

Zimbabwean bid to curb violence may be successful

# Dissidents come in from the bush

THE DAILY NEWS

02/06/88

**Karl Maier**  
Nkayi, Zimbabwe

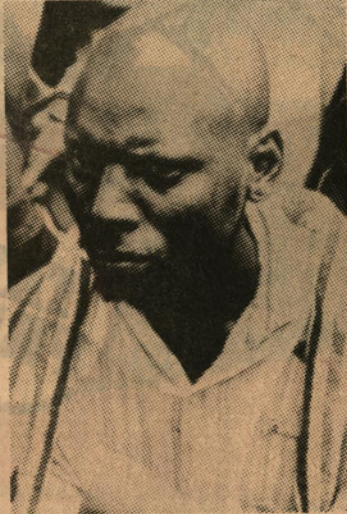
**S**HYLY at first, a Zimbabwean soldier approached a group of rugged men and began shaking hands. The 43 men he was greeting had been bitter enemies of the army and Robert Mugabe's government for the past six years.

The scene, witnessed by a hundred local residents, ended the armed rebellion by this group of former anti-government "dissidents" in the province of Matabeleland. Like about 60 other gunmen throughout central and southern Zimbabwe, these dissidents had just accepted President Mugabe's amnesty offer of April 19, which ran out at midnight on Monday. Dressed in a colourful assortment of leather vests, jackets and military trench-coats, they looked more like a motorcycle gang than a well-organised rebel unit.

As they chatted and joked with police and government officials, there was no sense of capitulation, just a feeling that there was no reason to fight anymore. They had deposited their AK-47 assault rifles and rocket launchers in the police armoury of this small dusty town, 300 kilometres south of Harare. Now they wanted to return home.

"We were not defeated in battle, but now we salute the unity process," said the group's spokesman, John Lantern Mhkwanzani. "Now everyone must forgive everybody else."

While some dissidents have remained in the bush — white



Gayigusu: mass killer who was freed under the amnesty

farmers claim up to 200 — the sudden influx of gunmen accepting the amnesty has boosted President Mugabe's drive to snuff out ethnic and political violence in Matabeleland. The drive began in earnest on December 22 when Mr Mugabe signed a unity accord to merge his ruling Zanu-PF party with Joshua Nkomo's opposition Zapu party.

In January three Zapu officials, including Mr Nkomo, were appointed Ministers in a reshuffled Cabinet. Then the government began withdrawing the army from Matabeleland to prove its commitment to national reconciliation between the majority Shona people and the country's minority Ndebele.

Then, one day after Zimbabwe's celebrations to mark the eighth anniversary of independence from Britain on April 18, Mr Mugabe overrode opposition in ruling party ranks and

decreed the amnesty.

At the same time, Mr Nkomo and his lieutenants launched a campaign in the south to persuade the dissidents to halt their violence and 3 000 refugees in neighbouring Botswana to return home. The amnesty opened the door to freedom for some of Zimbabwe's most notorious killers, such as Gayigusu the dissident commander believed responsible for the grisly axe murders of 16 evangelists last November.

Yet the 43 who surrendered at Nkayi insisted that all along their fight had been for the cause of socialism and Zimbabwe's rural poor, and against capitalism and the economic power of the white minority.

Mhkwanzani, the spokesman, presented Matabeleland's governor, Joseph Mudenda, with a list of demands calling for a Marxist-Leninist state, resettlement for the landless, the release of all political prisoners, and the creation of a "socialist army, not a British military system".

The dissidents at Nkayi, like most others in Matabeleland, were former members of Mr Nkomo's guerilla Zipra army, which fought the independence war alongside Mr Mugabe's Zanla force. All but a handful are Ndebele. They said they returned to the bush in 1981-83, as rising tension between Zanu and Zapu erupted into a full-scale confrontation and the government's Fifth Brigade launched a harsh crackdown in the region.

"We hope the lesson has been learned that disunity does not pay," said Mhkwanzani. "We have gone on operations twice, first against the white colonisers and then against the party

(Zanu). We have liberated everybody and now we must forge ahead with our lives."  
—Independent news service.



Natal MECs return empty-handed

# Heunis says no aid for Sobantu

THE NATAL WITNESS

02/06/88

## President's ultimatum: alliance divided



RAJBANSI

by STRINI MOODLEY

DIVISIONS appeared within the House of Delegates opposition alliance last night over how to respond to the State President's ultimatum to resolve the crisis involving Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

At a meeting held late last night the breakaway People's Party of South Africa (PPSA) refused to disclose how it would vote today in a motion of confidence in the Minister's Council.

Mr Somaroo Pachai, the national chairman of the PPSA, said that the PPSA's attitude would be revealed today when the vote on the confidence debate is taken.

Mr P.W. Botha has given the factions until today to resolve the matter, otherwise he would take decisive action which could include the calling of an election.

The opposition alliance of the PPSA and Solidarity has, thus far, failed to unseat Mr Rajbansi whom they accuse of bringing the House of Delegates into disrepute because of allegations of bribery and corruption.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, the PFP MP for Reservoir Hills, said that the alliance had been frightened by Mr Botha's threat that he would dissolve the Minister's Council and constitute a new council which would exclude those ministers who had joined the PPSA.

Another parliamentary source said that even the alliance between the PPSA and Solidarity stood on shaky grounds as they could not agree on how to deal with Mr Botha's ultimatum.

Mr Faiz Khan, the Lenasia West MP who supports Mr Rajbansi, has tabled a motion declaring confidence in the Minister's Council — and Mr Rajbansi — which will be debated today.

It is understood that there were divisions within the PPSA as to how members should vote in the motion of confidence today.

"If they vote for the motion they will re-establish Mr Rajbansi's control in the House of Delegates and if they vote against the motion they will be voting against themselves and some of them will probably lose their ministerial positions if Mr Botha dissolves the Minister's Council," the parliamentary source said.

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY

A TOP-LEVEL delegation from the provincial administration has returned from Cape Town empty-handed after a meeting with Mr Chris Heunis to raise R2.5 million for the upgrading of Sobantu.

The hoped-for R2.5 million had been placed on the village's budget 18 months ago, according to the administrator of Sobantu, Mr Mark Cornell, who pointed out that it should have been spent in the last financial year.

MEC for community services Peter Miller, who, with senior MEC Val Volker had a meeting with Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis last week, confirmed yesterday that the mission had failed.

"We had a meeting with Minister Heunis and explained to him at considerable length and in detail about the problems of financing development in the black areas in Natal. Sobantu was one of the main issues."

He said that Mr Heunis, in turn, explained the financial constraints under which he operated and that this year there was no prospect of further funds coming direct from the treasury.

Mr Heunis recommended to the delegation that alternative sources of finance, such as the Development Bank, the Housing Trust and the Local Authorities Loans Fund should be investigated.

"Mr Heunis urged us to use these alternatives and pledged his assistance if there were legal difficulties in securing funds."

"We are disappointed, not only for the sake of Sobantu, but also for other equally worthy projects."

"We had to understand the position the minister is in and the fact that extra money means extra taxes," Mr Miller said, adding that investigations into alternative channels of finance would begin immediately.

Mr Cornell said yesterday that he was very disappointed at the failure of the mission.

"But thank goodness for the R350 000 grant to Sobantu from the provincial administration, for without that we would have been high and dry."

Mr Miller announced on May 10 that the grant was to be made to enable urgent upgrading to begin.

"I must question the priorities established by the government if we are going to have peace in our country."

"It is absolutely essential to upgrade, and surely there are other things that could be put on the back burner?"

"With these sort of cutbacks it is difficult to expect the people to have confidence in the authorities," he said.



# Another view on 'the 6'

DEAR SIR — In response to a letter written by Mr David Cohen, addressed to Mr Coetsee (Minister of Justice) which was published in the *Sowetan* on April 14, 1988, I would like to make the following observations.

Firstly, all members of the South African Government are deeply concerned about the protection of human rights in South Africa.

It was only with great reluctance that the Government recently imposed a state of emergency.

Over the past few years a number of radical left-wing organisations and individuals have been responsible for widespread acts of violence and brutality in South Africa. People have been burnt alive by crazed mobs and property has been destroyed.

The South African Government has done everything possible to

and thereby protect the innocent.

The introduction of the 1987 Amnesty International Report clearly states that the purpose of the organisation is to "expose" the imprisonment of men and women who dissent non-violently from official views."

The report also indicates that Amnesty International is concerned with "the detention of persons who are held without being given the chance to defend themselves in a fair and open trial."

Thus Amnesty International should not be concerned with the individuals mentioned in your letter to Mr Coetsee — the so-called "Sharpeville Six." All of these individuals were directly involved in a violent crowd murder of a city councillor.

The "Sharpeville Six"

are not non-violent political dissidents who deserve the attention and concern of Amnesty International.

Amnesty International should not involve themselves in cases of this kind. To do so merely discredits the organisation.

Amnesty International can make a positive contribution to the resolution of South Africa's problems by indicating their support for moderate political leaders who are fighting to protect human rights.

Attacking the Government for enforcing the law and thereby protecting the innocent is totally counter-productive.

I sincerely hope that the views expressed by you in the letter to Mr Coetsee are your own and do not reflect those of Amnesty International as a whole.

DONALD REID

Halfway House

## Appalled by the reports on ANC man saying he lied in evidence

SIR — I have been appalled by reports which appeared in various newspapers of the fact that a convicted African National Congress man had admitted that he lied while giving evidence on commission in London in the trial of Robert McBride.

Webster is another victim of the internal power struggle within the ANC because of the following reasons:

- Webster was first sent by the ANC to fulfil certain missions in South Africa;
- He was rescued by Robert McBride and his girlfriend and, as a result, some shots were fired and lives were lost; and
- He was further smuggled out of the country until he landed in London.

Now, to prove my point of the power struggle within the ANC, he was sent back to South Africa on a suicide mission in order to destroy himself as he was now threatening to become a hero within the ANC.

There is no hero who is alive within the ANC.

A person is only a hero when he/she is dead, for political propaganda of the communists.

This now exposes the

ANC's gun-foddering machine.

JAMES  
Pretoria.

- The ANC has denied any power struggle within its ranks.



# PROTEST: UNIONS MEET

SOWETAN - 2 JUNE 1988

**Nactu,  
Cosatu  
agree on  
joint action**

By **LEN MASEKO and  
THEMBA MOLEFE**

SOUTH Africa's largest labour federations, the National Council of Trade Unions and the Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday agreed at a meeting that the "peaceful protest" planned for next week will take three days — from June 6 to June 8.

The protest is against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, aimed at curbing many of the rights enjoyed by unions under present law.

The decision by Nactu and Cosatu to embark on joint protest action is the first of its kind between the two rival federations.

In a joint statement released after yesterday's historic meeting, the federations also agreed in principle that the possibility of future meetings to discuss matters of common concern and of taking joint action would be explored.

Delegations of the two federations were led by their respective presidents, Mr James Mndaweni of Nactu and Mr Elijah Barayi of Cosatu.

Yesterday's meeting

● To page 4



MR James Mndaweni,  
president of Nactu.



MR Elijah Barayi,  
president of Cosatu.



**AKHALWAYA:** Parliament is now a little more mixed with "Indians" and "coloureds" being part of joint sittings. Most of us don't regard it as much of an advancement, but in comparison, the Johannesburg City Council is still totally white with no direct representation for any black groups. What do you make of that?

**MR OBERHOLZER:** I think that communities want to govern themselves, especially if they are geographically so situated and are economically viable.

The Government policy of separate development through the years has created a situation where for instance Lenasia is ripe for self-government. If Lenasia were a white community they would have demanded local authority status long ago.

### Power

With the advent of the regional services councils (RSCs), we experience sharing of power, of joint decision-making, because the RSCs are multi-racial councils.

They have a formula with the weighted vote. But it really doesn't mean a thing. Its consensus decision making and I'm sure that if anyone tried to abuse the vote — say from the white council which has almost 50 percent of the votes — for its own benefit with regard to the expanding of money we would immediately get a polarisation of that committee.

But because the Act states — it's just as well, and here one has to give credit to Minister (of Constitutional Development and Planning) Chris Heunis — that the money collected by the RSCs shall be applied

# Why blacks can't vote in the city

When countrywide municipal elections are held in October, one famous name will be missing from the list of candidates — Francois Oberholzer. "Mr Joburg", or "Mr Obie" as he is known, will be retiring after 16 years as chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee.

The controversial Mr Oberholzer is a supreme political survivor, having lived through the split in and subsequently demise of his United Party, the New Republic Party, and "hung" city councils. He is a former member of the now scrapped Transvaal Provincial Council.

Mr Oberholzer is not afraid of criticism. In fact, he thrives on controversy. He speaks his mind and does what he feels is necessary to survive politically. He caused a storm among whites in 1974 when he opened public libraries and parks to all races. But he stands firm in his opposition to matters such as integrated public swimming pools, residential areas and local authorities.

In this frank interview with AMEEN AKHALWAYA, the editor of *The Indicator*, he spells out his views. This is the first of a two-part series.



MR FRANCOIS OBERHOLZER

where the need is the greatest.

Naturally the need is the greatest in the lesser-developed local authority areas such as the black local authority areas and the areas with management committees of the "coloured" and "Indian" people. This is throughout the country.

It's a great pity that Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi (of Inkatha) is not participating in the RSC system because it would be so advantageous for his own people, billions

would be pouring into the townships which happen to be under his direct control inside KwaZulu.

It would create employment for his people, there would be an upgrading of their facilities, which is happening now everywhere else in the country.

I mention the local government experience because in all probability the joint sittings might develop into the same situation where you have joint decision-making in a single House instead of having separate decision-making.

### Reform

It could be that the State President is moving in that direction. Ultimately further steps would be taken on the road of improvement.

I think that the word "reform" is not a real descriptive direction because I believe that what we are doing is improving our way of life, improving the political system and extending and improving the democratic system, and ultimately we'll see an improvement where we reach a stage where there will be satisfaction amongst all the communities.

How many years that will take will be a guesstimate. I don't think that one can say reform surely will take five, 10 or 20 years, whatever the case may be.

Why can't so-called coloureds, Indians and Africans be represented directly in the city council? For example you have Mayfair which is an integral part of Johannesburg where people of all colours live, you've got thousands of blacks living in what is described as "white" Johannesburg as domestic workers and so forth.

THAT is of course not a decision of the council. We don't legislate. We are under the control of the executive of the Province, and the central government has to legislate with regard to any constitutional changes within the local government structure.

A.T.O.  
See PAGE 2



And if they change one they have to change the whole country. When people happen to work in the city it doesn't mean that they acquire certain rights. A person who works in Johannesburg and lives in Roodepoort has rights in Roodepoort and has no rights in this city in regard to voting powers.

Especially with the municipal election pending and the strengthening of the rightist movements through the vehicle of the Conservative Party, I think it would be political suicide for any political party to advocate now that the Government should legislate to have integrated councils.

One would find that in Soweto there would be in any event no person from any other race group who would qualify for a vote if all councils were to be integrated.

### **Decide**

So you would have an anomalous position, but that is for the higher authorities to decide and for the politicians to consider who are now fighting elections.

I will no longer be participating in the elections, and this is the strongest municipality, where nobody would venture at this point in time to agitate for integrated councils, one-man one-vote on local authority level.

If the political parties are so scared of the threat from the right-wing, if they are not prepared to take another step forward, then surely that confirms what black people have been saying — that this government is racist and reform means nothing because you are now going back to square one and not really moving forward?

I WOULDN'T say that. I would say that with elections within six months, even colour Indian and black authorities will agitate at the integrated

Conti



# LEBOWA FACES 44 LAWSUITS

AT LEAST 44 people, whose civil claims against Lebowa's Minister of Law and Order were frozen last year after the Indemnity Act was passed, are now going ahead with the claims for damages amounting to R384 000.

The claims, arising from allegations that they had been unlawfully arrested by the Lebowa police, were revived this week following the decision by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein last Friday declaring the Indemnity Act null and void.

A spokesman for Seriti, Mavundla and Partners, a firm of attorneys in Pretoria, yesterday confirmed that summonses had already been issued against the Lebowa minister. He also confirmed that 44 of his clients were claiming a total of R384 000 damages.

"These claims were held in abeyance pending the decision of the Appellate Division," the spokesman said.

He said that no agreement or settlement had been reached on the amount to be paid on all claims against the homeland government. The

## By MONK NKOMO

Lebowa government was ordered by the court last week to pay R1 200 damages to Miss Thembi Makhasa who was "wrongly and intentionally" assaulted and belittled by the police.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Grosskopf said the Indemnity Act was "inimical to the protection of lives, persons and property in that it deprived persons of redress for unlawful killing, assaults or damage to property."

A spokesman for the lawyers representing the 44 plaintiffs said four of their clients are claiming R21 000 damages each for wrongful and unlawful arrest, assault and malicious prosecution.



# RELIGIOUS HEADS SPLIT OVER SACC

THE CITIZEN

02/06/88

THE South African Government's crack-down on opposition to its race and security policies is driving a wedge into the country's church community, reports Sapa-Reut-

## CALL

The split was highlighted this week when 200 Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Jewish leaders hit deadlock in a two-day emergency debate on active opposition to racial discrimination.

The ambitious convocation, the broadest ever held in South Africa, rejected a passionate plea by South African Council of Churches leader Rev Frank Chikane for agreement on a programme of "effective non-violent ac-

tion to resist apartheid".

Mr Chikane, an outspoken and frequently detained critic of the government, called for a programme of active civil disobedience and urged religious leaders to accept it was their duty to defy the authorities.

"The question now is not whether we can act, it is a question of what kind of action we can engage in," he said.

Delegates spurned his plea, however, and agreed only to set up a committee to plan a new opposition campaign and voted by a majority to support an unspecified labour protest next week against a proposed law to restrict trade union rights.

The Rev Ed Cain, leader of the conservative

TO PAGE 2



# Religious heads split

THE CITIZEN

02/06/88

## FROM PAGE 1

United Christian Action movement, which declined an invitation to attend the gathering in Soweto, applauded the failure of the meeting, but expressed surprise at the outcome.

"I am surprised that there was not greater unanimity," he said. "But I am sure that those who are promoting a confrontation with the government will see this as no more than a temporary setback."

Mr Cain said his movement had the support of more than four million Black and White Christians for its rejection of a political role for the churches.

Reflecting the primary division in the South African church community, he argued that clergymen had no business expressing political views, but should rather preach neighbourly love and tolerance.

Dr Beyers Naude, who broke away from the pro-government Dutch Reformed Church to fight racism, said he believed a majority of church leaders believed they had no option but to take up the cudgels on behalf of those who had been silenced.

The churches, he said, should "become the voice

of the voiceless, the arms and legs of those who cannot act."

Dr Max Coleman, former leader of the church-backed Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, which was banned in February along with 16 other opposition groups, said the convocation sought a commitment many Whites were not willing to make.

"A campaign like they wanted would have involved the non-violent breaking of laws on the basis that those laws are not legitimate," he said.

"That is too much for many people".

Mr Chikane agreed that predominantly White churches were reluctant to sacrifice their security to actively oppose laws they disagreed with on moral grounds.

"We asked too much of them," a clearly disappointed Mr Chikane said. "The statement in which we agree to set up a committee is a strong one, at least it is potentially strong. It will depend on what the churches do with it."

Dr Allan Boesak, Cape Town-based leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, acknowledged he was "very disappointed" and vowed to press on alone, risking arrest or detention by marching and protesting

at every opportunity.

"I am no longer impressed by words, no matter whose words they are. I will only be impressed now by action," he said.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the most moderate of South Africa's three leading clerical apartheid foes, admitted he was disappointed and said he had hoped for a much stronger signal of opposition to racism and oppression.

"We of the churches have determined that we will obey God rather than man, whatever the cost," he said in a sermon to about 1 500 Blacks in a Soweto church at the end of the talks.

But he acknowledged afterwards that his statement was not accurate: only some of the church leaders were willing to endorse a commitment to conscience rather than the rule of law.

Dr Boesak appeared to address the divide when he told Blacks at the Soweto service: "If you are not willing to go to jail, to face policemen armed with guns and soldiers with guns, do not join the struggle."

Tony Stirling reports that no formal comment from the government could be obtained yesterday on the proposed plan to activate church protests against apartheid.

Top police sources, however, pointed out that the government had issued a number of warnings that nobody, including clerics, were above the law and if any campaigns of civil disobedience involved breaking the law, action could be expected.

Although developments were being watched carefully, action could only be expected if specific campaigns were actually launched, not in response to rhetoric.



### Supports ANC

Dear Editor:

As millions of voices around the world continue to cry out against racist apartheid in South Africa, there appears to be a crucial turning point on the horizon. With the exception of the United States and Israel, most of the nations of the world have sought to cut all substantial ties with Pretoria. In addition, it has become clear which liberation movement has won the popular support of the people of South Africa. No longer is it a question of whom we stand against, but, rather, whom we stand with.

After my recent tour of southern Africa as part of leadership delegation from the United Church of Christ, I have come to one firm conclusion: the most effective means of supporting the people of South Africa in the struggle to dismantle apartheid is to give all possible, direct support to the African National Congress (ANC).

On April 16, 1988 in Lusaka, Zambia, I had the pleasure of taking part in an historic meeting between the leadership of the ANC and national leaders of my church.

The ANC delegation was composed of members of their National Executive Committee, including Pallo Jordan, Thabo Mbeki, Ruth Mompati and Jacob Zuma. The ANC's Religious Affairs Department was also there, including Chaplain Gqiba. The atmosphere was permeated by a sense of mutual respect and solidarity. What

became clear to our delegation was the profound love which the ANC continues to have for the people of South Africa.

We met for an entire day in candid and indepth discussions concerning the present crisis in South Africa and South Africa's attempts to destabilize all of southern Africa. We also discussed the history and program of the ANC and its vision for the future of South Africa.

Dr. Avery Post, president of the United Church of Christ, stated at the meeting: "The racist apartheid regime in South Africa is perpetrating one of the greatest crimes against humanity that has been witnessed in history. These crimes are not dissimilar or unrelated to the holocaust during World War II, and both of these crimes against humanity were borne out of similar racist/Fascist ideologies ... We are called by God to promote God's justice."

In response, ANC's Pallo Jordan stated, "We have had reason, especially since 1980, to be extremely disappointed with the sorts of responses we have been able to get from the administration in the United States on issues related to southern Africa. And we are pleased to have this opportunity to meet with people like yourselves who have been with us in the trenches, fighting for the same end."

Thabo Mbeki focused on the long history and deep affection of the South African people for the African National Congress, reminding us that, "The ANC was founded in 1912 as an organization committed to the democratic, non-racial transformation of

South Africa. Naturally, we have deep roots within our communities. Generations of Black South Africans have grown up in the ANC. So even if they arrested all the leaders and the activists, the community would carry on in the spirit and the name of the ANC."

Mbeki also reported on the latest murderous acts of terrorism committed by the government of South Africa against the ANC: the assassination of Dulcie September, the ANC's Paris representative; the car-bombing of Albie Sachs, an ANC lawyer in Mozambique; the attempted bombing of ANC's chief representative in Brussels; and the scores of other persons who have been murdered by South Africa's "Z-death squads" in raids on the neighboring front-line nations. While I was in Botswana I saw the terrible devastation at the site of a recent raid where South Africa's death squad had murdered and burned the bodies of four people, three of them young women. One of the victims was a church member of the U.C.C. of southern Africa.

Also at the meeting Ruth Momati spoke of the millions of children who are being physically and psychologically tortured at the hands of the South African government. She talked about the ANC youth program that established schools to care for and prepare the youth who escape from South Africa for future leadership. The beauty of

the ANC is that it is preparing future leaders while still respecting the wisdom of the senior leaders of the struggle.

The president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, is 70 years old. He was once the law partner of Nelson Mandela, the noted ANC leader. Mandela has been a political prisoner in South Africa for 26 years. Those at the meeting reminded us that on July 28 of this year there will be an international celebration of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

*VERY IMPORTANT*

Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr.  
Civil Rights Journal

*THE OMISSIONS IS MOST IMPORTANT*

### Chicago Defender

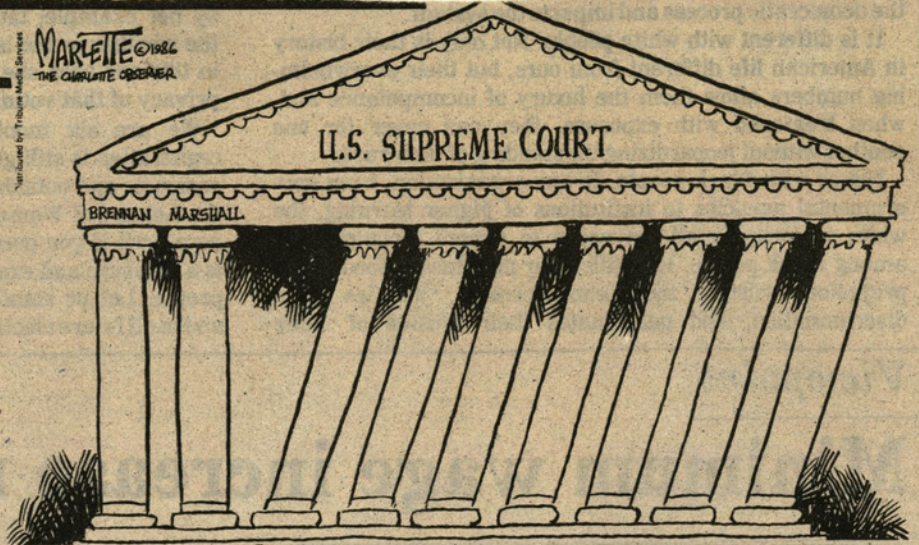
Founded May 5, 1905  
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1868-1940

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### DEFENDER PLATFORM SINCE 1905

1. American race prejudice must be destroyed.
2. Racially unrestricted membership in all unions.
3. Equal employment opportunities on all jobs public and private.
4. True representation in all United States police forces.
5. Complete cessation of all school segregation.
6. Establishment of open occupancy in all American housing.
7. Federal intervention to protect civil rights in all instances where civil rights compliance at the state level breaks down.





# Musicians sing for Mandela's freedom

NEW YORK—On June 11, popular musicians from around the world will band together in a benefit concert with the most overtly political theme since the 1960s.

Billed as Freedomfest, the concert will take place at London's Wembley Stadium, the site of the Live Aid concert, but that's where the similarity ends.

Unlike most of the benefit concerts that have proliferated in the 1980s, Freedomfest is not a charity fund-raiser. It's a confrontational political event aimed at the government of South Africa and its practice of apartheid.

The concert's immediate goal is to bring worldwide attention to the plight of imprisoned dissident Nelson Mandela, who's languished in South African jails since 1962. Mandela turns 70 on July 18, and the concert organizers want him to celebrate that birthday in freedom.

"There's a lot of people who don't even know who Nelson Mandela is," said Jim Kerr of Simple Minds, the first group to sign up for the event. "Ismael Ayof, Mandela's lawyer, is one of the few people who've seen him in the last six

years, and through him there's a lot of hope that he'll be set free."

Unlike some of the more aggressive benefit organizers in the past, Kerr has a reserved attitude towards the concert.

"I think Mandela will be set free whether the concert takes place or not," he said. "The whole thing is about awareness. Anything after that is completely a bonus. The government in South Africa censors the press, so this whole thing is bringing pressure against them by dragging their behavior into the open."

"I think there's a lot of people who know what's going on down there is wrong. It always was wrong. By saying or doing nothing, the conspiracy of silence is food to the enemy."

"You're not even allowed to mention his name in South Africa. There was a man there who was arrested for drinking out of a cup that had his name on it."

The six-hour show, which will be telecast in the United States on the Fox network, features Dire Straits, Simple Minds, Ashford and Simpson, the Fat Boys, UB40, Sting, Phil Collins, Sly and Robbie, Roberta

"I feel great about this show," said Fat Boys member Damon "Kool Rock" Wimbley. "They're asking us to help fight apartheid, to help free Mandela. He's a symbol, a hero like Martin Luther King, he's been over there fighting for his rights."

"I think what everybody's doing, coming together like this, George Michael, Phil Collins, that unity, it's like Woodstock."

Flack, Joe Cocker, Harry Belafonte, Natalie Cole, Gregory Hines, Hugh Masakela, Little Steven, Rolling Stone bassist Bill Wyman, Miriam Makeba and comedians Whoopi Goldberg and Billy Connolly among others.

"I see a big difference between this and Live Aid," said Kerr. "This is not so much about raising

money as that was. At the back of the Live Aid thing there was a war going on in Ethiopia, but that wasn't mentioned so much."

"The money made from this won't be a big sum. The extra money raised will be for educational purposes. But if it's a telethon you think 'Where's the money going?'"

"Being British we have an additional reason to do it because our government is the biggest ally South Africa has, so it's very much more a protest than a plea for charity."

Other musicians appearing share Kerr's view. The usually comic rapsters the Fat Boys are taking Freedomfest seriously.

"I feel great about this show," said Fat Boy Damon "Kool Rock" Wimbley. "They're asking us to help fight apartheid, to help free Mandela. He's a symbol, a hero like Martin Luther King, he's been

over there fighting for his rights."

"I think what everybody's doing, coming together like this, George Michael, Phil Collins, that unity, it's like Woodstock."

The Fat Boys have even come up with a special rap for the occasion:

*"We're on our way to Wembley to break on your policies;*

*Apartheid is chains, injustice and fallacies!*

*The world is watchin', Botha!*  
*You're an illin' fella!*

*But you better know what time it is! Free Mandela!*"

"It's definitely a political concert," said Kerr. "Eighty thousand people saying no to apartheid."

"The last thing I wanna see there is some kind of bloodbath," Kerr added. "I'm very much a pacifist. It's such a kind of Rubik's Cube, this situation there. But I also feel that until there's freedom for Mandela there's no chance for peace."



# US and Reds set date for Angola

THE NATAL MERCURY

02/06/88

**MOSCOW—The United States and the Soviet Union favour a target date of September 29 this year for settling the problem of Angola and South West Africa, a senior US official said yesterday.**

The official said this emerged from lengthy talks between US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin during the Moscow summit.

'The two sides here were able to indicate their support for establishing September 29, 1988 ... as a target for resolving outstanding differences,' said the official who did not wish to be identified.

The date is the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which called for independence for South West Africa.

The official said there had been significant new momentum in tackling the Angola-South West Africa problem in recent months.

Early last month, Dr Crocker chaired a meeting in London of Angolan, South

African, Cuban and US officials, the first time the four parties had sat down together since the civil war broke out.

It was followed later in May by Angolan-South African talks in the Congo capital of Brazzaville.

The projected deal would also involve the withdrawal from Angola of South African troops fighting alongside the rebel Unita movement.

The official said the superpowers were agreed that there should be an early follow-up meeting.

## **'Facilitator'**

Although the Soviet Union does not take part in the talks, it supplies the weapons used by the Angolans and Cubans, and Dr Crocker has met Mr Adamishin several times in recent months to discuss the southern Africa situation.

Officials say the main outstanding problem is a timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

Simon Barber reports from Washington that the Reagan

Administration is prepared to consider new economic pressure on South Africa if it concludes Pretoria is stalling on an Angola settlement, according to Commonwealth eminent person Gen Olusegun Obasanjo.

The former Nigerian leader, who says he has been acting as a 'facilitator' in the negotiations, is also convinced that unless a deal is struck by July, 'then we will have to forget it for now ... and look to the next Administration'.

In an interview with Africa Report, a publication of the African-American Institute, Gen Obasanjo said the Cubans had agreed to pull out definitely within a specific period providing Resolution 435 was implemented and the withdrawal of S A troops from Angola took place.

However, he was 'very pessimistic' about the prospects of a settlement 'because we are dealing with a group of people (S A) who can only be moved by superior power or real danger to their existence'.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told a news conference in Lusaka that South Africa had been forced to the negotiating table by military defeat in Angola and pressure from the superpower leaders for peace in southern Africa.

He said South Africa's participation in four-way peace talks in early May involving Angola, Cuba and the US indicated that the situation in southern Africa was changing for the better. — (Sapa-Reuter)



# S A has THE NATAL MERCURY nuclear arms, 02/06/88 claims Mugabe

NEW YORK—South Africa has nuclear weapons and a strategic motive for using them, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe said yesterday.

The only possible targets for these weapons are blacks, a people the Government had historically treated as sub-humans, he said in a UN special session on disarmament.

Mr Mugabe is current chairman of the Non-aligned Movement. He appeared here in that capacity as well as a head of state.

According to reports over several years, South Africa has a nuclear potential. Mr Mugabe said Pretoria had introduced nuclear weapons into Africa, thwarting African leaders' efforts to have the continent declared a nuclear-free zone.

'The regime that possesses those weapons, South Africa, has not only the strategic motive to want to use such weapons at some stage, but also practises a racist doctrine which will serve to erase any psychological inhibitions against using those weapons,'

Mr Mugabe said.

He added: 'Is it not ironic that those Western states which proclaim their commitment to non-proliferation (of nuclear weapons) with such vigour, turn out to be the ones to have given a nuclear capability to South Africa, a state that has refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty or to place all its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency standards?'

He said the situation created by what he called the 'nuclearisation of South Africa' was extremely serious and the Disarmament Commission should quickly submit recommendations to the UN General Assembly on combating this capability.

Mr Mugabe deplored the failure of the UN Security Council to respond to a 1986 call by leaders of the Non-aligned Movement for effective measures to meet the danger posed by a nuclear South Africa.

'We should like to urge that body again from this podium to act to remove this threat to international peace and security,' he said. — (Sapa-Reuter)



## COMMENT

BUSINESS DAY

## Angolan chess

02/06/88

**M**ORE than a decade has passed since the Soviet Union, using Brazzaville as a staging post for long-range projection of its power, intervened to install the communist MPLA as government of Angola. The United States, enfeebled by defeat in Vietnam, made an inept and unsuccessful attempt to install its own client, a playboy revolutionary called Holden Roberto, and then switched to half-hearted support of Unita. The use of Cubans and South Africans as surrogate forces merely emphasises that both contestants were willing to employ any means to achieve their aims; the Russians were simply more determined, and clearer in their objectives.

From that sequence of events — a clash of Great Power interests won by the Soviet Union — the entire Angolan tragedy has sprung. Probably Angola's fortunes, like Mozambique's, are now irretrievable. The destruction of rail routes, industrial plant, infrastructure, small towns, and educational facilities is more easily achieved than the reconstruction of those facilities. The circumstances of Angola's birth have condemned that nation to Third World darkness for as far ahead as anybody can see. It therefore behoves the Great Powers, if only for pity's sake, to try as they are now doing to bring to an end the conflict.

More will be required than good intentions, however, to close that particular Pandora's box. Unita, supported from the south by South Africa, is now supported from Zaire (as was Holden Roberto) by the

United States, and today it is the Soviet Union which is enfeebled by its neo-colonial experience in Afghanistan, as the Americans were in Vietnam. It is difficult to see any solution that does not depend crucially on an agreement between Unita and MPLA.

Besides, the surrogates of 1975 have got out of hand. Cuban forces are said to be driving southward in great strength, though we have yet to see evidence of it, and South Africa has indicated that it will not pull its own forces back so long as the Cubans remain a threat. Hence, a second layer of agreement involving Cuba and South Africa is now necessary to achieve peace in Angola, and this in turn raises the question of Namibia.

According to reports from London, Neil van Heerden, director-general of Foreign Affairs, told the two-day Angola conference there that South Africa stood by every word of UN resolution 435 which provides for a ceasefire in Angola and for UN-supervised elections in Namibia. If so, there exists a powerful incentive for the Soviets and the Americans to try to overcome South Africa's legitimate concern that Swapo will pre-empt the outcome of those elections by force or by intimidation through the threat of force.

If Namibia is not to become a re-run of Angola 13 years ago, the Great Powers must quash the idea that a well-armed, foreign-supported force of irregulars can seize control of any African country at the moment of its birth.



# The OAU

BUSINESS

DAY

02/06/88

**T**HERE'S an important lesson to be learnt from the slow and sad withering away of the Organisation for African Unity: skin colour and poverty alone are not an enduring binding force to hold together 50 states, most of which are still in the learning stage of self-government.

After 20 years the OAU had not grown beyond being a forum for the rhetoric of pumped-up dictators who journeyed — regardless of the cost to their impoverished countries — to participate in the annual summit meetings which produced no tangible benefits for the millions of people whom they represented.

The concept of African unity

based on pigmentation — apartheid in reverse — was an understandable neo-colonial reaction, the liberated seeking a platform in the sun. But in many cases liberation did not extend to the governed, only to the new governors — those who survived revolutions, assassinations and palace coups.

There was, and still is, a place for an OAU, but only if the members apply themselves to the realities of the African continent. These include controlling birth rates that grow faster than GDP, seeking and not squandering aid for the upliftment of their people, and learning that states cannot exist without a productive economy for which charity is no substitute.



Dear Sir,  
SECTIONS of the media have once again attacked Archbishop Desmond Tutu for his stance on sanctions. Business Day self-righteously questions the lifestyle and income of the Archbishop of Cape Town and asks what mandate he has to call for sanctions and expresses concern for the unemployed.

We find the hypocrisy utterly disgusting. Where does Business Day's sudden concern for the unemployed come from? They have never been concerned about the plight of the millions of unemployed before. It is to hide their craven capitulation to apartheid that they now attack Tutu and not from any real humanitarian concern.

Why do they not criticise the super-rich who fail to invest their profits in SA but rather salt their wealth away abroad to hedge their bets on the future of SA? It is their failure to invest in new production, factories and shops that is the real cause of the economic crisis in SA. As for disinvestment — it is well established that most companies disinvesting from SA do so on the basis of their judgment of the political and economic future of SA.

They lack faith in the ability of the apartheid government to provide security for their investment. SA is a bad risk as far as they are concerned. This is not the fault of Tutu but of the apartheid system which, by justifiably provoking resistance from the mass of oppressed, has rendered SA chronically unstable.

While we might not agree with every statement made by Tutu, the attacks now made upon him are utterly reprehensible. Tutu's undoubted moral courage is an inspiration

# Tutu's courage 'an inspiration'

to millions of South Africans in this difficult period. We welcome him as Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape and wish him well in his endeavours.

119 MEMBERS OF UWC STAFF

Bellville

□ This letter does not accurately reflect Business Day's editorial position. — EDITOR.

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,  
IT IS accepted that, to the extent that sanctions are or become successful, they hurt the black workers in the first place — people solidly anti-government.

They hurt in the second place the private-sector whites, 75% of whom are anti-government. Many of these, as a reaction to the Tutus and the Kennedys, will in fact consider supporting instead of opposing our government.

The group least affected by sanctions is the public sector, and these folk are solidly pro-government and the real target of the sanctioneers.

This aspect of sanctions appears to have been neglected. What an irony.

C L KIDSON  
Edenvale

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,  
IT IS understandable that the Public Servants' Association should feel obliged to endeavour to counter the mounting criticism of the Government Pension Fund, in a editorial in their PSA official journal (Business Day, May 10). In doing so, however,

## LETTERS

PO Box 1138  
Jo'burg 2000

the writer reveals an astonishing naivety on the basic principles of pension funding.

To claim that the "fund is solvent and because the benefit payments are less than the current income, there is nothing to worry about," would send shivers down the spine of any pension actuary. Such reasoning can only be valid if one is operating a pay as you go scheme, on the assumption that government cannot go into liquidation.

The fallacy of this policy is highlighted in Dr Wassenaar's revealing book "En Route to Fairyland," where he cites the classic example of New York City where, in 1975, they were close to bankruptcy due to an accumulation of bloated pay rolls, unrealistic perks and pensions.

The major criticism directed at government's pension scheme is that the alarming amendments — such as the buy-back provision, final salary definitions, gratuities and dispensing with the actuaries — were devised and put into effect without public scrutiny or approval by people having a definite beneficiary interest in the scheme. In the private sector this would be tantamount to allowing an employee to write his own remuneration package.

The present system needs to be revised to ensure that the public who foot the bill are ensured a measure of vigilance and control and that the

determination of terms or conditions of service of public or political office be totally removed from those that happen to have pecuniary interests in any way.

The present ludicrous proposal to provide pensions for local councilors is a case in point. Small wonder the frequent jibes that are directed at government's well-oiled gravy train whose carrying capacity seems to be unlimited.

Such situations have no place in a democratic society and can only exist due to public indifference and apathy.

I L K  
Gillitte

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,  
I WAS not really surprised to read of the pathetic case of John Choeu, one of the many black men who loyally served SA during the Second World War. When the National Party government some 40 years ago took over they were by no means sympathetic, putting it mildly, to the principles on which the war was fought. Today the NP is more accommodating, but is still learning too slowly.

However the Choeu case rekindled a memory that has troubled me for many years. Just after the Second World War I was a junior clerk in the Rhodesian Department of Defence. My job was to sort out some thousands of war gratuity certificates, unclaimed by black soldiers who'd fought for Rhodesia in theatres of war, such as Burma.

I tentatively put the question to

my seniors: "Couldn't we try to trace the benefactors of the outstanding gratuities?" No, I was told. Too difficult to trace them; burn the certificates. It wasn't true. An effort could have been made.

I think of a black sergeant-major, a man of fine stature with a couple of rows of "gongs" across his proud chest having fought and won battle honours in both First and Second World Wars. I can't remember his name now, but I wonder if he ever got a war gratuity.

It all makes me think of the late Alan Paton's book "Cry the Beloved Country".

L P SMITH  
Muizenberg

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,  
HOW much I appreciated T S Crawford-Browne's letter (Business Day, May 23). For too long now many people in our country have used Archbishop Desmond Tutu as the rest of the world uses SA — a salve for their own consciences.

It is long past the time for the legislated evil of apartheid to be removed. Then, and only then, will the threat of sanctions be a thing of the past and we in SA can get on with the job of making a better country for our children.

Incredibly, there is still a lot of good will among the people of our land, so let us build a new SA together for all, irrespective of colour, class or creed. Then the world will see that people of all races can live together in harmony and we will then be an example to all.

M L HARRIS (Mrs)  
Benmore



**T**HE PROCESS of "creeping foreign disengagement" from ownership of South African mining shares has been underway for a sufficient number of years to suggest that a rapid reversal in this trend is unlikely.

The appreciation of the rand over the past year or more, and the restoration of greater political stability and social calm in SA, have not helped to stem the disinvestment tide, although they might have slowed the pace of such foreign detachment.

It seems clear that not only the prospects for gold and the mining industry, but also foreign perspectives of the political, labour, social unrest and economic situation in SA will play a major role in formulating non-resident investor attitudes to South African mining shares.

**T**hese "risk" factors that have become attached to the normal investment criteria applicable to equity holdings have to be weighed up by individual investors or fund managers when assessing the merits of South African mining shares.

Such opinions are likely to vary widely, but the fact that foreign investors still held some 24% of the total issued share capital of South African mining shares (and 26% of gold shares) at the end of 1987 indicates that many foreign investors remain optimistic about the prospects for SA and its mining industry.

The rising pressure for compulsory disinvestment from SA — particularly in the US — does, however, raise the prospect that many foreign investors might be forced to disengage from SA.

The compounding efforts to promote legislation in the US to enforce sanctions (including disinvestment) on SA culminated during October 1986 in the passing of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. The Act did not force disinvestment, but did preclude any new investment by US citizens in SA.

# SA could absorb total US sell-out of mining shares

BUSINESS DAY  
02/06/88

**Foreign holdings of South African mining shares are dropping steadily. What would happen if Americans in particular were forced to sell all their SA shares? MIKE BROWN and HELEN COOPER examine the issue in this extract from a Davis Borkum Hare study**

Any new mining shares issued after October 2, 1986, could not be held by US citizens, but shares in mining companies issued before this date could be freely held and traded.

Currently being brought before Congress are the "Dellums" Bill (in the House of Representatives) and the "Cranston" Bill (before the Senate). The Bills are largely identical and seek to prohibit US investments in SA. The Dellums Bill provides as follows:

"A US person may not, directly or through a foreign affiliate of that US person, make or hold any investment in SA." The definitions make it clear that South African equities are incorporated in the orbit of the Bill.

There is no certainty that the Bills would be passed by Congress in this or future sessions, or that the provisions could not be substantially altered in their passage through the US legislature.

However, the issue of "compulsory disengagement" from South African



equity investment by all "US residents, nationals, partnerships, corporations, or other entities organised under the laws of the US, plus foreign affiliates controlled by a US person," according to the Dellums Bill terminology, does seem to be on the roll.

The possibility of further enforced reductions in foreign holdings of SA mining shares cannot therefore be precluded. Threats of such compul-

sion could also lead to the erosion of US and other American Depository Receipt (ADR) holdings in such stocks.

US and/or ADR holders retain 14.2% of the total market capitalisation of South African mining shares, worth some R14,27bn or US\$4,6bn (at the end of 1987 financial rand rate). The major portion of US holdings are concentrated in gold shares, worth R10,0bn or US\$3,2bn.

Expressed in different terms, an enforced "fire sale" of US holdings in South African mining shares would only involve a sizeable but nonetheless a minority stake in the market. Also, the present capital of US\$4,6bn involved would very likely be realisable at a lower figure because of the probable fall in the financial rand — which was designed for the purpose of absorbing such shocks.

The probable effects of total US disinvestment could include:

□ A one-off disruption of the price of South African mining shares as the

US "minority stake" in the industry is absorbed at bargain prices;

□ The shares involved are already issued capital, so there would be no direct impact on the South African mining industry. The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 already prohibits fresh US investment in SA, so there would be no change in the status quo relating to the mining industry's capacity to raise net foreign capital;

The financial rand mechanism enables non-residents to disinvest publicly without any net foreign capital outflow. Accordingly, there would be no shocks to the South African capital account or foreign currency reserves. On the other hand, the financial rand "pool" would expand by the extent of US sales of South African mining shares, which could enhance the tradeability and liquidity of the currency; and

□ Any negative employment effects which might arise from US disinvestment might be expected to impact predominantly on the black population group, which accounts for about 90% of the labour force on South African gold and platinum mines. At stake here are some 500 000 jobs, of which 20%, or 100 000, are migratory workers from neighbouring territories in Southern Africa.

**T**he enforced disinvestment by US citizens of holdings in South African mining shares is by no means certain and, to date, little threat of compulsive disinvestment seems apparent in the UK and Europe.

Cautious investors wishing to avoid the disruptive influence of potential further foreign disengagement from South African mining equities might, however, be attracted to mining shares with minimal foreign ownership.

Two categories of shares — new mines and mining houses — tend to fall under this description and these companies could provide some degree of "sanction-hedge" for cautious investors.



# Disagreement on anti-racist plan

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has expressed disappointment that SA religious leaders have failed to agree on a far-reaching programme to fight apartheid.

About 200 Christians, along with a handful of Muslim, Hindu and Jewish leaders, resolved to wage a nationwide peaceful "Campaign for Truth" after a two-day emergency conference in Johannesburg.

"We call on all Christians to commit themselves to active non-violent opposition rather than passive non-violence," SACC head Frank Chikane told the congregation in Soweto's Regina Mundi church on Tuesday.

Tutu said a number of the leaders, representing more than 15-million South Africans, dissented from a majority vote to back three

days of protest from June 6-8 by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Tutu said there had been deep divisions at the meeting, but he declined to say who had voted against joining the union protest.

Addressing 1 500 worshippers packing the church, Tutu struck a defiant note despite the presence of more than 100 troops and police surrounding the building and filming participants.

Chikane said the 200 representatives would appoint a committee to work out tactics for the Campaign of Truth. They would consider his proposals for civil disobedience, including refusal to record race on birth and marriage certificates, and a boycott of government race law structures. — Sapa-Reuter.