

THIRTY-SIX members of the ANC women's league in Pietermaritzburg are on a hunger strike in prison, demanding the immediate removal of 32 Battalion, the KwaZulu Police and the SAP Riot Unit from Imbali township.

They include elderly women in their 60s and 70s, and were detained after taking part in a sit-in and protest march in the city. They want all charges against them dropped and want to be treated as political detainees, "not as criminals", said Mr Reggie Hadebe, deputy chairman of the ANC in the Natal Midlands.

He said the women had not

ANC league prisoners embark on hunger strike

By Geraldine Malherbe

eaten since Friday night and intended carrying on indefinitely, until they were released and their demands met.

Mrs Ida Cronje, wife of ANC

member and Greytown MP Pierre Cronje, visited the women yesterday and said they were "standing firm".

Their decision follows mass action and stayaways in Pietermaritzburg this month in support of demands for the removal of 32 Battalion, the

KwaZulu Police and the Riot Unit from Imbali, as well as for an investigation into the death of local ANC leader Skumbuzi Ngwenya.

"There's hardly a family left in Imbali that hasn't lost someone — these people feel they just can't live like that anymore," said Mrs Cronje.

"They're all desperately worried about their families, but are prepared to make the sacrifice."

Col Danie Immelman, a spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services, confirmed last night that the 36 prisoners had refused to take meals since breakfast on Saturday.

Group upset at move to reinstate Winnie

JOHANNESBURG—The executive council (NEC) of the ANC women's league has dissociated itself from a group within the league which is demanding the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela and prominent black lawyer Dali Mpofu as heads of the ANC's welfare department.

The reinstatement move comes amid disclosures yesterday that Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpofu had allegedly spent R400 000 while on an overseas fund-raising trip which included flights from London to New York in the Concorde.

The money was reported to have come from ANC social welfare department coffers but Mr Mpofu was quoted yesterday as saying the trip was sponsored by the US-based Children for Africa charity organisation.

A statement yesterday from the league's NEC said correct procedures had not been followed by the disaffected group and innocent, uninformed women had been misled into 'believing they were involved in a principled dem-

onstration'.

Some of Mrs Mandela's supporters within the league — the so-called 'social welfare support committee' — who took part in a press conference last week, were under the impression that the league's leadership would be at the conference.

The estimated 40 women in the group which hosted the press conference demanded the reinstatement of Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpofu.

The NEC statement noted Mrs Mandela's resignation as head of the ANC's Welfare Department and new allegations of her direct involvement in criminal actions.

Mrs Mandela was re-elected as head of the PWV region of the ANC women's league.

The NEC said that in the light of her resignation, it failed to understand the demand for her reinstatement.

"The ANC Women's League stands by our leadership," it said. — (Sapa)

Meeting to overcome constitutional principles deadlock

JOHANNESBURG—Two high-level meetings on constitutional negotiations and the search for peace will be held today and tomorrow.

Codesa's management committee meets today in an effort to overcome the deadlock in deciding on principles for a constitution.

Tomorrow an urgent meeting of the full national peace committee will be held — a month early because of the escalating township violence.

Codesa's management committee will try to resolve the deadlock in guidelines and principles to be contained in a final constitution — not by discussing substantive issues, but by setting up structures to facilitate agreement.

Most of the negotiating will happen in "behind-the-scenes" discussions between the ANC and the Government, and in technical and sub-committees.

The ANC last week set out four "pre-conditions" for agreeing to a three-stage plan for transition. These were that:

☐ Decisions by the national assembly on a final constitution be accepted by a two-thirds majority;

☐ There be rigid time-frames for drafting the final constitution so the interim government is in power for a brief period only;

☐ A deadlock-breaking mechanism be put in place should a two-thirds majority not be attainable; and

☐ A proposed senate play no role in drawing up the con-

Mercury Correspondents

stitution.

The ANC is threatening mass action to support its demands.

The Government is insisting that:

☐ No time-frames be placed on the negotiation phase. Only after agreement had been reached on the constitution should time-frames be placed on its implementation;

☐ High majority loading (75%) for agreement on regionalism; and

☐ A multiparty executive be entrenched in the constitution.

The Government is prepared to leave a senate out of the constitution-making stage, but insists on a powerful senate that would act as a guardian of the constitution.

It also insists that all regions be represented equally in the senate, and that the three major parties have equal representation in the senate.

The ANC wants the senate democratically elected — not appointed.

However, there was some scepticism among Codesa participants yesterday over whether these demands were, in fact, "preconditions or rhetoric".

DP Codesa delegate Ken Andrew believed the ANC's preconditions were "not all that difficult to meet in order to get talks going again".

It was likely that the technical committees would try and get agreement and then take this to the management com-

mittee, which would make recommendations to a wider body — possibly a smaller plenary session.

Peace accord spokesman Val Pauquet said tomorrow's meeting of signatories would focus on restoring local administration and services in violence-torn communities.

The committee would also consider inviting political leaders at regional and local levels to advise on ways of making the accord more effective, and on mobilising the security forces to contain the present upsurge of violence, she said.

Urgent matters to be addressed included the lack of full-time participation of members.

She said the ANC had undertaken to respond to a complaint raised by Inkatha that arms caches and Inkatha membership cards were allegedly found in ANC offices.

The Citizen 25/5/92

'Blacks must overcome feelings of low esteem'

UMTATA — Blacks must overcome their feelings of low esteem, guard against becoming welfare addicts and regain their traditions of self-discipline, hard work and love of excellence, deputy vice-chancellor and acting principal of the University of Transkei, Prof Dan Ncayiyana, said here.

Delivering a key note address at the university's 14th graduation ceremony, he said Blacks needed to prepare themselves for a more effective role in a future democratic country.

There would have to be a people transformation amid the other transformations.

"Let's face it, performance by Black people is not held in high esteem.

I'm generalising but, if there is a choice, most Black people prefer to be treated at White-run hospitals, to send their children to White schools, to have their cars serviced by White-owned garages and to shop at White supermarkets for quality service.

"This has nothing to do with the intellect or abilities of Black South Africans.

"It has nothing to do with the material circumstances that may surround the Black provider of a service.

"But it has everything to do with the attitude of Black providers who are perceived as rude, uncaring and incapable of delivering an efficient and quality service."

Prof Ncayiyana said the first thing Blacks should do to prepare for the new South Africa was to liberate themselves from the feelings of inferiority which resulted from decades of physical oppression coupled with psychological indoctrination.

"The second thing Blacks must do is guard against the trap of the mentality of entitlement — by which I mean the attitude that somewhere out there, someone, our government or foreign agencies, owes us something, or that there is a Father Christmas out there waiting to shower us with gifts. As the American saying goes: 'there ain't no thing as a free lunch'. — Sapa.

B. Day 25/5/92

EC code on SA may go due to reform

LONDON — British and multinational companies operating in SA want to drop the EC code of conduct governing minimum pay and conditions for black staff.

European foreign ministers meeting in Brussels this week will discuss the argument of top companies that the code has outlived its usefulness and is difficult to apply because of rapid reform in SA.

Unilever, which employs about 4 000 black people in SA, said it was increasingly difficult to identify people by race.

But the Observer newspaper in London reported yesterday that Cosatu had been alerted and, while accepting that the code needed updating, would argue that its pro-

IAN HOBBS

tection was still necessary.

Spokesman Neil Coleman said Cosatu would like a broader code of investment, which would aid economic restructuring.

A Foreign Office spokesman said the British government did not want the code scrapped, but felt it should be amended.

The code was introduced 15 years ago after the then Labour government found dozens of British companies were paying black staff below official poverty wage levels and making them work in inhumane conditions. It forced hundreds of companies to improve employment conditions.

The Citizen 25/5/92

MK chief claims Min blocked SADF from meeting

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief Mr Joe Modise yesterday slammed Defence Minister Roelf Meyer for having allegedly denied the SADF permission to participate in a military conference outside Pretoria.

Mr Modise told a news conference at Tiegerpoort that Mr Meyer used the SA Defence Force as an instrument, and would not grant it the right to participate and think for itself regarding its own future.

He was speaking at the conclusion of a Five Freedoms Forum conference on Defence and Security in Transition, which was

attended by senior representatives from the African National Congress MK, the Transkei and Venda defence forces, academics, Democratic Party defence spokesman Gen Bob Rogers and military attaches.

Gen Rogers said he would ensure that the contents of a consensus document drafted at the conference would be brought to Mr Meyer's notice.

Mr Modise reiterated charges that the SADF was involved in township

violence, and called for the disbandment of 31 and 32 battalions.

Consensus was reached at the conference on the need for the creation of a new defence force on the basis of integrating all armed forces of parties in the wider negotiation process.

"These forces will be disbanded at the point of integration into a new national defence force," said the consensus document, released at the news conference.

"That process is required to ensure that the new

defence force is both legitimate in the eyes of the vast majority of South Africans, and reflects the national composition of our country and defends consciously the principles of the new constitution."

The conference also expressed its deep concern that "partisan interests have prevented the SADF and Ministry of Defence from participating as delegates in the conference".

"We urge all those who declined to participate to think of our nation's needs above particular desires and interests."

Greater information was required about the activities of the Defence Force and other armed forces so that the public could debate their role and future, the document said.

It added that the continued White male conscription into the SADF was an anomaly in the new situation of negotiation, and should be phased out completely.

A programme of affirmative action in line with the Bill of Rights should form part of the new order in the defence force to accurately reflect the social composition of the country.

The conference expressed its deep concern about the Special Forces units and the lack of information about them.

The Citizen 25/5/92

Crisis talks by Peace Committee tomorrow

THE National Peace Committee (NPC) is to meet in Sandton tomorrow morning to discuss the threatened withdrawal from the National Peace Accord by the PWV regions of the African National Congress, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and other allied groupings.

This was confirmed last night by a spokesman for the National Peace Committee, who said the closed door meeting would take place at 11 am.

Speaking during the SABC's Agenda actuality programme last night, the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, expressed his disappointment and amazement about the latest moves against the National Peace Accord.

The NPC has decided to call a broad committee

meeting on Tuesday at which the whole matter will be discussed," he said.

He pointed out that the accord had put in place the very instruments to investigate allegations against police and the continuation of the violence.

Mr Schutte blamed a lack of grassroots discipline among certain groups as one of the main reasons for a current breakdown in law and order.

"There is also not the control from the upper level as far as leadership is concerned and there is incitement not only against the police but also against other political organisations. And I would submit that these things should be discussed."

Mr Schutte made a personal call for the involvement of the national lead-

erships of the various dissenting groups to discuss the issues at hand, as well as possible stronger action by police and security forces.

He stressed that the government remained committed to the accord and that it would do everything in its power to further peace.

The ANC, although invited to participate in the programme, failed to do so for unspecified reasons, viewers were told.

— Sapa.

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The Citizen

25/5/92

Page 8

THE CITIZEN

ANC denies Mandela linked FW to deaths and violence

THE African National Congress has vehemently denied a report from Helsinki, Finland, that Mr Nelson Mandela blamed State President De Klerk personally for the political violence and deaths in the country.

Contacted on Friday night in Helsinki, ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said she felt that difficulty with English had led a local journalist to radically condense Mr Mandela's reply to a question to the point that it totally distorted his answer.

The report quoted the ANC leader as saying that "its a serious responsibility to accuse a Head of

State of himself fueling violence, the killing of innocent people, but facts indicate that De Klerk himself is involved in this".

The report went on to say that Mr Mandela had, however, not specified his charge against Mr De Klerk.

"What happened was that Mr Mandela was asked a general question on the ongoing violence in South Africa and what the ANC perception of the causes of the violence was," said Miss Marcus.

"In reply, Mr Mandela

gave examples of instances where he had personally spoken to President De Klerk about specific causes of violence, such as the legalisation of dangerous 'traditional' weapons, the question of violence by and against hostel dwellers and the failure of police to act on complaints by township residents against acts by hostel dwellers.

"He made the point that as State President, the responsibility for such acts and omissions that furthered violence should

be laid squarely at the State President's feet.

"But, in this he meant that it was the Office of the State President that was responsible — not the man."

Before the ANC could be contacted in Helsinki to clarify the issue, the report had already elicited a stinging reply by National Party negotiator at Codesa, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe.

"If the remarks attributed to Mr Mandela are correct, they are outrageous and are in direct violation of the Peace Accord," he said.

Approached for comment yesterday, Associated Press said in Johannesburg it stood by the report.

A spokesman for the agency said AP had Mr Mandela's remark on tape and, after it had been played back several times, AP was satisfied that Mr Mandela had not been misquoted. His full reply to a question had been quoted.

The spokesman further said the AP correspondent from whom the story had originated could understand English perfectly well. — Sapa.

B. Day 25/5/92

ANC denies allegations of Umkhonto reign of terror

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE ANC denied at the weekend the existence of renegade Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres conducting a reign of terror and crime from the Phola Park squatter camp. ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the claims were so ridiculous they did not warrant an investigation.

"If the police have such evidence, let them charge those involved and take them to a court of law," he said.

Police said they were in possession of confessions by Umkhonto cadres confirming they had turned to a life of crime. One member warned that the serious crime rate could intensify in July, when allowances to cadres returned from exile would be halted.

Police said it had evidence that Umkhonto was directly involved in training and providing weapons in Phola Park to organise "self defence units" and that these units had been taken over by criminals.

Five policemen had been murdered in the squatter camp in the past few months. Since February, the police had been attacked 29 times and more than 19 times in the past few days.

On Friday, police issued strong warnings to the public to avoid Phola Park and immediate vicinity.

B. Day 25/5/92

WINNIE Mandela was reportedly ousted from her power base in the ANC Women's League after a heated PWV inter-branch meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Sources at the meeting said the league's recently appointed PWV regional executive committee was suspended until further notice, effectively removing Mandela from her position of power within the organisation as PWV chairman.

"I really know nothing about this," a surprised Mandela said last night. "I will comment when I get a statement."

Although Mandela was not specifically referred to in this connection at the meeting, one source, who asked not to be named, said: "It was all about Winnie ... it is a concerted effort to clip her wings."

The central decision to suspend the REC

Winnie's power base cut by ANC

was taken without a formal vote, but in an assessment of the general sentiment, the source added.

The meeting followed Thursday's demonstration when about 40 women demanded Mandela's reinstatement as welfare head.

The response came after reports that the ANC was investigating fraud involving cheques worth R400 000 issued while Mandela and lawyer Dali Mpofu were heading the department. Mandela last night denied any involvement, and said she was considering what legal steps to take. — Sapa.

B-Day 25/5/92

Community bank 'for the people'

R2bn plan for loans to low earners

ADRIAN HADLAND

FORMER SA Perm MD Bob Tucker is spearheading an initiative to set up a National Community Bank with assets of up to R2bn. It could become operational within a year.

The bank would provide credit and banking facilities to low-income, mostly black, customers frustrated by the profit-motivated policies of the formal financial institutions.

It is envisaged that profits from the scheme would be ploughed back into community advancement projects.

The bank would provide the institutional structures for an initial network of 10 to 15 community banks each owned by a specific community. The banks would not issue equity and members of a specific community would hold units which could be redeemed or transferred at par.

"Unless something is urgently done to provide access to credit within the community, (social) disintegration is likely to continue," says a report drawn up by the recently formed Community Banking Project (CBP).

Registrar of deposit-taking institutions Hennie van Greunen has indicated his willingness to have banking laws changed to accommodate the emergence of non-equity financed, community-owned banking institutions.

In meetings with the CBP, Van Greunen said semi-autonomous "community banks" would be exempted from certain aspects of the Deposit-Taking Institutions Act such as the minimum reserve requirements.

The project team charged with investigating the establishment of the National

Community Bank includes the Kagiso Trust's Eric Molobi, Actstop's Cas Coovadia and ANC economist Ketso Gordhan. Tucker is chairman of the team.

The central bank in the NCB network would render all returns to the registrar of deposit-taking institutions, with the Reserve Bank acting as lender of last resort. The central bank would have access to bulk loan financing from institutions such as the World Bank.

CBP executive officer Cas Coovadia said the bank would provide "low-cost, low-key" services including deposit accounts, group or housing loans, entrepreneurial investment and project financing. The banks would be connected to the electronic Saswitch automatic teller network.

In its report, the CBP said "serious progress has already been made with one of the formal sector banks in developing a basis for the provision of infrastructure and systems".

Coovadia, stressing that the project was still in its conceptual stages, said many communities had no access to credit and no control over the administration of their savings by formal banking institutions or life-insurance offices.

The CBP report said "the developmental needs of the community (and in particular the lower income groups) are not being met, and unsophisticated communities are left to cope most ineffectually with very sophisticated financial institutions".

"Institutions which are felt to be 'of the

□ To Page 2

Community bank

□ From Page 1

community, for the community do not exist and the mission, culture, management and practices of the formal banks do not enable them to 'connect' with the lower income groups within the community or with the needs of the community."

It suggests members of the community would hold subordinated debt "units" which could be redeemed or transferred at par.

Unit holders would be entitled to elect the local community bank's board of directors who would nominate a representative for the national community bank's board

of governors.

"The National Community Bank would provide all the training and other support programmes necessary to underpin the community banks, and ensure management and development of each community bank," the report said.

An Informal Finance Forum, established in February this year, will also make recommendations to the registrar concerning aspects of the Deposit-Taking Institutions Act which inhibit the growth and work of informal financial institutions such as stokvels.

Trying to take the tensions out of nature conservation in KwaZulu. TONY CARNIE looks at a new report

'Let private sector into reserves'

Natal Mercury Monday May 25 1992

KWAZULU nature conservation authorities are facing increased hostility from blacks and should encourage the private sector to get involved in "ecotourism" developments in the region.

There has also been a breakdown in proper communication between tribal authorities and the ordinary people, leading to distrust or misunderstanding of the conservation policies of the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources (KBNR).

These are some of the findings of a recent report on the implications of allowing the private sector to invest in KwaZulu tourist areas.

The 280-page report was compiled for the bureau by the Environmental Evaluation Unit of the University of Cape Town.

Project leader John Fowkes concluded that although there are several disadvantages associated with private sector involvement, they are outweighed by the possible benefits.

But he said private ecotourism developments should be based outside proclaimed conservation areas wherever possible, and the bureau should retain control of all activities

which affect the management of natural resources.

Examining the attitudes of local people, Mr Fowkes said the bureau was seen as the implementing arm of government in "taking land away from the people".

And although Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently stated that no more forced removals would take place to create nature conservation areas, the bureau was seen in some areas as the "enemy of the people" rather than the supportive friend it should be.

"In fact, in Maputaland, terms like 'loathed' or 'detested' were used when describing attitudes towards the KBNR."

Mr Fowkes said the bureau — which was created in 1982 to take over the functions of the Natal Parks Board in KwaZulu — had the unenviable task of trying to overcome the stigma of several years of "colonial" conservation policies which benefited a white élite.

Memories of perceived injustices lasted several generations, and reports of a ranger shooting a dog at the end of World War II were

carried down in family tradition.

"Thus the KBNR inherited the mantle of the Natal Parks Board when it came into being."

Mr Fowkes said he found that tribal authorities were seen as "ineffective" in communicating news to those people directly affected by changes.

"While the tribal authority may be fully briefed on a project, this information is not seen to be passed on, or is passed on in a filtered form.

"Not all tribal authorities are seen as truly representing the views of all their people. Decisions may, therefore, be taken by the tribal authority which are not acceptable to local communities."

It was vital, said Mr Fowkes, that new methods were found to remedy the situation and to ensure "good, direct communication".

And by allowing the private sector to have a more direct role in KwaZulu reserves, the bureau could distance itself from tourism issues which might become politicised.

"If the bureau has a monopoly of tourism development inside conservation areas this may

lead to the bureau being perceived as spending 'people's' money on facilities for a white élite.

"There are therefore advantages in the KBNR, as a government agency, being distanced from tourist development and a situation created where the development is in the hands of many different private sector participants."

And if a dispute arose between the community and a private developer, the KBNR would be in a better position to act as an ombudsman.

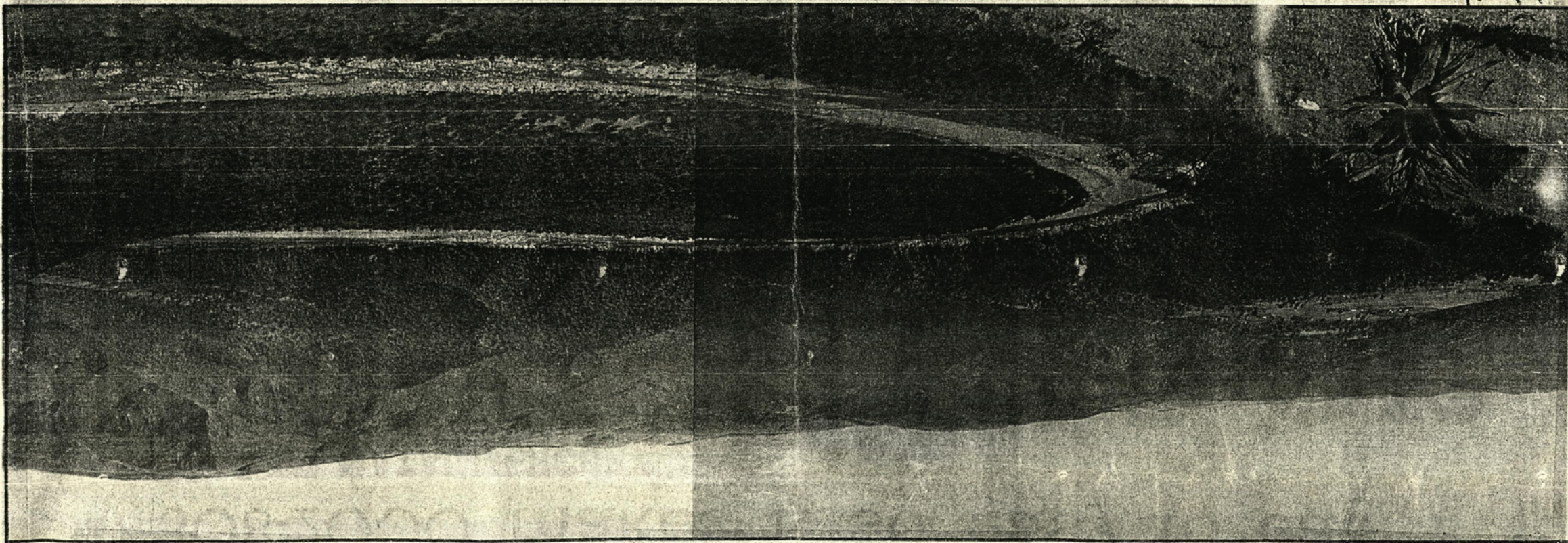
A further advantage of private sector involvement, particularly in the new South Africa, would be to act as a check against corrupt government officials.

"If private sector bodies are involved in tourism development, and influential people are on the board of directors, opportunities exist for political pressure to be brought to bear on government employees.

"Examples can be seen in some First World countries where the private sector tail wags the conservation dog."

A panoramic view of KwaZulu's new Opathe Game Reserve outside Ulundi. Recent budget cuts have meant that 70 kilometres of the reserve's boundaries will remain unfenced for up to four years. But allowing private sector involvement in KwaZulu nature reserves could speed up development of the 11 000 hectare reserve, including a new 120-bed lodge complex and the creation of a breeding area for black and white rhino

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After apartheid, an uncertain future

A nation divided struggles to overcome racist tradition

SOUTH AFRICA, FROM 1A

stubborn metal knot in the middle of the rolling wide-cast veld of Natal province. Their wheels, tongues, axles, beds — even the wrinkled greenish black "canvas" on top — clang to the touch like dull bells.

Now the years of white dominion in South Africa have suddenly been subtracted to moral zero. The whole country has gear-shifted into a scary, uncertain future. In the past 2½ years, apartheid has been annulled. Blacks no longer have to obey curfews or avoid beaches, libraries or restaurants. About 205 white schools have been integrated.

White conquest and apartheid have created a situation in South Africa fully as weird as science fiction, so strange that Americans, with all their race woes, can scarcely comprehend it.

While most whites live in comfortable suburbs with shopping malls and ice cream parlors, most blacks live in an abyss as deep as the subterranean world of the Morlocks, described by H.G. Wells in *The Time Machine*.

It is a world of poverty, violence and widespread unemployment, where bride-prices can still be paid in the form of cows, where 40 percent of all black workers earn \$142 a month or less, where malnutrition claims 25,000 lives a year, almost all black, where seven million people live in "informal" houses that can scarcely even be called shacks and where there is one doctor for every 15,625 people.

Planned underclass

Just as certain bottle-bred fetuses were starved of oxygen to create an underclass of servants in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, so the "Bantu Education Act" of 1953 legally budgeted black education at one-quarter that of whites.

The institutions that might have mixed the races as they have in America — the military, the public schools, sports competitions — remained rigidly distinct here. Even the television airwaves are divided up into black and white time slots. Whites watch *The Young and the Restless*, called *Rustelose Jare* in Afrikaans. Black children can see *Quickdraw McGraw* in Xhosa, but only if there is a television in the house.

Whites are understandably reluctant to give up the "*lekker lewe*," the "sweet life" they have enjoyed for decades. Apartheid has fallen in law, but not in fact, and the laws fell only because of persistent international pressure combined with intolerable domestic strife.

Still, an era is now ending. Now blacks are filtering more and more into what had been all-white spaces, sleeping on hitherto-forbidden park benches. They are finding their way downtown. They are picnicking in parks, trickling into libraries, stepping into hotel lobbies.

"There is no question they've been hard done by," said Bruce Brown, a small-business man in Johannesburg. "We whites, we've had some very good years here at the expense of the blacks. Now it is coming to an end. We are going to have to work a lot harder if we're to get by."

The old Voortrekker wagons voyaged like creaking ships over the bitter Drakensberg Mountains during the "Great Trek" of 1835-38, when the Afrikaners, a mixed bunch of Dutch and Huguenot families, retreated from British encroachments and British law.

Wide, open spaces

The vastness of southern Africa suited them admirably. They moved like Americans: "They devoured the land in 10,000-acre gulps," as historian Allister Sparks put it. They staked out claims so huge a settler could not see the smoke from his neighbor's chimney.

The wandering blacks they encountered were swept aside, beaten in battle or turned into servants.

Ultimately, within this century, South African apartheid was fortified by 189 laws, enacted over a period of 87 years and aimed at depriving blacks of land, forcing them to work cheaply for whites and compelling them to live in racially segregated areas. Whole thriving black suburbs were razed, like Sophiatown in Johannesburg and Area 6 in Capetown.

Now, some whites talk about a new Trek, escaping once more, setting up a new Promised Land beyond the mountains. The dream lives on in conservative proposals for a "white home-

land," or Boerestaat, which would amputate half the country and give the stump to blacks.

"Grant us our freedom, and we will move mountains," writes Robert Van Tonder, one of the most outspoken white separatists. "Give us our own state, where we can do it our own way, and the world will stand amazed."

Biblical roles

The Bible was the Boers' anchor and the book whose word they carried and whose wondrous deeds they re-enacted, in alternating massacres and miracles. Giant family Bibles, the size of dishpans, accompanied the Boers on their trek and can be seen in churches and museums here today.

South African Airways jets still have a Bible-pouch on their cabin bulkheads, with a Bible in it. In Afrikaans translations of the Bible, the four evangelists were eventually transformed into white bosses: Baas Matthew, Baas Mark, Baas Luke and Baas John. The four Gospels told of the life, miracles, death and resurrection of "Baas Jesus."

The Bible became the bedrock of apartheid. The conquering Boers saw themselves as latter-day Israelites inheriting a new Canaan on the African subcontinent. Here black *kaffirs* were to be treated as the Gibeonites in the Old Testament. They would be "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

"The nonwhite races can look at this monument in gratitude," says a brochure you can buy at Blood River. "Also for them it brought an end to the wars of annihilation so that the light of the Gospel of the Cross might be preached to them."

Black Anglican archbishop Desmond Tutu sees it a bit differently. "When the white man first came here," says Tutu, in a joke he likes to tell, "he had the Bible and we had the land. Then the white man said to us, 'Come, let us kneel and pray together.'"

"So we knelt and closed our eyes and prayed, and when we opened our eyes again, lo! We had the Bible and he had the land."

Deep in the land lay untold mineral wealth, secured for whites alone by the Land Act of 1913, wealth that would change the country beyond recognition. South Africa's GDP is now \$80 billion, three times that of its 10 nearest African neighbors combined.

Today in the Geological Museum of Johannesburg you can see crude samples of it: big blue-black plugs of diamondiferous kimberlite, the matrix of the most precious crystals on earth; gold ore in interleaved rock layers of hard glittering quartzite conglomerates, faintly spangled with golden infinitesimals.

Diamonds were first found by children playing beside the Hope River in 1867. The discovery of the main flue at Kimberley resulted in the excavation of the deepest man-made hole on the planet, deep enough to hold the Empire State Building.

The 1886 Johannesburg gold rush was even more frantic.

Subterranean riches

"A tin city with a gold basement," early boosters called Johannesburg. The Rand goldfields were the widest and deepest on earth, but they were also the thinnest-layered and the most diffuse.

The gold was brought up mainly by black toil. Black miners were paid two shillings a day in 1910. Whites got 20 shillings. Black miners now earn about \$300 a month here.

A trio of black miners, cast in bronze and upholding a huge drill, stands in front of the Johannesburg City Hall as a thank-you to the people who made it all possible.

Apartheid was known by many euphemisms: "Separate development," "Separate freedoms," "Multinational democracy."

Its heyday began with the 1948 whites-only election that brought to power the National Party now headed by President de Klerk. It fell because of a steadily tightening vise of economic sanctions abroad, combined with strikes, boycotts and a violent "mass struggle" waged by blacks at home.

After the Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976, the violence became pandemic, spreading to 160 communities. In one week 176 people died, in one year, more than 600. The uprising itself lasted 17 months before it was finally quelled.

In the meantime the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola and the ensuing civil war involved South Africa in an expensive military buildup. The budget of the South African Defense Force went from \$60 million in 1960 to \$3 billion in 1982. Its fighting strength tripled.

But an unforeseen byproduct of the military buildup was a dearth of white skilled labor. While whites went soldiering in Angola, blacks stepped into vacant technical jobs and black labor unions gained new clout.

Protest and sanctions

On Sept. 2, 1984, Reuben Twala, the black captain of the Bophalong soccer team, was shot by police. Nationwide riots broke out and lasted for three years, causing 3,000 deaths, 30,000 detentions and endless property damage.

Townships became ungovernable. "Necklacings" with flaming gasoline-filled tires proliferated. Blacks who dared break boycotts had to eat their purchases, including soap and drain cleaner. People who drank liquor were sniffed out at bus stops by fanatic young men and given the "Omo treatment," forced to swallow a foaming detergent until they vomited.

Meanwhile, economic pressure from abroad mounted. From 1986 to 1990, 154 U.S. companies withdrew from South Africa. Another 23 withdrew direct investments. The United States reluctantly imposed sanctions on South Africa in 1986. These were lifted in July 1991.

Nonetheless, 85 cities, 22 counties and 26 states still have some form of legislation on the books forbidding investment in South Africa.

The cumulative weight of the violence and sanctions resulted in a severe financial crisis in 1985. Chase Bank International called in its short-term loans, and the rand dropped 35 percent in 13 days. Today it is worth about 34 cents. Seven years ago it was worth \$1.40.

"Don't underestimate us! We are not a nation of jellyfish!" railed then president P.W. Botha, vowing that South Africa would "go it alone" if need be.

"Sanctions brought us up short," Brown said. "You simply cannot cut yourself off from the rest of the world today. Forty years ago, we could have lived on our own, just a country on the southern tip of Africa. Today there is no hope unless we integrate into the world economy. Sanctions showed us that."

End came quickly

When the end came, it came rapidly. In October 1989, the newly elected president, F.W. de Klerk, released eight high-profile activists, including Walter Sisulu and other members of the ANC. On Feb. 2, 1990 he announced the end of apartheid. Nine days later Nelson Mandela, jailed for 27 years for treason, was set free.

In the "Heroes' Cemetery" of Pretoria is a small terrace where two former prime ministers lie buried amid a cluster of old graves: Hans Strijdom and Hendrik Verwoerd.

Strijdom was responsible for a 1940 law banning Jews from joining the National Party. Verwoerd, who served as prime minister from 1958 to 1966, was the great helmsman of apartheid, who once said he hoped to establish it so firmly in South Africa that it could never be undone.

Verwoerd was shot twice in the head in 1960, and survived, only to be stabbed to death in parliament in 1966 by a random lunatic named Dimitrio Tsafendas.

Verwoerd's hard head, sculpted in gilt bronze, floats like a shiny bubble out of his tombstone. The graves on the terrace all face each other, a little *laager* of the dead.

Sanctions: a crowbar or hammer?

By MICHAEL BROWNING
Herald Staff Writer

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Japanese were "promoted" to white. Chinese remained black and were thus barred from fashionable restaurants. This was one of the craziest side effects of the international blanket of economic sanctions thrown over South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, in order to smother apartheid.

In those days South Africa was broken down into 10 shades of color and only whites had the free run of the country. The Japanese owed their privileged status to the fact that they never joined in sanctions. The Chinese, who railed against apartheid and sent foreign aid to Marxist governments in Africa, were literally cast into outer darkness here.

Sanctions have yet to drop fully. Even though apartheid has been formally annulled, 85 U.S. cities, 22 counties and 26 states still have some form of legislation on the books forbidding investment in South Africa. A total of 201 international companies "disinvested" in South Africa between 1984 and 1990.

Brakes on growth

Sanctions were the main reason the South African economy has grown at a rate of 2 percent a year or less since 1985, says Julian Ogilvie Thompson, chairman of the Anglo-American Corp. of South Africa.

Few measures have been more controversial, here or abroad. The United States imposed sanctions in 1986, over the veto of then President Ronald Reagan, who likened South Africa to a zebra, whose white stripes could not be targeted or hurt without harming the black stripes.

From 1986 to 1990, 154 U.S. companies withdrew from South Africa. Another 23 withdrew direct investments. A few stayed on under other names.

Are sanctions a crowbar or a hammer? Do they lever up changes and speed history or crush the common people for the sins of their leaders?

"To many, one's position on sanctions is a litmus test of one's racial morality," writes Allister Sparks in *The Mind of South Africa*. "To be critical of sanctions is to be a closet apartheidist. To others, support for sanctions is to be a moralistic carpetbagger who is prepared to raze a viable economy and inflict mass human suffering in order to satisfy one's own sense of self-righteousness."

"Sanctions destroyed thousands of jobs and prevented the creation of thousands more jobs," said Suzanne Voss, a spokesman for the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, which broke bitterly with the ANC over sanctions.

ANC stance on sanctions

The African National Congress still advocates sanctions against South Africa and has been widely criticized for its stubbornness. Now that apartheid has been formally abolished, oughtn't sanctions to be lifted forthwith?

"Whites have always been angry about sanctions, but I tell you sanctions have fought this white government to the ground," said Dulla Omar, an ANC spokesman and a Cape Town lawyer who helped defend Nelson Mandela when the leader was still in prison.

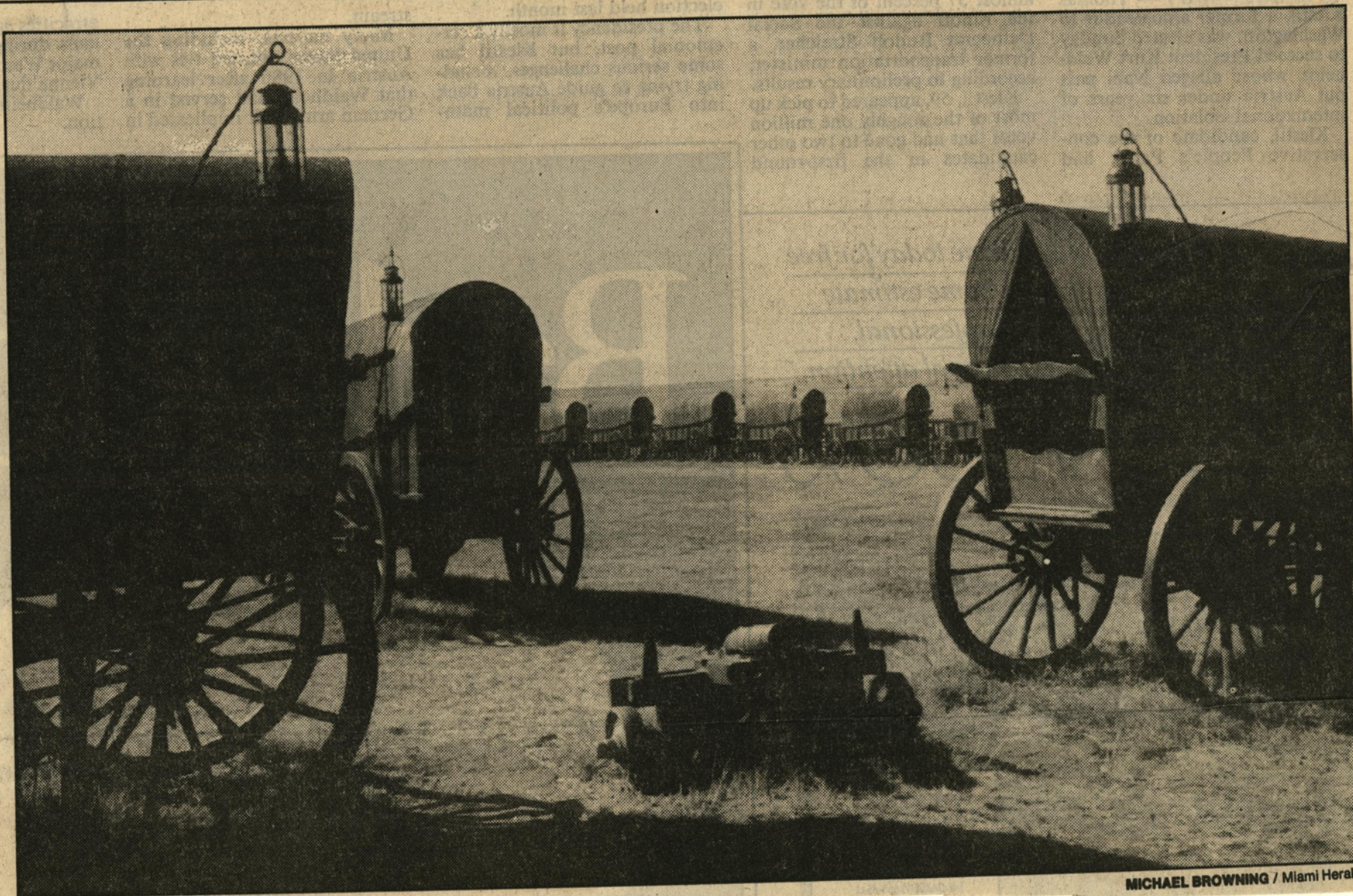
"They brought the apartheid regime to its knees. We believe that blacks generally supported sanctions. They raised the morale of the people."

Why does the ANC persist with its call for sanctions?

"Because we have not achieved democracy yet," Omar answered. "We do not believe Mr. de Klerk supports true democracy. So it is necessary for the pressure on the regime to be maintained."

"We are not unmindful of the suffering sanctions cause ... but the white community is still holding on to its privileges. ... As yet we have only the promise of change, not change itself."

SOUTH AFRICA IN TRANSITION



MONUMENT:
Steel replicas of
covered wagons
commemorate
Boer settlers' Dec.
16, 1838, victory
over the Zulus at
Blood River in the
Natal province.

MICHAEL BROWNING / Miami Herald

City councillor Sarkin joins ANC

DURBAN City Councillor Ros Sarkin made history yesterday by becoming the first ANC member to serve on the council.

Her membership of the ANC was announced by Southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Hadebe at a press briefing in Durban at which Mrs Sarkin,

By Simon Zwane

councillor for Mitchell Park, was present.

She told the Mercury she had joined the ANC for "ideological reasons".

Mrs Sarkin, chairman of the council's creative and recreation department, said she believed the ANC's policy represented the best hope of ach-

ieving a non-racial, non-sexist South Africa.

It was not unique for a councillor to change his or her position when the situation and conscience dictated. She pointed out, however, that she would continue to serve her ward.

Her move follows that of five Democratic Party MPs who joined the ANC in April.

They included two Natal

MPs, Mr Pierre Cronje, of Greytown, and Mr Rob Haswell, of Pietermaritzburg South.

Mr Haswell is also deputy mayor of Pietermaritzburg.

Mrs Sarkin said she took the decision to join the ANC after a meeting with Mr Mewa Ramgobin, chairman of the art and culture desk of the ANC in Southern Natal, and Mr Wally Serote who is national chairman of the ANC art and culture desk.

The meeting, which was held last week, had been called to work out a constitution for the Durban International Film Festival, of which she is director.

The announcement was made at the end of a regional policy conference of the ANC which Mrs Sarkin attended.

She was obviously moved by the warm and cheerful welcome she received from the 250 delegates.

Mrs Sarkin appeared confident that her decision was the right one.

Civic Action League chairman and Durban city councillor Arthur Morris said: "It does not surprise me at all because I thought she was a member of the ANC long ago with several others in council whose names I shall not mention."

Mr Crispin Hemson, chairman of the Berea Residents' Association, said that whatever party councillors belonged to they still had a duty to represent voters in their ward.