

update

VOL. 7, NO. 3

Monitoring economic and political
developments in South Africa and NamibiaPublished by the Africa Policy Information Center of the African-American Institute
833 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017-212-949-5666

Angola offers to resume Namibia talks with South Africa

Although talks with South Africa broke off last month, Angola said it was willing to resume negotiations on the independence of Namibia "at any time."

Despite persistent reports of an imminent ceasefire, which would involve South African troops withdrawing from Angola into Namibia and SWAPO guerrillas moving further north in Angola under Angolan army supervision, there was no apparent agreement even though South African military officials said military activity on both sides had been scaled down for some time.

But on the eve of the February 23 Luanda-Pretoria talks, South Africa claimed that an elite force of 600 SWAPO insurgents, the largest such force in the 16-year-long war, had infiltrated Namibia. Pretoria used this as an excuse not to send Foreign Minister Roelof Botha to the discussions with the cabinet-level Angolan delegation and the negotiations were suspended.

Although the Angolan Interior Minister, Col. Alexandre Rodrigues, has acknowledged that a ceasefire and implementation of the UN's Namibia plan were discussed with South Africa, he has consistently denied any talks about the Angolan rebel movement, Unita. However, there are reports of indirect contacts between Unita and Angola's MPLA government.

South Africa's government radio claimed that the U.S. is "trying to

bring about a settlement in Angola between Unita and the MPLA, this to lead to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, which in turn will open the doors" to independence for Namibia.

After the SWAPO raids, the South African army imposed on the press what amounted to full-scale military censorship, according to

the Johannesburg *Star*. The army said some reports about the SWAPO incursions were based on "rumors which reflect a false image of the war." (Johannesburg *Star*, February 26 and March 5, 1983; Luanda Radio, February 27, 1983; Johannesburg Radio, February 21 and 22, 1983; London *Guardian*, February 18, 1983.) □

U.S. policy backs 'evolutionary' change

The American ambassador to South Africa, Herman Nickel, repeated last month the Reagan administration's qualified approval of limited political participation by Coloureds (mixed-race people) and Asians in a new parliament.

But he stressed that Washington endorses peaceful evolutionary change only if the black majority are eventually included.

"Having for so long criticized the conduct of South African national politics as a monopoly of the white minority," Nickel said, "we can hardly dismiss it as meaningless when the government takes a first step away from that monopoly—and is even prepared to face a party split in the process."

But, he said, the Reagan administration rejects Pretoria's policy of splitting off the black homelands as "independent" states, in the process stripping millions of blacks of their South African citizenship. "We have made it crystal clear," Nickel said, "that when we speak of the consent of the governed, this must also include the 72 percent of the population who are black Africans. We cannot accept that they be deprived of their South African citizenship against their will."

Nickel's remarks, to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg, were generally welcomed by pro-government Afrikaans newspapers.

Die Burger commented that Nickel "makes the valid point that evolutionary change is by nature gradual and that it is understandable that opponents of the present system will regard each individual step as inadequate."

Nickel's statement of policy echoed earlier comments in a published interview with Dr. Chester Crocker, the assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

"While what [the South Africans] have said publicly does not yet provide a vision of equal political participation," Crocker said, "it is certainly closer to it than what we have seen for the past 30 years, a step in the right direction."

Crocker added: "What we are saying, both publicly and privately, is that we encourage this general process without endorsing any specific element of it." (*Die Burger*, February 21, 1983; *Citizen*, February 19, 1983; London *Guardian*, February 17, 1983; *Rand Daily Mail*, February 11, 1983.) □

South Africa/Namibia Update is published at a subscription cost of \$24 (foreign airmail: \$32). It is designed to provide timely, nonpartisan information, covering all sides of issues in U.S.-South African relations.

Internal Security

'Confession' thrown out

A banned Methodist minister, on trial for treason, was released on \$900 bail last month after spending 15 months in detention.

The unusual freeing of a defendant charged with high treason followed the supreme court judge's surprise ruling that a "confession" made in detention by Cedric Mayson, 55, was inadmissible as evidence. Mayson, who is white, said the 29-page statement contained invented and exaggerated claims and that he made the confession because he was "afraid of dying in detention." He added, "I knew from a previous detention period in 1976 that if I didn't write what [the security police] wanted me to, I would be kept until I did."

Thirteen police witnesses denied that Mayson was mistreated or intimidated into writing the statement. The prosecutor told the court: "If the accused's version of what happened on the first four days of his detention is correct, then 13 policemen lied to the court." The judge, P.J. van der Walt, did not explain his ruling but it was apparent he did not accept the police testimony.

One policeman had testified: "If Cedric Mayson had swollen ankles, it was not because he was forced to stand for two days, but because he chose to stand for reasons best known to himself." Another claimed: "The laws of the country give the police the right to continue interrogating a detainee until he talks." (*Sowetan*, February 21, 1983; *London Times*, February 19, 1983; *London Guardian*, February 19, 1983.)

ANC denies responsibility for fatal bomb blast

South African police blamed the banned African National Congress for last month's bomb explosion at Bloemfontein's administration board offices that injured 76 blacks, one of whom later died.

Boards like the Bloemfontein offices, which administer black townships and enforce the pass laws against blacks, have often been the

target of ANC bombings, but these have occurred at night to minimize the risk to people.

The police commissioner, Gen. Mike Geldenhuys, said the idea that the ANC acted selectively in choosing targets was "nonsense." But ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo issued a communique from Dar es Salaam denying responsibility. Nzo said the allegation of ANC culpability for the attack was "endeavoring to create a false image" of the nationalist organization. (*Sowetan*, February 25, 1983; *Dar es Salaam Radio*, February 21, 1983; *London Times*, February 19, 1983.)

Massive pass arrests belie 'reform' talk

At a time when the South African government is promising a "climate of reform," the apartheid enforcement machinery appears to be carrying on as usual.

The crux of apartheid enforcement, the pass laws, seem to have been rigorously carried out last year when 206,022 blacks were arrested for *dompass* (passbook) offenses. That is a 20 percent increase on the previous year.

Helen Suzman, the opposition MP, said more people were being arrested now than when Dr. Piet Koornhof, the minister in charge of blacks, "declared war" on the *dompass* several years ago.

Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, said the government was tightening all aspects of blacks' lives "in a vain attempt to curb urbanization." (*Johannesburg Star*, February 26, 1983; *Sowetan*, February 24 and 25, 1983.)

Squatter camp razed

Another squatter camp outside Cape Town was demolished by police last month in the government's continuing battle against blacks who move to the area in search of jobs and better lives.

The police raid, in which about 1,000 shacks sheltering 3,000 people were bulldozed, erupted into a riot that spread to the nearby black townships of Guguletu and Nyanga. Many of the KTC camp's occupants were said to have permits authorizing them to live in the Cape Town

district and a government spokesman acknowledged that the squatters had a right to be in the area but said that squatting was illegal and would be stamped out. The government said later it would let 200 families, the "neediest cases," build homes on part of the site.

The western Cape is deemed a preferential labor area for Coloureds (mixed-race people). In a move that is viewed as trying to win Coloured backing for the plan to bring them as well as Asians into parliament, the government has announced that part of District Six inside Cape Town will be returned to them. Beginning in 1966, 40,000 people, most of them Coloureds, were evicted from District Six at a cost of \$50 million. The removals were not completed until last year. (*Johannesburg Star*, February 19, 1983; *Sowetan*, February 14 and 18, 1983; *Johannesburg Radio*, February 18, 1983; *London Times*, February 17, 1983.)

Venda clergyman detained

Simon Farisani, the Lutheran dean from the Venda homeland made "independent" by Pretoria, was detained for an hour by the security police on his return from a trip to the U.S. last month. No other details were released.

Farisani, 35, went to the U.S. as a guest of the American committee of the World Lutheran Federation. In Washington, he met with Edwin Meese, the presidential counselor, and senior State Department officials.

According to reports, Farisani was frequently asked about his long detention by Venda security police in 1981. Farisani said he was beaten and tortured so badly he almost died. A Lutheran lay preacher arrested with him, Tshifhiwa Muofhe, was beaten to death by Venda security police. (*Sowetan*, February 25, 1983; *Johannesburg Star*, February 12, 1983.)

Investment

Renault invests \$38 million

The French auto company, Renault, has decided to invest about \$38 million over the next two years,

entering the highly competitive South African car market.

A Renault model is now being assembled in South Africa, but by a domestic firm using the Toyota plant in Natal province. Renault will build a larger, more expensive model at the Leyland plant in Cape Town, with an initial sales target of 1,000 units a month. (Johannesburg *Star*, February 12, 1983.)

Homelands attract foreign, domestic capital

In the last year, the government has approved some 46 applications by foreigners seeking to invest \$74 million in the "decentralized areas," the government's term for the black homelands.

There were another 513 approved applications from South African businesses, amounting to a capital investment of \$685 million, according to the government.

In a separate report, the Transkei homeland made "independent" by Pretoria said 19 companies were being established there, providing an estimated 3,000 new jobs. Another 90 applications were being investigated.

One of the foreign investors in Transkei is a carpet business from the neighboring independent country of Swaziland, which recently moved its factory to the homeland. Several other Swazi companies were reportedly considering a transfer to Transkei. Two main factors in the moves, observers said, are declining investor confidence in Swaziland following the death of King Sobhuza and the low wages in Transkei. (Johannesburg *Star*, February 19 and 26, 1983; *Sowetan*, February 24, 1983.)

Economy

Exchange controls end for foreign investors

South Africa's abolition of exchange controls for foreign investors last month appears to have worked out smoothly.

There has been no panic flight of capital, which controls were designed to block following the stampede of foreign investment after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. After the 1976 Soweto unrest, the

controls were refined to encourage foreign investment with a discount rand rate while simultaneously discouraging repatriation of capital.

The South African authorities are not worried that ending the restrictions will stimulate an outflow of capital. "Our only reservation was what might happen in Soweto," said Dr. Chris Stals, the Reserve Bank's senior deputy governor, referring to political unrest. But some bankers outside the country said they had a large number of inquiries from multinationals wondering whether to get out.

Foreign investors can now transfer money freely in and out of the country, a move the government hopes will attract new investment. Large-scale foreign investments will probably be actively sought, because as the *Beeld* newspaper put it, they "provide the money so essential to promote growth and create employment."

But some analysts say there are many investors who would like to repatriate their money and others who may be tempted into speculative investments. For them and long-term investors, the removal of

controls will necessitate a careful weighing of South Africa's political stability. The political climate affects the rate of return on investment (historically high in South Africa) and that relates directly to the efficiency of the apartheid system for controlling black labor.

Analysts say that because apartheid restricts the advancement of black labor, thus dragging down the development of a potentially powerful economy, foreign investors will have to determine if the government's "reforms" will help thwart potential upheaval while helping to open up the economy to blacks. (*Financial Times*, February 7, 8 and 17, 1983; *Economist*, February 12, 1983; Johannesburg *Star*, February 12, 1983; *Beeld*, February 7, 1983.) □

Labor

Black union charges security police 'harassment'

The black National Union of Mineworkers, which won permission last year to organize in the mines—bastions of conservative

Buthelezi lobbies against 'sell-outs'

KwaZulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi campaigned last month, in South Africa, Britain and the U.S., against the decision by the Coloured (mixed-race) Labor Party to accept the government's offer of participation in a new parliament composed of Coloureds, Asians and whites—but not the black majority.

Buthelezi, who is also the leader of the Inkatha movement, suspended the Labor Party from another organization he heads, the South African Black Alliance (Saba).

That organization denounced the Labor Party, saying it had "enhanced and entrenched the abhorrent racism" of the government and had made itself "a co-oppressor of the voiceless majority." Buthelezi later said the government's exclusion of blacks from the political process "will pull the rug from under the feet of leaders like myself who have always stood for peaceful change."

The Zulu leader has often been at

odds with other prominent blacks, and he has made no public mention of a coalition of black, Coloured and Asian organizations formed in January to oppose the Labor Party's cooperation with the government. A key role in setting up this coalition was played by Dr. Allan Boesak, a Coloured theologian, who has welcomed Saba's suspension of the Labor Party, saying it might force the party to realize it has made "a ghastly mistake."

In the U.S. last month, Buthelezi lobbied against the Labor Party and against the Reagan administration's qualified support for the proposed inclusion of Coloureds and Asians in the government. If the new parliament comes into being, Buthelezi said, it will "change the nature of politics in South Africa" and "make advocates of the nonviolent strategy sound incredible to their followers." (*Sowetan*, February 7, 17, 22 and March 3, 1983; London *Guardian*, March 3, 1983; Johannesburg *Star*, February 26, 1983.) □

white unions—has accused the security police of harassing and intimidating union officials and of interfering in negotiations with management.

The accusations were made by two union organizers, Wilfred Salai and Jeffrey Madida, who said they were visited and questioned by security police. A week later, the two men were arrested and then convicted on a charge of not having a lodger's permit. They were fined \$13.50.

The security police questioning came just before union executives were to meet with the Chamber of Mines, the mining companies' umbrella organization, to discuss union recognition.

The mine where the two organizers were working, Vaal Reefs Exploration, denied that it had invited the security police. Anglo American, owner of Vaal Reefs, said it "deplores any intervention of third parties in legitimate union/management relations. Experience has shown that this can only increase the chances of conflict." (*Sowetan*, February 14 and 1, 1983.)

Politics

'Church council linked to ANC,' police allege

South Africa's security police chief has recommended that the South African Council of Churches (SACC) be cut off from foreign funding, which he said constituted 96 percent of its finances.

Lieut. Gen. Johan Coetzee made the recommendation in testimony before the Eloff commission, a government-set up body investigating SACC following charges that a former general secretary defrauded the council of \$340,000. The official, John Rees, is now on trial.

Coetzee implied that SACC has been used to advance the interests of the banned African National Congress. The council and its current general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, have been outspoken critics of apartheid.

The ANC reference was firmly rejected by SACC's counterpart in the U.S., the National Council of Churches. Its Africa office director, Willis Logan, said, "The SACC is

Journalists disclosed 'state secrets'

Two South African newspaper editors, a reporter and the publisher of the newspapers have been convicted in a secret trial for violating the Official Secrets Act in articles exposing alleged intelligence service involvement in the bungled Seychelles coup bid in November 1981.

The case stemmed from reports sent from the Seychelles last year by Eugene Hugo, reporter for both the *Rand Daily Mail* and the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*. Hugo was fined \$720; Rex Gibson, *Mail* editor, was fined \$450; and Tertius Myburgh, *Times* editor, was fined \$270. All the fines were conditionally suspended for five years and South African Associated Newspapers, publisher of both papers, was fined \$1,800, with half suspended for five years.

The trial was not about the accuracy of the reports, but about the alleged breach of "state security." Ironically, before the trial, Prime Minister Pieter Botha was reluctantly forced to disclose in parliament that the intelligence agent reported on, Martin Dolincheck, who was convicted in the Seychelles, was in fact working for the intelligence service at the time but was "absent without leave."

not a political body and has not allied itself with any political party." He added, "The South African government is swiftly moving to silence the last viable organization in South Africa which has consistently opposed apartheid in a nonviolent and constructive manner." (Johannesburg *Star*, February 26, 1983; *Sowetan*, February 15, 1983; Johannesburg Radio, February 14, 1983.)

the government had called Mozambican charges that the white man was a "Boer" soldier "lying propaganda." Gingles was based at Phalaborwa in the eastern Transvaal, where guerrillas of the rebel Mozambique National Resistance reportedly are trained. (London *Observer*, February 20, 1983.)

Church group changes emphasis on liberation

The World Council of Churches is preparing to shift the emphasis of its controversial program to combat racism away from liberation groups and toward the struggle for land rights.

The reported shift comes at a time when the WCC has been under attack in the U.S. for the anti-racism program from articles in the *Reader's Digest* and a segment of CBS-TV's "60 Minutes." Between 1970 and 1980, the WCC funneled \$205 million to liberation organizations in Africa, including the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Namibia's SWAPO and the banned South African organizations, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. This year, the latter three liberation groups received a total of \$210,000.

Conservative churches have also frequently criticized the WCC, not only for its support of southern African liberation movements, but also for its studies into the role of Western finance in supporting the South African economy. (*Sowetan*, February 9, 1983; London *Guardian*, February 8, 1983.)

Foreign Relations

'Proof' of Pretoria's hand in Mozambique raid

The London weekly *Observer* has uncovered what it calls proof of South African involvement in secret raids against nonmilitary targets in neighboring countries.

More than a year ago, a white man and three blacks were blown up while trying to sabotage the vital rail link from Beira in Mozambique to Zimbabwe. The Mozambican government was unable to identify what was left of the four men, but a page of a handwritten manuscript, a novel about Northern Ireland found next to the bodies, has been traced by the *Observer*. The white man, the newspaper reported, was Alan Gingles, 27, a former British army officer who at the time of his death was a lieutenant in the South African army.

Shortly after Gingles' death, army headquarters in Pretoria reported that he had been killed in "the operational area," a reference to the Namibia war zone. Earlier,