

# U S Congress's great aid-to-Africa hoax

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**CYNICISM** is probably inherent in any institution like the United States Congress. Members must pretend they are committed to some higher national good, but that too often is all it is, a pretence. For the vast majority, their only truly compelling interest is themselves.

If it were otherwise they would not have had the sublime arrogance to offer themselves to the public in the first place. Having achieved the public's approval their prime objective is to keep it. All else is secondary.

## Washington Letter

Simon Barber



If the electorate must be conned, bought or treated like the prey of a soap advertisement, so be it. The only constraint is the fear that too many voters might find out — a fear that simply makes for more sophisticated mendacity.

Then, of course, there is the law, but since Congress makes it even that can be twisted.

There have been some strikingly loathsome examples in recent days, none more so than the House of Representatives' attempt to vote itself a pay increase.

These are straitened times budget-wise. Thanks to the deficit the taxpayer is getting less and less for what he forks over to the Government.

## A 'balloon'

The members knew raising their salaries by rather more than what most of their constituents earn to begin with was a lead-balloon proposition. So they contrived an extraordinary legislative finagle under which a vote against a raise would automatically ensure that the raise went into effect.

In this case, it is not only the dishonesty that boggles the mind, it is the contempt in which these people hold the citizens who made them what they are.

If the voter is an easy mark, consider what the congressman can wreak on those who have no hold whatsoever on him, should it serve his purpose. It is hard to imagine anyone with less hold over him than the chronically brutalised millions of southern Africa. These millions are, however — thanks largely to an accident of skin colour — highly convenient fodder for many congressmen's ambitions, the more so because, when shafted, they cannot answer back.

## Has begun

The shafting has already begun, and the only brake on it, typically enough, is those few commodities the region possesses that matter to the U.S.

Converting personal interest into high moral principle, the Congress last year enacted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act whose glorious achievement has been to render its supposed target yet more bloodminded to its supposed beneficiaries.

Rhetorically, at least, the idea was to get on the right side of history. The result has been to help guarantee that history will never be on the side of southern Africa. But who cares? The point of the exercise was not to profit distant, disenfranchised masses, it was to appease the noisy

leaders of a domestic constituency whose very real problems are such a political and economic quagmire that not even the noisy leaders want to deal with it. Indeed, it may even be argued that said leaders wish the quagmire to persist because it gives them a *raison d'être*.

The trouble with the CAAA, from the congressional viewpoint at any rate, is that it is difficult to top without taking steps that might hurt or brass-off the voters. There really isn't much more that can be done without impinging on America's material (so much more important than moral) well-being.

However, as adumbrated in the preceding paragraph, more has been done in order to keep uglier, closer-to-home matters at bay. The issue, for reasons quite discrete from the horror of apartheid or the wretchedness of its victims, must be kept alive. Time, therefore, to haul out the smoke and mirrors.

This happened last Wednesday with all the pharisaic, auto-stimulative humbug that the sanctioneers have shown themselves so masterful at mustering.

## Usual suspects

One by one, the usual suspects — Senator Edward Kennedy, Congressman William Gray, Senator Paul Simon (the new chairman of the Senate Africa Subcommittee), soi-disant congressman but in fact non-voting congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy, Congressman Howard Wolpe and their sundry clones — mounted the podium and faced the cameras to boast their 'commitment' to and profound solicitude for the downtrodden southern African.

We will rescue you yet from South African tyranny, they said, we will give you \$800 million (R1 660 million) over the next six years. Look, we are even introducing Bills this very day to make it happen.

It was a vicious hoax, and they knew it. There is not a snowball's chance in hell that such a sum will be appropriated, certainly not in the present budget climate,

nor even if the deficit by some miracle suddenly shrinks and revenues soar.

## Low priority

Africa, it cannot be stressed too highly, has the lowest priority of any claim on the taxpaying voter's dollar. As for the plan itself, the numbers — \$100 million in the current year and an annual \$140 million through 1992 — were plucked out of the stratosphere of some staff member's mind, and aside from

a stipulation that 'not less than half' would be spent on currently chic regional transport programmes there was not the faintest indication that any of the sponsors had given the least thought to how the money should be spent.

Which is not surprising because what was going on here was not the making of policy but a piece of political *son et lumiere*.

The Reagan Administration had been working on a similar, slightly more realistic, initiative for some months. The Agency of International Development (AID) had decided to ask for \$500 million over five years, starting with \$93 million for the first two, and it at least had the manners to work out in some detail how and where the money would be allocated.

It concluded, for example, that it wasn't much good pumping cash into the Beira and other corridors if there was no trade to run up and down them. It also devoted considerable effort to co-ordination with other donors and institutions like the World Bank. In short, it tried to come up with something workable — something that might, indeed, if the funds could be found, not only help in counteracting the regional effects of S A sanctions but even do some long-term good.

It was, of course, no coin-

cidence that Kennedy, Gray *et al* chose to unveil their scheme at the very hour AID was unveiling its version. The idea, quite patently, was to steal the administration's thunder and, because AID was only permitted by the office of management and budget to talk about the first two years and \$93 million of its plan, to make it look cheap and 'uncaring'. Which is exactly how it was portrayed in the Washington Post the following morning.

The truth of the matter is that both plans are doomed. The difference is that one, the administration's, is a sincere, if optimistic, attempt to develop a workable U S strategy over the ruins of constructive engagement.

The creators of the congressional alternative share no such goal. If they did they could have simply rallied to AID's proposal and put their shoulder to the wheel of getting it into law. But their purpose is not to help southern Africa, about which most know nothing and care less, but to exploit its hopes and suffering to broadcast their virtue and win petty political points off the administration.

A little honesty would be nice from these people, a little more thought about reality beyond their own narrow interests, a little more heed to consequences, a little less play-acting. Just once.



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EDWARD KENNEDY ... played a part in a vicious Congressional hoax

# Congress is not honest with its plans for Southern Africa

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

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Feb 10 1992



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NEWS

## PW 'accepts joint rule possibility'

### Political Reporter

THE presence of President Botha at the ceremonial first meeting of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority in Durban this week shows a 'benign acceptance' by him that the JEA could lead to a joint legislature for the region, an Indaba spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said the Natal Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, had said at the meeting he was in favour of a joint legislature and the fact that Mr Botha was present at the meeting showed a 'benign acceptance' of this point by him.

He said it was expected that the Government would take some time to digest the Indaba proposals now that it had received the views of the organisers of the talks — the KwaZulu Government and Mr Cadman and Exco.

The spokesman said it was presumed that the views of the two principals on the Indaba would be favourable.

While it is known the KwaZulu Government is in favour of the Indaba proposals, the position of Exco is less clear since it now includes Mr Tino Volker and Mr Peter Miller, who are members of the National Party which has rejected the proposals as having insufficient safeguards

for minorities.

The Indaba spokesman said although Nationalist MPs, particularly junior MPs, had criticised the proposals, 'no-one in a senior position' had done so.

'We are extremely encouraged by the developments of the past 10 days initiated by Dr Oscar Dhlomo's statement that the proposals are negotiable to a point.

'The critical point is that we are operating in a climate of goodwill and friendly give and take.

'All parties, not just KwaZulu, sees the JEA as an interim step to a joint legislature,' the spokesman said.

10 Feb 1987



THE RESIGNATION of Dr Denis Worrall as South Africa's Ambassador in Britain was big news here.

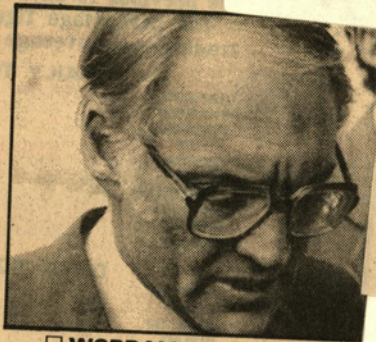
The event showed how passionately interested Britain still is in SA. Latterly, as a result of the clampdown on Press reporting of black unrest, South African news had been receding from the front pages, but Worrall's resignation brought it flooding back.

The resignation also showed that the previously dismissive attitude of the British media towards "white politics" in SA is no longer so superficial. The obsessive interest in the bang-bang of South African politics is changing now into a growing interest in how the bang-bang can be resolved.

Some of the comments in the British Press have been remarkably perceptive. Most commentators accept that the sole purpose of the May 6 election is to allow President Botha to use the twin issues of international sanctions and the black "revolutionary onslaught" to try to pull his National Party together — to beat off the challenge from the HNP and CP on the Right flank and from the PFP-NRP on the Left. Otherwise, the election is seen as "futile".

The commentators perceive, too, that what Worrall's resignation signifies — and the resignation of Wynand Malan — is an attempt to break the mould of white politics in SA.

Here some distant analogies are drawn with the emergence of the Liberal-SDP Alliance in Britain, which is also trying to break a mould.



□ WORRALL ... big news

# Breaking the mould of white politics

## STANLEY UYS in London

Breaking the mould is what South African politics are all about these days: since the NP government is incapable of talking to the black opposition about the country's future — the most urgent priority — a new governmental grouping is needed to do it.

Breaking the mould of white politics in SA, of course, is not something that interests many black radicals or white liberals here. For them it is the revolution or nothing.

Recently, for example, I took part in a radio discussion programme in which a West African journalist dismissed Worrall's resignation, and indeed all white politics, as games whites play among themselves — games which are irrelevant to blacks.

I was unable to persuade him that, surely, the inner strength or weakness of a white ruling class was highly relevant to the black struggle.

If, for example, the NP restabilises itself as a result of the election, and

white politics are re-frozen in their existing mould, all that will be left for the black opposition will be to slug it out with the security forces for the next decade or two.

Blacks ultimately can win this slug-ging match, but at what price — a scorched economy, the smouldering ruins of race relations and a fragmented black leadership?

Dismissing white or parliamentary politics as "irrelevant" is adolescent politics. There is nothing irrelevant about parliamentary power, because it is the power either to negotiate or to die in the last ditch.

The other interesting consequence of Worrall's resignation is that it has brought PFP leader Colin Eglin on to British television screens. Suddenly, after relegat-

ing white opposition leaders in SA to low priority treatment, the realisation has dawned here that without Eglin the new "centrist" grouping in white politics will never emerge.

It is in Eglin's gift to make or break this new grouping — to create a symbiotic relationship between the PFP and the Malans, Worralls and others who will follow them.

And by all accounts — or so we hear here — Eglin is playing these cards skilfully. This, of course, is the role Frederik van zyl Slabbert should have played.

No doubt Eglin will come up against that old obstacle to change in any political party — the purists who don't want strangers crowding in on their patch.

The British Liberal-SDP Alliance had to overcome this problem before they were able to get their show on the road. But Eglin, unless television appearances are deceptive, looks as if he knows where he is going.



A *Guardian* editorial made this interesting comment: "... Worrall's return from diplomatic exile to the domestic arena is a reminder that there is an entirely new factor emerging in the white political spectrum.

### Real power

"He is, or was, a member of a small but important element in the NP, the handful of Angliophones who have been given posts of real power to show that the ruling party is not just for the dominant Afrikaners ...

"His spectacular stroke comes only a week after an NP politician, Wynand Malan, resigned for the same reason. Malan is one of about 30 'New Nats' who have lost patience with Botha's inertia ... The existence of this disaffected 'Left' in the NP points to a realignment

in white politics of much greater import than the Right's earlier leap in the dark. "It would seem that Botha, by stalling on reform to assuage his obsession with the Right, has conjured up an entirely new and potentially greater enemy on the other flank.

"The Afrikaners are naturally fissiparous and it has always been the prime duty of their political leader to strive for unity among the Volk. As they begin to crack under the strain of confrontation and isolation, P W Botha stands a good chance of going down as the most divisive leader in South African history."

Television told its own story here: President Botha, looking drawn and grim-faced at the opening of Parliament, and Eglin looking unusually buoyant and optimistic.

These are early days yet, but at last the new course is being struck. There is a flicker of hope again — and not just on British television screens.

10 Feb 1987



# Let's tell blacks of their heroes: editor

## Lifestyle Correspondent

**E**VER since Mrs Maud Motanyane was a little mining town girl in Nigel, she has seen an image of a white man with a beard every time she closes her eyes to pray.

As editor of Tribute, the new upmarket black glossy magazine, costing R1,50 every two months, Mrs Motanyane is trying to replace old images like these with new, positive ones. She has long felt the need for a magazine for people who are realising their own potential.

"Are you a closet Uncle Tom?" she asked in a light-hearted quiz in the magazine's first issue published last week. "When you see an exquisite piece of art or human creation, do you find yourself muttering: 'The white man is great?'"

"Or do you have a jar of skin-lightening cream hidden in your bottom drawer?"

"Closet Uncle Tom is not necessarily about being black. It's about being a level-headed person. Sometimes you have to fight the old images and consciously rise above them and be yourself.

"Look at me. I still have a white name. Gugu, my second name, means 'precious', but I come from a time when our real names were used only at home.

"The Black Consciousness Movement got us back to the right self concept — but there are still many issues to deal with. Like the status of women in black society.

"There is a cold war being fought between the sexes, as the statistics of divorce and woman-bashing show. But the men are not entirely to blame. It is also the society."

How would Tribute handle this question?

Replied the married mother of two: "The sooner the issues are dealt with, the better. If you're going to win this kind of war, you have one of two choices — confrontation or craftiness. Tribute intends to be crafty — but

to shoot from the hip."

What about political issues? Tribute was clearly critical of the system. But it wasn't heavy.

"It's deliberate," Mrs Motanyane said. "We're addressing the problems without people feeling we're making a political speech. While we will criticise the Government and condemn it for its oppression of the black masses, we will be a platform for those who want to contribute views towards the building of a post-apartheid South Africa."

She had meticulously handpicked her team of writers, who were predominantly black. "There are plenty of black people out there who know a great deal."

She is clearly one of them. With a diploma in Library Science, she's worked in libraries, taught, been a PRO for Barclays and written for The Star and Post: everything from lost dog stories to TV criticism and her own column. She has also edited Sunday Post's magazine.

In her spare time she haunts bookstores ("I love the feel of books, the smell of them"). She reads a lot: Chinua Achebe, Fanon, James Baldwin and Maya Angelou. Writers who describe the black experience, on many different levels. One of eight children, she said education was always a priority, even although there was no money.

It was easy to see how

Mrs Motanyane's career has made the leaps and bounds that it has. Her quick intelligence needs something to grapple with. Right now it's reconciling the Western and African cultures.

"We must strike a balance between the old and the new. Much of our culture is really valuable. We've lost so much of it — it's frightening to think that in another 20-30 years we'll need another Arthur Hailey to look for our roots. They need to be recorded now, and I see Tribute playing that kind of role."

Actually, Tribute's role is multifaceted. Judging from the first issue, it intends to stimulate. It features profiles of people like Miss Zinzi Mandela, the daughter; it describes social goings-on, speakeasies for the chic, fashion, beauty,

Valentine's Day cooking, sport and features design and decor in two Soweto homes.

And it also asks more serious questions, like "Why is the stock exchange run almost exclusively by whites? and "Why are there no black judges and magistrates (except in some of the 'homelands')?"

Its editor challenges its audience to a new way of looking at themselves and at black achievers.

"It's this thing about heroes," said Mrs Motanyane. "Our children have to know our heroes."

As she writes in her editorial: "In this way we hope people will be able to rearrange their values, selecting what they think is good from the past and present to build a new and richer order."





Mrs Maud Motanyane — focusing on the achievements of black people  
in South Africa

10 Feb 1987



## ■ First signs of tide beginning to turn

# Have sanctions backfired?

WASHINGTON: Americans are starting to question the value of their economic sanctions against South Africa in early assessments of the clamp on trade.

Doubts being aired here are similar to those also emerging on the worth of an exodus by US companies divesting themselves of their South African holdings, but maintaining business links with South Africa.

A stampede for the moral high ground on Capitol Hill in August last year saw lawmakers trample the few who raised concerns at sanctions, culminating in a hastily-written Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

President Reagan and the State Department warned against sanctions. But Congress thundered on over them too, overwhelmingly overriding a final "No" to sanctions from Mr Reagan on October 2.

First signs now are that the tide is turning, with analysts and commentators starting to recognise that sanctions may well steer the South African Government, the intended target, the wrong way and hurt the very people they are meant to help.

"Have economic sanctions against South Africa backfired?" Mr William Raspberry, a respected and influential columnist, asked in

### Daily News Foreign Service

the Washington Post recently. "Probably Yes."

His column would have delighted those in the White House and State Department who have all along fought sanctions. Those officials who today still privately oppose sanctions as a means to budge Pretoria to reform, but have to implement them because they are law, must be chortling.

Mr Raspberry added: "Is there anybody in America who supported sanctions who now thinks that maybe sanctions weren't such a wonderful idea after all? Probably not."

Congress's sanctions, he said, would still be remembered as such a magnificent victory for the forces of righteousness that it may be impossible for pro-sanctions activists to have second thoughts.

"And yet the clear evidence is that Pretoria's principal reactions to international sanctions has been what seasoned observers of South Africa had long predicted: a white retreat into the laager ... and an end to any pretence of serious reform."

American newspapers are now reflecting that withdrawal and closing of ranks in news reports as the May 6 general election draws

nearer and National Party politicians turn up the volume and anti-US rhetoric.

Citing the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference finding that sanctions were unlikely to force change in South Africa, Mr Raspberry asked how many intelligent, well-meaning Americans could have thought otherwise.

"The answer, I think, is that South Africa's racism is so clear-cut an evil, so conducive to good-guy/bad-guy analyses that it's difficult for anti-apartheid partisans to think their way from policy proposal to probable outcome," he said.

Threats of sanctions had caused at least cosmetic reforms but, once that damage was inflicted, the threat-induced incentive to move evaporated.

"It is a bit like blackmail. Threaten to publish my darkest secrets, and I might pay you hush money. Actually publish them, and you won't collect a dime."

The only people who could be cheered by events in South Africa, Mr Raspberry concluded, were those who believed bloody revolution was the only solution and that sanctions would bring it on by making conditions for blacks completely intolerable — "Is that what we really want?", he asked.



Dodging bans may not be easy

# BUSINESS DAY FEB 10, 1987 Sanctions buster in the steel arena

HAMISH McINDOE

THE surprise attendance of John Erasmus, a leading sanctions buster under the Ian Smith administration in Rhodesia, at a metal merchants' conference at the weekend suggests getting around foreign bans on SA scrap steel exports may not be as easy as the industry first thought.

An undisclosed tonnage of steel scrap is still being landed in the EC countries and Japan — despite bans on SA steel. But exporters believe the EC is hardening its attitude towards SA scrap slipping through the sanctions net.

Erasmus would only say "plans had to be made" to offset the effect of more sanctions and tighter controls on existing routes.

He spoke to exporters on an individual basis after the conference.

The industry was unmoved by last year's steel embargoes, and there were claims that scrap was a "faceless" commodity whose country of origin is hard to detect.

Ironically, a proposed 25% duty on ferrous scrap exports will, in many cases, obviate the need for sanctions to stop the industry trading with the EC and Japan.

SA's R400m a year scrap industry, represented by the Metal Merchants' Association (MMA), held its first national

conference in Bophuthatswana amid fears that the government duty on ferrous and non-ferrous scrap will price the industry out of all foreign markets.

MMA chairman David Loewanthal slated the move as a "thinly-veiled mechanism for lowering the price of ferrous scrap to steelmakers".

The Rolled Steel Producers' Association, which represents the country's 10 primary steelmakers, says there is a local shortage of steel scrap.

However, lending support to the MMA, British Scrap Federation president Pat Neenan said: "The British scrap industry fought long and hard to win its export freedom against powerful calls on strategic grounds for duties.

"So it's imperative that the MMA becomes a force to be reckoned with."

Prospects of tighter pollution controls and other external factors are forcing this notoriously competitive and tightly-knit industry to make itself better known to government and the public.

Said MMA convention committee chairman Roger Hazell: "We've still got a long way to go before we reach the level of professionalism of our UK friends. But it's a start in the right direction."



DAILY NEWS - 10 FEBR. 1987

■ **Report will say Reagan's policy has failed**

# Spotlight is back on SA

WASHINGTON: The spotlight returns to South Africa here today when the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, is handed a report telling him that President Reagan's South Africa policy has been a dismal failure.

The report, with recommendations for future policy, has been compiled after more than a year of meetings by a 12-member, blue-chip special advisory commission — the "panel of wise men" — appointed by President Reagan.

It has not yet been released in public but sources say that a majority of members will urge the President to press US allies to join in an economic sanctions drive unless South Africa takes a number of steps.

These include ending the state of emergency, releasing all political prisoners, and recognising the African National Congress as a legitimate political organisation.

Not all members favour sanctions, however. Some disagree so strongly that they prepared a minority report, which will also be released today, sources say.

It is understood that at least three of the panelists — former Under Secretary of

## Daily News Foreign Service

State, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, the chief of General Motors, Mr Roger Smith, and the president of the Christian College Coalition, Mr John Dellenback — have signed the minority report.

Their view, that sanctions make conditions tougher for blacks and will not encourage the SA Government to speed up reform, matches that of President Reagan and Mr Shultz.

Analysts will be watching carefully to see what effect the recommendations will have on US policy during the remaining two years of President Reagan's term.

Though "constructive engagement" is no longer used to describe the policy, and the Reagan administration now has to enforce sanctions approved by the US Congress last year, top officials say that the basic structure of the policy is essentially unchanged.

One major shift, however, is that the US puts greater emphasis on contacts with black leaders. This was behind the meeting here between Mr Shultz and ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo a fortnight ago and meet-

ings last week between Mr Shultz and a delegation from Inkatha.

Senior officials concede that the new reach-out approach to blacks will achieve nothing if the US loses influence with the South African Government as a result.

Mr Shultz announced an outline of US policy toward the region two months ago — an event taken by analysts here to signal that the administration was aware of the critical tone of the emerging report and was getting its word in first.

It is believed that the report urges Israel to cut its trade ties with South Africa and calls for an end to the sales of American high-technology products to the republic.

It says there is an urgent need to foster negotiations between the South African Government and black leaders to establish a non-racial and democratic political system.

Mr Owen Bieber, president of the United Auto Workers, is one of the members said to be strongly behind the sanctions. Mr Bieber's role in the panel has come under criticism because he was actively campaigning against US ties with South Africa while the commission was still in session.



Mr Heunis was adamant that the Indaba proposals did not protect group rights and as such were not acceptable to the Government.

He denied that this amounted to the Government setting down firm parameters for any negotiations, but was not prepared to deal in specifics because negotiations on any future dispensation for a joint legislature for kwaZulu and Natal would still take place.

He would not even commit himself to a single legislature for the region.

Mr Heunis conceded that his claim on television that the Government had not rejected the Indaba applied to the concept and not to the actual proposals.

Neither would he comment on indications that the kwaZulu/Inkatha delegates had been cautious about signing the proposals because there was too much emphasis on group rights.

He could only comment on what had been handed to him.

### Repeated accusations

Throughout the interview he repeatedly swung his answers into accusations that the PFP and NRP had bedevilled chances of success because they had made it an election issue.

He rejected arguments that the first person to make it a political issue had been the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, who gave the proposals the thumbs down within 48 hours of the majority of the delegates signing the Indaba report.

Mr Heunis said Mr Botha was entitled to comment as the National

# Heunis blames opposition for Indaba rumpus



Heunis . . . "proposals represent majority rule".

Party of Natal was an Indaba delegate, even though only, by choice, with observer status.

He maintained he had been quite prepared to agree to the request of the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not to make an election issue of the Indaba, but the NRP and PFP had made this impossible by forming an election pact on the basis of the Indaba.

His view had been until then that the Government should not comment before the initiators of the process, the kwaZulu Govern-

**Bruce Cameron of The Star's parliamentary staff interviewed the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, after his controversial appearance on TVI's "Network" programme. Opposition politicians and the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba administration accused him of making misleading or incorrect statements.**

ment/Inkatha and the Natal Provincial Executive, had commented on the proposals.

Challenged on how he could claim that the current Provincial Executive, which had been appointed by the Government, could be considered to be the same as the elected Natal Provincial Executive which was scrapped by the Government, Mr Heunis replied: "It makes no difference."

He said the appointed Provincial Executive was "not an agent of the Government" and there were only two National Party members serving on it.

If the new Executive could not be seen as the legal successor it should not be party to the planned Joint Executive Authority for Natal and KwaZulu.

Mr Heunis said the Government could not be expected to give approval to a set of proposals that "by

their own definition are incomplete".

The economic consequences of the Indaba proposals had not been fully assessed.

"The proposals imply additional expenditure that they say Natal hasn't got." This could prove to be a problem if every province made similar recommendations.

The proposals were also incomplete because no recommendations were made on how the proposed legislature would fit in with central government.

Mr Heunis questioned the fact that the proposals were a majority report, saying delegates had signed in their personal capacity and not on behalf of their organisations.

He lauded the concept of the Indaba but "deplored the political parties which for their own expediency put the initiative, which had great promise, into jeopardy".

If the proposals remained as they

were they were rejected as the Government believed in "equal group participation. The proposals represent majority rule".

Sociologist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer had said that the proposals amounted to black majority rule.

Mr Heunis ruled out the suggestion that the Bill of Rights and the second chamber provided any significant protection for group rights.

Group rights were excluded on general affairs and applied only to cultural issues such as language. Other group issues, including residential areas (Group Areas), were excluded.

"The proposals as such give no guarantee for the self-determination of cultural affairs and do not include a formula for ensuring group participation in the process of government."

Asked about his previous undertaking to consider a public testing of the proposals, Mr Heunis stressed that only proposals which were acceptable to the Government would be tested by a referendum or referenda.

He indicated that any attempt by the Indaba to initiate its own referendum would not be acceptable to the Government: "It doesn't have the capacity."

Mr Heunis repeated his undertaking to discuss a joint legislature after he had received the input of kwaZulu and the Provincial Executive — not only with those two bodies but with all political parties.



# US experts to 'sell' Indaba proposals to SA

By CHRIS HOARE

**DURBAN.** — The four-man team of American publicity consultants, from the Hay Group and brought to South Africa to help "sell" the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals, reported back to the Indaba steering committee yesterday.

Professor Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, said: "They sketched a three-phase campaign for heightening public awareness of the serious situation in which the country finds itself and the alternatives offered by the Indaba.

"The campaign strategy aims at producing public demand for implemen-

tation of the Indaba proposals as an alternative to continuing polarisation and eventual chaos."

Prof Clarence would not exclude the possibility of using TV adverts to achieve this aim. They wanted at this stage, to remain open to all possibilities.

He could not be more specific about the three-phase awareness plan, but said it had already started. It could last about nine months, he said.

He wanted the people of Natal to understand what the Indaba proposed, and what its consequences were. "We will talk as much as we can to as many groups as wish to hear us," he said, "and we will aim, in the end,

for a referendum or failing that, a poll".

The Hay Group would spread the Indaba message overseas, to Congressmen for example, but that was only a by-product of their visit — it was not at the Indaba's request.

"The Indaba has never been an anti-government exercise. We moved right at the beginning to encourage the State President to get away from apartheid.

## Proposals

"The government's rejection of our proposals has made us more determined to do the awareness campaign, and if the people of KwaZulu/Natal reject the proposals, so be it. But if the government accepts these proposals, I think it will take a lot of pressure off this country."

The full text of a Press statement released by Prof Clarence reads:

"The Hay Group finds the Indaba proposals to reflect 'a unique and skilful blend of views' that provide good and lasting solutions to South Africa's political problems.

"They are of the opinion that the proposals are

eminently saleable both internally and internationally, and hold a real prospect of saving South Africa from total sanctions, which may otherwise be imposed by the US by July this year.

"The Hay Group, who have worked in South Africa before, and are strongly linked to the Reagan Administration in America and the Conservative Party in the UK, have been in this country for a week at the request of the Indaba. In this time they have spoken to a White cross-section of business, political and academic figures.

## Concept

"A strategy to bring the concept of the Indaba to the people of Natal/KwaZulu and the rest of the country, as well as the in-

ternational community, was unanimously accepted by the steering committee.

"The consultants had found a 'longing for hope for South Africa' both internally and overseas, and that the Indaba proposals were the only realistic initiative on offer in this country at present.

"However, although they perceived a general acceptance of an overdue

need for change, not enough detail is known of the Indaba and an aggressive and positive communications campaign is required.

"The consultants gained the distinct impression over the past week that the South African Government fears the Indaba proposals because they might prove to be contagious to other parts of the country as well. However, they believe the principles of the Indaba can be successfully marketed, whatever the government's misgivings might be," the statement said.

"They sketched a three-phase campaign for heightening public awareness of the serious situation in which the country finds itself and the alternatives offered by the Indaba. They discovered a wide perception inside South Africa, that the Indaba might be the last opportunity for peaceful negotiation.

"They found that South Africans are beginning to realise that an Indaba-type solution is inevitable.

"The campaign strategy aims at producing public demand for implementation of the Indaba proposals as an alternative to continuing polarisation and eventual chaos.

"Having heard this stimulating report, the steering committee and I, are more determined than ever to strive for acceptance and implementation of the Indaba's proposals," Prof Clarence said in the statement.



## Inkatha 43 guilty of illegal assembly

*Noted witness*  
*Feb 10, 87*

Witness Reporter

FORTY-THREE Inkatha members were found guilty of forming an illegal gathering by a city magistrate yesterday after the main charge of public violence had been withdrawn.

No reasons were given for dropping the public violence charge but prosecutor Mr K.W. Kuhn said the decision was made "after consultation with the Attorney General".

The 43 — 20 of whom are under the age of 18 — yesterday pleaded guilty to a charge of contravening section 57 of the Internal Security Act by forming an illegal gathering in the Boshoff Street area on February 3.

All were found guilty. Thirteen of the accused were sentenced to a fine of R100 or three months in prison by magistrate Mr G.J. Barnard. He sentenced the other 30 accused — who were all under the age of 21 — to five cuts with a light cane. The majority of the 43 were either students or unemployed.

Three children aged 12 and 13 — who were arrested with the 43 accused — were released before the court appearance.

In argument before sentence Mr W. von Willich, appearing for the 43, said that the accused's actions should be seen against a background of an "ideological feud going on between members of Inkatha — the moderate Zulus — and on the other side the UDF, Cosatu, the ANC and the South African Communist Party." **Turn to page two**

## Inkatha group found guilty

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At least 100 members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade had been killed by the UDF in the last few months, he said.

"Gangs of the UDF do frequent the Pietermaritzburg town, that is how they manage to stay in control in Pietermaritzburg as such," he said.

A few days before the day in question a child by the name Mhlongo had been abducted by the UDF and was later found dead. The day before the 43 came to town the UDF had killed two Inkatha members in Retief Street and three women related to some of the accused were seriously wounded, Mr von Willich said.

The situation "got completely out of hand" on February 3 when five Inkatha members — including two of the accused were "set upon by the UDF" while looking for employment in town. Accused Sandile Mkhize (22) and Simon Pongola (24) were wounded, he said.

The five fled back to Harewood to find people to protect them against the UDF and a group then set off for town "with the sole intention of protecting these people".

When the group disembarked in the central city they were "summarily set upon by members of the UDF", he claimed.

Mr von Willich said that when the police arrived on the scene the Inkatha members had "willingly submitted to arrest" and had laid down their arms. He said that the 43 pointed out their assailants to the police but "to their surprise and horror these people were summarily released".

The magistrate said he was pleased to see so many older leaders in the packed public gallery. "It will take leaders with love and forgiveness in their hearts to solve these problems," he said.

In his reply, Mr Kuhn for the State said the facts given by Mr von Willich were not in dispute. However, people could not take the law into their own hands. The court should also take into account that there was not only one faction at fault but that the violence "works both ways", he said.



# Shake Faith 2/10/87

## Afrikaans Church Shift Against Apartheid Stirs Resistance of Members

### Dutch Reformed Synod Step Splits White Community, With Political Overtones

### Both Sides Quote the Bible

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

KIMBERLEY, South Africa—If there is one thing that Andries Scholtz always trusted, it was his church.

All his life, for three-quarters of a century, the Dutch Reformed Church prescribed how he should live. The church said he shouldn't dance on Sunday, and he didn't. It said he should worship only with fellow whites, and he did. It said separation of the races—apartheid—was just, and he believed.

But now, after all these years, Mr. Scholtz doesn't know what to believe anymore. His church has changed its mind and confused him. Apartheid is unacceptable, the church now preaches, and worshipping alongside blacks and people of mixed race is good.

"Does this mean that our forefathers were wrong?" Mr. Scholtz asks his dominee, his minister. "The Holy Spirit led our forefathers. Did the Holy Spirit lead them wrong?"

#### A Troubling Idea

For South Africa's Afrikaners, this idea is deeply troubling. During their three centuries in South Africa, they have looked to the Dutch Reformed Church, and its strict interpretation of the Bible, for guidance. Through the great trek north from the Cape, through the years of British domination, through the battles with the blacks, through the recent racial strife, Afrikaners have clung to their church. It lent righteousness to their belief that they are South Africa's chosen race.

But at a synod in Cape Town last October, the all-white church underwent a change as significant for all Afrikanerdom as Saul's conversion on the road to Damascus was for all Christendom. The synod's principal decisions—to confess that the biblical justification of apartheid was in error and to open membership to all races—are bringing the painful issue of reform to a boil in the unyielding Afrikaner community, which runs South Africa.

More than any of the government's tentative racial reforms in the past couple of years, the synod's decisions have cut to the core of Afrikaner identity. They have split the church—some angry members are threatening to break away—and exposed deep divisions among Afrikaners. They have also illuminated the difficulties in getting Afrikaners to accept fundamental racial reform on any level, whether in church, in neighborhood or in parliament. And without changes, starting with the church, South Africa seems destined to keep sliding toward revolution.

#### Deep Implications

"For the Afrikaner, the church is No. 1," says Willie Lubbe, a Pretoria theologian who is orchestrating the clamor of those against the synod decisions and against reform in general. "What happens in the church is carried through in political life, in cultural life, in social life."

Indeed, the Dutch Reformed Church has often been called "the National Party at prayer" because so many members of the ruling National Party are also church members and because the government has used the church's preachings to support its apartheid policies. Fearing that any rupture in the church could seriously split the white electorate as well, the government has put on hold any political reform before the general election for white voters, which is set for May 6.

Some of the more liberal, and optimistic, members of the Dutch Reformed Church believe that eventually the synod's change of heart and acts of reform, which were largely prompted by the church's virtual ostracism from the world religious community, should inspire a similar conversion among government leaders. "If you have one doctrine inside the church, you should have the same one being practiced outside the church," says Marius Bester, the personnel director of the city of Kimberley and a church elder.

#### Preaching and Practice

But through the years, the church and the Afrikaners have rarely practiced what they preached. The dominees preached of the Good Samaritan and advocated "love thy neighbor," but segregation and discrimination have been common, and later official, practice.

In 1863, the Dutch Reformed Church instituted separate worship for whites and nonwhites. And after World War II, as the government imposed one apartheid law after another, the church embraced the principle of separate development of the races more elaborately and found justification for it in the Bible. The church's traditional branches—the mother church for whites, the Church in Africa for blacks and the Sendingkerk for people of mixed race—held separate synods and, generally, didn't have anything to do with one another. Whites often refused to pray with blacks.

Now, many Dutch Reformed members find that accepting that their church has erred all these years—and accepting the presence of a black man in the next pew—requires a great leap of faith.

"Am I now supposed to worship with my [black] farm laborers?" Mr. Scholtz, the Kimberley farmer, asks incredulously. His dominee, Johann Lemmer, a man half his age, gives him a copy of the synod's

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10 Feb 1987



# Shaken Faith: Dutch Reformed Church Alienates Many Afrikaners With Shift to Assailing Apartheid

*Continued From First Page*

resolutions and, as always, tells him to consult his Bible, specifically the book of Romans, Chapter 12.

"It says, 'Do not conform to the standards of the world,'" says Dominee Lemmer. "The standards of our world have been to discriminate. But we now see that is wrong."

Someone like Mr. Scholtz, however, needs more persuasion. "It is unacceptable for him to believe that the church can be wrong," the dominee says.

Such resistance is an instinctive reaction of the tradition-bound Afrikaners, who rely heavily on examples set by their forefathers. "We taught them to think this way. Why should they change?" says G.J. Swart, a Johannesburg minister and one of the church's most liberal theologians.

Mr. Swart himself changed, in the 1950s, when he set out to write a university thesis on the biblical basis for apartheid and wound up writing about the need for a unified, open church. Since then, he has been a prophet crying in the wilderness. People refusing to listen to talk of reform, he says, "won't change willingly."

Since the synod, dominees favoring change have been focusing on New Testa-

ment passages emphasizing Christian duty and church unity in order to smooth the way for putting the principle of an open church into practice. In recent years, a few congregations, mainly in big cities, have opened worship services to blacks and other races, but the vast majority remain closed. And opponents of the new course have their own favorite passages of Scripture: those about the diversity of God's creation and about a chosen race, set above all others.

"I prefer separatism," says Mr. Lubbe, a major opponent of the changes. "If you open church membership, it can easily mean that within a few years, the majority of the congregation will be members of the Sotho or Zulu tribes or Indians or whatever. Yet the church was meant to be an Afrikaner congregation." The synod, he says, "has made the Dutch Reformed Church an international church, and we don't want that. We want our own church."

Mr. Lubbe has opened an office in downtown Pretoria to act as a clearing-house for people upset by the synod's decisions. His group of dissenters has opened a bank account to collect the money that people are refusing to put into the church's collection plates. He seeks to overturn the synod's decisions through negotiations with its leaders, and, failing that, to set up a new, purely Afrikaner church.

"If people say I'm a racist, then I can tell them they're a Communist," he says. "They believe that everything belongs to everybody. Isn't that the true Communist doctrine?"

## Praying for Peace

Zerilda Nel, a social worker and member of a Johannesburg Dutch Reformed congregation, prays for peace among the bickering church factions. "Every human being must, at some stage, sit down and think about life and look at how we are living. This is what the church has done" at the synod, she says. "I can't be concerned that if my church is opened, then I'll be overrun by blacks. I want to be overrun by Christians, of whatever color."

Mr. Bester of Kimberley says: "You can't, on the one hand, say, 'I'm a believer and a Christian,' and, on the other hand, say, 'I hate the blacks.'"

But, in effect, this is just what the church and its members have long done, and the church became an international pariah. It was suspended from one world church body several years ago, and it has been regularly condemned by various faiths for being hypocritical and heretical in tolerating apartheid. This condemnation has been particularly harsh from the other major churches in South Africa, which have been zealously working to overturn the apartheid system for many years and, in the process, have seen outspoken ministers occasionally arrested.

The international pressure helped precipitate the Dutch Reformed Church's conversion last October. But some observers term this conversion far too late and still far from complete. Allan Boesak, a prominent anti-apartheid campaigner who heads the mixed-race branch of the church, demands that the white church go further and confess its own complicity in the propagation of apartheid and declare apartheid sinful rather than just "unacceptable."

## No Quick Unification

And despite all the talk of whites and blacks worshipping together, the white mother church hasn't managed to reconcile the racial split in the Dutch Reformed family. Chances for any quick unification of its three branches seem remote.

Putting the synod's decisions into practice in Kimberley, for example, won't be easy. The site of South Africa's legendary diamond mines and strong in Afrikaner tradition, Kimberley seems to have more Dutch Reformed churches than service stations.

Dominee Lemmer's congregation draws its members from a neat white suburb where many residents work for the government or the railway and have at least one domestic servant. Several years ago, the congregation's council decided to let local black and colored workers use the church on Thursday evenings for a service. A few members objected, Dominee Lemmer says, because "they didn't like having to sit on the pews on Sunday where a black man had sat on Thursday."

Opening Sunday services to blacks is expected to be even harder, he says. "I've been asked, 'Dominee, what would happen if 20 blacks come to church?' I say they would be welcome. Then I'm asked, 'Where would they sit?'"

Johan Thiant, an elder who generally speaks in favor of an open church, raises

another question. "When a black enters the church, how do we know if he's a Christian or an ANC member?" he asks, referring to the African National Congress, the banned anti-apartheid organization that includes terrorism as part of its strategy for toppling the South African government. "You can't ask someone if he's a Christian."

So far, that problem hasn't arisen because, despite the synod's decision, no blacks or coloreds have come on Sunday. And few whites expect that many will.

"I don't believe for one moment that if we open the doors of the church, it will be full of blacks the next Sunday," Mr. Bester says. "People want to worship in their own language and according to their own culture. They would be uncomfortable with us."

## Falconbridge Sells 49% Stake in Firm In South Africa

*By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter*

TORONTO—Falconbridge Ltd. said it sold its 49% stake in Western Platinum Ltd. of South Africa, citing, in part, political instability in that country.

It became the fifth large Canadian concern in the past year to announce plans to sell holdings in South Africa, where racial policies have prompted many companies to shed interests there.

Falconbridge, a big nickel and copper producer, said it received \$65 million for its interest in Western Platinum, a producer of platinum, gold, and base metals that is 51%-owned by Britain's Lonrho PLC. A further \$10 million is due Oct. 1, for a total sale price of \$75 million. The buyer wasn't identified.

William James, Falconbridge's chairman, president and chief executive officer, said proceeds will be used to reduce long-term debt or increase the company's cash surplus. Falconbridge had long-term debt of about \$1.2 billion (Canadian) and cash on hand of \$300 million (Canadian) prior to the transaction, he said.

Western Platinum is the fifth company in which Falconbridge has sold its interest since the beginning of 1986, raising total proceeds of about \$324 million (Canadian). Much of it has been used to reduce debt acquired when Falconbridge bought Kidd Creek Mines Ltd. last year for \$615 million (Canadian).

Mr. James announced plans to sell Falconbridge's stake in Western Platinum last August. Though Mr. James said the decision was taken, in part, because of the political climate in South Africa, he emphasized that the primary reason for the sale was to improve its financial condition.

Church-related groups have long pressed Canadian companies to sell their South African interests because of country's racial policies.