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Following F.W. de Klerk's opening of the South African parliament on Friday, 1 February 1991,

the subject of this package is primarily South Africa.

1. A SARDC Special Report summarizes the implications of de Klerk's statement to parliament.

2. Four news features related to de Klerk's announcement cover the subjects of sports, exiles, security and group areas.

3. Documentation includes:

Manifesto for a New South Africa

Statement of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government which met in Harare on 7 February 1991

Copies of de Klerk's speech are included in some packages for those who may not have the text.

4. A special news background feature explains why the Mozambique peace talks in Rome were disrupted by the MNR. 1 )

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8 February 1991

Patron: Julius K. Nyerere

Southern Africa News Features

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WHY RENAMO CANNOT AFFORD PEACE IN MOZAMBIQUE

by David Martin

The spurious grounds used by the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) in Rome to collapse the latest

attempt to end Mozambique's 15-year war has emphasised fears that the rebel movement is not ready for peace.

The latest Rome talks were supposed to deal with political issues. But the meeting never got that far.

Instead, according to a senior Mozambican official, it was "deadlocked" by the MNR on three grounds.

The first was the MNR's refusal to accept the findings of the eight-nation verification commission set up

last November to monitor breaches of the ceasefire agreed along the routes connecting the landlocked

hinterland to the Indian Ocean ports of Beira and Maputo.

Fourteen ceasefire breaches were reported to the commission. Eight were investigated and in six cases the

commission found that the MNR was "probably" guilty. The MNR delegation in Rome categorically

rejected these findings charging that the commission - including Kenya which has close relations with the

rebels, Britain, the United States and France - was partial.

The MNR also went back on the November peace agreement arguing that cities and towns in the corridors

such as Maputo, Beira, Chimoio and Chokwe were excluded, giving them the right to attack them.

The third MNR reason for breaking the Rome talks was the most bizarre. Under the November agreement

Zimbabwe forces in Mozambique have been confined to the two peace corridors. Since then, the MNR has

charged, Zimbabwean troops have been integrated into the Mozambican armed forces and are being taught

Mozambique's national language, Portuguese.

All the evidence suggests, however, that Zimbabwe has adhered strictly to the November agreement. Its

forces withdrew from the Gorongosa area, once the MNR symbolic headquarters, late last year and the area

has been subjected to an MNR offensive since then.

On 20 December, Zimbabwe withdrew its armoured battalion from the strategic Tete corridor linking

Zimbabwe and Malawi, through which 60 per cent of Malawi's trade flowed. During the November

negotiations, Mozambique had proposed that the Tete corridor be included in the agreement. The MNR

refused, arguing that corridor served Malawi's and not Zimbabwe's interests.

Some two weeks after the Zimbabwean battalion withdrew the MNR began attacking the route.

A number

of trucks were destroyed and drivers killed. Now most truckers are taking the longer route through Zambia

at double the freight cost.

Members of the verification commission are disappointed, but not surprised, by the Rome deadlock. "To

use a British adage" one European member said, "you can take a horse to water but you can not make it

drink.

"We have got the MNR to Rome. But they are not ready to drink from the fountain of peace.

"

Why they will not and how to persuade them to do so are the issues confronting the mediators as they try to

get the negotiations back on track.

The reason for the MNR's delaying tactics is simple enough. They want to be guaranteed a share of power once the war ends. For years the MNR had insisted on multi-party elections. Late last year the sole and ruling party, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo), which had fought the liberation war against Portugal, adopted political plurality. The Mozambican government had originally hoped to hold elections this year but the MNR's story in Rome has made this possibility increasingly unlikely. Frelimo's decision to accept plurality posed a major dilemma for the MNR. Founded by Rhodesian intelligence to counter Zimbabwean nationalist guerrillas and inherited by South Africa in 1980, the MNR has waged one of the most bestial wars in modern times. War-related deaths attributable to the MNR are estimated at over one million. Mutilated people with ears, noses and lips cut off are common in some rural areas. Almost every family among Mozambique's 15 million population has lost a relative. The MNR are hated and feared, and they know it. In Rome in November they did a remarkable volte-face. They now oppose multi-party elections and the new constitution which has legalised them. They said privately that they had not been in the bush for 15 years fighting and suffering to achieve nothing. They wanted a coalition with Frelimo, not a multi-party election in which, most observers believe, they would obtain under 10 per cent of the vote if polling was free from intimidation and peace prevailed. "They want to use our heads as a trampoline to jump to power," a senior Frelimo official said. "We have committed ourselves to multi-party elections and we cannot accept that." A further problem the MNR faces is just how much of Mozambique it controls and how many of those the government describes as "armed bandits" come under any central control and would respond to a ceasefire agreement. Over the past two years MNR control over rural towns and the countryside has diminished. Whilst external support for them has not totally ended the indications are that even some of their most rightwing backers have become embarrassed by their atrocities. This has coincided with Mozambique's adoption of a policy of trade liberalisation and the programme of political reform. This has paid dividends with the United States recently announcing its aid to Mozambique this year will be approximately \$110 million, its biggest programme in sub-Saharan Africa. In addition the US is granting a further \$5 to \$10 million to help offset increased fuel prices. Washington's irritation over MNR breaches of the ceasefire in the peace corridors and delaying tactics in Rome has been clearly enunciated on several regional stops by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen. Meanwhile the Mozambican government is pursuing its own agenda, with or without the MNR. A few Hedgling parties have begun to open offices in Maputo. Their policies are confused (overtly racist in one case) and who, if anyone, is behind them is uncertain. 1 Peace remains Frelimo's priority. President Joaquim Chissano said in November he hoped that at the creation of the two corridors of peace would have a ripple effect leading to the creation of zones of peace proposed by the Red Cross. But the MNR leader, Afonso Dhlakama, rejected the proposal. The prospects of peace and of re-building the shattered nation remains as elusive as ever. (SARDC) February 1991 Southern African Research and Documentation Centre

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#### THE LEGACY OF APARTHEID LINGERS

by Tendai Msengezi

State President F.W. de Klerk's announcement of plans to scrap the Group Areas Act has been applauded

by the international community. However, close observers of the political scene, such as the churches,

point out that this will simply remove one "pillar" of apartheid which had become unworkable.

"Provisions of the Group Areas Act have collapsed and government is simply unable to enforce them any

longer," said Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

The act, which de Klerk said would be repealed soon, determines where the different racial groups in South

Africa can live and do business.

For some time now there have been "grey areas" in cities where the government was obliged to ignore the

fact that different races were living in the same residential areas. Relaxation of segregation in state-

controlled health services was announced last year and some schools have voted to integrate this year.

In his speech, de Klerk emphasised that "the reality of the existence of a variety of people and

communities" must be respected. This has connotations, some analysts believe, of earlier promises of

"group rights" which the liberation movements rejected as apartheid by another name.

Apartheid has created a situation where people are not only separated into racial groups, but also into tribal

groups and communities. If the notion of community rights is emphasised and promoted, some of the

different social groups could remain in the same segregated localities they now occupy. This could be seen

as separate development and therefore a form of apartheid in disguise.

It is difficult to see how government is going to channel funds to upgrade the poor communities when it has

been said that no community will be favoured over another, neither is it clear how government is going to

deal with cases of people who wish to go to live in communities which would not welcome them.

Educational experts have indicated that raising black education to a level equal with white education is

virtually impossible in the foreseeable future. To do so would mean keeping white education at a standstill

for at least a decade while funds were diverted to black schools to overcome the discrepancies of many

decades.

The solution now proposed is to eliminate Bantu education and establish a single education system which

takes into account the deficiencies of the present system. This lengthy and costly process means that

inferior apartheid education will remain for a long time.

While state hospitals have been integrated, most of the health system has been privatised, meaning that

poor blacks still cannot afford adequate health care.

"Unfinished Business: Apartheid after Apartheid", a report by the Southern African and Research and

Documentation Centre (SARDC), estimated a housing shortage of about 800 000 black units last year,

excluding homelands.

De Klerk acknowledged the endemic problems in housing, health and education and indicated that the government is looking into ways of financing the provision of land and housing, although his speech did not mention any time frame.

One way of overcoming some of the negative legacy of Group Areas would be to reform local government.

The repeal of the Development of Black Communities Act will make it legal for segregated city councils to merge if they choose.

This announcement is in line with the African National Congress (ANC) demand for the existing local government bodies to be disbanded and replaced with non-racial interim structures.

The main conditions laid out by the ANC for the lifting of the ban on international sporting links was that the Separate Amenities and the Group Areas Acts should be repealed, allowing sports facilities to be opened to all races. The ANC will then assist unified sporting organisations which represent a sporting code played on a non-racial basis at "all levels".

The imbalances created by apartheid will not disappear overnight. The non-white communities will remain socially disadvantaged, and will not have immediate access to better facilities due to the legacy of the present system.

The alternative would be to move to communities with better facilities. But how many blacks can afford to live in areas where the facilities are easily available or even to commute from the townships to these areas?

Whether those communities will accept them also remains a big question.

Some apartheid legislation may be on its way out of the statute books, but the legacy will remain for many years to come. (SARDC)

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NO REFORMS UNDER THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT' :

by Dee Mashinini

State President F.W. de Klerk has again announced measures to reform apartheid in South Africa.

On 1 February, when opening the 9th session of the South African parliament, de Klerk promised to repeal

the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts plus the pervasive Group Areas Act.

In accordance with the Groote Schuur and the Pretoria Minutes, de Klerk was also expected to announce

the repeal of security laws that subject the majority of the population to oppressive practices, especially

the Internal Security Act.

The African National Congress (ANC) has set the abolishing of this act as a pre-condition for beginning

full-scale talks with the government.

Instead, de Klerk praised the police and the defence force for a job well done, in particular during the year

1990.

This was contrary to the expectations of those who demanded the repeal of the Internal Security Act. As de

Klerk delivered his opening speech, over 20 000 people, led by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, rallied

outside parliament demanding the repeal of all security legislation as well as the formation of an interim

government.

In his speech, de Klerk rejected the formation of an interim government and also warned against public

marches which could instigate unrest and destruction of property.

A commendable effort on de Klerk's part is the announced repeal of the Land Acts and the Group Areas

Act, which have for so long devastated the lives of the African majority, an announcement which caused a

walk-out by opposition right-wing members of the whites-only parliament.

What is difficult to understand is how all these changes are expected to be effected under the web of

security laws which restrict movement and curtail freedom for the majority of the people. Under the Internal Security Act, the government is empowered to detain without trial and to

ban political

organisations opposed to its policies. This state of affairs is not in line with the prevailing reform

atmosphere.

Since the unbanning of political organisations and the start of talks between the government and the ANC,

a number of indemnified people have been detained, harassed or have gone missing.

The existence of these security laws has also raised fears amongst returning exiles as some of them have

been refused entry or detained. Causing particular concern is Section 29 of the Internal Security Act which

permits detention without trial. Sixty people are reported to be currently held by police under this section.

By showering praises on the police, de Klerk is giving them more encouragement for their unbecoming

behaviour as well as condoning their use of Askaris (defected former ANC members).

In praising the security forces, De Klerk ignored evidence produced in court that members of the security forces were involved in death squad activities through the now disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). The investigation of the Harms Commission into such activities, shackled as it was by its terms of reference, implicated senior government officials with the CCB. And in the recent libel action against two newspapers by Lt. General Lothar Neethling, head of police forensics, the judge found evidence that police involvement in hit-squads was credible. De Klerk's speech did not say anything about the fate of the exiles nor the future of the political prisoners. Since agreeing a year ago to free all 3 000 political prisoners by the end of April 1991 only 299 have been set free. The very process of indemnifying returning exiles and the release of political prisoners has come to almost a halt owing to the slow granting of permits and harassment of exiles by the Askaris. De Klerk's reason for not repealing the Internal Security Act is perhaps based on the argument that this act is needed to deal with violence perpetrated by those who oppose his reform policy and those who fan violence in the townships. But this argument holds little water. The Internal Security Act was formulated for the very purpose of suppressing political dissent, and not sporadic and unknown violence. The act could have been repealed and a new one dealing with specific acts of violence created. The realisation that once this act is repealed, there is no more legal hold on political prisoners could be more of a reason for failure to repeal it. The continued existence of the security laws will remain a major obstacle in the path of a negotiated settlement. There is urgent need for a rehabilitated police force with an objective of being part of the changing South Africa. (SARDC)  
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SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT BAN

by Fortune Ncube

Golfer Papwa Sewgolom, the 1963 champion of the South African Nathan Open finds it difficult to forget

the day he won this prestigious tournament. This is not because he played well, but because that was the

day he experienced apartheid sport at its worst.

Unfortunately for the "non-white" golfer it was raining on the day of his victory and as a result of the

Separate Amenities Legislation, he was not allowed in the "whites only" club house. His trophy was

presented to him outside - in the rain.

Sewgolom is a victim of racial segregation which was legislated by the white minority government in

South Africa. The legislation classified sports persons by race and was devised in a way that the white

minority received the best sporting and recreational facilities. These facilities were not open to other races.

Non-whites do not have the privilege to learn most of the sporting disciplines because they are not

provided with the facilities, and the facilities they have cannot cater for all.

In 1989 for example, the government spent R8 million on sport for the less than five million whites in that

country, and it spent the same amount for the 26 million non-whites. In Durban city about 212 000 whites

were sharing 146 soccer fields whilst the 330 000 blacks residing in adjacent townships shared six fields.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) suspended South Africa from participating in the Olympic

Games in 1963 because of its segregation laws. In 1970 South Africa was expelled from the IOC due to its

continued implementation of the laws which contravene the Olympic charter.

The international community followed suit and imposed a sporting ban on South Africa through the United

Nations and other organisations. Prominent exiled South Africans joined in enforcing the boycott and

formed the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC).

Recent developments in South Africa which have led to political reform have sparked a debate on the

review of the boycott.

President F.W de Klerk, in his 2 February speech last year, promised to repeal racial laws as part of his

reform policy. The Separate Amenities Act, which was a barrier to sports development for non-whites, was

abolished on 15 October last year.

De Klerk has now promised, at the opening of parliament on 1 February, to abolish yet another barrier to

sport integration, the Group Areas Act. He has promised future constitutional amendments which would

"give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life".

These developments have brought about optimism from the international sporting community and some of

the local sports bodies. Some are predicting South Africa's participation in the 1992 Barcelona Olympic

Games, although the IOC chairman cautions that 1996 may be more likely.

The African National Congress (ANC) stressed in a recent discussion paper that it will be prepared to work for the readmission of sporting bodies into the international arena if the sport is played on a non-racial basis at all levels, and under a single democratic administrative association. The ANC had said these goals can be achieved only when the Separate Amenities and the Group Areas Acts have both been removed. When the Group Areas Act is finally repealed sometime this year, the ball will be in the court of the sports administrators to get their houses in order and rally for the lifting of the ban imposed by the international community. Cricket is perhaps the sport which has gone furthest in this exercise. Cricket organisations have already refused to support or sanction segregated sports at club and even school level. The International Cricket Council (ICC) is considering readmitting the united cricket body to the world sport by June this year. Other sporting codes have moved in the same direction in varying degrees. Unity between the Olympic bodies, the National Olympic and Sports Congress (NOSC) and the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) is imminent after a joint task group was formed. The three main soccer bodies in the country have also come to an agreement to unite. There is a snag in rugby unity as there appear to be ideological splits on policy. The South African Rugby Board led by Dr Danie Craven refuses to observe the moratorium on tours being observed by South African Rugby Union (SARU) and other sports organisations in the country. The Harare Declaration provides that the ban should be lifted at the point of the adoption of a new constitution. The United Nations Declaration however puts the matter differently and provides that the ban should be reviewed when "profound and irreversible" changes have taken place. The Olympic Movement has taken the initiative in preparing a free South Africa for readmission to the world sporting arena. There have been a series of meetings convened by the IOC in conjunction with the African National Olympic Committees Association (ANOCA). The IOC will send a delegation to South Africa for the first time in 20 years on a fact finding mission. They are of the opinion that there should be a political solution before they can review the sports ban. Fekrou Kidane, head of the IOCs Campaign Against Apartheid in Sport, was recently quoted in the press saying "whether we like it or not there is no sports solution without a political solution in South Africa". These meetings have shown the willingness of some South African sports bodies to unite in efforts to put an end to apartheid in sport. The leaders of South African sports associations who attended the Harare ANOCA meeting agreed to the formation of the "Committee of Ten" which will oversee the integration of sports associations on non-racial lines. The snag is that even though Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts are repealed the legacy of apartheid will remain and the imbalances will need to be rectified. (SARDC) February 1991 Southern Aidcan Research and Documentation Centre Box 5690. Harare. Zimbabwe Telephone 737301

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## RETURN OF SOUTH AFRICAN EXILES - A "CATCH 22" SITUATION

by Rhoda Njanana

The process of repatriating 40 000 South African exiles has been drastically curtailed because of the insistence of the South African government on granting indemnities before its citizens can return home.

Chairman of the National Coordinating Committee on Repatriation of South African exiles (NCCR), Rev.

Frank Chikane, said the exiles should not be subjected to the process of indemnity. Instead, the NCCR has

called for a general amnesty which the government has so far rejected.

Chikane told a recent meeting in Harare that since President F.W. de Klerk's announcement early last year

about the possible return of exiles, only 300 have come home under the indemnity scheme. Concerning preparations for the return of the exiles, Chikane said the NCCR has already set up regional

structures and identified reception centres to receive the returnees.

Fund-raising, however, is a major problem as governments and donor agencies prefer to channel funds

through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Chikane, who is also general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), said the matter

was further complicated because the government has refused to allow the UNHCR to operate inside the country.

"The UNHCR is welcome to play a role in the repatriation process outside South Africa's borders," the

government said. Delicate negotiations are still underway to have the UNHCR invited, as it must be by

international law, to work inside South Africa.

Liberation movements have differences on the return of the exiles. Chikane said the ANC's view is that

though they do not agree with the indemnity process, they have decided to use it, ignoring sections that

might incriminate their members. This, they argue, will strengthen the organisation because the returnees

will be able to participate in political work inside the country.

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) have rejected the

indemnity process and have also indicated that they will not enter into any negotiations with the

government. However, both organisations participate in the NCCR and will co-operate in arrangements

for members wishing to go home.

Chikane said the NCCR operates on the basis of impartiality and would help any person regardless of

political affiliation. "We do not encourage people to return, especially those who are still studying and

acquiring skills, but we have to prepare for those wishing to return," he said.

The NCCR is composed of churches, representatives from the liberation movements and the World

Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) which includes Hindu, Moslem and Jewish constituencies.

Chikane met in Harare with the Zimbabwe-based "Ad Hoc Committee on Repatriation of South African Exiles," which includes churches, liberation movements, non-governmental and refugee organisations, and research institutions. Representatives from Botswana, Swaziland, Namibia, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia also attended. Chikane appealed to the Zimbabwe meeting to create structures which will establish networks and advice centres in each country to help repatriate South African exiles. An international network for exiles in North America and Europe is also being set up. On the attitude of the South African government towards returnees, Chikane said the return of the exiles, the release of political prisoners and changes to the Internal Security Act were not mentioned in de Klerk's parliamentary speech on 1 February. The government insists that non-governmental and political organisations will have to pay most of the bill for repatriating the exiles who would receive no special treatment from the state. Exiles will be treated "no better or worse" than South African citizens who stayed home, a senior home affairs official said.

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