criticism by the bishop in the media.

"It is therefore strange that a press conference was held after a personal discussion and that the correct version of the discussion was not given either."

Mr De Klerk had explained that he had already said on various occasions he was sorry for the pain and damage caused by apartheid and that as former State President he and other leaders of the NP involved in policy formulation accepted overall political and moral responsibility.

"It would be a pity if Bishop Russell entered the discussion with so many preconceived impressions and was not receptive to an explanation of Mr De Klerk's standpoint.

"It seems as if the entire discussion did not involve a constructive exchange of ideas, but that it was rather aimed at getting the attention of the media."

**Water to one million people in one thousand days
- a South African success story**

In a country characterised by nuclear power, cellular telephones and vast inter-catchment water transfer schemes, more than 12 million people did not have access to an adequate supply of potable water, and over 21 million lacked basic sanitation when the first democratic government was elected in South Africa.

The lack of these services was a key symptom of poverty and underdevelopment, and the impact was felt most strongly by women who had to walk long distances to collect often polluted water from rivers and open springs. In order to provide water for cooking, drinking and washing, these women have to carry heavy buckets of water over uneven terrain, and suffer enormous physical and mental hardship - around 50 women a year lose their limbs to crocodiles while collecting water in rural areas. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, under the brilliant leadership of the Minister, Prof. Kader Asmal, was thus faced with a mammoth task to redress these inequities.

While the national Department had not historically been responsible for basic domestic services it took on the added function of water services delivery, primarily in the rural areas, and reoriented its policy to ensure that all South Africans get access to adequate basic water supply, captured in the slogan "some, for all, forever."

A Community Water Supply and Sanitation Branch was established in the Department, with the aim of providing a minimum of 25 litres of clean water per person, per day, at a distance of not more than 200 metres from each household, within ten years. The first projects were authorised in September 1994.

On the 3rd May 1997 the Department celebrated serving water to the one millionth person. After the celebrations, the elderly recipient, a Mrs Thyphina Mbhele, was flown to Cape Town for the first time in her life to attend the budget speech, in Parliament, of the Minister who had brought potable water into her life. There, along with the 400 Members of Parliament who represent the people of South Africa, she heard how ongoing projects under the Department aim to bring water to well over two million people a year.

The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry is currently rewriting the national water legislation and the legislation governing provision of water so as to entrench in law the new principles and policies embraced by the Government. The legislation will contain, for the first time ever, the right of all South Africans to sufficient water for basic human needs, and the right of the environment to sufficient water to preserve its ecological integrity.

The Home Page of the South African Ministry of Water Affairs and Forestry can be visited on <http://www.polity.org.za/water/index/html>

African elephants fenced in for the kill

For the West, the ivory trade ban is a moral imperative. But African nations want it lifted — to keep people alive. **Ruaridh Nicoll** reports from Namibia

THE elephant moved fast. After charging across torn-up earth, tears pouring from glands behind her ears, she pulled up at the border separating Namibia from Botswana. There, stopped from her attack by two newly constructed fences, she paused, turned, snorted and walked away.

The new gait was sad and slow. For decades elephants have travelled from the lush wetlands of Botswana's Okavango delta into the woods of Namibia's Caprivi strip and up into Angola in a vast circular migratory pattern. Botswana's long double fence has now halved their range.

While fence-posts are still being sunk into the sand, George Kgoroba, Botswana's Minister of Commerce and Industry, has been preparing for the tenth meeting of Cites, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, which starts tomorrow. There, with the Namibians and the Zimbabweans, he will argue that ivory should again be sold on the world market.

'It's a matter of life or death to us,' said Kgoroba, claiming the sale of ivory to Japan would benefit Botswana's rural communities. If he gets his way, Kgoroba will become one of the first legal traders in elephant products since 1989. But he knows that conservationists are planning to use the issue of the fence to question Botswana's wildlife management.

Botswana put up the fence in response to an outbreak of cattle lung disease which led to the shooting of nearly 300,000 cows. The government believed the disease came from Namibia. 'It is a worry

because it was put up in a crisis,' said Kgoroba.

To turn elephants into a product to be traded, Botswana will have to prove good management procedures. The country has already agreed that 'there will be no export of ivory of unknown origin or ivory known to come from outside Botswana'. And 'for ease of monitoring and control' there will be only two shipments of ivory in the two years before the next Cites meeting.

The ivory that all three countries want to trade will come from reserves built up from catching poachers and harvesting elephant culls. All the money, according to the Botswana government, will be put into conservation and setting up community conservation projects where the people will be allowed to manage game for their own benefit. This has caused a rift between the African conservation groups who support the idea

and their European and American counterparts who see the issue as a moral question.

There is no doubt that elephants are thriving. To the west of Harare, where the Cites meeting is to be held, the bushlands of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia are populated by vast herds. In Namibia, just north of where the elephant vented its frustration against the fence, 500 others waded into the Kavango river to wash, drink and play.

But arguments in favour of trade fail to impress the European and American activists. Already the proposal has been attacked by numerous governments, and to bodies such as the Environmental Investigation Agency any trade in ivory, even the stuff confiscated from poachers, is fundamentally immoral.

But African realities, as always, make a mockery of political correctness. Already more unpleasant activities are

afoot. While the arguments fly back and forth over Cites, the hunting season has opened and people from America and Europe are paying up to \$50,000 for the chance to shoot an elephant and take their trophy home.

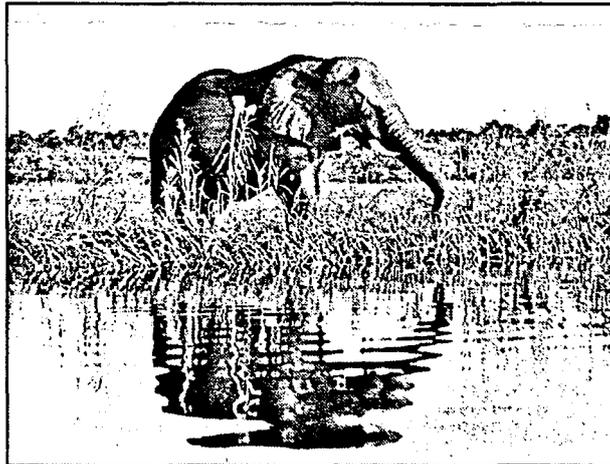
An even grimmer prospect is that of widespread culls, an event which makes even the seasoned elephant hunter squeamish. 'I once saw the professionals shoot a whole herd,' said the owner of a Namibian hunting concession. A small plane finds the herd and the trucks full of workers rush to the spot. There are four shooters, each with high-powered rifles and loaders with semi-automatics.

'Once they are on the herd, the lead shooter identifies and drops the matriarch with a clean head shot, then the other elephants rush around her screaming. The shooters use the semi-automatics to spine shoot the rest and then move in to kill them. There were 30 elephants dead within five minutes.'

'These culls take place because of the burgeoning numbers of elephants in a retreating habitat. 'The fence blocks the movement of wildlife, especially elephants,' said Dr Karen Ross of Conservation International's Okavango project.

'Nobody knows the effect it will have yet,' said another conservationist. 'But if it cuts them off from their dry season grazing, many will die.'

Botswana's ministers have begun to speak about removing the 19-mile stretch of the fence which will most affect game but some conservationists are worried that this is just talk in the run-up to Cites.



Trophy-hunters pay \$50,000 for a shot at this wild target

Namibia's hydro power scheme is endangering an ancient nomadic tribe, reports Ruaridh Nicoll at Epupa Falls

Himba drowning in their desert Eden

KARAMATA MUTAMBO, his body ochre in the African sun, swelled with pride as his cattle lowered their return to the kraal.

'People come from all over the district to see my stock,' he said, sure in the knowledge that a man is nothing without cattle. 'If I have good sheep, cattle and goats I feel like I am flying on an aeroplane.'

He looked around at his world, that of a deputy chief of the Himba tribe. The cattle pen, a circle of cut branches, sat in the centre. The smouldering 'sacred fire' marked the route to his hut, a dome of sticks and cow dung.

But he knew a flood was coming. 'Everything will die because it will be under water,' he said. 'When we heard about the dam our hearts were broken.'

Under a mopane tree his three wives, naked but for short calfskin skirts and wild arrays of intricate jewellery, gently mixed gourds of milk and nursed their young. Although nomadic, these people never move far from the Kunene river, source of both Mutambo's fine cattle and his future woes, which cuts a swathe vibrant with plants and trees through the desert.

The Namibian government plans to drown the Epupa Falls and a vast swathe of the country's north-west under an enormous hydro-electric scheme. The development is likely to destroy the Himba culture, a fragile, self-sufficient, nomadic way of life unlike anything else in southern Africa.

'I will be moved to a new area where I have no experience, our gardens and the grazing will be totally destroyed and we will not be able to visit our ancestors' graves,' said Hepu Muhenje, Mutambo's neighbour.

Hundreds of miles to the south, in Namibia's capital, Windhoek, Jesaya Nyamu sits besuited in his plush office at the Ministry of Mines and Energy.

'The culture we are talking about is that of backwardness, of primitiveness,' he said. 'It is better for the Himba to join the rest of society, he thinks, and besides Namibia needs the power a large hydro-electric dam would provide.'

'Last year Namibia imported 60 per cent of its power from South Africa and by 2000 we will be facing a power shortage,' he said. 'We don't want to be dependent on foreign powers for power and since this is our only area that can be used for hydro-power we believe it is a gift of nature that should be utilised.'

However, a senior figure in Namibia's power-generating company, who preferred not to be identified, said the im-

mediate power problems could, and would, be sorted out using gasfields in the south. 'The Epupa Falls dam will be used only to supplement the supply,' he said.

Another Namibian, Andrew Corbett, who has been acting as a legal adviser to the Himba, feels the government is riding roughshod over the tribe because it has traditionally supported Namibia's opposition.

'Depending on people's different political affiliations, land has a different value,' he said. 'When it is the Himba who are sitting in the way, then principles are gone.'

A Himba headman, Kozongombe Tjingee, was more blunt. 'In the past we had to lick the boots of the white man. Now we are being crushed by the boots of black men,' he said.

Back on the banks of the Kunene, a mile north of the falls where thick brown water crashes 300 ft into a gorge, an office which used to house a team running a feasibility study on the dam project contains two maps. The first shows the expected dam, lying like a inkwell emptied across

the page. The second shows another potential site, farther downstream in a gorge, which would not drown the Himba's little garden of Eden.

But Nyamu and his government have their hearts set on the first site. 'The President wants this dam,' said one observer.

Outside the office, as the sun disappears, yellow light cedes ground to the campfires where Himba retreat in the growing dark. While the tribespeople are, as one tourist said, 'a living relic,' they are among the most successful subsistence farmers in Africa and are master herdsmen, rich when the value of their cows is totted up.

They live as they did when they first moved to these hills on the edge of the Skeleton Coast 500 years ago. They move their kraals to water and grass when necessary, build their gardens along the river bank and bury their dead where they can be visited for advice in times of trouble — such as in the late Seventies when a drought wiped out 90 per cent of their livestock.

Instead of washing, they rub themselves with butterfat and

sand, which turns them ochre. The women's hair is pleated with cow dung. Their cosmetics programme helps keep the malarial mosquitoes at bay.

Already carpetbaggers have set up shop, anticipating the money to be made out of the dam. For now they have to be content selling the Himba alcohol in return for goats.

Mukamdjuria Tjindunda sat in her brother's kraal and played a complicated Himba game of desert draughts with a friend. She did not know her age but she was unmarried, confident and achingly beautiful. 'Look at the baboon,' she said. 'People see it sitting on a rock all day and wonder why it is still happy. I feel happy with myself and I feel happy with my culture. I don't need anything from the government, although it would help the children if there was health care and a primary school.'

When I told her Nyamu said he was looking forward to a time when people raced speedboats on the dam, she picked up one of the pieces of the game, a small chunk of quartz, and moved it, seemingly too bemused to know what to say.

Viewpoint

Epupa Dam Scheme - a 'frightening scenario'

Hans Beukes left Namibia and the University of Cape Town where he was reading law in 1959 to protest the imposition of apartheid in Namibia at the UN, and to support the call for a UN resolution inviting Ethiopia and Liberia to bring a case against South Africa at the International Court of Justice (The South West Africa cases of 1960-66).

He subsequently settled in Norway where he read Economics while striving to engage the Norwegian public into supporting the struggle against apartheid. In 1960 the students of Göteborg University invited him to oppose Sweden's wartime Nazi leader, Engdahl, in a debate about South Africa's racist policies. He believes that was the first time a black from Southern Africa had been able to state his people's position on the issue from a

public platform in that country. As a citizen of both Namibia and Norway he feels entitled to state an opinion on matters of public policy in either country, as with regard to the Epupa Dam Project, to which he is deeply opposed for the reasons given below.

A "frightening scenario" was said to be motivating the proposal to build the Epupa dam. The prospect of increased imports, at higher prices, of electricity from South Africa, amounting to half of total consumption in 1991, was cited, as was the drift of people from the rural, northern areas to the central parts of Namibia. This was expected to result in a serious water shortage for human and animal consumption in Windhoek and other major centres in central Namibia from the year 2 000 onwards. In consequence,

it was reasoned that there would be need of electricity to pump "considerable volumes of water from the Kavango River". (Quotes from terms of reference for feasibility study for the Epupa Dam Scheme)

I am persuaded that the dam will not come cheap, and that in building it the total cost to Namibia will be such as could not even be expressed in monetary terms. Moreover, by its own terms of reference the Epupa scheme is demonstrably the issue of quackery, as it would be facilitating precisely the

"frightening scenario" for which it would be a purported solution. To detail some of the more drastic consequences:

Firstly, from its very inception the Epupa project constitutes an unconscionable assault on the human dignity and civil rights of the Ovahimba peoples who dwell along



Epupa Dam Scheme

the banks of the river. As such it does injury to the dignity of the fledgling state of Namibia itself. This much should have been clear to anyone familiar with the past hundred years of the territory's history, and with the violence done to our people under colonialism and apartheid. To go ahead with the scheme would signal a descent into the kind of conflicts that even the OAU, rather belatedly, has come to recognize is what has made nonsense of hopes for an improvement in the human condition on the continent. I am referring to its creation of mechanisms for conflict resolution in 1993.

It is said by Namibian and foreign officials that the Ovahimbas are to be secured a square deal before any decisions are taken as to the building of the dam. For one cannot understand how a dispossessed people could ever be equitably compensated for being driven off the lands inhabited by generations of their people. Indeed an Ovahimba leader has as little right to acquiesce to the dispossession of his people as had any Nama or Herero chief a century ago. The ailing Chief Matjira Mumombara deserves no less respect for his staunch defence of the rights of his people than does the man whose countenance graces Namibia's dollar bills.

Namibia would of course have been much better served by enabling its own sons and daughters to become engaged in the moral debate by which enlightened communities seek to run their affairs - rather than becoming bounden to the services of travelling salespersons of patent, "expert" advice. However, certain considerations are so elementary there could not be any confusion as to what constitutes right and wrong:

To obtain a perspective on the matter one needs to ask a simple question, namely, for whom the "frightening scenario" sketched might have appeared frightening: the (original?) inhabitants of Windhoek and other centres, those converging on Windhoek in the hopes of finding some paid work, the communities they would be leaving behind - further drained of able-bodied men and women - or the Ovahimbas of the Kunene who find themselves summarily turned into candidates for dispossession and "sacrifice" - on the altar of something called "development"?

"Anyone concerned with the well-known effects of social disintegration in Namibia should feel alarm at the prospect of hundreds of foreign workers converging on a dam-building site along the Kunene, where they would outnumber the Ovahimba men tending their livestock at their posts far removed from their wives, daughters and small children.

The Ovahimbas are of course as much Namibian as any other community. Consequently, any proposed solution for national problems should be such that even they could give it their support - without offering themselves up for cannibalisation of sorts by those likely to derive some short-term benefit from the Epupa scheme. Violating their rights so as to secure employment for the unemployed from far and wide, should be condemned as an act of base immorality.

Secondly, a dam at Epupa would despoil part of Namibia's rich natural heritage - before the majority has even had a chance to appreciate what vandalism is being contemplated in their name. Such vandalism invites invidious comparison: Every farmstead in this desert country takes pride in seeking to become a little oasis of watered shade with green lawns and flower gardens, some palm and other evergreen trees and leafy shrubs: to offer its residents relief from the debilitating heat and the blinding reflection of the sun from the desert soil.

It is quite inconceivable that any politician would ever dare to support a scheme requiring farmers to destroy the oases all are attempting to create, to make it possible for them to live in a measure of comfort. The Kunene forms a natural, flowing oasis lined by a great variety of trees and other plants from the shades of which well-nourished children gleefully emerge on hearing an approaching vehicle - to ask for no more than "okere": sweets. Beacons of white painted stones placed in the shape of crosses are to be seen along the road paralleling the river these days. "So", my driving companion comments, "they should have been handing the kiddies sweets even as they were measuring up their home for inundation and expelling them into the inhospitable bushes of the hills around!"

The technocrats on safari who conceived the dam scheme have obviously ignored the fact that even the people of the Kunene might enjoy and be entitled to sojourn in surroundings of beauty! A Scandinavian moral philosopher, the late professor Harald Oistad, has made a revealing study of the mindset of fascism. His essential findings are encapsulated in the title of his book, "Vaar forakt for svakhet" - Ons veragting vir swakte - Our disdain for weakness. It would not be out of place to recall the circumstances that compelled the philosopher to make his analysis, namely, the Nazi Holocaust that

laid Europe in ashes.

It is comforting in this regard to be able to refer to the Namibian Constitution's Article 95 - so prominently displayed for visitors to read in the country's magnificently appointed wild-life lodges.

It enjoins Namibians to take care of their natural environment for the benefit of this and of future generations.

Thirdly, the foreign debts incurred in building the Epupa dam will hang like a millstone around the nation's financial neck - laying priority claim to any gains in its earnings from exports for decades. If we assume that half of the estimated plus-minus two billion dollars the project is estimated to cost, is to be borne by Namibia, and a mere half of that again is to be financed with foreign loans, it is easy to calculate the annual foreign debt servicing obligation to be incurred. At a 10 per cent rate of interest, and a 30 year period of amortization, this would exceed the equivalent of 40 million dollars per year.

In practice the foreign payments obligation would probably be much higher, when taking into account the high level of import content in any form of local manufacture as well as the high percentage of imported goods entering into the Namibian public's total consumption. This should be viewed against the fact that in 1995 Namibia only exported for 4 966 million dollars while it imported for 5 321 million. On capital account it had to pay the rest of the world 1 693 million while it earned only 1 071 million dollars.

In all this amounts to a deficit of 977 million dollars.

It has to be underlined that such a burden put on the nation's payments position, should not initially be of hindrance to individual businesses benefiting from cheap electricity - which they would only be required to pay for in local currency. But they would be dealing with a chronically sick currency.

Fourthly, power from Epupa would cast in concrete the country's dependence on a form of energy supply technology that is quite unsuited to the needs of the majority of its people. This, in turn, would mean foregoing the immense benefits to be derived from rapid modern advances in the energy supply field, e.g. by harnessing the solar power beating down on this desert land.

I recently spent a night at a place where two small solar panels and a battery supplied all the energy required for the lighting of a home and the operation of the household's computer and printer. A square metre of capillarised plastic sheeting exposed to the sun and connected to a

hundred litre drum supplied the hot water required for the family's daily needs.

All that was missing was a simple carton box covered on the inside with a few cents' worth of black cardboard paper and aluminium foil in which the household could have cooked their meals year round, at minimal expenditure of either money or the effort to gather firewood.

To supply the solar panels and batteries, plastic sheeting, cardboard boxes and aluminium foil required to power each and every Namibian household beyond their wildest dreams, would probably have cost much less in cash than what would be needed to pay for the Epupa scheme. What is more, the demand for electricity from South Africa and from Windhoek's own van Eck should drop drastically as a consequence. The total savings thus effected should be added to the financial cost of Epupa - by an easily understood reasoning of economics!

Further, the nation would stand to derive educational benefits and employment opportunities vastly superior to what it could possibly derive from the millions spent on the ill-employed experts doing the Epupa feasibility study.

Fifthly, the dam would bury thousands of hectares of richly fertile and easily cultivated agricultural soil on the river bank - at a time when the world is running out of agricultural land to feed its growing population.

No friendlier hand could have been extended to the Ovahimba dwelling along the river's banks than one enabling them to master the production of food and to enter the world of the market, from the lands that they know and love, and under circumstances where they could retain control over their lives as a community.

The identification of arable lands at distances removed from the river, in contrast, would require agro-business type of investments quite beyond the ken and means of the local population. It would reduce the Ovahimba to the status of indentured labourers in their own country.

Sixthly, leading businessmen are yearning for the government to take the measures whereby towns in the region where more than half of the population lives, such as Oshakati, could begin to be upgraded into centres of economic life that could take the pressure off Windhoek.

These are the kind of dreams that deserve every rational Namibian's support.

BAGANI, Namibia—As Namibia's government was arguing successfully last week for the right to trade in elephant ivory so it can fund community conservation programs, it was also attempting to kill a small but significant conservation project that was one of the county's early successes in the field.

Namibia's victory in winning the right to trade in elephant ivory was based in part on its agreement to devote ivory revenue to community conservation development. Community-based resource management has become the new wave of development in wilderness areas of Africa's elephant range states, where man and animal live side by side and often in conflict over the same natural resources.

But the case of the Kxoe Bushman campsite program in northeastern Namibia's Caprivi Strip, which will be decided in the courts, illustrates the conflicts over land jurisdiction, customary rights and politics that can bedevil the programs that are touted as the hope for development in Africa's wilderness.

The Kxoe project is one of several conservancies being authorized for rural areas of Namibia, with grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development through the World Wildlife Fund to the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation program. When an area is proclaimed a conservancy, the people who live within it are entitled to develop and benefit economically from conservation and eco-tourism ventures.

The project sits on the banks of the Okavango River in a designated nature reserve abundant in flora and fauna. Called the N//goabaca ("boiling water") Campsite, it opened for business on May 1, providing the Kxoe with their first meager eco-tourism earnings.

Campers can pitch their tents on landscaped riverside campsites complete with toilet and shower facilities. The Kxoe also built decks overlooking the stunning riverine habitat near the rapids of Popa Falls. The camp is adjacent to an exclusive hunting lodge whose owner plans to transfer his facility to the Kxoe, which would give them significant income from well-heeled tourists and trophy-hunting licensing fees.

The campsite is the first business ever operated by the small Kxoe tribe of 6,000 people. "It is the beginning of our development," said Kxoe Chief Kipi George. "We started from the bottom up."

However, although it was approved and encouraged by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, which believed it had jurisdiction over the land, the campsite has been taken over by the Ministry of Land at the behest of the politically well-connected Mbukushu tribe, which claims tribal authority over the area, a senior Namibian official said. The Land Ministry will shift control of the site to the Mbukushu.

Chief Erwin Mbambo Munika, the tribe's leader, has friends in high places who apparently are willing to back up his claim. Mbambo is close to Namibia's ruling party and fought in the war that led to the independence of Namibia—then known as South West Africa—from white-ruled South Africa in 1990. Mbambo said he considers the Kxoe a band of "gypsies," and he claims that George has no jurisdiction as a chief.

The campsite is to be closed.

Where elephants and other wildlife now roam, Mbambo wants to develop commercial agriculture, according to sources involved in the conflict.

Politics is not in the Kxoe's favor, for they were on the wrong side of the liberation war. The Kxoe acted as trackers and guides for apartheid-era South African soldiers. George, the Kxoe chief, says his people were isolated from politics and were on the South African side only because it provided work. Now, he says, the Kxoe are being punished for the past.

"There's a lot of rural reform taking place in this country, with people getting these rights," said Chris Brown, Namibian director of environmental affairs. "Because it's a rural reform and people are going to be empowered at local level, there's going to be conflict."

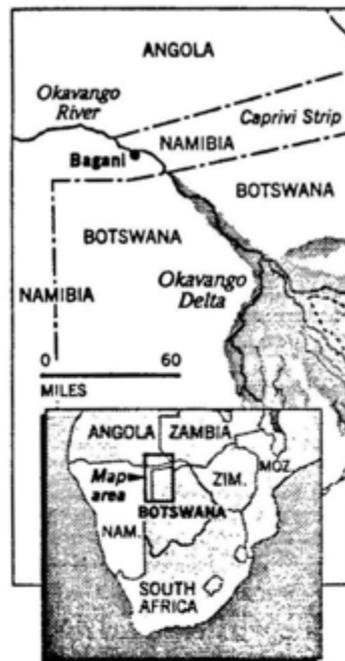
In what will become a precedent-setting legal challenge, public interest lawyers for the Kxoe last week filed their intention to sue the government on the grounds that it has no right to nullify the Kxoe's development permit. The case will challenge the state's interpretation of land rights and customary law, said Andrew Corbett of the Legal Assistance Center in Windhoek, the capital.

The Kxoe campsite is one of the smallest conservation projects here, but it has become significant because the issues it raises could complicate other, larger communal conservation projects. Other tribal authorities are watching the Kxoe case closely, for fear that they too could be challenged.

"If they can do it to Kipi George, they can do it to me," said Chief Tembwe Joseph Mayuni of the Mafwe tribe, whose land and planned nature conservancy are next to the territory that the Mbukushu have claimed.

Ironically, the land in question was proclaimed a game park in 1964—and thus off-limits for settlement. But the park never was developed. Rather, the apartheid-era South African authorities who administered colonial South West Africa used it for military bases and training grounds for South Africa's fight against the South West African People's Organization and then, after 1975, against the newly independent government of neighboring Angola.

Since Namibia's independence in 1990, the status of the game park has been unclear.



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NAMIBIA:

Chiefs lobby in Europe

Two Namibian traditional leaders are lobbying for support in Europe against a proposed \$480 million Epupa hydroelectric scheme on the Cunene river.

The Windhoek government has attacked the tour of Germany, Sweden, Norway, Britain and the European Parliament in Belgium as part of a "well-organised farce aimed at perpetuating European preconceptions and stereotypes about Africa".

Chiefs Hikuminue Kapika and Paulus Tjavara say the dam will destroy the ancestral graves and emergency grazing grounds of their nomadic Himba tribe. Their visit is being funded by a number of German environmental groups. A US\$5 million environmental impact study funded by the Norwegian government and conducted by a consortium of Swedish, Norwegian, Namibian and Angolan consultants is due to be completed by October and a final report will be submitted to the Namibian and Angolan governments for a decision in April 1998.

The government has reason for concern at the chiefs' tour—the same international environmental lobby which is supporting them has successfully prevented the neighbouring Botswana government from implementing its controversial Okavango Delta scheme plans.

The long term development of Namibia is predicated on its ability to solve its water question. It is now reported to be examining an ambitious project to bring water from the Congo river to the Okavango river by pipeline.

Apartheid agents 'flew drugs to UK'

29 June 1997 **The Observer**

Huge Ecstasy shipment smuggled in on aircraft carrying Springbok fans

by David Beresford

Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICAN military intelligence is believed to have smuggled drugs into Britain in the nose-cone of an aircraft that carried rugby fans to watch the first Springbok test match after sporting ties were re-established.

The operation, at the time of the 1992 clash with England at Twickenham, was seemingly part of a state-sponsored conspiracy by South Africa to trade illegal drugs for arms on the international black market.

An intelligence agent, who cannot be named for legal reasons, has pleaded guilty to smuggling a small fortune's worth of cannabis into Britain, and may hold the key to the conspiracy — tied into a chemical and biological programme which represents one of the last untold secrets of South Africa's apartheid war.

The agent is now in prison awaiting sentencing. The chief investigator of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Dumisa Ntzebeza, has asked to interview him in the belief that he could throw light on the scandal.

The agent has already admitted that he was involved in the drugs smuggling while employed by the Directorate of Covert Collections, a top-secret unit in South African military intelligence.

He has been linked to the mastermind of South Africa's chemical and biological weapons programme, Dr Wouter Basson, who is awaiting trial on drugs charges in South Africa. The top-secret laboratories that Basson ran are believed to have been used for the manufacture of drugs, such as Ecstasy and Mandrax.

Basson, a cardiologist who used to count among his patients the former South African President P. W. Botha, has been the subject of excited speculation since he was arrested in dramatic circumstances in January — diving into a river in a desperate attempt to escape the police — for trying to sell 1,000 Ecstasy tablets.

Boxes of documents seized in his home are believed to have given details of 'Project Coast', the chemical and biological warfare research in which he was involved.

The magnitude of the secrets to which Basson was privy became apparent when it emerged that, after being retired by President F. W. de Klerk's administration in 1992, he had to be re-hired by Nelson Mandela's government to try to prevent his expertise being sold to other countries. He is known to have had dealings with Libya which caused much concern in American intelligence circles.

The documents found in his home were so highly classified that they were supposed to be found only on a CD-Rom that not even the military could access without presidential clearance. Basson is awaiting trial under the protection of the National Intelligence Agency, the South African equivalent of MI5.

One of Basson's projects was a secret factory called Delta-G Scientific, used to manufacture Mandrax and other drugs. A former research manager at the plant has turned state witness and is expected to give evidence against Basson, detailing the export of drugs to Britain and elsewhere.

South African investigators have established that a consignment of Ecstasy was carried in the nose-cone of a King Air turbo-prop that was bringing fans to see the first test between the Springboks and England in 1992. It is now believed the drugs were being exported as part of an arms swap organised by Basson.

The other activities of Project Coast centred on the Roodeplaat Research Laboratories, a top-secret military installation near Pretoria.

Research at the laboratories ranged from the frightening to the seemingly wacky. They are believed to have been used to develop and test poison gases used in combat at least once in Mozambique, as well as the design of deadly poisons that would leave no trace in the victims' bodies.

Their involvement in the drugs trade — the manufacture of Mandrax, in particular, which can turn users into violent psychotics — appears to have stemmed from a fantastic scheme to subvert the country's black population. There have been claims that they also investigated the development of pills that would change skin pigmentation in humans.

The Washington Times

★ MONDAY, JUNE 23, 1997

Report: S. Africans aided Mobutu haul

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (Reuters) — South African spies helped ousted Zairian dictator Mobutu Sese Seko shift crates of diamonds and more than \$40 million in cash to Johannesburg before he fled into exile, a newspaper reported yesterday.

A spokesman for the South African intelligence service denied there was any official effort to help Mr. Mobutu save his wealth and said allegations of unofficial action would be investigated.

Johannesburg's Sunday Independent said the Secret Service

chartered a jet that shuttled between South Africa and the former Zaire's capital, Kinshasa, three times during Mr. Mobutu's final hours in power.

The newspaper quoted National Intelligence Service sources as saying agents of the Secret Service met the plane and unloaded bags of money and crates of diamonds.

The National Intelligence Service controls internal intelligence operations and the Secret Service covers South African interests abroad.

Mr. Mobutu, ousted by former rebel leader Laurent Kabila after 32 years in power, and his family are believed to have considerable holdings in South Africa and France.

They are currently staying in a heavily guarded seaside hotel near the Moroccan capital, Rabat.

South Africa and France, Mr. Mobutu's former political sponsor, have so far refused to provide permanent asylum for the former dictator, who is under treatment for prostate cancer.

De Klerk on campaign to discredit the ANC

Baltimore Sun, Sunday, June 1, 1997

Ex-leader of S. Africa trades conciliation for confrontation

By GILBERT A. LEWTHWAITE
SUN FOREIGN STAFF

STELLENBOSCH, South Africa — A student in this charming campus town in the heartland of lost white supremacy has just told former President F. W. de Klerk he is yesteryear's man.

"You had your chance, and you blew it," the student told the veteran politician, leader of the waning National Party and the country's last white president.

Facing his audience last week, de Klerk didn't miss a beat. "Yes. And we did something. We at-ished apartheid and admitted the

wrongs of the past."

With that he launched into a spirited defense of his party's record and a ferocious critique of the ruling African National Congress, led by President Nelson Mandela, the man with whom he shared the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize.

De Klerk, who with Mandela dismantled apartheid, is no longer in an accommodating mood. He is out to organize the "total realignment" of the political opposition to at least stand up to — if still unable to defeat — the ruling ANC. The conciliation of the past has been replaced by confrontation.

De Klerk has lately taken several actions that have disturbed the political landscape.

He has refused to take responsibility for the security force [See De Klerk, 21A]

atrocities of the apartheid era. At a five-hour hearing last month before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which is offering amnesty in return for confession of political crimes, he maintained that he did not know what the death squads were doing when he was running the country's all-white government.

The commission chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said he was "devastated" and driven "close to tears" by de Klerk's refusal to take responsibility. Tutu recalled personally telling de Klerk the details of one massacre.

"There was an avalanche of information," he said at a news conference. "To say, 'I did not know'... I find that hard to understand."

The press has been scornful, too. "The issue is not so much whether de Klerk knew of these abuses but whether he is big enough to take responsibility for them," stated an editorial in the *Sunday Independent* of Johannesburg. "His protestations of shock and his insistence that such acts were carried out by renegade elements of the security forces make him smaller and smaller."

'Lost a lot of confidence'

Even here on the campus of Stellenbosch University, his reputation has been dented.

"I lost a lot of confidence in him," said law student Stephan Cilliers, 19. "I am not going to vote for someone who doesn't know what's going on in this country."

In another controversial move, de Klerk fired one of his top lieutenants for recommending the prompt dissolution of the National Party to make way for a new opposition organization.

lieutenant, Roelf Meyer, has quit the party to form his own group to challenge the ANC in the 1999 elections, when a successor to Mandela will be chosen.

The split dominated the political news for days. But de Klerk dismissed Meyer's defection as ill-timed and politically irrelevant, and it has done little to undermine the de Klerk mission.

De Klerk accepts that the National Party, which won 20 percent of the 1994 ballot against the ANC's 62 percent, carries too much historical baggage from the apartheid years for it to be a viable opposition party for the future. But he wants time to organize a new broad-based, multicultural alliance to overcome the current race-based format of South African politics.

His major problem: Few of the other existing opposition groups — such as the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, which polled 9 percent in the 1994 election, or the Anglo-based Democratic Party, which won less than 2 percent — have shown much interest in joining his planned alliance or offer much strength.

Now he has opened a campaign to defend his National Party and excoriate the Mandela government to any audience that will listen. Last week's stop at Stellenbosch in Cape Province, where South Africa's first white settlers landed more than three centuries ago, was the latest on a mission that has taken him across the country.

"It is a figment of the imagination that the National Party created apartheid," he asserted. "There was apartheid throughout Africa when we gained power in '48. There was apartheid throughout the world. Black Americans had to fight against apartheid in America.

"What we did was institutionalize something that was morally unjustifiable, and that added extra pain to the injury. We have said we are sorry about that."

The ANC, he told his young audience, is currently "reintroducing" apartheid through the government's affirmative action

program to give blacks job preference and economic opportunity.

"If you are white or if you are brown, you are disqualified from a job. Is that apartheid or not?" demanded de Klerk.

The message strikes a chord with his young listeners, many of whom will soon be graduating and entering the job market.

"I am worried about finding a job," says Anneli Oosthuizen, 18, an Afrikaner agricultural student at Stellenbosch. "Even if he [de Klerk] wants to do something about it, I don't think you are ever going to change the situation now."

Oosthuizen, who wants to be a winemaker, added: "There is this thing hanging over our heads. It's just a matter of time before something happens."

ANC 'discredited'

This is the sort of uncertainty that de Klerk has been trying to tap around the country with almost messianic energy in recent months. In his travels, he says, he has learned the extent of disillusionment among black and white voters with the ruling ANC.

"There is only one really discredited political party in South Africa at the moment," he said.

"And that is the ANC, the ANC that has not kept the many promises it made to all South Africans."

He listed what he perceives as the government's failures in housing, education and job creation, drawing a warm response from the students, mainly white or of mixed race.

"He realizes the problems of this country," said Marisa Meyer, 19, a law student. "He mentioned the ANC is not keeping its promises. No one else is saying that. Everyone is too scared. I think he makes sense."

To Hennie J. Kotze, a political science professor at Stellenbosch and a regular sounder of public opinion throughout the country, there is scant encouragement for de Klerk in general voter sentiment as the 1999 election approaches.

"We should have detected, by now, movement in the opinion polls regarding shifting voting patterns, but nothing has shown up," he said. "It seems we have a frozen situation."

That means the ANC can depend on re-election with a huge majority. It will be at least 2004, according to Kotze, before the opposition can hope to make real inroads into ANC supremacy.

His prognosis: The government, over time, is likely to lose favor with the leftist trade unions because of its free-market policies, and regional and individual interests could start to weaken the country's traditional race-based alignments. But it is a process that will take years.

"De Klerk is like all politicians," said Kotze. "They all believe in the impossible."

New evidence shows how South African wine growers were involved in a massive international fraud

by David Boesford

Johannesburg

THE battered image of South Africa's wine industry — accused of tolerating virtual slave labour in its vineyards — has now been hit by allegations of defrauding the world's champagne drinkers.

Internal documents from the country's national wine co-operative indicate it has been involved in the export of huge quantities of fake champagne to Europe and America. South Africans appear to have been producing their own brands of bogus bubbly, as well as being linked to international conspiracies to manufacture and sell fake wine under French brands such as Moët & Chandon and Dom Pérignon.

The disclosures coincide with a bitter battle for the fruits of South Africa's vines following an attempt by the cooperative's 4,751 members — almost all of them white farmers and producers — to grab its £222 million assets by forcing it to privatise.

The ANC's Minister of Agriculture, Derek Hanekom — arguing that the assets are profits earned under apartheid and that the KWV (Kooperatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging) belongs to the nation — is trying to block them. The KWV documents relate to alleged counterfeiting operations in the early 1990s. They are important now for the impact they might have on the battle for the KWV and for the insight they appear to give into the international fraud that plagues the champagne industry.

There have been suspicions of South African involvement in international champagne scams since the late 1960s. In 1991 two fraudsters, Jean-Claude Remaury and Charley Delmare, were arrested and jailed in Paris in connection with champagne counterfeiting operations involving Cuba and South Africa. A third accused, Marc Proux-Delrouyre, was stabbed to death in his home before he could be brought to trial. The murder has never been solved.

In 1993 there was more evi-

dence of South African involvement in champagne swindles when police seized 900,000 fake Moët & Chandon and Dom Pérignon labels which had been printed in the town of Stellenbosch — in the centre of the wine region — and were awaiting shipment to Panama.

Last year, after a lengthy police investigation, the attorney general of the Cape province announced there was insufficient evidence to justify prosecutions.

The documents leaked to the *Observer* last week detail attempts by KWV to market two brands of fake champagne which they had allegedly concocted under the names of 'Paul Lambert' and 'Charles Lemond'. They also make reference to another operation,

'South Africa must not appear anywhere on the packaging materials and neither must the name of the providers'

code-named Project Isabella, which appears to have been an earlier scheme to manufacture fake Moët & Chandon.

The use of the term 'champagne' is strictly controlled by international law and treaty. To qualify the wine must be produced from grapes grown in the Champagne district in north-eastern France; the entire production process has to be carried out in the demarcated area and the final product requires a certificate of authenticity issued by the Comité Interprofessionnel des Vins de Champagne.

The documents obtained by the *Observer* indicate that the Paul Lambert and Charles Lemond 'champagnes' were made with South African wines and bottled in South Africa with counterfeit labels carrying fake French coding.

KWV apparently imported 240,000 premier-grade champagne bottles from one of France's major manufacturers, St Gobain, for the operation.

Senior officials with KWV International named by the documents as being involved in the operation — code-named Project Spark — include its managing director, J 'Kobus' van Niekerk, an executive director, Dr Danie Retief, and Niel van Staden, currently divisional executive with responsibility for overseas markets including the United States.

Retief and Van Staden this week emphatically denied any knowledge of the documents, or the Paul Lambert and Charles Lemond operation. Van Niekerk was out of the country.

Among the KWV documents is a fax on a co-op letterhead dated 28 August 1990, which records that on 27 June 1990, Van Staden met Marc Reyes (an alleged accomplice in the 1991 Moët & Chandon case), Fritz Coetzer (a Stellenbosch wine dealer) and a Mr Hartman (believed to have been an American agent) to discuss Project Spark. 'Discussions reached an advanced stage and in fact the Design Services Dept were briefed on label designs.'

The fax says that the label designs were presented to the four men by 6 July. 'The product was tasted and approved. Dr Retief approved the project in principle on 29 June 1990, and in his absence Mr J van Niekerk obtained approval on 23 July 1990 for the project to proceed provided that orders were received for the full 20,000 cases and acceptable guarantees.'

Dr Retief approved the ordering of the bottles on 3 August and 'KWV proceeded to order 252,000 bottles from France, 240,000 corks from Portugal, printed with the word Champagne, as well as 240,000 gold foil capsules. The value of these goods is R663,000'.

An internal memorandum dated 6 September under Van Staden's name gives detailed instructions to another mem-



ber of the KWV to order labels for the bottles of 'Paul Lambert' and 'Charles Lemond' and stickers for their cartons. The memo concludes in Afrikaans: 'Remember South Africa must not appear anywhere on any of the packaging materials and neither must the name of the providers.'

It is not clear from the documents what happened to the fake champagne. But in 1991 America's Bureau of Alcohol,

Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) discovered fake champagne was circulating in the US under the Charles Lemond and Paul Lambert labels. The wine was traced back to an import agency, California Clearing, in the town of Tustin.

Subsequently thousands of cases of Charles Lemond materialised at a customs auction in Cape Town. Customs officials told local traders that the

wine had been returned to South Africa after it had been refused entry into the US and was being sold to defray storage costs.

The Comité Interprofessionnel des Vins de Champagne, confirmed that there were no such brands of champagne as Charles Lemond and Paul Lambert. A spokeswoman said Paul Lambert was listed by them as a known counterfeit.