

Surv. Trib. 31/12/78 ①

More blood in the black search for the Holy Grail

By DEON du PLESSIS

FEW THINGS are certain in African politics as the tumultuous continent strives after a political identity which fits into this century but also suits its own needs and circumstances.

In past years much blood has flowed in the quest for this Holy Grail. In 1979, in parts of Africa at least, there is certain to be more.

Next year will be pivotal in the history of the African continent. The most emotional issue in the continent in the past decade and more has been how to oust the white minority regimes in Rhodesia, South West Africa and, ultimately, South Africa.

That such regimes still exist in Africa has been an affront to black states, most of which have been free of their colonial rulers for at least 10 years.

In 1979 two of the states in the hated white south will at last become ruled by a black majority government. In Rhodesia it has come about because of the brutal pressures of the guerrilla war and in South West Africa because South Africa has realised the futility of standing alone against world pressure.

Although these developments are what black Africa has been thundering for in the past, neither transition is yet being hailed as a victory for the black cause nor will either of the two be easy.

Africa's obsession now is what sort of black governments will rule the two territories. Will they be acceptable in the modern African sense or will they be Uncle Tom regimes manipulated by powerful white interests in the background?

Africa's emphasis on the liberation struggle has changed.

Of the two territories South West Africa seems better set for an acceptable solution. The South African-sponsored internal elections resulted in the moderate, multi-racial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) winning 41 of the seats in the 50-seat constituent assembly. There was a poll of more than 80 percent.

More important, the DTA has now agreed to a second round of elections, this time sponsored by the United Nations and in which the revolutionary South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) will be invited to take part. If the DTA is re-elected South West Africa's major problems will be over. The new nation of Namibia will have achieved international recognition.

Excuse

But the problem is that the DTA has set heavy conditions on the new election, conditions which Swapo or even the United Nations may reject. Both parties have until January 15 to make up their minds.

If Swapo suspects it will lose the election, it will use the DTA's conditions as an excuse for not taking part. The war will then continue on the northern border but Swapo has been unable to make any significant progress against the thousands of South African troops stationed there and it is unlikely that, on its own, it will achieve any greater success in 1979.

If it is clearly Swapo which refuses to take part in the elections and if the DTA makes further concessions to induce it to do so, the internally elected representatives will find themselves on a much

The power game moves north as Nigerian oil joins the battle for the south

stronger footing with the major Western countries.

The prospects for sad, battered Rhodesia are much more grim. The internal settlement signed by Mr Ian Smith, Chief Jeremiah Chirau, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole on March 3 has failed to halt the war being waged by the Patriotic Front of Mr Joshua Nkomo and Mr Robert Mugabe. It has even failed to grip the imagination of most black Rhodesians.

The chances of a successful all-party conference between the internal and guerrilla leaders are exceedingly slim. Both sides appear to be shaping up for a fight to the end.

This will mean more urban warfare as the guerrillas bring their bush campaign into the cities and towns and more retaliatory raids by the Rhodesians on camps in Zambia and Mozambique.

Many blacks in Rhodesia, now faced with military call up from the beginning of next year,

will probably leave to join the guerrillas rather than take up arms in defence of a political dispensation in which they do not believe. In addition most of the internal parties now have their own private armies.

The internal government has set April as the independence date (having already delayed it from December 31 this year) and it is improbable that it can delay the date again. It will try to hold one-man one-vote elections but, with the security situation as bad as it is, it is unlikely that even half the people will vote. They will be too terrified of the guerrillas to do so.

A black government will then sit in Salisbury and Rhodesia will become Zimbabwe but because the guerrillas have not taken part it will be denounced as a sell-out and the war will get worse.

Zambia, already worried by the Rhodesian war, will use 1979 to try to put its economy, shattered by the fall in the copper price, together again.

Emphasis will be on broadening Zambia's industrial base (with the help of hundreds of millions of dollars loaned by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) and improving agriculture. It is inconceivable that the disappointed President Kaunda will again close the rail links to the south. South African imports and transport facilities mean too much for Zambia to sever all links again.

But the real power games will be played further north.

With the new oil crisis assuming terrifying proportions, Nigeria — which produces 21 million barrels a day, the biggest producer in Africa — will be able to exert great influence. Increasingly, United States policy towards Africa will be determined by the Nigerian viewpoint.

The US already regards Nigeria as Africa's most important state. With a return to civilian rule scheduled for October and

with the oil crunch growing harsher, this huge and populous nation will become more important and attractive to President Carter's administration.

Nigeria, more than many other black states, thunders the cause of the total liberation of the African continent. Nigeria, with the connivance of the US, is set to play an increasingly important role in Southern African affairs.

Russia, on the other hand, will probably find 1979 a disappointing year in Africa. It learned this year that it is possible to rent African states for a while but not to take them over. The case of Somalia, formerly a major client of the Russians, is the classic example.

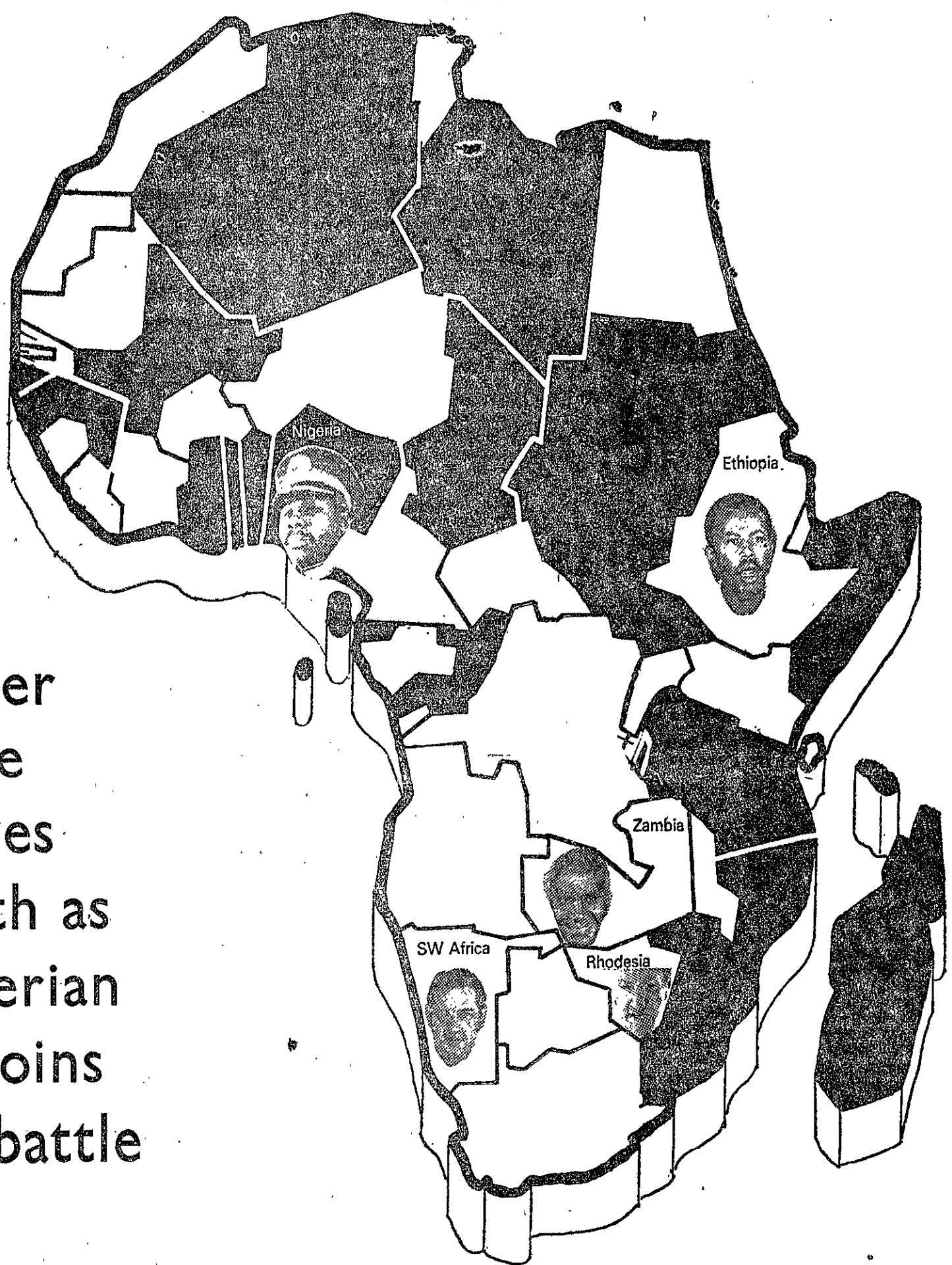
The Russians will seek to strengthen their hold on Ethiopia, posing a formidable potential threat to the oil routes in the Red Sea, but on the other hand they have lost out with the previously Marxist-inclined Eritrean secessionists. The

secessionists were virtually broken as a conventional army by an Ethiopian military push supported by the Russians, but a grinding war of attrition, this time waged by people who have learned to hate the Russians, will certainly continue.

The Russians will keep up their attempts to influence events in Southern Africa but they have had little success with Zambia, with Mr Nkomo (who is certainly no communist) or with Mr Mugabe, who favours the Chinese.

They will probably have greater influence with Swapo, but if Swapo refuses to take part in demonstrably free and fair elections there will be little the Russians can do to rescue Swapo's situation.

But, the Communists apart, 1979 will be crucial. Success or failure in South West Africa and Rhodesia will have repercussions in South Africa, where the key to the Southern African saga lies.



African keys to 1979: South West Africa, Rhodesia, Nigeria, Zambia and Ethiopia.

CONGO KEN'S PRIVATE ARMY

Mercenary's crime squads patrol the black spots of Jo'burg

KEN HARE, former Congo mercenary turned film star and now a security-company boss, is using a trained "para-military" force to patrol the streets of one of Johannesburg's worst crime spots.

The men, all trained at Mr Hare's city centre headquarters, are doing the patrols free of charge as a "public service".

Mr Hare said that the patrols had a dual function. They had contributed to a drop in the number of muggings, robberies and other crimes in the area, and they were also used as on-the-spot training for his security force.

"Wild Geese"

A former member of the 5th Commando of Colonel Mike Hoare's "Wild Geese" mercenary force in the Congo during the 1960s, Mr Hare runs his company with strict military discipline.

All his security men are given training in a variety of self-defence and security measures.

The plan to patrol the area near the Johannesburg station was implemented because of the high crime rate.

"Shopkeepers in the area are overjoyed with our patrols, but we cannot keep on doing them for free indefinitely," Mr Hare said this week.

Between six and 20 security guards are sent out to patrol the area each day. The blacks in the squads are all trained in unarmed combat and carry batons and handcuffs. They are under the supervision of a white, armed with a handgun.

"But he is under strict orders to keep the gun hidden and only use it in cases of dire emergency."

Discipline in Mr Hare's "para-military unit" is strict. Commands are given in clipped, military

style and salutes are the order of the day.

So confident is Mr Hare in the capabilities of his men, that he has written to the Commissioner of Police asking for recognition to register his security unit as a "reserve unit to assist the police, if the need arises in times of riot and in general".

In the letter, he describes a few of the services offered by his security company. They include:

● A special security unit on street patrol in areas

where street muggings and bag snatchings are rated high".

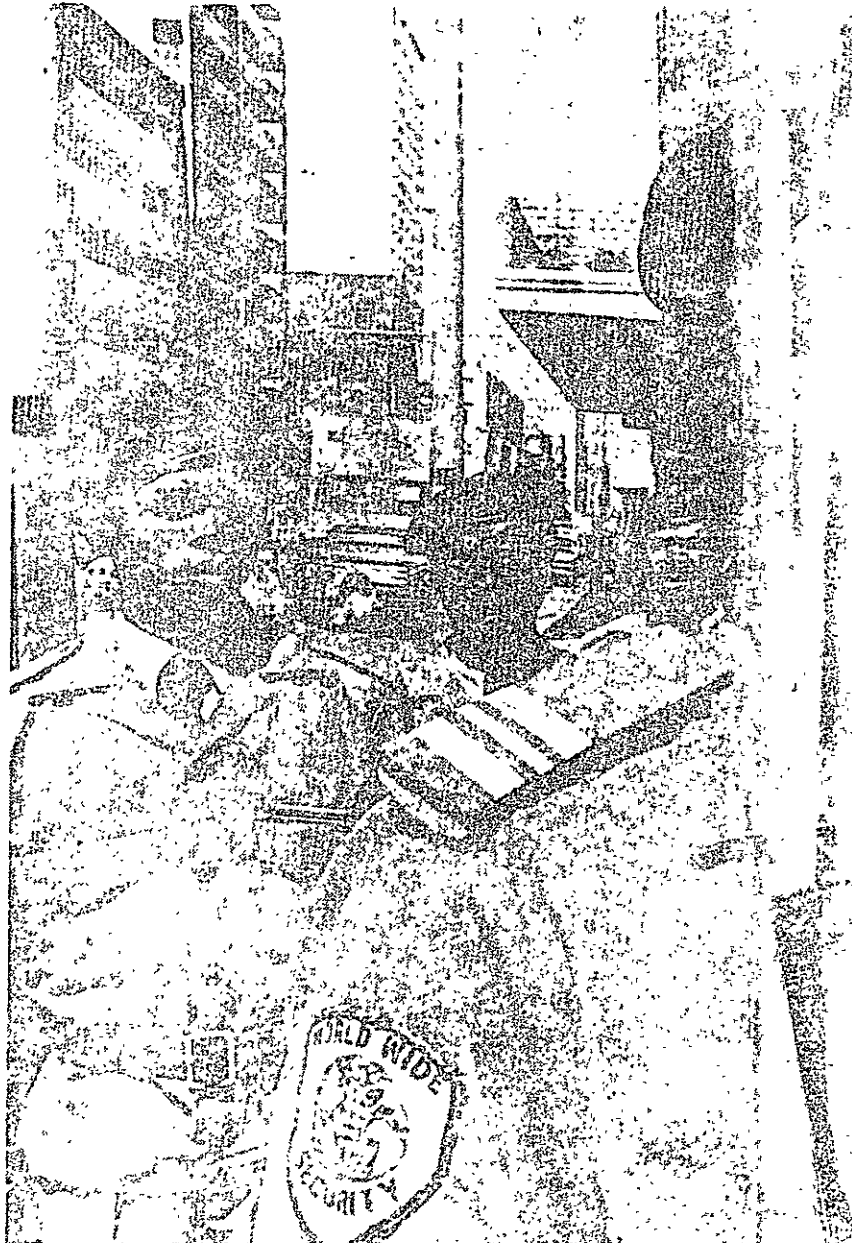
● An emergency vehicle manned by registered para-medics to assist in accidents. Included in this unit is a fire-fighting unit. Both are operated from his company's fourth-floor office.

Services

His company also offers a wide range of run-of-the-mill security services.

Mr Hare has had a chequered career since his days as a mercenary.

After his time in the



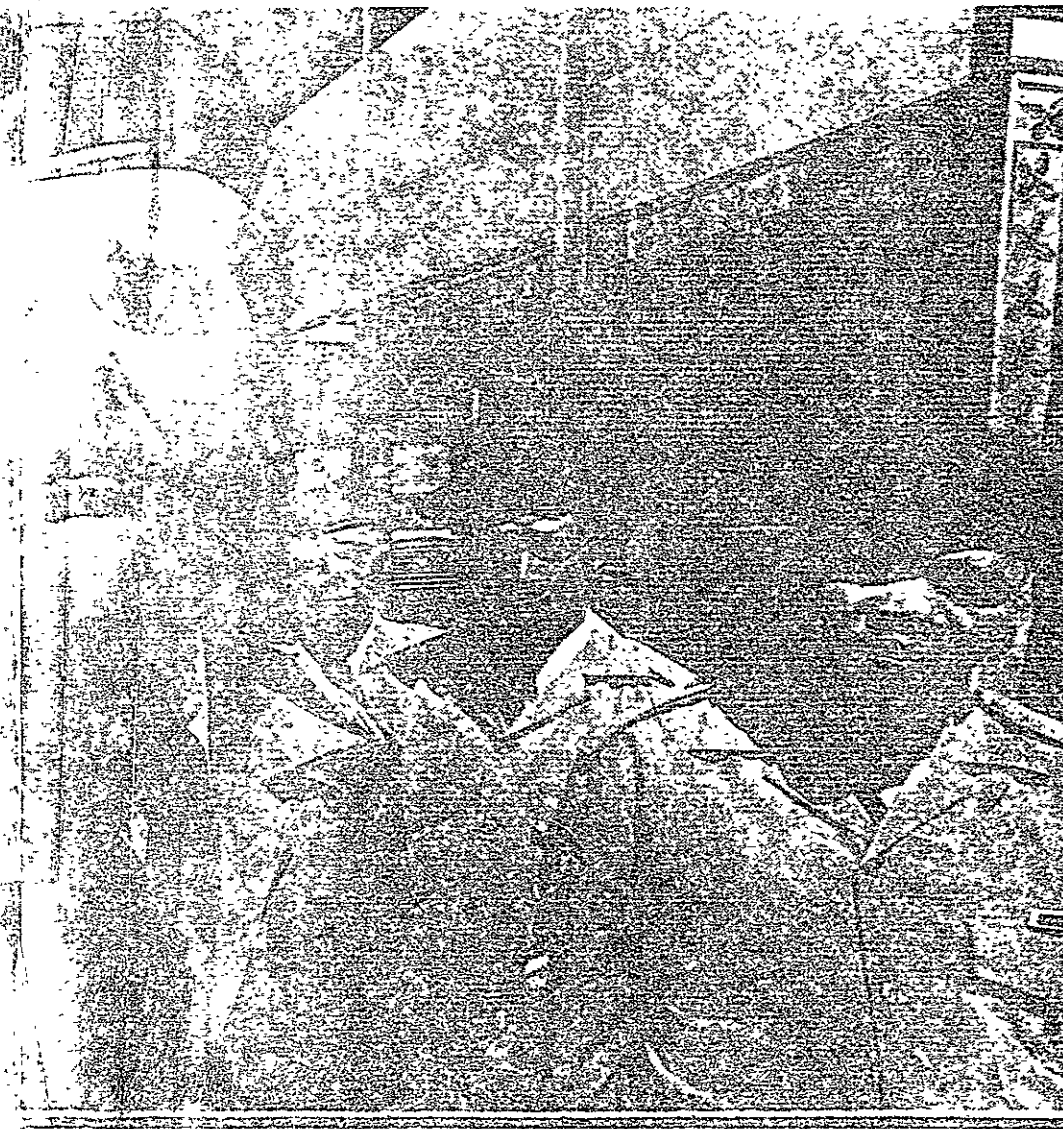
Former Congo mercenary turned security company boss Ken Hare, with one of his "para-military" units which patrols crime-ridden areas of Johannesburg. Picture: SELWYN TAYLOR

By RAY JOSEPH

Congo, he went into acting and has starred in several movies, including "In die Nag", "Aankomende Kariba", in "Gold" with Roger Moore, and "Creatures the World Forgot" with Norwegian film star Julie Ege.

Mr Hare believes his training as a mercenary is invaluable in the running of his security company, which he believes will be able to cope with any other company that he is asked to take on.

A senior police spokesman said he could not comment on the patrol until "we have gone into the matter".



McGovern to visit SA on Africa tour

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK. — Senator George McGovern plans to cap a hectic Africa tour with a major South African speech to be delivered from the same University of Cape Town platform used by Senator Robert Kennedy for his historic 1966 address.

His aides insist that the journey — in which the former US presidential candidate hopes to meet every key African leader from Tanzania's President, Dr Julius Nyerere, to the South African Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha — does not mean he intends to take over from the ousted Sen

Dick Clark as the top Africa spokesman.

"It is a self-education tour because the senator feels that Africa is going to be of great importance in the next few months," his spokesman said.

Nevertheless, he is a last-minute addition to a heavyweight team of American legislators who fly to Khartoum on November 27 for a conference on American policy in Africa.

Among them will be Sen Clark, whose term as a senator ends on December 31, at least 17 Congressmen, and about 150 American figures involved in Africa.

The key address will be delivered by the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young.

Sen McGovern, a leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, will then visit Ethiopia, Dar es Salaam, Maputo, Salisbury, Lusaka and Luanda, calling on national leaders at each stop.

In Maputo he hopes to see Mr Robert Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo, co-leaders of the Patriotic Front, and in Salisbury all leaders, including the military commander, General Peter Walls.

He will be in South Africa from December 7 to 11, his spokesman said. But he made it clear that the speech planned for the same audience that Sen Kennedy addressed is seen as particularly significant.

the estate was beautifully illuminated. However, since then we have been disappointed that the situation has gradually deteriorated in some areas. The contractor gave us an excellent guarantee of his work for one year including replacement of the globes which failed during that time, but unfortunately we are having no success in getting him to honour his obligation. Sadly this means that parts of the estate are again very poorly lit. The globes are extremely expensive, and our budget does not allow us to replace the globes (which should last up to 2 years) every few weeks. We are doing our best against the contractor, but it is proving very difficult. We are also looking into the possibilities of getting a maintenance contract for the lights from another contractor.

8. PAINTING THE OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSES

This seems to be progressing very satisfactorily, weather permitting, with an average of 3 - 4 houses per month as an onward going project. If residents are dissatisfied with the work in any way when their houses are painted, please could they report this to Mr. D.S. Roberts (Tel. Office: 432086), as Mr. Roberts has kindly organized the work. The painting of the red chimneys is not included in the current contract, but this will begin as soon as the correct paint can be obtained. In the meantime it has unfortunately not proved practical to remove splashes of white paint from the chimneys and residents are asked to bear with this situation.

9. FIRE EMERGENCY SERVICE

Should the need arise, our nearest Fire Stations (who will come when called) are:-

Ottery Fire Station, Wetton Road (near Traffic Depot) - Tel. 731892
 Rout Bay Fire Station - Tel. 706130/707156

10. FOREST GUARD BOOK CLUB

Are you interested in reading? Do you enjoy a informal chat? If so, kindly contact any one further information:-

Jenny Herbert - Hse. No. 90 (Hamlet 1) Tel. 721
 Kay Bennett - Hse No. 88 (Hamlet 1) Tel. 72032
 Hazel Fox - Hse No. 44 (Hamlet 4) Tel. 721718

11. ACQUITTIES NEARLY

Sports Club - (Membership necessary) - Constantine
 Walking Permits - Tokel Forest (above Manor) - Dept., Tokel Road., or
 Library - (small, free, locally situated) - Li (larger, but membership fee necessary) - meanorridge - tel. 720700

12. IDEAS

Anyone who has any ideas about the improvement of the estate (must be cheap!), the solution of the problems we have discussed in this news letter, or the promotion of good neighbourliness is asked, may be asked, to contract the Directors with his scheme.

If you have managed to get through all this, you have definitely got staying-power. Many thanks for your attention.

Ham Greenleaf
 DIRECTOR

One way or another, Nigeria is going to loom large in the lives of South Africans in the next few years.

The sheer vastness of the country, its oil wealth and its military power make Nigeria the dominant state in black Africa.

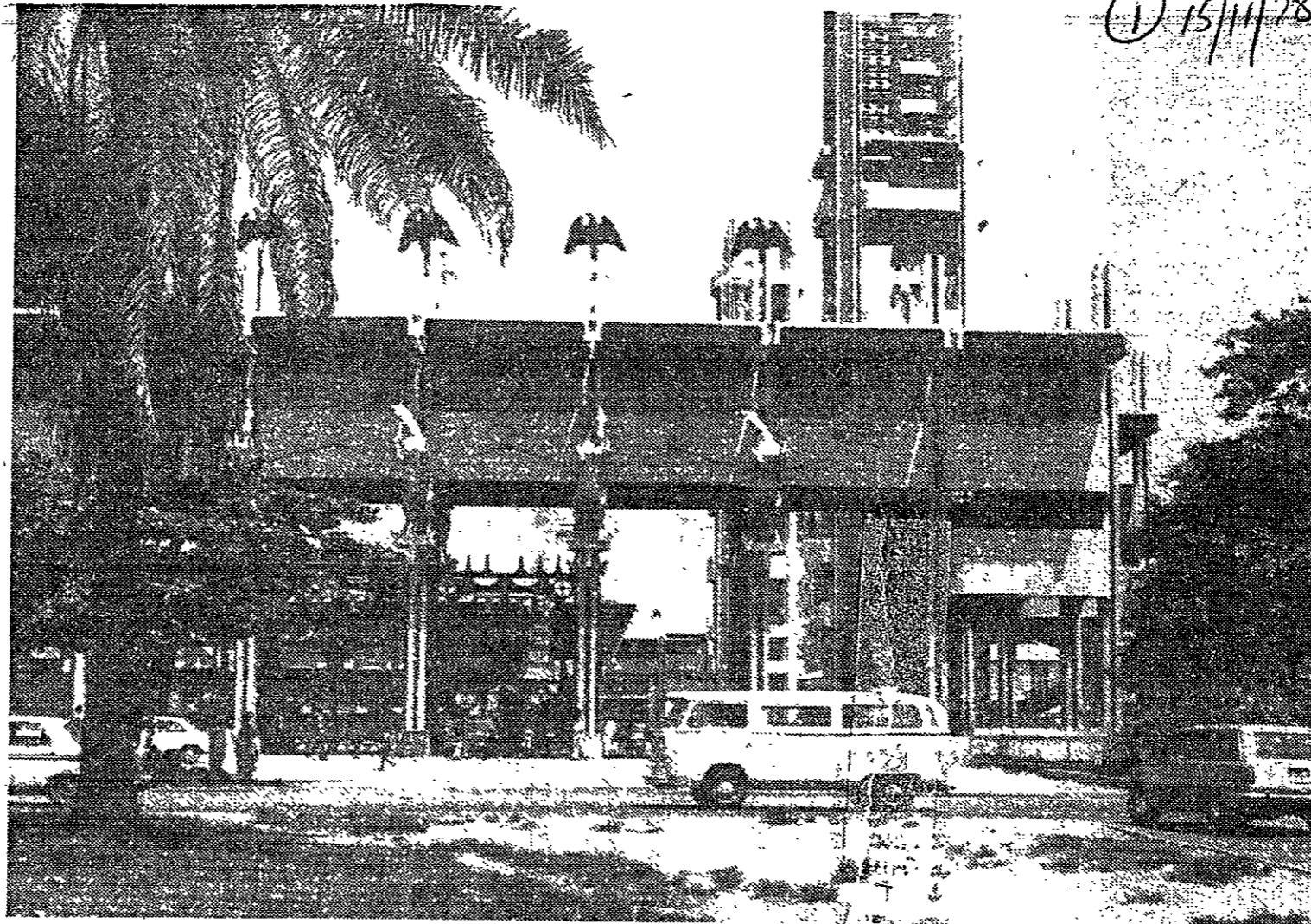
And its leaders and many of its people are engrossed with trying to end white domination in Southern Africa in general and South Africa in particular.

The Lagos government has been getting directly involved to an increasing extent in the area's politics. Military involvement could follow.

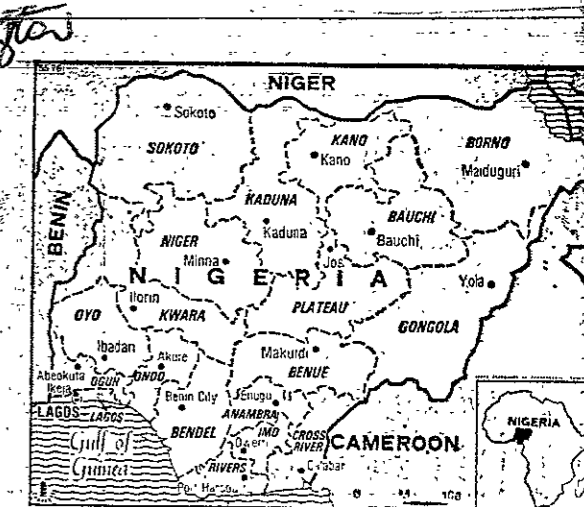
Nigeria's influence in the UN and the OAU, and lately also with the West, casts its shadow strongly over developments affecting South Africa.

Only a few Western journalists have been able to get into Nigeria in recent years to view the giant from the inside.

ALLEN PIZZEY of The Star's Africa News Service recently became the first South African-employed journalist to do so in about five years. This is the first of two articles giving impressions.



Flush with oil wealth a few years ago, Nigeria squandered millions on non-revenue producing projects such as this huge stadium and archway complex in central Lagos.



A Nigerian source with close connections to the ruling Supreme Military Council said he doubted there would be much opposition from the man-in-the-street if troops were committed to Southern Africa.

The concern for Southern Africa appears to be concentrated mainly at the top levels of government, and could wane in intensity over the next year as the country heads for free elections and civilian rule after 12 years of military governments.

The Nigerian anti-apartheid committee recently collected about R15-million in two weeks, however.

One of the leading parties recently put out a 36-point manifesto, only one of which related to foreign policy. And when the new government takes over they will probably be so pre-occupied with the problems of running this vast state and reconciling differences among the 250 tribal groups foreign policy will slide into second place.

But it must be borne in mind that the foreign ministry, which deals with policy, will probably stay the same even under a civilian government, and with a dynamic foreign minister, Southern Africa will remain the dominant foreign policy issue.

© Argus Co, 1978.

Tomorrow:
Return of the
politicians

LAGOS — Nigeria's potential is staggering. One in five black Africans is Nigerian, creating a vast market and manpower resources. The country is the second most important supplier of crude oil to the United States.

An awareness of this potential, a desire for pre-eminence in Africa and the Third World and a deep sense of moral duty have combined to bring Nigeria's attention fully on to Southern Africa.

Nigerian policy-makers are "obsessed" with Southern Africa, according to observers here. "They feel they have a moral duty to work to help create a just society in the white-ruled territories of the south," a Western diplomatic source said.

The military government of Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo is regularly consulted by the British and American governments as an unofficial, sixth "frontline" state on Rhodesian and SWA/Namibian issues.

"They have been most co-operative in working to get the Patriotic Front and Swapo in line with Western proposals," another diplomatic source said.

Former Commissioner of External Affairs, Brigadier Joseph Garba was present when Ian Smith met Joshua Nkomo in Lusaka.

It is thought he was instrumental in arranging the meeting at the request of the British.

The words "moral duty" are used by virtually everyone here, including Nigerians, to explain why the government has taken Southern African issues so seriously.

Africa's giant eyes the south

But the ramifications are wider than just black-white issues. Conscious of their economic potential as the second largest supplier of low-sulphur crude oil to the United States and a vast potential market (the population is at least 80-million, almost certainly more) Nigeria aims to become the leading OAU and Third World power.

"The Nigerians are pragmatic and want to be seen as reasonable and responsible people," one observer said. "They are deeply concerned about human rights in the rest of Africa and racial issues around the world."

Some of the other OAU members are occasionally miffed by what they see as Nigeria's heavy-handedness and even pushiness, but they must sit up and listen when Lagos speaks.

And from that and increasing dependence on Nigerian oil flows the necessity of the West to keep in close touch and co-operate with Nigeria.

Capitalist by nature — Lagos is a vast marketplace — the Nigerians are unlikely to be attracted by the ideology of the Eastern bloc or wooed into the Soviet camp, but they want to be seen as their own masters and not aligned to the West.

A recent series of editorials in the country's leading newspaper, which many observers were convinced accurately reflected government thinking, proposed that Africa take the initiative on Southern Africa away from the West by working for recognition as governments-in-exile for both Swapo and the Patriotic Front with membership in the UN and the OAU.

This could be backed up by African military assistance to guerilla movements, the editorials said.

Nigeria has a standing army of 210 000, the largest and probably best trained in black Africa. Its navy has about 5 000 men and a deep water capability of a frigate and several Corvette-type ships. Indians help train the navy.

The growing air force is thought to have at least a dozen MiG-21s, several C-130 Hercules transport planes and its own trained pilots.

The police force numbers about 70 000.

The military leaders are Sandhurst-trained and have considerable battle experience from the bitter Nigerian civil war which ended in 1970. They are aware of logistical problems and are unlikely to become enmeshed in the problems of a pan-African defence force for Southern Africa, but on a more limited scope troops for defence and training have been offered to Zambia.

Reliable sources said at least one battalion was being trained for a role in any transitional army in Rhodesia, and another is on duty with the UN in southern Lebanon.

Star 29/7/78

Africa a Red stamping ground

ook
in
st
p
n
e
e
es,
-p-
st
nd
dag

The Star Bureau

LONDON — At least 50 000 foreign communists in uniform are now stationed in African trouble spots, outnumbering the only Western force, provided by France, by five to one, said British sources.

The communists include more than 40 000 Cubans, most of them in Angola and Ethiopia, but with contingents in 11 other countries, at least 5 000 Russian advisers, mostly in Angola and Ethiopia and an unknown number of troops and "security personnel" from Eastern Europe. There may be 3 000 from Russia's most dutiful dependency, East Germany.

INACTIVE

On the other side of the balance there are only about 10 000 French troops in the continent, half of them doing nothing much in Djibouti, and up to 3 000 of the rest engaged in helping the governments of Chad and Mauritania against rebels supported by unfriendly neighbours.

No other Nato country has fighting men in Africa.

But the disparity goes beyond numbers, says The Economist in a

major article headed "Five to one is wrong."

Three-quarters of the total French force, including the 5 000 men in Djibouti, are militarily inactive.

The fighting quarter is in sporadic action against Frolinat rebels in Chad and Polisario rebels in the Western Sahara. The rebels depend substantially on weapons and bases given by Libya and Algeria respectively.

The 25 000-plus Cubans, Russians and East Germans in Angola are engaged — the Cubans more of less continuously — in protecting that country's Government against two rebel forces which have been getting some arms from pro-Western friends, but which could put up a fight of sorts without further supplies.

The 20 000 communist troops and advisers in Ethiopia are protecting Colonel Mengistu's Government from Somali, Eritrean and other rebels while it concentrates its own army for the suppression of Eritrea itself.

DISPROPORTION

If the Cubans and Russians were removed, says The Economist, the policies and probably the Governments of two major African countries would probably have to change.

If the French were removed, the Government of minor Chad might change, but equally minor Mauritania's could probably survive with Moroccan help alone.

"This disproportion of size and impact should be reduced," says the Economist.

- 3.7.4 Eike daken
- naam en ad
- is nie; ou
- Eike daken
- 3.7.3
- 3.7.2 By besonder
- Lentees;
- 3.7.1 Eike Sondag
- 3.7 Dankotters:
- van 6.00 - 7.30 m
- 3.6 Spreekuur met lere
- delik na biduur;
- en ontmoet die kor
- Voornemende doop
- 3.5 Doop - en Tugkomm
- 3.4 Doop: Eerste Som
- en 6.00 m;
- 3.3 Nagmaatvierings e
- tussen in, op die
- 3.2 Kerkraadsbiduur e
- in die maand 2.00
- 3.1 Kerkraadsvergader
- 3. Program: Junie - Desember
- 2.3 Br. J. Boezak.
- 2.2 Egpaar Tito oper
- 2.1 Sake out notule;
- 2. Notule Vergadering 2 A
- 1. Opening

GEWONE VERGADERING



At home in Cuba: support for the soldiers in Africa.

Cubans support Castro's troops in Africa

By James Nelson Goodsell

WASHINGTON — Home-front support for Cuba's ventures in Africa appears much more solid than once thought, according to travellers who have toured many parts of the island in recent weeks.

In fact, there is a swelling pride in the achievements of Cuba's soldiers, particularly in Ethiopia where their presence alongside Ethiopians tipped the scale in the fighting with Somalia in the Ogaden region.

"From one end of the island to the other," said a seasoned observer of Cuba, "there is a sense of nationalist pride over the exploits in Africa."

Over and over again, Cubans in all walks of life told me of their enthusiasm for the way in which Cuba is carving out an important world role. This comes from Cubans who support Fidel (Castro) and from many who have opposed him over the years.

This somewhat unanimous reaction emerges following a couple years of reports that there was home-front opposition to President Castro's decision to commit a sizeable portion — about one-quarter — of his army to African duty.

When the remains of Cuban soldiers began coming back to the island in early 1976 following the first fighting in Angola, where Cuba supported the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), there were reports of disquiet on the home front.

Cuba is a small island and when caskets were offloaded

from vessels in the harbours of Santiago or Cienfuegos, the news travelled fast. Some observers thought Dr. Castro and his government may have overextended themselves.

That view persisted, although Dr. Castro claimed widespread support for his African activities. In a speech a year ago, he said, "Cuba can take pride in the role of its soldiers on distant shores where they are assisting people who need our help."

Dr. Castro apparently feels strengthened by the support he enjoys at home — and this may well have been a factor in his comment on June 27 that he would like to meet President Carter. The Cuban leader indicated, however, that it was up to Mr. Carter to issue the invitation for such a meeting.

If the observations of recent visitors to the island are substantiated by future developments, it would indeed appear that Dr. Castro correctly gauged the attitude of his people better than outsiders.

Certainly, more Cubans are pleased with their growing international role than observers thought was the case a year ago — and that is bound to make Dr. Castro's own role easier.

Statistics

Also helping is a clear improvement in the Cuban economy.

This has not been felt by the Cuban people as much as it is evident in the statistics. Following several lean sugar harvests with sugar prices falling and other crop shortfalls, 1978 is turning into a good harvest for a number of crops.

Cuba this year is racking up the second

largest sugar harvest in history — already something in the region of 7.3-million tons, a 28 percent increase over the 1977 total of 5.8-million tons and a 21 percent boost over the 6-million-ton estimate of the US Agriculture Department.

The Havana daily "Granma" made much of the Cuban production and the earlier US estimate in a recent front-page feature.

Moreover, the harvest is not all in. The 7.3-million-ton figure could edge up toward the 1970 record of just over 8-million tons.

Rationing

Eventually, the effect of this improved harvest will be felt in public works and programmes. Two years ago, when sugar crop estimates proved inflated and the price fell out of the international market, Cuba had to scrap a number of projects because there was not much money around.

Economic improvement, both in terms of public works activities and a lessening of the severe rationing that afflicts Cuba, is bound to translate into support for the Castro government, and it is not unrelated to the African activities.

There is no doubt, say recent travellers to Cuba, that some of the support for the African ventures is pragmatic. After all, Cuba is not a free society in the sense of Western countries. There is a good deal of overt, as well as covert, political indoctrination.

Moreover, those who go to Africa to fight or take part in civilian corps that prop up governments in half a dozen countries win a degree of status in Cuban society that they would not have if they remained on the island. Then, too, they get to see a different part of the world and escape some of the economic privations that continue to dominate life in Cuba.

Lackeys

Are Cubans concerned that they may be simply serving as Soviet lackeys in Africa, as is often charged in some Western circles? Not much, say these travellers, who note that Cubans tend to regard the decision to go into Africa as unrelated to any Soviet strategy in Africa.

One diplomat who roamed all over the island in May said he repeatedly met Cubans who said, in effect, "We went into Africa and then the Russians decided to support us, for which we are grateful."

"But we would be there whether they supported us or not." — Christian Science News Service.



"Yes sir, this IS the express lift!"

It was during his reign that the Zulu Kingdom was really tested, when the whites came as potential occupiers and rulers of Natal.

The first permanent white settlers in Natal were English. More than a decade later, the far more numerous arrived in Natal.

"Ever since 1824 a system of barter to a great has been carried on between traders of the Zuluo, with such advantages to the former - then to persevere in spite of the most deplorable circumstances. When Dingane came to power - desire to continue enjoying the advantages of

In a letter dated 12th May, 1829, Mr Isaac Bannister to have, recommended to the Colonial Secretary - civil government at Natal, the reasons offered trade; to protect the traders; and to check it. "It is understood, that at this moment, how to be licensed, and others, carry on the 1 black people and a modified slave trade ..."

this was the problem of deactivation/refugees. Up to 1835 Dingane took pains to court the presence of the whites because he coveted their trade goods and needed their greater knowledge of the outside world. It was hoping that the traders would also assist him in his wars and would instruct his warriors in the use of the musket. (9) But, already at the beginning of the thirties there seemed to have existed grounds (albeit perhaps minor) for negotiations between Dingane and the traders, viz. the exchange value of goods;

(8) Birt, op cit. p 241
(9) Shace, The Natal Papers. p 53
(9) Ology, op cit. p 243

"Dingane wanted the fact that Jym was never saluted, was always asking for more." (60) Jym also refused to carry out an instruction to kill the brothers of Magaye who had taken sanctuary

Tito warns of colonialism in Africa

NM 26/7/78

BELGRADE - Yugoslav President Tito yesterday launched a thinly-veiled attack on Soviet and Cuban involvement in Africa and called on non-aligned countries to resist increasing attempts to undermine their movement.

He made the call in a key notice address opening a five-day conference here of non-aligned ministers, which many diplomats fear, could produce acrimonious exchanges.

President Tito, a founder member of the 86-nation movement, declared it must make major efforts to overcome conflicts between members.

"Pressures against the unity of the non-aligned movement are now being intensified. We are witness to attempts to establish in the vitally important regions of the non-aligned world - primarily in Africa - new forms of colonial presence or of bloc dependence, foreign influence and domination. We should be unified in resisting such endeavours," he said.

President Tito (86) condemned not only imperialism and neo-colonialism, synonyms for the West, but also hegemony - Yugoslav jargon for domination by the Soviet Union and its allies.

Non-aligned diplomats

said quarrels could arise over Soviet-backed Cuban military intervention in Africa, Egyptian Middle East peace initiatives, conflicts between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden Desert, and French military involvement in African countries.

President Tito, loudly applauded by some 800 delegates, said the time was ripe for the non-aligned countries to devise means for settling their present disputes peacefully and democratically.

"I should also like to voice my concern over the renewed threat to peace from power politics and the persistence of the terrifying arms race, aggravating existing trouble spots and crises, and even precipitating outright armed interventions.

"There is every indication that we have again arrived at a dangerous crossroads when energetic action by the non-aligned countries in international relations is needed even more," he said. (Sapa-Reuter).

In 1831 a regiment destroyed Dingane's kraal to persuade Dingane that Jant had been lying. Dingane had Jant killed, but the relations between the Zulu and the white traders remained strained. Jym left Natal in 1832. In 1833 a further incident occurred to worsen relations even more. A Zulu army returning in a poor condition from an unsuccessful campaign against the Shaca and the Mpondo, attacked and killed some 600 white hunters and was in turn attacked by the people of Port Natal, black as well as white.

Robert Frost

(10) Ology, op cit, p 245
(11) Shace, p 227
(12) O.H.S.A. 1045 p 353-4

Ethiopians break siege

28/7/78

NAIROBI — Ethiopian troops have broken the 10-month rebel siege of Asmara in a major victory against secessionist forces in Eritrea province, it was reported today.

The relief of the provincial capital yesterday was reported in a dispatch from the official Ethiopian News Agency received in Nairobi.

The siege at Asmara, Ethiopia's second biggest city with 200 000 people, was lifted when Government troops broke

through the encircling forces to link up with another Ethiopian group advancing north along the main road from Addis Ababa.

The agency also repeated last night's Addis Ababa radio report that this main Addis-Asmara road had been reopened the same day — the major initial objective of Ethiopia's Soviet-backed military rulers in their drive to crush the 17-year-old Eritrean secessionist rebellion.

The Ethiopian Government has been pushing on in Eritrea with sophisticated Soviet equipment despite apparent Kremlin pressure to seek a negotiated end to the war between the estimated 80 000 Ethiopians and about 25 000 rebels.

Ethiopia also says it has cut an important guerilla supply route at Tessenai along the Sudanese border and ousted the rebels from large sections of Massawa port. — Sapa-Reuters.

necessitated by it thus brought about a new political structure, one

among cities held sway. The

larger groups clustered

from bandos as well as the most formidable U. Banin enemies.

and his mountain

because they

the upland.

the storm out in his mouth

2. Omur-Coper 1 p. 101.

16.

45.

44.

43.

42.

psychological analysis of the dynamic individual who leads - a study using psychoanalytic techniques... but it mostly describes what men in the past told women to do and what men termed history... difficult to see the female as well as male's role in the development of an economic and socio-cultural analysis. Further, the status of women within the society...

The World Ethiopia claims big victories in Eritrea

ADM 27/7/78

NAIROBI. — Ethiopia yesterday claimed major victories in an all-out offensive to crush Eritrean secessionists fighting in the northernmost part of the country.

trean province capital of Asmara. "After defeating the Somali army (in the southeast Ogaden Desert) the second liberation army has moved north and is now winning successive victories," Radio Ethiopia quoted a military communique as saying.

Addis Ababa Radio monitored in Nairobi said in a major three-pronged offensive government forces threw the insurgents out of the major port of Massawa, captured several important rebel-held towns and severely defeated the rebels in pitched battles around the beleaguered Eri-

trian province capital of Asmara. Bitter street-to-street fighting had been raging in Ethiopia's major port and naval headquarters at Massawa since the EPLF guerrillas tried to capture it late last year, but the radio said the insurgents had now been hurled out of the town with heavy casualties.

Around Asmara, which has been cut off for nearly a year, the government said its forces had battered their way through several thousand guerrillas, capturing several outlying villages and partially lifting the blockade of the town.

A spokesman for the EPLF — one main guerrilla group — admitted in Rome it had lost several "unimportant" towns to the Ethiopians but denied the insurgents had been driven out of Massawa.

In Khartoum the second rebel group, the ELF, dismissed government gains as minor.

The Ethiopians, who launched an all-out offensive involving the bulk of their 60 000 troops six weeks ago to try to crush the 40 000 secessionist rebels, were expected to recapture other important towns such as Agordat and Keren in the next few weeks. — UPI.

learned in... they high... power... but... affirmed... their func... by... It is one... not take... light on

Another way in which family history has been given the domestic context of patriarchal assumptions is by using a vaguely defined domestic power of women, power within the family, as a measure of the social status of women. Daniel Scott Smith has discovered in the nineteenth century the rise of something called domestic feminism, expressed in a lowered birth rate from which he deduces an increasing control of women over their

proving interesting and valuable... approach is... that of... lacking... told as though women played a marginal, auxiliary, and at times mainly disruptive... societies; women abolitionists largely financed by... fund-raising activities and did much of the work of propaganda writing in and distribution of abolitionist newspapers and magazines. The enormous political significance of petition campaigns organized by women remains unrecorded.

analysis to such familiar concepts as class, race and ethnicity... gender specialists are...

The Star

Tuesday July 18 1978

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

HENRY REUTER of The Star's Africa News Service was the first journalist to be invited to travel with the guerillas fighting for independence in the Tigray region of Ethiopia. During an attack by Ethiopian troops he was wounded by hand grenade fragments in his right heel and ankle, and had his left trouser leg shredded and his camera smashed by a Kalashnikov bullet. But he emerged from Tigray with the first pictures of the fighting there.



A miscellany of arms and dress marks the guerillas as they crouch behind a defensive position.



Guerillas raise arms in revolutionary salute for Henry Reuter's camera as they camouflage their vehicle against attack by Ethiopian government aircraft.

Young tigers of Tigray

KHARTOUM — The Ethiopian Government calls them "bandits." The five million people of Ethiopia's vast Tigray region look upon them as deliverers from feudal oppression. The Eritrean guerilla movements classify them as "allies in the struggle."

Whatever they are called, the 2,000 to 3,000 "fighters" of the Tigrayan Peoples' Liberation Front may be classified as one of the most efficient guerilla armies in Africa today. They say they are seeking "self-determination" — the right to govern themselves democratically and to work out their own future.

They say every peasant should be given his own plot of land to work without having to pay rents or tithes to feudal landlords. After centuries of slumber they want to bring Tigray out of the Middle Ages into the modern era, developing the region's unexploited mineral deposits, starting agriculture-based industries and building an infrastructure of roads and communication.

After three years of existence the TPLF controls the region's countryside. It receives no external help from anybody; captures its arms, ammunition and medical requirements by am-

bushing Ethiopian military convoys. It runs a region-wide network of adult education classes and social services.

It is a young army. Most of its "fighters" are aged between 16 and 30 men and women who like the Eritrean independence fighters, swear a vow of sexual chastity while serving together in the struggle.

The Tigrayans are also one of the most culture-oriented people in Africa. They say that for centuries their songs and dances and even their widely-spoken Tigrayan language was suppressed by the ruling Amharas. Now it is all breaking out again.

Whenever a group of guerillas gathers, it breaks out into song and dance numbers in which the words of revolutionary aspirations are married to traditional tunes to the accompaniment of traditional instruments and rhythmic clapping.

Tattily clad in scraps of captured uniform to supplement civilian shirts and trousers and home-made sandals, the guerillas carry their grenades and ammunition in pouches hand-made from cow and goat skins.

They are undernourished, on a diet of bread made from sorghum or a wild grain called tef, enlivened with lentil soup and an occasional treat of goat meat.

They keep going on sweet black tea, walk

long distances in the region's overpowering heat and are invariably cheerful and optimistic when faced by overpowering military odds. Their own field doctors operate on their wounded in primitive field hospitals. Everywhere the peasants cheer them and help feed them. Their prisoners are well-treated, their approaches to all things stem from a deep-seated humanity. "We are suffering now," they say, "in the interests of a brighter future."

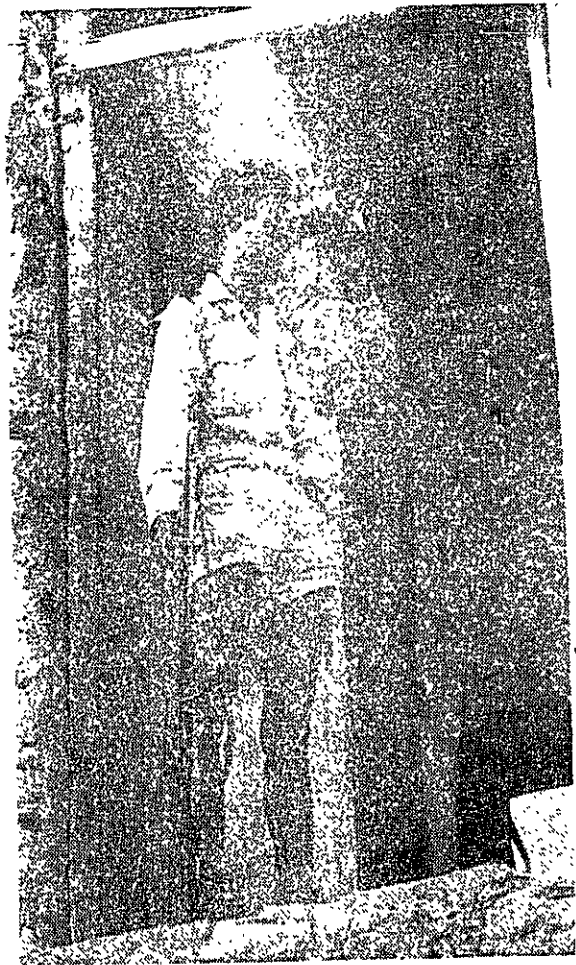
© Tigray 1978.



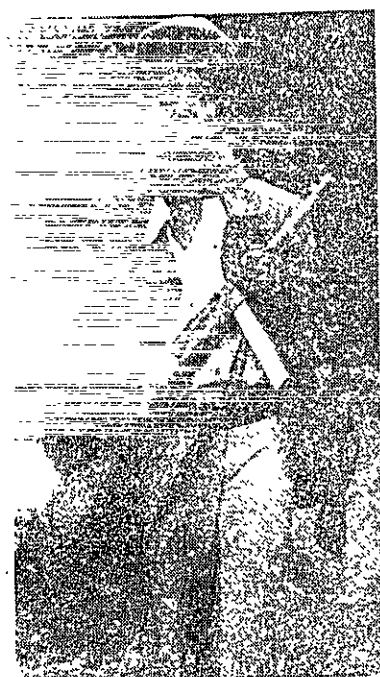
TPLF guerillas man a machine-gun post



Stooped with ammunition, a guerilla of the Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front holds a light machine-gun. These pictures, taken by Henry Reuter near Intiche and Enda Selassie, are the first of the TPLF forces at the front.



A guerilla armed with the ubiquitous Kalashnikov scans enemy positions through field glasses.



Somewhat more chic than her male counterparts, a woman guerilla proudly displays her sub-machine gun.

NM

17/1/78

Ethiopia warns Somalis

2. Have you
If yes,

and been refused?

3. What pro

ROME - Ethiopia yesterday threatened to take the war in the Ogaden desert beyond its frontiers if Somalia refused to renounce territorial claims on the disputed area.

with your work?

4. What do

Government information chief Major Girma Neway told a Press conference here that Ethiopia demanded an immediate response from Somalia.

use problems?

Do you
other
Have
change

"We want the whole world to know that in order to protect our people in the Ogaden and to protect our sovereign right and our revolution we might be forced to fight the next war not on the soil of Ethiopia," Major Neway said.

ms with workers on this or on

joining together to get something

To occasio

Asked to say precisely what this meant he declined to expand on his statement.

But he said Somali forces were still committing aggression against Ethiopia and "we are being provoked beyond limit."

orkers only

Will you t

Soviet tanks and Cuban troops spearheaded an Ethiopian offensive which drove Somali forces out of the Ogaden in March.

this farm?

Why/why n

The Ethiopian threat came one day after Mogadishu Radio reported Ethiopian jets attacked a village in northern Somalia.

As tension increased again in the Horn of Africa, Major Neway said: "The Mogadishu regime must unconditionally renounce all claims to the territories of Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti." - (Sapa-Reuter.)

for dominance of the Southern Highveld there grew a set of... The Boers who aspired to the "vacant" land, with the Korana who desired his cattle and with the Rolong who were... Battle of Kononyano... led a mixed force - excluding Tokwa - in a disastrous attempt

to the realization of the... British... with it... Tokwa and... their adherence... they feared the growing strength and possible rivalry of Moshoeshe's... the... missionaries... Moshoeshe had... these residents, perceiving the... determined to... instead of... by the tribes of... Western concept foreign to Moshoeshe and... he felt them to be

... Sovereignty... aligned against... Saw his... him. They... land, with... the Tokwa... success. At the... Major Warden... in a disastrous attempt

... a new dimension was added... Moshoeshe: The British... power as a menace and... sided with the Boers who aspired to the "vacant" land, with the Korana who desired his cattle and with the Rolong who were... Battle of Kononyano... led a mixed force - excluding Tokwa - in a disastrous attempt

to his forces... his forces were more... In the meantime... two Assistant... British activity... Shoe... African dispute... Sekonyela who... and... reached a head... riding horses... Tokwa they... by the Tlaka... Korana... Surprise... was put to... broken... Moshoeshe, his... Thus by 1854 with his main... Supremacy... Although... to his love of peace... adequate... chief... more to Moshoeshe than just geniality. He was practical,

In the meantime... two Assistant... British activity... Shoe... African dispute... Sekonyela who... and... reached a head... riding horses... Tokwa they... by the Tlaka... Korana... Surprise... was put to... broken... Moshoeshe, his... Thus by 1854 with his main... Supremacy... Although... to his love of peace... adequate... chief... more to Moshoeshe than just geniality. He was practical,

Ogaden losses: Ethiopia threatens

NAIROBI. - Ethiopia yesterday admitted guerrillas had penetrated further than ever into the Ogaden Desert in an expanding hit-and-run war, and threatened retaliatory action against Somalia. The government radio said the insurgents had twice attacked the vital Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway line deep in the Ogaden. The radio warned that Ethiopia would take retaliatory action "to safeguard its territorial integrity and revolution." Meanwhile, on Ethiopia's other battle front, Eritrean guerrillas yesterday

reported what appeared to be an Ethiopian offensive along a strategic road running north from Addis Ababa to Asmara, capital of the embattled province. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), one of two allied movements seeking independence from Ethiopia, said there was fighting near the road at three places and a village straddling the highway had been bombed. Further south about 22 000 Ethiopian troops are engaged in a battle to recapture Adi Caieh, a strategic town on the road almost entirely occupied by the insurgents.

... Moshoeshe, his... Thus by 1854 with his main... Supremacy... Although... to his love of peace... adequate... chief... more to Moshoeshe than just geniality. He was practical,

RJM 14/7/78

Failure that leaves Africa exposed ①

IT IS ALL very well for Mr Leslie Harriman of Nigeria to criticise the Western powers' approach to some African problems, but perhaps Mr Harriman should be worrying more about Africa's failure to resolve these problems for itself.

Mr Harriman is particularly hard on the West's failure to solve the problems of Southern Africa. At the same time he praises Cuba for helping oppressed people on the continent to gain self-determination, which he says has been done without attacking any sovereign state or crossing any sovereign boundaries.

Leaving aside the merits of these assertions, which we find questionable to say the least, the really sad thing is that the statement seems to accept the necessity for such outside intervention.

It used to be this continent's proud ideal that there should be African solutions for African problems. That is what the Organisation for African Unity was formed for 15 years ago. Yet in all that time the OAU has failed to solve a single one

of the continent's more significant problems.

It could do nothing about the secessionist problem of Katanga, or the ungovernable mess of the old Congo (now Zaire). Or about the Biafran war; or the massacre of the Watutsi in Rwanda; or the war between Ethiopia and Somalia; or Ethiopia's bitter struggle now with the Eritreans.

Above all, it has been unable to do anything about that embarrassing monster, Idi Amin.

The result of this impotence has been to expose Africa to foreign intervention. It is an invitation to exploiters. The Russians, with their Cuban surrogates, have moved in with brazen opportunism; which has forced the West to make its counter moves, so turning the continent into a tug o' war pitch.

If anything is hindering Africa from achieving genuine independence, Mr Harriman, it is that. And the answer should be sought not so much in London or Washington, but at the OAU summit in Khartoum next week.

Envoy^① defends² Cuba

NAIROBI — An emissary of Cuba's Fidel Castro said in Nairobi this weekend Cuba's involvement with some African countries was not part of a grand design to spread communism or boost Cuba's image in the third world.

Mr. Alipio Zorrilla, Cuba's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, said Cuba's main aim in Africa was to assist the struggles of the African people to defend their own rights.

"Cuba will continue to do this regardless of any propaganda or campaign being waged against her," he said.

Mr. Zorrilla said: "Somalia and Zaire are the only countries in Africa which have publicly expressed themselves against Cuba."

Ostensibly, Mr. Zorrilla's weekend in Nairobi was to discuss plans for the summit of the "non-aligned nations," to be held in Cuba next year. But he is believed to want to convince a slightly sceptical Kenyan government of Cuba's good intentions in Africa.

He was also laying the groundwork for the proposed opening of a Cuban embassy in Nairobi. — DDC

East Germany's 'Afrika Korps'

Fritz is helping Jose train African insurgents. The East German role in Africa is small in comparison with the Cuban role. But it is significant, both in giving military teeth to rebel forces and especially in consolidating political and police control by victorious national liberation movements.

The East German role in Africa, starting with assistance to the Frelimo liberation movement in Mozambique in 1969, has expanded markedly in the past two years. It complements Cuban military training and fighting. ELIZABETH POND reports from Bonn, West Germany.

The special and exclusive forte of the German Democratic Republic, according to West German analysts, is setting up and arming internal police organs (including secret police and bodyguards) — and organising state political parties on the East German model.

East Germans also train technical guerrilla units (pilots, engineers and artillery, explosives, and communications specialists), provide some light weapons and logistical support for insurgents, and give some limited training to African officers in East Germany itself.

To carry out this programme, the German Democratic Republic stations perhaps 3,000 military and security personnel in Africa, according to crude western estimates. At this stage only a few hundred of these are assigned directly to outlawed national liberation movements. West German specialists say. The bulk of them work instead with established left-wing governments, particularly Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, and the Congo Republic. Unlike Cuba, whose esti-

estimated 45,000 troops or paramilitary personnel in Africa constitute a decisive battle force, East Germany appears to be avoiding any direct combat role.

Rather than combat, the East Germans concentrate on military and security training, primarily in the former Portuguese colonies that gained their independence after the 1974 coup in Lisbon.

The East German role started with a programme of comprehensive military assistance to the Frelimo liberation movement in Mozambique in 1969 and has expanded markedly in the past two years. It complements Cuban military training and fighting in Africa and is coordinated by the Soviet Union, in the view of Western intelligence.

The strong interest in Africa by the East Germans grew out of the special search for international legitimacy in their rivalry with West Germany. Yet the involvement has both helped and complicated this

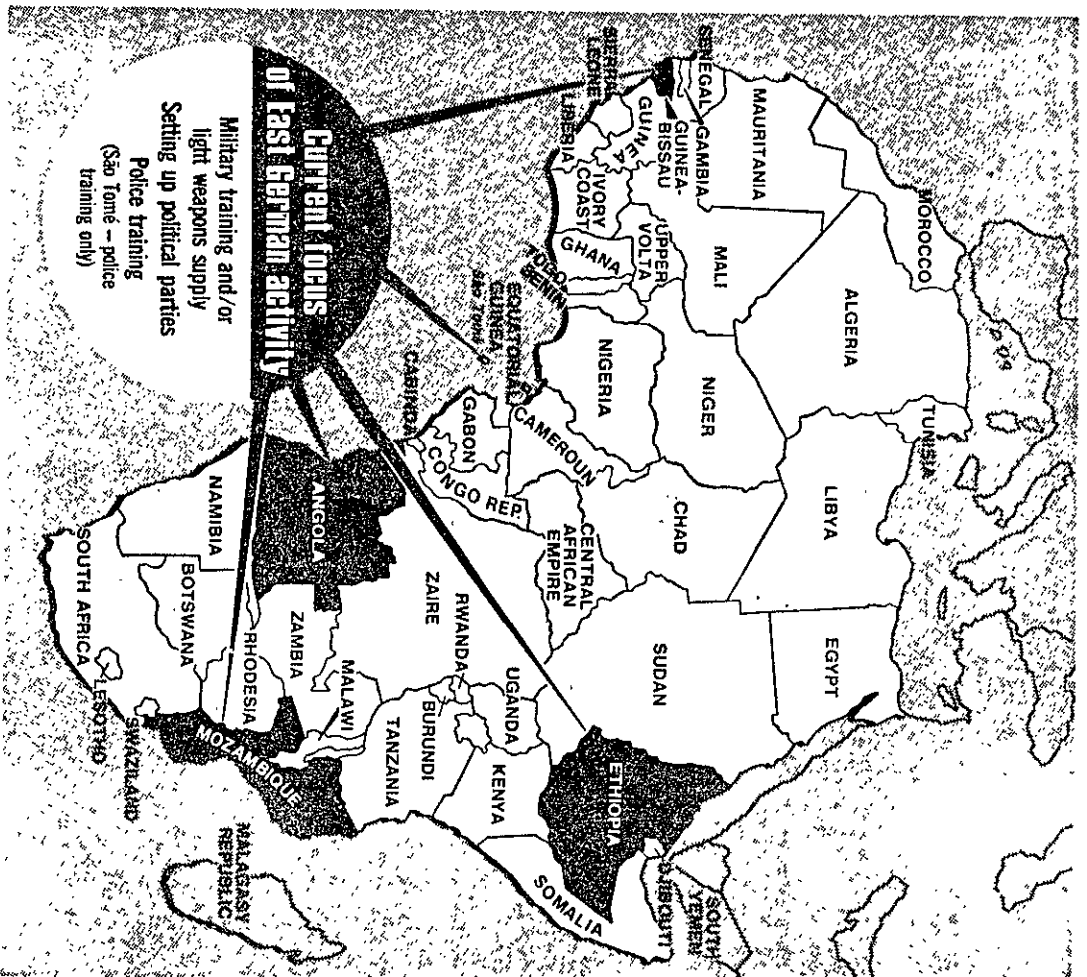
The East Berlin Government therefore is secretive about its new 'Afrika Korps.' Any overall view of its role must be pieced together from fragmentary intelligence reports, the regular visits of the East German Defence Minister and generals to Africa (most recently in May at the time of the latest Shaba raid), and public thanks accorded to East Germany by various African leaders.

From the hardest available information, the mosaic looks like this:

The Observer of London reported recently that East Germany, rather than Cuba, masterminded the latest rebel attack on Shaba Province. It estimated that 100 East German military experts are stationed in Angola with the mission of training the Katangan insurgents based there.

The Soviet-led Warsaw Pact gave East Germany the primary task of detaching President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire two years ago, the newspaper said. The aims of such a mission allegedly included disruption of a West German company's attempts to develop a new long-range satellite-launch rocket at a Shaba test site.

In a build-up that began early last year 1,500 East German security person-



nel in black Africa (Western intelligence estimates) are stationed in Ethiopia under the command of the highest-ranking East German personnel assigned to Africa, a colonel. They are providing military training and organising civil police, secret police, and

insurgents' victory, East German operations were directed out of another early African ally, the Congo Republic. From there, East German trained rebel units and flew wounded guerrillas to East Germany for care.

(c) 1978 The Christian Science Publishing Society.

Russia, Africa, and the West

The recent Kolwezi invasion has highlighted certain ambiguities in the West's Africa strategy. What are the implications for SA?

There was considerable surprise in Washington last month when British Prime Minister Jim Callaghan warned the "new Christopher Columbuses" who, he said, were setting out to discover Africa for the first time against rushing into instant solutions. Callaghan was speaking about pressures in the US for American intervention against the Shaba rebels in Zaire. Many of Africa's problems, he pointed out, were long standing and could not be blamed on the Soviet Union.

America's UN Ambassador, Andrew Young, had spoken on similar lines in the past; to some observers it seemed that the British PM's statement was intended

to be seen "simply as an arena for East-West competition"; America's best course was "to help resolve the problems which create the excuse for external intervention" on the continent. As a direct result, a senior US diplomat, Don McHenry, was immediately dispatched to effect a *rapprochement* between Angola and America.

"Hands off!"

Angola, as one of the front line states, is of course vital to Western settlement hopes in South West Africa and Rhodesia. The adverse reaction of the front line and other African countries to the French military intervention in Shaba makes it highly unlikely that much more will be heard of Giscard's plans for a Western sponsored posse of French "Cubans." Moreover, when asked to comment on the French proposal, Callaghan merely said: "I'd like to begin by asking what the African countries have got to say about this." Outside the small circle of some of France's ex colonies, African reaction to Giscard's plan was almost universally hostile, even among moderate countries. And President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, referring to Zaire, observed that individual African countries should not have their corrupt governments frozen into position for all time because it suited some outside interest.

The question of foreign intervention in Africa will come up at next month's OAU summit meeting. Founded 15 years ago in the wake of decolonisation, the OAU's membership has widely differing ideological positions. It will therefore not be easy to agree whether "foreign intervention" means the Cuban military presence in Angola and Ethiopia, or the active engagement of French troops in a variety of African countries, including the Shaba province of Zaire. But despite their ideological differences, OAU members are all agreed on two fundamental points.

The first is that colonial boundaries inherited with independence cannot be changed without the full consent of all parties concerned. This principle meant recently that the Western powers could not come to the aid of Somalia when the Russians and Cubans arrived in force in Ethiopia to help repel a Somali invasion.

In defending its borders, Ethiopia was in the right; by attacking, Somalia was in the wrong. By the same token the justification or condemnation of France's intervention in Shaba might depend not so much on ideological considerations as

on the question of whether the rebels were secessionist or not.

The second OAU principle which is backed by all members is opposition to apartheid and the elimination of white minority rule in southern Africa. This commits all states to supporting the most effective black nationalist groups, almost all of them now honouring the undertaking. Even the most moderate leaders have by now lost their enthusiasm for "dialogue" and "detente" with the whites. Even President Tolbert of Liberia, who was the first of the black African leaders to be visited by Vorster, recently declared that there was no point in further reasoning or persuasion, since his talks with SA's PM had not produced the desired results.

In Rhodesia the OAU recognises the Patriotic Front and not the interim government. This partly explains why London and Washington are unwilling to support the Salisbury agreement without the participation of Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. In South West Africa the OAU regards Swapo as the legitimate party. Thus the West has been anxious to ensure Swapo's acceptance of its proposals.

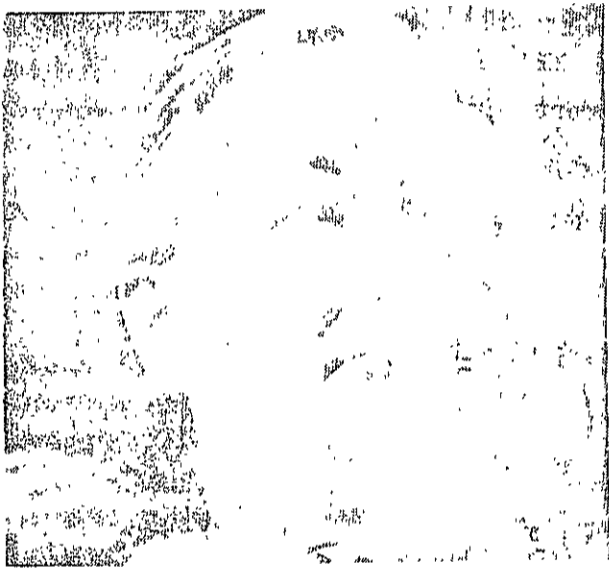
In SA the OAU backs the ANC and the PAC (OAU moves to reconcile the two parties are currently taking place). There is no doubt that the Western powers in their dealings with the Republic will take increasing note of these nationalist groups.

Nyet to SA

The Russians have consistently backed black nationalist movements and arms. By contrast, the West has been fighting a rearguard action to protect southern African interests. This has naturally helped to enhance the image in black Africa at the expense of the Western countries, which in addition have the disadvantage of being identified with the former colonial powers and which so often discuss Africa in terms of protecting their investments and the access to strategic raw materials.

Andrew Young and some of his colleagues say that the Russians have increased their influence in Africa; they have gained a foothold in Ethiopia, but that they lost their base in Somalia; that they have been thrown out of Egypt and that in 1974 they were out of favour in Sudan and, recently, also in Guinea.

This week Callaghan, visiting Washington again, said that the states would overwhelmingly



Callaghan . . . warning from an old hand

to shore up Young's position, which had been increasingly overshadowed by the hawkish Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's security adviser, who was clamouring for further American action to check the Russians and Cubans in Africa. Brzezinski's position had just received a further boost by the public outcry over the invasion of Shaba.

American anxiety, however, was not so much a result of the Shaba invasion, as of the hasty French intervention in Kolwezi. President Valéry Giscard D'Estaing had seemed set to try to spur other Western powers into matching his dramatic move. Although the Shaba affair served to underline the Young-Brzezinski dichotomy in the US's approach to Africa, two important statements last week by US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance showed that, for the time being at least, Young had prevailed over Brzezinski.

Africa, Vance announced could not

influence will continue to grow in Africa as long as African aspirations are blocked by Western interests.

If the Western powers are to win African friendship, it will become increasingly difficult for them to give SA any

or possibly the one after that will reduce Western confidence in SA to such an extent that there would be no need for legislation to end the flow of trade and private investment. In other words, the formal imposition of economic sanctions

the Republic as a unit would be a minimum, policy-makers in Washington, London and elsewhere now tend to see it as the most effective single agent in promoting the growth of Soviet influence in Africa.

Africa can look after itself says Nkomo

LONDON — The Patriotic Front co-leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, yesterday attacked the West for worrying about Soviet-Cuban influence in Africa, describing such concern as "an insult to the African people."

He also proposed that the Patriotic Front, the Smith Government and the United Nations should share the policing of Rhodesia as a prerequisite of a ceasefire.

This appeared to be an important step towards the PF's acknowledgment of the internal leaders' support.

Mr Nkomo took strong exception during a press conference here to the idea of Nato and the West trying to counter Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa. Were Frenchmen going to drop out of the skies every time someone was attacked by a few bees, he scoffed.

He added: "You in Europe want to safeguard Africa for us. Who gives you that right? We threw you out of Africa. Why do you think these people (the Russians and Cubans) won't be thrown out if they start the same thing. We aren't morons."

Mr Nkomo said that in any case, their influence had been greatly exaggerated by the West.

"I doubt whether the Cubans are in those areas which the press says they are in. I haven't met one in Zambia."

Mr Nkomo said while the PF was not prepared to accept manpower assistance from Russia or Cuba, "we will accept arms from whoever will offer us arms."

He described Nigeria's offer of assistance as "useful", hitting at the West for not supplying the

PF with military equipment.

"There is something radically wrong with the West," he announced.

Asked if he would only accept a ceasefire in Rhodesia if the PF held control of the army, he replied: "Where do you get that story from? You are very wrong indeed."

"A ceasefire can only come when an arrangement for the custodianship of our firepower has been created."

Asked to elaborate, he said he saw police enforcement in the ratio of one man from the Patriotic Front, one from the Smith Government and one United Nations observer "Like three men in a Jeep."

Constant patrols would be necessary to see that the white civilians who made up the territorial

army were behaving themselves, even when they were out of uniform.

Question: Do you insist on a majority in the Rhodesian executive? Mr Nkomo: Naturally we must have some form of majority to safeguard our gains.

Why wouldn't you agree to a 50-50 arrangement, that is, parity with the internal leaders? Mr Nkomo: We are a military force for change. We have got to be certain that our firepower is in safe hands.

They also want their firepower to be in safe hands. Mr Nkomo: Their firepower is for the status quo. We have to safeguard change, not the status quo.

Mr Nkomo also said the PF had made very big gains in the past 13 years, adding: "We have knocked some sense into Ian Smith's head, but not enough sense." — DDC.

NM 5/6/78

Ethiopia launches fight to save 1m from death

①
NAIROBI — Ethiopia yesterday announced it had launched an emergency relief operation to save the lives of up to 1 000 000 people reported starving in the drought-ridden province of Wollo.

It is the worst famine to hit the East African nation since 1973 when 200 000 people reportedly died. An attempt to cover up the famine led directly to the deposition of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974.

So far 47 people have died in the famine concentrated in the western Wollo region, north-east of Addis Ababa, the official radio announced. Forty-five others have been hospitalised.

"Farmers in the highland areas have long relied on sorghum crops,

but are now eating poisonous herbs. This has resulted in serious illness," the radio said.

An emergency relief committee, headed by military ruler Lt.-Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, has set up "numerous" distribution centres in the stricken region, and is supplying people with food, vitamins and clothes.

Food and medicines were being airlifted to Wollo where three emergency airstrips were under construction. Other supplies were being sent by land. Helicopters were being used to reach the remote areas of the province, the radio said.

The barley crop — which forms the staple diet of the province — has been decimated by drought, insects and a deadly fungus disease called ergot.

"The disease causes gangrene in human beings and cattle," an American Embassy spokesman said.

"Many people have gangrene and I have seen some horrifying pictures of them."

Meanwhile, locust swarms which invaded the Horn of Africa late last month had swept further inland to ravage crops throughout Ethiopia's Gondar region, the radio added.

Regional officials had asked the Government for medical aid and more workers as it could not combat the swarms alone.

The locusts, in swarms of up to 100 square kilometres, invaded Ethiopia and Somalia from breeding grounds in Saudi Arabia and along the Red Sea coast. — (Sapa-Reuter-AP.)

24/4/78 Star (1)

New Cuba war?

LONDON — A Cuban-led, Russian-backed expeditionary force against Rhodesia and South Africa has been the nightmare of Western diplomats ever since the first Cuban intervention in the Angolan civil war.

In just the past few days intelligence reports have brought alarming evidence that Fidel Castro's 50 000 — strong "Afrika Korps" is indeed stealthily preparing for a new coup in southern Africa.

Russian arms are continuing to pour into Africa. And it is now clear that they are not just going to the Ethiopia-Somalia battlefield where the Cubans are involved.

Ominously, the new shipments are going to countries near to, or actually bordering on Rhodesia.

Up to 350 new Soviet T-54 tanks are reported to have been unloaded in Tanzania, where President Nyerere already has 500 Cuban advisers training guerillas to fight in Rhodesia.

Mozambique, one of the main centres for the guerilla war against Rhodesia, now has 150 new Soviet tanks and up to 30 MiG-21 fighters.

Havoc

Zambia — the other main forward guerilla base — is now getting huge quantities of small arms and mortars shipped in from the Soviets via Tanzania. The new tanks may, in time, follow along the same pipeline.

But what, or who, is all this weaponry for? Tanzania's 17 000-strong army could possibly man 30 tanks if put to it — Zambia not even that many.

"These are enormous forces for this part of the world," one British mili-

tary source told me. "Who is going to drive them, who's going to fly them, who's going to fly the MiGs, if not the Cubans?"

"The sort of havoc this sort of force could cause in Rhodesia simply doesn't bear thinking about. It frightens me to death."

The speed with which this communist foreign legion has established itself as the major military force in Africa south of the Sahara is daunting. Its first venture into Africa was just over two years ago in Angola.

Rockets

There are now more than 50 000 Cubans in Africa, one quarter of Castro's forces. They have available R1 600-million worth of Soviet weapons, all supplied for this specific theatre and in addition to the equipment of their own forces back in Havana.

There are, it is now

Red arms pour into African capitals

estimated, some 800 newly deployed Russian tanks and about 100 MiG-21 fighters.

There is a wealth of artillery, including the devastating Katyusha rocket batteries and the Soviet 130 mm howitzer, one of the most formidable guns in the world and used with deadly effect by North Vietnam in its final crushing campaign.

What this all adds up to is a force the size and hitting power of Britain's Rhine army. Taken together, it far outranks any other military power in southern Africa, with the possible exception of South Africa.

Ideally, the Soviet-Cuban strategists would probably not choose to move against the white redoubts of Rhodesia and South Africa so soon.

But their hand may be forced by events — in particular, the dramatic and unexpected success of Mr Ian Smith in Rhodesia

in getting together his internal settlement.

The signs that Russia's interest in southern Africa has taken a new turn are now clear. The latest arrival reported in Zambia is the extremely senior Russian General Vasily Petrov, who has been directing the operations in Ethiopia.

His forte is not guerilla war but conventional armoured campaigns.

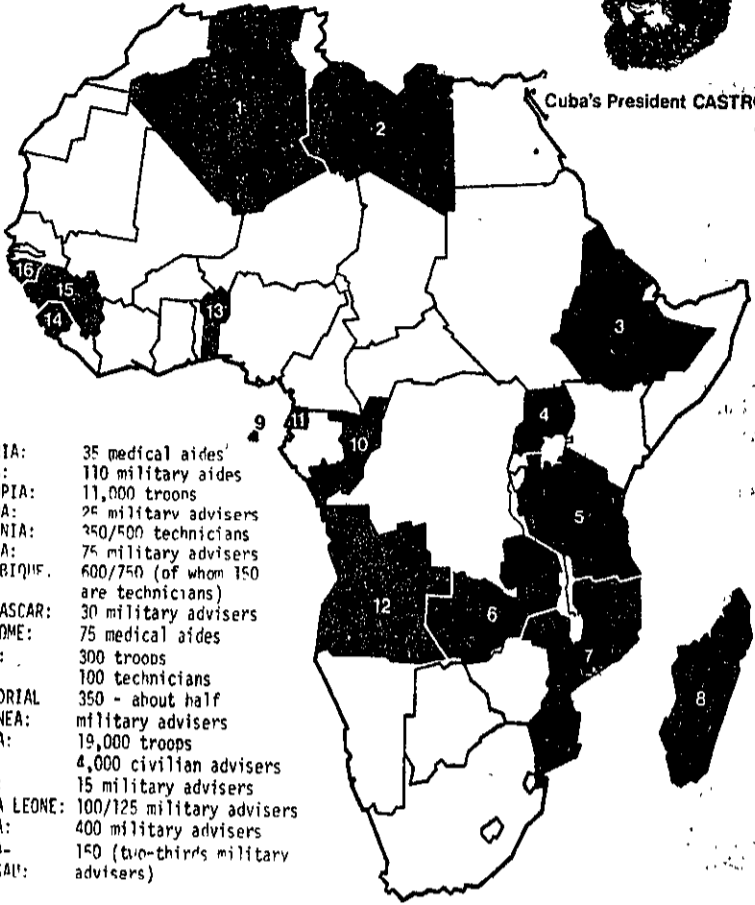
Cuban troops are welcome where Russians on their own might not be. Governments think — possibly optimistically — that it may be easier to get rid of the Cubans, when the time comes, than the Russians.

And the Cuban army, a fair proportion of which is black, anyway, seems to avoid the blundering brutishness which makes the Russian — soldier, diplomat or engineer — detested wherever he goes. — London Daily Mail News Service.

THE CUBAN ROLE IN AFRICA



Cuba's President CASTRO



WHAT are the Cubans up to in Africa? Altogether now they have some kind of presence in sixteen countries. Is Cuba doing the dirty work the Russians don't care to do for fear of involving the West or is it playing its own game?

NM 11/4/78 (1)

Castro, patron saint of Africa's Leftists

GUY ARNOLD reports . . .

THE unusual phenomenon of Cuba in Africa has brought a new dimension to a continent which in the last three or so years has seen an increase of activity by the outside powers, especially in southern Africa and the Horn.

Big Power suspicions are so great that it is difficult to disentangle the Cuban role from that of its close ally in the areas where it has been most successful — the USSR.

The Cubans would argue that they are acting on their own, in support of ideological struggles against colonialism and for regimes of the Left. The West tends to believe that Cuba is no more than the agent of the Russians. The truth lies somewhere between the two.

Forces

At the end of 1977, for example, a White House study for President Carter revealed that Cuba's Fidel Castro was greatly expanding his forces in Africa and suggested that he then had perhaps 27 000 men — soldiers, medical and other support teams and advisers there altogether.

When a few days ago the Ethiopians retook Jijiga from the Somalis, one Western estimate put at 15 000 the mainly Cuban but also Russian troops and advisers who were engaged in that battle.

The American reaction to the Cubans is conditioned by 20 years of paranoia over Castro anyway. Formerly the Cubans had as their object the spreading of revolution in Latin America where on the whole they were remarkably unsuccessful. Now they have switched to Africa where their intervention appears to be having some rapid and startling success.

The Cubans have a presence of some kind in sixteen African countries although the two of greatest importance are Angola and Ethiopia. Even so, the Cubans for many years have been involved in support and training for various African terrorist movements.

Cuban intervention in Angola in 1975 was a decisive factor in ensuring the triumph of Neto and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). By the end of 1975 it was estimated that there were 15 000 Cubans in Angola.

Rapid

They helped ensure the rapid withdrawal of the South Africans from that country and since then have been of vital importance in

maintaining the MPLA in power.

Recently several hundred Cuban soldiers are reported to have been killed fighting against the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) forces opposed to Neto in central Angola.

Since July, 1977, a further 4 000 to 6 000 Cuban troops, have been sent to Angola bringing total Cuban strength in that country up to approximately 19 000 troops and perhaps a further 4 000 civilian advisers. They are likely to remain a crucial element in ensuring continuing MPLA control there over the next few years.

As the build-up of Russian support for the Ethiopian Government took place over the latter half of 1977 and into 1978 so stories of a few hundred Cuban advisers turned into the reality of several thousand Cuban troops. Here, again, the Cuban presence has been of decisive importance in the recent battles in the Ogaden which have resulted in Somali withdrawal.

This Cuban activity in Africa has set back the possibility of closer U.S.-Cuban ties. In February, for example, the senior Cuban envoy to Washington, Ramon Sanchez-Parodi, said that his country would not trade its ties with Africa for better relations with America.

Progress

The Americans for their part have made clear that further progress in normalising relations between the two countries must depend upon the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the African continent.

As Sanchez-Parodi said

there is nothing new about the Cubans in Africa: they fought with the liberation movements in Algeria, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique much earlier than their present involvements. Further, Cuban support for the terrorist movements and newly formed countries has been a consistent aspect of policy since 1959. There is no intention of changing it.

The latest possibility of Cuban involvement concerns Rhodesia. Following the so-called internal settlement between Smith and Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau, Nkomo announced that he may be forced to turn to the Cubans for increased assistance since the Patriotic Front does not accept the settlement.

Front

The Front has already been receiving help from Cuba in the form of arms supplies. If as a result of the internal settlement the terrorist war is stepped up then Cuban involvement alongside the forces of the Patriotic Front might turn the scales.

In broad terms Cuban involvement in Africa can be summarised as follows: First, they help terrorist movements or States which are ideologically to the Left; or at least those which are obliged to look to the Left for assistance in their struggles.

Second

Second, Cuban intervention in the two areas where recently it has been so important — Angola and

CUBA receives considerable aid from communist countries. In 1976 the Army numbered 146 000; the Navy 9 000, and the Air Force 20 000. Army reserves numbered 90 000. Most fit men and women belong to the militia. Conscription is for a three-year period at 17. Conscripts also work on the land.

Cuba's economy is basically agricultural and is organised by the State. Through the State Social Security system employees receive benefits for sickness, accidents, maternity, retirement and unemployment.

Ethiopia — has coincided precisely enough with the demands of Russian policy thus giving rise to the Western accusation that the Cubans are Russian stooges.

Logistics

This accusation is almost certainly not true. The Russians may well have helped with the logistics of transporting Cubans to Africa or with arms and finance through information on this will not be easily available. And Russia has clearly been happy that Cuban troops have done a job that the Russians could not have done themselves without inviting major Western intervention. But it would be wrong to assume that the Cubans are anyone's tool.

The Cubans are ideologically committed. They have as yet got nothing out of their intervention in any material sense. They insist — and the evidence supports this — that they only go by invitation.

And in terms of their failure to change events in Latin America it must give them considerable satisfaction to succeed so spectacularly in parts of Africa. The Cuban African role is by no means over. Zimbabwe is the most likely next place in which their intervention could be as decisive as it has been in Angola or Ethiopia.

Cubans will Over Africa

By a Special Correspondent

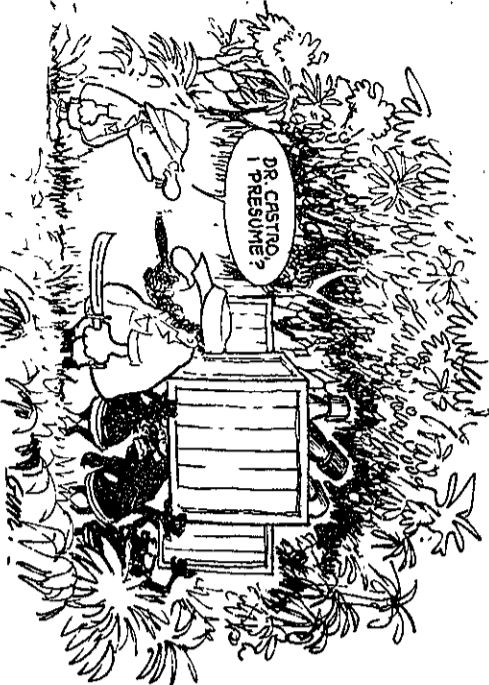
ETHIOPIA'S strongman, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, was hardly giving away a military secret when he finally acknowledged that Cuban troops were fighting in the Horn of Africa.

"The Cubans, who are renowned for shedding their blood anywhere and at any time for a just struggle and cause, are standing alongside the Ethiopian People's Army at the front line," he said.

In the past few months the Western powers have watched, with growing alarm, the rapid build-up of a Cuban expeditionary force that already numbers 12 000 men in Ethiopia.

Behind the Cubans' are the Russians, whose money, weapons and aircraft make Fidel Castro's African adventures possible. And, it seems, successful.

For, in one stunning blow, the Ogaden war ended this week.



Spearheaded by a powerful shock force — a full Cuban armoured brigade with 90 T-62 tanks, Russian Mi-6 helicopters (which can lift 15 tons) to carry men; enormous stockpiles of fuel and ammunition; planes, artillery, paratroopers and, by some accounts, 14-ton PT-76 tanks — the Ethiopian Army stormed the Somali stronghold of Jijiga.

Five Somali brigades held out for three days; on the fourth, they broke and ran, and soon Somali President Muhammad Siad Barre ordered his forces to evacuate the Ogaden.

Ducks

The Somalis were routed from Jijiga in a textbook assault that employed massive airifts and bombing raids, along with pinpoint barrages of artillery to clear the way for columns of tanks backed by battalions of Cuban troops in armoured personnel carriers.

"They were sitting ducks," said a military expert close to the high command in Mogadishu.

The generals who command the Cuban and Soviet legions in Africa are among the top combat leaders in their countries have to offer.

Perhaps the best qualified is Division General Ar-

manned the machinery that won the battle for the Ethiopians.

Cuban pilots are also flying combat missions against Eritrean rebels in northern Ethiopia.

In Angola, Cuban troops are shoring up a fragile Marxist government against attacks by anti-communist guerrillas.

The Cubans have sent about a quarter of their 120 000-man army to Africa and sources in Havana say Castro has ordered a second call-up of reservists, this time men in their 40s.

Back home in Havana, some people are referring to the Angolan campaign as "Vietnam a la vieleta" — Vietnam in reverse. No end to Cuba's ordeal is in sight.

Nevertheless, the thought that Cuba, a small island with less than 10-million inhabitants, can stir up so much trouble has angered many American officials.

Ambitions

It has also made some of the Administration's "first real problem approaching crisis magnitude".

On the other side of the President's men very angry. "The Cubans are guns for hire and they'll go anywhere," charges one hard-line White House official.

In the sixties he tried to organise leftist rebels in Venezuela, and he is now Deputy Minister of Defence.

Ochoa served as a field commander in Angola, and when Fidel Castro visited Ethiopia in March, 1977, the general went with him — and stayed to fight.

"He's a rough cookie and a very smart one," says a US intelligence source.

In Addis Ababa, Ochoa shares his headquarters with a shadowy Russian general who, according to American sources, is General Vasily Ivanovich Petrov, who led Soviet forces in the Far East during the 1969 border conflict with China.

If so, he is a very big fish indeed — deputy commander of all Soviet ground forces since 1976.

The Soviet-Cuban challenge confronts President Jimmy Carter with what one of his aides describes as

Washington of the massive airlift, the US protested — but the build-up went on. The Carter Administration was faced with what one official called "a hell of a mess".

There followed a foreign policy debate within the highest councils of the Administration which lasted for weeks.

The national security adviser to the President, Zbigniew Brzezinski, argued that Moscow should not be allowed to expect co-operation on strategic arms limitation (the SALT talks) so long as it was intervening in Africa.

Hard line

On the other side of the debate were Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and such top officials as Richard Moose, head of the Africa Bureau, and Anthony Lake, policy planner who espouses a hard line at any cost against whites in Africa.

They argued that the Somalis were the aggressors in the Ogaden and that, if nothing else, the Cubans would do useful work driving them out.

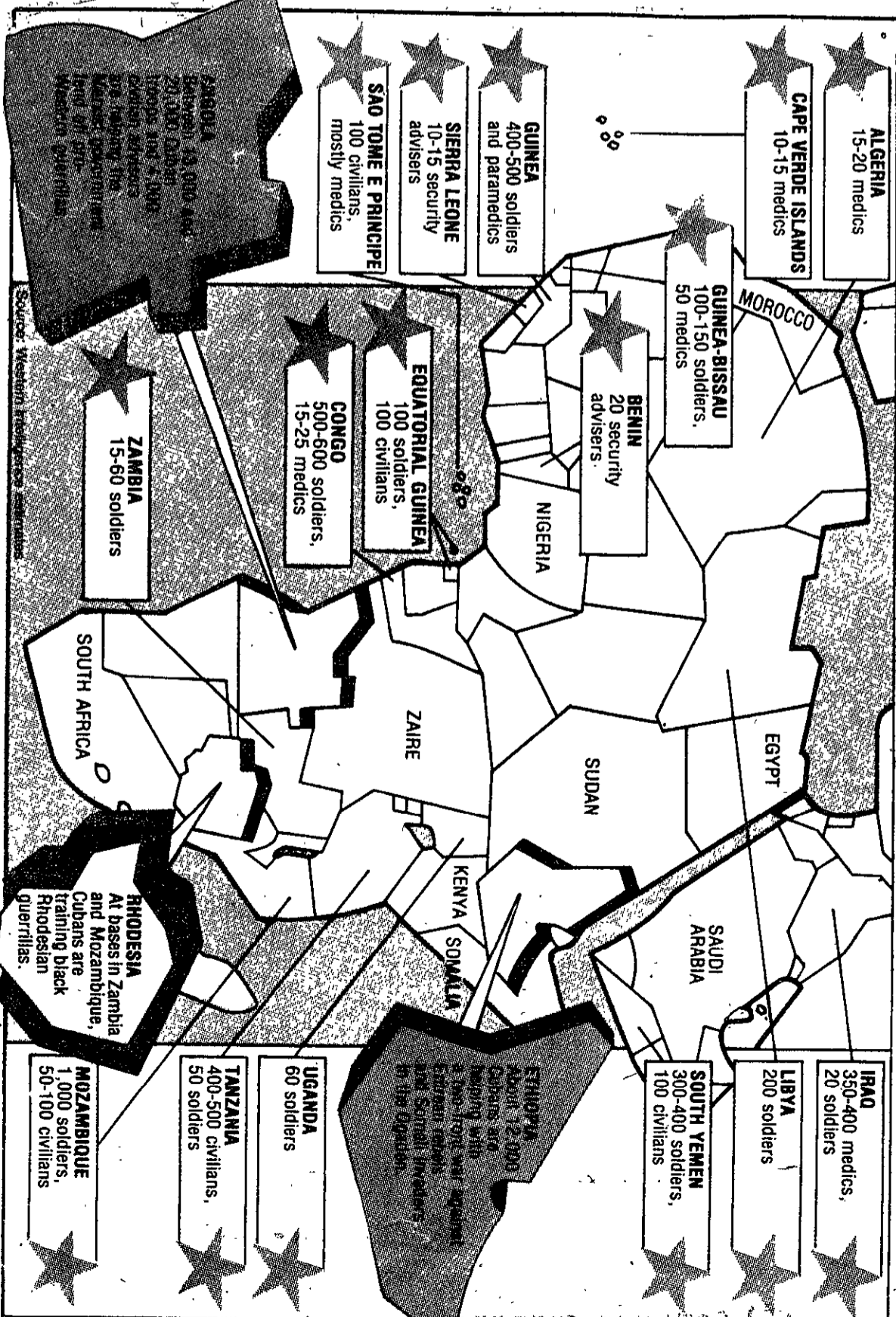
These officials also argued that the US would never intervene militarily in the Horn and, short of that, had no way to put effective pressure on the Russians.

"Brzezinski wants to make a show of strength," said one aide to UN Ambassador Andrew Young, "but what is there to show? That's Andy's question."

The Cuban-Soviet build-up in Africa worries other countries in Europe, Africa and the Middle East. Cubans help train Palestinian guerrillas in Iraq and possibly in southern Lebanon.

Then the Kremlin, late last year, began sending shipments of weapons, ammunition and Cuban troops to Ethiopia.

HAVE GUNS, WILL TRAVEL



Source: Western intelligence estimates

Both: Courard

Pessimistic

But, even among conservative Arabs, the main threat is perceived to be in Africa.

Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Ibn Faisal, said in a recent interview: "It is a threat to the security and stability of the entire continent of Africa and the Middle East."

And an Egyptian diplomat warned last week: "Moscow now has the logistics base and experience in Africa to give the Cubans almost unlimited support. If it was the Ogaden today, it will certainly be Zambia and Rhodesia tomorrow."

Early in the Cuban build-up in Ethiopia, some Western allies — notably Iran, Egypt and Saudi Arabia — were ready to supply Somalia with arms, but had second thoughts as their leaders became increasingly pessimistic about the outcome. Everybody seemed to be waiting for the Americans to act.

But the Shah of Iran, for one, believes the Russians have already won control of the Horn of Africa.

A survey just published in Britain shows the extent of Africa's refugee problem. Altogether there are 1 500 000 people who have fled from their homeland and a further 1 800 000 refugees returning to their countries to be resettled.

A detailed survey of refugees in Africa just published in London shows that 1 600 000 people are refugees on the African continent. Another 1 800 000 are refugees who have just returned home or are on their way home.

Thus, nearly 3 500 000 people are affected and the survey, published by Britain's Christian Aid, points out that the situation is not improving. The wars in Mozambique and Angola caused big refugee problems and today's fighting in Ethiopia, the Sahara and Rhodesia is daily causing more people to flee their countries. Help for refugees is "gravely inadequate" says the report; it calls for urgent action by government and voluntary services.

BLAME

The 72-page report, *Refugees: Africa's Challenge*, reminds Britain that it is not without blame as one of the former colonial Powers which divided up Africa in the last century without regard to tribal, ethnic or language considerations, leaving newly independent governments with an "inevitable legacy of turmoil."

Illogical boundaries were often created which left minority groups stranded in countries which regarded them as a threat to national unity and often treated them as dissidents.

Both Black and White governments in Africa are

Africa's refugee problem

NM
22/2/78

JOHN MADELEY
London

today turning people into refugees by intolerance and discrimination, says the report. So also are Western countries, who are reluctant to jeopardise their commercial and military interests in Africa.

The report says the British industrial investment is supporting South Africa's economy and that France is supplying arms to "maintain White supremacy." This support helps to bolster violations against the Black majority. "Every month the violations continue," says the report, "more people are forced to flee, more refugees cross into neighbouring countries, more innocent people die."

Refugees are people who have "voted with their feet for freedom" — in the words of the All African Conference of Churches. And the refugee problem in Africa is barely 20 years old. Until the late 1950s only

a few Africans were refugees on the continent of their birth. Then came the North African struggle for independence and the problem of refugees requiring help in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. As new nations emerged, accepting or seizing power from colonial Powers, so the refugee problem grew.

EFFECT

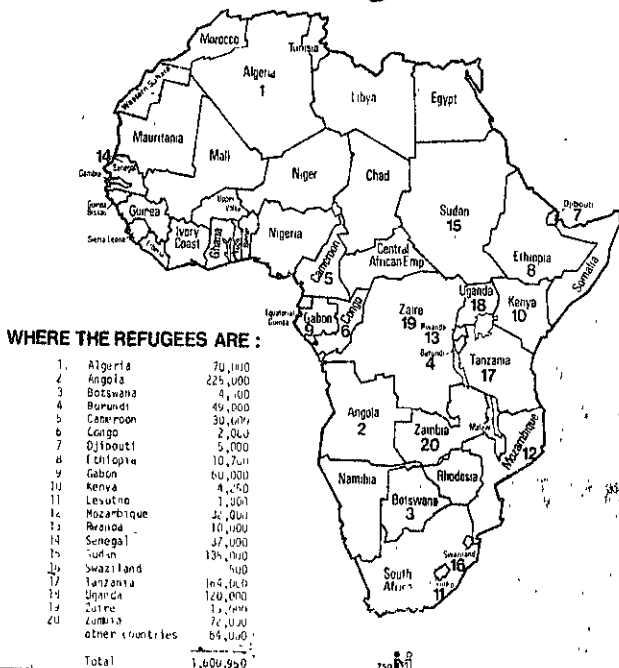
"It was at once," says Christian Aid, "a side effect of the new political medicine and of the almost impossible geo-political blueprint left by the retreating colonial nations. Refugees were victims of de-colonialisation and the tensions of development and growth."

Today there are refugees in 27 African countries. Zaire has one of the largest numbers — an estimated 515 000. Most of them are from Angola and while a few are now going home, many others are reluctant to return for political reasons.

Refugees usually impose considerable strains on the economies of countries who take them. The Christian Aid report pays tribute to the generous way in which African countries, who rank among the poorest in the world, have opened their doors — often at considerable cost to themselves.

The report notes that the official United Nations body set up in 1951 to help refugees is very limited in what it can do. This body — the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) can only act if invited, and operates on a very low budget. In 1976 it allocated less than 4 500 000 dollars to Africa's refugee problems. The report recommends a stepping up in the contributions that former colonial Powers make to UNHCR.

AFRICA: Refugees



7 000 more Cubans for Ethiopia war

MOGADISHU — About 7 000 additional Cuban soldiers including two mechanised brigades and an artillery battalion, are expected to arrive in Ethiopia this month, diplomatic sources said here yesterday.

The reinforcements were expected to disembark from Soviet ships at the port of Assab some time this month.

Somalia announced on Saturday that it was throwing its regular army into the Horn of Africa war against Ethiopia and declared a state of emergency. Ex-servicemen were told to report for mobilisation.

A mass rally was scheduled to take place in Mogadishu yesterday in support of the announcement.

The diplomatic sources said Somalia was contacting every country represented in the United Nations Security Council with the aim of getting the council to condemn outside intervention in the Ogaden Desert war.

Diplomatic assessments made in Mogadishu about the fighting resemble those emanating from Addis Ababa: the Ethiopians seem to be making rapid progress in their push north but only limited advances are reported to the east.

Somalia says Ethiopia planned, through this two-pronged attack, to occupy a 320-km stretch of Somalia's coastline along the Gulf of Aden at the entrance to the Red Sea.

The Mogadishu sources said the Ethiopians had reached the town of Adi Galla on the railway line between Dire Dawa and Djibouti.

A statement from the central committee of the ruling Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party said Somalia would "increase its assistance to the liberation forces by dispatching units of its own regular army to the conflict."

Banner

Ethiopia has long claimed that Somali troops were fighting under the banner of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) in south-eastern Ethiopia.

The people of the Ogaden are predominantly ethnic Somalis. Somali forces captured a huge area of south-eastern Ethiopia last year. Now they are fighting to withstand a counter-offensive by Soviet and Cuban-backed Ethiopian troops.

Somalia has repeatedly alleged that the Ethiopian offensive is a prelude to an invasion of the Somali Republic itself.

Yesterday's statement said that the decision to send regular army forces to the war was taken at a party central committee meeting on Wednesday and Thursday.

f. woon in die huis?

t werk Weeklikse loon

Atrocities

The committee statement said that "Russian, Cuban and other allied forces have now started to massacre and to commit untold atrocities against the Somali people living in the area (the Ogaden).

"Their air force has also conducted non-stop air raids against Somali cities and towns."

Since last September, Somalia has reported eight attacks on northern Somalia towns by jets from Ethiopia. The latest reported was against the regional capital Hargeisa and the port of Berbera last Tuesday.

The statement said that Somalia was forced to send troops to the Ogaden war to defend itself against what it called naked aggression and because of the growing internationalisation of the conflict.

It also hinted that Somalia might break off diplomatic relations with Moscow — nearly three months after President Mohamed Siad Barre tore up a three-year-old friendship treaty with the Kremlin and expelled all Soviet personnel. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

14. Week se werke

Plek (plaas, do
dis

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Rede waarom werke o

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

et:

Star 10/2/78 (1) 10/2/78

Lesson of the Horn

The best way to reach an understanding of what is happening in and to the countries of north-eastern Africa is, I think, to begin with what would have happened if Moscow had not sent a massive airlift of tanks, guns, advisers, specialists, and even some combat troops into Ethiopia of recent days.

Had Moscow not suddenly mounted a big airlift, and also sent some military help by sea to its client, Ethiopia, several things would have resulted. The regime in Ethiopia would probably have lost permanently its control over the Ogaden region, much of which is now occupied by Somali troops.

Probably also the rebel independence movement in Eritrea would have succeeded in making good its military campaign to set itself up as an independent state. If those two events had come to pass Ethiopia would have become a landlocked country, cut off from all access to the sea. It would have lost

nearly half of its vital territory. The regime in Addis Ababa would have been discredited and might well have been overthrown in a wave of popular indignation.

That was the prospect just before Moscow intervened with what it probably regards as decisive force. Had the prospect come to pass the world would have witnessed the collapse of a client of Moscow.

That would have been a black eye for Moscow and a serious weakening of the credibility of its status as a world power able to sustain its clients in remote places.

More even than that, it would have meant the final liquidation of Moscow's once considerable stake in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa.

Moscow has invested heavily in that part of the world, partly to exercise its world power role and even more to obtain influence along the sea lanes which carry Arabian oil to the factories of Western

"There is a theory that Russia tends to repeat America's mistakes, several years later." Will Ethiopia turn out a Soviet Vietnam? asks JOSEPH C HARSCH, writing from Washington.

Europe and the United States. Someday Moscow may even want some of that oil for its own purpose. It is expected to have to become a net oil importing country by the mid '80s.

So Moscow has intervened to save the regime in Ethiopia and to protect its stake along the oil lanes. All this is understandable. Any great world power would probably have done much the same thing under the circumstances.

As a matter of fact another great world power once did the same thing under similar circumstances. In 1965 Washington's client, South Vietnam, was in a parlous condition. The regime was unpopular at home and losing ground to its enemies to the north. President Lyndon John-

son decided to intervene massively. He sent not only guns and tanks and aircraft, but also 500 000 American soldiers. He was going to prove to the world that the United States could protect its clients.

There is a theory that Moscow tends to repeat Washington's mistakes, several years later. Washington once relied on economic aid to sustain its world position. Moscow decided to build the Aswan Dam for Egypt. Last year the Egyptians showed their gratitude by pushing all Soviets out of Egypt.

Washington turned to a armed force. Lyndon Johnson's massive army in Vietnam has long since come home. But Moscow sent Cuban troops into

Angola, and now its own weapons and advisers into Ethiopia. Where will we all go from here?

The regime which Moscow supports in Angola is in trouble. It is in effective control of less than half the country. It is massively unpopular even in its own capital. It would probably collapse immediately if those Cuban troops were to be withdrawn. Moscow is stuck in Angola, unable to set up a local regime which can stand on its own feet.

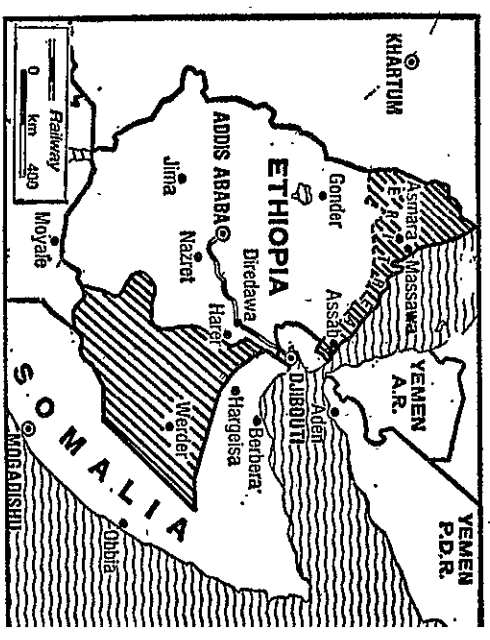
The regime which Moscow is now supporting in Ethiopia is unpopular, incompetent and brutal. Its behaviour is an embarrassment to Africa and to Moscow. Moscow could hardly have found a less reputable client had it been looking for just that.

Back at the height of the "cold war" Washingtonians sometimes cast envious glances across the North Atlantic to Moscow. Moscow, Washington com-

plained, managed to fight its "cold war" battles through proxies. Not a single Soviet soldier was ever caught in either the Korean or Vietnam wars. Americans went to war. Moscow let others do its fighting. Washington is now taking advice with its allies about what to do about the Soviet airlift to Ethiopia. Something should and will be done. The West has its own enormous

stake in the security of the oil lanes from the Persian Gulf. But they will try to benefit from experience if possible through local proxies, and allow Moscow the chance to learn the bitter lesson Americans learned in Vietnam.

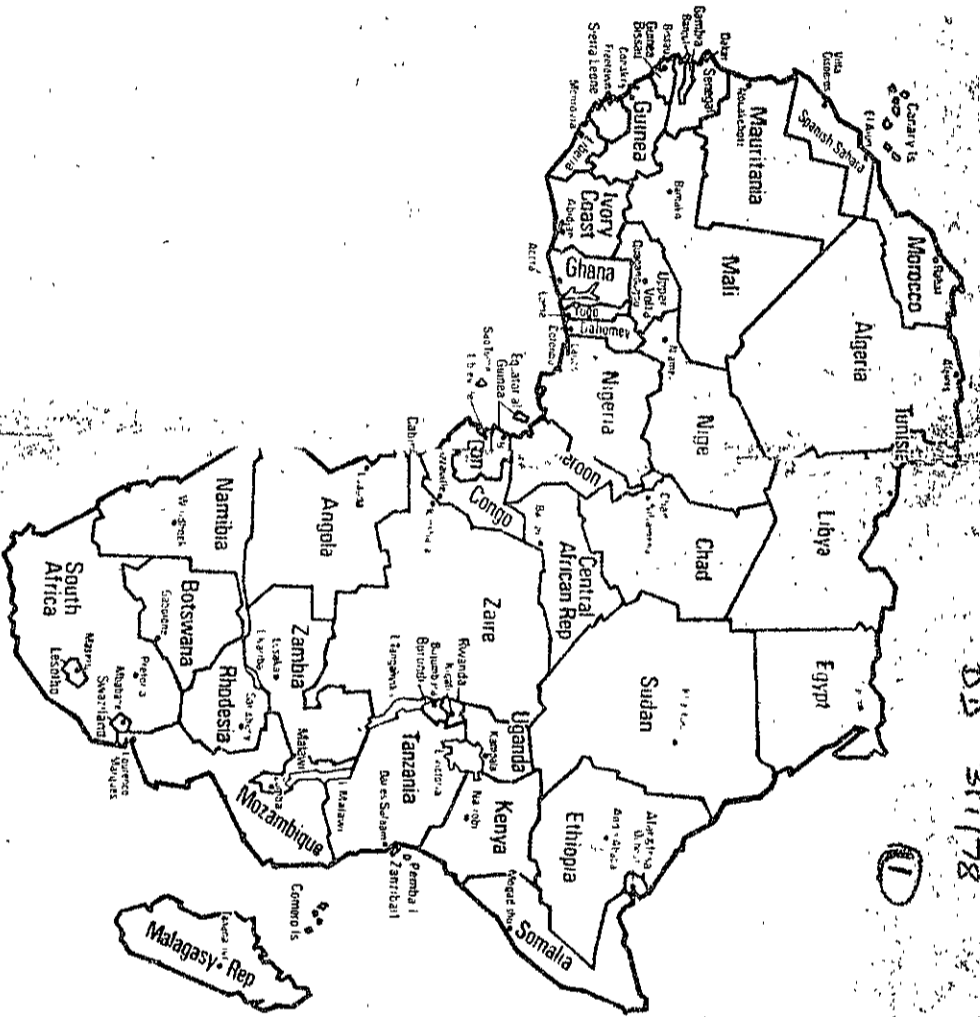
The story could end that way. — Christi Science Monitor News Service.



(1) 10/2/78

What's in store for Africa now?

DA 3/1/78



11

South Africa's great racial divide and the future of embattled white-ruled Rhodesia and SWA will dominate events in sub-Saharan Africa's troubled New Year.

The region's hottest war, between Ethiopia and Somalia in the strategic Horn of Africa, is expected to rage on unabated.

In West Africa oil-rich Nigeria's soldier-rulers are scheduled to enter the final stages of plans to restore civilian rule by 1977.

Other military governments in Ghana and Upper Volta also say they are moving towards a restoration of democracy.

US President Jimmy Carter is expected to visit Nigeria, Africa's richest and most populous nation, early in 1978 to seal warmer relations with black Africa.

Angola's Soviet-backed Government, supported by an estimated 19,000 Cuban troops, faces a third year of war with rebel forces in the north and south of the country. One of the rebel groups, the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola may declare an independent republic in southern Angola.

Further repression is expected in Uganda, where a reign of terror under President Idi Amin enters its seventh year.

In 1977, for the first time, African states led by

Zambia and Tanzania openly denounced Amin's regime, which has brutally executed thousands of Ugandans at whim.

Persistent economic woes in several countries, especially debt-ridden Zaire under President Mobutu Sese Seko, will continue to threaten the fragile political stability of many African governments.

By mid-year experts were expected to be able to gauge the seriousness of renewed drought in the sun-baked Sahel, the southern rim of the Sahara Desert in West Africa. Some forecasts predicted food shortages as critical as those during the great drought of 1972-74 in which thousands died in Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad.

As 1977 closed, South Africa's isolated white Government braced for further ostracism over its internationally condemned race policies. It enters the New Year under a UN arms embargo imposed following world outrage at its nationwide crackdown on black and white dissidents, black newspaper and 18 organisations.

Armed with overwhelming support from his white electorate in year-end elections, Prime Minister

Vorster vowed to continue the policy of apartheid.

Despite widespread protest over the death in detention of Steve Biko, Mr Vorster promised continued stringent security measures to safeguard white rule.

The Government is expected to begin plans to create a tripartite parliamentary system, under white control, with separate parliaments for the country's 4.5 million whites, 2.7 million Coloureds and 270,000 Asians.

The 18 million blacks will continue to be expected to become citizens of homelands set aside for them constituting just 13 per cent of the country's total land area.

Urban terrorism emerged as a real threat to whites in 1977. Unrest is expected to continue in the black townships, especially the central trouble spot, Soweto.

Prime Minister Ian Smith appears hopeful of agreement with moderate black nationalist leaders on a new constitution giving all blacks the vote, but with firm safeguards for the white minority.

As black negotiators sought an internal settlement with Mr Smith, however, there was still

no indication that nationalist guerrilla leaders outside the country would halt their five-year war to end white rule and join the initiative.

Britain, the United States and the frontline states bordering Rhodesia have maintained in the past that a settlement excluding the guerrillas would be unacceptable.

And if a settlement is achieved, the prospect of a civil war loomed between the moderate black leaders likely to take over the reins of power and the radical black movements based in Mozambique and Zambia.

The future of South-West Africa the disputed, mineral-rich territory ruled by South Africa, remains in doubt.

Under pressure from the West, South Africa has agreed to elections there with some form of UN supervision leading to independence by the end of 1978.

But the South West Africa Organisation, fighting a hit-and-run war of liberation from bases in southern Angola, has insisted on a full withdrawal of South African troops before the election.

South African authorities have made it

clear that if SWAPO refuses to take part in the elections an internal settlement will be made without the militant black movement's participation.

In East Africa, the long term military situation appears to favour Ethiopia in its conflict with Somali-backed insurgents. The insurgents have swept through most of Ethiopia's eastern Ogaden region which Somalia wants as part of a "greater Somalia."

Ethiopia, however, is receiving arms from the Soviet Union while Somalia, a former Soviet ally, has been refused Western military aid.

The Somalis say they need the weapons to beat off what they view as a Soviet design to dominate the Horn of Africa by working through Ethiopia's Marxist Government.

The Ogaden is only one of Ethiopia's problems. The entire nation is in chaos as its military government tries to impose a Soviet-style revolution.

The northernmost province of Eritrea is almost completely in the hands of Eritrean secessionists. Elsewhere in Ethiopia other dissident movements are in open and armed rebellion against the government in a conflict in which thousands have been killed. —SAPA-AP

Larry Heinzerling

continent prominent

Africa's Napoleon in Wonderland

①

BANGUI. — The Central African Empire comes close to being an Alice in Wonderland world, sinister, cruel, perplexing, sometimes outrageous, sometimes charming.

It is a country of tropical forest, desert scrubland and grinding poverty presided over by the 56-year-old Emperor Jean Bedal Bokassa, a latter-day Napoleon, described as mercurial, unpredictable, or simply as a "nut-case."

The Empire is among the world's 25 poorest nations, often ignored except for Bokassa and his activities.

In 1972, in an attempt to curtail crime in the capital, Bokassa ordered that thieves have an ear cut off for the first two offences and a hand for the third. Later, he withdrew this "lesson."

In spite of the occasional violence the Empire cannot be compared with the whole-sale murders in nations such as Uganda and Equatorial Guinea.

There are only about 400 prisoners in the country's single jail and only about 40 of those are "political" prisoners.

Typical of Bokassa's treatment of opponents is that meted out to the man he toppled as president in 1966, his cousin David Dacko. He is now a key adviser.

Since assuming power in 1966, Bokassa had led the Empire on an unpredictable, sometimes disastrous course.

Per capita income among the country's three



Self-crowned Emperor Jean Bedal Bokassa

million people has slumped, infant mortality is among the highest in the world and the rest of the population is swept by disease.

Production in the country's main industries — diamond mining, timber, cotton and coffee — has slumped.

The Empire, locked in the middle of Africa, boasts only 402 km of surfaced roads, no railway and is dependent for its trade on the 1600 km Oubangui River link with the sea.

But there has been modest success. The country is still only 20% literate but it now has a university and school attendance has risen. The economy, too, shows signs of picking up.

France, the former colonial master, perennially covers shortfalls in the country's budget.

While most African nations are committed to a total economic boycott of South Africa, Bokassa accepted a R200-million aid package from South Africa.

But it is Bokassa the man who draws the world spotlight. Short and stocky, with a smart goatee and looking much younger than his years, he is personally charming.

In his 11 years of rule he became immensely wealthy, but a large chunk of this wealth went on his coronation, the extravagance of which could be measured by the fact that total revenue of the Empire in 1976 totalled R27-million compared with the coronation price tag of R22-million.

Bokassa was born poor and insecure near Bangui in 1921, receiving minimal education in French mission schools where he became a great admirer of Napoleon — an attachment which was to dominate his later actions.

Bokassa's mother died when he was six and his father was executed by the French for German loyalties. Nevertheless, the young Bokassa enlisted in the French army in 1939 and rose to the rank of captain.

During military service in Vietnam, he fathered a daughter, Martine, and several years ago the French Government helped to trace her.

Flown to Bangui amid great fanfare, the first Martine turned out to be a phoney. Eventually a second Martine, the real one, was discovered. Unperturbed, Bokassa took both of them as his "daughters" and they still live with him.

Bokassa rarely travels around his empire and to the bulk of the population he remains a remote figure — neither loved nor hated by a generally apathetic people. — UPI.

Somalia accuses Russians of bloodbath plan ^{RDM} 14/12/77 ^①

NAIROBI. — The Somali Government has accused the Soviet Union of preparing a bloodbath on the Horn of Africa and trying to establish a powerful military presence in the Red Sea.

On Monday the official Somali radio unleashed its most savage attack on the Soviet Union since Somalia last month expelled about 6,000 Russian advisers, closed down all Soviet military facilities and cancelled a treaty of friendship.

The Russian objectives behind a facade of lies is to create a bloodbath on the Horn of Africa and to bring down the states which do not kowtow to the Russian line," the radio said.

It accused Moscow of preparing, with Ethiopia, an invasion of Somalia and of trying to establish a powerful military presence on the shores of the Red Sea to dictate the movements of ships in the sea lanes.

Relations between the two former close allies have been frigid since the start of the Ogaden war and since Russia began arming neighbouring Ethiopia.

The Somali insurgents, who have been fighting Ethiopian troops in the Ogaden since June, claim to have killed more than 1,000 government soldiers and wounded nearly 500 in weekend fighting.

They also said they had

downed an Ethiopian F5 American-built warplane in the clashes which took place in Sidamo Province on the western fringe of the battlefield.

The main forces of the two sides remained locked in fighting in the north around the strategic government outposts of Harar and Dire Dawa.

They were also locked in street battles for control of the Red Sea port of Massawa yesterday, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) announced.

There was also fighting in Adi Kaieh, 115 km south of Asmara. This is the only major town still under Ethiopian control in the Akele Guzai Province. — UPI and Sapa-Reuter.

In the Central African Empire, preparations are nearing completion for the coronation on December 4 of Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa.

The 130 horses ordered in May from France are now in the Empire (the recently known as the Central African Republic) getting acclimated to the tropics. The throne commissioned from a Normandy craftsman has been built and is expected soon to be flown to Bangui. The 15-member Imperial Guard is training in horsemanship in France.

The world-wide amusement engendered by these preparations, however, is gradually giving way to anxiety, particularly among African diplomats over what the future holds for the 1.6 million inhabitants of the Empire and what Bokassa's policy will be to the outside world after his coronation. It would appear that in

Dictator who will become an emperor

DD 24/10/77

The country there is an atmosphere of enthusiasm over the coronation. Coffee producers are the latest to join the growing list of donors to the coronation fund with the presentation of a cheque for R30,000 to the Emperor early in September. Large sums have also been given by the Franco-Central African Tobacco Company and the three diamond mining firms in the Empire.

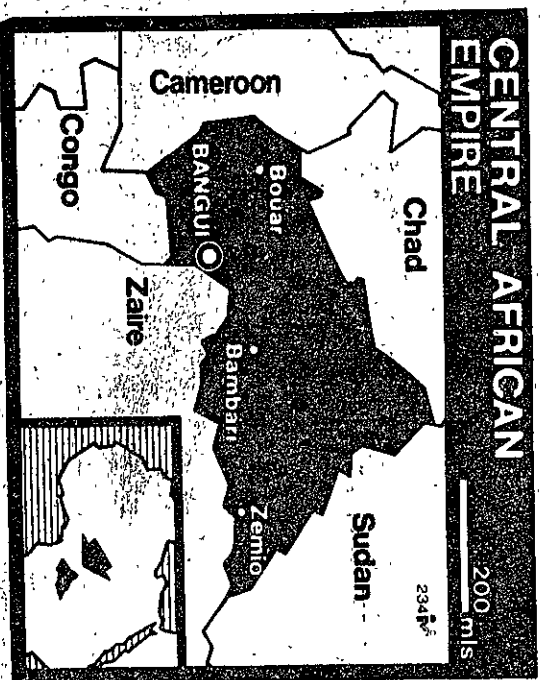
The donations are coming chiefly from business circles who have their own interests to look after. It is unlikely that the enthusiasm is genuine.

In religious circles things are entirely different. There is a naked discord between the Emperor and the churches. The Catholic Church, of which Bokassa is a member, has refused

to perform the coronation ceremony, though it has promised to celebrate a "special Mass" for the occasion. In June the Interior Minister dissolved the Central African Evangelist Baptist Church, which has a large following, because it constituted a danger to public order. Dispute within its ranks followed and it is unlikely to take part in the celebrations.

What the broad masses in the Empire think about the way their country is being run is conjectural but independent sources confirm that there is widespread resentment of the Bokassa regime.

The story of Bokassa's 13 years' dictatorship is not news to many Africans or to the outside world. Before declaring himself Emperor, Bokassa systematically eliminated



those he considered potentially dangerous opponents. Several opponents of the regime are living in exile.

What advantage can the coronation be to the country's economy and the wellbeing of its subjects? In the past

Bokassa's regime has attracted foreign investment, particularly in the manufacturing and mining sectors of the economy, though not on a large scale. There is no reason to believe that this interest is waning, but the country's mineral reserves could severely limit full exploitation of this advantage.

Gold, diamond and iron are among the largest foreign exchange earners. In recent years production has been steadily declining and reserves dwindling. But in April it was announced that the Bakouma uranium deposit which was discovered in 1972 and for some reason not touched, was to be mined after all. Alphonse Koyamba, Vice-Premier for Finance, said this would mean a 50 per cent increase in the GNP.

While this holds out some hopes for the economy, Bokassa seems to have a different view of what the deposit means. He was reported as saying that he intends to make atomic bombs with the uranium because that will give his empire security.

One guarantee however, is agriculture. The Central African Empire has always been self-sufficient in basic food produce. Agriculture is traditional and accounted for 80 per cent of the GNP even before the decision was taken in April to exploit the Bakouma uranium deposit.

In the view of many African observers the country will continue to rely heavily on foreign help and this leaves one wondering what will be Bokassa's policy to the

outside world.

The Empire's ties with the France and the European Economic Community are expected to be reinforced, especially on the economic level, but relations with the US will deteriorate on human rights grounds. There are a large number of political prisoners in the Empire and the Emperor is not one whose rule can be condoned by outside pressure. This could mean severance of US financial help and less investment. The US is chiefly engaged in mining in the country. Not much change is expected in Bokassa's relations with the rest of Africa — except perhaps that, as a result of his announced intention to withdraw to the inner chambers of his palace in semi-retirement, he might not come into much contact with African leaders.

A cause for serious African concern, though, is the Emperor's growing links with South Africa. — GNS
Augustine Oyowe

Sunday Express 20/11/77

The contagion of war

SUDDENLY this last week North Africa faced the prospect of having two major wars in its area — the one already in progress in the northeast and the other about to explode in the northwest.

As the Somalis and the Ethiopians, restocked with provisions from interested friends, began to step up attacks on one another in the Ogaden, there seemed to be a grave danger that the Moroccans and Algerians would lose patience with one another in the Western Sahara.

The Moroccan monarch, Hassan the Second, declared angrily that he would pursue the Polisario guerrillas into their bases in Algeria itself if need be. If Algeria objected to his refusal to observe its boundaries, Hassan said, the Algerians should remember it was their tanks and transport that the Polisario guerrillas were using to invade their old homeland, now shared out between Morocco and Mauritania.

Even if Algeria refused to recognise this territory now as Moroccan and Mauritanian, Morocco certainly did — and took a very serious view of people driving Algerian tanks and other vehicles across it.

At the same time there remains a distinct possibility

By ANTHONY DELIUS

that the French might also breach Algerian territory.

The French are incensed that several of their citizens have been captured and held to ransom by the Saharan guerrillas of the Polisario group.

The main accusation against the French by Polisario is that they are blatantly backing Morocco and Mauritania in what the West Saharans regard as the rape of their country, formerly Spanish Sahara.

The Algerians back the Polisario claim and the French say the captives are being held on Algerian soil. Their threats to carry out an Entebbe- or Mogadishu-type rescue by parachute drop is increasing tensions in an area in which tension is well-nigh unbearable already. And the Algerians are doing little to encourage the Polisario Front to give back the captives.

What angers the Polisario guerrillas most is that France is training the forces of Mauritania, which has been rattled almost to a state of panic by Polisario attacks.

The prospect of having his

friend France half involved in an embarrassing war between two Arab states on the west side of Africa, as Arab states become increasingly embroiled in the Somali-Ethiopian war on the eastern side, has alarmed President Sadat of Egypt. He has problems enough trying to organise Arab-Israeli peace talks.

He sent one of his highest and most trusted Ministers to beg Morocco and Algeria to cool it. How successful this mediator was is not clear.

Algeria announced an intention to raise the whole matter of the West Saharan grab at the United Nations and at the Organisation of African Unity — which doesn't sound very friendly — but it doesn't sound very war-like either.

In an attempt to get everybody in north-east Africa thinking of co-operation rather than conflict, the Saudi Arabians have weighed in with their millions of oil-money and offered to back a revived regional association in the area known as the Maghreb.

This would include Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the territory under dispute in the Western Sahara in a scheme for joint development of the entire region.

Africa: a future for solar power

Star 31/10/77 (1)

In a world increasingly energy hungry as well as energy conscious the untapped resources of Africa seem more than ever inviting.

The continent has hydro-electric potential, enough to supply all its needs into the foreseeable future. In due course it will produce a large share of the world's solar energy. Also much of it is unknown geologically, so that the possibilities of new oil or coal finds are very substantial.

Apart from South Africa the continent may be described as developing and, ironically, this means a predominant dependence on oil for quick development. The result of this dependence was a particularly harsh impact on African economies after the October 1973 war and fourfold rise in oil prices and in turn this means that Africa, like the rest of the world, urgently seeks its own oil resources.

Africa has vast hydro-electric potential, enough to supply all its needs into the foreseeable future. In due course it will produce a large share of the world's solar energy. GUY ARNOLD reports from London.

ing sixth in the world in 1975 with an average production of 1 900 000 bpd, though it has produced as much as 2 300 000 bpd.

Egyptian oil production now runs at more than 12-million tons a year, of which a third is exported and there now exist 34 agreements with foreign companies to search for oil.

Total African crude oil reserves are fairly small in world terms: Libya, 26 100-million barrels; Nigeria 20 200-million barrels; Algeria, 7 400-million

barrels; Egypt, 3 900-million barrels. On the other hand the likelihood of important new finds on the continent — for example, along the geological faults that run from Niger into northern Nigeria or Chad into northern Nigeria — could well add substantially to these resources in the future.

As the big industrialised powers face up to the coming energy crisis so they are turning more or less seriously to the question of nuclear power and in

this respect Africa's position as a supplier of uranium will be crucial. Four African countries, headed by South Africa, are capable between them of supplying 20 percent of demand by 1985.

Reserves

Their present output stands at 3 000 tons a year (South Africa); 1 500 and 5 000 tons (Namibia); 1 000 tons (Gabon); and 1 500 tons (Niger). In addition several other African states have con-

siderable reserves and are moving towards the point of production.

The important reserves, however, are in South Africa 200 000 tons; Namibia, 100 000 tons (though extensive new resources have recently been reckoned at 300 000 tons); Niger, 50 000 tons and Gabon 20 000 tons.

Southern Africa is especially well endowed with coal reserves. South Africa itself has vast supplies and since the Republic is entirely lacking in oil (and for years has at least thought of the possibility of world economic boycotts) it has gone farther than other nations in producing oil from coal. — London Times News Service.

Modest

Oil will dominate world energy for the next 20 years. In this respect Africa is only a modest producer of either oil or natural and associated gases. Four African countries — Algeria, Nigeria, Libya and Gabon — are members of Opec though they rank at the lower end of the Opec producing scale.

Algerian resources are not especially large — estimated reserves stand possibly as high as 10 000-million barrels or only two percent of the world total and will be exhausted by the year 2000. In the long run, Algeria's gas will be much more important: a great deal of investment and development has still to be done, but it is expected that gas will have passed oil in volume of sales by the early 1980s by which time Algeria will have become the world's largest exporter of natural gas.

Nigeria is an important oil exporter, rank-

A new giant state

**Africa
background**

in the making?

LONDON. — One of the more lasting results of the great boom in Arab oil wealth could be the creation of one of the biggest states in the world physically — an African state ranking in sheer size just behind such giants as China, Brazil, Russia, the United States and Argentina.

There is little doubt that Arab hopes of producing a six-billion-dollar agricultural revolution along the Nile valley and its vicinity have played some part in present unity moves between Egypt and the Sudan. Such a state, the Arabs believe, could become the bread-basket of the Middle East.

Cairo meeting

Much of this last week some 650 Egyptian and Sudanese parliamentarians have been meeting jointly in Cairo discussing a project which has been raised intermittently in the Nile valley for more than 3000 years. That is a union of Egypt proper with the territory farther to the south, known today as the Sudan. If such a union were achieved it would combine the biggest nation of the Arab world, Egypt, with an Arab-dominated state which occupies the biggest land surface of any country in Africa, the Sudan.

The inhabitants of such a state would number about 60m — a population second only to that of Nigeria. Most of them are spread out along the Nile and its tributaries for the 3000 km it runs from the delta on the Mediterranean to the Ugandan border, a few hundred kilometres short of Lake Victoria. They would

ANTHONY DELIUS on the plan to unite Egypt and the Sudan, creating an agricultural revolution along the Nile valley which could make the new state the bread-basket of the Middle East.



certainly be a dominant presence in the Arab world, and extend the Middle East down the heart of black Africa.

Actually this is a factor which would trouble the Sudan much more than it would Egypt. One of the reasons for the 17-year-old fight between the black African southerners of the Sudan and the Arab majority living in the north of the country was this fear of being "Arabized" and brought under the Moslem faith. For one thing numbers of the southerners were Christian. Secondly most of the southerners, if they felt any affinity to their neighbours at all, felt they were part of black Africa and not the Arab world.

In fact, when the president of the Sudan, Jaafar Numeiry, managed to end the civil war it was more or less on the understanding that the Sudan

was to be regarded as very much a part of Africa. Numeiry himself was in sympathy with this, and involved his country in African affairs much more than any previous Sudanese head of state. Egypt will almost certainly have to take a greater interest in the affairs of the Sudan's black African neighbours than she has done in the past if any closer relationship is to survive.

But, as somebody remarked, even between the Egyptians and the northern Sudanese there has been a sort of love-hate relationship going back over the centuries. The Sudanese experience of the Egyptian officials over the period of the condominium with the British has left rankling memories of people who tended to be even more loftily superior than the European bureaucrats and soldiers. So there will have to be a great deal of tact if the thing is to be made to work at all this time.

Both countries have gone through a great deal of disillusioning experience of proposed and attempted unions to arrive at their present position. Egypt had an attempted merger with Syria under Colonel Nasser but it didn't work out — and she had to fight off, in the end, an attempt at a shotgun marriage by Libya under President Gaddafi. Egypt and Libya attempted to draw the Sudan into an Arab federal state, but the Sudanese backed away at length from having any further relations with the eccentric Libyan leader — as the Egyptians did later.

Both Egypt and the Sudan have been drawn closer together by their nearly lethal experiences with both Russia and Libya. The Sudanese narrowly escaped coming under communist power in a Russian-backed coup against Numeiry, one of Africa's great survivors. Russian allies, Libya and the Mengistu government in Ethiopia, tried to subvert the Numeiry government and nearly succeeded. Egypt, unable to tolerate Russian meddling any longer, got rid of the Russian advisers.

With the backing of Saudi Arabia, the richest country in the Middle East (and also one of the most conservative), President Sadat of Egypt and President Numeiry have formed a solid anti-communist alliance.

The Egyptian leader has relaxed the Nasser dictatorship to a point where two opposition parties are allowed to compete with the

government's Arab socialists. Numeiry has taken the extraordinary step of seeking a reconciliation with some of his bitterest right-wing and left-wing enemies — even letting some out of jail to join in the new consolidation. Both leaders obviously hope for a new era of moderate and participatory politics, in spite of their many enemies.

In many ways the Sudanese and Egyptian economies seem to complement one another. Of course Egypt is the world's biggest supplier of long-fibre cotton and the Sudan has also until recently had a fair production of it. But both countries have begun to diversify their economies as much as possible.

Use of land

While the Egyptians produce about a quarter of their economic output from industry, the Sudanese figure is only three percent. Though both countries rely heavily upon agriculture still, the Sudanese only use quite a small percentage of their arable land, while the Egyptians are land-hungry. The Egyptians from their huge universities and training institutions in Cairo and Alexandria produce great numbers of skilled and trained people — and the Sudan needs their services. Libya, the arch-enemy of both countries, has also, by the way, need of Egyptian skills and employs nearly a million Egyptians to keep the country running.

There is growing assistance to both countries from many parts of the world, from the United States to China, but it is the aid of the oil-wealthy Arabs which has encouraged the Sudanese and Egyptians to strengthen the links between their economies. Of course the Sudanese and Egyptians have already engaged on joint schemes. They have a common interest in the huge Nasser dam on the Nile which lies across their common border. They are working together on a big canal inside the Sudan — though this has caused some trouble because certain Sudanese suspect an Egyptian labour invasion.

Cautious givers

However, the anticipated common revolution in their economies which draws the two countries together is that based on largely Saudi-Arabian money, Egyptian skill and manpower, and the opening up of great new wheatlands in the Sudan. And the first necessity is that the promises of huge Arab loans should be realized. The Arabs are cautious givers of aid, in spite of the estimated 11 percent of their new wealth they have devoted to this in the past year or so. On the other hand they like to see their aid go principally to other Arab or Moslem countries — and

u heart?
by the
where:
the farm
Now I

Arabs ban sub from Suez Canal

3110777
The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — The British nuclear-powered submarine Dreadnought may have to postpone an important visit to Iran because the Egyptians have refused to allow it through the Suez Canal.

Last night the 3,000-ton vessel, the Royal Navy's oldest nuclear-powered attack submarine, was languishing in the Mediterranean while diplomats both here and in Cairo tried to sort out its fate.

The problem is that no nuclear-powered vessel has been allowed through the canal since it was reopened two years ago and the Egyptians are not sure what their policy should be.

Meanwhile the British Government is trying to persuade the canal authorities there is no danger of radio-activity and that the navy's contingency plans are fool-proof.

Sources in London were trying to play down the matter last night, pointing

out that the Anglo-Egyptian discussions were very amicable and that there was no question of a diplomatic row.

The affair is particularly embarrassing for the Royal Navy since it will be asked how the vessel was allowed to sail so far before Egyptian permission to enter the canal had been guaranteed.

"You don't throw away your shoes until you have a new pair" is a Somali proverb which could well sum up President Siad Barre's strained relationship with Russia. ANGUS SHAW of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

Somalia, until recently one of Russia's staunchest allies in Africa, is ready for a head-on clash with Moscow.

As 35 000 Somali peasants and troops paraded at Mogadishu's tribunal ceremonial causeway today to mark eight years of socialism in Somalia, President Mohammed Siad Barre warned that continued all out support for neighbouring Ethiopia by Russia and Cuba had put Somalia's relations with the two countries "in great jeopardy."

In his revolution day speech President Siad denounced Russian and Cuban meddling in Africa and repeated charges that Cuban troops are fighting against Somali backed forces in Ethiopia's Ogaden desert region. Soviet "intrigues" in Ethiopia were leading to a "war conflagration" in the Horn of Africa, de-

A relationship at breaking point

Star 25/10/77

mics t

clared President Siad.

"Somalia calls the attention of the international community to the extreme gravity of the situation developing in the Horn of Africa and appeals to it to urge the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries to put an end to the dangerous supply of arms to Ethiopia and to stop their interference against the liberation struggles raging in the Ethiopian colonial empire," he said.

"We equally call upon the international community to urge Cuba to immediately pull out its troops and refrain from meddling in the Horn of Africa."

Somalia has repeatedly denied that its regular forces are engaged in the Ogaden and maintains the fighting is a war of liberation mounted in the Somali inhabited Ogaden region of Ethiopia by guerillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front. Ethiopia, however, says Somali forces using tanks and artillery launched a full-scale invasion in the Ogaden three months ago.

Western diplomats at last week's parades here said President Siad's speech was his toughest

attack yet on Soviet involvement in Ethiopia and the Kremlin's Africa policies. And there has been increased speculation that President Siad is finally planning a total break in relations with Moscow after an alliance of more than a decade.

President Siad said Somalia wholeheartedly supported the liberation struggle in southern Africa. "We will never relax our participation, both moral and material, in that struggle because, so long as a single inch of Africa is not free we believe our freedom is in danger. The liberation struggle against colonialists and apartheid has a natural ally in the socialist countries and revolutionary Somalia believes in the alliance of the socialist world and the liberation movements," President Siad said.

He went on: "Unfortunately a unique and stunning situation has developed in Ethiopia where some socialist countries are opposed to genuine liberation. We earnestly hope the Organisation of African Unity will not allow the situation in the Horn of Africa to go out of its hands through the uncalled for interference of foreign troops and armaments provided by foreign countries that want to impose their will on the situation."

"We believe that it is extremely dangerous for the international community to silently watch the development of such a state of affairs."

"The Addis Ababa regime has increased its violations of human rights beyond all pessimistic expectations. Such an unpopular regime can only survive as a result of incredible foreign support."

"The frantic one-sided support given to Ethiopia also indicates the sacrificing of general socialist principles for the sake of strategic interests," said the Somali president.

"It is now clear beyond

any doubt that the conflict between the forces of liberation and the colonising power is being transferred into an international crisis threatening not only Somalia but the whole region.

"A war conflagration situation in the region would have dire consequences for the peaceful traffic along the sea lanes in the area, the peace of the Middle East and Africa, and as a result the world at large."

Taking part in last week's parades were several thousand Soviet armed Somali soldiers in integrated units of men and women. The military procession was preceded by traditional dancers, squads of athletes and girls of the volunteer youth militia carrying wood replicas of Soviet rifles. Uniformed Somali workers carried wooden hammers, the symbol on the Soviet emblem.

The Soviet Union has accused Somalia of aggression in the Ogaden and claims to have stopped long-standing arms orders to President Siad.

Since Russians replaced US military advisors in Ethiopia in April Somalia has been looking to the West for arms, but Britain, France and the US have refused the Somali requests while the Ogaden fighting lasts.

Observers believe President Siad's speculated break with Moscow could only come after alternative arms and aid were guaranteed. As a Somali proverb has it, "You don't throw away your shoes until you have a new pair."

After President Siad's Revolution Day speech some observers believe Somalia may now be well on the way to getting the guarantees it sought from the West — particularly since it earned rich praise from the West for its help in freeing the German hijack hostages at Mogadishu airport.

owing
ogy,
iti-

fying

aths

n of

icu-

II,
tudies

s I.

tics Ia
ics

ent.†

- l. Geology III can only be taken after t
- m. Mathematics I can consist of either M
- n. Mathematical Statistics I can only be I, and Maths.Stats.II after completio
- o. Physics II can only be taken after th
- p. Physiology I can only be taken after
- q. Public International Law should not b
- r. Roman Law I can only be taken after t
- s. Roman Law II can only be taken after after the completion of, or at the sa
- t. Roman-Dutch Law I can only be taken a equivalent,+ and either after the completion of, or simultaneously with, Roman Law I.

+ An elementary Latin course is offered at the University for this purpose.

u&v. Law: If you are proceeding to the LL.B.degree you are strongly advised to take Latin I and II. A working knowledge of Afrikaans is desirable.

If you intend practising as an ADVOCATE, or, after having obtained the LL.B.degree, as an ATTORNEY, in the Republic or in South West Africa, you must include in your curriculum ENGLISH I AND AFRIKAANS or AFRIKAANS EN NEDERLANDS I.

w. Zoology II can only be taken after the completion of Chemistry I.

Russia swops friends in the Horn

NAIROBI. — The Soviet Union has openly switched its commitment from its old Indian Ocean ally Somalia to its new protege Ethiopia, rival neighbours locked in a war over disputed territory in the Horn of Africa.

The Soviet Ambassador, Mr Anatoly Ratanov, said in Addis Ababa that his government "will remain on the Ethiopian side in the defence of its revolu-

tion and unity," Addis Ababa radio reported this week.

Meanwhile in the Somali capital of Mogadishu, the Soviet Union and Cuba were conspicuous absentees in a list of greetings marking the eighth anniversary of the Soviet-backed Somali revolution, according to local reports.

Mr Ratanov said last week the Soviet Union had stopped supplying arms to

Somalia, despite military aid agreements.

The Soviet Union had delivered urgently needed tanks, planes and guns to the Ethiopians in the last few months, as the Somalis made sweeping gains in pursuit of territorial claims in eastern and southern Ethiopia.

In a speech on Revolution Day last Friday, the Somali President, Mr Mo-

hamed Siad Barre said: "We have been the victim of arrogance and unfulfilled promises, but I have confidence that we shall emerge victorious."

"The continuation of the present all-out armed support to the Ethiopian regime by the Soviet Union and the influx of Cuban troops puts the relations between these countries and Somalia in great jeopardy." — Sapa-Reuter.

is the concluding article in the series on the in Eritrea by HENRY REUTER of The Star's a News Service. The Eritreans claim their has been ignored by the UN, the OAU and ted Cross.

WHEN LACK IGHTS LACK...

was a case of fighting white ca for their in- dence there be an inter- il uproar and nds of help be flooding in . But because acks fighting nobody gives a

The speaker was a powerful member of the Political Bureau of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, which has now

wrested most of Eritrea from what it regards as its Ethiopian colonisers.

We sat on the mud floor of an underground hut on a hill overlooking Asmara. We had just joined half a dozen guerrillas in dipping with our right hands into a communal bowl of sour sorghum bread sprinkled with tomato paste, sardines, tinned egg plant and peppers which is the basic diet of the besiegers of Eritrea's capital city, and we were sipping from glasses of the sweet black tea which keeps the guerrilla army going.

The Political Bureau member continued, in excellent English. "We see our case for independence as almost identical to that of South West Africa. We were colonised by force by Ethiopia in 1962 regardless of a UN ruling.

"Nobody objected. The OAU was influenced from its inception by Emperor Haile Selassie, who persuaded it, falsely, that to recognise the Eritrean liberation struggle would be a breach of the OAU principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member countries, or their boundaries at independence.

"You don't have to wonder what a fuss there would have been if it had been a case of whites taking over a black territory. You're seeing it all happening in South West Africa.

"It is not only the UN which is ignoring us. We are also being ignored by its agencies which should not recognise political boundaries when serving international causes, and by the International Red Cross."

Despite a great need, the EPLF claims to have received no help of any kind from either the Red Cross or UN bodies such as

Unicef or the Save the Children Fund of the thousands of Eritreans who fled into the neighbouring Sudan when Ethiopian troops destroyed homes all over the country, some 1,300 recrossed the border two years ago and have since been cared for by the EPLF.

While in the Sudan they were being fed by the Red Cross. When they recrossed the border all aid stopped. They are now housed in four camps spread along the sides of the EPLF's 1,500 km Liberation Road through the mountains and rely for food on supplies captured from the Ethiopians.

In addition to running and supplying the refugee camps the EPLF runs without UN or Red Cross aid a chain of bush hospitals and clinics for civilians as well as guerrillas, and supplies them also with captured food, drugs, surgical instruments and other medical supplies.

There are five major hospitals, 30 clinics and 15 mobile teams which tour the country treating prevalent Malaria is endemic, TB and anaemia are widespread.

In guerrilla war terms the EPLF is well blessed with qualified medical staff. It has 18 surgeons and physicians who have left private practices to help the independence struggle. 65 fully trained nurses and 500 "squad doctors" or partially trained medical assistants. There are also 30 medical students in training to run clinics, with the aid of a library of medical textbooks captured in Keren.

Surgeons claim a 90 per cent success rate in major operations of all kinds, ranging from the patching up of war-maimed bodies to removing appendixes and difficult childbirths. They are desperately short of drugs and surgical instruments of all kinds and operate under appalling hygienic conditions in surgeries set up in tents, camouflaged against air attacks and without proper water supplies.

Most patients are housed in tent or semi-underground "wards." The movement's Central Hospital has 200 beds, performs 500 operations a month and is equipped for medical, surgical, radiology and eye surgery work in all its aspects.

Hundreds of civilians are treated in the clinics and out-patient departments daily. All treatment, drugs, food and hospital accommodation are provided free.

Another humanitarian operation of the EPLF is the running of a "Revolution School" for 800 children aged two to 14. Like all the other establishments this is also well hidden in the bush and camouflaged against air attack, with most of the classrooms built underground.

Many of the pupils are orphans of civilian and guerrilla war dead. More than 100 guerrilla men and women run the school, teaching, cooking for the children and washing and caring for the infants.

Youngest children are taught in two languages, Tigrean and Tigre. Older students are also taught English and Arabic, their curriculum including, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, general science, geography, history and politics. For sport they play soccer, basketball and volleyball, and all students do one hour of physical training daily.

It is the ambition of all the students to join the EPLF Vanguard Youth Movement, which they are allowed to do at 14. This runs a large training camp elsewhere along the Liberation Road from which 1,000 have just "graduated" after an eight months' training course which included further academic, physical, political and military education.

Vanguards perform a wide range of military and civilian jobs and in their spare time help keep the Liberation Road passable for the supply trucks. Another 500 are now being trained. They become regular fighters at the age of 15.

With all this back-up, safely encased in its impregnable mountain fortress the EPLF is confident that it cannot lose militarily its war for independence. Outside observers who have studied the situation believe this phase may not take long to complete.

The movement's obvious next move is to sever the Ethiopians' 120 km road link from Asmara to Massawa and capture these two key cities, after which there will be little Ethiopian presence left in Eritrea outside the southern port of Assab, which would then be



A bush bath for baby in Eritrea.

Ethiopia's sole remaining sea outlet — one easy to defend from guerrilla attack because of the desert approaches to it.

The political battle for recognition of Eritrea as an independent state will be more difficult.

In the OAU, Eritrea may be counting for support on its two main allies, Somalia, which has said it will do all it can to assist, and Sudan, whose President Nimeiry will be next year's OAU chairman. At least half the OAU countries will be fearful of recognising Eritrea for fear of setting off secessionist demands in their own countries.

As for the United Nations, the Eritreans are quite prepared to declare and consolidate their independence regardless of the world body's attitudes or, for that matter, the OAU's. But it is clear that attitudes to the Eritrean state will have a strong bearing on the future political alliance of this aggressively independent corner of the troubled Horn of Africa.

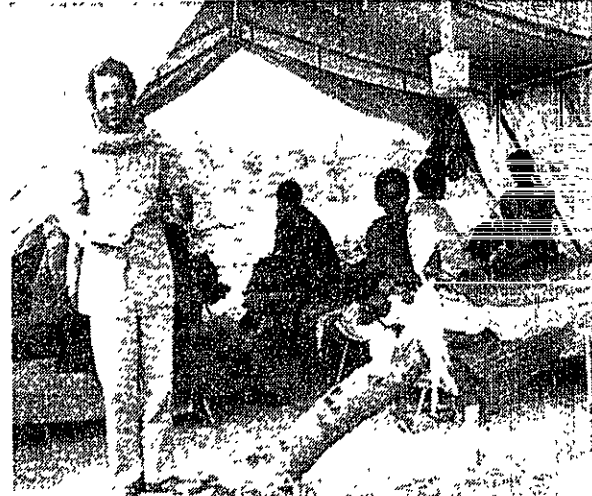
© Argus Co, 1977.



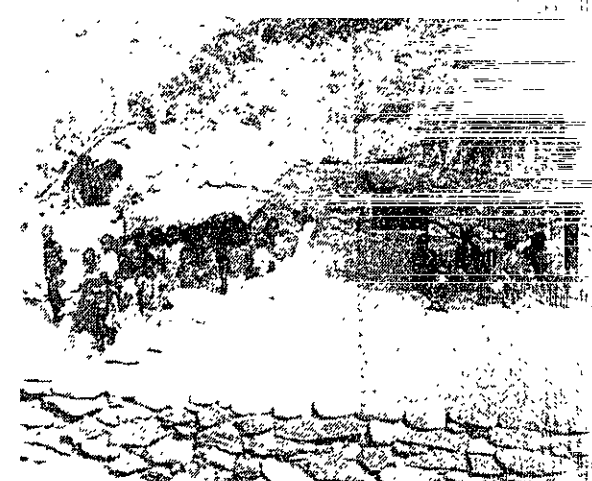
One of the EPLF's tough, fully trained nurses who can use firearms, change sheets, dress wounds and run hospital wards with equal facility.



Young children playing soldiers in Keren. The home-made wooden automatic rifles are mostly copies of the Russian AK47s.



A tented ward at a bush hospital.



Lessons are given in semi-underground bush classrooms at the EPLF Revolution School.

AFRICA VISIT A FIRST FOR CARTER

N. Mercury 29/9/77

GUY BERNARD

WASHINGTON — President Jimmy Carter is to make the first American presidential trip to sub-Saharan Africa with a visit to Nigeria in November, it was announced at the White House yesterday.

Mr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, his national security affairs aide, said the object of the 11-day, four-continent trip will be to "demonstrate our commitment to constructive change" in the world.

President Carter is to leave for Caracas, Venezuela, on November 22 and go from there to Brasilia, the Brazilian capital, from where he will fly to Lagos.

It will be Thanksgiving Day, the traditional American holiday, when he is conferring with Nigerian leaders. There is supposed to be significance in this.

From Lagos he will travel to New Delhi and double back to Teheran for a breakfast conference with the Shah of Iran before leaving for Paris. He will then go to Warsaw.

After visiting the Polish capital President Carter will go to Brussels for talks with Nato and European Community leaders on December 2, before returning to Washington.

Mrs. Carter will, as is traditional, be accompanying her husband. She has already been to the two

South American countries this year.

Asked why President Carter seemed to be leaving out the Middle East Mr. Brzezinski said: "There is just so much that can be done on one trip."

There is speculation, however, that additional stops may be inserted into the itinerary because the Brussels meeting of Nato foreign and defence ministers is not until December 4 and Presidents Nixon and Ford set a precedent by attending the spring meetings of the Alliance ministers.

It would be odd for President Carter to fail to make use of an opportunity to address the Nato Council.

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

Se
in
4. RE
Th
bu
ha
wi
5. REP
Th
co
6. BUDGET FOR 1978 SEASON

A draft budget for the 1978-79 season is attached (Annexure E) for consideration and acceptance by the Sub-Committee on the Council meetings.

philosophy concerning passive resistance and methods. Moreover, many of the concepts of passive resistance found

7. PROPOSAL separately in terms of the three concepts of passive resistance, commission and percentage omission. John Dickson to present proposals verbally or table a written report.

(21) Paper, p. 43: WESTERN PROVINCE HOCKEY ASSOCIATION

(22) Ibid, pages 73 - 78.

WS:
racial
to make mistake
government of
We
of our own choice
representatives
knowledge
to make, interpret
policies and
British colonial
Congress
on 1951
as en
admits as
rdinating

r instances, the Africans would
of colour was to be a common
the Group
of colour was to be a common
the Group
stock limitation, the Group

Not, the Bantu Authorities
s Act. as the first step in the
dominations (21) Mesic
1. of the report is

maps are the simplest and quickest
Indians and perfected by Gandhi,
16-18TH SEPTEMBER, 1977.
It was a method of non-

compel the dominant group to
lying such a technique was that the dignified acceptance
comparison with the annals of the colour prints. The four
spirit of self-sacrifice would still be the moral conscience

of the rulers. The government would
of such a nature as to be
is attached (Annexure E) for consideration
impression through the Sub-Committee
of the Council meetings.

racial group. Although Africans
Within the boundaries which
philosophy concerning passive resistance and
Sub-Committee, the physiological and cover were evaluated, each
methods. Moreover, many of the concepts of passive resistance found

7. PROPOSAL separately in terms of the three concepts of passive resistance, commission and percentage omission. John Dickson to present proposals verbally or table a written report.

2573

Arabs refuse to support Somalia

CAIRO — Arab League foreign ministers yesterday refused to support Somalia against Ethiopia and called on both countries to settle their dispute peacefully.

The Arab League Secretary-General, Mr Mahmoud Riad, said the ministers, meeting here, adopted a resolution expressing "deep concern over the continuing conflict on the Horn of Africa."

They also urged all foreign countries "to stay out of the conflict so that the people of the region may solve their own problems."

This was taken as a clear reference to the Soviet Union, which supports Ethiopia militarily and politically against Somalia.

Arab League officials said Somalia had not formally requested the league to recognise the Western Somalia Liberation Front — The Somali-backed guerilla movement fighting in South Eastern Ethiopia.

Somalia presented only one note explaining its position and requesting Arab support, they said.

Mr Riad said the ministers instructed him to contact the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity to try to find a joint solution to the conflict "within the context of Arab-African co-operation."

The Arab ministers' mild resolution appeared to be an attempt to avoid taking sides in the conflict. — SAPA-RNS.

①

- Eragrostis gummiflua co-dominant plots 119, 64 and 124

s chloromelas dominant community in ragrostis gummiflua as a dominant. disturbance factor, usually past

sandy form, provides a situation come established. Plots 124 and 64 y not ideal for Eragrostis gummiflua liken close to a boundary between is possibly some sandy influence on

Accompanying species include Eragrostis plana, Trichoneura grandiglumis, Eragrostis lehmanniana, Aristida congesta, Elionurus argenteus and Heteropogon contortus.

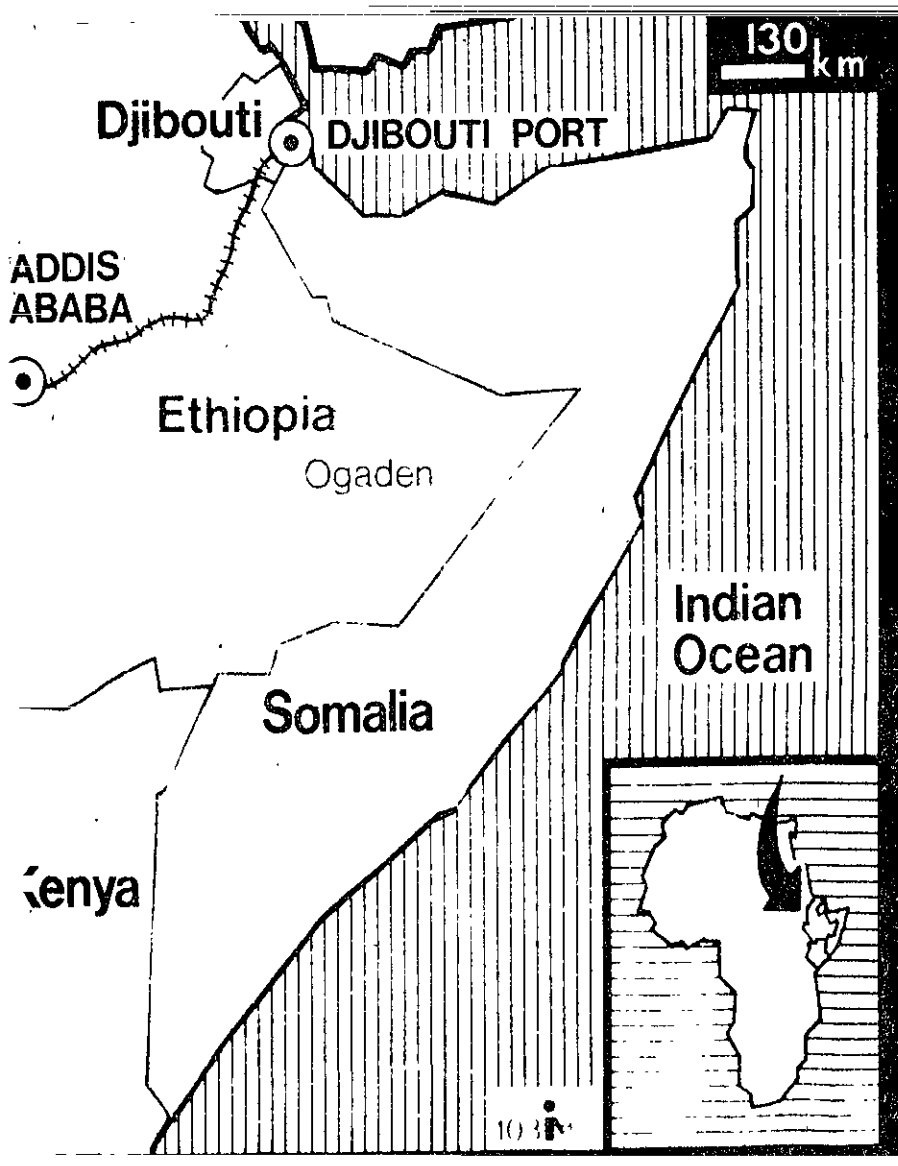
The photo image pattern for this type is stippled, similar to the Elionurus argenteus pattern, but in a purple-grey (Pgy) hue. If interpretation were on hue alone it would be possible to confuse Eragrostis gummiflua with Elionurus argenteus on some of the darker prints but experience, coupled with site and soil relationships, prevents this.

5.3.3 (x) Eragrostis plana - Eragrostis chloromelas - Eragrostis lehmanniana co-dominant grassland community as represented by plots 44, 76, 42, 39, 26, 14, 15 and 16

Eragrostis plana is an indicator of high clay fractions and of disturbance in the form of heavy selective grazing and trampling. Dependent on the site and history of landuse of the particular area, a number of different Eragrostis plana communities may be recognised.

The unifying feature in the above-mentioned plots is the high basal cover value of Eragrostis plana. This vegetation community is predominantly associated with Estcourt form soils, the exception being in plot 44 where an Avalon soil form is mapped. Estcourt form soils are associated with waterways and Eragrostis plana in turn is associated with this soil form.

THE HORN OF AFRICA



COLIN LEGUM

IN their humming exile headquarters in Mogadishu, capital of Somalia, eager fingers roll out the map and trace the "historic borders of Greater Somalia."

"All the land to east of Awash River is Somaliland," says Sheriff Hussein Mohammed, the deputy secretary general of the Front, a former teacher, who has been a military leader since 1963.

"Our territory goes right up to what the Ethiopians call Nazareth, but whose Somali name is Hadamo. It includes Harar, Diredawa and Jijiga, and extends down to the old Ethiopian provinces of Bale, Sidamo and Arussi."

"Nazareth is about 112 km from Addis Ababa, and Arussi is adjacent to the Shoaan province in the Highlands.

This ambitious claim opens up an entirely new dimension to the Somali nationalist struggle. Hitherto unnoticed in the outside world, the borders of the Somali nation were, it appears, proclaimed at a conference near Harar on January 15, 1976.

At this conference, the Front established two branches of the struggle — Waraya and Abbo. These are two dialects of Somali. The leader of the Waraya branch is Abdulahi Hassan Mohammed, a former lecturer in Arabic at Cairo University, a 35-year-old native of Jijiga.

Charismatic

The secretary-general of the Abbo branch is Mohammed Ali Rubey, but its charismatic leader is the legendary Waago Gutsu Usu, the chairman of the Front's politbureau.

This 53-year-old warrior from a well-off Bale nomadic family first raised the banner of revolt against the late Emperor Haile Selassie in 1963. He held out until 1970 when he was taken prisoner and held under house arrest in Addis Ababa until his escape in 1972.

He is a tall, handsome figure who is looked on with some doubts by some of the Front's younger, modern leaders.

"The Abbo people," he told me, "are Somalis and not Oromos. We are fighting a single struggle in the West Somali Liberation Front. We already control 85 percent of Bale province. Within two months we will have control over the whole area."

The ideal

The goal, he says, is to establish a free state. It will be up to the people to decide their future after liberation. "The ideal of a Greater Somalia is before us. But we don't know what we will choose."

In adopting this attitude he seems to differ from the Waraya branch leaders who are more explicit about their immediate goals.

"We are the elected leaders and when we have taken Jijiga, Diredawa and Harar, we will join the Greater Somalia and work to complete the unification of all the Somali peoples," insists Sheriff Hussein Mohammed.

Another national liberation front which has its exile headquarters in Mogadishu as well as in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) is that of the Afars. They — who control the vital corridor from Eritrea to the port of Assab on the Red Sea, and who extend into the rich Awash valley — comprise a major element in the new Djibouti State.

The Afars' traditional leader is the Sultan Ali Mirreh, now a very old man. His son, Hanafe Ali Mirreh,

DATELINE Khartoum

who was educated in the United States, told me: "We have been on the defensive for two years, but our front has now again become very active."

He admits that there are differences in the liberation struggle between the Afars and the Eritreans. "But we don't want to make too much of these difficulties while we are still engaged in the struggle for liberation."

The fighting in Eritrea has been held up on the outskirts of Asmara, the capital, and Massawa, the main port on the Red Sea. The main obstacle to victory no longer appears to be the military strength of the Ethiopian Army but the divisions among the three rival movements which make up the Eritrean Liberation Front. Now a new division has replaced the oldest of the movements, the ELF.

The Eritrean fear is that if they took Asmara before reconciling their differences, civil war will break out on the morrow of independence.

Battlefronts of Africa's horn

No such fears stand in the way of the West Somali Liberation Front. They are determined within a matter of weeks to declare the independence of their liberated territory after the anticipated fall of Diredawa and Jijiga. The capture of these towns will rob the Ethiopian Air Force of its major air base at Diredawa from which they could threaten Somalia. It would also isolate the important military base at Harar.

The front proposes to consolidate their victory before advancing their liberation throughout the Awash valley up to Nazareth.

Meanwhile, the real test is likely to come in about October. By then the Ethiopian Army — now being heavily rearmed by the Russians and retrained by the Cubans — is expected to be ready to open a counter-offensive against the Somalis which, they claim, will carry them right into the territory of the Somali Republic itself.

The brunt of the fighting in West Somalia has been borne so far by the liberation forces themselves, but they obviously count heavily on arms supplies and logistics

"The next three to six months will in all probably be crucial ..."

support from their brothers in the Somalia Republic.

The critical question is what will happen when the West Somali Liberation Front either declares its liberated territory independent (on the model of Djibouti), or asks for it to be incorporated into a Greater Somali State.

Will the Somali Republic's Army then stand openly in support of the liberation forces to face the new challenge from the strengthened Ethiopian Army?

This could well prove to be the moment of greatest danger in determining the extent to which the war will be enlarged in the Horn of Africa, as well as deciding the likely future frontiers of the heavily embattled Ethiopia.

The next three to six months will in all probability prove to be crucial to the whole future of the region.

... e reserves, although these children will not qualify ... idence in the urban area in terms of Section 10(1) a) or ... are actually born in the urban area.

EXCLUSIVE: The first English-language newspaperman to interview the tyrannical Jean-Bedel Bokassa, self-proclaimed Emperor of his country and dubbed by some another Amin

Sun. Feb. 14/77 (1)

THE BLACK NAPOLEON

THE CRAZIEST event planned in Africa was starting to worry Jean-Bedel Bokassa. He could not control the country on modest threats. Arranging his own coronation as Emperor, the first black Napoleon on the Continent as ever known, was going to be more than a problem.

There were golden thrones to be built and diamond crowns to be made, white horses to be tamed and soldiers to be uniformed. A whole city had to be decorated and a gold coach brought from Paris. Two thousand metres of scarlet tapestry had to be woven in Normandy and robes and shoes were to come from Pierre Cardin.

Where would he put 55 statues of himself which were being carved and where would he find the billions of rands the whole thing would cost? Would anyone want to come to see it anyway?

Bokassa needed a Duke of Norfolk. All he had was people around him whose mouths dropped when he talked for more diamonds. Nobody had the guts to shout "Stop."

Bokassa lived isolated in his palace in the jungle beyond Bangui, the capital, and studied the jewellery catalogues which were sent to him from New York, Paris and Tel Aviv.

He ordered everything that sparkled, and African leaders heard the stories and shook their heads. They said he was setting the image of Africa back by nearly a century.

Rainstorms had stilled most of the noises in the forest and now the drums sounded nearer than ever. There were short bursts from one side of the great Ubangi river then answers far away across the rapids.

The moonless African night made the whole country vanish and it was just eerie black out there with nothing to see but the bats diving at a few low-power bulbs looped between trees on the river bank outside the hotel in Bangui.

Beyond the lights the swirl of the current shifted the old dug-out canoes on their moorings and they braced their own heat against each other between messages from the drums.

Bokassa used a phone to call the two of us to the palace. "His Majesty wants you now," one of his Ministers said. "Now, immediately." But it's after dark? "Now!"

The road to the palace was swallowed by jungle a few kilometres out of town. Huge trees bent their branches down to form a tunnel. Now and then wild animals on the road turned their heads towards the car.

Their eyes glinted in the headlights and then the dark shapes rushed back into the cover of the undergrowth.

There was no deeper country in Africa, surrounded by the great basin of the Congo and the wilderness of Chad. The brutal middle of Africa was everywhere around you and Bokassa's reputation had swept him into the lists of tyrants.

He had gone down the same road as Amin once, ordering mass butchery and torture. He had his men cut off the ears of thieves in public with scissors and then their hands, and once he supervised beating-to-death of prisoners jailed without charges.

"That's life," he said to a Frenchman who was standing next to him watching people being clubbed lifeless in the dust of a yard between the cells.

Now the man waited for you 70 kilometres more down the road beyond the road blocks and the machine-guns and



The smile on the face of a tiger: Bokassa and silver and gold duck ornaments

Africans huddled in their huts and their poverty with little wooden fires like cats' eyes in lines among the trees.

Bokassa had made himself God. He ruled oppressively but not cruelly any more. He was always in his people's lives, in pictures hung somewhere on every wall, fatherly in some, stern in others.

The biggest pictures showed him in uniform with a specially long jacket weighted down to his knees with decorations he had awarded himself.

He was Napoleon in others in a bradied tricorne with gold and silver epaulettes pouched upon his shoulders.

The former French army private had seized every chance in life. First colonel in his own army then President after he took power 12 years ago.

There were palaces all over his own country, a 50-room home in Paris, a castle in the Loire and a mansion on the Riviera. A villa in Switzerland, and a local bank account there which he opened a few years back with a couple of million rands.

coming like moonglow on the horizon.

The first wall around the palace was five metres high with a steel wire gate leading to a courtyard. Then there was another wall with a solid steel gate covered by guards on the ground and in towers.

The inner quadrangle was lit by fancy globe lights shining on the roofs of Bokassa's fleet of Cadillacs and Mercedes. Servants in blue uniforms scuttled about with trays covered with white cloths.

The man who came forward introduced himself as Chief Minister of Protocol. "There are strict rules in force in the court," he said. "When you approach His Majesty stop when you are six feet away from him. Then bow as deeply as you can towards him. Do not approach any further until he beckons you."

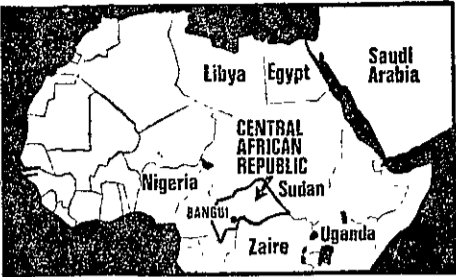
Bokassa was in a room with pillars of plate mirrors. He sat alone on a period French sofa, leaning on an ebony stick with a carved ivory handle, bands of gold down the shaft.

He was an aggressive looking man with a stubby grey beard cut short right under his chin. He wore a tailored white safari suit with short sleeves. We bowed respectfully and he

INSIGHT SPECIAL



Now the beast of Africa is out to get the A-bomb to solve his security problems



IN THE land of the Central African Republic (above), the word of President Jean-Bedel Bokassa is absolute law. His word is everyone's command. And he has commanded that he be crowned Emperor. John Edwards (left), with photographer Monty Fresco, were the first English journalists allowed into his well-guarded palace. This is what they found:



Shopping in Paris: Empress Katherine choosing clothes from a fashion collection at the House of Lanvin

To Page Two

it across another table at his elbow which had on it two life-sized ornaments of a pair of ducks in silver and gold.

As he did the light caught the solid gold Rolex watch which was clamped on his wrist and had tiny diamonds embedded on the edge of the dial marking off the minutes.

"The people wanted it," he said about the Coronation, planned for December 4. "It's for the people."

These people were obviously not the same people as were spoken to in Bangui over a couple of days, none of whom wanted it.

Do you think it is necessary?

"Affirmative," Bokassa said gruffly in perfect French which didn't need to be interpreted.

The Prime Minister was up again, trying to end the interview. You couldn't see who was working the strings.

Will you describe what it will be like?

"It will be wonderful," Bokassa said, the first smile coming to him.

On a shelf right behind him there were picture

Black Napoleon

mock-ups of his crown, which was a massive cluster of diamonds set around one huge stone in the middle.

The stones would be panned out of rivers in Central Africa, cut locally and sent to Paris for setting.

On a table far away from him was the orb, a hollow gold ball laid carefully on red velvet inside a glass case, a porcelain statue of the Duke of Wellington on guard beside it.

We thought your hero was Napoleon, Bokassa was told.

"Wellington too," he said. "They were both good soldiers. And Winston Churchill. Britain is rich in heroes."

Is anything worrying you these days?

"Just security."

Security?

"Yes, security." He waved his arm around as if to show the whole world was against him. The only threat known against him recently was at Bangui airport when somebody rolled a grenade towards him which blew up three of his aides. It was never explained.

"We must always be secure. We have uranium and we will have our own atom bomb some day. This will give us security."

The words "atom bomb" made the Prime Minister slump and put his hands on his head. It made the journalists' mouths go dry.

"All countries need the atom bomb," Bokassa went on.

"Have you seen my throne?"

No.

He picked up a solid gold miniature from the table. It was in the shape of an eagle, wings spread, the seat was in a cavity where its chest should have been. The real thing being made in Paris by Olivier Brise weighs two tons and has a wing spread of three metres.

Fresco asked if he could take a picture of His Majesty. "Nobody takes His Majesty's picture," the Prime Minister said. Bokassa waved him down

once more like a naughty schoolboy.

"Go ahead," Bokassa told Fresco, vanity rising inside him.

His Majesty, an old looking 57, arranged his own pictures and angles. "move your chair back," he said to the Prime Minister, "this man wants a better picture of me from over there."

He was in a mood now to be asked tougher questions. The trouble was he was in no mood to answer them.

Do you think people have got the wrong impression of you?

"I haven't heard anything bad about me. What do you mean?"

Compared to Amin and things like that?

He brushed the point away as if it hadn't been made.

"Come with me, I'll show you something."

A jail cell? Execution block?

"This way."

The whole court shifted slowly across the quadrangle to a room open to the night which had a long baize table down the middle and 28 highbacked chairs in green and red velvet placed up to it.

"This is where the court meets," Bokassa explained. A big fan at one end of the room blew some dead mosquitoes and a couple of used toothpicks off the table when it turned that way on a swivel.

The middle of the table had a huge display on it of wooden soldiers, white horses, carriages and a throne. It was a mock-up of the coronation parade made for him in France.

The soldiers were in Napoleonic uniforms. The horsemen looked like French cavalrymen.

"This is my carriage," he said, picking up an open red landau being pulled by eight white horses. "It won't be exactly the same. There will be a gold roof going on here and some gold along the sides just here.

"And this," he said, "is me." He picked up a wooden figure of himself, un-

crowned as yet, flowing red robes touched with ermine and gold thread.

The whole thing was fantastic. Next to Bokassa in the parade was his current Empress Katherine, who had just got back from a trip around the Paris salons, picking up a couple of dozen gowns and a couple of hundred thousand rands worth of jewels.

Bokassa held the model of himself close to his eyes so he could inspect every detail. "Me", he said to everybody in the room and most of them started clapping. "Let's have some music."

A servant ran to one corner of the room and pressed the play button on a tape recorder. The National Anthem blared out. Everybody stood to attention.

Bokassa picked up the model of himself again and held it tight. "Me", he kept saying but the rest of the party didn't know whether to clap or stand to attention for the anthem.

After 10 minutes he told the servant to shut the anthem off.

Now Bokassa came into the quadrangle again. "Everywhere around here," he said pointing, "underground rooms, all underground."

For weather protection, he was asked.

"No, no security."

It was all going too well for comfort. Bokassa had come on charming but the real him was locked in there somewhere and he might turn in a minute.

"When are you going back to London?"

Tomorrow, Sire, he was told.

"Definitely not, no, no, definitely not. I want you to stay here."

But, but . . . we're booked and everything.

"I have said no."

He turned to somebody and told him to unbook us. "Go now and I will send for you again."

The next day a car arrived at the hotel to take us to a factory. The factory made materials for hospitals.

"I have been asked to give you this," the manager said, handing over a large package. It contained 100 large rolls of bandages.

The journalists just made it to the airport in time to get the next plane out to Paris.

EXCLUSIVE: The first English-language newspaperman to interview the tyrannical Jean-Bedel Bokassa, self-proclaimed Emperor of his country and dubbed by some another Amin

THE BLACK NAPOLEON

Sun. Feb. 14/81

THE CRAZIEST event ever planned in Africa was starting to worry Jean-Bedel Bokassa. He could run the country on rods and threats. Arranging his own coronation as Emperor, the first black Napoleon the Continent has ever known, was going to be more than a problem.

There were golden thrones to be built and diamond crowns to be made, while horses to be trained and soldiers to be uniformed. A whole city had to be decorated and a gold coach brought from Paris. Two thousand metres of scarlet tapestry had to be woven in Normandy and robes and shoes were to come from Pierre Cardin.

Where would he put 55 statues of himself which were being carved and where would he find the millions of rands the whole thing would cost? Would anyone want to come to see it anyway?

Bokassa needed a Duke of Norfolk. All he had was people around him whose mouths dropped when he called for more diamonds. Nobody had the guts to shout "Stop."

Bokassa lived isolated in his palace in the jungle beyond Bangui, the capital, and studied the jewellery catalogues which were sent to him from New York, Paris and Tel Aviv.

He ordered everything that sparkled and African leaders heard the stories and shook their heads. They said he was setting the image of Africa back by nearly a century. Skilled Ramistorms had most of the noises in the forest and now the drums sounded nearer than ever. There were short bursts from one side of the great Uhangli river then answers far away across the rapids.

The moonless African night made the whole country vanish and it was just eerie black out there with nothing to see but the bats diving at a few low-power bulbs looped between trees on the river bank outside the hotel in Bangui.

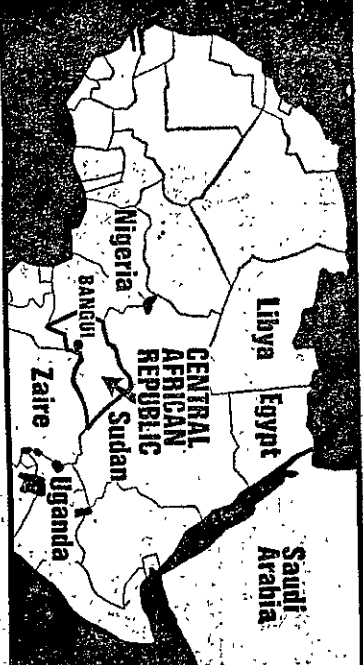
Beyond the lights the swift of the current shifted the old dug-out canoes on their moorings.



INSIGHT SPECIAL



Now the beast of Africa is out to get the A-bomb to solve



IN THE land of the Central African Republic (above), the word of President Jean-Bedel Bokassa is absolute law. His word is everyone's command. And he has commanded that he be crowned Emperor. John Edwards (left), with photographer Monty Fresco, were the first English journalists allowed into his well-guarded palace. This is what they found:



Shopping in Paris: Empress Katherine choosing clothes from a fashion collection at the House of Lanvin

and they braced their own heat against each other between messages from the drums. Bokassa used a phone to call the two of us to the palace. "His Majesty wants you now," one of his ministers said. "Now, immediately." But it's after

The smile on the face of a tiger: Bokassa and silver and gold duck ornaments

his security problems

dark "Now". The road to the palace was swallowed by jungle a few kilometers out of town. Huge trees bent their branches down to form a tunnel. Now and then wild animals on the road turned their heads towards the car. Their eyes glinted in the headlights and then the dark shapes rushed back into the cover of the undergrowth.

There was no deeper country in Africa, surrounded by the great basin of the Congo and the wilderness of Chad. The brutal middle of Africa was everywhere around you with Bokassa's reputation had swept him into the lists of tyrants. He had gone down the same road as Amin once, ordering mass butchery and torture. He had his men cut off the ears of thieves in public with scissors and then their hands, and once he supervised beheading-to-death of prisoners jailed without charges. "That's life," he said to a Frenchman who was standing next to him watching people being clubbed helpless in the dust of a yard between the cells. Now the man waited ready to tell you about it more down the road beyond the road blocks and the machine-guns and Africans huddled in their huts and their poverty like cats' eyes in lines among the trees. Bokassa had made himself God. He ruled oppressively, but not cruelly in any more. He was always in his people's lives, in pictures hung somewhere on every wall, fatherly in some, stern in others. The biggest pictures showed him in uniform with a specially long jacket weighted down to his knees with decorations he had awarded himself. He was Napoleon in others in a braided tunic with gold and silver epaulettes pouched upon his shoulders. The former French army private had seized every channel in his own army. Then President after he took power 12 years ago. There were palaces all over his own country, a 50-room home in Paris, a castle in the Riviera, a mansion on the Riviera, a villa in Switzerland and a local bank account there which he opened a few years back with a couple of million rands. Being Emperor was all that was left. Now he was ready to tell you about it in the palace up ahead, the white building in a lake, a bowed respectfully and he pointed to a gilded chair alongside him.

On the other side of the room the Prime Minister sat with four members of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister glowered at us. He had done his best to keep newspaper men away from Bokassa. His anger showed in every expression. The whole place was like a saleroom. French antique furniture was in groups of sofas and arm chairs in front of Bokassa was an ornate table on gilt legs. "We are honoured to be here with you," His Majesty was told. The Prime Minister raised himself on his chair and indicated that the interview was now over. Bokassa waved him down. The Prime Minister kept jumping around the room, some character in the Muppets. Why have you decided to become Emperor, Bokassa was asked. The Prime Minister and the Information Minister came off their seats like wine, slipping their hands over their mouths and making that sound like that were forbidden. Bokassa let go his stick with one hand and waved

To Page Two

As blood flows over the battlefields of the Ogaden the world's attention focuses on another part of Africa in turmoil.

N. Mercury 16/8/77

THE HORN OF AFRICA

THE map of the Horn of Africa is being drastically re-drawn on the bloody battlefields of the Ogaden where casualties have now reached the proportions last seen in the continent in the North African campaigns of World War II.

The feeling here is that by the end of this month the frontiers of the Somali Republic might be expanded to include a substantial part of the richest parts of Ethiopia — far beyond the original territorial claims made by the Somali Republic at its independence just 17 years ago.

Military victory has fed the appetite of Somali nationalism which now sees the probability of this poor but fiercely ambitious republic's frontiers advancing to within 240 km of Addis Ababa.

Only the Russians and Cubans can still prevent the Somali nomadic clans from achieving their dream of liberation from their historic oppressor — the ancient Abyssian Empire.

Already too late

But the view here is that it is already too late — even if the Soviets were to prove so reckless as to pour in even vaster quantities of arms into Ethiopia to reverse the tide on the battlefields which is now running strongly in favour of the Somalis.

Since no journalists are being allowed to get close to the scenes of fighting by either side, it is impossible to know for sure just how bloody the fighting has become. But if one strikes an

COLIN LEGUM
in
Mogadishu

①

average between the claims put out by both sides, it seems clear that the killing has reached a ferocious pitch, with the heaviest losses by far being suffered by the Ethiopians.

Fierce battle

In the fierce battle for one town on the northern approaches to Jijigga, the Ethiopians are believed to have lost at least 3 500 men, and another 1 400 in another engagement. The Somalis, too, have lost thousands in the battle to hold Godi.

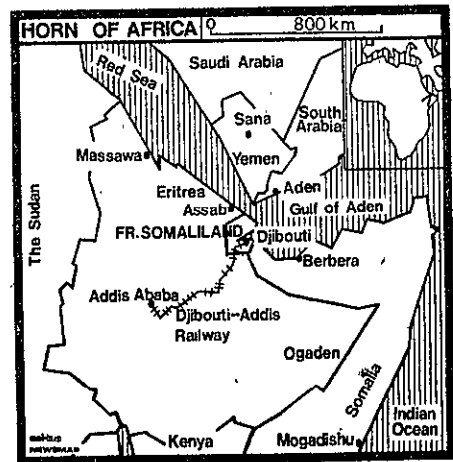
But the worst killing occurs after the loss of a battle when the remnants of Ethiopian militia, the so-called "peasant army," fall into the hands of Somali nomads as they try to escape across the friendless and arid terrain of the Ogaden to regain their own lines.

Thousands of Ethiopian prisoners have been taken,



Mohamed Siyad Barre of Somalia ... from shepherd to President.

By the end of the month the map of the Horn of Africa may be drastically re-drawn



creating serious problems — since the frontier prisons are already overcrowded and there are difficulties about feeding them.

The authorities in Mogadishu continue to insist that there is no Somali Republic military involvement in the fighting. They claim that the victories are being won entirely by the liberation forces led by the renamed Front for Liberation of the Abyssian Occupied Territory of West Somalia.

The Liberation Front has its headquarters in a large town house beside the Mogadishu police headquarters. Its leader, Abdullahi Hassan Mohammed, a Somali nomad in his late thirties, is confident that his forces will have successfully occupied the three largest towns in "Western Somalia" — Jijigga, Diredawa and Harar — by the end of August.

Then, he says, journalists will be invited to visit the "liberated territory" to see the accomplishments of his victorious forces. He also has plans to invite the Somali Republic to send an official delegation to Harar to receive a formal invitation for the area to become part of the Somali fatherland.

In this way, the Somali Republic will be able to expand its frontiers without itself having invaded the territory of its neighbour.

Myth-making is important not only for the "liberation fighters" but also for Somalia in defending itself against attacks by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) that it is the aggressor against Ethiopia.

The Russians have made a vain effort to mediate between the Somalis and Ethiopians in high level talks held in Moscow recently. But the Somali advice to the Soviets was to keep out of the war between the "Fascist regime" of Addis Ababa and the Ethiopian national movements who are fighting to liberate themselves from centuries of "imperialist oppression."

Somali President Siyad Barre says they are applying scientific socialism to post-imperialist Abyssinia.

The belief is that whatever the Russians and Cubans decide to do in Ethiopia, it is already too late to prevent the dissolution of the "Abyssian Empire" and the emergence of new national States.

But the Ethiopian military regime still hopes to roll back the Somali advances with Soviet and Cuban help. They continue to deny that they get any help from Israel, but although its assistance is now only nominal, there is no attempt by the Israelis to deny that they still have a small team of military experts in Ethiopia.

Man, Country in the middle

D.D. 8/18/77

Pres. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania returns to Dar-Es-Salaam this week from a reception in Washington as cordial as any he has received in Moscow or Peking — and probably proved as difficult to cajole in the American capital as he has been in those of the two big communist countries.

After 16 years at the head of affairs in one of the poorest countries on the African continent, he still remains as independent in view as he ever was. It is a quality which has made his country one of the most politically strategic states in Africa.

Although there is a tendency in South Africa to think of Nyerere as some kind of extremist, he is in fact something of a middle-man. As chairman of the five front-line states neighbouring Rhodesia, he has to express the views of both Zambia and Botswana on the one hand, and Angola and Mozambique on the other.

Secondly Tanzania itself lies almost exactly halfway between the two major areas of struggle in Africa, the north-east and

the south. As a socialist country it has shown itself willing both to deal with and to rebuff not only China but Russia as well.

For all these reasons, and no doubt others, American President Jimmy Carter must have been eager to get the full range of Nyerere's opinions and attitudes in face-to-face conversations. No doubt they had differences of outlook on Rhodesia, on the two largest struggles in the north-east and the south, and on relations with China and Russia. The nuances of those differences would have been vitally interesting to the new American Administration.

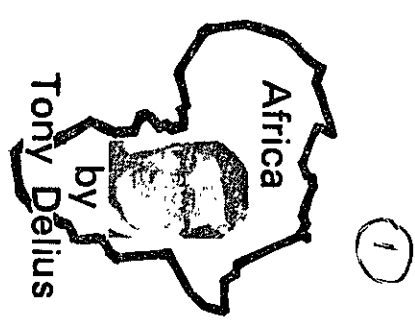
The most immediately interesting subject for the Americans must have been why the Tanzanian President backed the Patriotic Front's policy of getting majority rule in Rhodesia by guerrilla war rather than talks and elec-

tions. Washington must be puzzled by Nyerere's reliance on guerrilla war after his latest failure to get the Patriotic Front's Zapu and Zanu and Zipa forces to work together — a failure which follows many other unsuccessful attempts by the same mediator.

The Bazooka or bomb attack on Zapu's headquarters in Zambia last week seems to add to the Patriotic Front's many divisions the attack might very well have been carried out by a faction within Zapu itself.

About ten years ago Nyerere remarked to me in the course of an interview that he was not keen on talks between South Africa and other African states because too many of the African states were not yet "sophisticated enough" in diplomacy.

Behind that remark lay, I think, a suspicion that the white regimes would



always offer "trick" rather than genuine deals. I don't think he has come to think any differently since viewing the attempts to talk to Mr Smith over the last couple of years, or even the Turnhalle negotiations.

The Tanzanians would gain much by a peaceful settlement of Southern Africa, or even the Rhodesia issue, they don't need such a settlement as urgently as the Zambians, Botswana or even Mozambique. The continuing fall in copper prices have again turned attention to the cost of maintaining sanctions for Zambia, a stance that has cost the country an estimated R1 000 million over 12 years.

The restlessness of Zambian politics also reflects this economic drain. The Americans must have wanted to know Nyerere's assessment of the front-line states holding together for long in the face of a fairly convincing majority government deal between Smith, Muzorewa and Sithole.

There must have been transatlantic interest too in Nyerere's long-range views on what is happening to the north of his country and its possible effect on the whole of East Africa. With what sort of compromise would he view an Ethiopia maintained as more or less a Russian satellite in Africa, for example?

A full minute of the proceedings will be circulated to all members in due course.

5 August 1977

(Prof.) A.H.R.E. PAAP
Dean, Faculty of Arts

Probably the most probing interest of all was in Nyerere's experience in dealing with both Russia and China. Nyerere was one of the earliest of the African leaders to become interested in Chinese modernising experience and how it could be applied to Africa — he applied it above all via his Ujamaa co-operative farming ventures.

Nyerere and Kaunda took major aid from China in building the once-named Tanzam railway, once regarded as a prestige aid project in Africa rivaling that of the Soviet in building the Aswan Dam.

But when the Chinese made clumsy attempts to put pressure on Nyerere not to support Soviet-backed Neto and the MPLA in the Angolan civil war, they got a dusty answer. In spite of this relations between Tanzania and China seem fairly equitable again.

1

Deur DS. EDDIE BRUWER

IN Afrika is daar na berekening al honderd miljoen Christene. In Ni-

gerie alleen is 30 miljoen; in sommige streke van Kenia woon tot 70 persent van die bevolking op 'n Sondag ere-dienste by. Oral in Afrika word kerke oorstrom deur nuwe Chris-tene

Dit was die agtergrond van die vierjaar-tikse algemene vergadering van die Assosiasie van Evangeliese Christene van Afrika en Madagaskar wat pas in

gesê toe hy as president die vergadering open, kan vandag van meer belang in Afrika wees as die Christelike huisgesin nie. Ek erken dat dit verkeer en moonlik onverantwoordelik sou wees om

kan egter nie groter wees as die Christelike huisgesin nie. Dit is die wieg van die nasie en die uitdrukking van 'n volk se kulturele, politieke en sosiale waardes." Die beraad, bygewoon

woon nie Bybels," het die dinamiese Gottfried Osei-Mensah van Kenia byvoorbeeld op 'n keer aan 'n vraesteller gesê. En 'n briljante jong doktorale student uit Nigerië, Tokunboh Adeyemo, sien

"In der waarheid is swart teologie net so vreemd aan Afrika as die gewraakte Westerse teologie". Adeyemo, wat uit 'n kleinlike familie in Nigerië stam, is 'n bekeerling

Kinders gesag verwerp. Die gesagselement moet teruggebring word, want die Bybel leer dit." Hy het ook 'n ander seer aangedui: die feit dat soveel ouerregpare nie saam

moes self tien jaar lank weg van sy ouers skoolgaan. Hy het gepleit dat kerkhouders vir skoolgaande kinders 'n noodsaaklikheid in Afrika geword het.

SÓGLO BOUAKÉ

Bouaké aan die Ivoorkus gehou is. Die tema was die Christelike huisgesin.

niks te sê oor minderheidsregerings in Suidelike Afrika nie. Dit sal ook verkeerd wees om evangelies stil te bly oor die brutaliteit van Uganda. Die belang van ander sake

deur verteenwoordigers van 31 lande, is gekenmerk deur groot respek vir die basiese waarhede van die Skrif. "Jou gedagtes kan goed wees, maar dit is doodge-

om die rede swart teologiese bloot as "Marxistiese filosofie toegedraai in 'n teologiese mantel". Hy sê in plekke met politieke stabiliteit het swart teologiese geen boodskap nie.

uit die Islam. Opvallend was ook die nadruk wat 'n man soos Isaac Simbiri van Kenia op Bybelse gesag plaas. "Daar is bewyse dat ons

by een plek woon nie. Skole en onderwyssers het die plek van die tradisionele breë familie ingeneem, het Tite Tienou van Bo-Volta gesê. Hy

Alhoewel vroue vandag verreweg die grootste deel van die kerklidmate in Afrika uitmaak, was daar op die beraad maar net 31 teenwoordige 'n Radio-onderhoud met haar, oor haar opleiding van kerklike werkers vir van kerk en oor kerklike vroue-organisasies, word binnekort uit Liberie uitgesaai.

DS. EDDIE BRUWER



Has Djibouti bitten off more than it can chew?

7/8/77

①

Sunday Times Reporter

THE six-week-old Djibouti Republic has opted for the most daring reform ever undertaken by an African Government.

It has banned the import of a narcotic, khat, used by 98 per cent of all men there.

Khat is a plant with small green leaves grown in the Harar highlands of Ethiopia and flown in daily.

Addicts say it clears the head and stimulates the body. In a land where there is widespread pover-

ty and under-nourishment, khat helps people to forget their ills.

It cost up to R3 for a bundle of the plants — enough to keep about a dozen men chewing for one day. It has a bitter taste, is weaker than hashish but stronger than tobacco.

Young Paris-trained economists in the Djibouti Government estimate that khat costs Djibouti R20-million a year to import. This foreign currency can be better spent on other things like schools and

hospitals, they believe.

Former French rulers of Djibouti are horrified. They recall that no French governor, however intent on punishing the local people for riots, ever dared halt the daily plane flying in khat.

"Do you want a blood-bath?" one governor asked Paris when told by General De Gaulle to do so. De Gaulle was canny enough to relent.

But the new rulers, who have studied long enough in France to have dropped their own addiction to khat, have other ideas.

CATTLE CAUSE DROUGHT THREAT

JOSEPH FITCHETT

DHOFAR, Oman's southern province and the only surviving region of grasslands and a cattle-herding way of life which experts believe once covered large tracts of Arabia, is threatened with an environmental disaster.

Intr
Grow
Grow
Grow
Unem
Comp

page
1
3
9
16
23
40

As sand dunes gained ground nearby — the "Empty Quarter" crossed by Wilfred Thesiger is just to the north of here — this southern rim of Arabia, watered by Indian Ocean monsoons, was saved. Besides geographical blessings, a turbulent local history checked human demands on this region's limited natural resources, even during the last decade's oil-funded development elsewhere, change was arrested here by the Aden-backed guerrilla war.

But now peace and aid-based prosperity threaten to do more rapid damage than centuries of warfare. Sultan Qaboos's postwar development design for Dhofar appears to be essentially a pacification plan derived from American counter-insurgency techniques — aimed at subduing the population at almost any price.

The problems start in Salalah, once the head of the incense trail winding through the Hadramaut to Europe. Marco Polo here saw "the small trees, like fir trees, notched with a knife to exude white frankincense which flows by the great heat of the sun."

Water

The frankincense is no longer farmed, but Salalah, like the rest of Dhofar, depends today on the water and the agricultural potential of the scrub-covered plateau visible to the north. It runs across Dhofar like a spin, rising to a peak near the Yemen border.

On the white beaches at night, the only sounds are the slap of giant skates flopping on the sea to dislodge parasites. The fronds of giant date palms click high overhead in the breeze. But by day the chugging cement mixers show that the plateau, where the guerrillas used the vegetation for cover, is now being opened up.

"It's like Scotland in 1745 after Bonny Prince Charlie was defeated: you have got to get in the roads," a British development expert explains.

Anxious to put his stamp on Dhofar, Qaboos is instituting a package of measures: road-building, settlements with schools, mosques, clinics and even hopes of hotels, improving the local cattle-breed, modernising husbandry. Taken separately, they are distinct improvements for the plateau's inhabitants, but as a package, they will result in the destruction of the environment which is the only basis for sustained future development.

Suicide

"You can't keep these people in a museum, it's impossible politically and humanly," the Government's top planner argues. Concerned ecologists report that Oman should at least pause to take stock before committing environmental suicide.

More than 100km of roads are being paved in the plateau — paid for from 200 million dollars given by Saudi Arabia as the first instalment of its aid programme to Dhofar.

The roads, intended to convey Government authority, will facilitate large-scale tree-felling, experts warn, denuding the cover of vegetation. Careless road-building, all too evident elsewhere in Oman, will eat up more grazing-land.

Already, Government boreholes, like magnets, attract the cattle herds which used to range over the plateau. As the livestock is concentrated, vegetation is eroded, and wind erosion starts.

Phase two in the present plan envisages six large communities and six smaller ones, centralising the plateau's 20 000 inhabitants for stricter control. In the vicinity of each settlement, the grassland environment will disappear, increasing the pressure on the plateau's remaining areas for

over-grazing, firewood gathering and farming — a classic spiral of environmental disaster.

Limited

The plateau's inhabitants are a small, wiry people known as Jebalis, who have herded their small, wiry cattle here for 2 000 years without over-exploiting the productive grasslands — a unique record of survival which scientists want to study before it disappears.

The population was always limited by the small numbers of livestock they could manage on the plateau. During the thick fogs accompanying the summer monsoons, Jebalis live with their cattle in low round compounds like igloos made of stone, brush and mud. Suffocating dung-fire smoke drives off the biting flies which can kill a cow which strays outside in daylight.

As the grassy downs wither in winter, Jebali people trade their beef and milk with the coastal people for dried sardines, the local fodder.

This exchange, once modernised, could still be the basis for self-sustaining economic development in Oman's southern region. Instead of improvements, however, new problems often result from overhasty changes. The unique small breed of Jebali cattle has survived here for centuries, but foot-and-mouth disease has appeared with progress, and indiscriminate cross-breeding could develop other new vulnerabilities.

Disaster

On the other hand, a cattle population explosion, while a short-term boon for Qaboos's newly-conquered subjects, could eventually turn to disaster by consuming the grasslands. The greenery brings water, scarcer than oil in Oman, by helping to condense the monsoon fogs and preventing soil erosion.

If the plateau is denuded in the name of development, it will destroy the Jebalis' home and livelihood, eliminate a permanent asset of Oman's economy, remove the water catchment area nourishing Salalah and Dhofar's agricultural plain — and ruin an area of beauty and of major scientific interest.

A Unesco study stressing these dangers won the personal sympathy of Qaboos, who has ordered conservation steps elsewhere: poaching parties of foreign sheikhs have been deported for hunting down desert gazelles with Kalashnikovs from Land-Rovers, and the World Wildlife Fund is collecting giant sea-turtles on Masirah Island.

However, there are strong pressures against a conservation policy. Carefully managed development inevitably would be slow. Contracts in Oman are said by businessmen to carry fatter commissions than anywhere else in the Middle East, and a Dhofar bonanza, based on aid, would suit contractors as Oman's oil dwindles.

Pacification

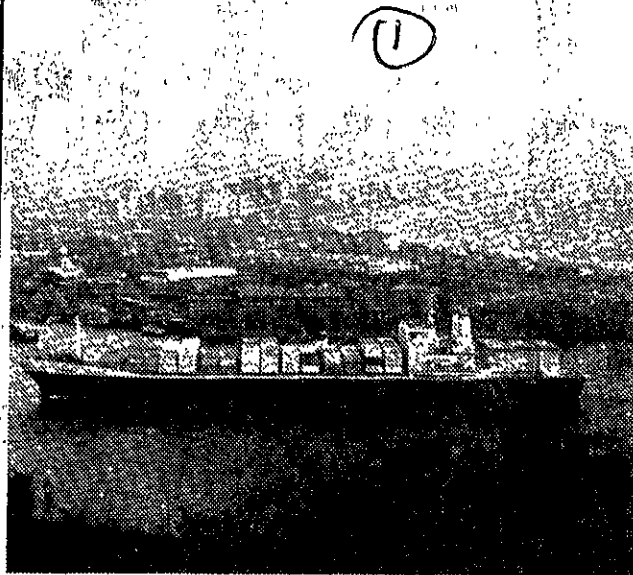
Sultan Qaboos's security advisers stress the need for Dhofar's permanent pacification. A main preoccupation is to "detrribalise" the Jebalis, once labelled as "warlike tribes who have always found law and order irksome."

Many Jebalis, who have only just got home to their plateau after spending the war cooped up in Salalah, say they welcome roads to Salalah's schools and clinics. But they are generations distant from any other way of life than traditional herding, which will be menaced by too sweeping, too sudden changes.

In practice, development of the plateau may well drive the Jebalis back down into this town where they can be more easily controlled. "It is a kind of human defoliation," one expert explained.

N. Mercury 4/8/77

SHIPPING Wilf Seifert



Africa's first container trip pleases

LLOYD TRIESTINO'S Africa, the first of the newly-built fully cellular container carriers in conference service between Europe and South Africa arrived at Durban at the weekend (above) to land more than 800 containers on her maiden voyage.

The Africa — completely lacking conventional cargo gear — has a 1 338 TEU (twenty-foot equivalent unit) box capacity and belongs to the "smaller" category of Mediterranean type ships.

Her operators, who are pleased with her performance, said she had bunkered at Rotterdam and would not require further fuel until her return to that port after the full round voyage.

Up to her terminal point on the local seaboard, Durban, she has had 1 778 container movements.

They were:

- Cape Town — landed 187 full plus 73 empty, loaded 87 full;
- Port Elizabeth — landed 152 full plus two empty, loaded 25 full;
- Durban — landed 820 full plus 32 empty, loaded 400 full.

Cape Town and Port Elizabeth served the Africa with two container wharf cranes each, while Durban, responsible for the bulk of box transfers, had only one available. Port Elizabeth docks suffered two crane breakdowns while working on the Africa.

A spokesman said the ship, in terms of container capacity, had been 97 percent full on the southbound trip and would be 90 percent full when clearing Table Bay northbound. But he added that she was clocking her full deadweight on the round voyage.

The Africa sailed from Durban early Tuesday afternoon.

June 1977

Cape Town

CHEWING

KAT IS BANNED

DJIBOUTI The President of the new Djibouti Republic on the Horn of Africa yesterday ordered his people to drop their favourite drug at least for the time being.

President Hassan temporarily banned the use of kat, the shrub leaves widely chewed for the mild euphoria producing drug they contain.

Kat leaves have been getting scarce in recent weeks anyway because the Ethiopian Airlines planes that brought them from neighbouring Ethiopia were requisitioned to haul troops to revolt plagued Ethiopian districts. This drove prices up and there was speculation that economic motives were behind the ban.

There was no word on how long it would last but violators faced up to two years in prison and a R17,000 fine.

Previous attempts to ban kat under French colonial authorities failed because public opposition made enforcement difficult. (Sapa AP.)

II

Sald

ECONOMY

LABOUR SUPPLY

Blood is still running, says Libya

A. W. ... 2/8/79

NICOSIA — The Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, has ruled out direct negotiations with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat on a ceasefire along their border where fighting raged for six days last month, a Libyan diplomat said here yesterday.

Libya "will not accept or reject" a proposed ceasefire with Egypt "because we never initiated the aggression and never declared war," Mr. Zintawi, Libya's Ambassador to Cyprus, told a news conference. Making Libya's first official response to calls for negotiations, Mr. Zintawi said he was authorized by his Government to declare that Colonel Gaddafi refused to negotiate personally with President Sadat.

"Blood is still running between us and our people would never condone a meeting between Colonel Gaddafi and President Sadat," he said. "We will strike severely into Egypt's depth and destroy its cities if the Egyptians resume their aggression on us."

"The Egyptian army may be bigger than that of Libya but we certainly possess enough weapons to destroy four or five cities like Cairo." In Tripoli Major Abdul Salam Jalloud, a member of Libya's General Secretariat, said thousands of Egyptian troops were killed in the six days of clashes that began on July 21. He said Egyptian prisoners reported 2,000 Egyptian soldiers killed on the first day.

Major Jalloud put Libyan losses at 22 injured and 27 killed. He said nine Egyptian tanks were hit and three destroyed. A total of 27 planes were shot down by Libyans, 24 in Libya and three inside Egypt. Libya's aircraft losses, according to Major Jalloud, amounted to two planes. Mr. Zintawi said Egypt was aided and encouraged by Israel and the United States. He showed several photographs of Israeli-made sub-machine-guns and said these were captured with Egyptian prisoners, "proving that President Sadat obtained arms from Israel to attack us."

Major Jalloud said: "We have proof that the U.S. was directly and indirectly involved in the Egyptian aggression. Four pilotless planes were shot down by Libyaat Bardeth — the wreckage is still there and can be viewed by anybody." (Sapa-Reuters).

Trouble around the Horn

The tensions of north-east Africa immediately cover a vast area from Tripoli in Libya to Nairobi in Kenya. In this area alone the fates of some 90 million people and seven nations are involved, with at least five international borders under threat of being crossed by military forces.

But beyond all this there are the possibilities of the two super-powers being drawn in, both the Arab League and the Organisation of African Unity becoming split on these issues, and even the Indian Ocean question becoming dangerously raised.

Both the wider and narrower risks are to be seen in the cautious phrasing of America's statement last week that Washington would be willing to sell Somalia arms to defend itself.

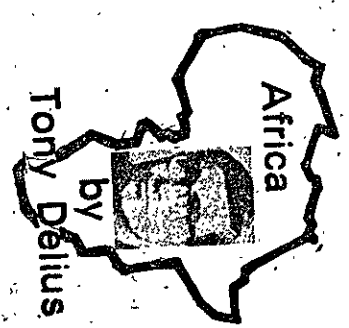
The US State Department spokesman made it as clear as he could that his Government was not making the offer to encourage Somalia to cross or adjust existing borders. He also repeated that the question of a war between Somalia and Ethiopia was

one primarily for the Organisation of African Unity to tackle.

Although both super-powers are hovering on the edges of the struggles taking place in the region they have to tread very warily. Already the Russians find themselves suffering certain side-effects from their connection with the Libyan-Egyptian border flare-up and the struggle going on in the Ogaden area between the Ethiopian army and Somali groups.

Now the Americans are finding themselves forced to choose between strategy and diplomacy in the area.

There are at least two good reasons why the Americans cannot appear to be backing the so-called "greater-Somalia" dream, which lies behind the present fighting in southern eastern Ethiopia. This concept claims for the Somalis the newly independent state of Djibouti, much of the eastern side of Ethiopia,



and a large part of Northern Kenya.

By recognising such a claim or even part of it, America would affront at least three other African countries concerned, and go against OAU policy, which is to accept the old colonial boundaries of Africa as the legitimate borders of today.

At the present moment Ethiopians and Somalis are fighting one another with Russian arms. Whether or not there are regular Somalia forces in-

involved in the present skirmishing, the Russians have been building up the Somalia army for the last ten years.

Many of the arms supplied have obviously gone over the border to the Ethiopian Somalis who now form the Western Somali Liberation Front. Now the Russians have rushed in considerable quantities of arms to shore up the reeling Marxist military government in Ethiopia.

Some of those arms are undoubtedly being used by Ethiopian regular and peasant army's forces in their attempt to throw back advancing Somalis.

But the Americans cannot allow the Russians to get into such a dominating position in the Horn of Africa that they can settle disputes simply by giving arms to one side and cutting them off from another. That would destroy all American influence in the area, and even bring disillusion into

wider Arab Circles. So Washington offers arms to Somalia to defend itself.

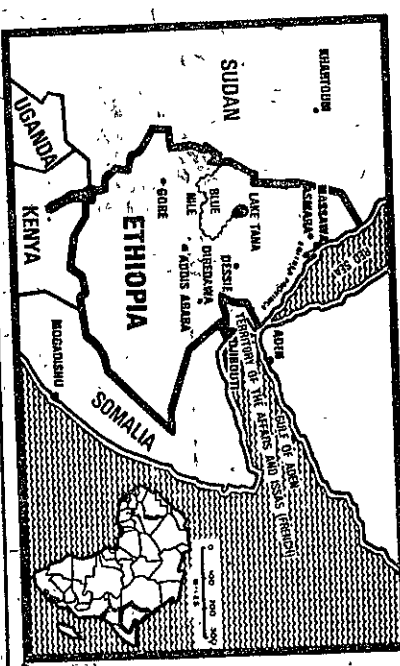
The Americans would also like to see the Somalis throw the Russians out of their country, just as the Egyptians flung them out of Egypt, and the Sudanese more recently have flung them out of the Sudan. One of the reasons why the Americans would like the Somalis to do this is to deny the Russians the African coastal base of Berbera, which is being built up as part of the Soviet system for supporting her naval presence in the Indian Ocean as well as for the purpose of keeping an eye on the Red Sea.

The Americans are even now negotiating with the Russians about reducing the possibilities of a naval competition in the Indian Ocean. Both the Asians and the Africans have pushed resolutions through the UN asking that the Indian Ocean be

accepted as "a zone of peace". The loss of Berbera just might make the Russians rather more willing to reduce competition in the ocean, but this is by no means certain.

The Russians and the Libyans — with some encouragement from the Cubans — dream of a time when all the states from, at least, the Libyan border to the entrance to the Persian or Arab Gulf, are what Marxist militants call "revolutionary" ones.

This includes both Egypt and the Sudan, where Pres Gaddafi of Libya tells us the present "reactionary" governments of Sadat and Numeiri are already collapsing. Both the Egyptian and Libyan leaders call Gaddafi a dangerous fanatic. If the American offer of some arms for self-defence can persuade the Somalis to change allegiance to the pro-Western and anti-Soviet and anti-Gaddafi side, something may be gained by the forces of evolution rather than revolution.



rate (i_{CD});
 expected in
 expected r
 return on
 real asset
 function o
 the Brunne
 for bank o
 deficit, g
 (LC) and o
 is the sum
 course par
 of MB und
 requiremen
 of Brunner
 The i
 determined
 which is t
 credit mar
 interest r
 as indicat
 is establi
 after sub
 the reserv
 assumed to
 banking sy

Has modern technology failed in Africa? Should it even have been introduced in the first place? Mike Nicol of CARE discusses these questions which will be the subject of the From Africa to Africa conference tomorrow.

To all intents and purposes modern technology has failed in Africa.

The economies of many African states are bolstered by outside finance, the average income is about R170 a year, and most of the population goes to bed hungry.

In addition the urban populations are expected to swell by 38 percent in the next 25 years creating larger slums in the cities. The vast majority will be poor with little more to offer than unskilled labour, says American economist Dr George Beier. Half of that increase represents newcomers.

These migrants to the cities are part of the rural drain. Attracted by a glowing image of the city, disillusioned by the poverty of the rural areas, they head for the facade of bright lights.

Analysts have pointed out that it is a misconception that industrialisation creates jobs. Agriculture,

A hard new look at technology ^{1/8/77} _{Shan} ①

they argue, given an input of capital can absorb far more workers in a more congenial habitat than can most forms of industry.

And no state can develop industrially unless it can feed its own people.

Technology's failure in Africa has been due to a number of factors, according to observers. Political instability has led to the industrial world's reluctance to continue pouring in unlimited amounts of money.

It has chased out qualified whites who have left a vacuum that will take years to fill. Also many African leaders with limited finance and technical expertise have opted for industrial development in the hope that industries will flourish and absorb labour.

Occasionally their decisions, according to Mr L A Mandalia, a Kenyan hydrologist working in Swaziland, have been influenced by foreign advisers more interested in exporting technical knowledge than whether it is appropriate to the country's needs.

As engineering student, Mr Barry Dwolatsky put it: "Technology in Africa

is made up of a haphazard patchwork of traditional and modern components. The result is a technology that cannot cope with the basic needs of the people it must serve."

Perhaps the technology used in industrialised countries should never have been introduced into Africa. Perhaps Mr Dwolatsky's suggestion that "appropriate technology" which is labour intensive, has low energy requirements and recycles resources would have been more effective in Africa.

It is not too late to switch, he says. "In the developed countries technology must be redirected. People must live a slower, simpler, and materially poorer life."

"We, the industrialised and prosperous 28 percent of the world's population, should lower our standard of living, or we will witness mankind destroy itself with its own technology."

But to others modern technology is Africa's saviour, provided people are trained to implement the knowledge and look after the machinery, and there is greater co-operation between African countries.

credit markets. The supply of and demand for money are also given a Brunner-Meltzer type specification.

$$MB = R + NDA \quad (1)$$

$$R = R_0 \quad (2)$$

$$NDA = a \left(\frac{BC_s}{R} \right) \quad (3)$$

$$BC_d = P_{BC} + G_{BC} \quad (4)$$

$$G_{BC} = G - T - OB + LC \quad (5)$$

$$P_{BC} = b(i_0, i_{CD}, i_f, P^*, X, E, P, Y) \quad (6)$$

$$BC_s = c(i_0, i_{BA}, P, rr \dots) MB \quad (7)$$

So Far, the Imported Kind Has Not Worked Well

Socialism In Africa May Take Odd Shapes

By JOHN GRIMOND

Africa's center of ideological gravity moved sharply to the left last year. The new governments emerging in Portugal's African territories and the new regime in Ethiopia have all promised socialist courses of development. Yet in the fifteen years that most black African countries have been independent, the continent has proved stony ground for imported socialism, and the indigenous variety has taken root with success in only one country, Tanzania.

That may well be changed now that Guinea-Bissau is free and Mozambique is well on the way to gaining full self-government from Portugal. These countries have won their freedom only after prolonged guerrilla warfare and then only with the involvement of large numbers of the people, most of whom received ideological as well as military training during the struggle. No other black African country drove out its colonizers in the same way; and consequently, few, if any, others have succeeded in mobilizing the masses for socialism.

But it has not stopped them from trying. The ruling military council in Ethiopia, for instance, declared in December that the country would be reconstructed on the principle of "Ethiopia first." "Ethiopia first means Ethiopian socialism," it added. "Socialism means equality, the right to guide one's own destiny, the right to work and earn." Thousands of Ethiopian students have been sent out into the countryside to spread the message (and, probably, to get them out of the way).

The soldiers may succeed in imposing a socialist blueprint on Ethiopia; they have already begun a program of industrialization and last week announced plans for radical land reform. People's communes and a one-party system are to follow, they say. But

although imperial Ethiopia, where power and property were concentrated in the hands of the emperor, the church and a few landowners, conformed in many respects to a classic prerevolutionary situation, it is open to question whether a mixed force of soldiers and students can succeed in converting to socialism 20 million peasants who have traditionally looked upon the emperor not just as the "king of kings" but as the "elect of god."

The new government in Ethiopia shocked the world in November by executing 60 former officials and military officers. But there is no correlation between the brutality of the Government and its political color. Top of the league for nastiness must come the regimes in Burundi, Chad, the Central African Republic, Uganda and Equatorial Guinea (where 319 opponents of President Francisco Macías Nguema were recently alleged to have been murdered on his orders), none of which could be described as socialist. Self-proclaimed socialists can be found among the continent's many autocrats, most of whom are more concerned with self-perpetuation than the rights of man; but in this category such socialists as Sekou Touré of Guinea and Marien Ngouabi of Congo Brazzaville would have to take their places alongside such right-wingers as Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho. And among Africa's most humane leaders one would have to number on the left Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and on the right Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and William Tolbert of Liberia.

The One Party States

Furthermore, most black African states, socialist or otherwise, have developed similar political systems. Most are one-party states (only in Botswana, The Gambia and Mauritius does more than one party exist in practice); most have nationalized the major sectors of the economy outside agriculture, and most are nonaligned in foreign affairs, at least nominally. Which then are socialist?

Only a few living Africans could claim with any justice to have contributed much to the concept of socialism. Among the foremost of these would be Léopold Senghor, the president of Senegal, who, writing in the nineteen-forties, was probably the first person to use the term "African socialism." He was concerned, among other things, to marry African concepts to European ideas. Senghor's philosophy, like that of the late Tom Mboya of Kenya, is a moderate one, more sympathetic to Western social democratic ideals than to the rigidities of Soviet Communism. Consequently, Senegal is much more capitalist and pro-Western than, say, Somalia, which is probably the country in black Africa most friendly

to Russia. But little original thought has come out of Somalia since the coup of 1969; her military masters, like their counterparts in Congo Brazzaville, show no aptitude for political philosophy.

In contrast, Guinea's Sekou Touré is fond of the subject and, ever since 1958 when he dared to say yes to France's offer of independence, has been prepared to stand on principle. Sekou Touré has proved more durable than West Africa's other great socialists: Kwame Nkrumah's megalomania and high-handedness in Ghana created the climate for his removal by the army and police in 1966, and Modibo Keita's failure to grapple with a catastrophic degeneration of the Malian economy paved the way for his departure in 1968. Neither Nkrumah nor Keita was able to mobilize the masses, and neither had such an efficiently organized party as Sekou Touré's *Parti démocratique de Guinée*. Yet it is widely assumed that Sekou Touré retains power in Guinea only through repression.

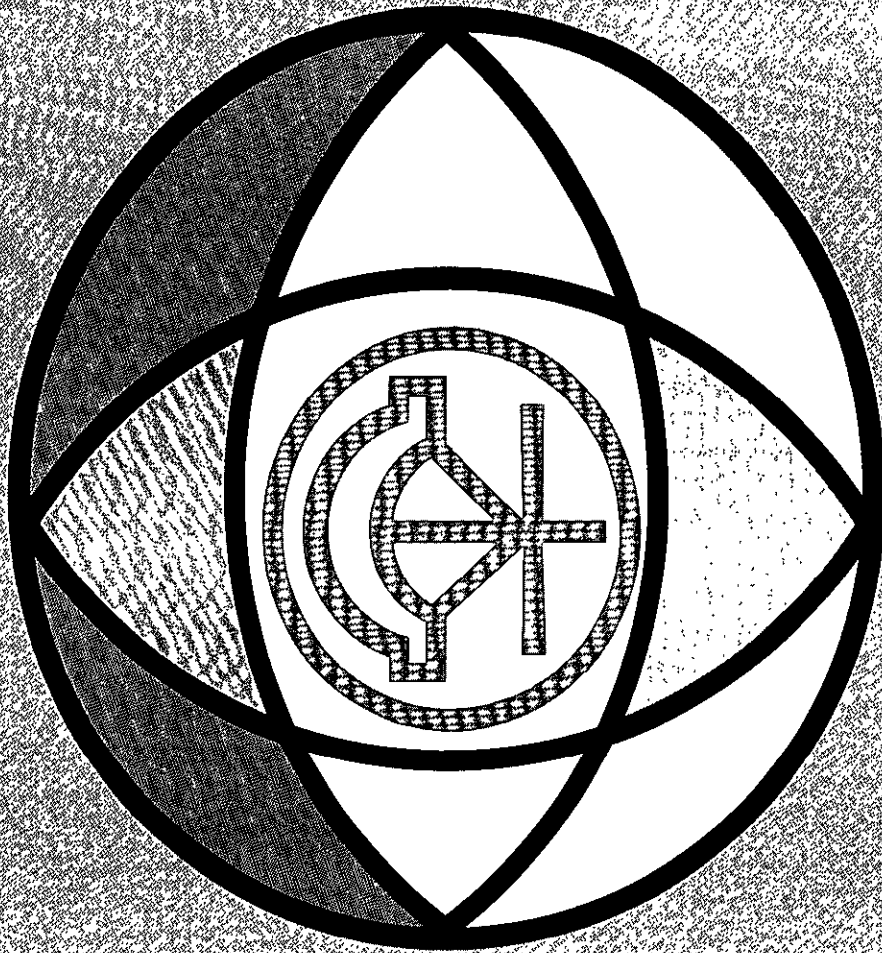
Only in Tanzania does one find a socialist government that has succeeded in implementing its policies without alienating most of the population. It has done so because most of these policies are rational—though many may be controversial and some mistaken—and because Tanzania is one of Africa's few democracies, where elected officials are thrown out with healthy regularity. Julius Nyerere does not claim that Tanzania is yet a socialist country, merely that she is heading that way. The inspiration for his principles comes from the socialism that he says is native to Africa, particularly the common ownership of tribal landholding that is the basis of Tanzania's cooperative communities. However, behind these *ujamaa* villages, and behind much else in Tanzania, is a fair degree of Fabian theory and Maoist practice.

At present Tanzania's socialist system is the only one in black Africa with a fair expectation of life, though others may grind on for some years. A major problem in most countries has been the absence of any prevailing philosophy—such as Confucianism in China—which could give way to a twentieth-century replacement. Another has been that most of the soldiers who mouth the clichés of international socialism learned more about capturing radio stations than about Lenin or Tawney at the military academies of Sandhurst and Saint-Cyr; their lack of interest in political thought makes it unlikely that they will establish self-sufficient socialist societies. If African socialism is to develop it will do so where conventional ideologies are tailored to the African situation, and where no gulf is allowed to develop between government and governed.

John Grimond is a Nieman Fellow on leave from *The Economist* who writes frequently about Africa.

PUBLISHED BY MERCABANK

SOUTHERN AFRICAN MARKET



ECONOMIC ISSUES
NO 12-JULY 1971

THE SOUTH AFRICAN

The South African is a weekly newspaper published in Johannesburg. It is the largest newspaper in South Africa and is known for its comprehensive coverage of local and international news. The paper is published by the South African Press and is available in both print and digital formats. It is a key source of information for South Africans and is widely read throughout the country.

The South African is a weekly newspaper published in Johannesburg. It is the largest newspaper in South Africa and is known for its comprehensive coverage of local and international news. The paper is published by the South African Press and is available in both print and digital formats. It is a key source of information for South Africans and is widely read throughout the country.

The South African is a weekly newspaper published in Johannesburg. It is the largest newspaper in South Africa and is known for its comprehensive coverage of local and international news. The paper is published by the South African Press and is available in both print and digital formats. It is a key source of information for South Africans and is widely read throughout the country.

The South African is a weekly newspaper published in Johannesburg. It is the largest newspaper in South Africa and is known for its comprehensive coverage of local and international news. The paper is published by the South African Press and is available in both print and digital formats. It is a key source of information for South Africans and is widely read throughout the country.

The South African is a weekly newspaper published in Johannesburg. It is the largest newspaper in South Africa and is known for its comprehensive coverage of local and international news. The paper is published by the South African Press and is available in both print and digital formats. It is a key source of information for South Africans and is widely read throughout the country.

The size of the market in the sub-continent is determined by the size of the population of the countries concerned ...

The total geographical area of the countries in Southern Africa is 5.9 million km². In 1970 they had a total population of 51.8 million of whom 13.7 million or 26.4 per cent was urbanised. The size of the population of the individual countries ranged from 421 000 in Swaziland to 21.4 million in the RSA. Approximately 41 per cent of the total population and 75 per cent of the urban population lived in the RSA.

... and their incomes, as reflected by their GNP's.

The total GNP (at market prices) of Southern Africa amounted to R21.6 milliard in 1972, of which R1.4 milliard consisted of subsistence production. The share of the RSA in the total was slightly more than R15 milliard or 70 per cent. The income per capita for the sub-continent as a whole was slightly less than R400 per annum in 1972. The figures for individual countries, however, vary considerably around this average.

Fig 1 & 2 The population (1970) and gross national product (1972) of the countries in Southern Africa

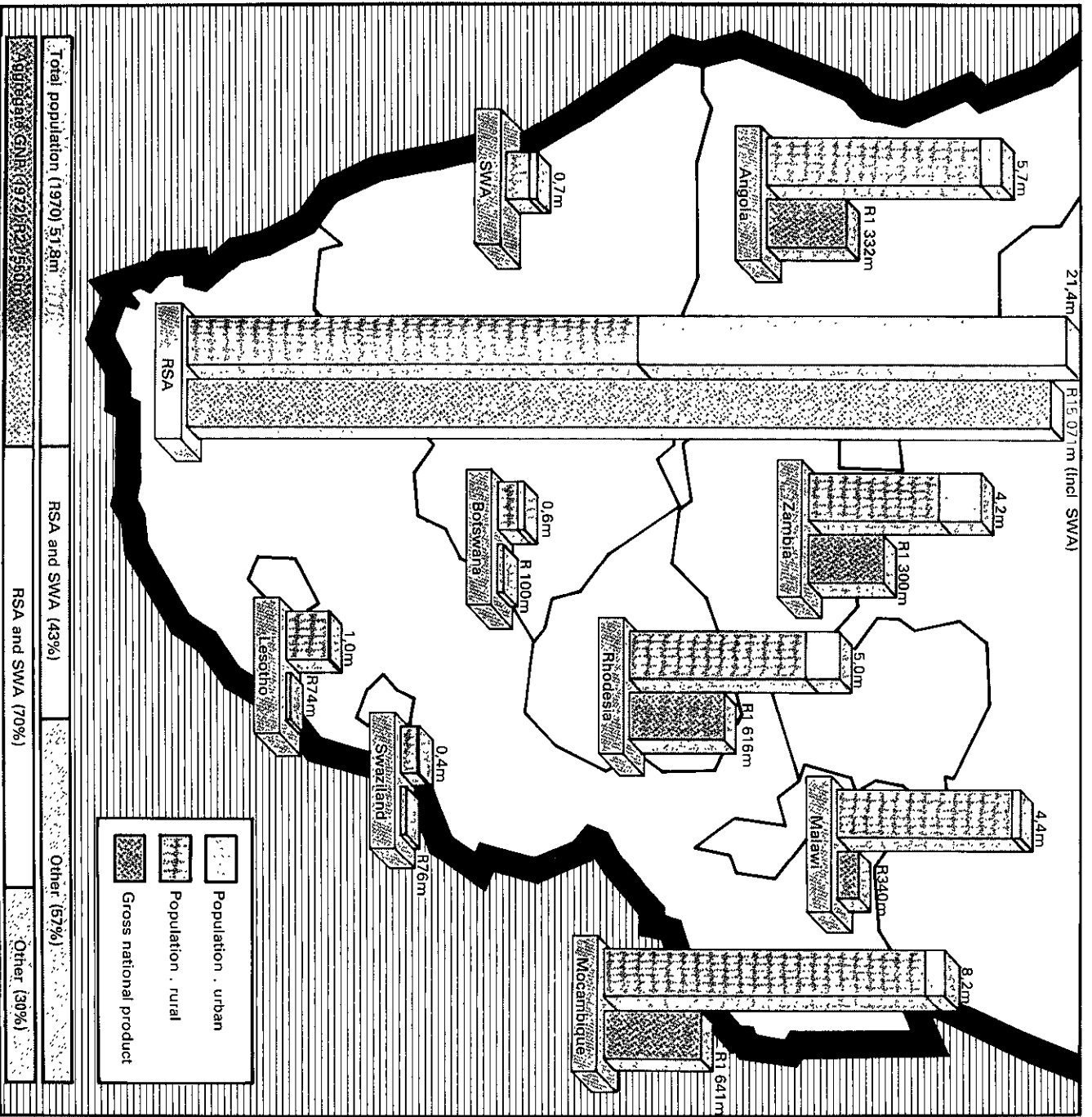
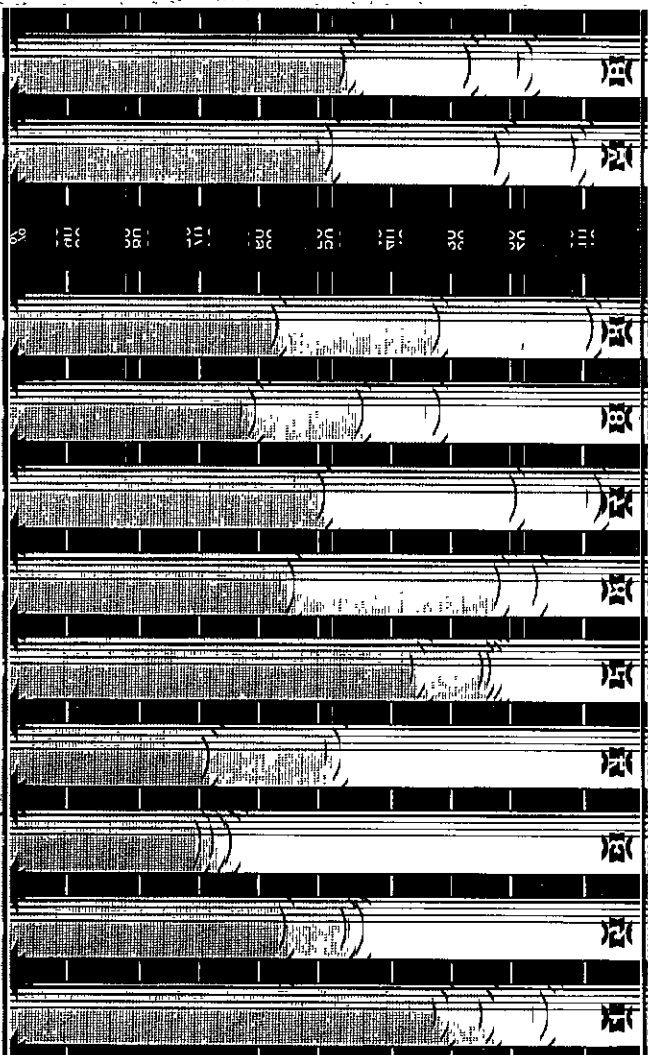


Fig 3. Characteristics of the economic activities of the committee in the kind of economic activity, 1970



Fig 4. Characteristics of the economic activities of the committee in the kind of economic activity, 1970



The first part of the report is devoted to a general overview of the situation in the country...

The second part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the economic situation in the country...

The third part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the economic situation in the country...

The fourth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the economic situation in the country...

Fig 5. Percentage composition of gross domestic expenditure on final goods and services, average 1970—1972

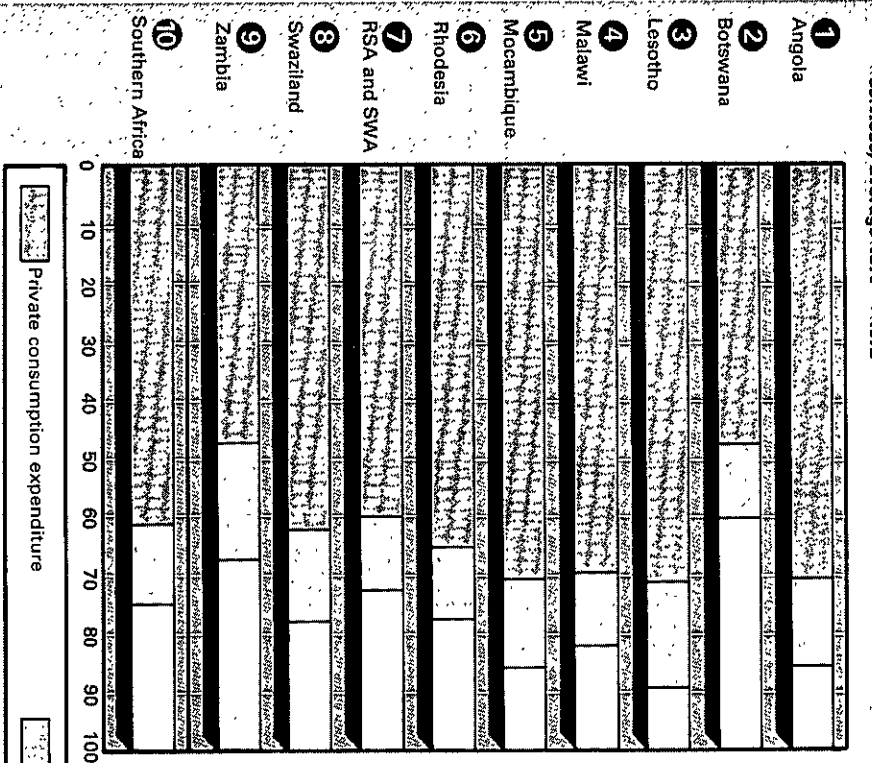
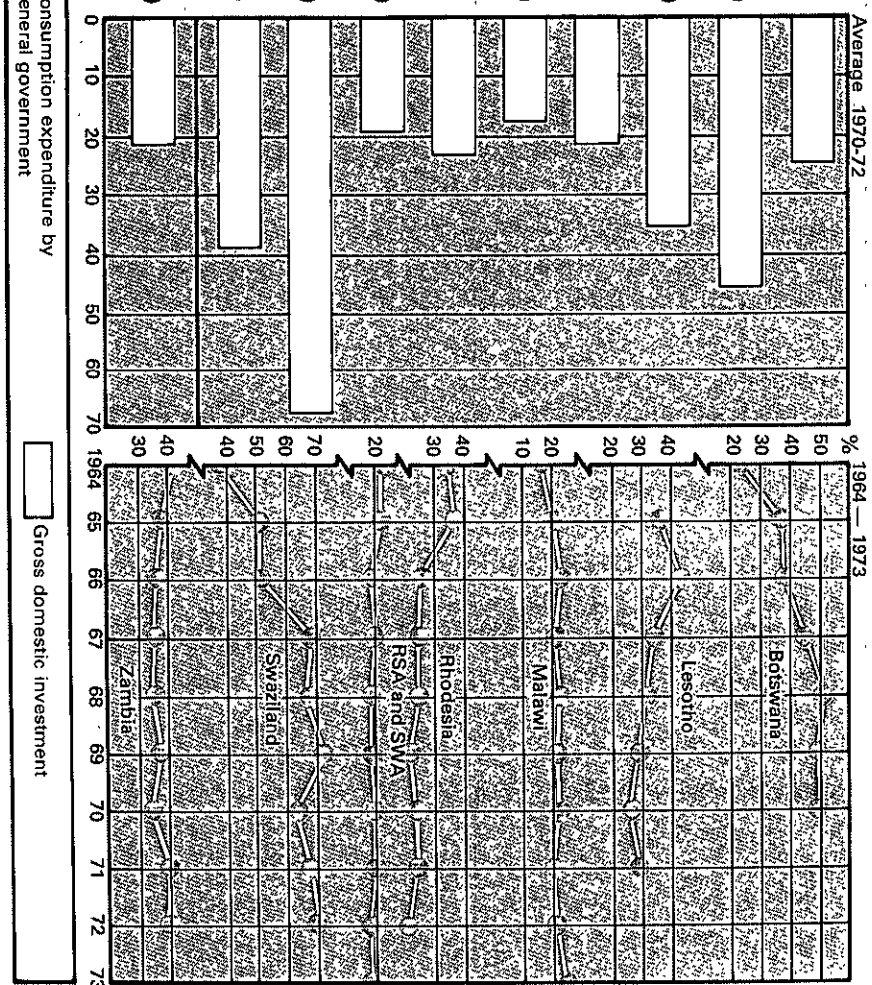


Fig 6. Merchandise imports in relation to domestic demand for final goods and services



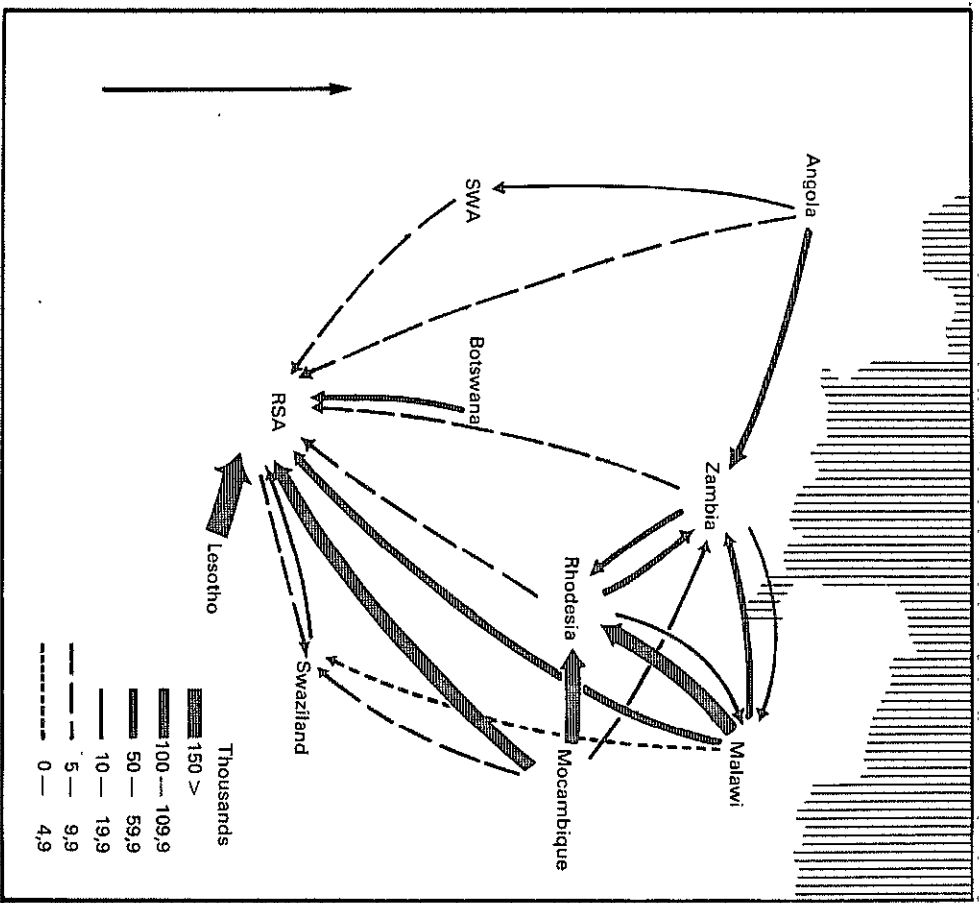
There are considerable differences in the pattern of expenditure on final goods and services ...

The total expenditure on final goods and services in Southern Africa is estimated at R21,6 milliard for 1972, of which 71 per cent was spent in the RSA. Private consumption expenditure represented roughly 63 per cent of the total, consumption expenditure by general government 13 per cent and gross investment 24 per cent. These ratios vary considerably amongst individual countries in the sub-continent.

... of which a large proportion is imported ...

The value of imported goods was about 21 per cent of the total domestic demand for final goods and services in Southern Africa in the early 'seventies. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland which form a customs union in this regard because of large-scale imports from the RSA. The import/aggregate spending ratio is relatively low in the RSA, Angola and Mocambique.

Fig 9 The migration pattern in Southern Africa, ± 1970

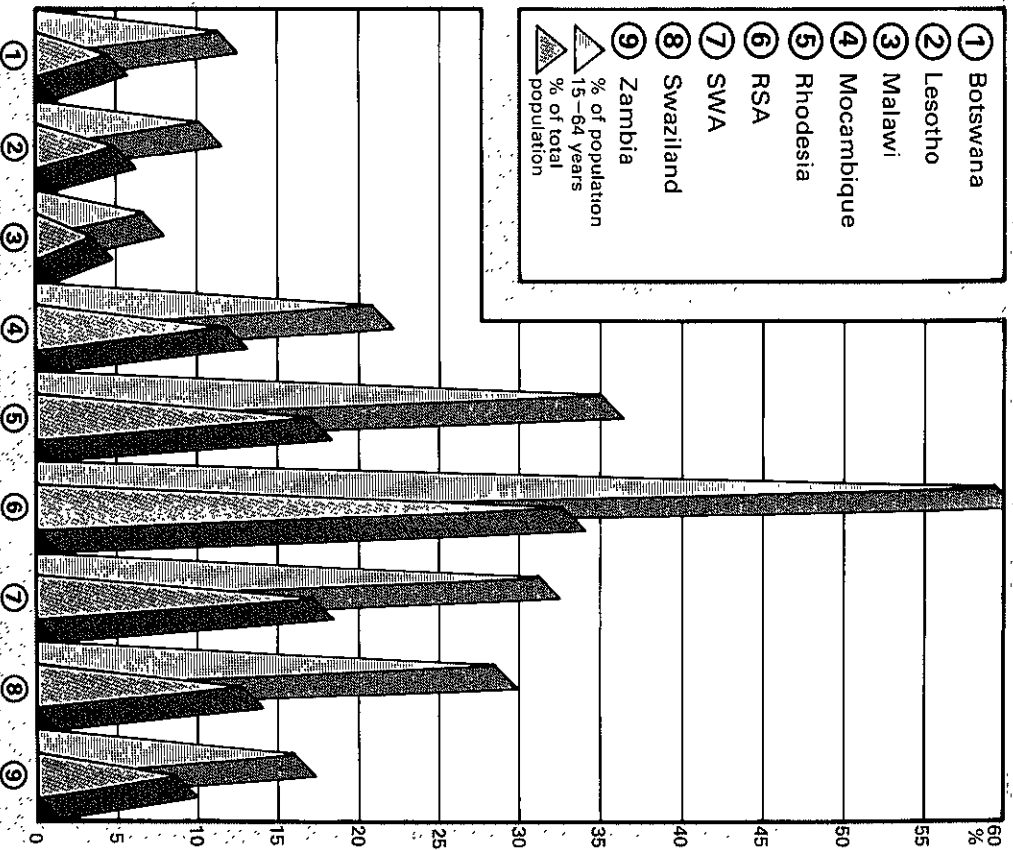


... which ties up with considerable migration of labour among the countries ...

The largest concentration of migrant labour in Southern Africa is in the RSA where, according to official figures for 1970, there were approximately 500 000 workers from other countries in the sub-continent, particularly from Mocambique, Lesotho and Malawi. (The unofficial figure is, however, put much

higher). A considerable amount of labour migration also takes place in the direction of Rhodesia and Zam-

Fig 10 The paid economically-active population of the countries in Southern Africa in relation to their total population and population 15-64 years, ± 1970



... as a result of the uneven distribution of paid employment opportunities.

The lack of paid employment opportunities in the various countries of Southern Africa, with the exception of the RSA and, to a lesser extent, Rhodesia, is reflected by the small percentage of paid economically-active persons in relation to the total population and the population in the age group 15-64 years. In the

RSA for example, these ratios were 33 per cent and 60 per cent respectively in 1970, compared with 4 per cent and 7 per cent in Malawi and 5 per cent and 10 per cent in Lesotho. Effectively this labour migration acts as a substitute for commodity trade.

... studies upon
 important matters are being made
 by the Commission and it is
 expected that they will be
 published in the near future.

The report of the committee in Southern Africa
 is a valuable contribution to the
 knowledge of the conditions in that
 region. It is particularly
 interesting in view of the
 fact that the Commission is
 at present studying the
 problem of the distribution of
 the population in Southern
 Africa, and the report of the
 committee is a valuable
 contribution to the
 knowledge of the conditions
 in that region.

Fig 11 Merchandise exports of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in their areas of origin - 1948

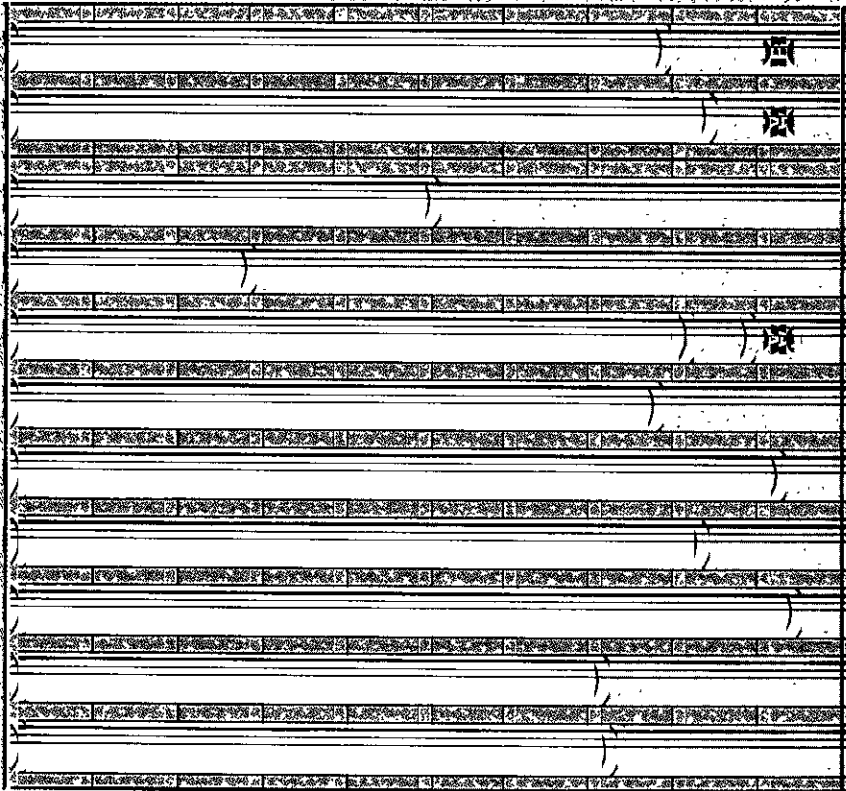
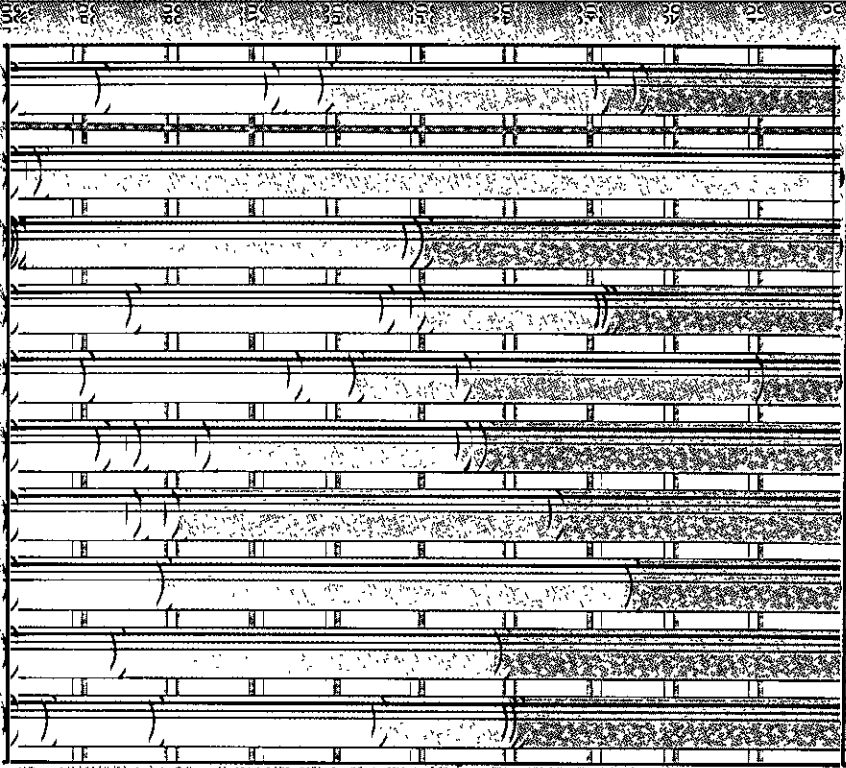


Fig 10 Percentage composition of merchandise exports of the countries in Southern Africa in 1948

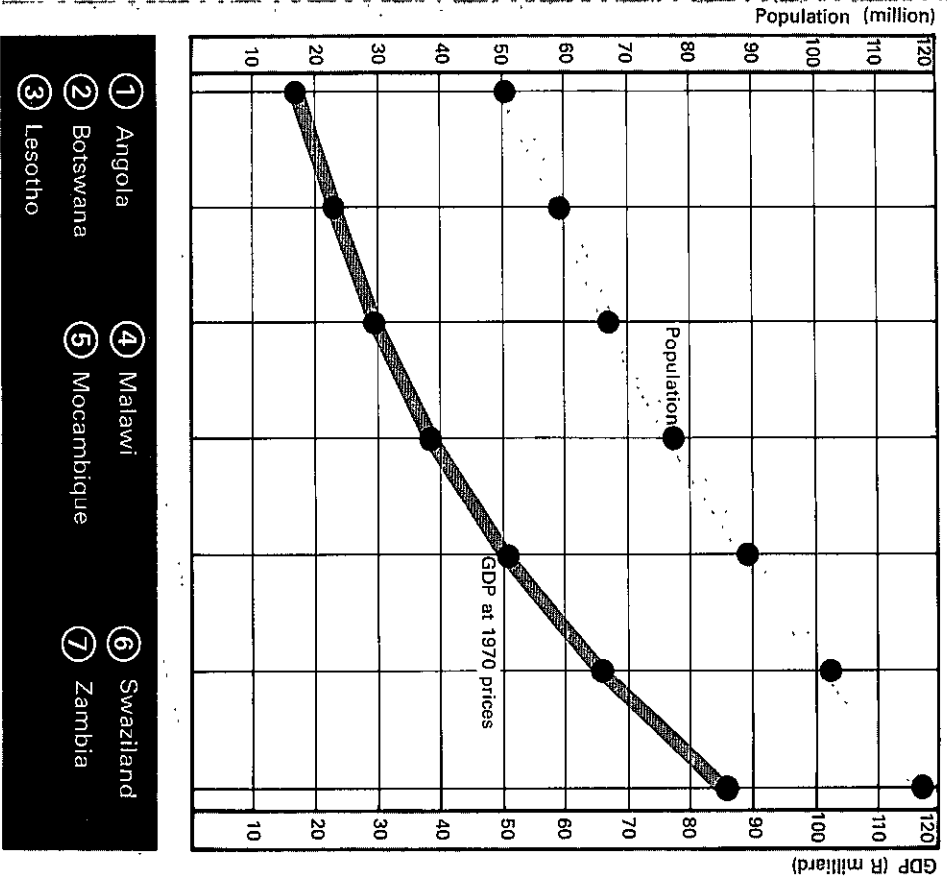


The future growth of the market in Southern Africa will be determined by the growth of its population and income ...

It is estimated that the total population of the sub-continent will increase from 52 million in 1970 to approximately 119 million by the year 2000, which is more than a doubling, while the GDP (at 1970 prices) is likely to show an almost fivefold increase (from R18 milliard to R87 milliard) should the trends of the past be maintained. Both these

magnitudes but particularly the GDP, which valued at current market prices could be much higher than the R87 milliard mentioned above (R360 milliard if an inflation rate of 5 per cent is assumed) are of the utmost importance for the growth and future size of the market.

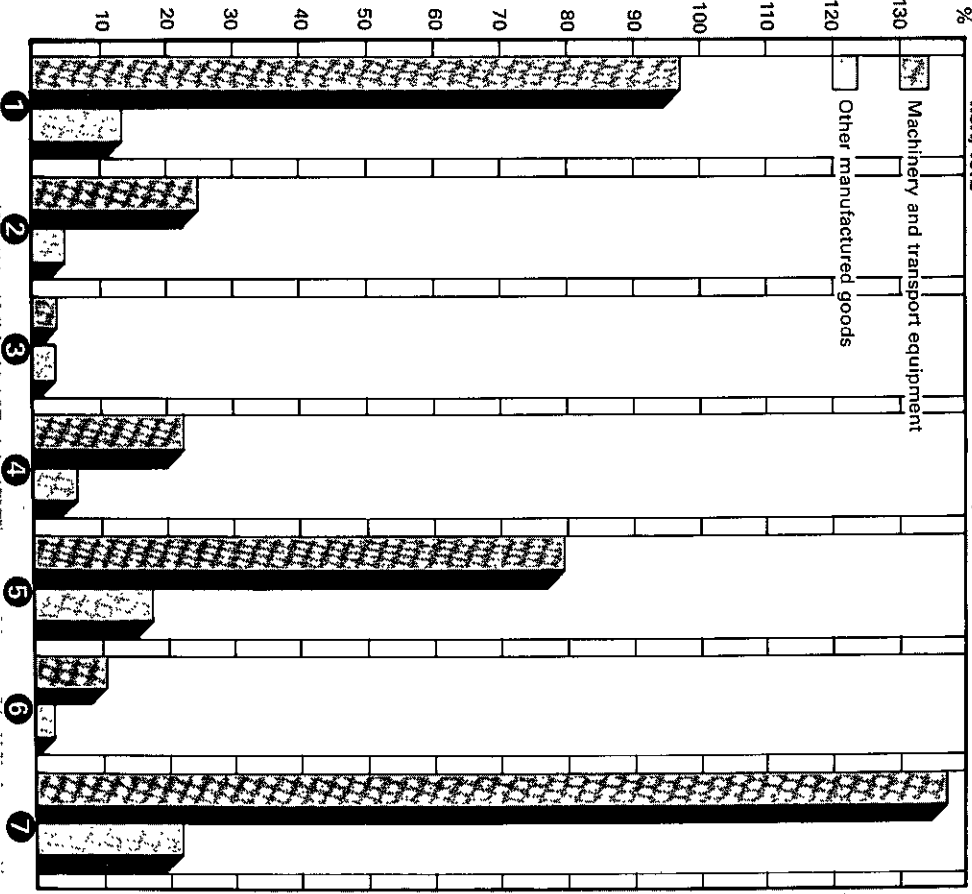
Fig 13 Projections of the population and the gross domestic product of Southern Africa to the year 2000



... the development of complementary production and trade structures ...

Although the production and trade structures of the countries in Southern Africa appear to be broadly similar (see figures 4, 7 and 12) and therefore competitive, the picture changes considerably when individual products are considered. Moreover, the potential for developing even more complementary production structures does exist. The RSA has, for example, already developed the industrial potential to

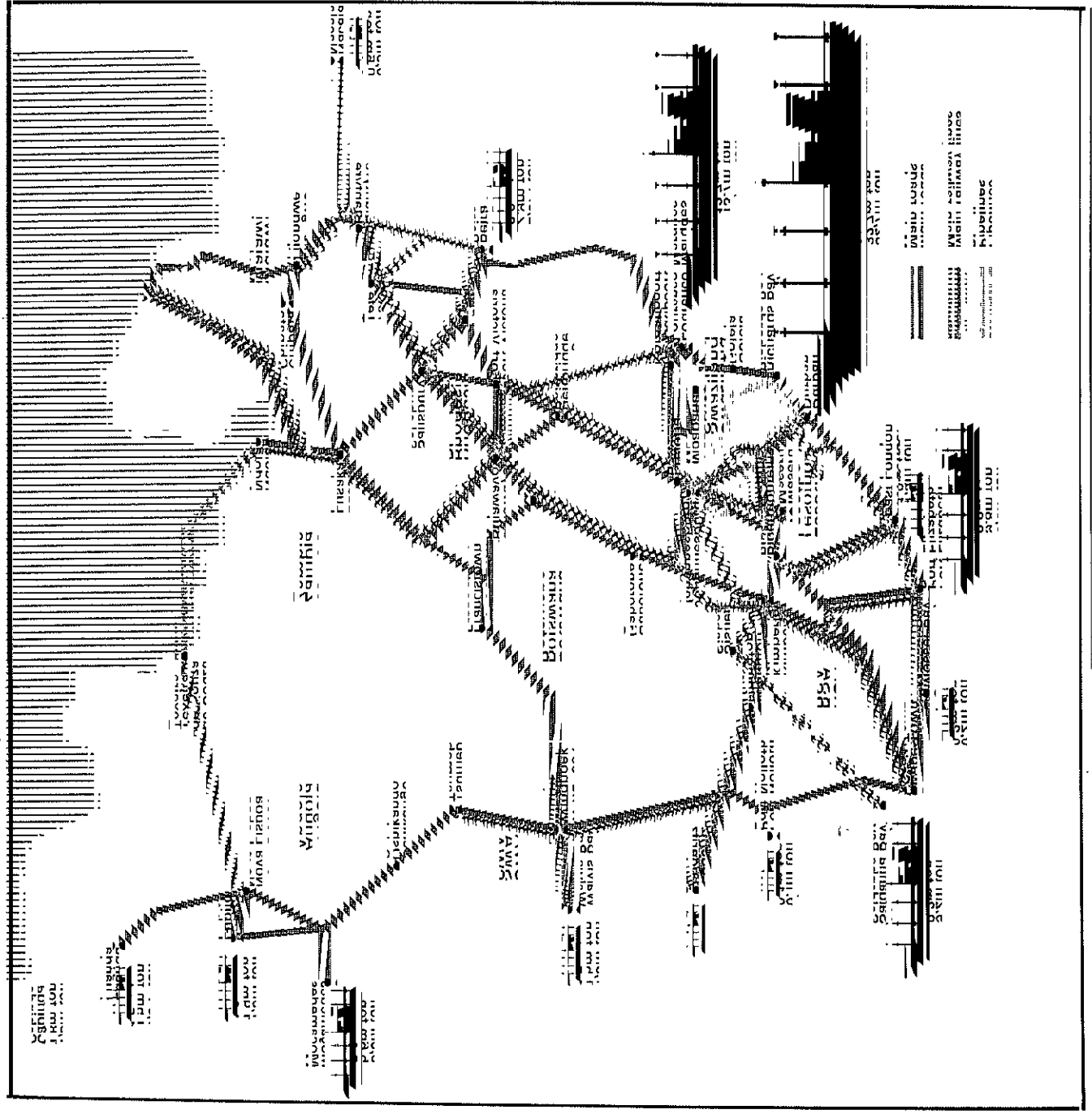
Fig 14 Imports of machinery, transport equipment and other manufactured goods by certain countries in Southern Africa as a percentage of the exports of these goods by the RSA, 1972



meet the demands of these countries for a variety of manufactured goods to an appreciable extent. However, the further development of complementarity among the countries in Southern Africa will demand more purposeful cooperation in regard to production, as well as a solution to the many political problems confronting these nations.

The map shows a complex network of roads and structures. Key locations include:

- SEAFORD
- SEAFORD BEACH
- SEAFORD AIRFIELD
- SEAFORD RAILWAY
- SEAFORD BRIDGE
- SEAFORD TOWN
- SEAFORD INDUSTRIAL AREA
- SEAFORD MARSHES
- SEAFORD FIELDS
- SEAFORD PARK
- SEAFORD GARDENS
- SEAFORD SQUARE
- SEAFORD CIRCLE
- SEAFORD DRIVE
- SEAFORD ROAD
- SEAFORD AVENUE
- SEAFORD STREET
- SEAFORD LANE
- SEAFORD CLOSE
- SEAFORD WAY
- SEAFORD PLACE
- SEAFORD TERRACE
- SEAFORD GATE
- SEAFORD WALL
- SEAFORD FENCE
- SEAFORD HEDGE
- SEAFORD DITCH
- SEAFORD TRENCH
- SEAFORD GULLY
- SEAFORD DRAIN
- SEAFORD POND
- SEAFORD LAKE
- SEAFORD RIVER
- SEAFORD STREAM
- SEAFORD BROOK
- SEAFORD CREEK
- SEAFORD RIVER
- SEAFORD STREAM
- SEAFORD BROOK
- SEAFORD CREEK



REFERENCES

Angola, Banco de Angola, Economic Studies Department, *Annual Report and Economic and Financial Survey of Angola*, (various issues) Lisboa.

Botswana, (Republic of) Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract*, (various issues) Government Printer, Gaborone.

Lesotho, Central Planning and Development Office, *Lesotho First Five-Year Development Plan, 1970/71-1974/75*, Maseru, December, 1970.

Lesotho, The Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Statistical Bulletin*, (various issues).

Lesotho, The Bureau of Statistics, *National Accounts*, 1967/68.

Malawi, Reserve Bank of Malawi, *Financial and Economic Review*, (various issues).

Mocambique, Instituto Nacional De Estatistica, *Anuario Estatistico*, 1972, Mocambique.

Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd., *Mocambique : An Economic Survey*, 1968.

Rhodesia, Central Statistical Office, *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, (various issues).

Rhodesia, Ministry of Finance, *Economic Survey of Rhodesia*, Salisbury, April, 1972.

South Africa, (Republic of), Department of Statistics, *South African Statistics*, 1974, Government Printer, Pretoria, November, 1974.

South African Reserve Bank, *Quarterly Bulletin*, (various issues).

Swaziland, Central Statistical Office, *Annual Statistical Bulletin*, (various issues).

Zambia, (Republic of), Central Statistical Office, *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, (various issues).

Africa Institute of South Africa, *Africa at a Glance*, 1973.

Africa Institute of South Africa, *Southern Africa Data*.

United Nations, *Demographic Handbook for Africa*, 1971, New York.

United Nations, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1974, New York.

United Nations, *Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics*, 1972, New York.

Du Plessis, D Ten De Klerk, D, *Suidelike Afrika - 'n Beskrywende studie van enkele aspekte van die ekonomiese stelsels van die lande in die sub-kontinent met die oog op die bepaling van ekonoomiese samewerkingsmoontlikhede*, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1973.

McCrystal, L P, *Economic Co-operation in Southern Africa*, Survey No 1, The Portuguese Territories, 1972, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1972.

Van der Merwe, E J, *Lesotho : National Accounts, 1954/55 - 1965/66*, Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, 1969.

PREVIOUS ISSUES OF FOCUS ON KEY ECONOMIC ISSUES

No	1	Public Expenditure, October 1971
2	Labour Trends, March 1972	
3	The Balance of Payments, July 1972	
4	Price Trends, November 1972	
5	The Capital Market, March 1973	
6	Manpower, July 1973	
7	Gold, November 1973	
8	International Payments Problems, March 1974	
9	The Homelands, July 1974	
10	Money and Banking, November 1974	
11	The Metropoles, March 1975	

The information contained in this publication may be reproduced in whole or in part provided that acknowledgement is made to Mercabank Limited: *Focus on Key Economic Issues*.

Published by Mercabank Limited
Designed by Maddox Rolfes

WORLDWIDE

United

WORLDWIDE



WORLDWIDE

WORLDWIDE

WORLDWIDE

WORLDWIDE

C 7 - 21/10/74

AFRICA BACKGROUND

CAPL TIMES
21/10/74

Statistical face of a continent

By ANTHONY DELIUS

South Africa could play a vital part but she is kept out by political hostility.

RECENTLY arrived on my desk is one of the few documents that helps to see the continent of Africa not only in the round but also in perspective. It's very necessary to be given this opportunity when events proceed at such a breathless, even breakneck pace in some of the more spectacular fields of politics.

Not that this particular document — the roneoed 50 pages (including the table of contents) called "African Economic Indicators" — put every year by the Economic Commission for Africa — has itself been hurried into publication. It paints a portrait of Africa in charts and statistics for the year 1973 — but the delay in appearance has allowed its editor to take some of the trends into 1974. For instance, the mounting cost of oil.

However large Africa may loom to its inhabitants both White and Black, Chapter I of "Indicators" reduces the continent's achievement thus far firmly into perspective against the world's major economies. The total gross domestic product

(GDP) for the entire continent of Africa is only one twelfth that of the United States, and about one fifth that of the USSR. Britain alone produces twice as much as the whole of Africa, West Germany three-and-a-half times as much, and Japan four times as much.

Most of the statistics given deal with what is called Developing Africa. Developing Africa means the whole continent except "developed" that is South Africa. The 24 million people of South Africa produce about one quarter of Africa's total GDP — the other three-quarters is produced by the continent's 350 million people. If you want to enumerate it another way, every South African citizen produces about five times as much as every other African — statistically speaking.

This, of course, doesn't mean that every South African can be five times as energetic as every other African. It simply shows what economic development and a head start can do for you.

Nigerians, as Developing Africa's most rapidly expanding country, are tempted to get swollen headed. The indicators offer a sobering comparison. "Nigeria in 1972 had a market equal to seven percent of the total market of the United Kingdom, five percent of the total market in France, and four percent of the total market in West Germany, and yet each of these countries has a smaller population than that of Nigeria." (My italics).

Mind you, statistics can exaggerate or falsify perspective. Libya (pop 2½ million) had a per capita income in 1972 of 2,030 dollars — that's about 1,400 rands a head. That's due to the huge oil resources the country has — and the huge production from them. But one would hardly say that each Libyan citizen is actually getting that amount; most of them are as poor as they used to be in 1962 when they had an effete King and the national income per person was supposed to be 193 dollars.

The share-out of income is probably far better, though by no means equitable, in Nigeria. There by 1972 the age income per head of the country's alleged 71 million citizens from about 90 dollars a year to 130 dollars a year. Now that the price of oil has quadrupled over 1973 and 1974, Nigerian figures are going to look far more impressive — and may even be rapidly closing the gap with South Africa's. It certainly gives Nigeria a chance to complete Development Plan (Plan No. 3), and spread the wealth more evenly in a way that not even the wild corruption of inflation there can wholly deal.

Next is Gabon with 793 dollars, and then comes the island of Reunion with 792.

But such incomes are way above, about four times as high as, the average for the developing countries of the continent. Half of Africa's 46 territories each produce less than a 50 million dollar GDP a year. This is infinitesimal — scarcely any production at all — by world standards. And one can see why 16 of Africa's countries are classed among the poorest on earth.

Yet there are some points of good cheer in this otherwise rather bleak document. The most striking is the rate at which Africa is selling her goods to the world. Over the ten years to 1973, the countries of Developing Africa increased their exports by nearly 90 percent — that is almost doubling them. They sold 20,000 million dollars worth of exports in 1973, and only imported goods to the value of 17,000 million dollars. So that leaves an overall surplus of exports over imports of some \$ 3,000 million dollars.

There is an uncomfortable aspect of this encouraging record, too many countries rely on too small a variety of products, and are thus at the mercy of world price fluctuations. Examples are given of countries whose trade is practically based on a single product — Libya 99 percent oil, Algeria 83 percent oil, Nigeria 83 percent oil, Mauritius 84 percent sugar, Zambia 94 percent copper, Burundi 84 percent coffee, Gambia 91 percent groundnuts. Those countries with more varied exports are somewhat rare in Developing Africa, countries like Ivory Coast, Zaire, and Kenya, Algeria, Nigeria, Angola are among those seeking a more balanced variety.

The problems caused by the rising price of oil have really been becoming most acute during this latter part of 1974. Although a great part of Africa can get a great deal of energy from hydro-electric power in the long run, Africa is only consuming one tenth of the world average per person in electricity — 155 kw per head as compared with, say, South Africa's 2,300 kw per head.

But in many ways Africa is still heavily reliant on oil to have goods hauled inland — the lorry is still the main vehicle keeping Africa linked to the trading world. Developing Africa is going to find that it has to pay an extra oil bill of about 1,000 million dollars at the end of this year. This is going to wipe out many an export surplus and probably destroy any economic growth.

247 1

A NEW MAJOR HISTORY OF AFRICA

Scramble for Africans

Cambridge History of Africa:
Volume IV: From c 1600 to
c 1790. Edited by Richard
Gray (Cambridge Univer-
sity Press):

RHODESIAN nationalists
now calling themselves Zim-
babweans might have chosen
a different name if they had
been able to consult the first
published volume of the
Cambridge History of
Africa.

It seems from this that the
more modern and politically
developed of the defenders
of the independence of the
state which covered much of
the area of today's Rhodesia
were the Rozvi Changamires
of Butua. It was they who
successfully preserved the in-
tegrity of the highlands
against Portuguese penetra-
tion long after the Great
Zimbabwe had passed its
zenith as a political and
religious centre, and the
Changamires' towns like
Taba Zika Mambo had
become far more impressive,
busy and significant.

Returning to the name of
Zimbabwe instead of Butua
(or Gurohusva) now seems
like dropping the name of
England and replacing it with
Canterbury.

There was never greater
activity among the historians
of Africa than today, and one
of the latest summaries of the
results of these researches is
Volume IV of the Cambridge
History of Africa. In the
perverse way of historians
Volume IV is the first to be
published of a proposed
eight-volume series giving an
account of Africa from dim
times well before the
Pharaohs right up to the
coming of independence in

CT-10/11/76
— slavery

Bookshelf

the 1960s. Volume IV is of
unique interest at this time as
Europe completes and tidies
up its political withdrawal
from Africa. Its chapters
cover the two centuries from
1600 to 1790 when penetra-
tion by European powers was
only just beginning in Africa,
south of the Sahara.

Under the distinguished
general editorship of that
dozen of African historians,
Professor Richard Gray,
eight scholars contribute
nine chapters on different
regions of African history,
including that region which
takes in Europe and the
Americas. The most im-
mediately fascinating for
South African readers will
obviously be the contribu-
tion by the former Capeto-
nian, Shula Marks, who deals
with these centuries in
Southern Africa and
Madagascar.

Wide kingdom

Her account of this vast
area begins with a descrip-
tion of the widespread but
loosely organized kingdom
of the Mwene Mutapa (the
legendary Monomotapa).
She carefully picks her way
between legends, diaries,
archaeological evidence, to
delineate its regular rituals of
dances to honour ancestors
and stir the rain spirits, the
administration of justice with

six days of court hearings in
every 30, and the trade with
the Portuguese in gold and
the locally made *machira*
cotton cloths "which held
their own until submerged by
the cotton cloths of the 19th-
century industrial
revolution."

At the other end of her ter-
ritory Shula Marks gives
necessarily fleeting but
fascinating glimpses of a
South Africa already tied
together by trading activities
from Delagoa Bay to the
Cape well before the Dutch
finally arrived in 1652. She
says:

By the mid 17th century
there was a long distance
trade route linking the
Xhosa with the Nama on
the Orange River and pos-
sibly with the Tswana min-
ing cultures beyond. All
these networks would ap-
pear to have converged on
the powerful Khoi (Hot-
tentot) chiefdom of the In-
qua or Nancumqua, which
was recognized as
politically superior by all
the Cape Khoi in the 17th
century... Situated in the
middle distance between
the Cape and the Xhosa on
the Kariega River, the In-
qua passed copper, iron
and beads, from the in-
terior and from the Cape,
to the Xhosa in exchange,
for cattle, sheep and dag-
ga, which was always in
demand at the Cape.

The destruction by war,
disease and social

breakdown of the long Khoi
link between the Cape
Peninsula and the Great Fish
River takes up much of the
late 17th and 18th centuries
as the trekboers advanced to
their fateful meeting with the
Xhosa in the Eastern Cape.
However, Shula Marks
points out that racial an-
tagonism in South Africa can
hardly be dated from this
competition along the fron-
tier. Recent research, she
writes, "suggests that in the
18th century, racial an-
tagonisms were sharper in
the slave-owning south-
western Cape than in the in-
terior." As for the societies
of the Africans and the
trekboers, she finds them
more or less evenly matched,
more remarkable for their
similarities than their dif-
ferences:

Though the trekboer
had the wheel, the gun and
a fragile literacy, the
Africans had the advan-
tage of numbers, probably
a more complex social
organization, and in some
respects a more highly
developed system of law
and order. The Tswana
chiefdoms and some of the
Nguni polities were on a
larger scale and better
organized than the society
of cattle farmers of Graaff
Reinet...

Much of this volume con-
cerns the search of the in-
numerable African polities
for political stability and
development in the face of
remote or near pressures
brought about by the conti-
nent's neighbours, Europe
and Asia. Some of the most
interesting ventures in
statecraft took place in

Central African areas as far
removed as they could pos-
sibly be from the inter-
national contacts on the west
and east coasts or across the
Sahara.

Ethiopia

The ancient monarchy of
Ethiopia was in an almost con-
tinuous state of disarray and
decline throughout most of
the two centuries. Although
the King of Kings was able to
throw back an Ottoman in-
vasion and hold the other
Muslim infiltrators at bay, no
ruler was really able to deal
adequately with the persis-
tent Galla advances.

But it is the matter of
slavery that gives Volume IV
a grim thread of unity. The
capture, marketing, trans-
port and dependence on
vast numbers of slaves began
to affect the internal condi-
tions of Africa as never before
during these centuries. It was
the scramble for Africans
preceding the "scramble for
Africa" that sadly disgraced
the human pretensions of all
continents — America,
Europe, Asia and Africa.

Slavery in its more ancient
form is first fully discussed in
the volume by H J Fisher in
his absorbing account of the
great "cavalry empires" as
they expanded and con-
solidated across the Central
Sahara and the Sudan. Thou-
sands of slaves in infinite
variety, from great officials
of state to road-repairers,
and of every colour from
White to Black, were the
true basis of these often
remarkable Muslim empires
and kingdoms. Rulers and rich
men gave away slaves as pre-
sents; of one ruler's wife it
was said in high praise: "You
distribute slave children as
you would food." Though
slaves in North Africa were
by and large treated more
humanely and tolerantly
than were the later planta-
tion slaves in Latin and
North America, they were
just as materially expendable
at the whim of a master, and
in the last resort Muslim
rules on their treatment were
as little heeded as Christian.

But slavery was given a
new dimension by the
enterprise, organizing energy,
and needs of expanding
European capitalism, and
slaves poured from Africa
across the Atlantic and into
Europe itself on an un-
precedented scale.

Across Atlantic

But eventually the greatest
number of slaves went across
the Atlantic to meet the
labour needs of the planta-
tions in the Caribbean
islands, Brazil, the Southern
states and so on. The effects
of this huge forced migration
from Africa are summed up
in what is, for the lay reader,
the most absorbing section of
the volume, "Africa in
Europe and the Americas",
written with considerable
passion by Professor Walter
Rodney, lately of the Univer-
sity of Dar es Salaam.

He demonstrates how
African influences were se-
cond only to European in the
creation of the "New World"
in the Americas. The marvel
that comes out of this whole
grim story of man's in-
humanity to man is the
ability of African humanity
and culture to survive the
worst, root itself again, and
grow. Today the culture of
what is sometimes known as
the "African diaspora" re-
mains one of the most
vigorous strains in the life of
the Americas.

Anthony Delius

SA aid to 'break barriers'

29/6/76
STAR

Pretoria Bureau

Recent events in Southern Africa had shown that economic need would override the fiercest political considerations, said the Deputy Secretary of the Department of Information, Mr L E S de Villiers.

The specific aim of South African aid to Black Africa was the realisation that the Republic "cannot live in peace unless its neighbours have enough to eat", he told the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Although racial and political barriers in Southern Africa were formidable, they were not insurmountable to those believing in closer regional co-operation.

FOOD BLOW

Despite severe political differences with South Africa, President Samora Machel's Marxist regime in Mozambique had preferred to maintain, even expand, economic links.

Mr de Villiers said that recent world bank figures showed food production in Africa was decreasing by 2 percent to 7 percent annually, as opposed to a population growth of 2.9 percent.

South Africa was better suited than any other single nation to assist its Black neighbours "if only Africa would allow her to do so."

Among facts quoted by Mr de Villiers were:

- In only 18 years all the European colonial powers withdrew from Africa, leaving 17 military régimes, 26 one-party governments and only six multi-party systems.

- More than three-quarters of the 360 000 Black labourers employed in the South African gold mining industry came from neighbouring countries.

- South Africa was responsible for almost three-quarters of Southern Africa's GNP and almost a quarter of Africa's total.

- South Africa's spending on the development of the Blacks within its borders from 1962 to 1972 was almost twice the total United Nations aid to 38 developing countries in the same period.

No more loans until detente say bankers

5. APR 27/8 / B

Own Correspondent
DURBAN — Two top South African bankers have warned that South Africa is becoming "horribly over-borrowed" on overseas capital markets and that this country should adopt a more orderly approach to its foreign borrowing.

Mr R. A. Setter, managing director of Rand Bank said in Durban that overseas bankers were becoming more conservative because of limited resources in evaluating applications for resources.

Mr Setter said there

was a new awareness with regard to South Africa's political policies, but it had been clear that there would be no loans forthcoming until detente was reached in Africa.

Mr Setter called for the establishment of a "central agency" to handle all South Africa's infrastructural borrowings overseas and thereby create "banking order" in South Africa.

He said: "Everybody is scrambling for money in overseas markets" for example Iscor and Escom, one after the other. This had led many overseas bankers to believe that South Africa was over-borrowed.

Mr J H Gerber, managing director of Federale Bank has also warned South Africa will be unable to "get the foreign capital we need to expand our economy" in the next few years.

He reminded that one South African organisation had found great difficulty in raising a R10m loan at the end of last year, after being told overseas: "You have borrowed too much."

Added to this situation was the fact that savings had dropped dramatically in South Africa recently.

"Savings in the last number of years have averaged 10 percent of national income. In the last year this figure dropped to around four percent," he said.

Mr Gerber called for increased incentives to encourage savings.

Both bankers were addressing delegates to the change-orientation and planning seminar being held in Durban this week by the Graduate School of Business of the University of Stellenbosch.

NEW CLAIMS ^{N. Mex.} BY SOMALIA ^{28/7/77}

LONDON — Somali-backed insurgents said yesterday fighting against Ethiopia was still raging in the Horn of Africa, adding they had now captured seven important centres.

Ethiopia says it is fighting a defensive battle against a full-scale Somali invasion backed by tanks and planes of its Ogaden Desert region.

Somalia denies sending in regulars, but makes no secret of its support for the insurgents' West-Somalia Liberation Front.

A front statement issued by Somalia's embassy here said "fierce fighting, in which the front has the upper hand, over the occupation

forces, is still raging throughout west Somalia."

It listed seven "important towns and centres in Ethiopian-occupied west Somalia," as having been captured between July 16 and 25, naming them as Gode, Nebre Dehar, Warder, Dudub, Awbar, Gogti and Shilaabo.

The first three have been reported captured in earlier front communiques. — (Sapa-
Reuter.)

Dr. D. 29/5/57

Arab peace initiative ①

CAIRO — Libya and Egypt have agreed to a peace plan worked out by Arab mediators to end their conflict, an official Palestinian source said here yesterday.

The source said the agreement provided for: an end to propaganda warfare between the two countries from next Monday; high-level meeting between the two countries in either Algiers or Kuwait between August 1 and 10; and meetings by joint military committees.

— SAPA-RNS.

A Mercury 29/7/77

Arabs make peace claim

Bureaux have been oriented by Libyan officials in Cyprus, Sweden and Beirut and at the same time generous offers are being made clandestinely in France, West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and Switzerland.

Libya has discovered in its border clashes with Egypt that it lacks trained fighters with technical know-how to use modern weapons. It wants mercenary pilots, tank crews and radar specialists — mercenaries with brains rather than brawn.

Contracts are being offered at R10 000 a month, with fabulous additional "battle bounties" for each enemy plane shot down, tank destroyed or soldier captured.

Mercenaries have already started to pour in. The Libyan Embassy in Beirut has chartered a Bulgarian airliner to fly 150 Palestinians to Tripoli every day. (Mercury Correspondent Sapa-Reuter.)

CAIRO — Libya and Egypt have agreed to a peace plan worked out by Arab mediators to end their conflict, an official Palestinian source said here yesterday.

The source said the agreement provided for an end to propaganda warfare between the two countries from next Monday, a high-level meeting between the two countries in either Algiers or Kuwait and meetings by joint military committees.

The source said the committees had started meeting two days ago.

Tension between the Egyptians and the Libyans flared into four days of border fighting involving troops and planes at the end of last week.

President Anwar Sadat of Egypt ordered a cease-fire on Sunday.

Relations between the two Arab neighbours soured over differences about the conduct of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

Egyptian allegations of Libyan-sponsored acts

of sabotage followed.

The Palestinian source said the peace agreement between Egypt and Libya was secured through the mediation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation leader, Mr. Yasser Arafat, and the Kuwaiti Foreign Minister, Sheikh Sabh Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah.

The two men and the Algerian President, Col Houari Boumedienne, have been involved in a peace shuttle between Cairo and Tripoli.

Meanwhile Libya is recruiting the highest paid mercenaries in the world, it was learned in Paris yesterday.

- for some
ctive of
-menopause;
tterns of
e cultural
ect the
cting up
M. (1977)
mother
quos
body, 1956).
number of
a limits
of
L
Prayer Book
at generation
line
TO BE REFORM
ing to
diversity of
the facts
upon them

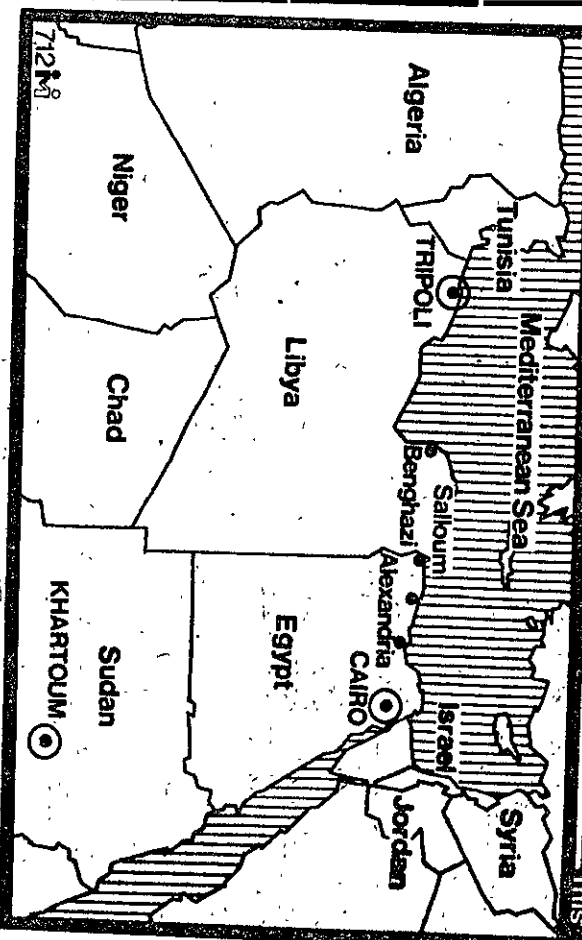
evalu
socie
(ost
child
for s
relat
empha
Women
marria
husba
tradi
propo
articl
based
the
-sup
to be
of
other
of
double
it
first c
those r
that
close of
for a
he after the
the
the
-
those facts
The
board
they do indicate
and the social rules.
potent in that they provide,
to which the morally emancipated
comfortably cling.From the evidence
commend Neehan's view
lifted out of society and examined
seen within the specific cultural
and other scarce resources - as
a discreet institution

and that men are needed to
close of the conference and in any case not later
journal as soon as possible and in any case not later
to
The copyright nevertheless remains with the individual con-
has the first right to publish, if it so wishes, any of the papers contributed to
The proceedings of the biennial conferences of ATSSA are normally published
in one of the following annual volumes of the Association's journal French
Address
Name
Signature
Date

legitimate to
I here
study in 1978
I here
study in 1978
and other scarce resources - as an aspect of a system rather than
a discreet institution

Association des Etudes Françaises en Afrique
Association for French Studies
ROND BOBOL AND CLEARLY MARKED ADMISSIONS
TO BE RETURNED TO THE REGISTRAR, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN, PRIVATE BAG,

EGYPT - LIBYA BORDER



YOUSSEF AZMEH explains why Nasser's ghost still hovers over the Arab world

Why Egypt and Libya are fighting

D.D. 27/7/77

Egyptian-Libyan border clashes on a scale unprecedented in the recent history of relations between Arab countries have thrown the Arab world into confusion.

They are further evidence that the sense of unity experienced among the Arab states during the 1973 war with Israel was an exception to the general trend of events.

Divisions have plagued the Arab world in the decades that have brought independence from Western domination. The early years after World War II saw the creation of

the state of Israel at the cross-roads between the Arab states of Asia and Africa. Differences over how to deal with the Jewish state have been at the centre of many inter-Arab disputes.

The present dispute between Egypt and Libya stems directly from the opposition of the Libyan leader, Col Muammar Al-Gaddafi, to the way Pres Anwar Sadat of Egypt conducted the 1973 war against the Israelis.

The disagreement is only one of many that divide almost every Arab state from its neighbours.

The first inter-Arab disputes resulted from mutual recrimination over the joint effort to prevent the creation of Israel, which ended in a military debacle for all the Arabs.

The recrimination continues, and the 1948 war, seen as indicating the inadequacy of the Arab regimes, led to social and political upheavals which shook the Arab world.

The latest conflict coincided, paradoxically, with the 25th anniversary of the 1952 Egyptian revolution, which was born of the humiliation of

the Egyptian armed forces in 1948.

The revolutionaries consider themselves direct political descendants of the Egyptian leader, Col Gamal Abdel Nasser, and their quarrel with Pres Sadat is mainly based on their belief that he deviated from the Leftwing nationalist path charted by Pres Nasser.

But revolutionaries of this stamp are now in a minority in the Arab world, which in recent years has seen a shift away from radicalism. However, Libyan

radicalism is at least verbally echoed by the leaders of Iraq and Algeria.

But these two other revolutions have mellowed with the years — mainly because, in spite of their oil wealth, the populous countries had to face vast development problems.

With a population of only 2.5 million and oil revenues of some R2,200 million a year, the Libyan Republic can afford to be the most radical of the Arab States, some of its critics say. — SAPARINS

D.O. 26/7/77

Sadat's order ends fighting

CAIRO — Border fighting between Egypt and Libya was apparently at an end yesterday after four days of fierce air and ground battles.

Pres Sadat of Egypt ordered a halt to military operations against Libya immediately after he began talks with the Algerian President, Mr Houari Boumedienne.

Pres Boumedienne came from Tripoli but it was not clear whether Pres Sadat's order was in response to a similar decision by the Libyan leader, Col Muammar Gaddafi.

Libya has not announced a halt to its military operations yet and has not acknowledged the Egyptian decision.

But neither side accused the other of any military activity yesterday

along their 1 100 km border in the Western Desert.

Meanwhile, on Ethiopian battlefronts, rebel forces yesterday reported major victories against Government troops.

Insurgents of the Western Somalia Liberation Front claimed to have taken three towns deep inside Ethiopian territory in the south-eastern Ogaden Desert.

Eritrean guerillas, fighting for the independence of Ethiopia's northern region, said they had captured Agordat, the main town of Western Eritrea.

Ethiopia's Marxist military government has accused Somalia of sending its regular troops with planes, tanks and artillery into the Ogaden.



2. Discuss Steward/

3. Review the Wilson corpus and assess the validity of the Wilson corpus

4. Monitor Western press coverage of the border war

5. (Term paper) Review the Tikopia corpus and discuss the validity of a "baseline for change" concept

(c) The view that change is a dialectical process

(e) The view that change is generally imposed from without

1972. 26/7/77

Due Date, Tuesday 27 September (or 4 October)

N. Mercury 26/7/77

Halt in border fighting

CAIRO—Border fighting between Egypt and Libya was apparently at an end yesterday after four days of fierce air and ground battles.

President Anwar Sadat of Egypt ordered a halt to military operations against Libya late on Sunday.

The Middle East News Agency said the halt was ordered immediately. President Sadat began talks with the Algerian President, Mr. Houari Boumedienne.

President Boumedienne arrived from Tripoli but it was not clear whether President Sadat ordered the stop to military operations in response to a similar decision by the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

Libya has so far publicly announced no halt to its military operations and has not acknowledged the Egyptian decision.

But yesterday neither side accused the other of any military activity along their 1100km north-south border in the Western Desert.—(Sapa-Reuter.)

RESIDENT

ner's expulsion depended
"on his actions in the

CURRENT RESEARCH (5-10 LINES)

--- : (HOME)

--- : TELEPHONE NUMBER (WORK)

--- : UNIVERSITY ADDRESS

--- : NAME

Please fill in this form and hand it in with the registration fee (R5,00) at the desk, where you will be provided with a folder containing full details of the workshop.

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN STUDIES
RESEARCH WORKSHOP
MAY 1977

N. Mercur 4 25/7/77

Ethiopia says land lost in fighting

①

LONDON — Ethiopia's military government says Somali troops are occupying large areas of south-east Ethiopia and bitter fighting is going on in the area around the major towns of Harar and Dire Dawa.

wheat areas).

INTRODUCTION:

The explosive expansion of the well publicized and it is coming to meet the world's growing need for food. Substantial increases in agricultural production are required to feed and clothe the growing population. Increased production has been achieved with known and available techniques but very little investment in agriculture including investment in machinery is needed to maintain this trend.

A statement issued by the official Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) yesterday said: "The Somali Government has now resorted to deploying tanks, aeroplanes and heavy artillery, thus occupying the greater part of Ogaden (the desert region of south-east Ethiopia facing Somalia)."

Earlier reports from both countries have spoken of heavy fighting and both sides have claimed military successes but this is the first time Ethiopia has officially said large areas of its territory are occupied.

The ENA report said Somalia had been "launching incursions and acts of aggression by sending its soldiers into Ethiopia — particularly in Warder, Kebri Dehar, Degehabur, Gode — the areas surrounding Dire Dawa and Harar." — (Sapa-Reuter.)

EFFECTS ON

ze and

While increased mechanization has an important and far-reaching effect on total production as increased fertilization and the selection of more productive hybrid strains, which are also disease and pest resistant, will have, machines do have an important role to play in the many applications for which they are eminently suitable in agricultural production such as in soil preparation, planting and harvesting.

While high levels of mechanization are unlikely in the

It's all-out war say Libyans

D.D.
25/7/77
①

LONDON— Libya last night accused Egypt of creating a state of all-out war when it resumed air attacks on the border yesterday.

The official Libyan news agency reported from its headquarters in Tripoli that a large number of Egyptian warplanes had attacked the Libyan air base at Adem, near Tobruk.

"Thus the Sadat regime has declared an all-out war against Libya without any justification."

The agency also reported that several Italian workers had been killed in a strafing of an Italian construction company near the oasis of Al-Kufra yesterday afternoon.

It said an Egyptian squadron commander whose plane was shot

down had been captured near the Adem air base.

The commander had told interrogators that aircraft which raided Al-Kufra had come from Sudan.

"This means that Sudan and Egypt have put their joint military agreement into force and that Libya is now the target of direct aggression by both the Egyptian and Sudanese regimes," the agency said.

In all Libya claimed to have shot down 14 Egyptian aircraft yesterday.

In Cairo, a military spokesman confirmed that Egypt had resumed

its air attacks on Libya yesterday with a raid on the Adem air base. But he denied that Egyptian jets had raided Al-Kufra.

The spokesman said the attackers had destroyed six Libyan planes on the ground at Adem, as well as tanks, anti-aircraft positions, runways and installations.

Egypt lost two Soviet-built Sukhoi-20 bombers, but one pilot had parachuted into Libyan territory, he said.

Yesterday's attack on Adem, a former British base, was the second in three days of air and ground fighting.

The renewed clashes coincided with increased Arab efforts to bring about a ceasefire, with Kuwait and Algeria joining peacemaking attempts by the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Late last night Pres Sadat was reported to have ordered a halt in military operations against Libya shortly after starting talks in Alexandria with President Boumedienne of Algeria.

Meanwhile, a Tel Aviv newspaper said yesterday Israel had assured Egypt it would not exploit the conflict with Libya. — SAPA-AP-RNS.

N. Mercury 25/7/77

'All-out war' as planes attack

LONDON—By resuming its air attacks on Libya, Egypt has created a state of all-out war between the two countries, according to the Arab Revolution News Agency, based in Tripoli.

The news agency reported that "a large number" of Egyptian war planes had attacked the Libyan air base at El Adem, near Tobruk.

"Thus the Sadat regime has declared all-out war against the Libyan Jamahiriya (republic) without any justification," it said.

Arna also reported "several innocent Italian workers" killed in a strafing of an Italian construction company near the oasis of al-Kufra yesterday afternoon.

Arna said an Egyptian squadron, whose plane was shot down, had been captured near the Gamal Abdul Nasser air base at El Adem.

In all, Libya claimed to have shot down 10 Egyptian aircraft over Tobruk yesterday.

In Tripoli a military spokesman said that after the air raids by Egyptian warplanes the area was combed, searched and eight planes were found.

There were five Soviet built Sukhoi and three French built MiG fighter bombers, he said.

Two other planes, one MiG and a Sukhoi, later attempted another attack but were brought down, the spokesman said.

Sudan

Arna said the Egyptian squadron commander had told investigators that the aircraft which raided the base at al-Kufra came from Sudan.

"This means Sudan and Egypt have put their joint military agreement into force and that the republic (Libya) is now the target of direct aggression by both the Egyptian and Sudanese regimes," the agency said.

A Cairo report says a large formation of Egyptian war planes yesterday destroyed anti-aircraft rocket posts and six Libyan jets in an attack on El Adem.

The attack followed a brief lull in three air and ground attacks between Egypt and Libya (formerly the Arab republic) which tempted to find a ceasefire. (Reuter-AP.)

CURRENT RESEARCH (5-10 LINES):

(HOME):

TELEPHONE NUMBER (WORK):

UNIVERSITY ADDRESS:

NAME:

details of the Workshop.

Please fill in this form and hand it in with the registration fee (RS,00) at the desk, where you will be provided with a folder containing full

MAY 1977

RESEARCH WORKSHOP

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

Kubane na Ethiopië

HAVANA. — Kuba stuur 'n span van 300 dokters en mediese personeel na Ethiopië om 'n ernstige tekort daar te verlig. In Ethiopië is daar net 125 dokters vir die 35 miljoen inwoners.

Bande tussen Kuba en Ethiopië is versterk sedert die revolusionêre regering onder leiding van kol. Mengistu Haile-Mariam die bewind in Ethiopië oorgeneem het. — (Sapa—Reuter).

Handwritten: 24/7/77

①

RIYADH — Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have decided to increase their oil prices by 5 percent to bring their prices into line with other Opec members, the Saudi Press Agency announced yesterday.

The agency, quoting an official statement, said the decision had been made following a meeting between the UAE Oil Minister, Mr. Manah Said al-Oteiba, and the Saudi Oil Minister, Mr. Ahmed Zaki Yamani.

The increase was effec-

MERCURY 4/7/77

Arabs to put up oil price

tive from last Friday, the agency said.

The statement said the two ministers had agreed to raise the price of their countries' oil to Opec's figure agreed at its meeting last December in Doha, Qatar.

The UAE and Saudi

Arabia had held their increase to 5 percent on January 1 while the other 11 members of Opec had raised their prices by 10 percent with a further 5 percent rise set for July 1.

Nine Opec members announced last Wednesday in Vienna, site of the Opec headquarters, that they would drop the second increase following suggestions from the UAE and Saudi Arabia that they would equalise on 10 percent if other Opec States held the line there. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

Africa will burn first says MP^{22/6/77}

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—
More than half of Africa
would have to go up in
flames and smoke before
South Africa surrendered,
Dr. V. Vilanel (NP,
Krugersdorp) said yester-
day.

Speaking in the third
reading debate of the
Budget, he said the world
should note that the South
African nation was strong
and had a will to survive.

South Africa was busy
working out a modus
vivendi for the whites,
Coloureds and Indians and
because a homeland for
each group was out of the
question, each group had
to get full, complete and
equal independence
within the same
geographical area.

Indians and Coloureds
loved South Africa as
much as whites and
wanted to protect it, he
said. — SAPA.

Mercury
6/6/77

Tourists trapped by coup

VICTORIA — At least 100 South Africans have been caught up in the Seychelles coup where Leftist Prime Minister Mr. Albert Rene took over from President James Mancham at the weekend.

President Mancham, in London for the Commonwealth conference, yesterday said a Soviet conspiracy was to blame for the end of the reign and called on the West and African nations to intervene.

A strict curfew was in force in the capital, Victoria, yesterday, with the Government-run radio warning that anyone venturing out on to the streets would be shot.

Communications links with the islands were cut and a spokesman for British Airways said last night that flights were being diverted through Nairobi.

Mr. Robin Hammond, Seychelles' tourist representative in South Africa, said between 100 and 150 South Africans were on the islands. He said every effort would be made to enable them to "continue to enjoy their holiday."

Troubled flared on the islands when a group of unidentified men fought briefly with the police early yesterday and then announced over the Government radio that President James Mancham had been overthrown.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rene, a political opponent of Mr. Mancham but his partner in a coalition government, said later he had accepted an offer to form a new government. He promised "full freedom" to the 60 000 inhabitants of the islands which became independent within the British Commonwealth a year ago.

Mr. Rene accused Mr. Mancham of high living long absences from the Seychelles, and pursuing policies against the people's interests.

Local sources said two policemen had been killed and several others wounded when their attackers broke into a police barracks on the outskirts of Victoria yesterday.

The group seized arms and there was an exchange of rifle and automatic gunfire.

The armed group then took over the radio station and began broadcasts accusing Mr. Mancham of planning to postpone elections due in 1979 and of trying to make himself President for life.

Armed police and civilians patrolled the streets of Victoria and lorry loads of armed police were seen heading out into the countryside.

The radio said several senior British police officers were detained during the coup and would be deported on an overnight plane, along with the Irish Chief Justice.

Mr. Rene heads the Seychelles Peoples United Party (SPUP) which contains a strong Marxist element.

Political sources said Mr. Rene would preside over a new and smaller team of ministers drawn entirely from his party. —(Sapa-AP.)

GUNMEN FREE TWO WOMEN

ASSEN—South Moluccan gunmen yesterday freed two women captives from a train they hijacked 14 days ago.

They released the women to the Health Minister in the self-styled government-in-exile of the South Moluccans, Dr. Tutahatanewa.

He boarded the yellow train at 6.05 p.m. local time and stayed inside for more than 75 minutes.

He then emerged with the two women and they walked along the track to his car, parked on a dirt road.

The two were later taken by ambulance, under police escort, to the hospital in Groningen, the witnesses said.

The women were identified as the 23-year-old pregnant wife of a Dutch nuclear power plant technician, Mrs. Nelleke Ellenbroek-Prinsen, and Mrs. A. H. Brouwerkorf (31).

A Justice Ministry spokesman said the authorities could not give any immediate information on their condition. —(Sapa-Reuter-AP.)

Mercury 6/6/77

1

West Africa's borders disputed in Togo and Ghana

TONY HODGES: Lome, Togo

DEEP in mountainous countryside along the border between the West African States of Ghana and Togo is the village of Kuma-Bala. The cocoa farmers who live there have a problem: the Ghana-Togo border runs along the main village road.

There is no border fence and, like the village goats, chickens and ducks, the villagers criss-cross the border at will.

Every few weeks, Ghanaian border guards, who patrol through the bush, come to the village — whose normal contact with the outside world is a dirt road to the Togolese town of Kpalime, 20km away. The villagers, who think of themselves as Togolese rather than Ghanaians, complain that the Ghanaian border guards try to prevent them passing freely between their huts and their fields of cocoa trees.

Whether they live in Togo or Ghana, the people of Kuma-Bala area belong to the same tribal group and speak a common language, Ewe. Moreover, before World War I, their great-grandparents lived in the same country, the old German colony of Togoland.

The present frontier was established in 1919 at the Versailles Conference. Then, nearly one third of Togoland was given to Britain and the rest to France. Both parts of Togoland were administered under League of Nations mandates and then, after 1946, as United Nations Trustee Territories.

In 1960, the French granted independence to their part of Togoland, which became the Republic of Togo. A plebiscite in British-ruled Western Togoland, in 1956, favoured independence and integration with the Gold Coast, which became the Republic of Ghana in 1957.

More than one-third of those who voted in the 1956 plebiscite opposed

integration with the Gold Coast. In addition, the Republic of Togo continues to this day to advance territorial claims to Western Togoland.

Two Togo-based separatist factions, the National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland (NLMWT) and the Togoland Liberation Movement (TLM), want the area to break away from Ghana and unite with neighbouring Togo.

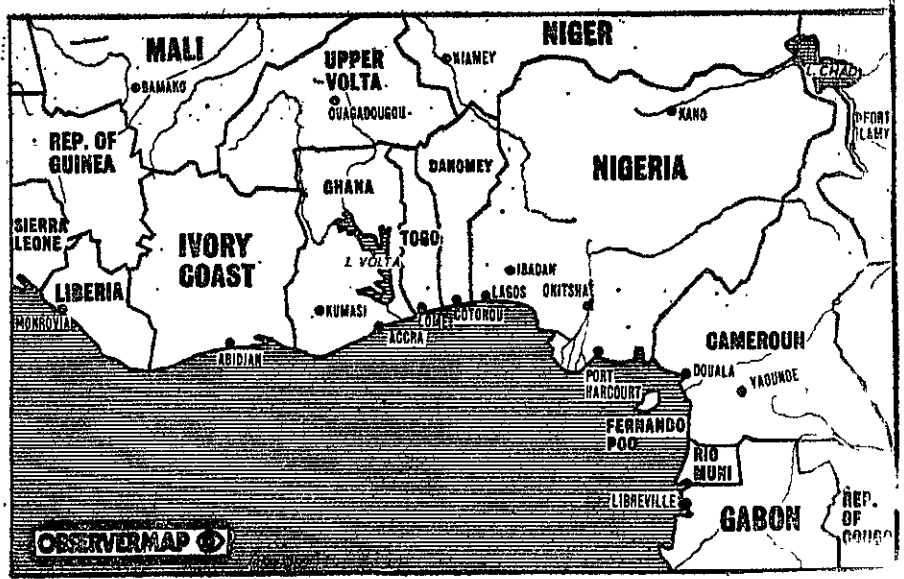
The pan-Togolandians naturally have little difficulty in winning support from the villagers of Kuma-Bala. "Please let the world know that we want reunification," I was urged by Dagadou Gakpanya, the village chief.

Even a restoration of the old frontiers of German Togoland would not do justice to all the ethnic groups of this region. The border between German Togoland and the Gold Coast, set by the Congress of Berlin in 1885, and subsequent Anglo-German treaties, divided the Dagbani tribe in the north and separated the Ewe-speaking Anlo, Tonu and Peki from the majority of Ewe-speakers who ended up in Togoland.

Today, the Ewe-speaking peoples stretch along the Atlantic Coast, from the Volta River in Ghana to the Republic of Benin, east of Togo.

Separatist sentiment in the Ewe-speaking areas of south-east Ghana causes problems for the Accra Government.

In August 1975, the Ghanaian military Government offered an amnesty to separatists living in exile in Togo, but only 3 of the NLMWT's 23-man executive reportedly returned.



Then, early in 1976, the Ghana Government banned the secessionist movement and ruled that anyone found supporting it would be liable to imprisonment and fines.

Last year, General Ignatius Acheampong, the Ghanaian head of State, announced: "Any person who organises, advocates or promotes the secession or breaking away of any part of Ghana shall be guilty of an offence and will suffer death by firing-squad." So far, however,

no separatists have been executed. Ghanaian border patrols are being stepped up to combat another problem: the high incidence of smuggling between Togo and Ghana. Last December, the Ghanaian Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Col R.S.A. Felli, warned that Ghanaian-Togoland relations could not improve until Togo expelled Togoland nationalist leaders and acted against the smugglers — who take Ghanaian cocoa into

Togo and consumer goods the other way into shortage-hit Ghana.

Public sympathy in Togo tends to lie with the secessionists, so it would be politically difficult for the Togolese Government to clamp down on their activities here. "The authorities would not dare to expel us," TLM leader Kofi Dumoga said, though he disputed Ghanaian claims that the Togo Government gave his movement active assistance.

1

Despite murders, martyrdoms and harassments, Christianity in black Africa is booming. Congregations are increasing in numbers and young people are flocking to the fold.

People are surging in to hear the word of God in the massive cathedrals and churches built in the colonial days in the cities and the little tin mission chapels in the rural areas.

The All-African Conference of Churches (AACCC) based in Nairobi, which represents 112 Protestant and orthodox churches in 33 countries, estimates there are well over 100,000,000 Christians in Africa, including Catholics, though members of the confederation are not.

Ker Best, an AACCC official, told me: "By 1980 there may be more Christians in Africa than anywhere else. Africans today have a huge need for the Christian message."

But it will be an African church. Africanisation of the clergy and a line-up with old tribal beliefs are taking over at a pace that would bewilder the old white missionaries.

Strange, new forms of doctrines are appearing with the proliferation of schismatic and independent churches, once labelled "pagan."

Even the conservative old Anglican and Catholic Churches compromise with African drum playing and sometimes tribal dancing. At one recent religious conference a Catholic archbishop danced to the beat of African drums.

Some independent sects believe Jesus Christ was a blackman. One of these is the Holy Spirit Church of Zion which has some 10,000 members in East Africa. Their leader, Joseph Mwangi, who was born under the snowline of Mt. Kenya, claims he had a dream in which an angel in white brought a

the es- and practices spectors of Officers,

Labour - e.g. e Act.

dry and

ar & products

statistics

coholism ages FOR BLACKS ommodation,

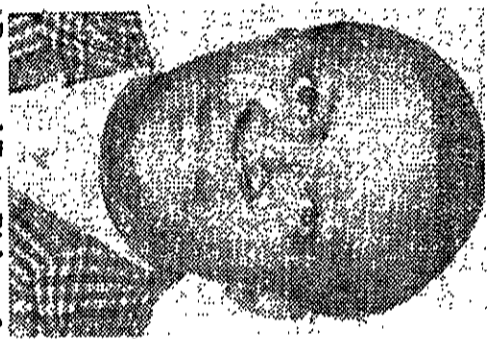
Africa gets the message

Daily Dispatch 17/11/77

message from God telling him to bring the people to Him by preaching.

On Sundays the sect wears long white robes and white turbans, symbols of purity, and march along the streets banging drums and singing. Parts of their beliefs are taken from orthodox creeds. They do not eat meat on Fridays; in fact they will not eat meat on weekdays which was cooked on Fridays. They are polygamists, and celibacy is forbidden to their holy men.

The belief in many independent churches that Christ was a blackman fits in with the continent-wide movement to Africanise Christianity. It is a big issue. A revolt against white Christian "imperialism" is sweeping across Africa. One symp-



Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Lesotho

tom is a growing demand for a "moratorium" on money funded by America and Europe for missionary activities. Some African

theologians see it as a question of power — leadership appears to be in indigenous hands, but the real power lies in financial control from Rome, Canterbury and New York.

"We have been dependent so long on foreign administrators, financial structures and theological and cultural norms that we have not been able to be ourselves and make our own contributions to Christianity," said one African church leader.

Race enters bluntly into the controversy: "African theology has given the lie to the belief that worthwhile religion in Africa had to await the arrival of the white man," Dr Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Lesotho, told a conference in Nairobi. Many Africans feel they

are still fighting colonialism in the guise of Christianity. A Kenyan Government minister, James Nyagah, told me: "There were those Christian preachers who asked us in Kenya to pray with our eyes shut only for us to open our eyes to find all our land gone."

Canon Burgess Carr, the Liberator general secretary of the All-African Conference of Churches, said: "The Western missionary movement transformed Jesus Christ into the prototype of their race, their values and their customs — He was a white westerner."

On the "moratorium" Canon Carr, a leading protagonist, said: "African Christians have no desire to be the channel through which the continued domination

White missionaries may soon be on their way out, according to Pastor John Gutu, general-secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. "The African churches must call a halt to the receiving of manpower and money from their foreign relationships," he said.

But not all want to cut adrift from the West. "Where would our financial resources come from if not from America and Europe — we are mostly poor people?" said an African missionary.

Probably the biggest and most urgent problem facing the African churches is the increasing pressure of state power to make them conform to government policies and edicts. The church has felt the state lash in both black and white Africa. Two black archbishops

have been murdered in past months, one Anglican, the other Catholic. Black Anglican bishops have been forced to flee from religious persecution in Uganda. A white Methodist bishop has been expelled from Rhodesia. White churchmen have been forced out of South Africa for denouncing apartheid. Campaigns have been carried out against Jehovah's Witnesses.

Yet it is amazing how Christianity is spreading in African in one form or another. Some white missionaries are standing firm, like Ted Weaver of the Independent Baptist Churches of East Africa, based in Nairobi. He said: "We have been kicked out of Tanzania and Uganda but are going strong in Kenya with 32 missions. We have six white missionaries and 30 African pastors. Our churches are packed every Sunday and so is the Catholic church across the road."

John Worrall

Labour bureau
LABOUR DEPAR
LABOUR LEGISI
Labour tenant
Laundries
Leather & prod
Lebowa
LESOTHO - Gen
LESOTHO - Lab
Liaison Commi
Life expectan
LIQUOR
Literacy
15/

Africa's top men send apologies

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Southern Africa will be one of the two main topics at next week's Commonwealth summit in London, but it appears that only about five of the 12 African Commonwealth members will be represented by their Heads of State or Prime Ministers. The most notable absence is likely to be that of President Nyerere of Tanzania, who has attended regularly since his country became independent 15 years ago, reports Bridget Bloom, Africa correspondent of the Financial Times.

Leaders of other key countries — notably Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana and probably Sierra Leone — are likely to be absent.

It is thought the only absentee leaders from

non-African Commonwealth states will be Mr Forbés Brunham, of Guyana, who is ill, and Mr Eric Williams of Trinidad. All others, including Mr Morai Desai, India's new Prime Minister, are expected.

Africa sources insist that the lengthy absentee list is purely accidental. They say it does not reflect lack of interest or the controversy over the possible attendance of President Amin of Uganda.

HEART ATTACK

Apparently President Nyerere decided some months ago not to attend, in line with his earlier decision to devote more time to Tanzania's internal affairs.

As for other absentees, President Kenyatta now in his 80s, has not atten-

ded a summit since 1969, and General Obasanjo of Nigeria rarely travels abroad. He will be sending Mr Joseph Garba, his Foreign Minister.

President Stevens of Sierra Leone is believed anxious to consolidate his domestic position after his country's recent election, and President Khama of Botswana may not attend because of a recent heart attack.

President Banda of Malawi, who has not been to a Commonwealth meeting since 1971, is in London and is expected to attend, along with the President of Gambia and Lesotho and Swaziland's Prime Ministers.

In the debates on southern Africa, the main African contribution is likely to come from Dr Kaunda, Zambia's President.

30/5/77
flaw
①

SA: 'West's last chance'

Own Correspondent
RIO DE JANEIRO — The visiting Nigerian Foreign Minister, Mr Joseph Garba, told Brazil yesterday the Western Nations had "their last chance to solve the South African problem"

Speaking at an inter-

view in Brasilia, he said the time had come "to support the liberation of South Africa so that radical regimes do not rise in Rhodesia and Namibia because they did not have the help of the Western nations."

He did not see any

Soviet threat in the south Atlantic that would make it necessary to create a southern Nato.

He warned that Brazil should not be like the United States and see a Soviet threat and added that African nations felt "insulted" at the idea.

However, Mr Garba added that the socialist nations had been the "most constant" in supporting African aspirations: "The Western nations in most cases," he added, "have not been interested in helping us."

He explained that "for

245/1/81
this reason, Nigeria and other African countries turn to the Soviet Union because they gave aid to our liberation movements."

However, he stated that "Africa is emerging from a long period of colonisation and does not intend to be recolonised economically or politically."

Mr Garba said that Nigeria supported armed struggle for the independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

He could not guarantee that outside forces would no longer be used. However, he added "I am convinced that Africans prefer to fight alone provided they have the material and financial means to help."

Brazilian Foreign Minister, Mr Antonio Azeredo da Silveira, and Mr Garba in a joint statement said they had examined the process of decolonisation and noted recent progress with satisfaction.

①

Arab diplomacy beats Reds in Somalia

Own Correspondent
CAIRO — Egypt and the Sudan — in a drive to curb Soviet influence in the Red Sea — have claimed a major diplomatic triumph by persuading Somalia to reduce its links with Moscow and expel 1 000 Russian military personnel.

Russia, which has nurtured close relations with Somalia for years to secure naval and missile facilities at Berbera, has suffered a reverse in Somalia because of intensified Arab aid and diplomatic activity.

The Sudan's President Numeiri has been in close contact with President Siad Barre of Somalia, and the Sudan and Egypt have persuaded oil-rich Saudi Arabia to channel massive financial aid to offset Soviet military assistance for Somalia.

NEUTRALS

Although Somalia is a fully fledged member of the 20-nation Arab League, until recently it has adopted a neutral stance, playing off Moscow against the Arabs, but the Arabs have made a significant new advance.

Egypt and the Sudan are heavily dependent on the Red Sea and, apart from Somalia, having strategic ports in the Horn of Africa, on June 27 the French territory of Afars and Issas becomes independent as the renamed state of Djibouti with a port overshadowing the gateway to the Red Sea—and Somalia is likely to dominate Djibouti after independence.

SAFETY

Thus the Arabs, particularly Egypt, the Sudan and Saudi Arabia, are anxious to improve their relations with Somalia, loosen Russia's grip on Somalia, and ensure the safety of Bab-

el-Mandeb — 12-mile wide straits at the southern gateway of the Red Sea overshadowed by Djibouti.

The Red Sea is strategic for Sudan's key port and some Egyptian ports plus Egypt's Suez Canal.

The Red Sea is a vital waterway for Saudi Arabian oil exports from the Gulf.

All three Arab states are bitterly opposed to Russia, the Sudan having expelled Soviet military

personnel recently and Egypt has a three-year feud with Moscow, while Saudi Arabia is adamantly anti-communist.

Even more vital for the Arabs is implications of Red Sea control for their 29-year-old conflict with Israel.

In the last 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Egypt's navy was able to block the Bab-el-Mandeb southern Red Sea gateway to Egyptian shipping.

DAVID MARTIN writes on a new report on the small country of Equatoria Guinea

5/1/77 DJ

The forgotten dictatorship

In 1968 when Equatorial Guinea became independent from Spain after almost 200 years of colonial rule Saturnino Ibonjo was one of its bright young intellectuals with a promising career ahead.

He had graduated from Spain's Navarra University and gone on to study international relations in the United States. Equatorial Guinea's President, Francisco Macias Nguema, recognised Ibonjo's talents and urged him to abandon his studies — "in the interest of our great nation" — and become the country's first Ambassador to the United Nations.

He accepted and four months later he was called home for "urgent consultations." On arrival at Malabo Airport he was accused of being involved in a plot against the President. "Protesting his innocence, he was taken behind a nearby bush and summarily executed within minutes."

The death of Ibonjo is just one of the many cases used by Suzanne Cronje, a writer on African affairs, in her report for the Anti-Slavery Society, The Forgotten Dictatorship, to illustrate the slaughter and repression which has been taking place, and has been generally ignored, in Equatorial Guinea.

Mrs Cronje makes a point which is equally valid in the case of reporting Idi Amin's Uganda. "This catalogue of death concentrates only on the best known political leaders and says nothing of the hundreds of men, women and even children who were unknown outside their own country when they met similar fates."

"In many cases people have been punished or executed without even a pretence that they were guilty of a crime. This is especially true of women whose only crime was that they were related to politicians or officials who had fallen out of favour."

"In some cases whole villages have been destroyed when a member of the community was accused of disloyalty to Macias or some such crime."

Equatorial Guinea is forged from two former Spanish possessions, the island of Fernando Po, now renamed Macias Nguema Biyogo island after the President, and Rio Muni on the mainland, set between Gabon and Cameroon.

Its total size is a little under 11 000 square miles and as much as a quarter of its 300 000 people are estimated to have gone into exile to escape the repression of the past eight years.

Equatorial Guinea was the country that author Freddie Forsyth used in his book,

The Dogs of War in which a group of mercenaries overthrow and kill a repressive President. But that was fiction. President Macias is fact. He remains very much in control of a government which Mrs Cronje describes as "among the most brutal and unpredictable in the world."

This is a report for people with strong stomachs, as the following passage illustrates. "Pastor Torao Sikara, a deputy President and the most important Bubi chief, died of thirst in Bata jail, and Enrique Gori Molubela, one of the founders of the Union Bubi, died of gangrene after having his eyes gouged out."

The intellectuals, Mrs Cronje says, have been President Macias's main target. He is once quoted as having said: "These so-called intellectuals are the greatest problem facing Africa today. They are polluting our climate with foreign culture."

By the end of 1974 two-thirds of the members of Equatorial Guinea's 1968 Parliament had "disappeared" including almost all of the nationalist politicians involved in the struggle for independence from Spain. Many have died in the prison in the capital Bata. Often they are said to have committed suicide, a disease which Mrs Cronje notes "seems to have reached epidemic proportions."

Apart from the killings, politically decreed oppression touches almost every facet of life. Donations to missionaries are forbidden, pastors are not allowed to travel inside the country or abroad, and "preaching and sermons must be censored beforehand" according to an official decree.

As a result of the exodus of tens of thousands of workers from Nigeria when the killings and brutality touched them, a Presidential decree was passed in January making it compulsory for all citizens over

the age of 15 to do manual labour on the cocoa plantations and in the mines.

The right to communicate freely is banned, mail is censored and Equatorial Guinea citizens in exile or simply studying overseas have had their nationality and passports withdrawn.

Journalists are not allowed to visit Equatorial Guinea and the killings and repression remain cloaked in a conspiracy of silence, with Spain declaring news and comment on the former colony to be "materia reservada," a prohibition of any news in the Spanish Press.

Western and Communist nations as well as United Nations agencies continue to give assistance to President Macias. "If economic co-operation and international aid have helped to keep Macias in power the most important factor in his ascendancy has been the protective wall of silence around his bloody regime," Mrs Cronje concludes. — OFNS.

Countdown on Moscow-style Africa shuttle

6/1/77

278

LUSAKA — The Soviet Union appears poised for a diplomatic counter-offensive against Anglo-American policy in Southern Africa.

President Nikolai Podgorny will visit Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique next year, arriving here in the second half of March, African diplomatic sources in Moscow reported.

The three countries are key members of the "frontline" states in black Africa's struggle to end white minority rule in Rhodesia.

Mr Podgorny's trip follows Dr Kissinger's Southern Africa peace shuttle in September and new British efforts to achieve a peaceful Rhodesia settlement.

The Soviet Union and China both provide aid to the guerillas and Western diplomats here argue their influence would decrease if Britain, supported by the United States, brought an end to the war.

The Soviet Press has derided the Anglo-American peace efforts — but Moscow found itself on the sidelines while the

Western powers took the initiative.

None of the top Kremlin leaders has been to Southern Africa before.

Mr Podgorny's visit will be the first top-level contact between the Soviet Union and Transania, where China has concentrated its aid programme.

No firm details on Mr Podgorny's trip were immediately available here. — Sapa-Reuter.

● The Star's Africa News Service writes: Mr Podgorny's projected visit will cap a rapid spread of Russian interest and influence in the sub-continent.

Moscow established a significant presence in Zambia with the appointment as ambassador in Lusaka of Mr Vasil Solodnikov, a top Kremlin expert on Africa.

The Soviet embassy in Lusaka announced today that trade between Zambia and Russia is to be stepped up considerably this year.

Soviet diplomatic activity in Zambia is believed to reflect the recognition by the Kremlin of that country's potentially key role in the Southern Africa East-West power struggle.

SA gets blame for race riots

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — Recent race riots in Madagascar, where an estimated 1,000 Comorians were killed, were officially blamed on South Africa, according to the first reliable eye-witness report to reach Paris.

French agronomist Jean-Marc Devillard was in Majunga, a city in north west Madagascar, when unskilled labourers of the Betsirake tribe started a massacre of the 16,000 Comorians in the area.

He said the Africans, armed with machettes, slaughtered the Comorians, who are Arab and Moslem, while police and troops either watched or took part in the killing themselves.

Mr Devillard said racial tension between the Africans and Comorians — there are about 60,000 settlers from the Comoros Islands group — exploded when some Comorians smeared an African child with excrement.

He said law and order was uncertain in Madagascar, where the regime of President Didier Ratsiraka was hardly in control, and many of the 250,000 Indian people were planning to flee. All Comorians were being evacuated by boat.

There are 18 different ethnic groups, totalling eight million people, in Madagascar, and the second largest group is the Betsirake tribe. They are known to be jealous of the Comorian and Indian shopkeepers and merchants.

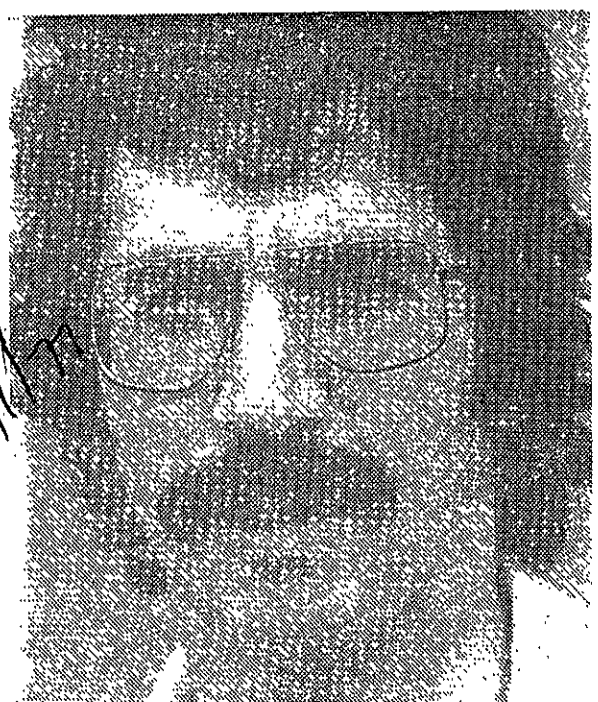
The Majunga massacre, which lasted from December 20 to 23, has never been clearly explained by the Madagascar Government.

But Mr Devillard said President Ratsiraka had told his people: "It was caused by South Africa because of my anti-apartheid policy."

Former President Philibert Tsiranana is on a private visit to Paris and is advising French officials on the dangerous situation in Madagascar.

Naught for the Reds, it seems

stay
17/11/77



Paul Berenger — A better than even chance of winning the next election in Mauritius.

Allen Pizzey,
The Star's Africa
News Service

PORT LOUIS — This island paradise is not about to become either a communist state nor a vassal of the Soviet Union, says Mr Paul Berenger, the man who has manoeuvred the Marxist-oriented Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) to within grasping distance of power.

Furthermore, should the MMM take over South African tourists will still be welcome. But the MMM will strengthen ties with the Eastern bloc, stop South African Airways planes from landing on the island even for refueling, support the anti-South African lobby at the UN and work hard at cutting the massive trade dependency of Mauritius on South Africa.

This was clearly spelled out by Mr Berenger in an interview.

COALITION

The MMM took 34 of the 70 seats in the National Assembly elections last month and the Labour Government of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam is only holding power now through a fragile coalition with the Mauritian Social Democratic Party (PMSD).

Politicians and observers from all shades of opinion agree that there will be another election within six months, and the MMM is given a better than even chance of coming out on top.

BASES?

The thought is giving shudders to Western political and military strategists who fear the island will fall prey to the Soviet Union and alter the balance of power in the Indian Ocean.

Mr Berenger says this will not happen if he can help it.

Asked if the Soviet Union would be allowed bases, Mr Berenger said: "We feel the Indian Ocean should be demilitarised completely.

"We would not be in favour of granting military facilities to any power and do not see the situation (where Mauritius would have to do so) arising in the world as it is today."

ENEMIES

However, he would not be pressed into stating categorically by name that the Soviet Union would not be allowed into Mauritius.

"We are not prepared to put ourselves into a position of dependence on any foreign power" was as close as he would come.

Mr Berenger added that he saw the United States and South Africa as "enemies" of the MMM. But he did not feel the US would be so "stupid as to push Mauritius into Soviet arms" as they had done to Cuba.

①

SA pilot, plane held

1971 1 27 JF
TANANARIVE — Mala-
gasy authorities today held
the pilot and three pas-
sengers of a South Afri-
can light plane intercepted
after entering Malagasy
airspace without permis-
sion, the Government said.
A communique said the
pilot and two of the
others aboard were South
Africans. A fourth person
held said Argentine civic
nationality.

The communique said
the plane, a Cessna 402,
was intercepted at Manan-
jary, a town in the south-
east of the Malagasy Re-
public.

It said a request for the
plane to fly through
Malagasy air space had
been rejected "on account
of the fact that the
Malagasy Government has
cut all links with the
racist government of South
Africa."

The Cessna had flown
into Malagasy air space
despite being forbidden to
do so by the authorities
here, the communique
said.

It gave no other details.
— Sapa-Reuter.

(1)

SAA pilot to be charged

ANTANANARIVO — Malagasy Radio said yesterday three men arrested when their South African light plane landed in the country without permission would be brought to court.

A Government communique did not specify what charges they would face. It corrected Wednesday's official statement after the plane touched down at Mananjary in south-east Madagascar that four people were aboard.

Authorities said they had arrested two South Africans and an American. Only Mr John

White, a SAA co-pilot was identified.

Prés Ratsiraka described the incident as a provocation on the part of international imperialism.

The R180 000 Cessna was hired by Mr White from a Johannesburg firm, who said it was not known for what purpose Mr White used the plane or who his passengers were.

A spokesman for the firm confirmed the make and model of the plane, which it said Mr White had chartered privately.

The firm's managing director, Mr N. de Villiers,

said: "We are naturally concerned about the situation." His company would do everything in its power to clarify it.

Mr White is believed to have been at the controls when the plane approached Malagasy. Authorities there turned down his request for permission to overfly the island en route to Réunion.

Authorities said permission was denied because the plane had come from "racist South Africa."

It is believed the pilot was then forced to land at Mananjary because of a fuel leak. — SAPA-RNS.

TABLE 5: Agricultural and Fodder Crop Production, Vegetable Sales, Number of Fruit Trees and number of livestock 1971

MAIZE Prod. (2001bs)	GRAIN SORGHUM Prod. (2001bs)	WHEAT Prod. (2001bs)	OTHER CEREALS Prod. (1501bs)	SUNFLOWER SEEDS Prod. (1001bs)	GROUND NUTS (SHELLED) Prod. (2001bs)	GROUND NUTS (UNSHELLED) Prod. (751bs)	LEGUMES Prod. (2001bs)
73 874 992	5 601 567	14 353 805	2 741 497	2 275 472	2 250 004	2 085 776	1 086 294

TOBACCO Prod. (kgs.)	CHICORY Prod. (kgs.)	SEED COTTON	SUGAR CANE	SISAL Prod. (20001bs)	PHORMIUM TENAX Prod. (20001bs)	HAY AND FODDER CROPS Prod. (20001bs)	VEGETABLES Sales (R)
28 510 966	53 923 106	478. Mr. H. H. SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Economic Affairs: Whether any customs agreements to which other African countries are also parties, have been entered into with Transkei, if so, (a) what agreements and (b) which African countries are also parties. The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS: No. (a) and (b) Fall away.	1	28 894	6 590	5 775 812	48 278 755

CITRUS TREES (B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	CITRUS TREES (N-B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	OTHER DECIDUOUS FRUIT (N-B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	CATTLE No.	OTHER SUB-TROP FRUIT (N-B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	NUT TREES (B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	NUT TREES (N-B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	GRAPES (B) ⁽²⁾ No. of vines
7 806 158	1 183 288	5 063 193	7 842 520	1 740 169	78 705	86 556	216 619 116

GRAPES (N-B) ⁽²⁾ No. of vines	OTHER DECIDUOUS FRUIT (B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	OTHER DECIDUOUS FRUIT (N-B) ⁽²⁾ No. of trees	SHEEP No.	GOATS No.	PIGS No.	HORSES, MULES, DONKEYS No.
26 372 483	12 740 609	5 063 193	29 425 782	2 135 218	890 826	273 621

OSTRICHES No.	POULTRY No.
70 670	20 504 684

Handled 4
col 415
18/2/77

(1)

20/4/77
Thousands in Africa's jails

The Star Bureau
LONDON — The number of political prisoners in black Africa is something that can no longer be ignored by the West, says Joe Rogaly, writing in London's Financial Times. The universal values of Western society must apply as much in Africa as anywhere else.

Excluding Uganda — "a special case" — thousands of people are known to be political prisoners in Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, the Sudan and Malawi, he says.

"None of this is on anything like the scale known in the Soviet Union, but the principle is not very different."

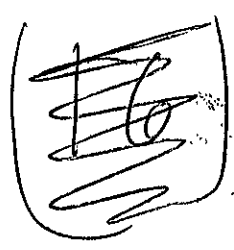
President Carter has declared the support of the

US for the freedom of such prisoners, and there is not much principle in drawing a line around black Africa and saying "it does not matter there," he writes.

"For of course it does. I say this as one who is in total opposition to the white domination of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, three countries in which the onset of revolution has been brought about by the oppressive nature of the present regimes.

"Yet if our Western society is to survive — if it is to deserve to survive — it must take pride in certain universal values. These apply in black Africa as much as in South Africa."

STAR
20/4/77
①



5/6/77

**R42 0
BE Y
SEE TODAY**

Pik tells of 14 pleas to aid Africa coups

By FLEUR DE VILLIERS

DISSIDENT groups from 14 black African countries approached South Africa for military help to overthrow their governments.

This disclosure was made by South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club banquet, Mr Botha revealed that when he was South Africa's Ambassador to the UN, he had been approached by groups from 14 African countries "in secret and in cafes" for military assistance.

"Every time South Africa said no."

Sometimes he had not even referred the request to his government.

In a scathing attack on American "selective morality" — the height of "immorality", Mr Botha said that America's UN Ambassador Andy Young would not last a day in any black country in Africa before being jailed.

Injustice

In every African country there was a group which differed from its government, he said.

He challenged the West to show what it was doing about injustice in the rest of Africa.

Referring to US vice-President Mondale's "slip of tongue" Mr Botha said that he did not want to insult Mr Mondale by not accepting that he had meant what he had said.

Mr Mondale had pulled the rug out from under those who wanted change in South Africa.

He had left South Africa no scope.

"There is no way that we will accept one man one vote," he said.

Mr Botha also conceded that "the map of the homelands doesn't look good".

He said that in his experience in negotiations everything went well until he had to show the map of the homelands.

"Then faces change," he said.

Sincerity

Other points raised in his speech were:

● The South African Government believed in, and guaranteed, Mr Smith's sincerity.

The West could not blame South Africa or Mr Smith if a peaceful settlement was not achieved in Rhodesia.

● Mr Smith had complied 100 per cent with Dr Kissinger's plan and had done what he had been asked to do.

● At the Vorster-Mondale meeting, America had given South Africa "veiled credit" for its efforts to

● To Page 2

5/6/77

**Pik: No
one man
one vote**

● From Page 1

wards a Rhodesian settlement.

● South Africa would have preferred South West Africa to be fragmented — "that was our policy."

It had nevertheless met every demand made through 31 years of negotiations over the territory.

● South Africa was not prepared to hand over South West Africa to Swapo Militant Sam Nujoma.

● He said he believed it necessary to "keep talking" with the West — but if one-man-one-vote is demanded of us, the answer is no.

"We have a right to control our own destiny, we don't push us."

Millions of Americans would, he said, side with South Africa on the issue of apartheid.

"They will not support details of our policy, but they will support our right to survive."

Mr Botha said South Africa had agreed to UN involvement in South West Africa. It had also agreed to release detainees in condition that Swapo release theirs.

The Turnhalle conference has been started by Mr Vorster because of an obligation put forward by Dr Waldheim, the UN secretary-general and his cross-party Mr Escher, who had charged South Africa with trying to keep the people of South West Africa apart.

Downing the Turnhalle "black church", Mr Botha said, was only when the UN Security Council met all the UN powers and the UN secretary-general.

Mr Botha said that the UN secretary-general had a duty to ensure that the UN Security Council met all the UN powers and the UN secretary-general.

Mr Botha said that the UN secretary-general had a duty to ensure that the UN Security Council met all the UN powers and the UN secretary-general.

Mr Botha said that the UN secretary-general had a duty to ensure that the UN Security Council met all the UN powers and the UN secretary-general.

Mr Botha said that the UN secretary-general had a duty to ensure that the UN Security Council met all the UN powers and the UN secretary-general.

Mr Botha said that the UN secretary-general had a duty to ensure that the UN Security Council met all the UN powers and the UN secretary-general.



①

Swedes protest against Ethiopian atrocities

1/19/77
S/S

STOCKHOLM — About 1 000 children have been massacred in Addis Ababa and their bodies, lying in the streets, were ravaged by roving hyenas, says the Swedish Save the Children Federation.

Mr Hakan Landelius, general secretary of the group, said it was sending a strong protest note to the Ethiopian embassy in

Stockholm, condemning the "terrible executions."

He told reporters that about 125 people were being slaughtered nightly in Addis Ababa.

Two weeks ago there was a purge in the Ethiopian capital and "there were clear indications that the authorities were arresting people and executing them without trial

and leaving dead children in the streets."

Mr Landelius said that about 1 000 children were massacred recently in "abominable aggression" committed by the Ethiopian Revolutionary Government. The youngsters were usually not buried, but eaten in the streets by hyenas. — The Times News Service.



*Sunday
Times*

Startling new report says Cuban leader put reputation at stake in Africa — and won by the CIA's default

By KEN OWEN

WASHINGTON: Western intelligence specialists are studying closely a Cuban-authored account of the war in Angola which claims Cuba took advantage of American weakness of will to mount a shoe-string operation across the Atlantic.

The account was written by Columban author Gabriel Garcia Marquez, a Communist author, and has been distributed by the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina. It casts fascinating fresh light on the action about which South Africans themselves still know so little. It suggests, too, that it would have taken very little pressure from the United States to turn the Cuban adventure into a fiasco.

Among other things Garcia's account includes mention of a military disaster suffered at a place called Caboto.

An enemy column had managed to repair a bridge under the cover of the morning mists according to Garcia and had surprised the Cubans, who were in the midst of a withdrawal.

"The analysis of this defeat showed it was due to an error on the Cubans part . . . the report states.

The Washington Post's version of the Garcia story gives no further details but it does say that one day earlier, on December 11, the commander of the operations in Angola — Raul Diaz Arguella, a veteran of the 1959 campaign that overthrew the Batista regime in Cuba — was killed by a mine as his armoured car drove to join forces against the enemy.

According to Garcia, the war was on the point of being lost at the end of November 1975 and early in December, with possibly disastrous consequences for Fidel Castro's regime in Havana.

The falling passage is one which reveals that Castro sent his Chief of Staff to Angola at the end of November to take personal charge of operations.

"Anything was possible," says Garcia, "except losing the war. But the historical fact was the war was at the point of being lost in the first week of December, the situation was so hopeless that some thought was given to the possibility of fortifying Cabinda and saving a beachhead near Luanda for an evacuation.

"The anguish was even greater because this grim prospect came up at the worst possible moment, for both the Cubans and the Angolans.

during tab.

"Agreement took only two hours to reach, but the meeting lasted longer," Garcia says with a touch of Marxist piousness, "because the South African general ordered a succulent dinner prepared on the Namibian side as they dined, he offered several aspects of the Garcia account in terms of a Marxist analysis. He is that there are some major discrepancies in the dates used by Garcia.

The Cubans were preparing for the first December 17 to 24, and their leaders were aware that a military setback in Angola would be a mortal blow politically. It was decided to instruct a near-defeat was turned into an unqualified triumph for Castro. The first American Senatorial in December 21 was in the middle of the Cuban party congress, to halt the CIA-sponsored action in Angola, resign withdrawal in January.

According to Garcia the first contingent of Cubans left Havana in November 7 in an ageing Britannia. They consisted of 82 hand-picked men, apparently

equivalent to the CIA

They were dressed in civilian clothing but carried a substantial load of light artillery, including three 82 MM mortars, and

Three ships left Havana about the same time carrying an artillery battalion, a mechanised battalion, and supplies of fuel, food, and other necessities. They arrived in November 27, the CIA has admitted, their air bridge maintained by the CIA. The American harassment of the Cubans used Par-bombs for retelling until according to Garcia, American threats closed that possibility. They switched to Sal Island — by South African Airways — until political pressure closed off that route.

Eventually the Britan-nias were modified to take extra fuel and they flew directly to Brazzaville, point was the starting point.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union was pouring in weapons, which required the skilled Cubans to operate them and to train the Angolans. December, in the Cuban view, was the crisis. Holden Roberto's forces — the Front for the Libera-



Fidel Castro

had penetrated from the north in Luanda 15 miles of the border by November 10, the Cubans, managed to slip in from Luanda, and mounted columns had been dispersed 120 miles from Luanda according to Garcia.

At one point, Garcia says, the Cuban artillery started only in November, but at another point, he admitted, the CIA had asked Cuba much earlier, on the basis of ties forged by the late Che Guevara in 1965 for assistance.

Russian arms

The request came on July 15, apparently for training to use the sophisticated Russian arms that had been turning up since March. Cuba responded quickly. The first troopship, the Vietnam Heroon arrived in Puerto Vallarta on October 4, followed by two more ships on October 7 and October 11.

The Cubans who disembarked set up four training centres, one in Cabinda, one at a point 180 miles east of Luanda, and two in the south at Entone de Carvalho and at Benguela.

CASTRO'S GREAT ANGOLA GAMBLE

clearly, already heavily engaged in the war by the time the South Africans entered the action.

The attack, and the no-entirely selfless, both appear from Garcia's account to be desperate rescue operations, launched when the first intelligence reports of Cuban military successes in the front line were in the air.

The key question — and the one that first free to the Soviet occupation, there was a Soviet encouragement, but Garcia gives as the main reason the fact that Angola came at a time of acute American weakness.

"A rapid analysis showed that at least twice about 1969 in-tervention," Garcia says, "I had just freed myself from the quarantine of Vietnam and the Valeriano scandal. It had a president no one had elected. The CIA was under fire in the Congress, and low-rated by public opinion.

"The U.S. needed to avoid seeming — not only in the eyes of African countries, but especially in the eyes of American blacks — to ally itself with racist South Africa. "Beyond all this it was in the midst of an election campaign in its bicen-

Cuba, on the other hand, could count on solidarity and material aid from the Soviet Union.

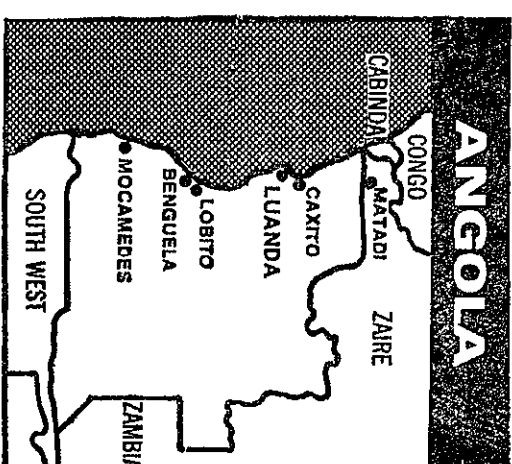
So Castro gambled, and gambled big. He threw his own political future on to this gamble, and he engaged the Cuban nation in it.

Whether he may try again, emboldened by the success in Rhodesia or South West Africa.

Garcia's account in the views of some intelligence analysts suggest that this is unlikely. The U.S. has pulled itself together to some degree, even though as much as 80 per cent of the public opposes direct American intervention in Southern Africa.

But more important, Cuba's small resources of men and material were clearly strained by the Angolan operation, and its army was exposed in a terribly vulnerable position. A single hard shove might have turned the Cuban triumph into a catastrophe.

The publication of the Garcia account seems to recognize this. One reason it is difficult to explain why the Cubans should so frankly have admitted their calculation of American weakness, nor why they should have told the world how thin they were stretched.



MPLA troops at the height of the action.

1
DOWNS 4/11/77

A new dimension as SA parleys with the West

BOB HITCHCOCK

LAST YEAR was the year South Africa became a world flashpoint. As a result, a new dimension was created in the country's foreign relations.

For the first time in many decades Western powers found it necessary to parley at top level with South African political leaders and officials.

Diplomatically, 1976 was a year of tension and bustle, great expectations, bitter disappointments, monumental gaffes.

But for all that, South Africa's trade and technical aid ties with some nations became stronger than ever.

The country's image in the eyes of the West and Black Africa remained tarnished. Discrimination and segregation based on race remained the stumbling block to more amicable foreign relations and the acceptance of South Africa as a full ally by major Western powers.

Because of this country's involvement in the Angola war, the props supporting the South African-Zambian initiative had by January last year ostensibly collapsed under pressure from a number of Black states, some probably influenced by the Soviet presence in the sub-continent.

But detente as a South African exercise did not die. The Government, in 1976, made renewed contact with a number of

Black states outside the circle of this country's known detente partners.

Towards the end of the first quarter of 1976, with South Africa disengaged from the more obvious activities of its Angolan adventure, there were great expectations in some official quarters in the United States and Europe that the apartheid Republic would "come right" racially by the end of the year.

At the same time, South Africa's intervention in Angola remained a sore point with many authorities in the West. A leading writer on South African politics, Professor Herbert Adam of Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, described it as "the greatest blunder of the century so far."

One of the many informed overseas criticisms was that South African interference provided an opportunity for Russian imperialism to project itself into the role of liberator of the Black masses against what the Soviets alleged was "racist South African expansionism".

In April, Prime Minister Vorster visited Israel. This cemented what Mr Yitzhak Unna, Israeli Ambassador to Pretoria, termed "an obvious expression of friendship" between the two countries.

In June came the first waves of Black rioting. Soweto and other town-

ships were burning as Mr Vorster flew to West Germany to meet Dr Kissinger, to discuss the perilous problems of Southern Africa.

Despite this country's domestic turbulence, Mr Vorster played it cool and won some applause for that from top West German and American officials.

But the Prime Minister's explanation to his German hosts and Dr Kissinger that the riots were part of a communist conspiracy aimed at sabotaging the talks, was not wholly accepted.

In interviews I had in Bonn and West Berlin at the time, top West German officials and diplomats representing a number of other European countries, voiced a common belief that even if there was a communist influence behind the rioting, this did not exonerate the South African Government.

The Vorster Government, they maintained, through its almost total rejection of Black aspirations inside South Africa, was playing into the hands of the communists.

In any case, they argued, even without communist influence, conditions were so bad for large numbers of Blacks that uprisings were inevitable in South Africa.

European and American officials were not only critical of discrimination, segregation and imprisonment without trial, but of what they regarded as South African Police overkill in riot situations.

When, in West Germany, Mr Vorster made it clear that in his estimation radical change was not necessary in his country, and that race relations had never been better, Western leaders shook their heads in despair.

This attitude of Europe and the United States was not born only of moral objections to apartheid.

They believed the Southern African situation to be a threat to world peace. And they saw South Africa's continued oppression of Blacks as a major contributing factor to that threat.

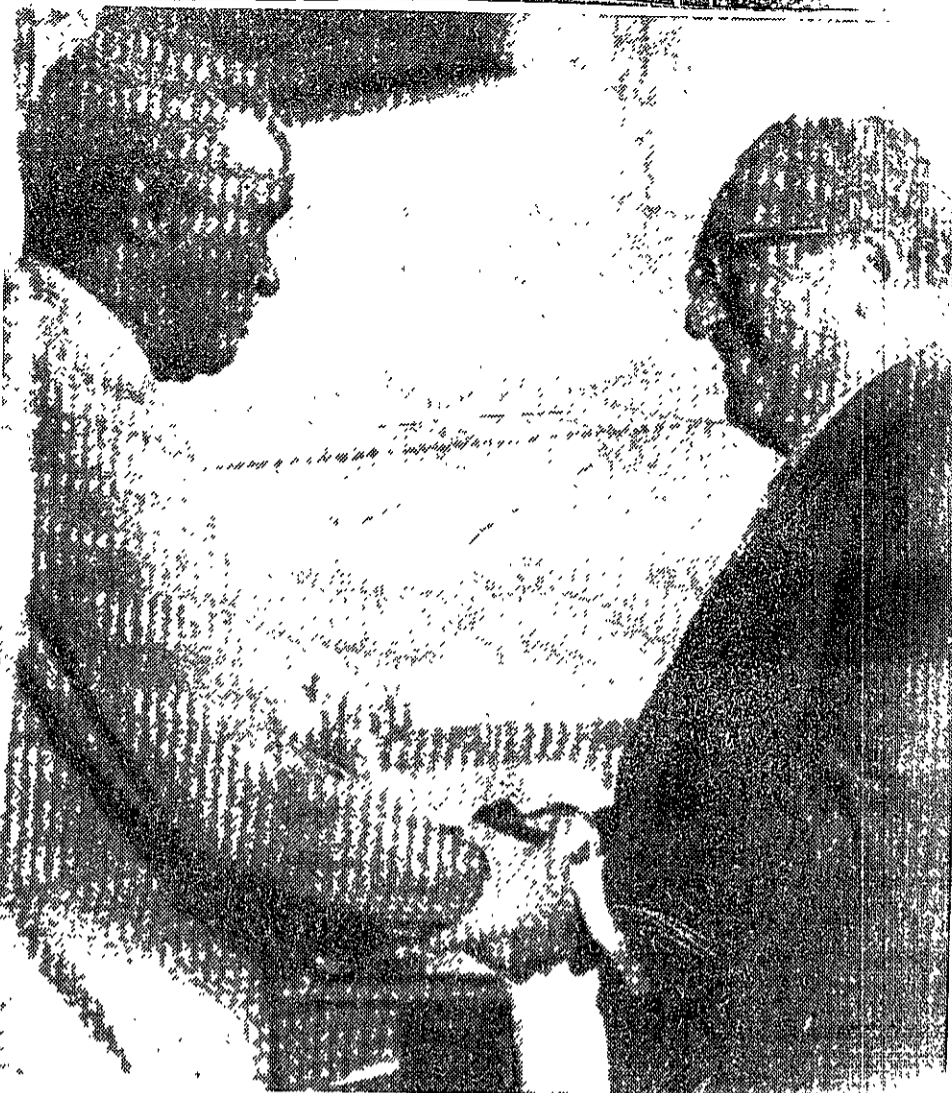
Hence the West's desire for discussion with South Africa's Prime Minister, correctly regarded as a kingpin in the shaping of the destiny of the Southern Africa region.

As the year moved on and the Geneva conference on Rhodesia opened, Mr Vorster and his advisers were frequently consulted by British and Rhodesian delegates, as they no doubt will be increasingly in early 1977.

Interesting facts emerged during 1976 relating to South Africa's foreign affairs.

For instance, it was confirmed that 19 Black states were to varying degrees dependent on this country for technical aid and millions of rands worth of goods and machinery.

Among these states,



Breaking up the logjam . . . Dr Kissinger in Lusaka with President Kaunda.

which are expected to become even more reliant on this country in 1977, were Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire, Congo, Mauritius — and even Ghana and Nigeria.

The Government's penchant for fostering relations with some of the world's most dubious rulers was perpetuated in 1976.

South Africa's investment in poverty-stricken Central African Republic, which is ruled by the notorious President Jean-Bedel Bokassa, said to be one of the cruelest dictators in Africa, is likely to be pushing R200-million by the middle of 1977.

In the same league is Paraguay's dictator, President Stroessner, who came to this country on a state visit in 1974.

Following South Africa's R6,7-million loan to that country, in 1975, last year it was reported that a South African company was considering investing some R180-million in a massive Paraguayan fertilizer project.

Other trading partners of South Africa included Rightwing dictatorships like Iran and Haiti, and communist East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

In a different league, South Africa's tenuous and little publicised links with the Arab world, which were first forged in 1974 with Saudi Arabia, developed a little this year with visits to Egypt by senior South African representatives.

A covert strengthening of ties was also reported between South Africa and West Africa states.

As in previous years, South Africa was a prime target of the United Nations throughout 1976. Sometimes those countries most reliant on this country's aid and trade were the most vindictive.

Foreign affairs pundits in South Africa — Government officials and academics — spoke in 1976 of the possibility of this country building up a network of bilateral ties with "middle-level" powers such as Israel, Iran, some of Africa's francophile states, and even Egypt eventually.

From South Africa's viewpoints, the closest and most productive foreign links in 1976 were those with Britain, the United

States, France, West Germany and Israel.

BRITAIN remained South Africa's leading trading partner, having regained the position from West Germany in 1975. For the first time in many years there was considerable political and diplomatic movement between Britain and South Africa, with Rhodesia as the motivation.

In the last weeks of 1976, Britain's Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, Mr Ted Rowlands, emulated Dr Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy, setting up the Geneva conference and flying to Pretoria to follow up the Kissinger package operation.

Britain retains a great depth of feeling against apartheid. But on the whole, according to diplomatic sources, the relationship is as good as it has ever been and considerably better than in the past few years.

The arrival in South Africa of Britain's man at the Geneva conference, Mr Ivor Richard, is expected to bring the relationship between the two countries even closer.

THE UNITED STATES is a new boy to African politics. Yet it was an American, Dr Kissinger, who in 1976 in Southern Africa unblocked an 11-year-old political and diplomatic logjam. A fair achievement in itself, in a situation in which there are no permanent diplomatic victories.

For years a vital trading partner, it remains to be seen exactly how the new American administration intends playing its cards in Southern Africa, particularly in its attitudes to apartheid-bound South Africa.

According to United States official sources it is unlikely there will be drastic changes in basic foreign policy. But changes are expected in emphasis, style and personality.

Whether or not additional pressure will be applied to the Vorster Government is likely to depend on a number of factors:

● The choice of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

● The choice of US Ambassador to Pretoria.

● Whether or not there are continued riots and detentions without trial in South Africa.

● Events in the Black states on the periphery of the Republic.

ISRAEL'S attitudes to South Africa are unlikely to be affected by the Jewish State's internal political upheaval, which struck in December.

While remaining mildly critical of apartheid and silently highly critical of South African Police overkill in riots, and of imprisonment without trial, circumstances dictate a close relationship.

Trade between Israel and South Africa doubled in 1976 and tourism increased.

An outcome of Mr Vorster's visit to Israel earlier in the year — the setting up of a joint consultation and planning committee — went into action in Pretoria towards the end of 1976, discussing joint ventures in trade and investment.

Covert military-related projects got under way in 1976, as did South African Railways involvement in a major Israeli railroad scheme.

FRANCE excelled itself in its South African connection last year when it clinched the R800-million nuclear deal involving Escom and the South African Atomic Energy Board. The contract entails the setting up of an atomic power station at Koeberg.

In 1976 France remained the potential supplier of new submarines for South Africa and other military-related equipment.

WEST GERMANY'S high cost of labour was behind this year's strengthening of its South African connection. It forced German industrialists to invest in other countries and in 1976 this country remained a favourite, despite the political unrest.

On the other hand, while for the past 10 years South Africa has been a very heavy borrower from the West German banking community, future borrowing in that market is going to be more difficult.

One reason for this is that the political situation in Southern Africa is worrying German banks.

Political considerations apart, a drying up of world loan sources might well become one of the toughest problems facing South Africa this year.

1 312

Audio/visuals

Venue

Is it essential to show any audio/visuals, such as a film or a videotape?

Has the venue for your presentation been decided? If so:

(a) Will you be playing at home or in the meeting room?

TERRORIST AID

STOCKHOLM — Sweden increased its aid to terrorist movements in southern Africa to about R7 200 000 as part of its R722 500 000 foreign aid allocation in a record R255 thousand million budget presented to Parliament yesterday.

This was the first budget presented by the new non-Socialist Government. Foreign aid was boosted by 13.5 percent to its new level.

Main beneficiaries are Vietnam, India, Tanzania, Bangladesh, Mozambique (about R20 600 000), Angola (about R18 700 000) and Zambia (about R16 500 000). —(Sapa-AP.)

(e) Will everyone be able to hear? Will you need to use a microphone? Is there a public address system already installed? Will there be any distracting noises and can these be silenced during your presentation?

Is there enough room for the proper positioning of one or more projection screens?

(f) Can the room be darkened easily? Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

(a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?

(b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?

(c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

COM 29/12/76

Russian President to visit Southern Africa

MOSCOW. — The Russian President, Mr Nikolai Podgorny, will visit Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania early next year on the first tour to Southern Africa by any of the top three Kremlin leaders.

President Podgorny is expected in Lusaka in March and he is likely to be in Southern Africa while the Rhodesian talks in Geneva are still on.

The tour underlines Soviet diplomatic interest in an area where American

be in Southern Africa while the Rhodesian talks in Geneva are still on.

The tour underlines Soviet diplomatic interest in an area where American and Britain have been increasingly active in trying to bring about a settlement

of the Rhodesian problem.

All three countries Mr Podgorny will visit are so-called "front line" states consulted by Dr Henry Kissinger during his Southern Africa shuttle in September.

Russia has been critical of the Western attempts to mediate, accusing America and Britain of trying to bolster White governments.

Mr Podgorny's trip could mark a Kremlin attempt to move on from this pas-

sive stance and take the diplomatic initiative. — Sapa-Reuter.



Bid for UN meetings & 31/12/76 in Africa

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The United Nations Security Council could have a series of council meetings on Southern African problems in an African capital if an idea now being canvassed is accepted, according to the UN correspondent of the Financial Times.

He says that Port Louis, capital of Mauritius and venue of the OAU's last summit conference, and Maputo have been mentioned as possible meeting places. Maputo has already been chosen for a major UN conference in April.

Meanwhile, the Security Council is expected to meet sometime after January 6 to consider Botswana's complaint about Rhodesian "aggression."

Also waiting are other Southern African questions, including a Swedish proposal for controls on new investments in South Africa.

NEW PUSH

The correspondent notes that the appointment of a new Russian Ambassador to the UN, Mr Oleg Troyanovsky, came shortly before the announcement of Soviet President Podgorny's visit to Southern Africa.

He suggests that the appointment may mark the start of a new Kremlin push against the West in Southern Africa with the UN the focal point of the offensive.

Meanwhile, reports Reuter, the Security Council held more meetings this year—113—than in any year since 1948, when there were 168.

The only other year in which more than 100 council meetings were held was 1947, when there were 137. Last year the council met only 57 times.

INFORMAL TALKS

Most of the public meetings this year were preceded by informal consultations of the 15 members, in effect private sessions of the council, a relatively new development.

If these were added to the public meetings, officials said, it would mean that the council averaged a session every other day throughout 1976.

Marxists claim vote swindle

The Star's Africa News Service

PORT LOUIS — The Marxist-oriented Mauritian Militant Movement has filed two petitions in the Supreme Court here for a recount in one constituency and an annulment in another following elections last month in which it nearly toppled the government of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

If the petitions are granted and one constituency reverts in favour of the MMM, the party will have 35 seats in the Legislative Assembly, the same number as the coalition government of the Labour Party and the Mauritian Social Democratic Party.

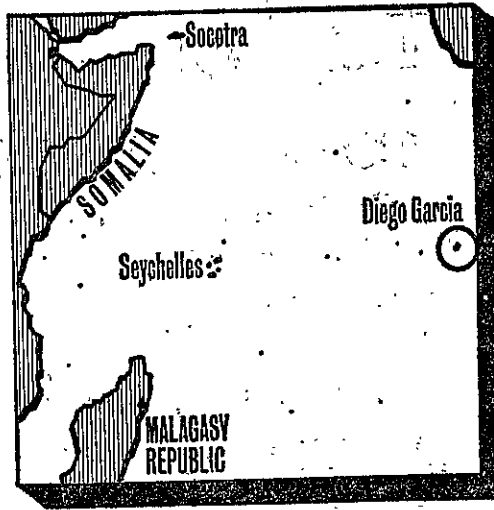
IMPOSTERS

The MMM alleges that in one constituency, which the Labour Party Minister of Education, Mr Heeralall Bhugalloo, defeated Mrs Sheila Bappoo by 55 votes, dead persons, imposters, foreigners and other ineligible voters were on electoral lists.

In the other constituency the MMM wants the results annulled and a by-election held because it says its agents were not allowed to verify the seals on ballot boxes.

In a counter action the Labour Party has petitioned for a recount in a constituency which it lost to the MMM by only 32 votes.

1

MAURITIUS PRIME TARGET FOR RUSSIA**West****sees****new****Red threat**

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Marxist gains in the Mauritius elections may endanger the balance of power in the Indian Ocean, according to British and American intelligence officers.

They believe there is evidence that the militant marxist opposition on the island receives funds and instructions from Moscow.

The island is considered a prime target in Russia's bid to dominate the Indian Ocean, with the Seychelles close behind.

Russian experts recently carried out what was described as a "fishing survey" around the Seychelles.

Efforts to set up regular port facilities for Soviet warships in both Mauritius and the Seychelles are expected.

Last week the Mauritian Militant Movement won nearly half the 62 seats in the legislature.

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the 76-year-old Prime Minister, has had to form a coalition to fend off the extremists.

CONTROVERSY

The militants' leader, 29-year-old Paul Berenger, has promised an extremist takeover.

According to Christopher Lee of the Daily Express, instructions from the Soviet Union are alleged to include a directive to Mr Berenger to create further controversy over Diego Garcia—the American-occupied island in the Indian Ocean.

It is feared that militants could control Mauritius before 1980, opening the island to the Russians, he says.

The Russians have a base in Somalia, an anchorage off Socotra, and port facilities elsewhere. But Mauritius and the Seychelles would provide them with strategic control over the Indian Ocean and the Gulf oil route.

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Port Louis in Mauritius that the Marxist Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) staged a walkout of the Legislative Assembly yesterday when it was announced that the Mauritian Social Democratic Party (PMSD) had agreed to form a coalition with Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's Labour Party.

↓
278

Within an ace of Communist power

MARXIST Paul Berenger, who threatens to cut economic ties with South Africa if he becomes Prime Minister of Mauritius, is South African by birth.

His wealthy Franco-Mauritian parents were living in South Africa temporarily when he was born in 1945.

The family later went to Britain, where Mr Berenger joined the Royal Navy. He left to go to Paris to study economics — and took an active part in the left-wing student riots in the late 1960s.

He began organising his Movement Militant Mauricien (MMM) after he returned to Mauritius in 1969.

In this week's general election the MMM won 34 seats while the ruling party under Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam took only 28.

By NEIL HOOPER

Sir Seewoosagur is trying to revive a coalition with the PMSD party, which took eight seats. This would give him a majority of two in Parliament.

Mr Berenger hopes the PMSD will say no. In that case he will take office. If the coalition is arranged, he thinks the MMM's strength will oblige the Government to heed some of his basic policies — including cutting economic links with South Africa.

He seems to have developed a hatred not only for South Africa but also for Britain, which he has accused of exploiting Mauritius when it was a colony. He says he wants to align the island with the "progressive" countries of the Third World. His policies at home, he has said,

would be socialist and revolutionary. He planned a complete overthrow of the entire structure of Mauritian society.

Key sectors of the economy, notably the sugar industry, would be nationalised and workers would be appointed to senior positions to help run them. Co-operatives would be encouraged.

The present "colonial" system of education would be reformed.

Despite his stand on South Africa, Mr Berenger did not say what would become of the tourist hotels built with South African money.

The MMM played an important role in organising trade unions in Mauritius, which has an unemployment rate of 16 per cent.

The Government responded to what it saw as a left-wing threat by invoking the Public Order Act.

This allowed it to restrict public meetings, resort to preventive detention and control the Press. In addition it abolished elected local councils and replaced them with Government-appointed commissions.

In 1971, after the MMM's first by-election success, Sir Seewoosagur said there was a strong likelihood of revolution and ordered the detention of about 50 MMM officials and trade unionists. They were released in mid-1974.

Sir Seewoosagur has never been keen on trade with South Africa but agreed to it on the insistence of Mr Gaetan Duval, the PMSD leader, with whom he was in coalition until a split in 1973.

Trade between the two countries now runs at about R40-million a year.

the ex-South African who hates South Africa



SA must heed Black cry for help

Star 5/16/76



From President Kaunda, the unspoken words — "For God's sake, do something!"

To the untuned ear the sounds of fury are frightening. Even the moderate and rational Kenneth Kaunda is crying "fight" and be damned with the "talk."

But behind the din of blood calls and Kalashnikov-rattling in Black Southern Africa there is a silent scream for help — and it is directed in part at Pretoria.

For all their declarations that no one can talk to Ian Smith, that there is only one way to go and that is violence, the Black leaders of Southern Africa are mortified at the thought of a racial war in Rhodesia and what a spillover into their countries will mean.

President Kaunda's suggestion that Britain arrest Ian Smith was unwelcome, and he knew it. The call was simply a veiled way of asking Britain: "For God's and everyone else's sake, do something, we cannot."

The same cry went forth to Mr Vorster.

Black Africa is committed to the "liberation" of Rhodesia. It is an affair of intense emotion and pride that perhaps the White man can never fully comprehend.

But no one should mistake the depth of feeling that majority rule must come, or fervent belief that nothing can stop the ultimate Black victory.

If one means fails another will be tried Mr Smith does not want to talk to the Black nationalists, and Black Africa has no weapons other than communist guns.

Britain and South Africa have, and President Kaunda, speaking for the "front line" states, is furiously sending up signals.

His view of Britain's precise role is unclear, but of South Africa's it is obvious.

Acknowledging Mr Vorster's role in helping to free the Rhodesian Black nationalist leaders, President Kaunda last week told journalists South Africa could cut off Rhodesia from the sea.

His dialogue with South Africa had been aimed at this, and he would use

Behind the sound and the fury which Black Africa has unleashed after the collapse of the Rhodesian talks is a silent scream for help. ALLEN PIZZEY of The Star's Africa News Service, reports from Lusaka.

South Africa again if possible.

Moderate Black African leaders are willing to talk to and deal with South Africa. What they want are definite signs that South Africa wants to behave like an African state, not a White supremacist "bastion of Western civilisation."

These leaders believe that as a giant step in saving the sub-continent from the horrors of a racial bloodbath, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, must unequivocally state that South Africa will not send troops in to bail Mr Smith out.

That South Africa will not give Rhodesian goods priority at ports and on rail lines must be made equally clear.

After the equivocation and in some instances outright prevarication (albeit to save some of the Black states' embarrassment) about its role in Angola, nothing short of a crisp statement of position will restore South Africa's credibility.

That the states to whom it must be said already know the position both on Angola and Rhodesia is irrelevant. They must justify their "toenadering" to the Organisation of African Unity.

To keep the "detente" express rolling once this is done, the Black nationalist leaders in South Africa must be given a stake in the decisions of the future.

Such moves will cost a great deal, notably in losses to the Nationalists on their right wing.

But the question is: which is worth more, peace with militant neighbours or a few parliamentary seats when the party already has a majority of 75.

The spillover from Rhodesia of violence into South Africa could be even greater than into Black Africa.

One need only hark back to the mildly hysterical feeling that rolled through the South African Black urban townships when Frelimo was handed Mozambique.

A Black takeover of Rhodesia — which will come by the gun if not by civilised means — will be an even greater stimulus for South African Blacks.

① 1
② 338

Kissinger spells out U.S. policy on Africa

~~7~~
2 1

Argus
11/3/70
The Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON — The American Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, has again spelled out his policy on Africa in much the same terms as he used in the 'State of the World' message which he drafted for President Richard Nixon in 1970.

He told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that African policy in the coming decade would be guided by these concerns:

① We want to see Africa attain prosperity for its people and become a major participant in the international economic system.

② We support the desire of African nations to chart their own course in domestic, regional and international affairs -- to choose their own social system and a non-aligned policy.

③ We want to see self-determination, racial justice, and human rights spread throughout Africa. As President Ford has recently made clear, a majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia is the unequivocal commitment of the United States.

RIVALRY

④ We want to see the African continent be free of great power rivalry or conflict. We have our own interest in seeing that conflicts there be not exploited or exacerbated by outside forces intervening for unilateral advantage.

Observers here note that by the omission of any mention of South Africa, the distinction between Rhodesia and South West Africa on the one hand, and South Africa on the other, was far more sharply drawn in the past.

But the demand that the demand for justice apply to all of Africa, not just to the

It is also reported that a Washington group of Senators repudiated an attempt by Dr. Kissinger to send a gentle 'diplomatic signal' to the Soviet Union and invited 'against its inter-

Further 'adventurism' but he has repeatedly been undermined by 'major spokesmen at home.'

Deciding finally to go beyond warnings, Dr. Kissinger ordered the postponement of a joint Soviet-American commission on energy co-operation.

The group was set up in 1971 as one of the co-operative ventures of the

but this mild gesture was badly awry when 10 powerful Senators, led by the Democratic leader, Hubert H. Humphrey, and the Republican leader, Hugh D. White, introduced a 'Sense of the Senate' resolution calling for improved relations with the Soviet Union.

FOR ONE

The purpose of the resolution, the Senators said, was to 'ward off the possibility of a...'

Among the Republicans, Tower and Mathias...

...of the brutal...

...Kissinger's influence...

...that have...

...for...

...he...

...he...

...he...

23/2/76

Hansard V col 318

TYPE OF FARM EMPLOYEE - DOMESTIC	RACE - COLOURED											
	EMPLOYMENT AS AT 31ST AUGUST 1973											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	218	297	632	1291	2886	1473	574	688	688	136	1834	546
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	1466	506	643	570	1220	79	6	5	141	2	3	1
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	25	26	3	0	0	0	0	32	33	34	35	36
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	2	2
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	37	38	27	2	3	3	44	44	45	46	47	48
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	27	2	0	0	1	6	3	1	6	3	27	32
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	49	50	11	1	0	0	56	56	57	58	59	60
EC REGION EMPLOYMENT	11	1	0	0	156	0	156	0	0	39	237	0

Financial assistance to African countries

280. Mr. C. W. EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether the Republic rendered financial assistance to any African countries during 1974-75; if so, (a) to which countries and (b) what was the amount (i) given and (ii) lent to each country.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Yes. During the financial year 1974-75 an amount of R790 210 was disbursed from the Department of Foreign Affairs provision for assistance to and co-operation with foreign countries in respect of countries in Africa.

An amount of R1 015 000 was also made available in the form of loans of which not all was paid over.

It is not in the national interest to divulge more detailed information.

EMPLOYMENT AS AT 31ST AUGUST 1973

Black Africa's industrial hopes are slipping

ARGUS
30/12/75

The Argus Africa News Service

NAIROBI. — Black Africa's aspirations to win its share of the world's industries are slipping. This is the message which came strongly out of a five-day conference of African Ministers of Industry which ended here last week.

Delegates from 27 African countries including an observer from South West Africa, were told that to reach the target of 2 percent set for Africans' share in the world industrial output by the year 2000, an annual growth rate of 10 to 13 percent would be necessary.

But only 16 African countries were exceeding an annual industrial growth rate of 8 percent and 18 of the 46 independent African countries were among the least industrialised in the world.

CO-OPERATION

The conclusions of the conference, published on the advice of representatives of 16 UN specialised agencies which attended, were that there should be greater industrial co-operation between African countries plus the liberalisation of intra-African trade of manufacturer and semi-manufacturers and greater exchange of technological and industrial information.

The Nairobi conference decided to set up an African centre for consulting engineering and management services, a centre for design, adaptation and transfer of industrial technology and a regional industrial plant design and construction centre.

It also approved in principle proposals for the creation of an African centre for the iron and steel industry, a centre for the development of the petrochemical industry in West and Central African countries and a regional pesticide development programme.

A follow-up committee, with members from the Central African Republic, Rwanda, Zaïre, Kenya, Lesotho, Zambia, Algeria, the Sudan, Tunisia, Nigeria, Benin and Ghana has been mandated to seek OAU support for the conference decisions and to prepare guidelines for the establishment of common African positions for use in consultations and negotiations at the world level.

Black Africa

STAR 15/9/75

'respects SA'

STERKSTROOM — Some Black governments disagreed with South Africa's policies, the Prime Minister said here at the weekend, but he had always found respect for SA during his visits to other states in Africa.

At the centenary celebrations of this town, where he went to school, Mr Vorster said he had also found an acceptance of South Africa's good faith and its credibility in dealings with all other states.

"For this reason, I have the confidence to say that our country has a future," he said. "A country whose credibility and good faith is accepted by others has a future, but those who are responsible for this state of affairs are you, the people of South Africa."

"Fortunate is a country which has people of such calibre, but three times fortunate is the leader of a country who can talk on behalf of such a people to the outside world."

NEW EMPHASIS

The Prime Minister said he had found an increasing acceptance of the principle that South Africa was part of Africa. There had been a time when South Africa was inclined to emphasise its European cultural roots, but the emphasis now was on the fact that the Whites were of Africa, like all other people whose forebearers were born in the continent.

"That is why I have made it my duty to seek peace and friendship for South Africa in Africa," he added. "It is here where our cradle stands and it is here where our graves will be."

NOT FROM FEAR

Mr Vorster said he had also sought peace and friendship because South Africa was the most developed state in Africa and had a duty to do towards others on the continent.

"I do not seek it from fear or weakness, because that South Africa is not. I went to the other states

in Africa without fear for my country or my people."

Initially there had been certain difficulties, but as time passed, matters had improved. Today he could tell the people of Sterk-

stroom — who were living close to the borders of a homeland which, in the near future, would become an independent Black state — that South Africa did have a future.

— Sapa.

Insults for U.S. in Africa

The Argus Bureau 18/7/75

WASHINGTON. — American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Nathaniel Davis, is avoiding interviews, and no wonder. The last six or nine months have been the United States' worst spell in Africa since the wind of change was a zephyr.

The catalogue of sorrows ranges from minor insults to major policy defeats and covers the continent from the Natal border to the jungle of President Bongo, from the arid horn to the bulge.

What hurts most, perhaps, is the disdain of Frelimo. Congressman Mr Charles Diggs was invited to Mozambique's independence celebrations, but not the American Government. Nor, indeed, has the Frelimo Government responded to an American request for diplomatic relations so that private citizen Peter Walker, the former consul, watches the dawn of independence as a wallflower.

SCORN

Probably, Frelimo's scorn is more upsetting to the officials of the Africa Bureau of the State Department than Frelimo's ideology, for in Africa, at least, American officials frankly prefer a Marxist government to a colonial government.

There is a feeling, implicitly racist, that the chains of communist totalitarianism will rest more lightly than the chains of Portuguese rule because they will be forged by Blacks.

CATASTROPHE

Even so, the trend of events in Angola points to an awesome catastrophe for American interests. The Soviet Union has its

clients in Angola, and China has its clients, but the United States has only oil wells and mining interests, both of them vulnerable.

The behaviour of the Soviet Union has lately been more than hostile to American interests in Africa. It has been downright humiliating, considering that the American policy of 'restraint' in Africa — which translates as tolerance for Marxist regimes — was predicated on the assumption that the Soviets could also be restrained.

BLOW

But, truly, the behaviour of the African states themselves has been a harder blow. President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, has expelled ambassador Mr Dean Hinton, supposedly on the grounds of his CIA background, and has been very rude about Mr Davis himself.

The Malagasy Republic has also thrown out an American ambassador, and it has now committed the cardinal sin of interfering with the space programme, causing Nasa to announce the closing of the tracking station there. (South Africans will reflect on the irony that the tracking station in Madagascar was supposed to take over the tasks of the installations which Nasa shut down in South Africa.)

Actually, when it comes

to respect for American property — and respect for property lies at the heart of the American creed — the Africans have been rather greedy. Two Americans who were diddled out of a ruby mine which they found in Kenya, and deported when they protested, were among the smallest losers.

In Zambia, and lately in Nigeria, vast American investments have been nationalised, or partly nationalised, and the record suggests there is little hope that the U.S. will escape the nationalisation of the oil wells off the coast of Cabinda when one or other Marxist group gets control of the Angolan enclave.

American business is getting a bad name in Africa, and Africa is getting a bad name among American businessmen and, while there is plenty of money for oil extraction, other kinds of investment show signs of drying up.

PIN PRICKS

Then there are the pin pricks — the kidnapping of American students by raiders from Zaire, the generally unsympathetic reaction of African leaders and the Tanzanian refusal to let Filbert Bayi, the 'miracle mile', compete in the U.S. — Africa Games.

At the same time, events such as the genocidal massacres in Burundi, the British antics of President Amin, the military slaughter that took place in Ethiopia, have been eroding American sympathies.

SA negotiating R81m deals with 8 Black states

CAPE TOWN — Contracts valued at R81m in eight African states are at present being negotiated by the Credit Guarantee Corporation of SA, the Deputy Secretary of Finance, Dr J H de Loor, announced here.

He told the International Association of Economic Commerce Students Congress that the authorities intend to continue with the more sympathetic approach adopted by the SA exchange control in respect of investment by South Africans in Southern African countries outside the Rand monetary area.

He said the question which now arises is whether the time has arrived for the establishment of a Southern African regional development institution which would act as catalyst for the diverse efforts of individual state bodies and development banks to promote investment in the lesser developed areas.

Dr De Loor said once the official gold price is raised SA will be prepared to participate in a scheme for part of the revaluation gains of gold-selling countries to be set aside for aid to developing countries.

Large regional schemes still under consideration include the Lesotho Mafikeng water supply project and the Swaziland thermal power project.

Should these come to fruition he added they will involve these coun-

tries and South Africa in heavy capital expenditure, hopefully to be aided by foreign governmental and multinational funds.

Israel and South Africa are striving to develop extensive ventures in the area of trade and industry, Israel Finance Ministry advisory economic council member, Mr Meir Amit told the Congress.

He said the abundance of South Africa's natural resources and the technological and intellectual skills Israel can contribute to making mutual assistance a distinct and attractive possibility.

He noted the geopolitical situation viewed from both the standpoint of geographic location and

their position on the map of international forces incline them to hope positive interaction will eventually

Before there can be any possibility of an African Common Market or economic development based on interdependence, these countries must endorse and accept a new pattern of multinational co-operation, South Africa Foundation deputy president Mr Anson Lloyd said.

He told the students that because of its high level of development SA is a key state. SA exports to African countries totalled R475m in 1974.

Mr Lloyd said in South Africa the first steps towards economic co-operation are seen in the provision for the purchase of 70 percent of the Cabora Bassa generating capacity.

He noted hydro-electric schemes alone would guarantee long-term industrial development throughout Southern Africa.

ARK 4/7/75
①

Top-level speakers discuss Africa

STUDENT delegates from almost every South African university are among those attending the congress on economic interdependence in Southern and E-tatorial Africa, now being held in Bellville.

A feature of the discussions has been the keen interest shown by delegates in developments in Southern Africa and in prospects for co-operation between states.

The congress was organised by a committee of students of the University of Stellenbosch, under the auspices of the SA branch of the International Association of Commerce and Economics Students.

Speakers who presented papers include General Meir Amit, a former military intelligence chief of Israel; Mr. A. A. Lloyd, deputy president of the SA Foundation; Mr. A. Hammond-Tooke, chief economist of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries; Dr J. H. de Loor, Deputy Secretary of Finance; and Dr W. J. de Villiers, managing director of the General Mining and Finance Corporation Limited.

Black expert on peace efforts

A BLACK agricultural expert said in Bellville yesterday that effective and meaningful interdependence between states could be brought about only if there was 'political will' on the part of all those concerned.

This view was expressed by Dr. N. N. Raditapole, OBE, of Lesotho, in a paper presented to the congress on economic interdependence between countries in Southern and Equatorial Africa.

Dr. Raditapole, who has represented Lesotho at international food and agricultural conferences abroad, is head of the agricultural department of the Corporation for Economic Development of Equatorial and Southern Africa (EDESA).

He said interdependence between states in Southern Africa had to be part and parcel of the striving for peace and stability in this region.

It must not have even a grey shade of neo-colonialism or economic imperialism, he said. It must be based on, and evolved in, a spirit of mutual respect and trust for, after all, as said and done, our countries all have the same ultimate goal of improving the quality of life of our inhabitants.

LIMITLESS

The scope for co-operation in agricultural development in the sub-continent was limitless.

Let all our countries therefore rise to the challenge of realising the full potential of our resources, not only for our own benefit, but for the benefit of future generations so that they may not curse our graves, Dr. Raditapole said.

①

NR 605 4/7/55

EUPHORIA DANGER SEEN IN DETENTE

IT WOULD BE dangerous to see recent detente moves in Southern Africa from the standpoint only of the Republic of South Africa, the chief economist of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr A. Hammond-Tooke, said in Bellville today.

The fact is that detente, like happiness, means different things to different people, he told the congress on economic interdependence between countries in Southern and Equatorial Africa.

Mr Hammond-Tooke said in a paper to the congress it would be foolish for anyone in South Africa to believe great new vistas of economic imperialism had been opened up, or even that South Africa could and should become the great catalyst for development on the continent.

VITAL ROLE

I believe that we in South Africa have an important, and indeed vital, role to play in the future of Africa. I do not believe, however, that we should be apostles for a new pan-Africanism, preaching the kingdom of economics as the new religion of salvation of the continent, he said.

Referring to economic conditions in Africa, Mr Hammond-Tooke said unemployment was increasing in most independent Afri-

can territories and food production was decreasing in some states.

He felt it was necessary to dispel the present 'aura of euphoria' which had tended to creep into thinking in South Africa in regard to detente. If South Africa were to assist countries in Africa, it had to be fully cognisant of the real problems that faced them in development.

We must beware of the self-righteousness of the Samaritan who gave alms to the poor, Mr Hammond-Tooke said.

There was a danger South Africa might be pictured as the font of all aid and economic assistance and claims on South Africa from neighbouring territories, including its own Bantu homelands, might become an intolerable burden on its economy.

In providing economic aid to Africa, South Africa had to become acutely aware of the fact that interdependence implied a measure of dependence.

Claims for economic assistance on South Africa from other countries in the sub-continent could be expected to increase substantially. South African business should timeously expand the Republic's production capacity in the expectations of the new trade and aid demands.

(1)

SA call for trade links in Africa

ARGUS
3/7/75

GREATER economic co-operation between the states of Southern and Equatorial Africa was advocated by the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr J. C. Heunis, at Bellville today.

Spheres which he suggested as holding potential in this respect were:

- Increased trade exchanges between the nations of the region, to offset losses of marketing opportunities by their geographical isolation from the big markets of the world and the tendency towards agricultural protection among the developed nations.
- Joint initiatives for diverting to this region a greater portion of the investment capital and trained manpower available elsewhere.
- Joint exploitation of the region's tourist attractions.

SA OFFERS

From South Africa's side, it could offer other states in Southern and equatorial Africa:

- Technical proficiency in the agricultural, pastoral and mining fields.
- Limited amount of capital to promote the economic advancement of the region as a whole.
- Medium-term credit facilities to help other states to finance the purchase of capital equipment from South Africa and industrial, mining and infrastructural projects of an income-generating nature using expertise of South African companies.

Mr Heunis was addressing the congress of the South African branch of the international Association of Commerce (AIESEC) on the growing inter-dependence of the states of equatorial and Southern Africa.

COMMON INTEREST

He believed the states of the area had been inclined to place too much emphasis on their differences, instead of looking at the many fields in which they shared a common interest and in respect of which co-operation could bring lasting benefits to their peoples.

It was necessary that all differences between the nations of the area be removed before they could live in peace and work together for their mutual benefit.

Differences continued to exist between other nations of the world, but these did not prevent them from co-operating with each other in a constructive manner in all fields of common interest.

The basic objective of co-operation between nations was the improvement of living standards and the progress of

Aid with no strings for Africa — Mulder

ARGUS

11/16/75

The Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — Observing that 'it takes two to tango,' Dr C. P. Mulder, the South African Minister of Information, has held out the prospect of fruitful co-operation with Black African states if there were a mutual policy of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

He dealt with this theme in a speech yesterday to a National Press Club audience in Washington that included Mr Nathaniel Davis, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

South Africa's offers of aid without strings had aroused a positive response in certain other parts of Africa, Dr Mulder said.

'But even if we are more than willing to assist and to go out of our way for a peaceful solution to the problems of that part of the world, it takes two to tango.'

It should be accepted, he said, that the internal policies of every country in the world were not acceptable to all other countries.

THE PROOF

What would have happened to Nato and East-West detente, he asked, if that criterion had been applied.

Dr Mulder, who earlier had said the Transkei would become independent next year, added: 'If the Transkei becomes independent we are convinced that the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof.'

The Transkei, the Minister said, would become as independent as Australia, France, Britain, the United States or any other country, without interference in any way.

'We believe in non-interference,' he said. 'But we reject the right of any country in the world or even the United Nations to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country.'

At the same time, said Dr Mulder, South Africa was part and parcel of Africa.

(1)

OFFER TO U.S.

S'apa adds that Dr Mulder urged the United States and other Western powers to 'shoulder their responsibility' in the Indian and South Atlantic oceans where Russia was filling the vacuum created by the British withdrawal.

South Africa was prepared to fulfil her role in protecting the ever-important Cape sea route but a stronger Western presence there was in the interest of the free world, he said.

Dr Mulder offered Western powers the use of Simonstown's naval facilities and told a questioner the South African Government would 'very favourably' consider any U.S. application to establish a base in the Republic.

HANSARD 6

Q. column 436

11 March 1975

① Africa - General

~~② 260A~~

~~③ Capital~~

X South Africa's aid to African states

*13. Mr. G. W. MILLS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

What was the amount of South Africa's aid to African states during each year from 1965 to 1973.

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Reply laid upon Table with leave of House):

The following amounts were paid from Department of Foreign Affairs fund for assistance to and co-operation with foreign countries for each financial year in question:

1965-'66	R3 237-81
1966-'67	R11 682-43
1967-'68	R44 324-12
1968-'69	R68 841-84
1969-'70	R696 427-19
1970-'71	R711 344-70
1971-'72	R1 039 287-87
1972-'73	R866 635-54
1973-'74	R1 244 299-60

In addition, loans totalling R15 310 253-25 have been made available. Of this amount R1 345 000 has already been repaid.

Right next door: anti-SA indaba

25/11/76 STAR

Gerald P'Ange,
The Star's Africa
News Service

Some of South Africa's bitterest critics in the United States and black Africa will assemble on its borders next week at the African-American Institute conference in Maseru.

Their meeting coincides with events crucial to the future of South Africa.

In the United States President-elect Mr Jimmy Carter is formulating a policy that is likely to be far less comfortable for South Africa than that of the outgoing Ford administration.

Dr Kissinger's bid to establish peace in the sub-continent has been put into limbo in Washington by Mr Ford's election defeat and at the same time is dangerously stalled at the Rhodesia talks in Geneva, and hampered by the slow pace of the Turnhalle constitutional talks in Windhoek.

Warfare

Meanwhile, there is a growing threat of intensified fighting, possibly involving outside communist forces and aid, in both Rhodesia and South West Africa.

The Maseru meeting will be attended by delegates capable of influencing both American policy on and black African attitudes to Southern African issues.

A tone of confrontation has been set by Lesotho's appeal to delegates to travel through Bloemfontein, even if they do not have South African transit visas, thereby asserting Lesotho's claim to transit rights through the Republic.

This may not become an issue, since delegates objectionable to Pretoria are expected to fly direct from Maputo, but it almost certainly will colour the proceedings.

Among the Americans expected to attend are prominent figures in the congressional black caucus, including Congressman Andrew Young, to whom Mr Carter is largely indebted for the black vote that possibly clinched his victory.

Tipped

Mr Young has been tipped as a possible US ambassador to the United Nations or Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

Co-chairman of the conference is Senator Dick Clark, the outspoken critic of South Africa whose present tour of Southern Africa will undoubtedly influence his actions as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa.

Conducting the proceedings with him will be the Lesotho Foreign Minister, Mr Charles Molapo, whose government has been vigorously resisting South Africa's economic and pol-

itical influence and is locked in a dispute with Pretoria over recognition of Transkei.

Both Transkei and Lesotho transit issues are on the agenda.

Discussion of South Africa's domestic policies is ensured by an agenda item on "strategies and timetable for achieving change" in the Republic through "internal movements and external forces."

Prospects

Also listed for debate are prospects for independence in South West Africa and Swapo's role in this, progress towards independence in Rhodesia and US economic involvement in Southern Africa.

The banned ANC and PAC of South Africa will be represented at the conference, as well as the Black Peoples' Convention and the South African Students' Organisation.

African delegates invited include Cabinet Ministers from Algeria, Guinea, Nigeria, Somalia, Tanzania, Sudan, Zambia, Kenya, Tunisia and Madagascar.

Government delegates are also likely to attend from Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya and Guinea Bissau.

From South Africa will come Mr Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party; Bishop Desmond Tutu; Rev. Manas Buthelezi of the Black Parents' Association; Mr Sam Motsu-nyane of the African Federated Chamber of Commerce; and Mrs Constance Ntshona, the Soweto business woman.

UN delegates

United Nations representatives will include the heads of the Committee Against Apartheid, the Decolonisation Committee and the Council for Namibia.

The Organisation of African Unity will also send delegates.

The Maseru conference is the seventh of its kind organised in Africa since 1968 by the African-American Institute, a New York-based organisation that leans more to the left than the right politically.

Ivory Coast in surprise SWA move

*ASAS
6/12/76*

Hugh Robertson

NEW YORK — The Ivory Coast has suggested at the United Nations that an "exploratory mission" be sent to South Africa to discuss the future of South West Africa.

The Ivory Coast is one of South Africa's last remaining detente partners in Africa.

The suggestion was made by the Ivory Coast's representative in the UN Decolonisation Committee's current debate on the territory, Mr Simeon Ake, and clearly took other African representatives by surprise.

It was in marked contrast to the hostile line taken by other African speakers during the debate, and although there is still doubt about whether the idea will get off the ground it has started a debate within the African caucus at the UN.

US POLICY

In making the suggestion, Mr Ake also appealed to the South African Government to "see reason and begin to cooperate with the UN on the South West African issue."

He said the Ivory Coast supported the objectives of United States policy on South West Africa and called on the South African Government to accept them "before it is too late."

These objectives were, firstly, that an early date be fixed for South West African independence, and secondly, that a constitutional conference be held under UN aegis in a neutral location and, thirdly, that "all authentic national forces" be allowed to participate.

In proposing that an "exploratory mission" be sent to South Africa to discuss the issue, Mr Ake said one of the purposes of such a mission would

be "to discuss the possibility of the South African Government entering into negotiations with the UN, with the participation of Swapo."

So far, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has bluntly refused to talk to Swapo. But his claim that the South African Government "has nothing to say to Swapo" is regarded as absurd at the UN and has been a worrying factor to all countries still having relations with South Africa.

Bowing down in Bangui KDM 22/12/76

MICHAEL FIELD

AFRICA, which lost an empire with the overthrow and death of Haile Selassie, gained another last week by the whim of one of its more flamboyant rulers.

In Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic — independent successor to the old French territory of Oubangi-Chari, well known to hunters and stamp-collectors — the self-proclaimed Life-President and Field-Marshal, Jean Bedel Bokassa, appointed himself emperor. "Imperial Decree No 1" declared an amnesty of all prisoners except those who had endangered state security or embezzled more than R17 000.

This latest eccentricity by an autocrat whose tyranny and occasional touches of megalomania have earned him the dubious reputation of being "a French-speaking Idi Amin" has predictably provoked glee as well as despair.

His Imperial Majesty Bokassa, has indeed given us all plenty to laugh or cry about. Some rules of court etiquette have been issued, for example.

Those admitted to the imperial presence "shall greet him at a distance of six steps by gently bowing the head forwards".

The protocol stipulates that the normal reply to any question by the emperor is: "Yes, Your Im-

perial Majesty". But if circumstances call for a negative answer, the word "no" shall be uttered gently, "not brutally".

Intriguingly it was also announced over the State radio that the Emperor had discarded the Moslem name of Salah Eddine Ahmed which he acquired during a recent visit to Colonel Gaddafi in Libya.

And the new "Central African Revolutionary Council", on the Libyan model, has been scrapped as inconsistent with the dignity of the Imperial Court.

Before diehards mock and liberals "explain" — before, indeed, the coronation, when Bokassa the First dons the imperial crown he is reported to have ordered from a jeweller in the Place Vendôme in Paris — a few scene-setting facts seem opportune.

The Central African Republic, now suddenly a "parliamentary empire", is a land-locked area of jungle and river, of poor but often gaily-glad tribesmen (population about 3.2 million).

To the leader's fury, his country is classed by the United Nations as among the world's 25 poorest countries.

Bangui, though essentially an unreconstructed colonial trading post, greets the newcomer with all the familiar signs of growth.

Among its modern

blocks is an hotel put up with South African financial aid and built with the help of Russian lorries.

This anomaly, reflecting an original, pragmatic foreign policy, is one of the keys to the political personality of the new Emperor.

For this typically African tyrant, a paramount chief on the most spectacular scale, is a realist, with his feet more firmly on the ground than his Ugandan colleague, the "King of Scotland", though given to similar fits of uncontrolled rage and cruelty.

Many are the Emperor's titles. Field-Marshal, Father of the Nation, Creator of the Mother's Medal and Life-President and Secretary-General of Misan, the only political party.

His name is everywhere; even the national football team bears it. The unusual name Jean Bedel, given him at baptism, symbolises his unusual intelligence and commemorates the author of a widely-used French grammar book.

Among famous incidents of the reign is that of "the two Martines." At Bokassa's bidding, the French Consul in Saigon sought and found a daughter of the President conceived during his military service there with the French Indo-China army. She was welcomed to Bangui with honour and in gratitude, and the Consul was brought to Bangui

as French Ambassador.

Alas, a second Martine arrived with all too convincing proof of her authentic lineage, revealing the first as an impostor. The first Martine was cast out as a possible CIA, or other imperialist agent. Later she was pardoned and taken back into the palace.

The palace, the old French Governor's, was a gay scene when I attended a banquet there during President Giscard d'Estaing's State visit in March 1975.

It was a fabulous spread, immaculate tablecloths, glistening cutlery and glasses.

Imported delicacies were suitably accompanied by ample quantities of a thoroughly acceptable Bordeaux, labelled "Private Cru of His Excellency the Life President and Marshal of the Central African Republic."

To our disappointment, the President did not wear his new uniform, run up by the Paris house of Lanvin to his personal design.

It has been described as an interesting combination of the dress of the French Academy and of a Napoleonic Marshal. Today all Bangui must be wondering about the Emperor's new clothes.

Unfortunately, however, Bokassa's worldwide notoriety rests on things more sinister than this

rather delightful masquerade.

He first achieved wide fame a few years ago when he took somewhat unusual steps to suppress petty thieving in the country.

Furious that a magnanimous amnesty had made no dent on his countrymen's tendency to steal, Bokassa had all the robbers collected in a Bangui prison courtyard and set the police on to them to beat them.

He is said to have lent a personal hand. Some were killed, others maimed. Afterwards all were dumped into lorries and driven away.

A few years ago a Cabinet Minister was blinded in front of his children and executed for some misdemeanour.

Another was dragged around Bangui and so badly beaten that his back was broken.

An Education Minister was threatened with execution because exam results were poor.

This year Bokassa foiled a plot to assassinate him led by his son-in-law, who, despite the family tie, was summarily executed.

There exists too, I believe, the famous decree making theft punishable by the cutting off of an ear or a hand, though I do not know if this was ever carried out.

South Africa and the year ahead and predicts more conflict.

12 Africa's future negotiable?

It used to be just the rich and the liberal in South Africa who spent their time at dinner parties discussing ways of getting themselves and their money out of the country. Now it is also the not-so-rich and not-so-liberal. The rot of self-doubt is spreading among four million whites.

If it were not for the strict restraints the Government imposes on the transfer of funds out of the country, or for the highly selective nature of immigration in these days by Britain, Canada, Australia, the United States and other English-speaking countries, South Africa now would be witnessing an exodus greater probably than the one that occurred at the time of Sharpeville in 1960.

There is hardly anybody left in South Africa today, black or white, who is under any illusion that 1977 will not be a year of strife, and even bloody conflict. Having just lived through the Six Months That Shook South Africa, even the dimmest whites are aware, even if only vaguely, that some kind of awful human cataclysm has taken place.

You do not shoot 360 people, convict 1 381 (927 of them juveniles under 18), inflict corporal punishment on 528, take 1 915 to court (1 632 on charges of public violence), hold 19 "terrorism Act trials, and detain 697 for "security reasons", without causing an upheaval that scars the nation permanently, both physically and psychologically.

And this score card, the product of six months of black unrest, is only a conservative estimate.

The events that began on June 16, with the Soweto shootings, traumatised the youth of the 21 million black population. They exploded on June 16 because, unlike their parents, they could not live with apartheid any longer.

If that was their anger then, one can imagine what it is like now, after the shootings, raids, trials and detentions. One hammer blow after the next has smashed the overt manifestations of black consciousness and forced the movement underground, or into the new guerrilla training camps across the borders.

This is the generation of blacks with whom white South Africans one day will have to negotiate their future. Is the future negotiable?

The tragedy of South Africans who have forced themselves to leave the country because they fear either the blacks, or a

repressive Afrikaner Nationalist regime, or simply because their world is collapsing around them (including the economy), is a minor, personal tragedy. The real tragedy is that the majority of four million whites have decided to dig in, rather than share their power and privileges.

Wherever one goes in South Africa today, one has to listen to this unreal debate about whether "we will pull through" or whether "things will be all right." Of course, they will not be all right. Blacks have started now in earnest to fight for their rights, and whites are resisting them. The result can only be conflict, and increasing conflict, and because blacks outnumber whites 5 to 1, they have the capacity eventually to plunge the country into one crisis after the next.

It is to the credit of a considerable number of whites that they can see what is happening as clearly as any black man can see it, and they are imploring Mr Vorster to see it as well. Businessmen, politicians, newspaper editors, academics, churchmen — all are sounding a chorus of warning. It is unfair to these white South Africans to suggest they are all drinking gin next to their pools while the flames of revolt lap at their thatched-roof mansions.

But there are not enough of them, and they do not have power. The power struggle in South Africa today is between blacks on one side and Afrikaner Nationalists on the other, and the only impendable factor in the situation is how much destruction the Afrikaner Nationalists will inflict on the country before they are forced to come to their senses.

My own guess is that the destruction will be considerable. Afrikaner Nationalists are more than a political party: they are a living organism. For the past 50 years or longer, they have painstakingly woven the threads of Afrikaner Nationalism into the very fabric of South African life, through a multiplicity of organisations and laws, control of key jobs and institutions, and an all-pervasive influence.

They have not responded to appeals to change the country's race laws, because they are unable to respond. The contradictory elements in Afrikaner Nationalism today hold the country in a state of almost complete deadlock, and it will remain this way until Afrikaner Nationalism breaks.

It is all very well to say that all whites in South Africa are equally culpable with Afrikaner Nationalists; but, at least, if all whites were given a chance to pool their



Fire in a Reef township . . . the rioting spreads

talents and ideas, instead of having to subordinate themselves to Afrikaner Nationalist politics and passions, the approaching conflict in South Africa would be diminished, and with it the approaching destruction.

Many young blacks, of course, want to see South Africa — figuratively speaking — razed to the ground so that an entirely new society can be built from the ashes without the impediments of the past to hinder them. But, for the rest of us, surely the test of politics in South Africa is — when it is all over, will we, as whites and blacks, be able to live and work together on reasonable terms? Will we be able to coexist in a common society?

It is not helpful to talk always in cataclysmic terms. Once the white-black struggle is over, South Africa will still be there, physically, and so will most of its population, blacks and whites. You cannot drive four million whites into the sea, nor can you force them to emigrate physically, therefore, the two groups will

continue to inhabit South Africa, and for the foreseeable future.

In all ways except one the South African race conflict is no different from other race conflicts that have racked Africa. The important difference is the scale. Because there are four million whites in South Africa, because they have the determination — and weapons — to cling to the last of their privileges, and because the economy is so developed and subtly structured, the potential for damage, too, is so much enhanced.

Almost everywhere else in Africa, blacks resolved the problem of what to do with their former white rulers by letting them slip into obscurity or by driving them out of the country. In South Africa neither solution is possible.

This means the two groups, blacks and whites, will continue to inhabit the same physical space and work and live together. But what will the quality of the whites' lives be? Or is it their destiny to have to coexist with people who, daily and visibly, will hate their guts? — OFNS

12/1/76
R.M.

Island Marxists gain seats

Staff Reporter

THE strongly anti-South African, Marxist, Mauritius Military Movement (MMM) yesterday took the most seats of any party in the island's elections.

But it will be forced to remain in opposition as the present government will form a coalition to remain in power, according to unofficial reports from the island.

Although the MMM won 30 of the 62 seats in the parliament, the present government — already a coalition — will retain a two-seat majority by joining with the Rightwing Social Democratic Party.

In addition to promising to nationalise all banks and a number of the island's big sugar estates, MMM has pledged itself to protect Mauritius from "dangers represented by South African expansionism and Indian Ocean militarism."

Threat to cut SA trade, ^{23/2/76 STAR} tour links

Tourist and business links between South Africa and Mauritius are in jeopardy after the island's recent election.

The Marxist Movement Militant Mauricien (MMM), which won most seats in the election, has threatened to cut all ties with South Africa.

Sources in South Africa say this would probably have a crippling economic impact on the island.

COALITION

The MMM won 30 seats in Monday's election. Other parties have 32 seats between them and they are trying to form a coalition to keep the Marxists out.

MMM leader Mr Paul Bercenger has said he intends cutting all ties with "the apartheid regime" if he takes power.

"Any South Africans who want to come here for holidays will have to come by fishing boat or swim," he said before the election.

TOURISTS

Severing of relations would deprive South African Airways of a lucrative source of revenue — tourists who fly to Mauritius on the Australian route.

A spokesman for SAA said the airline had carried more than 36 000 passengers to and from Mauritius in the year ending March 1976, and traffic had grown since then.

Air Mauritius also runs two flights weekly from South Africa to the island, one leaving from Durban and one from Johannesburg.

The SAA spokesman said one of the main reasons for introducing Boeing 747 SPs on the Australian run next month was the heavy traffic to Mauritius.

RE-FUELLING

He said SAA and Qantas would not be unduly hampered by losing Mauritius as a refuelling point.

"Both the Boeing 707 and the 747 SP can fly non-stop from Johannesburg to Perth if necessary," he

The MMM won 30 seats in Monday's election. Other parties have 32 seats between them and they are trying to form a coalition to keep the Marxists out.

MMM leader Mr Paul Berenger has said he intends cutting all ties with "the apartheid regime" if he takes power.

"Any South Africans who want to come here for holidays will have to come by fishing boat or swim," he said before the election.

TOURISTS

Severing of relations would deprive South African Airways of a lucrative source of revenue — tourists who fly to Mauritius on the Australian route.

A spokesman for SAA said the airline had carried more than 36 000 passengers to and from Mauritius in the year ending March 1976, and traffic had grown since then.

Air Mauritius also runs two flights weekly from South Africa to the island, one leaving from Durban and one from Johannesburg.

The SAA spokesman said one of the main reasons for introducing Boeing 747 SPs on the Australian run next month was the heavy traffic to Mauritius.

RE-FUELLING

He said SAA and Qantas would not be unduly hampered by losing Mauritius as a refuelling point.

"Both the Boeing 707 and the 747 SP can fly non-stop from Johannesburg to Perth if necessary," he said. "We could also use Reunion or possibly the Cocos Islands as stopover points."

More than half of Mauritian tourists are believed to be South African. If they are barred, the Southern Sun hotel group, which has an 18 percent interest in the St Geran luxury hotel would be hit.

About 40 000 Maurilians living in South Africa — mainly in Natal — also might be affected.

Mauritius waits for government

23/12/76 STAR
The Star's Africa News Service

PORT LOUIS — It is not yet clear who will form the next government of Mauritius following the surprise surge of the leftist Mauritian Militant Movement which won an unprecedented 30 seats in Parliament.

The marxist leader of the MMM, Mr Paul Berenger (30), has said he will form a government and will not enter into a coalition arrangement.

But the Labour Party of Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, which took 25 seats, and the Mauritian Social Democratic Movement (PMSD), which has the remaining seven seats, have indicated they will form a government together.

There is also a possibility that another election will be called almost immediately by whoever does manage to form a government.

Mr Berenger, who favours closer ties with Russia and a sharp cut away from South Africa, said last night the election could be considered "a victory for the country rather than the MMM," Sapa-Reuter reports.

"There is no question of contacting anyone about forming a coalition government," he said.

Sir Seewoosagur said he was "willing to co-operate with everyone" and hoped that a new government would be formed as soon as possible "so as not to leave Mauritius in a period of uncertainty."

1

KPM 24 02 1976

Senghor told Vorster: declare an amnesty

Own Correspondent
PARIS. — President Leopold Senghor of Senegal has written several times to the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, urging him to declare an amnesty for political prisoners and prepare an interracial dialogue within the country.

This is disclosed in an exclusive interview with the weekly Jeune Afrique, on the occasion of the respected poet-statesman's 70th birthday.

President Senghor said the problems of Rhodesia and South West Africa were more dangerous than that in South Africa, but the continent's biggest threat lay in the former Spanish Sahara.

He said: "The problem of South Africa is extremely complex. I have written several times to Mr Vorster, not to give him advice about having a dialogue with neighbouring Black States but urging him to declare an amnesty for political prisoners, and prepare an interracial dialogue in South Africa itself."

"I told US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in a meeting in Dakar to put pressure on Mr Vorster to take this step."

"Despite appearances, there is change in South Africa. Not just among the Blacks, Coloureds and Asians, but also the Whites. I know there is change."

1

War vow by Africa

STAR 26/4/76.

But Dr K says no
arms for guerillas

Henry Reuter

The Star's Africa News Service

Dar es Salaam

While Dr Henry Kissinger today continues his breakneck tour of seven African states in search of peaceful solutions in Southern Africa, influential Black leaders are coming out powerfully in favour of war as the only answer in Rhodesia.

Zambia's President Kaunda and Mozambique's President Machel said the options for peaceful change in Rhodesia offered by the Lusaka Manifesto had been exhausted.

A communique at the end of Dr Kaunda's five-day visit to Mozambique said they reaffirmed intensified backing for the Zimbabwe nationalists in their armed struggle, and also their unconditional support for the freedom fighters in South Africa against apartheid.

Speaking on his return to Lusaka last night, 24 hours before the scheduled arrival there of Dr Kissinger, President Kaunda said war was inevitable in Rhodesia and the West was to blame.

Reason call

Unless minority rule was ended in Southern Africa, the liberation groups would get communist arms and the West would end up fighting for Rhodesia and South Africa.

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's Foreign Minister warned America that "where freedom can be obtained through violence, we have to and must support that cause."

Mr Ibrahim Kaduma told Dr Kissinger that "to do otherwise is to betray the cause of peace."

Dr Kissinger responded: "It is essential that we deal with each other not by threats and pressures but by reason and goodwill."

Dr Kissinger told a news conference at Nairobi Airport before flying to Dar es Salaam that the United States had not planned to give military aid in any form to the "nationalist" movements of Africa.

(See Page 29)

He continued: "The United States will state and has stated its support for majority rule and will use its political and economic influence to bring about this objective."

Dr Kissinger flew into a cool welcome at Dar es Salaam last night. The Foreign Minister, Mr Ibrahim Kaduma, met him at the airport. Feared student demonstrations did not materialise, Pre-

Kissinger gets into the act

The Star's Africa News Service

NAIROBI—United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger eased gently to his courting visit to Africa here by doing a frug in a line of ochred, half-naked Masai dancers.

President Kenyatta, his host at the state lodge in Nakuru, who at 85 still likes to do a bit of dancing, kept breaking off the epoch-making discussions to dance, dragging Dr Kissinger after him.

Apart from the dance breaks, Dr Kissinger's talks with President Kenyatta and members of the Kenya Cabinet were interrupted for a traditional lunch of roast goat.

Africa rejects Israel—and pays a price

Like the Chinese after them, the Israelis made a particular contribution to the development of several key Black African countries.

Their aid, largely unappreciated but considerable nevertheless, lay in small, low capital geared agricultural projects which — almost miraculously — brought about changes in the day-to-day living standards of millions of Blacks.

In Tanzania they used their know-how on irrigation to cause vast tracts of unused land in the south to flower. In Kenya they did the same. In landlocked, copper-rich but agriculturally neglected Zambia they brought about its only non-mineral success story — poultry.

Come back

Today — only a few years after the Opec oil price hike, one that has put several African national development plans back onto the drawing board, the Israelis have gone. So has their achievement in Black Africa.

Why? The story goes back to the tie-up most Black leaders had in the latter 1940s and early 1950s with the British Labour movement and the Fabian Society.

At a time when rampant capitalism was reconstructing the economies of the Western world, most Black leaders were anxious to embrace "new philosophies." Like a certain British Foreign Minister who said — after 1945 — he could not go into the debating chambers of the world "naked" (meaning without a nu-

clear weapon), people such as Nyerere, Kaunda, Obote and Kenyatta felt they could not present themselves overseas "naked" (without a philosophy).

Kenyatta developed Sectional Paper Number 10, Obote, the Common Man's Charter, Nyerere, the Arusha Declarations and Kaunda the philosophy of Humanism.

In the early days of nationalism, with its total rejection of things Western, the Israelis were acceptable in terms of the Black philosophies.

The Israelis and their British Labour Party/Fabian Society backers, told Black African heads of State that they had a great deal in common

● They had both fought British "imperialism."

● Both had been victims of oppression.

● Both were "Third World" countries, man-oriented societies aimed at creating socialism without brute force.

The line went down well. So did the great technical ability of the Jewish state's agronomists.

They entered countries quietly, lived like the people they worked with and, when projects were completed, went away quietly.

They did not ballyhoo their achievements, and leading Black farmers, scientists and politicians have privately said that the biggest mistake Africa ever made was siding wholeheartedly with the Arabs during the 1973 Israel-Arab war.

Many Blacks felt that they had to make a stand against Israel because of what they saw as its "aggressive" policies in the Middle East.

They also felt that support for the Arabs would shield them from massive commodity and oil price rises. It didn't and for a time — for at least two years after 1973 — the Arabs were loathed in Africa. Editorials were written against them and moderate Kenya, at one point, considered re-establishing links with Israel.

The Arab war on the minds of Black African leaders and businessmen was launched long before 1973. Radio campaigns, leaflet propaganda and personal contact had convinced several key leaders — including Nyerere — that Zionism and the separate development policies of South Africa were identical.

The Arab campaign took the following lines:

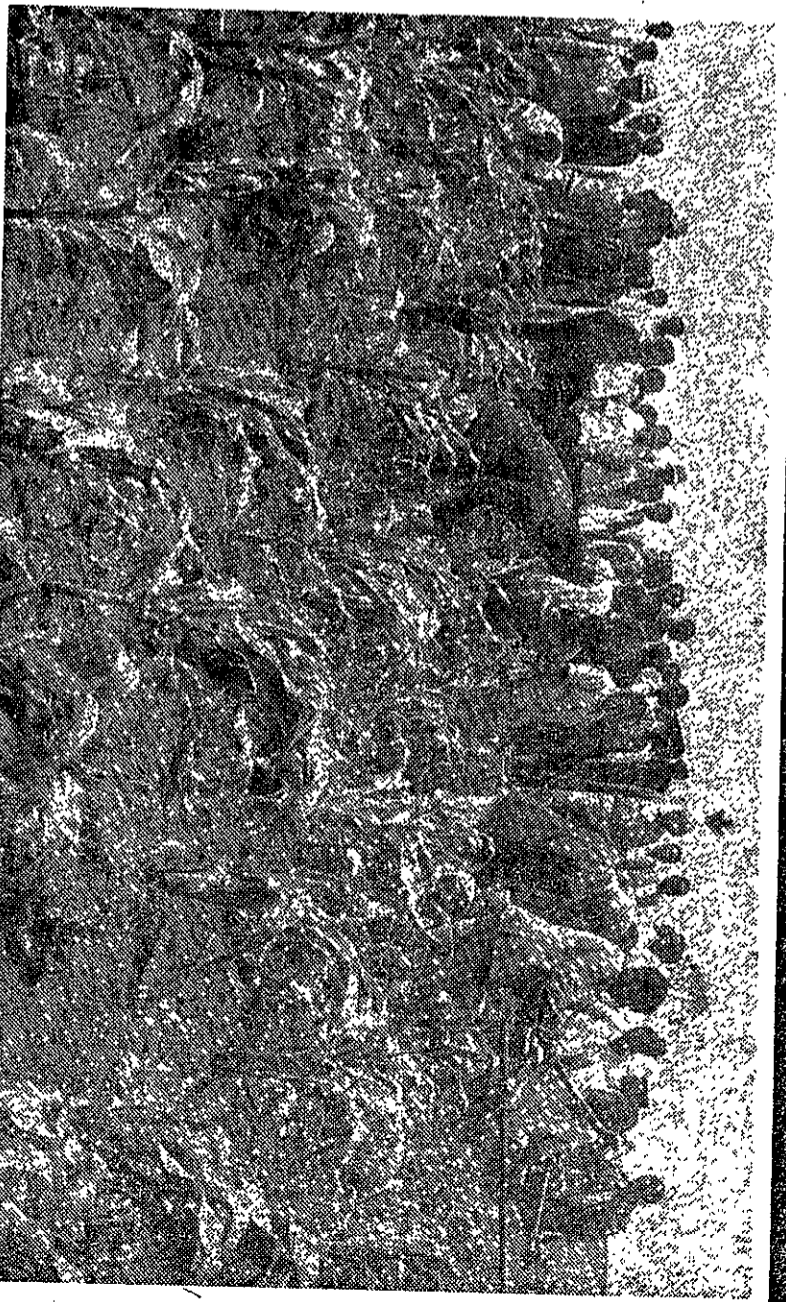
● Chaim Weizmann, the pioneer of Zionism and Theodor Herzl, the Austrian journalist who

Ten years ago the Israelis were riding the crest of a wave of popularity in Africa. Since then skillful Arab propaganda and Leftist dogma has alienated the Zionists from most Black African heads of state. Why do leaders from Tanzania's Nyerere to Uganda's Amin and Zambia's Kaunda equate Zionism with racism and apartheid? TREVOR GRUNDY, who has spent the last 10 years in Black Africa, reports.

did so much to initiate the idea of the Jewish Zionist state, were "arrogant racial elitists."

● The Palestinians, like Black Africans, had been ousted from their "homeland" by white, Western "imperialists."

● Israel was little more than a Middle East base



campaign of words with their own kind of rhetoric — arms supplies and money.

There were few Black states after 1973 which had anything left in their fund of goodwill for the Zionist state.

Relations were cut and the Israeli experts were asked to leave.

Few Black leaders seemed to care that the agricultural projects brought by the Israelis to Africa swiftly collapsed.

Thousand of chickens are dying every day on the Zambian Copperbelt — and poultry, was the great success story of Zambian agriculture.

President Idi Amin finds Israeli spies under his bed every morning of the week. The fact that his people are starving concerns him little.

Tragedy

But, having won another round in the never-ending propaganda war, the Arabs and the Russians have replaced Israeli aid schemes with very little.

The tragedy is that when ideology wins people usually suffer, and the Third World's mightiest miracle workers on the land — the Israelis — now have the doors of most of Black Africa shut in their faces.

It might also be a tragedy because, in the final analysis, food is a

President Nyerere (arrowed) and a horde of minor party officials watch work on a Tanzanian maize field. Agricul- ture in several African states has deteriorated since the rejection of Israeli technological aid.

much more potent factor in Black Africa today than politics, and the man in the street or the man on the farm will soon be asking what he has gained by his government's pro-Arab, anti-Israeli stance.

Meanwhile in Zambia and elsewhere the land grows thirsty, the chickens die and village development plans go back to the planning departments of Africa's capital cities.

High oil prices, brought about by the "solidarity" that exists now between the militant Blacks and the anti-imperialist Arabs, have seen to that.

ural development training in Kenya . . . but things aren't what they used to be.

Muller in secret visits to Africa

RDM 27/4/76

By BERNARDI WESSELS
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, yesterday disclosed that he secretly visited the Central African Republic this year and another African country which he declined to name.

Speaking in the Foreign Affairs debate he said that he was accompanied by the Minister of Justice of the Transkei, Mr George Matanzima.

Dr Muller who denied that South Africa was isolated, said he was warmly welcomed by President Bokassa of the Central African Republic.

He hopes soon to visit a neighbouring African country, which he also did not name.

Dr Muller also disclosed that apart from the visit of the Minister of Information, Dr Connie Mulder, to the Ivory Coast this year, two other Ministers had visited African countries since December.

So far this year 24 Ministers of African countries

had visited South Africa — 17 from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, five from Rhodesia and two from the rest of Africa.

Senior South African officials had paid 64 visits to 17 African countries.

Dr Muller said there had been disappointments and setbacks in Africa such as the ending of talks between the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, and Mr Joshua Nkomo of the ANC.

Africa could not afford to throw in the towel in attempts to find a peaceful solution in Rhodesia.

"I associate myself with the Prime Minister's urgent appeal for peace even at this late hour. South Africa will always be prepared to help. We will press ahead on the road of peace and a peaceful solution in the internal problems of South Africa and in Africa," he said.

"We will have to do it ourselves with or without the help of the West." But Western countries could help South Africa make contact with African states as some had already done.

Red sails

3/1/80
①
②

in the sunset

Own Correspondent

HONG KONG — One of Africa's smallest countries, Djibouti, has told the mighty Soviet Union to keep out.

The Soviets had been sending spy ships disguised as fishing vessels to the port of Djibouti in which France retains major military and naval base facilities.

New China News Agency this week quoted Djibouti officials as saying that some of the vessels "were found out and ordered to leave immediately."

It added: "The government summoned Soviet diplomats to Djibouti and warned them that the Soviet Union must inform Djibouti beforehand if its ships wished to call at the port."

France has about 3500 military, naval and air personnel in the strategic Horn of Africa state.

Djibouti President Hassan Gouled is currently visiting Peking and hearing frequent warnings from Peking leaders of Soviet designs on the Red Sea and Gulf region.

In a series of statements, Djibouti has stressed its wish to remain non-aligned and stay clear of any arms race in the Red Sea.

on and dis-
r of others,
tion may
From the
SONAL trans-
sample
as to new
ity. In
new evi-
final de-
ing agents
ty of ways
As
serve to
Lateral, the
-insur-
of affairs
-sion situ-
Classical
the basis of the
of Type I and Type II errors in coming to a decision (e.g., ac-
tical theory, terminal action is exemplified by the balancing
your past history of having been caught in the rain. In statis-
might decide whether or not to take an umbrella on the basis of
ing combination of information and ignorance. For example, you
Terminal actions represent making the best of one's exist-

or even stolen. To a degree, info
be purchased, or inferred by monit
sampling techniques studied in stat
actions open up ways of acquiring
size, etc. Again, in the world of
data to be collected: choice of sa
statistics, informational actions
dence that will, it is anticipated,
cision is deferred while awaiting
International actions are non-
in the economy.
for sharing risks and returns among
we shall see, these market processes
widen the terminal-act options avail
corporation and other forms of shar
ance contracts, futures markets, and
studied by economics many interpers
ation of an isolated Robinson Crusoe
statistical problem, which may be
evidence or data now in hand. In c
cepting or rejecting the null hypothesis) on the basis of the
of Type I and Type II errors in coming to a decision (e.g., ac-
tical theory, terminal action is exemplified by the balancing
your past history of having been caught in the rain. In statis-
might decide whether or not to take an umbrella on the basis of
ing combination of information and ignorance. For example, you
Terminal actions represent making the best of one's exist-

① am 4/1/80

Some light for dark continent

More and more, from all I hear, there is a new consciousness of choice that Africa must revolutionise itself, and soon, or go, and sooner, entirely to the devil. — Africa scholar Basil Davidson, writing in 1978.

As 1979 drew to a close, two rays of hope emerged over one of Africa's three major conflict areas, the subcontinent. One was

the ceasefire agreement between the Patriotic Front guerillas and Bishop Muzorewa's Salisbury government, which cleared the way for a British Governor to bring Rhodesia to legality after 14 years of UDI. The second was South Africa's qualified acceptance of the UN's demilitarised zone proposal as a prelude to resolving the SWA/Namibia issue.

Elsewhere in the troubled continent, the year was not without its successes, interpreted by some as heralding a watershed in black Africa. October saw the return to civilian government in the spiritual home of African independence, Ghana, and also in her most powerful and populous state, Nigeria. The symbolic importance of these developments suggests

that the drift to military dictatorships is, perhaps, on the wane, and that the "ideal" in these countries is multi-party democracy.

The sincerity of General Ignatius Acheampong's declared intention to restore civilian rule in Ghana was always suspect. Hence the wave of popular support that greeted the coup led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings' Armed Forces

AMARNATH SINGH, a staff writer on the FM, looks at Africa's turbulent countries.

Revolutionary Council in July, and the execution of Acheampong and others deemed to have been corrupt. After seven years of military rule, much now depends on how the new President, Dr Hilla Limann, sets about restoring Ghana's shattered economy.

It should also be noted that Somalia introduced a new constitution in August, its first since 1969, although power remains entrenched with General Siyad Barre.

Add to these developments the ousting in quick succession of that trio of murderous tyrants — Uganda's Idi Amin, Central African "Emperor" Jean Bedel Bokassa, and Equatorial Guinea's "Unique Miracle" Macias Nguema — and there are pointers towards a new political maturity as Africa enters its third decade of independence from colonial rule.

Yet the fluidity of events in Africa should be borne in mind. The situation in the deposed dictators' countries is unclear, and outside involvement in their overthrow cautions against drawing over-optimistic conclusions. The Ugandan economy is a shambles, and Tanzanian troops are still in the country.

It is early days yet in Ghana and Nigeria too, where the military still keeps a watchful eye over the developments they ushered in.

Across the continent, in east Africa, Kenya successfully carried through its November general election under the guiding hand of Mzee Kenyatta's successor, Daniel Arap Moi With Moi and Attorney General Charles Njonjo at the helm, the multi-racial single-party democracy has chosen a policy of "non-alignment and a pragmatic mixed economy." Kenya ranks as one of Africa's success stories and is, it seems, poised to industrialise further.

Kenya's socialist neighbour, Tanzania, is in dire economic straits, exacerbated by the cost of the invasion of Uganda that overthrew Amin. President Nyerere's action there was doubly significant in that it broke the Organisation of African Unity's cardinal rule of non-interference in the affairs of another African state, and it strained pan-African unity.

After the flags and anthems that char-

acterised the first two decades of African independence, the 16th OAU summit conference held in Monrovia, Liberia, in July, was described as something of a turning point. But the resolutions (taken in principle) on respect for human rights, plus the soul-searching into Africa's prospects for economic development in the next 20 years, and the desire for closer, regional economic co-operation, still need to be acted upon.

Significant in this regard was the little-reported Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference held at Arusha, Tanzania in July. At the initiative of the Frontline states, moves to woo southern African states away from South African hegemony got under way. The Frontliners (Tanzania, Mozambique, Br wana, Zambia and Angola) have already established themselves as a political grouping, and their intention to create a regional economic bloc is a development to be watched.

But areas of major conflict remain. In the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, backed by the Soviet Union, fights bitter secessionist wars with the Eritreans in the north, and in the Ogaden bordering on Somalia. Prospects of a solution appear dim.

There are signs that the Spanish Saharan conflict between the Algerian-backed Polisario Front and Mauritania could erupt into full-scale war between Morocco and Algeria.

The embroglio between the north and south in Chad has yet to be settled, and a meeting between the parties, with France and Nigeria as mediators, has been called in Lagos.

In Angola, whose President Augustino Neto died in September, the war with rival Unita looks like being stepped up. Struggling Mozambique too has opposition concentrated near its western border. The success or otherwise of both countries' "revolutionary nationalism" remains unproven.

On the economic front, the second Lomé Convention agreement between the European Community and 57 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries was signed in November. Most African states are signatories to this comprehensive trade and aid package. The stabilisation of exports earnings (Stabex) provision was expanded to take in 10 more commodities, including rubber, cotton and oil cake, more Botswana beef and, eventually, tobacco.

A most important new dimension, modelled on stabex, was the "minex" scheme, by which ACP mineral production is linked to EEC aid and trade with these countries. It covers copper, cobalt, phosphates, manganese, bauxite, alumina, tin and iron ore.

Already though, Africans seeking a "new international economic order" have cast doubt on a Lomé 3 being signed in 1984. Lomé 2, while mutually beneficial,

gives the Europeans the edge. As one observer noted, it must be the envy of the Eastern bloc.

Africa enters the Eighties with a third of the world's refugees in its domain. The trickle from Lesotho to SA is the most recent manifestation of the continent's "crisis of habitation," and could be a major problem, say observers. Opposition in Lesotho and Swaziland appears to be growing. Zambia has thousands of expatriates from Rhodesia, who are an additional burden on a country facing starvation.

1980-90 is the UN's Third Development Decade for Africa, which the continent enters more impoverished than at independence. Some 90% of Africans are rural dwellers, and 85% of them are under- or unemployed. In Zaire, for example, only 1.2m out of a population of 25m have steady employment. Zaire and Zambia have been hard-hit by falling copper prices.

Many states still need to import food. Ghana and Gambia are examples of the pitfalls of single-crop economies. They are, respectively, huge cocoa and groundnut plantations which have to import food. Rising grain and oil prices will further strain the poverty treadmill.

Some observers therefore see Africa's major problem as the "redistribution of wealth." Others argue that the wealth needs first to be created. It was estimated



Children of Africa . . . is there hope ahead?

a few years ago that 45% of Africa's population is under 15 years. And the young, wrote Davidson, are fast becoming tired of the failures of the old. How the new generation will come to terms with Africa's economic, political and social problems remains to be seen.

The Star

Monday January 7 1960

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

The Ivory Coast is one of black Africa's most prosperous states. LEON DASH writes about the country and its leader.

17 New 7/1/80

On the road to democracy



Felix Houphouët-Boigny... astute and independent of mind.

A man of legendary caution

Briefing

Felix Houphouët-Boigny presides over one of West Africa's most prosperous nations with a mixture of astute political manoeuvring and stern paternalism that has made him one of Africa's most durable leaders.

After 20 years in power, the 74-year-old Ivory Coast leader still displays independence of mind and almost legendary caution.

Born to a line of chiefs of the Baoule people, Houphouët-Boigny was

four years old when the French captured his central Ivorian village of Yamoussoukro. The entire country was subjugated in 1917. He attended a colonial school in Dakar, Senegal and became a rural paramedic in 1925.

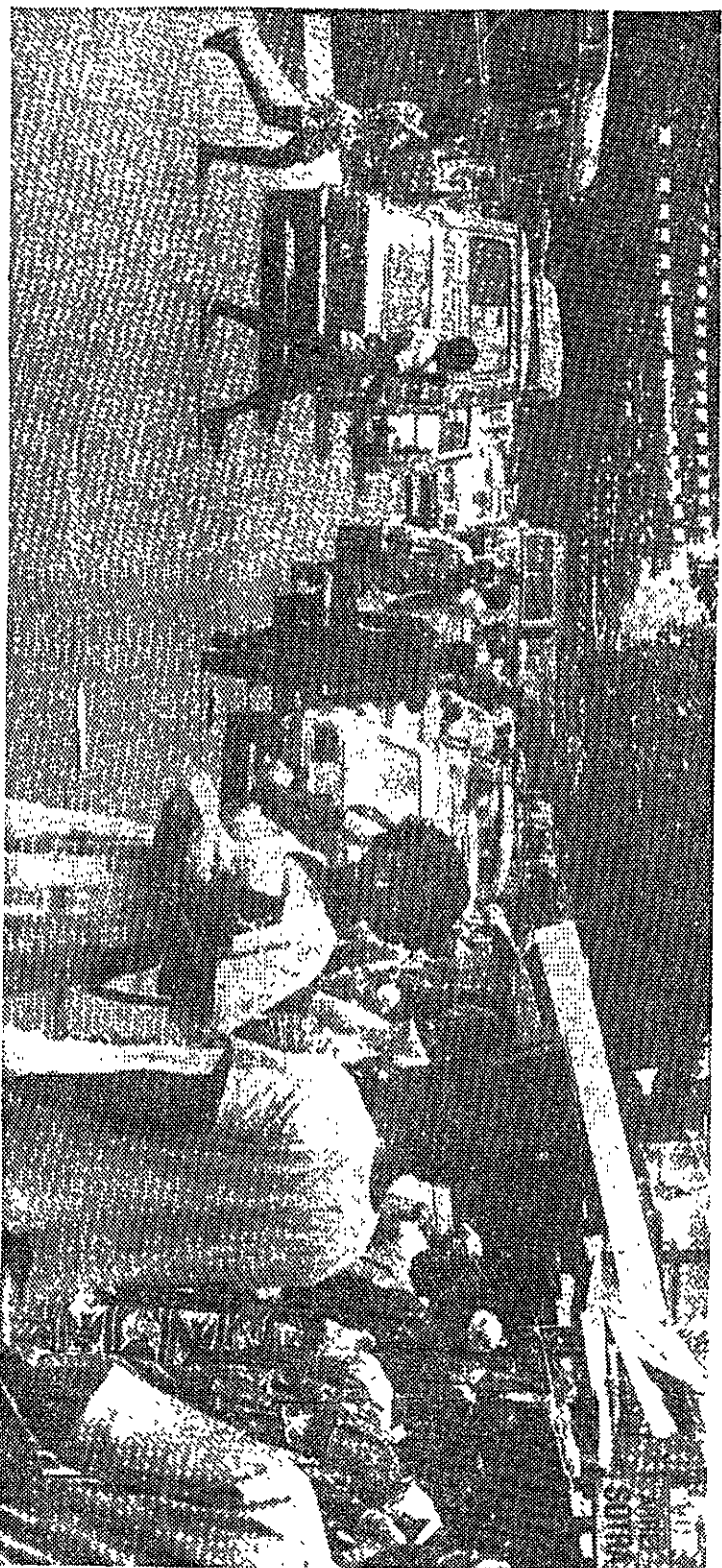
As a health aide in the colonial service, Houphouët-Boigny travelled around the interior of the Ivory Coast and made contact with the country's numerous ethnic groups, something

rare for Africans under colonial administration. In 1940, after inheriting extensive tracts of land from a maternal uncle, he became one of the richest coffee farmers in the country. Four years later, Houphouët-Boigny emerged as the leader of the African Agricultural Trade Union, an association formed to fight preferential trade policies for French coffee planters and the practice of forced African labour on French-owned planta-

tions. He formed the Democratic Party in 1945 and, using the contacts he had made as a travelling paramedic, forged a federation of the country's various ethnic groups.

He formed the years Ivorians believed that if he did not represent them, forced labour would return.

Houphouët-Boigny remained opposed to outright independence from France through most of the 1950s, preferring instead a federal relationship with limited self-government. The tide of nationalism in then sweeping Africa, however, forced him to declare independence, which was granted in 1960. — Washington Post



A bustling street reflects the Ivory Coast's prosperity.

In Africa, where many newly independent states have undergone destructive upheavals or had elected governments overthrown in bloody military coups, the Ivory Coast has survived the last ethnic and tribal rivalries that have left other states in economic ruin.

Felix Houphouët-Boigny has run the country through tight control over a pervasive, paternalistic one-party system of government that embraces the country's 60 tribes, the trade unions and university students—all potential sources of opposition.

Now, in line with a trend toward political liberalisation in West Africa, Houphouët-Boigny has announced that he will reform the structure of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast to allow more grass-roots participation in the country's affairs.

Since independence, all political candidates for the 120-member National Assembly and municipal offices have been chosen by the party's 70-member Political Bureau, which is dominated by Houphouët-Boigny.

In the December 7 Independence Day speech in which he announced the reforms, the President struck a rare populist theme. The generally conservative Houphouët-Boigny told thousands of Ivorians that the time had come to decentralise the party's control in the country.

The speech's theme has generated excited speculation among the country's 7.5-million people.

"We have become a mature people," Houphouët-Boigny said, "and the people should be allowed to choose democratically at all levels."

The revamping of the party will take place before June and be followed by national elections in the autumn. Houphouët-Boigny said he would be a candidate for re-election.

Houphouët-Boigny's decision follows closely the return of elected civilian rule in two neighbouring countries, Ghana and Nigeria, in September and October.

It is unclear whether the well-publicised changes had any impact on the Ivorian leader's decision, but several knowledgeable observers said the recent transitions did not go unnoticed here.

"We have had a problem of national unity," said one of Houphouët-Boigny's closest political associates, Mathieu Ekra. "That is why the party was given so much power and some people may have abused it."

But now, the idea of belonging to one nation has been achieved, so the tight controls can be loosened."

Because it has one of Africa's few successful economies, the Ivory Coast has attracted cheap African labour from its neighbours and a large community of French citizens whose positions and high salaries have

caused some resentment here.

As in many Third World countries, the political and economic fortunes of the Ivory Coast have been organised around one man and his philosophy of a mixed economy of state-run enterprises and capitalism.

With a cash crop base of coffee and cocoa, the Ivory Coast has enjoyed a dramatic average economic growth rate of 7 percent annually, the highest in Black Africa. Its annual per capita income of \$935, also the

highest, is the most equitably distributed in all of Africa, according to World Bank studies.

Unlike a number of his neighbours, Houphouët-Boigny resisted the general post-independence rush to industrialise and concentrated on agricultural growth. While his neighbours' fledgling industrial efforts and economies faltered, the Ivory Coast prospered.

Almost 2-million Africans have flocked into the Ivory Coast for low-paying work on the

coffee and cocoa plantations and in Abidjan. Many have come from the country's poorer neighbours, such as Ghana, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Guinea. Although they compete with some Ivorians for jobs, while the economy has remained robust their presence has not caused any major unrest.

One possible source of tension here is the presence of an estimated 60,000 French in Abidjan, many of whom work in executive positions in government and private industry. This is a sore point with many Ivorian university graduates and students.

"One of every four Frenchmen in Africa lives in Abidjan," said a French official in charge of government aid to former colonies.

"We think it is too much and it creates problems, but Houphouët wants them there," the official recently said in Paris.

"We all know that it's a problem," said Houphouët-Boigny's troubleshooter Ekra, "but we are laced with a conflict."

Young Ivorians, Ekra said, are in a hurry to replace the French but feel that enough of them have sufficient experience. "We have to keep the economy going," he added. — Washington Post

Nearly two million refugees in Africa

LONDON. — Some 200 000 refugees from Rhodesia are busy returning to their country from Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana now that "peace" has been restored and elections are due to be held.

The size of the refugee problem is a reflection of the extent of the disruption that occurred in Rhodesia following UDI and the outbreak of the guerilla war.

But Rhodesia is not the only country in Africa with a refugee problem. Refugees are scattered all over the African continent.

Instability has been evident particularly in Rwanda and Burundi, and also in Ethiopia and Somalia.

Refugees are an historical phenomenon. Like the poor, they are always with us. War, aggression, greed, flood, famine — whatever the reason, there are always refugees on the march somewhere.

I have been looking at the figures for refugees compiled by the United Nations Commission for Refugees for June 1979.

They are quite horrifying. Half-a-million refugees, for example, are living in Kampuchean encampments near the Thai border alone.

But to look at the refugee problem in Africa, here are the figures for the Southern African region:

There are 61 000 refugees in Angola: 30 000 from Zaire, 30 000 from SWA/Namibia, and 1 000 from South Africa.

Botswana has 20 300 refugees — from South Africa, SWA/Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola and other countries.

Lesotho has 1 000 refugees from South Africa (since the recent unrest South Africa has some hundreds of refugees from Lesotho). Swaziland has 3 700 refugees from South Africa.

Mozambique has 120 000 refugees from Rhodesia, and Zambia has 45 300 from Rhodesia, 26 000 from Angola, 5 500 from SWA/Namibia, and 150 from South Africa.

Zaire has 288 000 refugees — roughly 215 000 from Angola, 40 000 from Uganda, 11 000 from

Burundi and 11 000 from Rwanda.

Looking farther afield, Tanzania has 160 000 refugees — 129 500 from Burundi, 25 000 from Rwanda, and 4 100 from Uganda.

Uganda, in turn, has 112 000 refugees — 78 000 from Rwanda and 34 000 from Zaire.

Refugees numbering 8 500 have settled in Rwanda and Burundi from various sources, and there are 6 500 refugees in Kenya from Uganda and Ethiopia.

In West Africa, there are 60 000 refugees in Gabon from Equatorial Guinea, and 51 000 in Senegal from various countries.

The clash between Ethiopia and Somalia produced one of the biggest refugee movements in Africa.

There are 500 000 refugees in Somalia from Ethiopia, and 295 000 refugees from Ethiopia in Sudan, plus 20 000 refugees in Djibouti from Ethiopia, Somalia and other countries. There are a further 30 000 refugees in Sudan from Uganda and 4 500

(6) Conclusions

(6.1.) The Cost Effectiveness of the Day Hospitals Organisation

The possibility of reducing cost benefit and cost effectiveness results to balance sheets in the health sector has been questioned. This is obviously not possible in this study. The cost figures used are not of the type an economist requires to work with and it proved impossible to correct these as theory calls for in shadow pricing. The aim of this study has been to take a wide view of the system of decentralised primary contact health care and to indicate the relevant considerations. The emphasis has been on the fact that Day Hospitals and outpatient departments should operate

Cape Peninsula — there remains scope for improvement. The first recommendation is that a full epidemiological study be conducted to ascertain what proportion of patients being treated at outpatient departments, could be treated at a Day Hospital, and once that is known, to determine how these patients could be treated at a Day Hospital without causing undue pressure on staff and facilities. Longer queues may allocate resources, but this may be to the detriment of the economically active who bear a high opportunity cost in the form of lost wages when they have to spend a long time queuing. The second recommendation is that the possibility of improving the quality of statistics to allow more effective hospital resource management be examined.

(6.2.) The cost benefit approach to health once more

To date, few studies within the cost benefit approach to health have been complete in the strict theoretical sense — this one no less than any other. The particular problems in the health sector of inadequate statistics (although not unique to this sector), of measuring the output of health services and of evaluating the changes in health status have been discussed. To reiterate the advantage of this type of analysis is that it creates awareness of the inadequacies of the measurement and recording techniques. This awareness gives impetus to further study towards improvement. The flaws in the theoretical foundations of the cost benefit procedure have also to be considered in some detail. Despite these defects, my conclusion remains that if cost benefit analysis is abandoned, it is not evident how to establish priorities in a systematic way. Particularly in a field where there is a tendency to adopt the best available and latest technology in every institution and where there exists the medical ethic of doing the utmost for the individual patient, the need for such systematic analysis is ever present. Energies will be more usefully spent on improving the application of an existing technique than in searching for a new technique. As crude as studies in cost benefit analysis must

THE staggering total of 1 856 000 refugees in Africa puts our continent in the big league of this problem. It reflects too the disruption created by unstable governments.

Africa's immense refugee problem

①

NM

19/1/80

SOME 200 000 refugees from Zimbabwe-Rhodesia are busy returning to their country from Zambia, Mozambique, and Botswana now that 'peace' has been restored and elections are due to be held.

The size of the refugee problem is a reflection of the extent of the disruption that occurred in what was then Rhodesia following UDI and the outbreak of the terrorist war.

But Rhodesia is not the only country in Africa with a refugee problem. Refugees are scattered all over the African continent.

Instability has been evident particularly in Rwanda and Burundi, and also in Ethiopia and Somalia.

Refugees are an historical phenomenon: Like the poor, they are always with us. War, aggression, greed, flood, famine — whatever the reason, there are always refugees on the march, somewhere.

Figures

I have been looking at the figures for refugees compiled by the United Nations Commission for Refugees for June 1979.

They are quite horrifying. Half-a-million refugees, for example, are living in Kampuchean encampments near the Thai border alone.

But to look at the refugee problem in Africa: Here are the figures for the southern African region.

There are 61 000 refugees in Angola: 30 000 from Zaire, 30 000 from South West Africa/Namibia, and 1 000 from South Africa.

Botswana has 20 300 refugees — from South Africa, South West Africa, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, Angola and other countries.

Lesotho has 1 000 refugees from South Africa

(since the recent unrest South Africa has some hundreds of refugees from Lesotho). Swaziland has 3 700 refugees from South Africa.

Mozambique has 120 000 refugees from Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and Zambia has 45 300 from Rhodesia, 26 000 from Angola, 5 500 from South West Africa, and 150 from South Africa.

Zaire has 288 000 refugees — roughly 215 000 from Angola, 40 000 from Uganda, 11 000 from Burundi, and 11 000 from Rwanda.

Looking further afield, Tanzania has 160 000 refugees — 129 500 from Burundi, 25 000 from Rwanda, and 4 100 from Uganda.

Uganda, in turn, has 112 000 refugees — 78 000 from Rwanda and 34 000 from Zaire.

Refugees numbering 8 500 have settled in Rwanda and Burundi from various sources, and there are 6 500 refugees in Kenya from Uganda and Ethiopia.

W Africa

In West Africa, there are 60 000 refugees in Gabon from Equatorial Guinea, and 51 000 in Senegal from various countries.

The clash between Ethiopia and Somalia produced one of the biggest refugee movements in Africa.

There are 500 000

refugees in Somalia from Ethiopia, and 295 000 refugees from Ethiopia in Sudan, plus 20 000 refugees in Djibouti from Ethiopia, Somalia and other countries.

There are a further 30 000 refugees in Sudan from Uganda and 4 500 from Zaire.

Finally, there are 30 000 refugees from various African countries in countries other than the ones mentioned above, including students from southern Africa.

This gives a total of 1 856 000 refugees in Africa. It's a staggering number.

There is more immediate drama in the plight of refugees in Asia, but Africa is in the big league, too, of the refugee problem. Besides, it's a problem on our doorstep.

STANLEY UYS
London Bureau

West's child no more

THERE are Czechoslovak doctors working in Guinea, Bulgarian engineers in Tanzania, Hungarian scientists in Zambia and East German military advisers in Mozambique.

They are some of the thousands of Soviet bloc specialists who represent a communist presence in black Africa that has been steadily expanding over the past decade.

In the case of all Soviet bloc countries but Rumania, their presence is part of a co-ordinated effort to expand communist influence in a region of the world long regarded as a Western preserve.

Rumania, a political maverick that has often clashed with Moscow on major policy issues, seems more interested in deepening ties with developing countries and the non-aligned movement in order to bolster its own independent stand within the communist Warsaw Pact.

All the Soviet bloc countries have played, or are playing, some military role in black Africa, ranging from supplying arms to providing military advisers or training young African officers in Europe.

As it has done in the past, Moscow appears to have often used its allies as surrogates in areas where it appears not to get directly involved.

There are no official figures for the size of communist military aid to black Africa. According to a Polish dissident journal published in mid-1978, total Soviet military aid to developing countries between 1971 and 1977 came to over R15-billion.

There has also been growth in the East bloc's economic relations with black Africa, where communist states have found markets for goods they may have been unable to sell in the West in exchange for precious raw materials. However, East bloc trade with black Africa is still tiny, representing only about one percent of its total foreign trade.

While the political and military efforts have clearly been co-ordinated in the economic field there has been something of a free-for-all, with communist allies sometimes competing directly against each other.

East Europe's relations with black Africa started picking up during the 1960s as Britain, France and Belgium were decolonising.

However they really began moving in the 1970s when Portugal pulled out

of the continent and liberation movements in southern Africa became more conspicuous.

In the past decade there have been frequent visits to black Africa by East bloc leaders, and in some cases these have resulted in the signing of treaties of co-operation and friendship, previously reserved for communist states.

The most active East bloc country in Africa is East Germany, which has played a role second only to the Soviet Union and built up the largest German presence in Africa since the collapse of the Kaiser's empire in 1918.

East German leader Erich Honecker made two Africa tours last year, in February and November, which produced 20-year friendship treaties with Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

EXPLICIT

The treaty with the Mozambique government contains an explicit military aid clause and officials have admitted privately that East German advisers have been sent to help transform the Frelimo guerilla forces into a regular national army.

East Germany's support for the government of Mengistu Haile Mariam after the 1974 revolution in Ethiopia opened the door to a flood of East German advisers who now help train security police and hold key posts in some ministries.

From the scant information available, it is known only that East Germany has supplied 7000 trucks to its African friends and millions of marks in aid. Western estimates put the total number of East German

civilian and military advisers in Africa at 3000 to 4000.

Fourteen brigades of the communist Free German Youth, which provide the bulk of the East German advisers, are operating in eight African countries, eight African countries, eight African countries, eight African countries, eight African countries, eight African countries, eight African countries, eight African countries.

East Berlin's African policies have not always met with success.

On the military side, Hungary is reported to have special responsibility under a co-ordinated Warsaw Pact approach in Africa for assisting Mozambique in military training, along with East Germany.

A report which followed an African tour by Hungarian foreign minister Frigyes Puja in January 1978 said one major facet of Hungary's Africa policy was to counterbalance the influence of the So-

Bulgaria was quick to establish relations with newly independent African countries in the 1960s, and to sign trade and cultural agreements with them.

At the end of 1977 Prime Minister Stanko Todorov visited Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia, and in October 1978 President Todor Zhivkov toured Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

In Angola and Mozambique treaties of friendship and co-operation were signed, while in Ethiopia it was a declaration of friendship and co-operation.

On the military side, it assisted the MPLA liberation movement in Angola and is unofficially reported to have given Ethiopia military aid. It has also trained young Africans in Bulgaria and has given strong support to liberation movements in southern Africa.

Czechoslovakia's involvement in Africa appears to be based on that country's role as one of the world's major arms suppliers. Nearly all Czechoslovak arms deals are believed to be either a mixture of politics and business or straight business.

African customers for Czechoslovak weapons, which range from armoured personnel carriers to machine-guns, have included Uganda, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, the Sudan, Zaire, and both sides of in Nigeria's 1967-70 Biafran war.

Apart from this Prague's designated role in the East bloc's African strategy appears to be to provide education. At present around 1500 black African students are enrolled in higher education institutes in Czechoslovakia

Poland has an estimated 800 to 1000 specialists working in black Africa, representing a wide variety of skills from urban planners, surveyors and economists to pilots and doctors. Some are on individual contracts, others have been sent by the Warsaw government.

Rumania, heavily involved in Africa on all fronts, has gone its own way off the continent for its own political ends.

Rumania, which has re-defined itself as a socialist development country, has been interested in Africa as an opening to the non-aligned movement and the group of 77 developing countries.

Rumanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu's support for young African states and national liberation movements has also given him frequent opportunities to reiterate his country's well-known principles of national independence and sovereignty for all countries. Included, implicitly, is Rumania.

Mr Ceausescu visited eight African countries in 1972, and the same number in April last year. In 1979 delegations from 11 African countries and two liberation movements visited Rumania.

Bucharest now has diplomatic relations with 38 black African states, and has signed "solemn declarations" with 15 and friendship and co-operation accords with seven.

On military aid, Bucharest has stressed that problems among African states should be solved by the Africans themselves, but it gives military assistance to national liberation movements. — SUNDAY POST Correspondent.



The map of Africa.

Mr Honecker's visit to Libya last February failed to produce an expected friendship treaty, and gave little hope for a boost in trade, particularly Libyan oil in exchange for machinery.

Hungary's relations with black Africa have grown steadily since 1973, mainly in the field of technical and scientific co-operation. There are officially reported to be 600 highly trained Hungarian specialists working in Africa.

cialist International, which according to the minister, was making efforts to win "progressive" African states over to social democracy.

Probably the most actively involved East bloc country, apart from East Germany, is Bulgaria, the smallest of the East bloc states.

In 1978, 500 Bulgarian specialists, mainly doctors, architects and engineers, were reported to be working in Angola alone.

Published by Comm Comm.
Printed by S.R.C. press, U.C.T.

All the Soviet bloc countries have played some military role in black Africa and there are thousands of Soviet bloc specialists in many capacities on the continent today.

Red advisers swarm over black Africa

By Colin McIntyre

VIENNA — There are Czechoslovak doctors working in Guinea, Bulgarian engineers in Tanzania, Hungarian scientists in Zambia and East German military advisers in Mozambique.

They are some of the thousands of Soviet bloc specialists who represent a communist presence in black Africa that has been steadily expanding over the past decade.

In the case of all Soviet bloc countries but Rumania, their presence is part of a co-ordinated effort to expand communist influence in a region of the world long regarded as a Western preserve.

Rumania, a political maverick that has often clashed with Moscow on major policy issues, seems more interested in deepening ties with developing countries and the non-aligned movement in order to bolster its own independent stand within the communist Warsaw Pact.

All the Soviet bloc countries have played, or are playing, some military role in black Africa, ranging from supplying arms to providing military advisers or training young African officers in Europe.

As it has done in the past, Moscow appears to have often used its allies as surrogates in areas where it prefers not to get directly involved.

There are no official figures for the size of communist military aid to black Africa. Ag-

There has also been growth in the Eastern bloc's economic relations with black Africa, where communist states have found markets for goods they may have been unable to sell in the West, in exchange for precious raw materials. However, Eastern bloc trade with black Africa is still tiny, representing only about one percent of its total foreign trade.

While the political and military efforts have clearly been co-ordinated, in the economic field there has been something of a free-for-all, with communist allies sometimes competing directly against each other.

East Europe's relations with black Africa started picking up during the 1960s as Britain, France and Belgium were decolonising.

However, they really began moving in the 1970s when Portugal pulled out of the continent and liberation movements in southern Africa became more conspicuous.

Active

In the past decade there have been frequent visits to black Africa by Eastern bloc leaders, and in some cases these have resulted in the signing of treaties of co-operation and friendship, previously reserved for communist states.

The most active East bloc country in Africa is East Germany, which has played a role second only to the Soviet Union and built up the largest German presence on the continent since the collapse of the Kaiser's empire in 1918.

East German leader Erich Honecker made two African tours last year, in February and November, which produced 20-year friendship treaties with Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

The treaty with the Mozambique government contains an explicit military aid clause and officials have admitted privately that East German advisers have been sent to help train the Frelimo guerrilla forces into a regular national army.

East Germany's support for the government of Mengistu Haile Mariam after the 1974 revolution in Ethiopia opened the door to a flood of East German advisers who now help train the security police and hold key posts in some ministries.

From the scant information available, it is

known only that East Germany has supplied 7 000 trucks to its African friends and millions of marks in aid. Western estimates put the total number of East German civilian and military advisers in Africa at 3 000 to 4 000.

Policies

Fourteen brigades of the communist Free German Youth, which provide the bulk of the East German advisers, are operating in eight African countries, including Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde islands.

East Berlin's African policies have not always met with success. Mr Honecker's visit to Libya last February failed to produce an expected friendship treaty, and gave little hope for a boost in trade, particularly Libyan oil in exchange for machinery.

Hungary's relations with black Africa have grown steadily since 1973, mainly in the field of technical and scientific co-operation. There are 600 highly trained Hungarian specialists working in Africa.

On the military side, Hungary is reported to have special responsibility under a co-ordinated Warsaw Pact approach in Africa for assisting Mozambique in military training, along with East Germany.

In 1978, 500 Bulgarian specialists, mainly doctors, architects and engineers, were reported to be working in Angola.

Agreements

Bulgaria was quick to establish relations with newly independent African countries in the 1960s, and to sign trade and cultural agreements with them.

A report which followed an African tour by Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Pujja in January 1978 said one major facet of Hungary's Africa policy was to counterbalance the influence of the Socialist International, which according to the Minister was making efforts to win "progressive" African states over to social democracy.

Probably the most actively involved East bloc country, apart from East Germany, is Bulgaria, the smallest of the communist states.

On the military side, Sofia assisted the MPLA liberation movement in Angola and Mozambique.

At the end of 1977 Prime Minister Stanko Todorov visited Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia, and in October 1978 President Todor Zhivkov toured Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

In Angola and Mozambique treaties of co-operation and friendship were signed, while in Ethiopia it was a declaration of friendship and co-operation.

Poland has an estimated 800-1 000 specialists working in black Africa, representing a wide variety of skills from urban planners, surveyors and economists to pilots and doctors. Some are on individual contracts, others have been sent by the Warsaw government.

Opening

Romania, heavily involved in Africa on all fronts, has gone its own way on the continent for his own political ends. It has redrafted its social, economic and military development strategy to provide education. At present around 1 500 black African students are enrolled in higher education institutes in Czechoslovakia.

Apart from this, Prague's designated role in the East bloc's African strategy appears to be to provide education. At present around 1 500 black African students are enrolled in higher education institutes in Czechoslovakia.

On the military side, Hungary is reported to have special responsibility under a co-ordinated Warsaw Pact approach in Africa for assisting Mozambique in military training, along with East Germany.

In 1978, 500 Bulgarian specialists, mainly doctors, architects and engineers, were reported to be working in Angola.

Agreements

Bulgaria was quick to establish relations with newly independent African countries in the 1960s, and to sign trade and cultural agreements with them.

A report which followed an African tour by Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Pujja in January 1978 said one major facet of Hungary's Africa policy was to counterbalance the influence of the Socialist International, which according to the Minister was making efforts to win "progressive" African states over to social democracy.

Probably the most actively involved East bloc country, apart from East Germany, is Bulgaria, the smallest of the communist states.

On the military side, Sofia assisted the MPLA liberation movement in Angola and Mozambique.

At the end of 1977 Prime Minister Stanko Todorov visited Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia, and in October 1978 President Todor Zhivkov toured Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

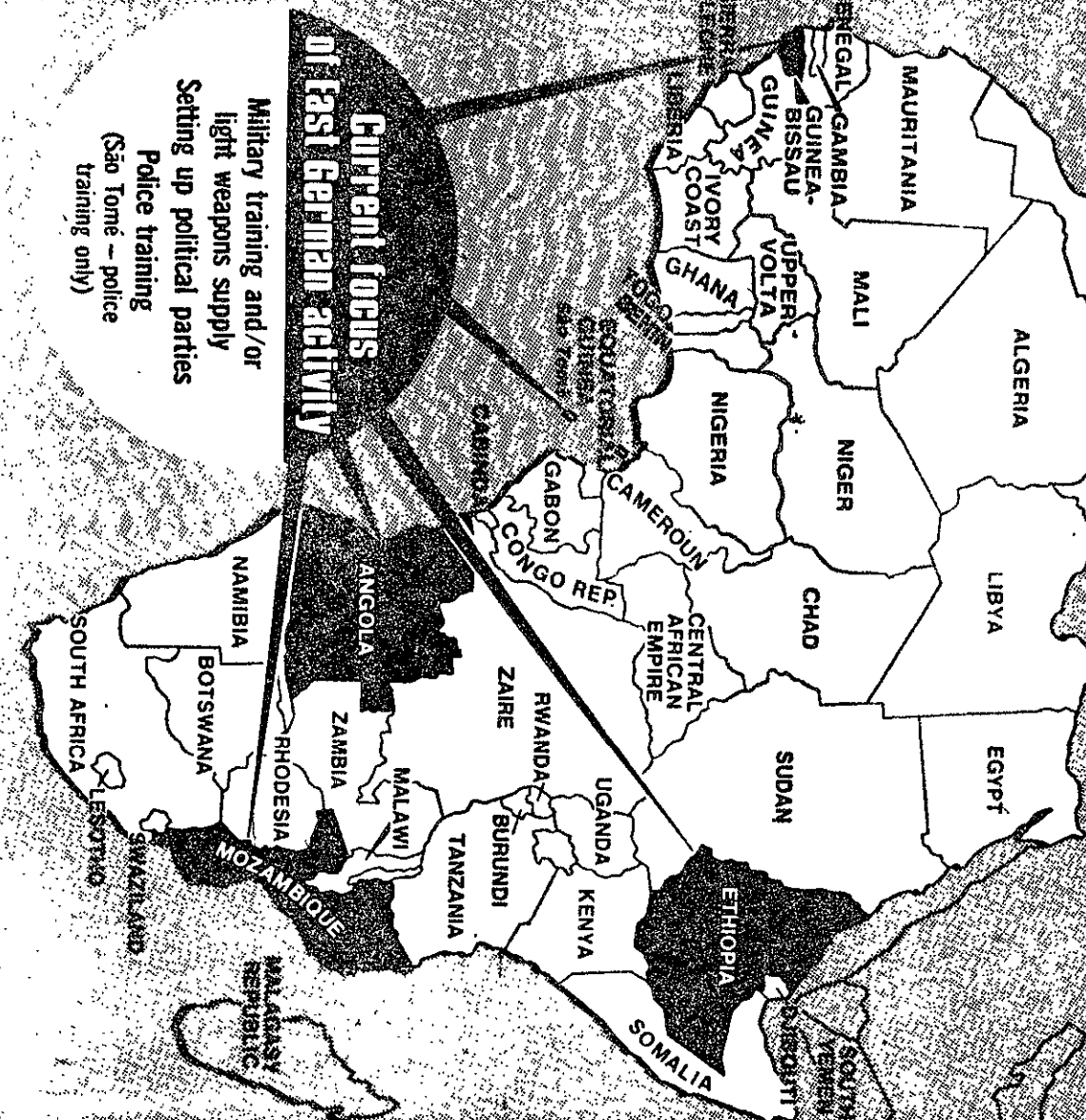
In Angola and Mozambique treaties of co-operation and friendship were signed, while in Ethiopia it was a declaration of friendship and co-operation.

Poland has an estimated 800-1 000 specialists working in black Africa, representing a wide variety of skills from urban planners, surveyors and economists to pilots and doctors. Some are on individual contracts, others have been sent by the Warsaw government.

Opening

Romania, heavily involved in Africa on all fronts, has gone its own way on the continent for his own political ends. It has redrafted its social, economic and military development strategy to provide education. At present around 1 500 black African students are enrolled in higher education institutes in Czechoslovakia.

Apart from this, Prague's designated role in the East bloc's African strategy appears to be to provide education. At present around 1 500 black African students are enrolled in higher education institutes in Czechoslovakia.



The most active East bloc country in Africa is East Germany, which has built up the largest German presence on the continent since the collapse of the Kaiser's empire in 1918.

Poland has an estimated 800-1 000 specialists working in black Africa, representing a wide variety of skills from urban planners, surveyors and economists to pilots and doctors. Some are on individual contracts, others have been sent by the Warsaw government.

Opening

Romania, heavily involved in Africa on all fronts, has gone its own way on the continent for his own political ends. It has redrafted its social, economic and military development strategy to provide education. At present around 1 500 black African students are enrolled in higher education institutes in Czechoslovakia.

Apart from this, Prague's designated role in the East bloc's African strategy appears to be to provide education. At present around 1 500 black African students are enrolled in higher education institutes in Czechoslovakia.

SELL IT WITH A MINI-AD

Horns up to R100 only

R4 to private advisers

STAR CLASSIFIED Easy as phoning a friend

833-0111

Thousands of Somalis have been killed as Ethiopia uses new tactics to depopulate the disputed desert wasteland. The new tactics include machine-gunning cattle, strafing villages and napalm bombs on villages, reports the Washington Post News Service.

MOGADISHU (Somalia) — Unable to pacify the Ogaden region, Ethiopia has launched a campaign to depopulate the war-ravaged wasteland, driving out the ethnic Somalis and replacing them with Ethiopians, according to refugees and diplomatic sources here.

For six months the Ethiopians, backed by Cubans and East Germans, have been poisoning and bombing waterholes, machine-gunning herds of cattle and strafing villages. At least twice napalm was used in air attacks on civilian villages, the sources said.

The new tactics have reportedly resulted in thousands of casualties and helped swell Somalia's refugee population beyond a million, but they do not appear to have weakened Somalia's resolve to reunite all ethnic Somalis under one flag.

The Ogaden, an Ethiopian province which was once part of Somalia, is largely inhabited by Somalis.

"The Russians and Cubans are the ones who chased us out of our motherland," said a refugee who arrived here recently. "Without them the Ethiopians are nothing. One day we will return to the Ogaden."

In July 1977 Somalia launched a major attack across the Ethiopian border into the Ogaden in support of guerillas from the Western Somali Liberation Front who had been fighting in the region since 1962.

The Somalis quickly drove 1 000 km through the Ogaden. They seemed assured of victory until the Soviet Union abandoned the Somali Government and poured R\$17-million worth of weapons into Marxist Ethiopia. About 1 000 Russians and 17 000 Cubans are still in Ethiopia.

Poison and bombs in the Ogaden

*slow
18/2/82*



Since the Somali regular army pulled out of the Ogaden in May 1978, leaving the guerillas to continue the war, about 60 000 people have been killed there, including 25 000 civilians and 6 000 Cubans, according to Arab diplomats here.

But the guerillas have regained control of the countryside and the Ethiopians and Cubans are restricted mostly to the towns and main roads, intelligence sources said.

The Liberation Front, whose forces number about 20 000, fights mostly with captured weapons, including some old British Enfield rifles. It receives no overt support from any nation except Somalia, but is believed to have received some back-door assist-

ance from Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

In the last six months, neutral Arab sources said, Ethiopia has been recruiting ethnic Somalis in Kenya and Ethiopia and has formed them into what is known as the Somali Salvation Front.

The front is dedicated to the overthrow of Somali President Siad Barre (60), an Ogaden-born former policeman who came to power 11 years ago in a bloodless coup.

Ethiopia's attempt to depopulate the Ogaden of ethnic Somalis is evidently to deny the Liberation Front the popular support it now has.

The Ogaden war has dragged on, in varying stages of intensity, for 400 years.

Following products: The following Record flours; Self-raising flour, Cake flour, Bread flour, Sifted flour, Unsifted flour, Wheatie Treat flour; Philadelphia flour; Koeberg Mille pack - mealie meal; all products with the Fattis & Monis brand name. These include icecream cones, cake cups, wafers, macaroni, spaghetti, large and small shells, pasta ribbons - broad, narrow, plain and green, pain rings, dilatines. Fattis and Monis also pack their pasta products under the following brand names; Princess, Pot o' Gold, Pick 'n Pay no name brand, Ccheckers and Roma. Fattis & Monis also control a number of bakeries in the Cape Town area. These include the Good Hope Bakery in Elsies River, Wrench Town Bakery in Observatory and the Ultra Bakery in Somerset West.

Africa in turmoil



Jerry Rawlings... "House cleaning" programme.



Hilla Limann... not up to expectations.

A new round of army-led blood-letting in Ghana is being plotted in other ranks barrack rooms and at secret workers' meetings.

The four-month-old People's National Party Government of Dr Hilla Limann is failing to live up to public expectations and it is feared that another army takeover of the government may be imminent.

Since the coup led by Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings massacred several of the country's power elite and handed over power to Limann and the PNP a deadly cat-and-mouse game has been played between Limann and Rawlings, with nobody certain about who is the cat.

The only thing everybody is certain about in this city of queues, of empty shops, of people going hungry and not far off starvation, is that if the Limann government doesn't act quickly to halt the national slide into poverty and ruin which began 20 years ago when Kwame Nkrumah launched black Africa's first independent government its days are numbered.

Power

When Nkrumah was ousted by the army in 1966, the National Liberation Council promised to end corruption and clear up the economic mess. But both were worse when the council handed over in 1970 to Dr Koti Busia's Progressive Party government.

Two years later the army under general Ignatius Acheampong seized power for the same reasons given by the NLC.

General Fred Akuffo advanced identical reasons for ousting Acheampong in another military coup, and so did Rawlings' groups when they took over last June.

Unlike some of the others, Rawlings did not allow his predecessors in office to retire and grow old gracefully. He had Acheampong, Akuffo and General A A Afrifa, who ran the military government from 1969-1970, hauled out to Accra's Burma Barracks, shot and thrown into a common grave along with five other top service officers.

He then embarked on a "house cleaning" programme, which scared much of upper

crust Ghana half to death, and organised parties of anti-racketeer vigilantes to continue the work before handing over what he called "a spring-loaded country" to Dr Limann, whose PNP had won elections shortly before the army coup.

Unknown

Before doing so, Rawlings had a series of "transitional provisions" designed to protect himself and the army from the consequences of their actions incorporated into the constitution.

Since Dr Limann took over, the spring has lost much of its tension. A hitherto politically unknown former diplomat, he is regarded a tough, but "grey" character who talks in political clichés about everybody pulling together for the common good and socio-economic regeneration while the people cry out for more Rawlings-type action and the country sinks deeper into its economic abyss.

Limann's toughness comes out in his attitude to Rawlings, who is still a public hero.

Compulsorily retired from the forces on the ground that his service position was not compati-

ble with his role as a former Head of State, Rawlings lives and holds court in a large ramshackle house in an Accra suburb.

Limann, Rawlings says, is on probation, and he and the lower ranks of the army are not happy with what his Government is doing or not doing.

President Limann treads softly. Recently, when the Auditor-General's report complained that Defence Ministry expenditure had jumped from R27.5-million in 1976-77 to R227.5-million in 1978-79 in complete disregard of its budget, Limann responded by setting up a commission to review upwards the forces' pay, particularly the junior officer and non-officer ranks, "in the interests of ensuring peace and political stability."

Warning

Accra-based diplomats give credence to Rawlings' warning to Limann that neither the junior army ranks nor the Ghana workers' organisations were satisfied with the bloodletting on the scale accomplished in his "house cleaning" operation, and are in the mood for more of it.

It has gone further than that. A People's Revolutionary League of Ghana has flooded Accra with leaflets threatening bloodshed if any attempt is made to discipline the army or if action is taken against Rawlings.

And soldiers of Burma camp have threatened in a letter to a local newspaper to kill a million Ghanaians if the Limann Government gets out of line.

Limann has no false illusions. He has been quoted as saying, "since June I have been holding a time bomb in my hand. Every day before I go to bed I hear there will be a coup."

And he has warned that any more military coups could result in mass starvation.

Tasteless

Ghana now has an external debt of R1 000-million, a domestic debt of more than R1 500-million, an inflation rate of 79.8 percent, a subsistence living cost which is five times the minimum wage and drastic declines in both food production and exports.

It is also being charged top world prices by Nigeria for oil and its oil bill now represents 73 percent of the national earnings.

In Ghana's towns and cities the people are subsisting mainly on a tasteless rubbery mess of pounded plantain and cassava.

Dogs and cats have virtually disappeared from Accra's streets. Those left alive are changing hands at cooking pot prices of between R20 and R30 each according to size.

Market mummies with secret stores of foodstuffs are cashing in on black market prices.

Violent robberies are commonplace. Notices in hotel rooms warn visitors never to walk on the beach except in daylight, in groups.

Nkrumah used to call himself Redeemer."

Ghana is now looking for a new redeemer, who is capable of redeeming Rawlings has indicated that he doesn't fancy the role. But in the army barracks there are many who do.

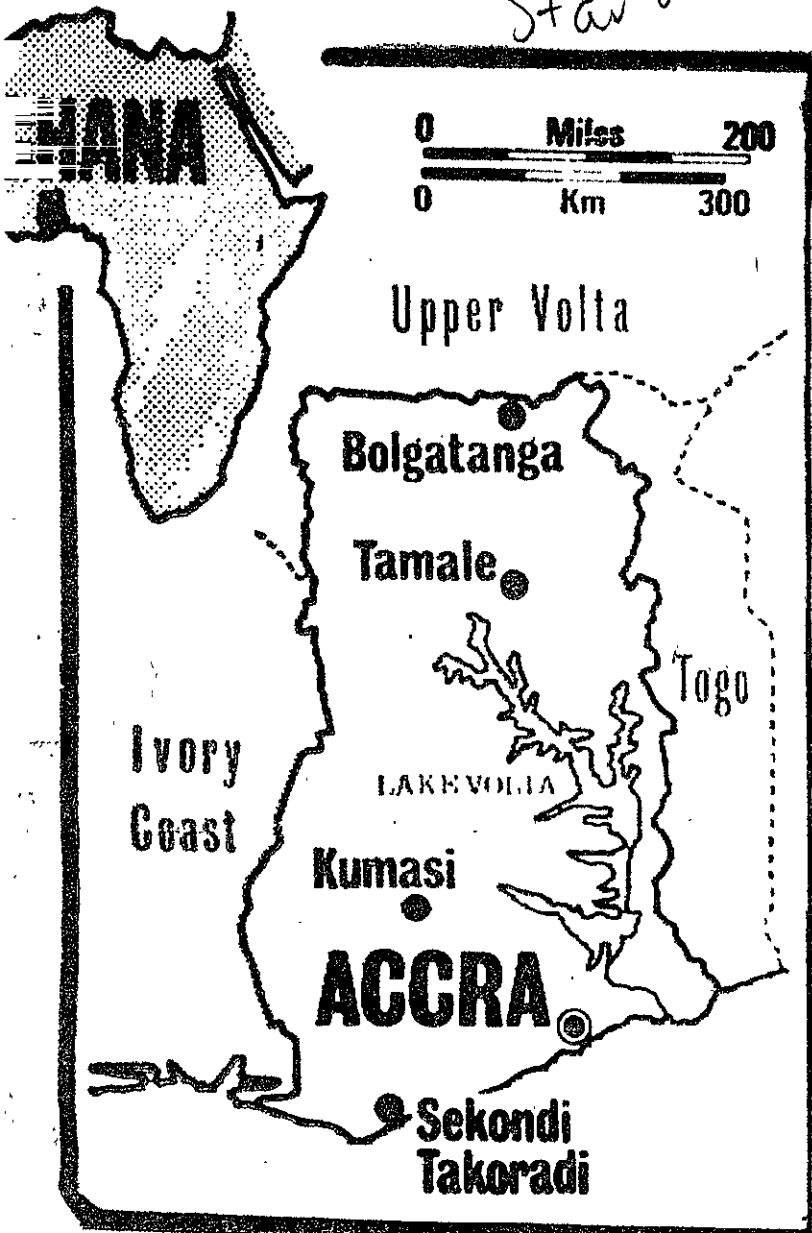
MONDAY: The shaky giant... return to civilian rule produces no quick solutions in Nigeria either.

of clear what provision of...
 ...intermed could only give definite in-
 ...amounts they paid, but one farmer thought that

Ghana's new civilian government is ruling uneasily and keeping a wary eye on the military men who governed before them — and who could take over again. HENRY REUTER, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports from Accra.

Nobody's sure who is the cat

Star 22/2/80



Eritrean guerillas on the offensive

Shaw
29/2/80
C

Kassala is a hot and busy market town in eastern Sudan. Among the street crowds the Eritreans are easily distinguishable — refugees from a conflict that has ravaged their country for nearly two decades.

It was from here that I entered Eritrea with the Eritrean Liberation front, travelling in one of the vehicles that leave every evening loaded with food, medicine and people.

The supplies are distributed by night to the liberated areas of the western lowland, stronghold of the ELF, which is one of two guerilla organisations fighting the Russian-backed Ethiopian Army.

Despite Ethiopia's superiority in heavy weapons such as Soviet T-54 tanks, I found the Eritrean rebels in an offensive mood.

The other organisation active in the field is the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front — EPLF. They are now co-operating militarily to some degree after a long history of division.

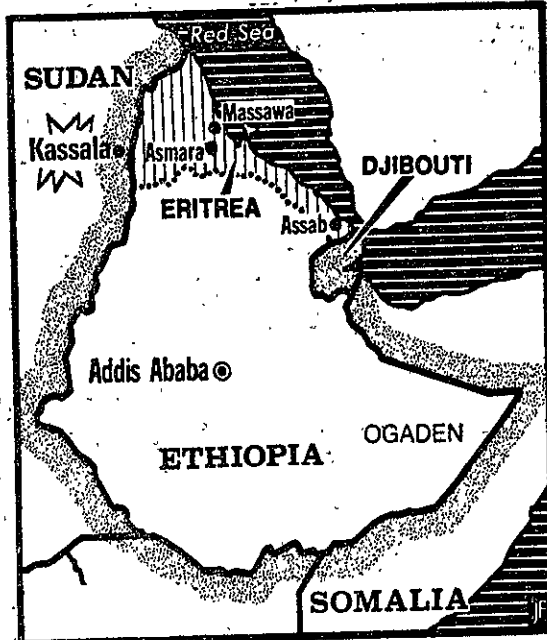
Round Asmara they are conducting a continuous guerilla war to prevent Ethiopian troops joining up with their army in the northern Highlands and Sahel.

It is in the EPLF's Sahel territory that most fighting is now going on, with all the major cities garrisoned and besieged.

As the Sahel fighting progresses in favour of the Eritreans, it is difficult to see what Ethiopia hopes to gain from its tenacious hold on the cities and towns.

All are surrounded, vulnerable to attack and must be supplied by air. If sorties manage to push through the Eritrean lines

JONATHAN GOSLING of the Observer reports from Kassala, Sudan, where refugees from a two-decade conflict regroup to carry on the war.



beyond the city outskirts they are soon enveloped in apparently empty countryside peopled only by hostile and highly efficient guerillas.

Agordat, a large town on the western edge of the Highlands, is a good example. Ethiopian trenches and minefields encircle the town, reaching out to include the airfield. Facing them are the ELF lines, with guerillas watching the movement of every tank and plane.

All is not well within the Ethiopian Army. The preferential treatment afforded the regular army is resented by the peasant militia, who do the same work and invariably form the front line of attack.

Mostly Oromos from southern Ethiopia, they

are press-ganged into the militia and then sent off with the minimum of training to put down the "Arab-inspired bandits in the north."

The demoralised troops often desert.

In the ELF, 60 percent of the young men and women are illiterate when they join, but all receive literacy and numeracy classes while serving. They also receive political training.

Neither the ELF nor the EPLF is keen on the economic and social ties that accompany Western military aid, but they would appreciate material assistance to match the food and drugs pouring into Ethiopia from humanitarian organisations.

... on the backgrounds of various chiefs.

- 40.) NKK 2/4/1, Monthly report for North Nyasa District, July 1909.
- 41.) J. H. Plumb, The Death of the East (London, 1969), 17. For an example of the process similar to that which occurred among the Tumbuka, see Michael Twaddle, 'On Ganda Historiography', History in Africa, I (1974), 85-100.
- 42.) NKK 2/4/1, Monthly report for North Nyasa District, July 1909.
- 43.) Ibid., Aug. 1909.

the small society

by Brickman



25.1 31/10/24, 2027

to Chief Secretary, 30 Oct. 1929.

- 30.) John McCracken, 'Religion and Politics in Northern Ngoniland, 1881-1904', in Pechat, Early History, 225.
- 31.) Cf. David Sibande, Eroneni village, Mzirba district, 14 Sept. 1971; Cf. Mpho Joro, Erwalweni village, Kziimba district, 22 Sept. 1971. Also, National Library of Scotland, MS 7579, Walter Elmshio, 'Report for Ngoniland of the Livingstonia Mission, 1895'.

Ideological struggle for a vital region of Africa

(1) CT
3/3/80

LONDON. — Not least of African developments that wait upon the outcome of the Zimbabwean elections is a struggle for the ideological character of a huge area of the western interior of the continent running some 2 500 kilometres from the top of Zaire to Botswana. To describe it another way, much of it is that country which provides the watersheds for the Zaire Congo, the Zambesi, and the Okavango swamps.

In this area lie the bulk of Angola and Zaire, parts of northern Zambia and Botswana and Namibia. In the centre and south of it three major guerilla forces operate; that is the forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, Holden Roberto's (in name at least) FNLA, and Sam Nujoma's Swapo. There is also the occasionally active group of militant refugees in Angola from Katanga, now known as Zaire's Shaba province. South Africa, France, Egypt, the Soviet Union and China are all variously involved supplying one or the other of the movements with arms.

Bankrupt Zaire

There are also two governments which rely heavily on the outside world for support. The first is Angola, whose MPLA administration depends greatly upon Russian arms, East German and Cuban advisers and Cuban troops. And there is Zaire's government, which is chronically bankrupt and is propped up by the West in spite of — or because of — incurable corruption and inefficiency.

The irony of this dependent situation of both countries is that they have greater mineral, land and water-potential riches than most African countries.

From ANTHONY DELIUS



Angola also has considerable resources of oil, while some of the continent's greatest hydro-electric power supplies are being developed in Zaire — with European aid.

The situation in Angola is uneasy following the death from cancer of its founding Marxist president, Aghostina Neto. In spite of several agreements between the Angolan and Zaire governments to halt the traffic of guerillas across their borders, the activities of Unita and the FNLA in Angola have been once again on the increase. The FNLA does appear to have considerable bases in Zaire along the borders with Angola, though Unita seems to base itself mainly in south-east Angola.

The FNLA does seem to support a policy of free enterprise, if policy is to be judged from the opinions of the eccentric FNLA founder, Holden Roberto. (Incidentally, although a brother-in-law of President Mobutu of Zaire, Roberto is reported to have been ordered to leave the country.) Unita, on the other hand, while said to favour a market economy, would also apply some socialist welfare policies. Dr Savimbi is

said to be willing to work in a coalition with the MPLA Marxists in an attempt to get national unity.

Generally, terms like Marxist and capitalist can only be sketchily applied in Africa, and don't mean adherents look to Marx or Adam Smith as the source and inspiration of all their actions. There are, of course, African intellectuals and politicians who are genuinely committed to such doctrines and beliefs. But in general one or other label roughly indicates the side to which the African country or movement looks for arms, aid and political support.

For instance, Sam Nujoma, who leads the Swapo guerillas attacking the present regime in South West Africa, relies heavily on Russian arms, aligns himself with the Cubans and the MPLA in Angola, and journeys to Havana off and on. He is thus adjudged a Marxist, both on this evidence and some socialist pronouncements he has made. But so did Joshua Nkomo do all of these things — Cubans even trained some of his guerillas in Angola — but he is hardly attacked as a Marxist today.

President Mobutu, who owes his position to being a military dictator and even made messianic claims at one stage, is seen by some as the area's most reliable supporter of Western ideas and policies. The West feels it can rely on Mobutu more now that his rather more democratic foreign minister, Nguza Kar-i-Bond, whom the president earlier sentenced to death, is forgiven and back in office. Both Mobutu and Bond appear to have hedged their bets by announcing that they urged Nkomo and Mugabe

to fight the elections together in a single party. Many Zairians to right and left of him would like to see the end of Mobutu.

One of the reasons why President Nyerere of Tanzania may have backed Robert Mugabe so heavily for leadership of the Zimbabwean government is that the huge area of uncertainties we have been discussing has a long border with East Africa, and particularly Tanzania. The odds are that Nyerere, who is one of Africa's most profound and convinced political thinkers, does not want to see this vast part, or any other part, of Africa heavily reliant on Russo-Cuban or Americo-European wealth, power or reigning political systems. He has his own brand of socialism adjusted to an African culture which he advocates for his fellow blacks.

Spreading socialism

A Mugabe-led government in Zimbabwe would, in Nyerere's eyes, be the one most likely to assist in the spread of the Tanzanian leader's socialist ideas. Such time as Mugabe could spare from trying to settle Zimbabwe itself might very easily be devoted to making life difficult for Unita and the FNLA and even President Mobutu. On the other hand an Nkomo-led government or a Muzorewa-led government might not devote much time to spreading socialism or impeding its opponents in those great spaces to the west and north.

As for President Kaunda of Zambia, he has never been as ideologically committed to the purer form of socialism that intermittent friendship with Nyerere might imply, or seem to imply.

'SA now major issue in Africa, says US

ARGUS 6/3/80
① 337

WASHINGTON. — A Senior State Department official said yesterday that with the Rhodesian problem heading towards a solution, South Africa would be the major African issue for the United States in the 1980s.

'On the surface the situation (in South Africa) seems fairly calm . . . but there is a boiling current underneath,' Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr William Harrop, told a conference of editors at the State Department.

Mr Harrop said it was hard to be optimistic that South Africa would solve its internal difficulties and the United States had 'terribly little leverage over South Africa.'

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had gone

about as far as his party would allow with his policy of relaxing petty restriction in apartheid, Mr Harrop said.

ULTIMATUM

The reforms, rather than satisfying black aspirations, had raised their expectations.

'South Africa will be our major long-term policy problem in Africa . . . through the 1980s.'

Mr Harrop added that the United States was unlikely to support calls for

international trade sanctions against South Africa as long as there was hope for a solution to the South West Africa independence dispute and as long as South Africa did not proceed with a full-scale nuclear weapons programme.

The Carter administration, he said, believed there was a good chance of winning South African support for the United Nations plan to settle the South West Africa issue and there was some chance of getting cooperation on the question of nuclear non-proliferation.

But if South Africa clearly blocked settlement or proceeded with a nuclear programme the United States would probably go along with sanctions.

ENCOURAGING

Mr Harrop described Mr Robert Mugabe, winner of Rhodesia's first elections under an internationally-recognised constitution, as a very intelligent, pragmatic man whose initial statements had been very encouraging.

He said he doubted Mr Mugabe would support a guerrilla struggle against South Africa and instead would try to live with the white-ruled state on his border.

Mr Harrop disclosed that Angola had asked the United States to establish full diplomatic relations with it.

But, he said, as long as 18 000 to 20 000 Cuban troops remained in Angola, American public opinion would not support such a step.

Mr Harrop said the United States would like to think that if an international settlement could be worked out in South West Africa, some of the Cubans would go home, a step that could change the international atmosphere.

— Sapa-Reuter.

US meeting on Africa postponed

RDM 12/3/80

By ANTHONY RIDER

WASHINGTON. — A major conference on Africa been postponed because black American leaders were angered when they were not given a say in planning it and drawing up an agenda.

The Washington conference was first proposed by the Rev. Jesse Jackson after his return

from a visit to South Africa last year.

Mr Jackson put the idea to President Jimmy Carter, whom he met with other black leaders.

But the only prominent black invited to take part in the sessions was the Mayor of Atlanta, Mr Maynard Jackson.

The State Department has not released the agenda or the

names of those invited to the conference, but a former black congressional caucus chairman, Congressman Charles Diggs, complained at a black political leaders' meeting in Richmond, Virginia, about the way the conference had been organised.

The black leaders sent a telegram to the State Department expressing their anger and urging the conference be postponed or cancelled.

State Department spokesman, Mr Hodding Carter, would not give any reasons for the postponement.

He simply confirmed the conference had been "rescheduled" to a date he did not disclose and added: "We decided we needed to postpone it to ensure the widest possible participation."

EXAMINATION RESULTS IN FACULTY ARTS

AS AT 29 02 80

PAGE 1

14210

NAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL
DUALL		11120	DRAMA I	ARS 152337J
JENNIFER SULANGE		11101	FRENCH I	F (45) 1 1523660
TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS 2				
REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)				

UCST

86 84 82 80 78 76 74 72 70 68 66 64 62 60 58 56 54 52 50 48 46 44 42 40 38 36 34 32 30 28 26 24 22 20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2

**SATURDAY
TOPIC**

An African on Africa

THE GUNFIRE and political stridency that are directed against the Republic on the borders and beyond may teach some of us resolution and others fear, but cannot teach understanding of what lies behind terrorism and tirades. Full such understanding would require monumental research and godlike breadth of perception. Yet South Africans cannot afford to allow their knowledge of what goes on in the psyche of Africa north of the Limpopo to be circumscribed by news of daily events and by the emotions raised by those events. Last year's Reith Lectures* delivered by Dr Ali A Mazrui, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, provides an opportunity of at least getting a survey of the African condition by one African intellectual, an academic with a profound knowledge of African history and contemporary affairs, and a manifest ability to clothe his thoughts in economical, clear and often pithy prose.

Dr Mazrui is a black Kenyan with an Oxford doctorate who was for many years professor of political science at Makerere University in Uganda before accepting his present position at the University of Michigan. He grew up in the last days of colonialism, through events like the terror in Kenya to Uhuru. His race ensures empathy with other black Africans, his academic experience enables him to systematize and set into perspective the vast and diverse mass of evidence about the present condition and future prospects of this continent, as well as the policies that Pan-Africanism ought to follow in its search for black African development and welfare.

We have deemed this long introduction essential to justify an emphatic recommendation to literate white South Africa to study his book. Much of it will be repugnant to much that whites accept as self-evident; much of it will, indeed, be violently repugnant to most Nationalist sentiment, which will doubtless be outraged by Mazrui's prediction that when majority rule comes to South Africa (which he believes will be before the end of the century) most of the whites, including the Afrikaners, will flee; they will use, to decry the whole,

dubious assertions like his complaint that the world's map-makers are unfair to Africa because Marcator's projection minimizes its size and thus its importance in comparison with the grossly exaggerated areas of North America and Greenland.

But let nobody be deceived. No beliefs held by rational human beings with the capacity and opportunity for wide study can be written off because critical reading can disclose blemishes. The fact is that Dr Mazrui can interpret African sentiment and its historical origins with feeling and eloquence. That sentiment is prickly; he himself, married to an Englishwoman, totally "emancipated" and accepted in elite academic circles, confesses that if, for example, he is stopped by the customs people at Heathrow, he wonders whether it is because of his colour or the luck of the draw. That prickliness arises from the African history of humiliation. He says that although black Africans cannot claim to have been the people most brutally subjected to genocide — that tragic eminence in the records of human misfortune belongs to the Jews — they have been more consistently and systematically humiliated than any other people. Slavery was one aspect of this, colonialism another, and paternalism a rubbing of salt into psychic wounds because of the incurable inferiority it implied.

This is why, although African countries differ deeply, sometimes violently, on many issues, they are united in hatred of apartheid. As he puts it, "The worst insult to Africa is to have within its own ancestral continent the last bastion of institutionalized African humiliation remaining in the modern world". And he sees the further future as one in which the African continent, after South Africa gets majority rule and after Zaire cures its weaknesses, will be led by the great and powerful triumvirate of Nigeria, Zaire and South Africa, and will achieve real influence over the rest of the world and enforce peace upon the superpowers.

*The African Condition: The Reith Lectures. By Ali A Mazrui (Heinemann).

10	1331002	VILJOEN	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL
11	13030	BACHELOR OF ARTS					
12	STU13-9						
13	13030	BACHELOR OF ARTS					
14	YEAR : 3						
15	AS AT	29 02 80					
16	PAGE	2					
17	13030						

18	(63)	4	1331002
19	(51)	4	113116C
20	(45)	5	0961466
21	(43)	4	0965606
22		4	103278J
23		5	114463R
24	(ACADEMIC)		

UJET

New violence as President, PM battle in Chad

COM 24/3/88

UCT

PARIS. Fighting between Muslim factions in Chad erupted again in the streets of the capital, N'Djamena, yesterday, but reports reaching Paris said President Goukouni Oueddei and the Prime Minister, Mr Hissene Habre, had agreed to a ceasefire between their rival forces.

After a relatively quiet night, cannon and machinegun fire flared between military units loyal to the President and the Prime Minister at about dawn and carried on until late morning.

Mr Oueddei and Mr Habre met for about one and a half hours yesterday at a French base. The ceasefire agreement called for disengagement along a specific line across the city. The zone between the opposing forces was to be patrolled by a mixed force made up of elements from both armies and French troops.

In Washington, the US Gov-

ernment ordered the evacuation of all official personnel because of the latest outbreak of fighting. The State Department said the order affected 20 embassy officials.

The European community of between 700 and 800, most of them French, remained in their houses yesterday as they waited for evacuation to the French military base near the airport. The airport itself has been closed.

A spokesman for the presidential office in Paris said the commander of the 1200-man French expeditionary force in Chad, Colonel Paul Lardty, had been given strict orders not to get involved in the factional conflict and to attempt to help to establish order only when a ceasefire had gone into effect.

French officials said a French soldier was killed and another wounded on Friday when they were caught in cross fire.

Chad's Minister of State for

Foreign Affairs Mr Aycl Ahmad said hundreds of people may have been killed in the fighting.

He estimated the death toll during the past week of fighting to be at least 700.

The Foreign Minister blamed Mr Habre for the bloodshed.

"As long as Hissene Habre is alive there will never be peace in Chad," he said.

Mr Ahmad said two major battles had taken place, one at Bodoro, 200km from N'Djamena, and one at Bokoro, 150km from the capital.

He appealed to the Organisation of African Unity to stop the bloodshed.

Further, Agence France Presse reported Mr Habre's troops had seized the town of Mongo, about 400km to the east.

France has remained involved in its former African colony since its independence in 1960. -- Sapa Reuter.

EXAMINATION RESULTS IN FACULTY ARTS YEAR : 1

STUD ID	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURS
152163V	VAN NIEKERK	MURIEL DIANNE	107101
159757Z	VAN WAGENINGEN	ANNEMARIE	107101
155815P	VISSER	ANNELEIZE	107101
153767N	WACHER	GUY STEVEN	115102
160780L	WESSELS	CHARLENE	107101
158400Z	WHITAKER	ANDREW	909101
115228Y	WHITING	ROBERT GEORGE GURZON	107101
157399L	WILLSHER	MELANIE GABRIELLE ROSANNE	11510
154408K	WOLFE	ANGELA KILWARDEN	60410 00410 10320 10710
159697J	WOOD	NICHOLAS	10710
155858L	WYNGAARD	GAVIN WILLIAM ERIC	10320 11510

* TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS 137

DEAN

1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29 31 33 35 37 39 41 43 45 47 49 51 53 55 57 59 61 63 65

S. AFRICA AND IT'S NEIGHBOURS -

ANGOLA
INDEPENDENCE: November 11 1975. Former Portuguese colony.
LEADER: b. 1922, President.
CAPITAL: Luanda.
MAIN PORTS: Luanda, Cabinda, Lobito, Mocimedes, Benhuela.
AREA: 1 246 700 sq km.
POPULATION: 6,9-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Crude petroleum, coffee, diamonds, iron ore, raw cotton, sisal, fish meal, fish, bananas, timber, maize, fuel oil, palm oil, tobacco, dried beans, excavating machinery, cement, fish oil.

BOPHUTHATSWANA
INDEPENDENCE: December 6 1977. Formerly homeland in South Africa.
LEADER: Chief Lucas Mangope, President.
CAPITAL: Mmabatho.
MAIN PORTS: South African.
AREA: 40 000 sq km.
POPULATION: Resident 1 200 000, in South Africa 1 300 000 (1977).
EXPORTS: Platinum, chrome, beef, hides and skins.

BOTSWANA
INDEPENDENCE: September 30 1966. Former British Protectorate.
LEADER: Sir Seretse Khama, b. 1921. President.
CAPITAL: Gaborone.
MAIN PORTS: Durban, Cape Town (South Africa).
AREA: 570 000 sq km.
POPULATION: 0,7-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Mineral products, meat and meat products, hides and skins, diamonds, animal trophies.

CABINDA
AREA: 7 270 sq km.
POPULATION: 81 265 (1970 census).
NOTES: Under Angolan control with off-shore oil wells providing most of MPLA's revenue.

COMOROS
INDEPENDENCE: July 6 1975. Former French territory.
LEADER: Ahmed Abdallah, Head of Ruling Council.
CAPITAL: Moroni.
MAIN PORT: Moroni.
AREA: 2 236 sq km.
POPULATION: 0,4-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Vanilla, ylang-ylang, cloves, copra.

LESOTHO
INDEPENDENCE: October 4 1966. Formerly British Protectorate.
LEADER: King Moshoeshoe II, b. 1938. Leabua Jonathan, b. 1914 Prime Minister.
CAPITAL: Maseru.
MAIN PORTS: Durban and Cape Town (South Africa).
AREA: 30 355 sq km.
POPULATION: 1,3-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Wool, mohair, diamonds, wheat, peas and beans.

MADAGASCAR
INDEPENDENCE: June 26 1960 Formerly French colony.
LEADER: Lieutenant-Commander Didier Ratsiraka b. 1936, President.
CAPITAL: Antananarivo.
MAIN PORTS: Tamatave, Majunga, Diego-Suarez.
AREA: 587 041 sq km.

POPULATION: 8,5-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Coffee, cloves and clove oil, vanilla, petroleum products, sugar, rice, tobacco, raffia, groundnuts.

MALAWI
INDEPENDENCE: July 6 1964. Formerly British Protectorate.
LEADER: Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, b. 1906. Life President.
CAPITAL: Lilongwe.
MAIN PORTS: Beira and Nacala (Mozambique).
AREA: 118 484 sq km.
POPULATION: 5,9-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Tobacco, tea, sugar, groundnuts, rice, raw cotton, beans and peas, cassava, maize.

MOZAMBIQUE
INDEPENDENCE: June 25 1975. Formerly Portuguese colony.
LEADER: Samora Machel b. 1933. President.
CAPITAL: Maputo.
MAIN PORTS: Maputo, Beira, Nacala, Quelimane.

AREA: 783 030 sq km.
POPULATION: 10,2-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Cashew nuts, textiles, raw cotton, vegetable oil, tea, sugar, sisal.

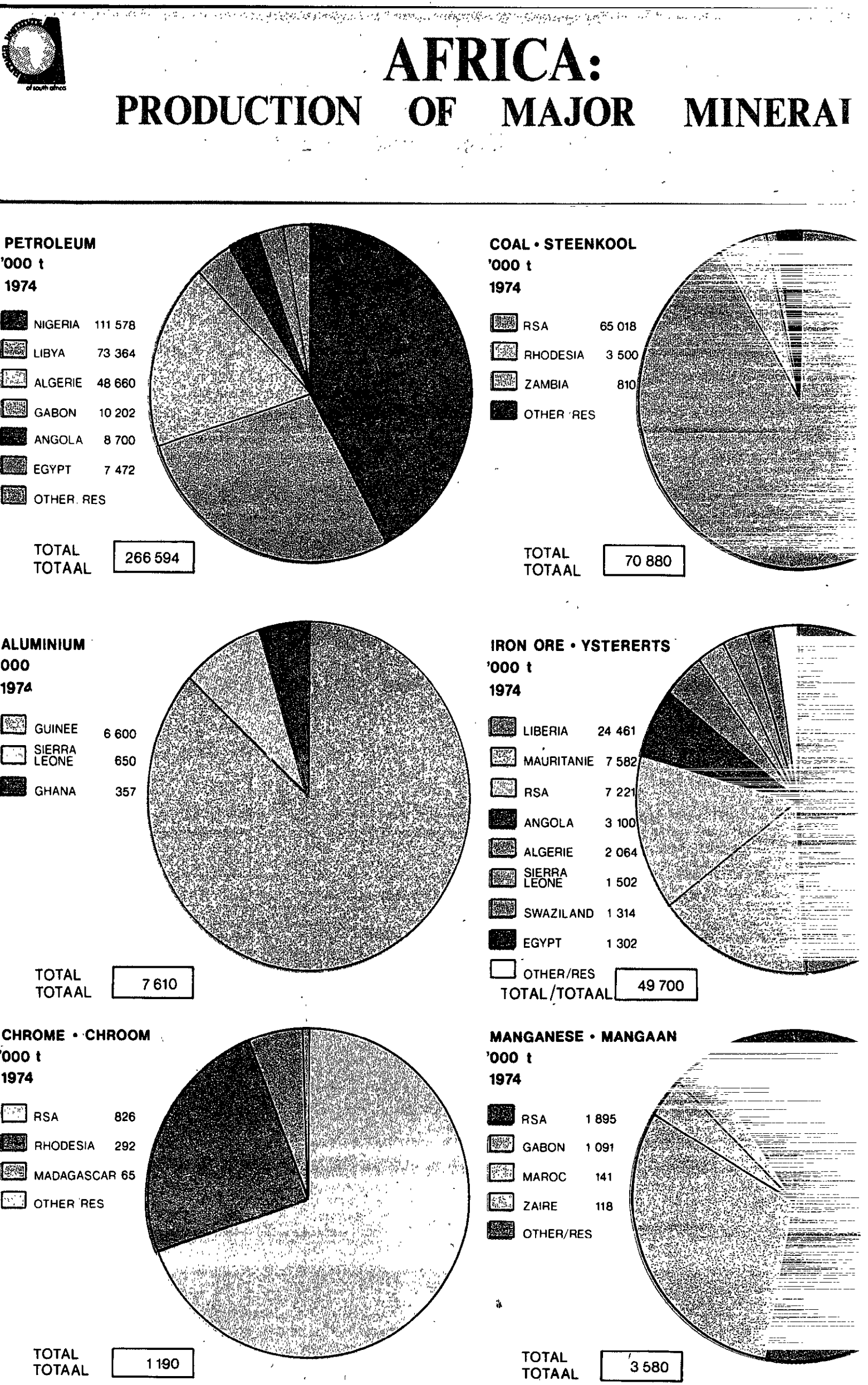
SOUTH AFRICA
INDEPENDENCE: 1910, Republic May 31 1961.
LEADER: President, Marais Viljoen. Prime Minister, P. W. Botha.
CAPITAL: Pretoria (Administrative), Cape Town (Legislative), Bloemfontein (Judicial).
MAIN PORTS: Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Saldanha Bay, Richard's Bay, Maputo (mozambique).
AREA: 1 129 580 sq km. (Does not include Transkei, BophuthaTswana or Venda).
POPULATION: 23,5-m (mid-1978 estimate, be-

lieved conservative, does not include Transkei, BophuthaTswana or Venda); blacks 15,8-m; whites 4,4-m; coloureds 2,5-m; Asians 0,77-m.
EXPORTS: Gold (world's largest producer), diamonds (largest producer by value and second largest by carat), copper, platinum, other minerals, agricultural and sea products, fruit, sugar, maize, wool, hides and skins.

SWA/NAMIBIA
INDEPENDENCE: League of Nations. Mandate assumed by SA 1920.
LEADER: Dr Gerrit van Niekerk Viljoen, Administrator-General.
CAPITAL: Windhoek.
MAIN PORT: Walvis Bay (in SA enclave).
AREA: 826 350 sq km.
POPULATION: 1,0-m

(mid-1979 estimate).
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE: 15,2 percent (1968). Pupils 113 495.
EXPORTS: Diamonds, copper zinc, lead, tin, beef, pilchards, karakul pelts, fish products, livestock.
SWAZILAND
INDEPENDENCE: September 6 1968. Formerly British Protectorate.
LEADER: King Sobhuza II, b. 1899.
CAPITAL: Mbabane.
MAIN PORT: Maputo (Mozambique).
AREA: 17 363 sq km.

24/03/80 **Th-**
 0 By courtesy
 Ins



MEASURE HOUSE OF A CONTINENT

POPULATION: 0,5-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Sugar, wood pulp, iron ore, asbestos, citrus fruit, canned fruit, meat and meat products.

TANZANIA
INDEPENDENCE: Tanganyika, December 9 1961. Zanzibar, December 10 1963. Formerly British trusteeship and protectorate, United Republic of the two formed April 26 1964.
LEADER: Julius Nyerere, b. 1922. President. Vice-President and President

of Zanzibar About June, b. 1920.
CAPITAL: Dar es Salaam.
MAIN PORTS: Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Mtwara.
AREA: 945 087 sq km (Zanzibar 2 641 sq km).
POPULATION: 17,0-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Coffee beans, cloves, sisal, raw cotton, diamonds, cashew nuts, cordage, tobacco, tea, residual fuel oils, sugar, pepper, pimento, vegetables, hides and skins.

TRANSKEI
INDEPENDENCE: October 26 1976. Formerly African homeland in South Africa.
LEADER: Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima, b. 1915, President. Chief George Matanzima, Prime Minister.
CAPITAL: Umtata.

MAIN PORTS: Port Elizabeth, Durban, East London, Cape Town (South Africa).
AREA: 25 328 sq km.
POPULATION: 2 096 000 (1977 estimate).
EXPORTS: NA.

VENDA
INDEPENDENCE: September 13 1979.
LEADER: Chief Patrick Mphahlele, President.
CAPITAL: Tlohoenyane.
MAIN PORTS: South African.
AREA: 6 500 sq km.
POPULATION: 360 253 (1978 estimate). Does not include 150 000 estimated mainly in South Africa.
EXPORTS: Agricultural produce and labour.

ZAIRE
INDEPENDENCE: June 30 1960. Formerly Belgian colony.

LEADER: Gen. Mobutu Sese-Seko, b. 1930. President.
CAPITAL: Kinshasa.
MAIN PORTS: Matadi, Boma.
AREA: 2 344 885 sq km.
POPULATION: 28,0-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Copper, cobalt, coffee, diamonds, palm oil and kernels, zinc, cassiterite.

ZAMBIA
INDEPENDENCE: October 25 1964. Formerly British Protectorate.
LEADER: Dr Kenneth Kaunda, b. 1924. President.
CAPITAL: Lusaka.
MAIN PORTS: Nacala, Beira (Mozambique), Lobito (Angola), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania).
AREA: 752 614 sq km.
POPULATION: 5,6-m (mid-1979 estimate).

EXPORTS: Copper, zinc, cobalt, lead, tobacco, maize, timber.
ZIMBABWE
INDEPENDENCE: Unilaterally November 11 1965, but unrecognised internationally. Formerly Southern Rhodesia, self-governing British colony. Became a Rhodesia republic March 2 1970, then Zimbabwe Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) after 1979 elections.
LEADER: Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Prime Minister.
CAPITAL: Salisbury.
MAIN PORTS: South African.
AREA: 390 245 sq km.
POPULATION: 7,2-m (mid-1979 estimate).
EXPORTS: Tobacco, asbestos, chrome, beef, coal, cotton, maize, sugar.

Star 24/3/80

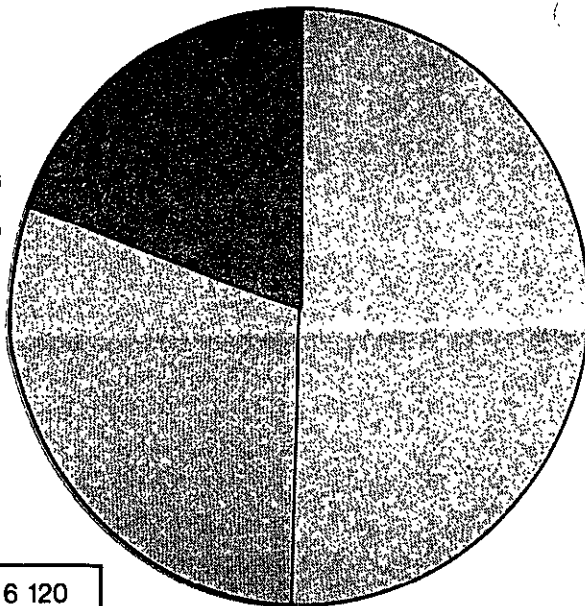
of the Africa
 itute

AFRIKA:

PRODUKSIE VAN VERNAAMSTE MINERALE

URANIUM • URAAN
 '000 t
 1975

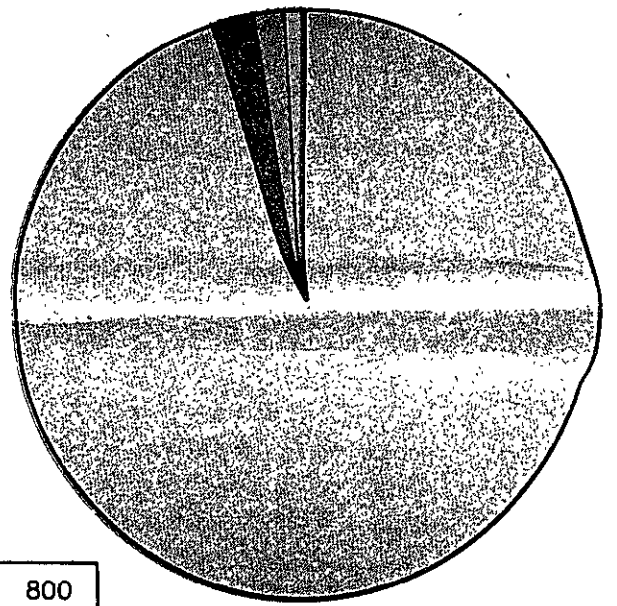
RSA	3 096
NIGER	1 820
GABON	1 204



TOTAL
 TOTAAL 6 120

GOLD • GOUD
 '000 kg
 1974

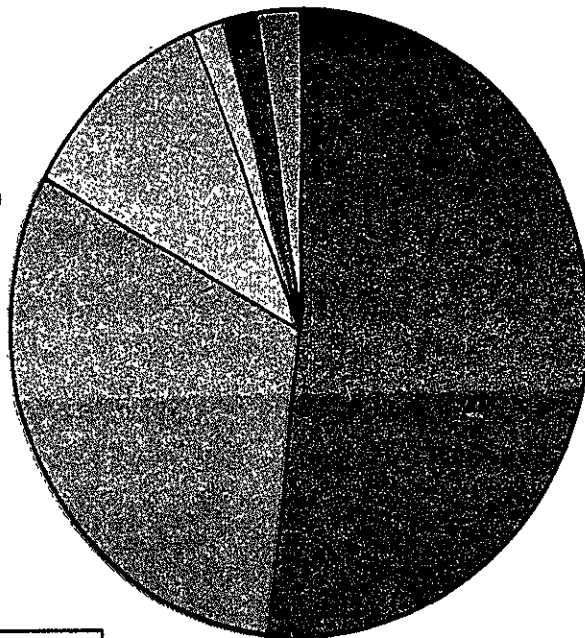
RSA	760
GHANA	19
RHODESIA	15
OTHER/RES	



TOTAL
 TOTAAL 800

COPPER • KOPER
 '000 t
 1974

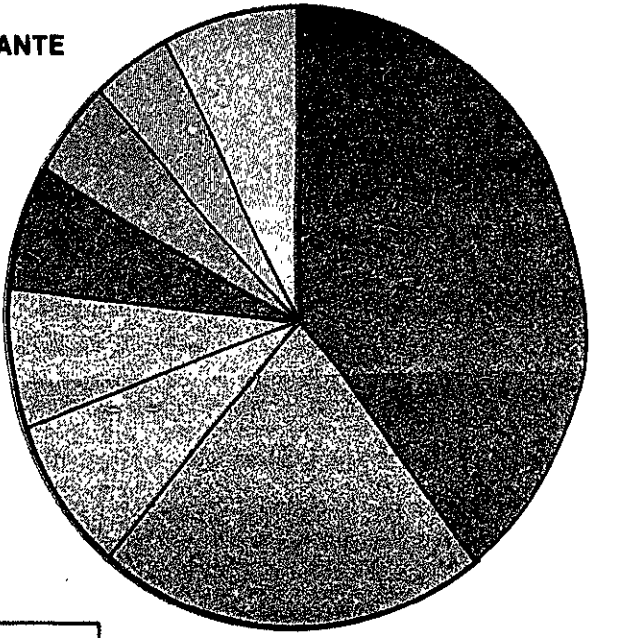
ZAMBIA	830
ZAIRE	494
RSA	179
RHODESIA	32
SWA/NAMIBIA	26
OTHER/RES	



TOTAL
 TOTAAL 1 600

DIAMONDS • DIAMANTE
 '000 c
 1974

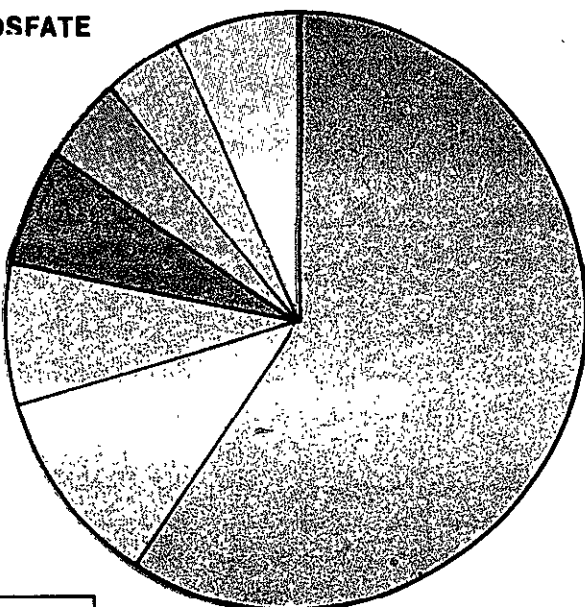
ZAIRE	13 611
RSA	7 502
BOTSWANA	2 718
GHANA	2 573
ANGOLA	2 100
SIERRA LEONE	1 670
SWA/NAMIBIA	1 570
OTHER/RES	



TOTAL
 TOTAAL 34 500

PHOSPHATES • FOSFATE
 '000 t
 1974

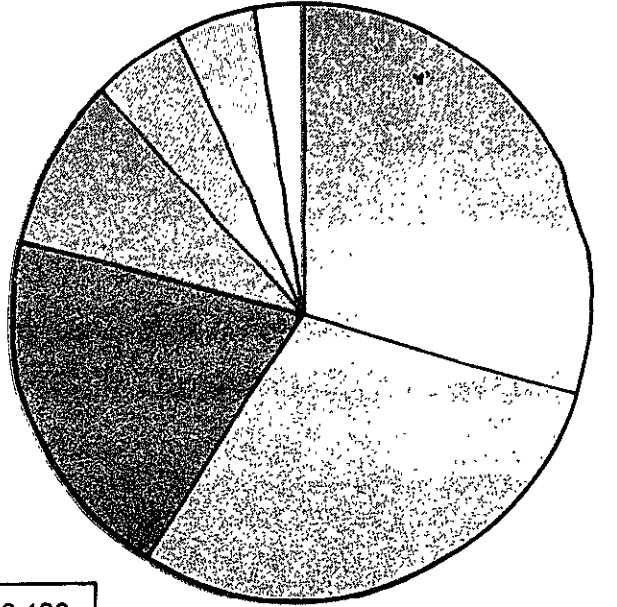
MOROC	19 749
TUNISIE	3 826
TOGO	2 552
WEST/WES-SAHARA	2 168
SENEGAL	1 472
RSA	1 462
OTHER/RES	



TOTAL
 TOTAAL 33 400

TIN
 '000 t
 1976

ZAIRE	4 000
NIGERIA	3 935
RSA	2 709
RWANDA	1 200
SWA/NAMIBIA	700
RHODESIA	600
OTHER/RES	



TOTAL
 TOTAAL 13 480



Djibouti . . . a desirable strategic port.

The cold war is blowing hot again in the Horn of Africa. In this, the first of a three-part series, HENRY REUTER reports that tiny Djibouti may be one of the keys. The second part in the series appears tomorrow.

Cold war in the Horn hots up again

Star 1/4/80
①

NAIROBI — Fears that Soviet-inspired political manoeuvres in eastern Ethiopia may be aimed at the seizure of the strategically important Gulf of Aden port of Djibouti are being expressed by Western diplomats in neighbouring countries.

Djibouti, a French military, naval and air base and long-time dependency until it became independent in 1977, is still garrisoned by more than 5 000 French troops. In return for its use, France pours over R60-million a year into the 21 783 sq km country to support its economy.

The base has been covered by the Rus-

slans ever since they moved out of Somalia and their Mogadishu and Berbera naval bases and into neighbouring Ethiopia.

Massawa, the Ethiopian Red Sea port now used by them, has proved to be a poor exchange. It is not only inadequate for Soviet needs but is also under constant threat of attack by Eritrean guerrillas.

One three-day assault which threatened to oust the Ethiopians from the port was beaten off only with the aid of Soviet naval guns. Djibouti, a small township surrounded by sun-baked bushland and bordered by both Ethiopia and Somalia, is Africa's smallest nation with a vote in the United Nations. It

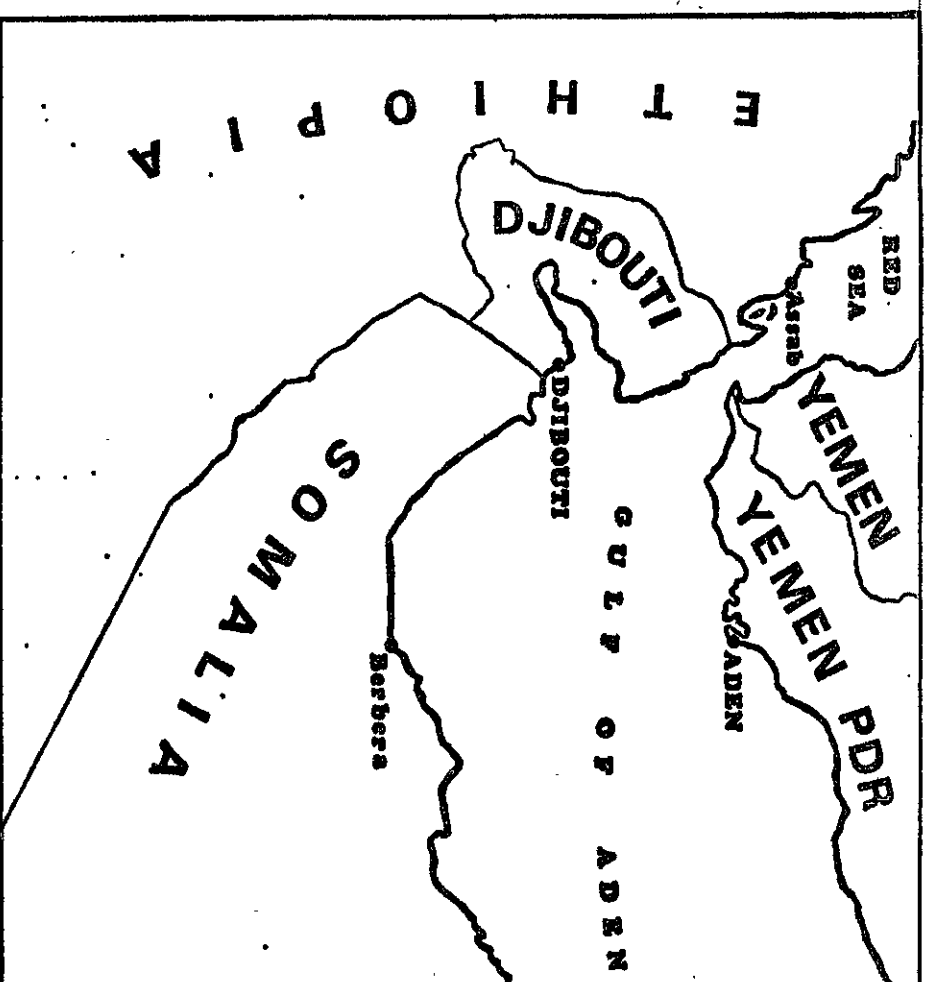
is linked to Addis Ababa by a 781 km French-built railway line. As the French are there by permission of the Djibouti Government, the current Soviet strategy appears to be to change the Government, with the help of its Ethiopian allies.

A campaign to do so is already under way. Djibouti's 300 000 population is almost equally divided between two ethnic groups, the Afar tribesmen and Somali-orientated, Islamic, Issas, with the Issas in a small majority. An Issa-dominated Government emerged from the 1977 independence elections, most Afars having boycotted them, claiming they were fixed. What is happening

now is that Ethiopia's socialist Government, the Derg, is wooing and arming the Afars.

In the past year it has unified two Afar-dominated nationalist groups, the Peoples Liberation Movement and the National Union for Independence.

The resultant Afar National Liberation Movement is firmly committed to the Derg. It controls, from the small port of Assab, some 80 km north of Djibouti's border, all the Afar-populated areas of eastern Ethiopia. These areas border Djibouti territory and there is no restriction on border crossings. Just over the Djibouti border the ANLM is setting large numbers of Afar nomads in Ad-



dis Abba-sponsored programmes.

And the Derg has promised all Afars that they will very soon be granted regional autonomy with wide powers over their own affairs, subject to Derg control.

More ominous — I can reveal that 18 km outside Assab the Derg has set up a large Afar military training camp. This is known as "Dica Otto." It is staffed and run by Cuban instructors under Soviet advisers, and through this camp large quantities of modern Soviet arms are being handed out to Afar tribesmen.

Recently these developments have been accompanied by the stepping up of an anti-Issa,

anti-Somalia propaganda campaign from a Soviet-supplied mobile radio transmitter which moves from place to place in Ethiopia's Afar territories near the Djibouti border.

This transmitter broadcasts daily in the Afar and Somali languages. Recently it has been alleged that Somalia's President Siyad Barre has been touring Somali border areas and making speeches declaring that Djibouti, as well as Ethiopia's Ogaden region, is a part of greater Somalia and must therefore be absorbed into Somalia.

True or false, these allegations are seen by diplomats as part of a possible Derg build-up for aggressive actions of its own. It is no secret that the Djibouti Government is worried by these developments. What it has been trying to keep secret is the fact that last month it received a shipment of arms, ammunition and armoured vehicles for its own use.

The French are reported to be angry that they were not informed about this shipment, the origin of which has been traced to Colonel Ghadafi's Libya. Just why Ghadafi, the Arab world's most notorious troublemaker, has decided to paddle in these troubled waters has yet to be revealed.

Frontliners plan economic union

STAR 26/3/80 (1)

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Foreign and Economic Ministers from eight black African states began arriving today to prepare the ground-work for a new economic union that will challenge South Africa.

The leaders of the states will arrive later for a summit meeting next week on the plan.

The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, will be among them and Western diplomats said the delegates were likely to spend much of their time discussing new trade patterns created by an independent Rhodesia.

Zambian Government

officials described the conference as a continuation at an "upgraded" level of the Arusha, Tanzania, meeting that discussed southern African economic co-operation in July last year.

Ministers at that meeting proposed a 10-State economic grouping to compete with South Africa's proposed Constellation of States.

President Kaunda of Zambia underscored this aspect at a news conference in Lusaka earlier this month. Zambian officials said the "Frontline Union" would stress mutual assistance.

Invitations for the Lusaka summit were sent to

Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Rhodesia, Lesotho and Swaziland but Zambian officials have declined to say which countries replied or which states would be represented by their heads of Government.

The meeting is the first heads of Government meeting since the end of the Rhodesian war and Western diplomats said the impact of an independent Rhodesia would dominate all the discussions.

The Frontline Union would work to make the most of the benefits of normal relations with independent Rhodesia the emergence of which would be a mixed blessing

Free trade with Rhodesia and the Frontline Union is all but ruled out because the efficiency of UDI-bred industries would destroy their counterparts

The diplomats said that a capital investment drive in Rhodesia would be necessary before its output could be expanded to meet the greater demand from the new markets.

But, the diplomats said, real competition between a Frontline Union and the South African Constellation could not become a reality in the immediate future because, in many instances, the cheapest source of goods would continue to be South Africa.

EXAMINATION RESULTS IN FACULTY ARTS

STUD 13-9
15036 F.A./LL.D.

YEAR : 3

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DES
101834R	HACK	BRYAN-CECIL	602101	PURLI
1154740	HARPER	GREGORY MARK	602101	PURLI
114338E	JACOBS	DEWIS-ELLEN	604201	ROMAN
103069G	LEALW	DIANE	603202	ROMAN
100344V	LOWE	BRIAN ANTHONY	603202	ROMAN
094440C	NAYD	HENRY	603202	ROMAN
102253V	PALLIANS	MICHAEL-DAVID	603202	ROMAN

* TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS 7

DEAN

PAGE

AS AT 29 02 80

1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29 31 33 35 37 39 41 43 45 47 49 51 53 55 57 59 61 63 65

Chad factions in new bid for peace

WM 27/3/80

PARIS. -- Representatives of the opposing Muslim armies in the renewed civil war in Chad met yesterday for peace talks in the Roman Catholic cathedral in N'Djamena, capital of the Central African country, French officials said.

Forces loyal to President Goukouni Queddei and supporters of the Defence Minister, Mr Hissene Habre, agreed to a ceasefire on Tuesday night and the devastated city had a relatively calm night.

Sporadic mortar fire was heard early yesterday as diplomats and officers from the two factions explored ways of making the ceasefire permanent after five days of fierce street fighting which cost hundreds of lives in the former French colony.

The French sources said several hundred wounded from both sides were being treated at the French military base at N'Djamena Airport. -- Sapa-Reuter.

UCBT

EXAMINATION RESULTS IN FACULTY ARIS

YEAR : 2

AS AT 29 02 80

PAGE 2

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL	AS AT	PAGE	STUD NO
15026	B.A./LL.B.							15026
13011C	SCHWEITZER	ANTOY GIDEON	604201	ROMAN DUTCH LAW I	2- (61)	1	1	13011C
1349653	SMITH	ROBERT TRAVERS	105104	LATIN I	F (41)	3	3	1349653
1351958	SMUTS	PETER W.F.SIFER	603202	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE IUP	(54)	1	1	1351958
100311J	SMYMAN	GRAHAM TENDURE	603202	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE IUP	(51)	1	1	100311J
132288R	Sonnenberg	GRAHAM JOHN	604201	ROMAN DUTCH LAW I	UP (66)	1	1	132288R
138545T	STRAUSS	JENIFER SUSANNE	105104	LATIN I	UP (62)	1	1	138545T
133262A	TEE	RICHARD JOHN	105104	LATIN I	F (47)	3	3	133262A
139650U	THOMAS	HELFIN CAREN	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS	7	7	139650U
101563V	WILLERS	JOHAN MARITZ	105104	LATIN I	F (40)	1	1	101563V
* TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS 28								
----- DEAN -----								
----- REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC) -----								

56 54 52 50 48 46 44 42 40 38 36 34 32 30 28 26 24 22 20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2

Chad capital blasted in new fighting

ROOM 28/8/80

PARIS. — Fighting resumed with new intensity between rival factions in the Chad capital of n'Djamena yesterday, French officials reported.

The centre of the city was bombed by remnants of the Chad National Army, based across the river Chari and led by Lieutenant Colonel Abdelkader Wadal Kamougue.

Fighting was going on inside the city between two other factions, one led by President Goukouni Oueddi and the other by the Defence Minister, Mr Hissene Habre, the officials said.

A ceasefire commission was meeting in the city's cathedral in an attempt to halt the fighting.

The commission included representatives of the warring parties as well as French officers and the ambassadors of France, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

In neighbouring Sudan, two Sudanese air force pilots were killed when their helicopter crashed during a rescue mission arising from the Chad fighting. — Sapa-Reuter

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL	PAGE
15016	B.A./LL.B.	YEAR : 1	AS AT 29 02 80			15016
STUD 3-9		EXAMINATION RESULTS IN FACULTY ARTS				
154230R	AROU	MASS-ERIT	105105	LATIN-ELEMENTARY	UP	(59)
157795R	HACKETT	MICHAEL CONRAN	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(59)
153562Q	RUCHEWSKY	GLENN WAGG	102101	AFRIKAANS	UP	(50)
156581X	COHEN	PETER DAVID	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(57)
155602E	COLEMAN	INGRAM	105105	LATIN-ELEMENTARY	UP	(56)
157855G	DE KOCK	RODNEY JAMES	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	UP	(56)
154395W	DEYER	MAADINE	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(59)
155823Y	FISHER	MICHAEL ALEX	102101	AFRIKAANS	F	(59)
150191Q	GIBBALA	DEBECK	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(56)
156719F	GOUDON	STEPHEN MICHAEL	105104	LATIN I	F	(31)
158503L	HADGASTLE	JUSTIN ERANK	105105	LATIN-ELEMENTARY	UP	(50)
038176W	HARKLES	ROBER EZKA PAUL	107101	ENGLISH I (PRE-1980)	2-	(64)
115449W	HEARDICKS	ROBIN ANIMUR JUSTIA	105105	LATIN-ELEMENTARY	ABS	(50)
159727P	KANE-BERKAN	DIANA LOUISE STUART	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	UP	(55)
162529W	KEY	EDWARD WALLAGE	117101	POLITICAL SCIENCE I	F	(47)
161080M	LEVIN	MERVYN BERNARD CHARLES	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS	(47)
157630W	MAHALEY	MAZEK	105105	LATIN-ELEMENTARY	UP	(51)
155155X	MCUIEEN	STEPHEN	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS	(51)
156563Z	MEIRING	WAYNE BRADLEY	102101	AFRIKAANS	F	(50)
153752X	MORRIS	WAYNE NILES LUTHER	102101	AFRIKAANS	UP	(50)
156332E	NIEMAN	ILSE	065202	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE I	F	(49)
154745B	POITS	MOHAMED FAIQ	105104	LATIN I	F	(34)
156056R	RUSIN	JONATHAN GRANT	102101	AFRIKAANS	UP	(50)
154272W	SHALALA	EDWARD RADOR PETER	105104	LATIN I	UP	(50)
154933F	SNICHER	LAUREN RENES	105104	LATIN I	UP	(50)

UJET

Madagascar hangs on to SA prisoners

Special Correspondent

TANANARIVE — South African prisoners, Mr John Wight and Mr Dave Marais and the American Mr Henry Lappeman continue to serve their five-year jail sentences in Madagascar.

The government of the Malagasy Republic seems determined to keep the them in jail.

The men were arrested in 1977 when their plane landed without authorisation on the island, and later found guilty of violating Malagasy airspace and threatening State security.

Only the inquiry into the unsuccessful attempt by Mr Marais and Mr Wight to escape from the central prison at Tananarive in August 1978 seems to justify in the eyes of the Malagasy justice further interest in the case.

Sources in the Malagasy capital refer to the questioning and

house arrest in 1979 of a French lawyer, Mr Henri Boitard, who defended the South Africans.

A few weeks ago Mr Boitard was allowed to leave the Malagasy Republic.

According to lawyers in Tananarive, the departure of the defence lawyer, who was suspected of complicity in the escape bid, should now allow the inquiry to be sewn up.

The examining magistrate could now proceed with the investigation of the conditions surrounding the escape itself.

Up up till now these have not come to light.

The government maintains strict secrecy about the condition of the two South Africans.

It is also understood Mr Lappeman's American lawyer has not been allowed to visit his client on the grounds that he has not been directly entrusted with Mr Lappeman's defence.

Finally, no international

commission has visited the prisoners.

Malagasy sources say no such moves have been made to the Malagasy Government by the United States Government.

The government replies to criticism of its handling of the case by claiming the charges were legitimate and the trial procedure correct.

It also draws attention to international condemnation of the conditions of prisoners held in South African jails, very often without a trial.

The three men were arrested in January 1977 when their plane landed without authorisation at Mananjary on the eastern coast of Madagascar.

A Malagasy court sentenced them in April 1978 to five years in jail.

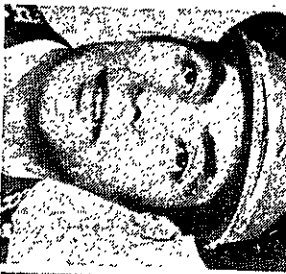
The court rejected the claim that their landing was prompted by an emergency.

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL	PAGE
15036	H.A./LL.B.			AS AT 29 02 80		1
1018341	JACK	BRYAN DECIE	602101	PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW	ABS	4
1154740	HARPER	GREGORY MARK	602101	PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW	2-	5
1143316	JACOBS	GENISE ELLEN	604201	ROMAN PUBLIC LAW I	1	4
1030696	LEFAIN	DIANE	603202	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE IS	(53)	4
			603302	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE IUP	(56)	5
			603302	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE IUP	(50)	4
			603302	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE IUP	(50)	4

U.C.T.

REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)

These men will establish an anti-South African economic constellation of states



JOSE DOS SANTOS



SERETSE KHAMA



LEABUA JONATHAN



KING SOBHUZA



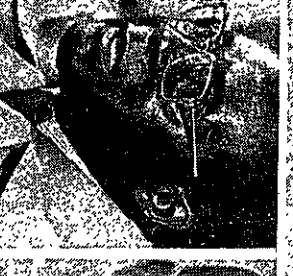
HASTINGS BANDA



JULIUS NYERERE



KENNETH KAUNDA



ROBERT MUGABE



SAMORA MACHEL

SOUTH AFRICA'S dream of dominating an economic constellation of southern African states will be shattered next week by nine of the countries in the region.

Leaders of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe are due to hold a meeting in Zambia on Tuesday to support a declaration called "Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation."

The preamble to the draft points out that much of the region is dependent on South Africa "as a focus of transport and communication and exporter of goods and services, and as an importer of goods and cheap labour."

Such a dependence is "not a natural phenomenon," says the declaration, adding "it is necessary to liberate our economies from their dependence on the Republic of South Africa."

With seven of the nine countries (Tanzania and Angola are the exceptions) importing goods from South Africa, such a challenge to South Africa might sound like a contest between David and the giant Goliath.

But Mr Robert Muga-

Constellation!

be's victory giving Zimbabwe independence on April 18 offers the possibility of radically reshaping the region's economic dependency on the Republic.

Addressing the preparation meeting in Tanzania last July, President Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana said: "Most of us in this turbulent region have already won our political kingdoms,

But economic dependence on South Africa has in many ways made our political independence somewhat meaningless.

"But, for my country, once Zimbabwe is free, our geo-political predicament would become less serious because we would have access to the sea through friendly independent neighbours."

The declaration pin-

points transport and communications as the key to "gradual disengagement" from South Africa.

A new development fund is to finance urgent transport and communications projects over the next decade, and the first priority is re-establishing rail links through Mozambique to the port of Beira and Maputo which can ser-

vice Botswana, Cairo, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mozambique officials estimate it will take about a month to get traffic moving again on the Beira line, but the handling capacity will be far below the 1973 peak of four million tons. The Maputo line, where a number of bridges were destroyed, will take much longer.

Mr Mugabe, who will

be making his first visit outside Zimbabwe since winning the election, has stressed his desire for a policy of "co-existence" with South Africa.

Nevertheless, it is clear that his government will gradually reduce its total dependency on South African communications in favour of the Mozambique routes.

Chad factions in ^① fight to finish

Star
1/4/80

PARIS — Thousands of refugees have fled N'Djamena, the war-shattered capital of Chad, while rival factions appear locked in a fight to the finish for control.

More than 10 000 refugees have fled across the Chair River, on N'Djamena's southern outskirts, into neighbouring Cameroun during 11 days of fierce fighting.

A 50-strong military medical team from Paris and 50 tons of medical supplies were due to arrive in Northern Cameroun today to try to help the refugees.

"We have no idea how long they will be forced to stay outside the city," an official said. "But, even when the fighting ends, there won't be much

to go back to."

Eleven days of fighting in the African country have left many dead and wounded.

The battle between forces loyal to President Goukouni Oueddei and those supporting Defence Minister Hissen Habre is being waged in scorching heat. All water and electricity supplies in the capital have been cut.

There now seems to be little hope for a ceasefire which Red Cross officials have been trying to organise so they can evacuate civilians and wounded.

The factions appeared determined to settle the power struggle which has kept the country in almost 15 years of intermittent civil war.

Also from Paris The Star's correspondent reports that the fighting in Chad has apparently ended the idea of an Inter-African force that would one day prove a powerful weapon in liberation struggles in southern Africa.

As the vicious battle entered its second week the 800-man Congolese "neutral" force started to pull out.

Analysts in Paris said the withdrawal of the Congolese, who lost one man struck by a stray bullet, emphasised again the helplessness of the Organisation of African Unity and its member states to produce an effective Inter-African force.
— Sapa-Reuter.

The face missing at the Lusaka indaba

By Brendan Nicholson
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — It is really rather sad.

Today most of the nations in southern Africa meet in Zambia to form an economic union.

But the most powerful of them — the one with the most to offer — has been excluded because of its internal policies.

Ironic, too. Because the whole thing was South Africa's idea in the first place.

Representatives of the nine governments at the meeting — they have dubbed it the "economic liberation summit" — all agree that the constellation of states they envisage would be much better off if it included South Africa.

Some go so far as to say it will not work unless it co-operates with the white-ruled nation to the south.

Without a doubt South Africa has, at present, more to offer than all these nations together.

The fact that the summit is taking place at all is an indication of the depth of feeling in independent Africa against apartheid.

The two-day conference is not going to change anything immediately.

Those meeting here today are taking the first cautious steps towards economic independence from South Africa down a road that will take decades, not months.

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL	PAGE
101795X	PERAIEP	SHEILA-JUSTSWINE	HONOURS	105703	LATIN HONOURS	21 (70)
120776D	MUMIN	VIVIENNE	109701	HERBET HONOURS	3	4
* TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS						2
DEAN						REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)
BRADFORD, H J						ECONOMIC HIST. HONS 180%

Talks aimed at being less dependent on South Africa

Post
11/4/60

LUSAKA — Ministers of nine black African states said here development of communications and transport networks would be the first priority in reducing economic dependence on South Africa.

Botswana's Vice-President, Mr. Quett Masire, chairman of the preparatory talks to next week's "frontline" summit meeting on economic co-operation, said over the weekend the nine states would attempt to "diversify the trade routes and sources of supply" to counter Pretoria's economic stronghold on the region.

"It will mean we will be looking in various directions for our needs," Mr. Masire said.

Finance and foreign ministers from Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, the traditional "frontline" group — and representatives from Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Zimbabwe met on Sunday to

agree on an agenda for the summit conference today.

The leaders are expected to sign a declaration of trade policy among the represented states, but conference sources said the declaration would not deal specifically with South African trade.

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are inextricably tied to South African trade through the South African Customs Union Agreement (SACUA) and the Zimbabwean Finance Minister Mr. Enos Nkala has ruled out severing trade links with Pretoria.

Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique have extensive trade relations with South Africa, and only Angola and Tanzania refuse to deal directly with South Africa.

Mr. Masire said the representatives did not discuss specific new transport links, or regional industrial development, but that these would be worked out in the months and years to come.

Red Cross shock at Chad carnage

Star 2/4/80 ①

Own Correspondent

GENEVA — Delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Ndjamena, Chad, report being shocked by "indiscriminate carnage" in the fighting there.

A Red Cross official said this applied particularly to the many civilian casualties, including children.

"We estimate a minimum of 1500 wounded in the city," he said. "The Central Hospital is rapidly running out of medical supplies."

A chartered aircraft left Geneva yesterday with supplies.

There is no indication yet of agreement on a ceasefire by the opposing forces, the official said, but both sides continue to recognise the Central Hospital as a neutral zone.

This has enabled Red Cross delegates to evacuate wounded from there to Kousseri, on the Camero-

onian side of the Chari river.

A field hospital set up there by French medical teams can take up to 100 patients a day.

It appears that the forces of defence minister, Hissene Habre, have gained the upper hand in the struggle but fighting dropped off yesterday afternoon, and Mr Habre held a brief Press conference to accuse his opponents of allying themselves with the Libyan, Jamahiriya.

Tens of thousands of people have fled during the fighting of the past 11 days, which has pitted Mr Habre's forces against those of President Goukouni Oueddei.

Mr Habre and President Goukouni are both from Chad's Moslem north, but they have clashed repeatedly in the desert republic's recurrent civil wars.

Summit's aims are spelt out

Post 2/4/80 (1)
LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday denied that the heads of black African states meeting here were forming an economic grouping "purely" to work against white-ruled South Africa.

Hosting the economic summit here, Pres Kaunda said: "Some people have tended to think that we are forming this economic grouping purely to face South Africa. We in this region must reflect the new image of free Africa.

"In our view, this regional grouping is being established despite, and not merely because of South Africa and her concept of a regional constellation of states."

Nine African countries — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho and Zimbabwe — were to be represented and planned to sign a declaration of trade policy aimed at "economic liberation" in Southern Africa.

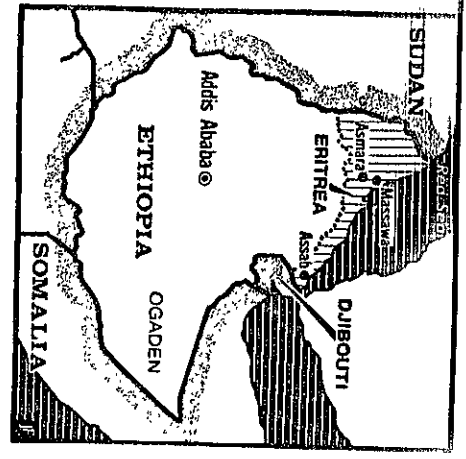
...in what may prove to be the year's most significant development in the cold war struggle for the Horn of Africa, the Sudan has just moved closer to communist Ethiopia.

After talks in Addis Ababa this month between a Sudan mission led by its first vice-president, General Abdel Khalil and Ethiopian leader Lt Col Mengistu Haile Maria and his top advisers, the two countries have agreed to resuscitate a lapsed trade agreement, to set up a joint border commission and to work jointly "to make Africa, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean zones of peace."

Until a few months ago the Sudan and Ethiopia were on opposite sides in the cold war struggle. The Sudan was one of the few nations which recognised Egypt's Camp David accord with Israel, and Egyptian forces, including warplanes, were stationed along the Sudan-Ethiopian border to help defend Sudan against any Ethiopian aggression.

More than 150 000 Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees have fled from Mengistu's communist regime into the safety of the Sudan which has frequently been accused by Ethiopia of providing supply routes for Ethiopia's secessionist guerilla organisations.

Observers here believe that the success of this month's rapprochement talks, which were held at Mengistu's invitation, may have resulted not so much from a move to the left by Sudan as from a bid



Now Ethiopia woos the Sudan

by Mengistu's government to move away from Soviet dominance.

Soviet stock in Ethiopia has fallen considerably since its "final offensive" against the mountain fastnesses of the Eritrean secessionist guerillas last July was beaten off with heavy losses.

Russian generals threw in some 50 000 Ethiopian troops, a mass of armour and artillery and squadrons of MiG aircraft, many flown by Cubans, in a bid to capture Naqta, the last guerilla-held town in Eritrea.

The assault troops were landed by sea at the tiny port of Mersa Teklay and stormed 25 km across the coastal flatlands to the mountains.

Some 10 000 guerillas of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front who were being bombed and blasted mercilessly, cut them off in the mountain passes and launched the bloodiest massacre of the 18-year-old war. Subsequent body counts showed that in three assaults on Naqta the Ethio-

After a disastrous defeat for Ethiopia and its communist backers at the hands of rebels last July, Ethiopia is attempting to do by diplomacy what it has failed to achieve by war. The last of a three-part series from HENRY REUTER in Nairobi.

plans lost 15 000 dead. At least a further 7 000 were wounded and 731 were taken prisoner.

After fighting to within three kilometres of this tiny, bomb-blasted deserted township, which has become a symbol of hope for most of the Eritrean people, the Ethiopian army was pushed back more than 100 km.

Some of the remnants of the shattered army were evacuated by Soviet ships. Others fought a retreat out of the mountains. The victory brought thousands of recruits flooding into the EPLF ranks including many from the Eritrean Liberation Front, the other major guerilla organisation, which had earlier suffered heavy losses while being driven out of the lowlands by Soviet and Cuban armour.

Since its Naqta disaster the Ethiopian army has kept its distance, while the guerillas continue to attack its garrisons and ambush their supply columns. The defeat has also had

guerrilla-held territory could turn out to be Sudan's price for keeping open the Eritreans' own supply routes. Down in Addis Ababa a cogent reason advanced for the Sudan's new show of friendship to Ethiopia is that Mengistu is "going off" the Russians. In recent weeks he has replaced several strongly pro-Soviet members of his ruling government, the Derg, with others known for their nationalist leanings.

In an attempt to organise a new national political party Copwe, Mengistu has been trying to orient its programme towards nationalism rather than Soviet ideology. Observers in Addis Ababa say that this is Mengistu's way of reacting to growing Soviet pressures on him following the Naqta disaster to come to terms with the Eritrean secessionists.

They say the Soviets now want Mengistu to offer the Eritrean secessionists far more than mere internal autonomy. They want a revival of the 1952 United Nations arrangements under which Eritrea and Ethiopia were declared independent countries within a federation, which broke up in 1962 when emperor Haile Selassie invaded Eritrea and declared it part of his Ethiopian empire.

The Soviet Union would also like to see both Djibouti and Somalia members of such a Horn of Africa federation. This would suit them very well, entrenched as they are in Ethiopia, which would be the heart of it. But Mengistu's ideas of a political solution for his troubles fall far short of this. Even internal autonomy for Eritrea, he has said, cannot be considered until the EPLF, which is also marxist oriented, has been destroyed completely.

1500 killed as Chad braces for the final battle

N'DJAMENA — Fighting raged near the airport on the 12th day of the struggle for Chad's capital as Red Cross workers were warned: expect the final battle within 24 hours.

The warning, Red Cross official said, came from the Defence Minister, Mr Hissine Habre, as his forces battled against President Goukouni Oueddei's men for control of the Central African city.

He told them to expect "widespread actions," they said, and French doctors at the field hospital across the river Chari in Cameroon were immediately alerted to prepare for a flood of casualties.

Heavy shelling and machinegun fire resumed at daybreak. It was heaviest just east of the airport where the President's men were fighting to hold on to a gendarmerie barracks.

The battle was swirling close to a French Air

Force base and there was speculation about how France, with 1100 troops in N'Djamena, would react if the base came under fire.

One move it did make was to order the evacuation of all non-essential expatriates at the base.

About 1500 people have been killed and more than 2000 wounded so far in the fighting, Cameroon officials said. About 100 000 refugees are estimated to have fled to Cameroon.

It was hard to say how the battle was going. The latest reported gain was by Mr Habre's men on Monday when they broke out of their stronghold. the

African quarter, and seized a district in north N'Djamena.

But French officials in Paris said Chad Foreign Minister, Mr Acyle Ahmad, and the Vice-President Mr Abdel-Kader Wadal Kamougue, appeared to be throwing their forces behind the President and against Mr Habre.

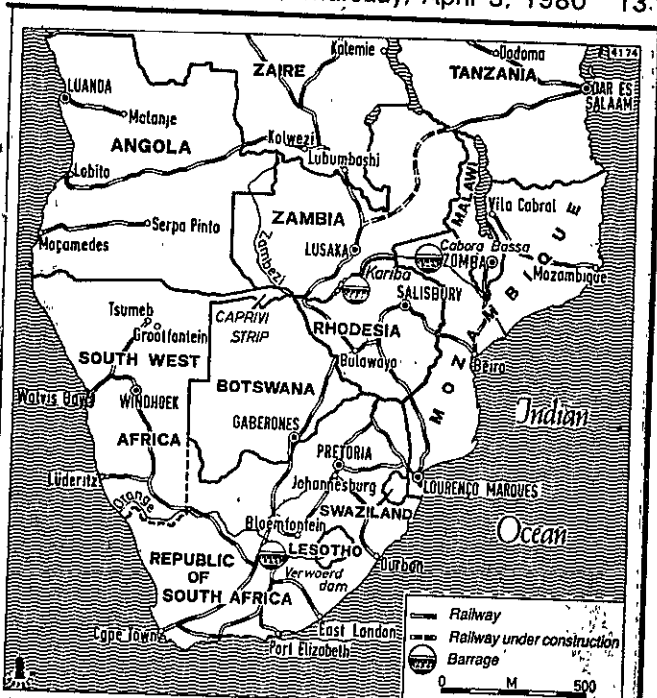
Mr Ahmad was sending supporters from bases across the Libyan border to help the President, they said.

For Cameroon, the refugees were posing a serious problem. They were massing in the village of Koussiri, site of the French field hospital, but finding water supplies cut off.

French doctors said there was a danger of an epidemic there — possibly cholera — and water was being ferried in from the French base in N'Djamena in the heart of the fighting. — Sapa-Reuter.

Refugee aid

BRUSSELS — The European Common Market has granted R5.3-million of aid 600 000 refugees in Somalia. Most of the funding will go for food and medical supplies. — Sapa-AP.



Southern Africa: Economically speaking, all roads lead to the Republic.

African plan 'a non-starter'

By GORDON KLING

THE latest initiative of nine African states to reduce dependence on South Africa is viewed as a non-starter by South African economists and the business community.

The plan announced in Lusaka on Tuesday — envisaging closer integration of the economies of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Malawi — was immediately seen as a counter to South Africa's "constellation" concept of economic co-operation, suffering from the same problem: The inability to reconcile political aspirations with political reality.

Referring to "five or six" previous attempts at economic blocs in Africa, Nedbank's chief economist, Mr Merton Dagut, did not believe it would get off the ground. "But I suppose one could say it's no vaguer than the constellation idea."

Mr Dagut believed it was essential for concepts of economic co-operation to be hinged on circumscribed areas of technical co-operation. The uniquely successful European Common Market had, for example, developed from the formation of an iron and steel community. Similarly, in southern Africa it would make more sense to start with matters such as technical education or inter-changeability of accounting staff, as opposed to political conceptions and goals.

"When you start with politics, the scheme founders on the practical realities."

'Maybe in 20 year's time'

The director of the Stellenbosch Bureau for Economic Research, Professor Jan Sadie, concurred. "I don't think they can achieve much in the short or medium term. Maybe in 20 year's time."

The difficulty in exporting goods through non-South African routes had become self evident. Zambia was particularly aware that it could not depend on other transport routes and had already had to turn back to the south.

Professor Sadie believed both the constellation concept and the black states initiative involved little more than political leaders making "the right sort of noises" to their supporters.

The implications of the new initiative probably remain most important to South Africa in the context of Zimbabwe. Reserve Bank figures show the Republic has about R1 300 million invested in Africa outside its borders. Professor Sadie estimates that at least R500 million has probably gone to Rhodesia. Withdrawal or nationalization could accordingly have significant consequences for both at a time when economies on the sub-continent should be gearing for accelerated growth.

'Very sensitive situation'

The South African Government is not officially saying how much it had put in loan funds to Rhodesia, or what the position will be with regards to Zimbabwe. The loans will, of course, have to be renegotiated and the only comment that could be elicited on current thinking on this from the Department of Finance yesterday was: "It's a very sensitive situation"

It is sensitive on the Zimbabwe side too. A source at the South African Finance Department notes that there is no guarantee that the West will put enough money where its mouth is when it comes to meeting Zimbabwe's substantial financial needs.

Support from the south, according to the source, is certainly available, but if all depends on Mr Mugabe.

9 - 3 20
 7 - 3 15
 11 - 7 55
 9 - 7 07
 01 27 32
 21 39 02
 20 18 77
 25 12 54
 13 - 50 28
 10 - 49 38
 10 - 58 40
 2 44 5
 4 - 218 6
 13 - 297 6
 12 - 134 3
 6 - 150 4
 17 - 537 1
 36 - 549 1
 27 - 385 5
 5 194 6
 26 - 419 0
 011 - 557 8
 06 - 635 7
 62 - 639 7
 171 191 2

17 875
 15 975
 20 811
 05 817
 77 109
 67 810
 55 825
 72 832
 731 211
 551 852
 071 008
 772 834
 194 193
 127 885
 137 111
 149 143
 203 057
 180 102
 173 888
 135 829
 107 1055
 117 000
 73 886
 105 103
 62 1002
 116 1008
 99 1116
 88 1112
 11 1120

RANK RANKS THANKS

The FM's coverage of the Budget last week, which had to be done only hours before going to press, was made possible again this year by the kind co-operation of Rank Xerox.

A facsimile of each page of the Minister's speech was relayed over the telephone lines through two Rank Xerox Telecopiers.

The FM is grateful, also to Willem Cronje, who gave valuable advice and assistance in the compilation of tax tables, and to the Discount House of SA for its rapid calculation of money market statistics relevant to policy changes.

BLACK AFRICA

Economic jamboree

FM 4/4/85 (1)
At a well-prepared meeting in Lusaka this week, nine African states discussed plans for their future economic co-operation. The aim of the new strategy is to lessen their dependence on SA — "not a natural phenomenon," in the words of the declaration prepared in advance of the summit for ratification.

The meeting followed from the conference held in Arusha, Tanzania, last July, which was attended by Botswana, Angola, Mozambique, and Zambia. These five "frontliners" were joined this week by Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe — the last being represented by Robert Mugabe, in his first foreign ap-

pearance as prime minister.

Under consideration was the possibility of establishing a free trade zone which would stimulate industrial development: the combined populations of the nine countries would provide a market of more than 50m people. But special emphasis was placed on the rehabilitation of transport links at a cost of \$1,5 billion over the next 10 years.

Funds are to come from multi-lateral agencies, including the African Development Bank and Opec institutions. A re-

gional Transport and Communications Commission may be established in Mozambique to co-ordinate the "gradual disengagement" from SA ports and rail links.

The participants in Lusaka stressed that they were planning for the long term. In the immediate future the economic pattern of Southern Africa is unlikely to change — on the contrary, SA's trade with Mozambique and Zimbabwe is expected to increase over the next year or two.

Thousands flee civil war in Chad capital

(B) Star 5/4/80

NDJAMENA — The people of Ndjama have abandoned the Chad capital to the fighters in a bitter faction war and soon there will not be enough food or water even for them.

Only in the combat zones is there any sign of life. Except for a small area round the great mar-

ble Al-Faiçal Mosque, the streets are silent and empty.

Vultures swoop low to feast on the dead and starving dogs scavenge through deserted streets in Chad, where the two-week civil war seems to have settled into stalemate.

The rival leaders —

President Goukouni Oueddi and rebel Defence Minister Hissene Habre — have both claimed in the past two days that they were about to win decisively. But a tour of the city yesterday showed that neither side had made any major advance in the street battles.

Fighting was somewhat

subdued yesterday — a Muslim prayer day.

The European sector — held by the President's men — has been battered by the heaviest shelling. The presidential palace, the US Embassy and the Libyan Embassy are the buildings most seriously damaged.

With the two sides ap-

parently determined to fight to the finish, the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity have appealed for a halt to the war.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, called the conflict tragic, and Mr Edem Kodjo, Secretary-General of the OAU, urged both sides to stop fighting and negotiate.

According to the Libyan news agency President Goukouni has appealed to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya for help.

About 100 000 people from N'Djamena have swum, canoed or paddled across the Chari river to the safety of Cameroon since President Goukouni and Mr Habre began the battle for N'Djamena two weeks ago.

A report from Paris says doctors at the French military base north of the city had one of the heaviest influxes of casualties on Thursday, when more than 100 wounded soldiers were brought in, mostly from among the president's supporters.

The doctors were already overwhelmed with casualties after battles which have caused between 1 000 and 2 000 dead and thousands wounded.

The advance of Mr Habre, who has accused France of bias in the civil war, threatens the future of the 1 100 French soldiers in the base who would be needed to control a ceasefire. But there are as yet no plans to withdraw.

IMPORTANCE

Instability in the former French colony gave added importance to French diplomatic moves for a European - African - Arab summit in Paris next year which have been announced by the French Foreign Minister, Mr Francois Poncet.

A conference of African Foreign Ministers of 26 nations, most of them French-speaking, are meeting in Paris to prepare for a Franco-African summit in Nice on May 8 and 9, which assumes particular importance in the 20th anniversary year of independence for France's former African colonies.

Apart from the immediate concerns of the Chad conflict, Mr Poncet and his African colleagues face an economic balance sheet for Africa which French officials described as "alarming". — Own Correspondent. Sapa Reuter

Two visions of South Africa hung over Lusaka conference

S. Post 6/4/80
① ✓



ANC president Oliver Tambo... his presence in Lusaka represents a different view of South Africa's future.

THE SHADOW of "big brother South Africa" loomed large over the economic union talks held in Lusaka this week by nine independent black states.

The delegates, including the presidents of the five frontline states and Prime Minister-designate of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, came to Lusaka seeking "economic liberation" from South Africa.

Instead, they left after laying bare harsh economic realities which will mean continued heavy trade with the white-ruled south for years to come.

Most of the states at the conference see South Africa and the apartheid they abhor as neo-colonialist, but there is little they can do about it without massive international aid running into hundreds of millions of rands.

But the presence of ANC president Oliver Tambo at this week's conference raised, for some at least, the vision of a future sub-continent line-up with South Africa not the villain but the future powerhouse for real development of the area.

After several days of preliminary deliberations by Ministers it was clearly accepted that if South Africa quietly slipped into the sea tomorrow the economies of most of the nations assembled would quickly slide in after it.

For black Africa the main value of the conference was as a historic declaration of unity.

The five traditional frontline states — Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique and Botswana — saw in the independence of the new Zimbabwe the possibility that their dream now had a chance of working.

They believe that their "unbroken inter-continental belt", as President Kenneth Kaunda put it, will eventually be strong enough to break South Africa's economic dominance of the sub-continent.

For the first time they invited to their talks the three nations with closest South African links — Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi — in a clear bid to snatch them out of reach of the "constellation of states" being pushed by Mr P W Botha.

This time the realities stifled the stormy rhetoric. One by one heads of state and other representatives warned that the new independence they sought would be a long time coming.

Mozambique's President Samora Machel stated bluntly that the nine were not in any condition at present to create a regional economic community.

And, he said, they were not "declaring war on South Africa".

The history of Africa was unfortunately rich in examples of attempts that failed, he said, and the plans of the black states must have humble beginnings.

"We must construct first the foundations and not the roof," South Africa, he said, saw its black neighbours as suppliers of raw materials and cheap labour. But the people of these black states rejected goods made in Zambia or Tanzania as inferior to those stamped "Made in South Africa". That had to stop.

Now was the time for national jealousies to go and for each nation to see its neighbour's advancement as its own.

President Machel warned that there was "no such thing as aid or charity in international politics". Help was based purely on the interests of those giving it.

Several black leaders warned that "forces opposing their plans for the region" — a clear reference to South Africa though the name was apparently deleted from the final draft of speeches — would try and undermine their plans for an economic union.

But they went ahead with a unanimous declaration of their determination to improve and co-ordinate their economies.

South Africa aside, this makes sense.

In general their economies are in poor condition. Best off are those who have long admitted they needed South Africa to survive but they all have major problems.

They see the migrant labour from which they gain much of their foreign exchange : : unhealthy but cannot employ their people at home.

They have inherited a transport system designed to suit a group of rival colonial powers and not an international co-operative.

To improve the transport situation a communications commission will immediately be set up in Maputo, capital of the Mozambique they hope will take over from South Africa as a main gateway to the sea and trade routes.

An international donors' conference will be held there in November to co-ordinate aid.

The new Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Mugabe, who arrived in Lusaka to a hero's welcome, will host a meeting of senior ministers in Salisbury in September.

Botswana's President Seretse Khama has been cast in the role of co-ordinator of a seven-point plan for regional development.

A regional agricultural research centre will be established to study ways of growing crops in semi-arid areas. An interesting point when the vast majority of farmland in countries such as Zambia is lying idle or underutilised.

The programmes are essentially very long term ones and the main message to come out of the conference was that results will be a long time in coming. — SUN-DAY POST Correspondent.

Truce— but little hope for peace in Chad

Star 7/2/50

N'DJAMENA — Chad President Gaikoum Oueddei, who signed a truce agreement with his Defence Minister to halt the Chad civil war from tomorrow, says he has little hope of an effective ceasefire.

"I am very, very pessimistic about the outcome. I do not believe it will come to anything because I know the other side," he said.

The ceasefire proposal, the fifth since an upsurge of faction fighting 16 days ago, was negotiated at the weekend by Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema

mediating in the conflict between President Oueddei and Chad Defence Minister Housseini Habre, leader of the opposition forces battling for control of the capital.

President Eyadema had crossed the river Chari, separating the capital's warring factions, in a dug-out canoe on his mediation mission to Mr Habre.

He was accompanied by a small flotilla of canoes to the sound of heavy machine-gun fire from the strategic north-west area of the town.

The Togolese president said the truce would take effect at noon tomorrow. The ceasefire would be supervised by two senior officers from each of four countries — Cameroon, Nigeria, Liberia and Ivory Coast, he said.

The four-nation observer team would form the vanguard of a larger force under the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to police the truce in the north-central African nation, he said.

But President Eyadema did not know when the OAU forces would arrive. About 100 Cameroonian soldiers, sent earlier this year to replace French troops in Chad, left last week.

PRECARIOUS

The Stars Paris correspondent reports that the French soldiers in Chad are becoming increasingly precarious. The French troops, confined to a zone in the north of the capital, were ordered not to intervene in the battle in which between 1,000 and 2,000 people have died.

About 1,500 have fled N'djamena, which is still under heavy machine-gun fire.

The French troops have provided first aid for nearly 1,000 injured and hundreds of others have been taken across the river to field hospitals in Northern Cameroon.

SOUTHERN AFRICA Impossible facts

Southern Africa now has two proposed constellations of states, one to be centred on Pretoria, the other on Lusaka. And, as far as the *FM* can see, neither can succeed.

The Pretoria-based constellation would involve the independent homelands, the neighbouring black states, and would even stretch as far north as Zaire if PW Botha had his way.

But the election of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe has effectively ruined Botha's chances. Bishop Abel Muzorewa might have co-operated; but, unless Mugabe has a radical change of heart, he is unlikely to be at all interested in the Botha constellation. This means that Botha is left with only Transkei, Venda, BophuthaTswana and, possibly, an independent Namibia, as potential clients. Although Botswana and Lesotho are economically entirely dependent on SA, they would resist all attempts to be drawn in.

The reason for the reluctance is, of course, apartheid, a philosophy hated more in black Africa than communism. And removal of apartheid to much of black Africa means black majority rule over the whole of SA. Until that happens, co-operation is just not on.

Economically Botha's constellation would be highly practical. The sharing of skills, labour and raw materials would turn the Southern African sub-continent into a potential power of no mean proportions. It could feed itself, with enough left over for export: could create enough energy to supply its own needs; and could develop industry that would provide employment for most of its people.

But politically it is out.

The counter-constellation being formed by nine black-ruled southern African states (Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, and the government-elect of Zimbabwe) is also doomed to short-term failure — for exactly opposite reasons. Unlike the Pretoria-proposed constellation, it is highly practical politically. Economically, however, it must fail.

The counter constellation is regarded by analysts in SA and Britain as largely a reaction to Pretoria's moves. The nine want to prevent Pretoria's influence from stretching too far and they want to de-

clare their independence of SA, they say.

But the hard economic reality is that at present all the nine states involved, with the exception of Angola and Tanzania, are economically dependent on SA. They rely on it for food, for technological aid and for outlets to export their raw materials.

History has laid down a communications and transport network that links these countries as a unit. The railway line that runs from the Zambian copperbelt, through Zimbabwe and Botswana, to SA cannot readily be replaced. Use of alternative export routes through Mozambique instead of SA is technically feasible, but South African skills keep the Mozambique harbours operating, and so even those routes are dependent on this country.

The other export alternative, Angola, is hampered by continual attacks on the Benguela railway line by Unita forces and is highly unreliable. The Tazara railway line between Zambia and Tanzania is stricken with bottlenecks and inefficiency. Breaking the present transport network and attempting to set up alternatives would be heavily expensive at a time when these states need massive aid for agriculture, mining and secondary industry.

Why then propose such a constellation?

Deon Geldenhuys of the SA Institute of International Affairs sees the counter constellation's importance in political terms. "It's an attempt to dissociate themselves from South Africa," he says. "It's a gesture. They are saying they don't want to become client states of SA. But if they do want to become totally independent of South Africa, I don't think it can work."

Dr Willie Breytenbach, senior researcher at the SA Foundation, explains that the counter-constellation is an extension of the front-line states' concept, with the addition of new members. "But orchestrating pressure against Rhodesia was easy compared with the task now facing them," he says. "Structurally, it cannot survive. There are too many factors against it. It must be seen as the manifestation of the hostile environment in which SA has to survive."

It seems, therefore, that the undoubted economic potential of which southern Africa is capable will have to wait a little longer until the political hurdles have been cleared.

'Tolbert's son beheaded,^① two Ministers shot dead'

RDM 12/4/80

BONN. — The son of the assassinated Liberian President, Mr William Tolbert, had been beheaded in the capital, Monrovia, Liberian diplomatic sources reported in Bonn yesterday.

Two senior Ministers, including President Tolbert's son-in-law, had also been shot dead, they said.

Radio Monrovia, monitored in London, made no immediate mention of the reports.

The Liberian sources said they had a report from Monrovia that President Tolbert's son, Mr A B Tolbert, regarded as a possible successor to his father, was beheaded, but gave no further details.

The sources said the Justice Minister, Mr Joseph Chesson, in office since last year, was shot and his home destroyed.

According to the sources among the officials was the Chief Justice, Mr James Pierre, who headed the Supreme court for more than a decade.

President Tolbert's son-in-law, the National Defence Minister, Mr Burleigh Holder, was also killed during yesterday's coup, the sources said.

President Tolbert's son, married to the adopted daughter of the head of the neighbouring Ivory Coast, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, was a member of the Liberian Senate.

According to a radio report yesterday, Liberia's new military ruler, Master Ser-

geant Samuel Doe, announced that detained officials of the ousted government would be put on trial today.

The broadcast said officials, whom it did not name, would be tried by six-man military tribunal.

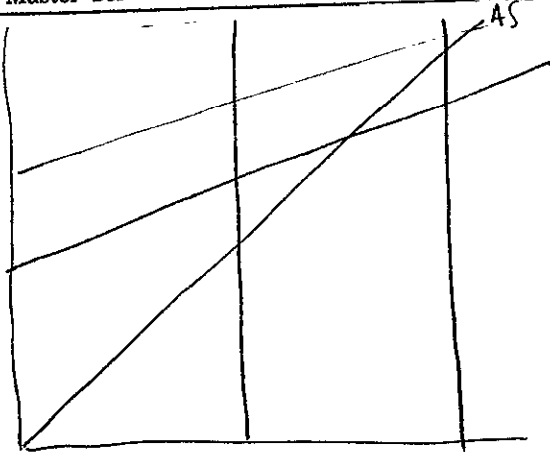
Sgt Doe, installed as head of state after the weekend coup, said charges against the officials would include high treason, rampant corruption of public office and gross violation of civil and human rights, according to a radio report. They would be tried by a six-man military tribunal, the radio said.

He also named a mixed military-civilian Cabinet of 15. It includes five military officers. At least four of its civilian members are among leaders of the People's Progressive Party, jailed by the Tolbert government and released immediately after the coup.

The radio said everything was now under control in the West African country of two million, and members of the public should go about their normal business.

● In New York, seven young Liberians took over their country's United Nations mission before dawn on Friday and said they would guard its records until they received instructions from the new government in Monrovia. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

● See Page 3



War rages on in Chad

①
RDM
12/2/80

N' DJAMENA. — Fighting raged in the battered capital of Chad yesterday as the civil war, which has split this Central African country, entered its fourth week.

Forces loyal to President Goukouni Oueddei and his main opponent, the rebel defence Minister, Mr Hissene Habre, pounded each other's positions with heavy artillery fire.

Red Cross officials said there were heavy casualties on both sides and added that there appeared to be no let up in the fighting.

The officials estimated that about 1 000 people had been killed and 2 500 wounded in the fighting as the two factions struggle for power.

French doctors operating in emergency field hospitals said they had never seen so many seriously wounded and badly maimed people.

The fighting is centred on a gendarmerie barracks, not far from a French air base where 1 100 French paratroopers and commandos are housed.

The barracks has been in President Goukouni's hands since the fighting flared up and efforts by forces loyal to the defence Minister have repeatedly failed to overrun the position.

Diplomats and military experts said there was a growing feeling that whichever side began losing the long, drawn-out battle would attempt to involve the French forces by shelling the base.

French air force Transall planes brought in fresh French troops on Saturday night and the base has been sealed off.

"If French soldiers are killed by shells, France will immediately send in heavy reinforcements to N' Djamena," one senior French officer said. — Sapa-Reuter.

A century of power dies with Tolbert

①
M
14/4/80

MONROVIA. — Liberian President William Tolbert, who was killed in a military coup on Saturday, had been in power since 1971 and was current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

The ruling True Whig Party he headed had been in power for more than a century — in Africa's oldest republic, which was founded by freed slaves.

The grandson of an American black, President Tolbert succeeded President William Tubman on the latter's death and immediately introduced social reforms.

Dr Tolbert, 66, was an ordained leader of the Baptist Church and pledged to be "the president God wants me to be".

The most important reform he promised was the introduction of universal suffrage.

Liberia has never had one man, one vote on its statute books. The vote is restricted to those owning property.

A complex but affable man of great energy, Dr Tolbert was Vice-President for 20 years before acceding to power.

He was as much at home in the pulpit as in the political arena. His speeches were laced with evangelist utterances.

In 1965, he became the first black president of the Baptist World Alliance, heading this worldwide organisation of 30-million Baptists for five years.

He was wealthy — through business and farming industries established by his family. His father was one of Liberia's major coffee producers.

Dr Tolbert's political career



PRESIDENT TOLBERT
... end of the line

began in 1943, when he was elected to the House of Representatives.

Mr Tubman chose him as his running mate in the 1951 elections. They were elected, and Dr Tolbert began his long apprenticeship for the presidency.

Liberia, an independent state since 1847, was founded on the coast of West Africa by freed African slaves from the United States.

It is the only country in Africa to have escaped direct colonisation.

At present it has a population of about 2-million.

The country is a product of the "back-to-Africa" movement which, in the early 1800s, reflected doubts among Americans about the ethics of slavery.

US citizens opposed to slav-

ery but concerned about the number and the uncertain legal status of freed slaves, resolved to resettle them in Africa.

In 1822 the first group of settlers landed at a harbour which was to be named Monrovia, in honour of US President James Monroe.

With 560km of coastline, extending from Sierra Leone on the west to the Ivory Coast on the east, Liberia stretches inland to a distance, in some places, of about 400 km.

Its iron ore deposits are among the richest in the world, producing more than 20-million tons a year.

Rubber remains the leading agricultural export. The Firestone Plantation company have rubber plantations employing over 12 000 men. The Firestone concession comprises about 36 000ha and expires in 2025.

The country also produces sugar, coffee, cocoa and palm kernels.

For more than 100 years Liberia has been ruled by the True Whig Party. The last legal opposition was the Reformation People's Party, banned after the 1955 general election.

Earlier this year the formation of a new political grouping, the Progressive People's Party, led by a lawyer, Mr Baccus Matthews, created an unprecedented political furore throughout Liberia.

The country has always been dominated by what are known as The 300 Families, descendants of the original slave settlers. — Sapa-Reuter.

Tolbert had been invited to flag raising

(1)
~~STE~~
RDM

14/4/80

By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau

SALISBURY. — President William Tolbert, the Liberian head of state who was assassinated in a coup at the weekend, was to have been one of the special guests at this week's Zimbabwe independence celebrations.

As current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Tolbert was one of 11 heads of state personally invited to attend the celebrations in Salisbury.

More than 90 countries have so far accepted invitations to attend the festivities, which promise to be one of the largest diplomatic get-togethers yet held in Africa.

Prince Charles will represent the Queen, and other heads of state who have either been invited or will attend are from Angola, Botswana, Ethiopia, Guyana, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia.

Also, three Prime Ministers specially invited — Mr Malcolm Fraser of Australia, Mrs Indira Gandhi of India, and Mr Mike Manley of Jamaica — are to arrive on Thursday.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister, Shah Azizur Rahman, and the Guyana Premier, Mr Forbes Burnham, will also be among 400-odd dignitaries who will witness the end of British colonial rule in Africa when the new Zimbabwe flag is hoisted for the first time in Salisbury's Rufaro stadium at midnight on Thursday.

As many as 1 000 officials are likely to accompany the various delegations, which are expected to range from the United States, Russia and China to Cuba, Iraq and Iran.

United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, will represent the world body while delegations from four other international organisations — the Commonwealth Secretariat, the EEC Commission, the OAU Secretariat, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees — will also attend.

Neither the South African Government nor any of its "homeland" States have been invited.

It is understood, however, that personal invitations have been sent by Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, to Swapo and the South African "liberation movements", the ANC and PAC.

Two senior members of the UN Council for Namibia — its president, Mr Paul Lusaka, Zambia's UN ambassador, and Yugoslavian diplomat Mr Miljan Komatina — have also accepted invitations.

Numerous foreign Cabinet Ministers will represent their governments at the celebrations, including Lord Carrington, the British Foreign Secretary who was instrumental in bringing peace to Rhodesia.

Two of Salisbury's top hotels have virtually been taken over by the government to accommodate the largest influx of VIP guests in Rhodesia's history. They will be helped by a team of about 50 government, Zanu-PF and Patriotic Front liaison officers.

Prince Charles, who arrives in Salisbury on Wednesday, has a full two-day programme before he returns to London on Friday — Independence Day.

He will be followed later that afternoon by Lord Soames, the British Governor who steered Rhodesia through the elections which brought an end to the seven-year bush war.

Sapa reports that Salisbury, already regarded by many as one of Africa's cleanest and most beautiful capitals, is to be given an extra face-lift as the eyes of the world focus on it for the independence celebrations.

Organisers are working flat out to make sure the capital is spick and span, and regular appeals for money are being made on television and through party channels for the big "clean-up".

Millions of foreign TV viewers in all corners of the world are expected to watch highlights of the ceremony.

Liberia^{tbl} coup on riots' first anniversary

THE Liberian armed forces chose the first anniversary of riots in Monrovia to overthrow the Tolbert government.

The riots of April last year, in which some 70 people died and more than 500 were wounded, were the first serious signs of violence since the birth 133 years ago of the Liberian Republic.

The social situation has always been potentially explosive. According to the Opposition Movement for Justice in Africa (Moja), three to four percent of the population each year shares 60.4 percent of the national revenue.

Illiteracy stands at 80 percent.

Most observers saw Mr Tolbert as trying to remedy the situation, but he seemed to be meeting major opposition from the conservative wing of the ruling True Whig Party (TWP).

Until April 14 of last year Liberia was considered to be Africa's most stable country. And when on that date rioting broke out, no one was as surprised as the unwilling organisers, the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (Pal), which had called for a demonstration to protest against proposed increases in the price of rice, Liberia's staple food.

The demonstration turned into a riot which lasted several days.

The PAL, a socialist grouping formed in the United States in 1975, continued peaceful political action, and in January this year was recognised as an official opposition party under the name of the Progressive People's Party (PPP).

It found itself caught between the Whig conservatives and its own constituency comprising essentially Monrovia's numerous jobless.

So the PPP took the bull by the horns, calling on March 7 for an unlimited general strike aimed at getting Mr Tolbert to resign. The strike call was almost completely ignored, however, and the army and police moved in without incident to arrest party leaders and militants.

Coup in Liberia could cost SA millions

Own Correspondent

PARIS — The assassination of President William Tolbert of Liberia could cost South Africa dearly as Monrovia has been one of its main trade toeholds in black Africa for years.

The Liberian capital served the same purpose in black Africa as Vienna serves for central and eastern Europe because it places South African fruit, raw materials and manufactured goods in countries where South Africa has no diplomatic relations.

One well-known South African firm uses the fast container ship route — Capetown-Marseilles. Goods are unloaded in Marseilles by a French firm, relabelled and shipped to Monrovia.

Monrovia, very much a free port, then forwards the goods to landlocked African countries, many of whom regularly vote against South Africa in the United Nations.

It is this valuable toehold, estimated to be worth tens of millions of rand annually to South African firms, that Pretoria has in mind when it talks of its "many outlets in black Africa".

President Tolbert, who was a deeply religious man, had always been a leader of moderate African opinion although he never publicly backed dialogue with Pretoria.

The military coup in Liberia has shocked observers in Paris as it was one of the most stable countries in West Africa. Fear is expressed that another west African country, the Republic of Mali, is on the verge of going the same way as Ethiopia with a Soviet backed coup overthrowing pro-western President Moussa Traore.

Sapa-Reuters reports from Trenton, New Jersey, in the United States, that a nephew of the assassinated Liberian president has gone into hiding after an anonymous telephone caller told him: "We're coming to get you," police said yesterday.

Mr Francis Tolbert, who has lived in the US for eight years, said he received the call on Saturday about the time the army rebels were overthrowing and killing his uncle in Liberia, police said.

Mr Tolbert's car was searched for a bomb as a precaution and he was then whisked away under escort to an unknown destination.

The chairman of Liberia's True Whig Party, the dominant political force in the country until Saturday's coup, has been arrested and is in detention, according to a Liberian radio broadcast.

The broadcast monitored in London by the BBC gave no further details about the arrest of Mr Reginald Townsend, who was also Minister of State for Presidential Affairs in the ousted government.

Mr Townsend was arrested as the new government, headed by army Master-Sergeant Samuel Doe, prepared to put officials of the former government of President William Tolbert on trial yesterday.

Sergeant Doe, who was installed as head of state after the coup, has said charges against the former officials would include high treason, rampant corruption of public office and gross violation of civil and human rights.



The late President Tolbert.

THE upheaval in Liberia, which has claimed the lives of President William Tolbert and some members of his administration, has been festering for a long time.

Political and economic life is dominated by an elite of 40 000 'American-Liberians' whose descendants — freed slaves who were repatriated from the United States in 1822 — have controlled the country through their True Whig Party for more than 100 years.

As a result of this dynastic system of government, the indigenous Liberian population, comprising 16 different tribes, could only see themselves in the role of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'

One of the most potent proverbs of Liberian political life in recent times has been 'monkey work, baboon draw', baboon standing for the ruling class and monkey for the masses.

Dr Tolbert tried to bring some indigenous people into his administration. He spoke one of the local languages and the informal manner of his Government, coupled with his discipline over Ministers who arrived late for work endeared him to the people.

But the elite had entrenched itself deeply in

① 15/4/80 A-900

TOLBERT HAD BEEN WARNED

Liberian social and economic life and they watched the President for a time, then reasserted themselves.

Dr Tolbert's early idealism eventually vanished a few weeks ago: He pardoned a Minister who had installed his girlfriend in a flat at government expense.

Dr Tolbert did not renounce his business holdings on becoming President, and the business

From our correspondent in Accra

interests of his family gradually increased. As a result he could not interfere too much with the business dealings of anyone else.

While the Government members and their friends enjoyed the good things of life, education spread gradually into the countryside, where the country's main exports — iron ore, rubber, diamonds, timber and coffee — are produced.

Although enlightenment has come at a slow pace, and only one person in 10 can read or write, the few educated people began to question, for example, the lack of drinking water among the farming communities.

Hospitals and clinics were few and only the children of the privileged obtained scholarships and good jobs.

Their questions were given eloquence by intellectuals returning from the United States and elsewhere, who formed movements aimed at breaking the hold of the True Whig Party on the country.

The intellectual leaders of the majority were Mr Baccus Matthews and Mr Togba-Na Tipoteh, who combined to form the Progressive Alliance of Liberia, through which they voiced popular grievances.

On April 14 last year, 100 people were killed in riots in the capital, Monrovia, in protest against a Government announcement that the price of rice, the staple food, was to be increased. The two Alliance leaders roused public consciousness and for some hours there was a power vacuum in the country.

Mr Matthews succeeded in getting the Progressive People's Party registered as an officially recognised political party — an undreamt-of triumph in Liberian politics. He announced that he would call a general strike if Dr Tolbert's Government did not resign immediately and hand over power to a coalition.

The call for a strike was not heeded, but Mr Matthews and 74 of his followers were arrested and charged with treason. Mr Matthews apparently wanted the army to intervene — which it has now done.

Background to Liberian coup

'MONKEY WORK BABOON DRAW'

Post 15/4/80 1

THE upheaval in Liberia, which has claimed the lives of President William Tolbert his son, and some members of his administration, has been festering for a long time.

Political and economic life is dominated by an elite of 40 000 "American-Liberians" whose descendants, freed slaves who were repatriated from the United States in 1822 have controlled the country through their True Whig Party for more than 100 years.

As a result of this dynastic system of government, the indigenous Liberian population, comprising 16 different tribes, could only see themselves in the role of "hewers of wood and drawers of water".

One of the most potent proverbs of Liberian political life in recent times has been "monkey work, baboon draw", baboon standing for the ruling class and monkey for the masses.

Dr Tolbert tried to bring some indigeneous people into his administration.

He spoke one of the

POST Correspondent

local languages and the informal manner of his government, coupled with his discipline over ministers who arrived late for work endeared him to the people.

But the elite had entrenched itself deeply in Liberian social and economic life and they watched the President for a time, then reasserted themselves.

Dr Tolbert's early idealism eventually vanished a few weeks ago: he pardoned a minister who had installed his girl friend in a flat at government expense.

Dr Tolbert did not renounce his business holdings on becoming President, and the business interests of his family gradually increased. As a result he could not interfere too much with the business dealings of anyone else.

While the Government members and their friends enjoyed the good things of life, education spread gradually into the countryside, where the country's main exports — iron ore, rubber, diamonds, timber

and coffee — are produced.

Although enlightenment has come at a slow pace, and only one person in 10 can read or write, the few educated people began to question, for example, the lack of drinking water among the farming communities.

Hospitals and clinics were few, and only the children of the privileged obtained scholarships and good jobs.

Their questions were given eloquence by intellectuals returning from the United States and elsewhere, who formed movements like the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) aimed at breaking the hold of the True Whig Party on the country. The PAL was this year recognised as an official opposition party under the name of the Progressive People's Party (PPP).

Meanwhile Liberia's new military rulers named a 19-member cabinet containing only five soldiers, six members of the opposition and three of Mr Tolbert's ministers, who retain their portfo-

lios, to form the new government of the "People's Redemption Council of the Armed Forces of Liberia"

Coup leader Master Sergeant Samuel K Doe (28), was to address the nation formally yesterday. In a brief TV broadcast on Sunday night, he said those ex-Tolbert ministers not found guilty of corruption could co-operate with the new government.

Ministers known to have been arrested by troops searching for leading Tolbert figures in hiding included the Justice, Foreign and Information Ministers. Other personalities picked up were the head of Mr Tolbert's True Whig Party and the party's candidate for mayor of Monrovia.

The death toll in the Saturday putsch remained confused, even in official circles. President Tolbert was caught in private apartments on the top floor of his office building here at around 3 am. It was unusual for him to spend the night there, as he normally stayed at his family home some 60 km from the capital.

Angry scenes at Tolbert's burial

① RDM
17/4/80

FREETOWN. — A crowd of Liberians screamed insults and hurled rocks at the body of assassinated President William Tolbert as he was buried in a common grave on the outskirts of Monrovia on Tuesday, diplomatic sources reported from the Liberian capital.

But the sources said life had virtually returned to normal in Liberia following the army coup led by 28-year-old Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, who has proclaimed himself chief of state.

Diplomatic eyewitnesses reported from Monrovia that Mr Tolbert was buried with some 30 others killed during the coup. They were taken through the streets of the capital by truck followed by a large crowd, the sources said.

A common grave had been bulldozed on the outskirts. The bodies were dumped in and the booing crowd hurled rocks at them as they were covered with earth.

The Organisation of African Unity has appealed to the new leaders of Liberia to pardon officials of Mr Tolbert's government.

An Ethiopia Radio broadcast said the organisation's headquarters was shocked at the death of Mr Tolbert.

The OAU, the radio said, appealed to Liberia's new regime to grant fair and equitable trials to former Liberian officials accused of corruption.

Meanwhile, the man who was next in line to succeed Mr Tolbert said yesterday he was not surprised at the coup.

Bishop Bennie Warner, who was vice-President of Liberia, said the discontent which led to the coup developed four years ago.

"It was something that had been boiling. It simply came to a head," he said at a news conference.

Bishop Warner was in Indiana, America, at the time of the coup, attending a meeting of Methodist bishops.

He said he would have to evaluate the situation in Liberia before making definite plans to return, but said that "as a church leader, I think I ought to go, even if I face death".

The bishop said no mail and no telegrams had been allowed into Liberia since the coup, but said he was able to make telephone contact with his church and learned his family was safe.

Bishop Warner did not defend the previous government of Mr Tolbert. — Sapa-AP.

A revised budget (if you think revisions are called for), adhering as far as possible to the same order as that used for the data above, showing which job you (as a director) prefer, with short notes explaining your guiding principles and any calculations. Both jobs would last 12 months; no other jobs are likely or are likely to be offered.

Required:

- (b) Manual labour is hired locally from week to week.
- (a) All the plant needed for Southampton has been owned for some years. £1,600 is the year's depreciation (straight-line) in the financial accounts. If the hull job is taken, less plant will be required, and the surplus items will be hired out for the year on similar work at a rental of £750. Interest is based on a memorandum entry, at 5% of original cost, in the cost records.
- (f) Office and general expenses amount to about £1,800 every year.

After 25 years of Uhuru

Rush of black Africa

Anthony Delius

A LITTLE more than 23 years ago the coming of independence to Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah started the great rush of black Africa into independence. Today interest is concentrated on whether that country's second return to parliamentary democracy is going to succeed.

There have been reports over the last week of killings in a tribal agitation in the south to create unease about the new Government of President Hilla Limann. But perhaps the greatest underlying cause of the unease is suspicion that the new rulers are not going to be as rigorous as many want it to be in combating the West Coast's besetting sin of corruption.

President Limann arrived in office in the shadow of the fiercest reaction against corruption that was probably staged anywhere in Africa.

The short sharp reign of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) led by the half-Scots, half-Ghanaian Flight-Lt Jerry Rawlings, that preceded the new Government seemed determined to frighten high-ranking corruption out of the country's system in one savage blow.

The most chilling part of this operation was the execution of three former military heads of State for using their office to make money.

Welcomed

Though many among the long-suffering Ghanaian masses welcomed this unprecedented severity, a shudder went up and down the West African coast. The Nigerian military regime, which had thrown out a number of its own senior officers for corruption in public office in the country's 19 States, sent messages urging moderation on Lt Rawlings and his AFRC. While the AFRC continued to pursue the worst offenders in Ghana rigorously, to the applause of the greater part of the population, its punishments for 'sabotaging the economy' became notably less bloody.

After completing this economic 'house-cleaning'

Lt Rawlings carried out his promise to proceed with the elections which had already been planned, and finally to stand down and hand over government to the winning party.

This party happened to be the National Peoples Party, led by Limann, who claimed to be a follower of the better socialist ideas of the late President Nkrumah before this founding father became an out-and-out dictator. In due course Lt Rawlings handed over to Limann.

But before doing so Lt Rawlings and his men wrote special clauses into the new Ghanaian Constitution to prevent any questioning of the decisions by the 'Peoples Court' responsible for the punishments meted out against practitioners of corruption.

This was said to have been done to ensure the maintenance of the 'Gains of the June 4 Revolution,' that is to say the measures taken against corruption and alleged corrupt men in the time of AFRC.

It can be imagined that the authority of a president, allowed to take office by an army council led by a junior officer, was going to be difficult to establish quickly, if at all.

In addition, to have written into a democratic constitution that the actions of the preceding violent military dictatorship cannot be questioned could

make for all sorts of difficulties.

Finally, having the main actors in the dictatorship hanging about in the wings waiting to see if the newly-elected administration carried out its predecessors' rigour in dealing with everything they had chosen to consider corrupt was bound to become intolerable to the men in office.

In fact, Lt Rawlings, never a happy phraser of pronouncements, was to say in due course that he considered that the politicians were 'on trial.'

Because he did not disguise his willingness to return if the politicians did not pass the test in his opinion, Lt Rawlings and some brigadiers who had supported him were retired from the armed forces as quickly as President Limann dared.

Soon after this had happened Lt Rawlings made public charges that the Government's intelligence service were spreading reports and pamphlets accusing former AFRC members of taking part in a 'new plot' to overthrow the Limann Government.

The country was significantly failing to feed itself, it had ended the year with the horrific inflation figure of 116 per cent, and the huge debts accumulated by previous regimes, dictatorial, military and democratic, were still

costing the country half its foreign exchange earnings to service.

Practically the only major distinction the Government had in the public mind was that it was a civilian one. However popular Lt Rawlings might be, the ordinary Ghanaians had become sick and tired of army rule — and even the AFRC's popularity rested on its having executed three former military heads of State for corruption.

The Limann Administration, dressed in natty suits to emphasise their 'civilianness' and behaved in a fairly drab and unflashy way — in what looked to be a conscious effort to distinguish itself from the 'kante' cloth robes of Ghana's first dictator and the red tabs, bak-leaves and shining pips and crowns of succeeding military ones.

Profile

But such a low profile almost lost itself to the public eye, used to trinkets and gestures in office. Now President Limann has decided to assert himself against the looming of the ghostly presence of the AFRC in the public imagination.

He is demanding that, following revelations of some less than pure and selfless behaviour of some AFRC leaders in office, that steps be taken to remove their freedom from criticism from the Constitution.

Naturally charges of a yearning for corruption are made against the Government and some of its friends.

'Quarter of SA's troops are black'

RDM 18/4/80

(1)
254

itions of the type
s:pect to R and E

(11) [E] (X) dx

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A quarter of South Africa's professional soldiers are black or coloured, according to figures published in London by the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Its publication, "The Military Balance 1979/80", says that the South African Army's Permanent Force consists of 6 000 white and 2 500 black and coloured soldiers.

This is the first time that "The Military Balance" has broken down SADF strength by race. The SADF has never confirmed nor denied the IISS figures.

The publication — which has long been used as a source by military observers because no official SADF strengths have been released for years — breaks down South Africa's "total mobilisable force" of 404 500 as follows:

- The 63 000-man full-time armed forces consist of:
 - Army: 48 500 (8 500 regulars and 40 000 conscripted national servicemen);
 - Navy: 4 750 (3 500 regular, 1 250 conscripts);
 - Air Force: 10 000 (6 000 regular, 4 000 conscripts).

These numbers are backed up by the Citizen Force reserv-

- Army: 100 000;
 - Navy: 10 000;
 - Air Force: 25 000.
- Under "paramilitary forces", the publication lists:
- 90 000 commandos;
 - 35 000 South African Police (19 500 whites, 16 000 other races);
 - 20 000 police reservists.

The publication commits a common error by listing the commando force as being paramilitary in nature, presumably because commandos are deployed and equipped primarily for a counter-insurgency role, and the Citizen Force mainly for conventional warfare, though they receive the same training.

The publication says South Africa commands large forces by the standards of other African countries, which, with few exceptions, generally do not have conscription and rely instead on small armed forces composed mainly or totally of regulars.

According to other figures quoted, a totally mobilised South Africa would have a strength equal to a third of the total mobilisable strength of the 35 black sub-Saharan states, whose armed forces number 815 820, and paramilitary forces 416 870.

Mozambique, Angola, Tanza-

nia, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi and Rhodesia could muster a combined defence force and paramilitary strength of 256 820, against South Africa's 404 500.

Only two sub-Saharan countries are in same league: Ethiopia, with a 221 600-man defence force and 169 000 paramilitary troops, and Nigeria, with a 173 000-man defence force. Together, these countries could muster 563 600 soldiers and paramilitary troops.

Doubts exist about the fighting ability of some auxiliary troops, such as those of Tanzania.

By contrast, South Africa's forces are generally well-equipped and well-trained. It might be argued that South Africa has a greater striking power than all of sub-Saharan Africa, excluding Ethiopia, Nigeria and Somalia.

However, about seven-eighths of its armed forces are reservists and a total, or even substantial partial mobilisation of the Army — which would cause large-scale disruption of the economy — could be considered only as a last-resort measure.

Total mobilisation of the Air Force and Navy would be simpler, as these forces are much smaller than the Army.

One way to explain asset diversification by a bank is in terms of risk-return consideration along the lines of general portfolio theory (e.g. of the Tobin-Markowitz variety). The application of this approach, which is based on the idea of "subjective" risk aversion by the bank (or its owners) will be discussed separately below (see section 4).

However, even if we stay within the expected profit maximization framework utilized so far, where the firm does not assign a negative value to the variability of profit per se, (i.e. as

ity management
(10)
of holding it
h are p and p
that the (per
with expec-
ary reserves")
to two earning
o cash (i.e.
me are cha-
ch are charac-
management
sification
ability to expected

Students run amok

KINSHASA. — Thousands of Zaire students rioted for the third consecutive day yesterday, marching to districts near Kinshasa University to urge the population to rise against the government of President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Ignoring a government order to go back to work, the students went on the rampage, burning more than 30 cars and two buses, then marching to neighbouring districts where they set up roadblocks.

They were joined by non-students as the protest took a political turn with calls for the end of Mr Mobutu's regime.

The students' revolt topped a month-long strike to protest inhuman living conditions. The strikers said the campus, located more than 15km from the city, lacked basic facilities, including water, food and transport means. They also protested against the delayed payment of their scholarships which barely assure subsistence.

Primary and secondary schools were also on strike. Teachers there walked out when they did not get their salaries. — Sapa-AP

including transaction cost. reflect all the costs and inconveniences of such rearrangements, to rearrange its portfolio on short notice. The rate p must against borrowing from it. A reserve deficiency forces a bank cannot borrow freely from the central bank, or has an aversion cannot be identified simply as the discount rate. Often a bank stration and information costs) of extending credit, and b rather it is the loan rate net of all costs (including admini- context cannot be identified with the total loan rate, but level. However, it should be kept in mind that a) r in this ture (ratio) of interest rates only, but not on their absolute pretation would imply that optimal reserves depend on the struc- mal reserves seems rather unlikely. Furthermore, this inter- case fulfillment of the condition for a positive level of opti- ted as the discount rate, and r as the loan rate, in which $1/2 < r/p$, or $p < 2r$. Sometimes, p has been simply interpre- r/p . If, e.g., $f(x)$ is symmetric with $E(x) = 0$, we thus need get a positive value for optimal reserves, we need $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} f(x) dx >$

①

18/4/80

in February that his party stood for "disengagement from the dominant international system which influences the flow of investment, trade and aid."

Where these new leaders will take their country remains to be seen, but Liberia's Bureau of Maritime Affairs announced in New York on Tuesday that the new government "fully supports the existing maritime and corporate programmes."

But changes certainly will come. Tolbert's True Whig Party had run the country continuously since 1878 ("whig" stands for "we hope in God"). The party was in effect an organisation of the Americo-Liberians, who formed the elite, having descended from American slaves who founded the country early last century.

Practically all the economic benefits went to the 40 000 Americo-Liberians, while the bulk of the population lived in abysmal poverty in the rural areas. Two per cent of the population received more than 60% of the national income, and in Monrovia, the capital, three out of 10 people are unemployed.

The trouble broke out into the open a year ago, when the government increased the consumer price of rice, the staple food, from \$22 to \$35 a bag. Protesters marched through the streets and the police opened fire, killing several dozen.

President Tolbert revoked the price increase, and peace was restored. But soon afterwards the Progressive Alliance of Liberia tried to register as a legal party under the name of the Progressive People's Party (PPP), and the government tried to frustrate this attempt by closing the registration court indefinitely. The PPP did manage to register at the end of last year, but in March, after its leader, Gilbert Baccus Matthews had called for a general strike, it was banned again, and the authorities arrested many prominent members of the PPP and the opposition Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA).

These men were to go on trial for treason on April 14, and the timing of the coup is clearly connected with this, as well as marking the first anniversary of the rice riots.

For many years rubber was the country's only export, and Firestone still produces two-thirds of the total. But since the 1960s iron ore has become the most important foreign exchange earner, accounting for 56% of exports.

Most of the iron is produced by Lamco, owned 75% by Sweden, 25% by the US. Liberia's open door policy is remarkably favourable to foreign investors: there are no foreign exchange controls, no restrictions on the transfer of profits.

The third most important source of income is shipping: ship owners pay an annual fee of 10c/t to fly the Liberian flag, and they are not compelled to pay regulation wages to their crews. About a third of the world's tanker fleet flies the Liberian flag, and of the total shipping fleet about a fifth is registered Liberian. Liberia earns about \$12m a year from this service, which operates from New York and is controlled by an American financial company.

Matthews, the new foreign minister, recently said he espoused "the principles of African socialism". Dr Togba-noh Tipoteh, the new Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs, who leads MOJA, said

LIBERIA *fm 18/4/80* Under a new flag ①

Last Saturday's coup in Liberia was, if anything, long overdue, considering the political and economic state of the country. For the moment at least, the new ruler and coup leader, Samuel Doe, is proceeding with caution: he has included members of all political parties in his new government, including three ministers of assassinated ex-president Tolbert.

According to the most recent reports, Doe has consulted the US chief military adviser in the country on new security plans, indicating that Liberia's close relations with Washington will remain intact, at least for the time being.

Chad's bloody civil war

12/4/78

Edem Kodjo, Togolese Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, flew to N'Djamena, capital of the barren and impoverished central African state of Chad, to try to arrange a truce between warring factions there.

But as with four earlier cease-fire attempts, the sought-after peace between the rival armies of President Goukkoumi Woddeye and Defence Minister Hissen Habre proved elusive.

N'Djamena remained divided into two distinct halves — the northern part, comprising the airport and European township, under the control of President Goukkoumi's Forces Armées de Peuple (FAP), and the southern part, including the market, the Mosque and the African quarters, dominated by Hissen Habre's disciplined and well-armed Force Armée du Nord (FAN). Encamped outside the city was the "Third Force"

of southern troops loyal to former Vice-President Colonel Abdelkadar Kamougue, who has given his not particularly demonstrative support to President Goukkoumi.

ANDREW LYCETT gives a run-down on the civil war in Chad, the poor north African state in which more than 1 000 people have been killed.

Elsewhere in the capital are bands of men loyal to the other eight factions in the Government d'Unité Nationale du Tchad (GUNT), notably the allegedly pro-Libyan Front d'Action Communautaire (FACCP) headed by Mahamat Abba Said and Aycl Ahmat.

For three weeks pitched battles have raged in the city between the forces of Goukkoumi and Habre, with other factions taking a more or less active part.

During that time more than one thousand people were killed in N'Djamena and more than 100 000 fled across the Chari river

to neighbouring Northern Cameroon.

Many of the important buildings in the city have been devastated and hospitals are simply unable to cope with the hundreds of wounded.

Now President Goukkoumi says he wants the fighting to continue until there is a clear winner.

It is all a far cry from the busy days of last August when, meeting in Lagos, Nigeria, the 11 factions in the GUNT agreed to bury their differences and establish a provisional government before the holding of democratic elections within 18 months.

The Lagos agreement brought to an end 13 years of civil war dominated by the struggle of northern Arab-speaking Muslims to wrest control of government, army and

civil service, from the black Francophone southern elite left at the helm by France when it granted Chad independence in 1960.

Over the years France supported the minority southern blacks in power, fearing that a northern Muslim take-over supported by Libya, would endanger its delicate network of Francophone allies in West and Central Africa, such as Senegal, Ivory Coast and even Zaïre.

But southern intransigence only encouraged the northern rebels, grouped under the banner of the Front National pour la Libération du Tchad (Frolinat).

In 1976 the two dominant leaders of Frolinat, Goukkoumi Woddeye from the northernmost Foubou people, and Hissen Habre from the east, quarrelled about how to pursue their struggle.

Goukkoumi was in favour of asking for more Libyan financial and

military support. Habre was not. Goukkoumi won the argument on that occasion, and Habre went into self-imposed exile with a band of a few hundred men for a couple of years.

Meanwhile Goukkoumi, now in almost complete control of Frolinat, drew increasingly on Libyan support. His nominal soldiers made a series of spectacular advances in northern Chad in 1977/78 forcing France to send in more troops to shore up the failing army of President Félix Malloum.

By the summer of 1978 France realised Chad could no longer function without some accommodation between north and south. It put forward Hissen Habre as a credible northern leader, and arranged a short-lived duumvirate between Malloum and Habre.

But the tide was changing in Chad, and such an expedient could not last. In February last year Habre allegedly with

French backing, staged a lightning coup, toppling Malloum and driving most influential southerners out of N'Djamena completely.

Habre could not govern by himself, so he had to try to come to some arrangement with Goukkoumi, who by that time had gone out of favour in Gaddafi's Tripoli. But Habre and Goukkoumi could no more govern than Habre and Malloum.

Their government took little notice of the intense regional rivalries which had broken out among nominally Frolinat leaders. A loose coalition of these leaders known as the Front d'Action Communautaire Provisoire and headed by Mahamat Abba Said and Aycl Ahmat now looked to Libya for support and it needed to be legitimised within the new government.

For a while Habre and Goukkoumi tried to go it alone. But Nigeria, which had its own interests in the Force Armée de l'Occident (FAO) based around Lake Chad, was eager for a more lasting peace in its battle-torn neighbourhood. When it put pressure on

Habre and Goukkoumi by refusing to supply them with oil unless they agreed to further negotiations over the establishment of a coalition, the two northern leaders were forced to accede.

In Lagos last year Goukkoumi and Habre met with leaders of nine other factions, including representatives of the southerners who had virtually withdrawn from N'Djamena. With the backing of Nigeria and other neighbouring countries, including Libya, these Chadian leaders agreed to establish a government of national unity in which all factions were represented.

But Goukkoumi and Habre were still the strongest men in the capital, and no sweet talk could disguise their jockeying for power. Habre continued his determined anti-Libyan stance, accusing Goukkoumi of reverting to his pro-Tripoli stance. At the beginning of the year there were isolated shoot-outs between their rival forces. Then in late March full-scale fighting broke out and has continued since. — GEMINI.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Year before

On March 10, 1979, at Hogsback Mr John Malcomess addressed a meeting of 32 NRP supporters and one PFP member.

He condemned in no uncertain terms the PFP and its then leader Colin Eglin for contacting Mr McHenry of the USA, an enemy of South Africa and divulging confidential information regarding the information scandal.

One year later he addressed a meeting of 30 people of the PFP in Queenstown and stated he had tried for two years or more to bring about a joint opposition.

How can one believe a man like this? I am sure the voters in East London North will not return him to the House of Assembly. W. F. Beckley

Dinwiddie, Hogsback. All letters must bear the writer's name and address — box numbers are not sufficient.

less of the firm's assured employment lower than otherwise bears more of the risk in the relatively constrained situations in the net puts. The employer employment by using inventories of good demand for products (the owner hopes), at various, probably transiently high demand these arrangements part not to leave the wages that might be There is an unusual transient should each would stay with bearing the risks of being a relatively steady higher security employment. During short so quickly lay off maintain their wage would, of course, 1 jobs during that time employer would not hire to displace his "therefore observe many at wages higher than seeking those jobs demand for the firm tacit agreement with employees. Otherwise, run costs of getting normal conditions, but so willingly work for

British fears over Libyan students

① RDM 21/4/80.
London Bureau

LONDON. — Libyan students who have entered Britain over recent months are believed to include some working for Colonel Gaddafi's intelligence service, helping operations which could lead to killings of more of his enemies in the country.

Libyan exiles in London and special branch investigators fear that the shooting of journalist Mr Mohammed Ramadan outside the Regent's Park mosque 10 days ago, will be followed by attempts to eliminate prominent critics of the Gaddafi regime.

The diplomatic correspondent of the Sunday Telegraph writes that police believe "hit teams" have already been sent to London and other European capitals to hunt down his opponents.

Diplomatic reports from the Middle East say that Malta will be used as a base for the intelligence missions, because planes flying into Herzliya from Valletta might not be subject to the

same security checks as those from Tripoli.

The special branch and Scotland Yard have been informed that at least 400 Libyan students arriving in Britain over the last year have agreed to help the cause of Colonel Gaddafi's revolution.

Although many wish to pursue studies at British universities and colleges they may be used as informers. There is no doubt that they have been accompanied by intelligence officers.

More than 3 000 Libyan students have been attending courses or staying in London. A large number lost Libyan government grants and financial assistance last year when they made it clear that they would not undertake political duties or work as servants of the Libyan state.

London is likely to become a main target for Colonel Gaddafi's intelligence operations in an attempt to stifle burgeoning criticism of his policies from Arab journalists and other exiles.

Required:
A revised budget (if you think revisions are called for), adhering as far as possible to the same order as that used for the data above, showing which job you (as a director) prefer, with short notes explaining your guiding principles and any calculations. Both jobs would last 12 months; no other jobs are being done or are likely to be offered.

- (f) Office and general expenses amount to about £1,800 every year.
- (d) All the plant needed for Southampton has been owned for some years. £1,600 is the year's depreciation (straight-line) in the financial accounts. If the Hull job is taken, less plant will be required, and the surplus items will be hired out for the year on similar work at a rental of £750. Interest is based on a memorandum entry, at 5% of original cost, in the cost records.
- (b) Manual labour is hired locally from week to week.

Thirteen executed in Liberia

MONROVIA — Thirteen former Ministers and officials of the ousted Liberian regime, including the brother of assassinated President, Mr. William Tolbert, were executed by firing squads yesterday.

Among those executed were Mr. Frank Tolbert, the slain president's eldest brother, who was the former president of the senate, former foreign Minister Mr. Cecil Dennis, former chairman of the investment commission Mr. Clarence Parker; former budget director Mr. Frank Stewart; former planning and economics Minister Mr. Franklin Neal; former agriculture Minister Mr. Charles Pacht; former minister of transport Mr. John S. Johnson; the finance minister for Liberia, Mr. Charles Long; and a top aide of the late President, Mr. Peprah.

Trials of other former officials are set to resume today.

AFRICA 'DOES

Argus 24/11/80

(1)

NOT HAVE

109

MUCH TIME'

AFRICA does not have much time' and cannot be expected to plod slowly along the road that took the West over 100 years to progress from the 'dark Satanic mills' to the bank of mini-computers in a landscaped modern factory, says Sir Cyril Hatty, Bophuthatswana's Minister of Finance.

He told a conference of the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants in Cape Town: 'Africa won't wait. We have to leap-frog wherever we can.

'The basic problem has been the same all through the conflict between the "haves" and the "have-nots".

'There are more "haves" now than there were in the old days. But the number of "have-nots" are legion. They cannot wait 100 years for just a few of them to become "haves", he said.

MODERN METHODS

Sir Cyril said plans for the development of a young country must be a combination of modern methods for sophisticated work and a proliferation of jobs on simple lines.

The criteria Bophuthatswana set up for development projects were:

- ① What wealth does it create for the people of Bophuthatswana?
- ② How many Tswanas does it employ?
- ③ How many Tswana small businessmen does it set up?
- ④ Does it use available local materials or products?
- ⑤ Does it use up non-renewable assets?
- ⑥ What local needs does it satisfy?
- ⑦ What does it produce for the domestic market?
- ⑧ What does it produce for export?
- ⑨ What yield does it give on the total investment?
- ⑩ What tax revenue will it yield?

MONETARY FACTORS

Sir Cyril said the 'sordid monetary factors' were well to the bottom of the list and that all the other criteria required assessment in other terms.

'We must never forget that government is a people matter. Some may delight in the prestige of the large project that brings us into world headlines.

'Others, and they are the more numerous, may prefer to judge government on whether they have a house, a job, healthy children at school and enough to eat.'

potential for economic development,' he said. Mr Roos welcomed the positive attitude taken recently in this matter by local authorities in the area and especially the Cape Town City Council.

The Western Cape had many advantages, he said. It had a well-developed infrastructure and its labour was among the best in the country.

DRAINED AWAY

Unless attention was paid to the development of the area, there was a serious danger that people with skills would be drained away.

Japan had become one of the world's most prosperous countries with no other resources than its labour.

However, it would be necessary for the Western Cape to keep ahead in the sphere of training as other areas were catching up.

Many coloured people were starting their own businesses, which also stimulated development. These businesses could do much to ease the unemployment situation.

SLOWER GROWTH

In recent years the growth of the Western Cape had been slower than that of the rest of the country overall.

Factors militating against the area were the large distances separating it from its major market, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex, and the high cost of transporting goods there.

ON REEF

A recent survey had shown that 53 percent of firms in the Western Cape sold more than 40 percent of their output on the Reef. Some clothing firms sold more than 70 percent of their production there.

However, the clothing industry in the Western Cape was booming and it now employed more than 50 000 people, against fewer than 46 000 in 1976.

Clothing exports had soared from R20-million in the first 11 months of 1978 to R30-million in the same period of last year, the latest trade figures showed, with the Western Cape doing most of the exporting.

An important characteristic of the money supply and leads are occasionally so meaning is ambiguous. For decline in the rate of the

Indicator Forecasting

reference dates than with the dates. In short, when comparing leading indicators, the money leads very much the way other factors do when compared with coincident indicators. On the other hand, the money leads only about one-half and lead indicator index. Thus, they do conditions required to qualify incident, or lagging indicators and either to the conventional turning dates, or to the leading dates. Thus, future cal junctures, then, future indicators by the leading indicators other methods of economic must be considered along with s expected as a result of economic conditions.

FM 2/4/80 (1)

EAST AFRICA

They're talking again

It's been a long time since East African leaders have been prepared to sit down amicably and discuss mutual problems.

But this month, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, Uganda's Godfrey Binaisa and the Sudan's Gafaar Numeiri all turned up in Mombasa to hold talks with Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi.

While nothing definite emerged from an agenda that covered a wide spectrum of topics from across-the-border cattle rustling to the mediator's report on the settlement of East African community assets and liabilities, the mere fact that the four leaders were willing to sit around one table signalled a possible easing of tension in the region.

Relations until now have varied from fractious to downright frosty because of a complicated tangle of political slights. Nyerere has been in a huff with Numeiri since the last OAU meeting when the Sudanese leader castigated Tanzania for its invasion of Uganda, claiming it was an infringement of territorial integrity.

Uganda is also griping that both the Sudan and Tanzania are abetting internal unrest which is showing no signs of dying down one year after Idi Amin's ouster. Unruly Tanzanian troops, ostensibly installed in the country to impose law and order, have been responsible for a rash of murders. Just a few days before the summit meeting Tanzanians had shot five more Ugandans dead, one of them a police inspector and another a UNLF soldier. There is also the problem of Ugandan refugees in neighbouring southern Sudan, who Binaisa claims are responsible for the

lack of security that exists in the north of his country.

Then there is the question of the sealed border with Kenya which Nyerere summarily closed in February 1977 just before the demise of the East African community. The combination of the two events shattered Kenya's dreams of becoming an exporting nation of manufactured goods and hurt this capitalist-oriented country more than it cares to admit. Tanzania used to be Kenya's top trading partner, but in 1978 exports to Tanzania fell by 73%.

Now it looks as if economic considerations are prompting new overtures among the four states. The willingness to kiss and make up is founded in the need to consolidate regional co-operation and promote trade.

Tanzania and the Sudan are both heavily in debt, and Tanzania has appealed for aid as oil price hikes bite even deeper into an already shaky economy. Tanzania still relies on Kenya for much of its vital hybrid maize seed and last year 1 000 t were trucked across the sometimes porous border. On the morrow of its first anniversary as newly liberated country, Uganda has yet to find its feet economically. Currently white maize to feed its hungry citizens has been added to the long shopping list of import requirements. As Uganda is a landlocked country, its lifeline to the outside world is through the Kenyan port of Mombasa.

Conference

And while the four leaders sat in conference on the shores of the Indian Ocean, European holiday makers, one of Kenya's main foreign exchange generators, sweltered in the 38°C heat and grumbled about the lack of air conditioning.

Kenya, which has been suffering from food shortages for several weeks, is now in the grip of a power shortage as well. The electricity rationing has been blamed on drought conditions which have hindered the output of hydro-electric installations.

Industries have been asked to cut back on their power consumption by 25%-30% and most factories have been running only part time. However, it is feared that the lack of power is due to a disintegration of the infrastructure and that will evolve into a chronic constraint on industry.

Thus good relations with Uganda are essential for Kenya as Uganda's Owen Falls dam sited at the source of the Nile has become the mainstay of Kenya's power supply. In 1978 Uganda supplied 18% of Kenya's electricity and the dependence on Uganda was supposed to decrease as capital-intensive hydro-electric stations on Kenya's 1 000-km long Tana River came into operation. Officials admit, though, that supplies from Uganda are now three times as much and that imports could rise even higher.

One bright spot was the perusal of the



Tanzania's Nyerere . . . castigated for invasion of Uganda

report on the collapsed East African community. For over 18 months the World Bank-appointed mediator, Dr Victor Uppbricht, has been labouring over an equitable division on the billions of dollars of assets and liabilities that comprised this formerly tight-knit economic union between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The East African community was a comprehensive network of services and infrastructure that once bound together the three partner states.

In 1976 it began to falter amid accusations and jealousy which stemmed principally from Kenya's obvious prosperity as the economic fortunes of both Tanzania and Uganda declined, and collapsed in June 1977. The parcelling out of everything from railways, to boats and buildings has been a catalyst that has continued to prejudice relations among the three countries.

Now it has been agreed to discuss the report's contents at Arusha, Tanzania, on May 7. This could very well prove to be the first step towards harmony in East Africa.

are so instructed.

to communicate with other any person except the invi-

er book is to be torn out.

must be handed to the com- invigilator before leaving the

ossible exclusion from the



Kenya's Moi . . . obvious prosperity sparked jealousy

FM 25/4/80

AFRICAN ECONOMICS

Go north, young man

South Africa's economic position in relation to the rest of Africa is slipping

In 1972 SA's gnp was 22.5% of the continent's total. By 1977 — latest available figures — it had dropped to 18.4%.

Admittedly, much of the change could be attributed to the wealth achieved by oil-rich Nigeria over this time. That country's gnp grew from R8 130m in 1972 to R28 900m in 1977 — a rise of 255%. In the same time, that of SA grew from R17 430m to R31 320m — a 79% rise

It is sobering to remember, too, that SA is only third when it comes to per-capita income. Libya ranked first with R5 808 in 1977, Gabon second with R3 243 and SA third with R1 165

Libya's per-capita figure is boosted by its small population of 2.6m and Gabon's

by its population of only 552 000. However, it can also be argued that SA's wealth is concentrated mainly in the hands of its 4m whites, meaning that the per-capita income for its black people is considerably lower than R1 165

Per capita

But, having said this, it remains true that the SA per-capita figure is way above that for most of black Africa, particularly poverty-stricken Mali, and war-ravaged Ethiopia, and Somalia, which shared the dubious distinction in 1977 of the lowest per capita incomes in Africa — R96.

A look at the economic indicators for southern Africa — listed as a group in the accompanying table — also makes sobering reading for those countries determined to rival SA in an economic community independent of the white-ruled south. With 47% of the population of the region, SA has 77% of the total gnp, 75% of the

imports and 72% of the exports. Its per-capita income is 131% above that of its nearest rival, Swaziland, and a staggering 536% above that of the weakest performer in the region — Mozambique.

The survey also shows that the only countries that can approach SA economically are north of the equator — Egypt, Algeria, Libya, and Nigeria, and most of those are a long way off rivalling SA in gdp

SA completely dominates the southern half of Africa

	1977		R Per capita income	Imports (Rm)	Exports (Rm)	Main trading partners
	Popu- lation '000	Gnp R'000				
NORTH AFRICA						
Egypt	39 214	10 634	269	641	227	US, Germany
Algeria	16 997	16 478	965	6 521	5 100	France
Libya	2 636	15 321	5 808	283	770	Italy, US
Morocco	17 696	8 782	495	2 408	1 220	Germany
Tunisia	5 873	4 408	748	1 596	812	Germany
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
South Africa	26 807	31 321	1 165	5 124	5 355	US, UK
Rhodesia						n/a
(now Zimbabwe)	6 758	2 921	435	416 ¹	500 ¹	
Lesotho	1 271	261	200	170*	15*	SA
Botswana	692	261	383	240	157	SA
Swaziland	527	270	504	169	163	SA
Angola	5 952	1 713	287	340	665	Portugal, US
Mozambique	9 410	1 704	183	23	105	SA, USA
Zambia	5 210	2 026	391	356	477	Japan, UK
BLACK AFRICA						
Zaire	26 074	2 843	113	596	1 278	Belgium
Ivory Coast	7 300	4 504	617	1 545	1 903	France
Cameroon	7 781	2 304	296	691	622	France
Madagascar	9 410	1 704	183	250*	240*	France
Senegal	5 274	1 948	365	506*	426*	France
Niger	4 860	670	139	110*	116*	France
Gabon	552	1 791	3 243	632	987*	France
Upper Volta	6 318	626	111	184	49	France
Togo	2 350	609	261	162	91	France, China
Benin	3 286	574	174	217	27	UK
Mauritius	906	600	661	397	274	France
Mali	5 986	591	96	128	60	France, Nigeria
Chad	4 207	470	113	101	54*	France, Italy
Congo	1 392	609	435	250	153	
Central African Republic	1 867	409	217	55	72	France
Mauritania	1 525	356	235	178	134	France
Rwanda	4 299	504	113	99	80	Belgium
Burundi	3 963	452	113	64	78	Belgium
Nigeria	78 982	28 991	365	3 898	4 492	Britain, US
Ghana	10 619	3 548	330	969*	924*	US, UK
Ethiopia	29 397	2 800	96	341	290	Japan, US
Sudan	16 536	4 270	261	112	70	UK, Italy
Kenya	14 369	3 400	235	434*	331*	EEC
Uganda	12 331	2 800	226	167	503	Kenya, Tanzania
Tanzania	15 545	2 696	174	660	480	UK
Sierra Leone	3 126	530	174	184	131	UK
Liberia	1 652	817	374	403	389	US, Germany
Malawi	5 572	696	122	207	180	SA, UK
Somalia	3 660	356	96	134	77	Italy
The Gambia	546	96	174	399	154	UK

1973 * 1976 + 1975
Sources: World Bank, Europa

Africa and the drugs

A QUIET struggle is taking place in Africa today over the health of the continent's 400 million plus citizens.

It is a struggle that will determine the health not only of present generations, but of millions more in years ahead.

It is a struggle for the limited resources that African countries spend on health services and about whether to prevent or cure disease. But above all it is a struggle between multinational drug companies and the African people.

On the one hand, resources available for health services can be spent to prevent the cause of ill-health, to encourage environments in which disease is less likely.

On the other hand, money can be spent on buying expensive drugs from pharmaceutical corporations to treat the disease — whilst doing nothing to ensure that the sufferer will not contract the disease again.

On the face of it, the choice looks straightforward enough. In the last few years it has become widely recognised that Western health practices — high cost drugs, centralised hospitals etc — are no answer if health services are to be brought within the reach of the majority of African people.

Many Western countries faced with a breakdown in their own health services, have begun to question if their health practices are appropriate for themselves let alone anyone else.

In many African, Latin American and Asian countries, however, there has recently been a move towards primary health care.

This move received a considerable boost as a result of a special World Health Organisation

Major changes

SOME COUNTRIES SPEND

MILLIONS ON FOREIGN

DRUGS, BUT DO NOTHING

ABOUT THE ROOT CAUSES

OF PEOPLE'S ILLNESSES

(WHO) sponsored conference in Alma Ata in Russia.

The primary health care approach is not just concerned with what the planners call the health sector. Better health is not simply a commodity

that can be delivered to people, say WHO. Its attainment requires their participation as individuals, families and communities measures to prevent, to control or to treat disease.

Primary health care recognises that many diseases are caused by poverty — by the absence, for example, of safe drinking water or decent sanitation.

A primary health care approach involves spending money to get at the root causes of diseases. It sees rural development and the availability of more food and the right kind of food as a vital precondition for good health.

And it more closely involves local people in the decisions which affect their health.

It trains local people to be community health workers rather than bringing in outside doctors, and gives priority to providing safe water supplies.

Over a dozen African countries have so far adopted primary health care schemes and the number is steadily growing.

One of the medicines that doctors in Africa are being persuaded to buy is called Lomofil, which is marketed by an American pharmaceutical firm. Representatives of this firm have claimed that Lomofil has "an important role in the treatment of diarrhoeas to help prevent dehydration".

But the WHO, in a manual on the Treatment of Diarrhoea, dismisses Lomofil as of 'no value'.

The best solution to the disease is a non-medical measure — the provision of clean water. In Lusaka, the incidents of diarrhoea have decreased by over 30 percent in the last four years. This decrease has coincided with a project to bring clean water supplies to the downtown areas of Lusaka.

Over the last four years reported incidents of typhoid in Lusaka have dropped by 90 percent.

Today, more than half the prescriptions written by American doctors are estimated to contain a plant-derived drug.

But developing countries generally need greater access to know-how and technology if they are to produce drugs as part of their primary health care strategy.

Here, there is probably considerable scope for greater technical co-operation among developing countries. India, for example, has to some extent broken away from drugs colonialism and has developed small-scale techniques suitable for local factories.

And Sweborg Consulting of Sweden now provides advice to countries on drug production. Unlike

the major international drug companies, Sweborg is prepared to offer developing countries the know-how for producing their own drugs.

But as more governments look to their own resources, the world's big drug companies are for their own part likely to step up promotion of their products.

And they have not always been very particular about the methods they use. In practice a code of conduct exists which governs advertising practice — this code is laid down by the International Chamber of Commerce.

But it is doubtful if this code is being observed by most drug firms in developing countries as they do in their own countries.

Some firms have tried to hoodwink the people through advertisements. In most countries there is need for much tougher legislation to control the activities of foreign drug firms.

But the multinational drug companies will not give up the battle without a fight.

Their advertising might get sicker, their techniques even more dubious. But the control of these firms and their methods rests fairly and squarely on governments.

This article was first published in AFRICA magazine



Controversy erupts over



Christelike jet set teen SA

Van RYKIE VAN REENEN

NAIROBI.

Rassisme eenparig veroordeel

25/5/80

ARROU 27/4/80

BANKVAs in hul afkeer van rassisme het Afrika se Christelike jet set, wat van kerkkonferensie tot kerkkonferensie oor die vasteland en die wêreld heen reis, dié week die aandag vol gerig op Suid-Afrika en Suidwes.

Die geleentheid was die beraad van die WRK se dogterliggaam, die All Africa Council of Churches, oor die voortsetting al dan nie van die omstredende program vir die bestryding van rassisme. Dit was voorbereiding vir die waarskynlik beslissende wêreldberaad oor die saak Junemaand in Nederland.

Hul eenparige bydraes vir was: voortgesette spesiale daardie program se spesiale fonds vir die vryheidsbewegings in Suid-Afrika en Suidwes, stappe in die rigting van

boikotte en beleggingsonttrekking; uitsprake en optrede van die O.A.E. moet alledaags deel wees van 'n totale strategie wat in die eerste plaas teen Suid-Afrika en Suidwes gerig is.

Die PAC se aandrag dat die frontstrate basiese vir militêre aanvalle op SA moet verskaf, het darem nie verby die beraad se bestuurskomitee gekom nie en die vyf Suid-Afrikaners en twee Suidwesters het vroegtydig 'n verklaring uitgereik dat hulle met die oog op landswette

in Suid-Afrika buite stemming sal bly oor sensitiewe kwessies soos boikotte, disinvestering en terrorisiededrywighede.

Suid-Afrika is verteenwoordig deur dr. B. Goba, leier, mnr. Dan Vaughan, dr. Joyce les Villa-Vicentio, mev. Joyce Swane en eerv. Joe Parka. Die Suidwesters is biskop Kauluma en eerv. I. Shuwayuna.

Die oorheersende gesindheid teen rassisme het op die beraad 'n teologiese verskeidenheid saangestel so groot as wat 'n mens jou kan voorstel. Van kwakery uit Ghana tot die heel versteeveel by wêreldwye Christelike opvattinge regtig

dun geslyt is. Maar, nou ja, sé hulle hier. Duitsland se vermaarde belydeniskerk wat met sy Barmen-verklaring die kerksistem teen die Hitlerbewind gemonster het, was hindersyd ook maar baie van dieselfde slag!

Watter teologiese konsensus kon hierdie kerkeberaad tog wel verteenwoordig? Dr. Aaron Tolen, van Kameroen, een van die beraad se drie referente, som dit so op: "Dis my diepste oortuiging, Christus is die rede waarom ek Christen geword het, dat Christus na die wêreld gekom is dat die mens vry moet wees — vryheid, om hom so volledig moonklik op materieel sowel as geestelike vlak as beeldraer van God te wesenlik."

Selvs elemente soos die PAC en ANC (op opvallend hoë pote teenoor mekaar), word sonder invrae oor hul Christelike belydenis, saam onder hierdie saambreel verwelkom.

Dis nou nog net Suidwes en Suid-Afrika in die hele swart vasteland...

In meer as een sin waai daar nuwe winde oor hierdie vasteland. Die beraad is, byvoorbeeld, gekenmerk deur 'n verrassend nuwe bereidheid van die kant van ander Afrika-algevaardigdes om ook hand in eie boesem te steek.

Dr. Tolen, staatsleier van Kameroen, noem 'n bosedrieling wat vandag Afrika se verderf is pront op hul

name in sy indrukwekkende referaat. Dis stantwiste, sé hy, dis familiebewoorteging en dis ellitisme, die verskynsel waarvolgens 'n klein topproesie onder meer by inskakelings- by buitelandse ontwikkelings- skappye hulself verryk ten koste van die armoedige massa, wie se lot g'n duit verbeter nie. Dikwels die teen-deel.

* Wat Suid-Afrika betref, het die beraad drie resolusies aangeneem wat onderskeidelik die Regering vra vir vrylating van alle politieke gevangenes, veral Mandela, met die oog op vreedsame verandering in Suid-Afrika vir aandag aan die wettige eise van die huidige studenteproses oor opvoeding, en vir die terugge van biskop Tutu se paspoort.

Vryelik uitgedeel hier op die beraad was afskrifte van 'n deel van 'n brief wat die ANC-president, Oliver Tambo, aan die WRK geskryf het om te vra dat hulle die groot massa van kerke en gewone Christene opyorder vir die "bevrydingsstryd".

Toe RAPPORU een van die Suid-Afrikaanse atgevaardigdes eenkant vra of hy ge-noeë neem met daardie bed-maat, was sy blitsige reaksie, "not that bastard!" Maar min-der beraadgangers het sover 'n mens kon sien, daaroor 'n ooglid verloor. Hulle oë is stokstyf op net een ding: dat rassisme met wortel en tak uitgeroei moet word.

Die hoop dat daardie dag

nader kom, leef ditselend in die hart van Swart Afrika. Dit was vers twee van omtrent elke dankgebed wat hier opgestyg het oor die verloop van sake in Zimbabwe.

Die nuwe staat se verteenwoordiger, Olivia Muchena, het hier aangekom skoon verhep van 'n weeklange viering. Hierdie vrou van Harare, was die laaste oggend hier so bewoë toe sy aan die ontbyttafel vir die menne om haar Zimbabwe se nuwe volkslied leer, dat sy moes opstaan om te gaan tee haal sodat haar gevoelens nie heeltemal hand-uit ruk nie.

"Ek dank die Here uit my ganse hart," sé sy en lei die beraadgangers in 'n vregende dans om die konferensie-kamers toe sy hul laaste oggend-godsdiens waarneem.

Sonder dat dit vir 'n mens uitgespel word, voel jy iets aan wat op so 'n swartman, of hart van 'n SA swartman, of -vrou omgaan of wanneer jy hulle saam onder wapperende vlae voor die indrukwekkende Kenyatta-konferensiesentrum by die standbeeld van die ouman sien staan.

French to leave Chad ①

PARIS: — France announced yesterday its decision to withdraw its troops from the war-torn central African republic of Chad.

A communique from President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's office said the decision was taken because the 1100-strong French force based in Chad had terminated its mission of protection.

Informed sources said the withdrawal could begin tomorrow. It takes place as African leaders meet in Lagos for a summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity.

The civil war in Chad, one of the world's 10 poorest countries, is among the main political issues to be discussed during the conference.

The Presidential communique said that details of the French withdrawal had been agreed with President Goukouni Quedde of Chad, and would take into account the Chad government's concerns.

The French government had announced in March last year its intention to withdraw its troops from its former colony, but had postponed it until now at President Goukouni's request.

French combat troops, who had strict orders from President Giscard d'Estaing to avoid involvement in the civil war, were stationed at an air base near N'djamena. — Sapa-Reuters

Anti-S.A.
COM. 20/9/80
vote in
Nairobi

NAIROBI. — The governing council of the United Nations Environment Programme has overwhelmingly voted to cease all co-operation between Unep and South Africa.

A draft decision released yesterday said South Africa's policy of separate development hampered the right to enjoy a "wholesome and peaceful life and environment unfettered by inhuman restrictions".

The resolution submitted to the meeting said South Africa, with its unplanned settlements in black "bantustan" areas, did not conform to acceptable environmental standards, "thereby increasing the vulnerability of such areas, which are often chosen for their poor ecology and fragile topography".

Schwarz ① WDM urges 2/5/80 integrity treaties

THE ASSEMBLY. — South Africa should offer to sign non-aggression pacts with all its neighbours, the chief Opposition Spokesman on defence, Mr Harry Schwarz, said yesterday.

The pacts should guarantee the territorial integrity of the signatories and contain undertakings that the parties would not permit their territories to be used for bases from which attacks could be launched on each other, Mr Schwarz said during the Defence Vote.

"A recent Security Council resolution condemned South Africa for alleged territorial transgression into Zambia, and we often hear from the United Nations and elsewhere of the alleged aggressive intentions of the Republic," he said.

"This is the occasion on which we should say where we stand on the issue.

"We believe South Africa has, and should have, no aggressive intentions towards any state in Southern Africa or elsewhere. South Africa neither needs nor wants the territory or resources which are beyond its borders.

"South Africa neither has nor should have bases which could be used for attacks on neighbouring countries.

"Our hands are clean. But other states do provide bases, resources and assistance to terrorist groups for incursion into South Africa and for their return to these bases which are believed to be safe havens until the next attack.

"Surely if these facilities are granted a state cannot complain if hot pursuit actions take defending forces to such bases. The decision to provide them is the decision of those states and is itself a hostile act.

Mr Schwarz said the Prime Minister should once again demonstrate South Africa's bona fides and offer to sign non-aggression pacts to show it had no aggressive intentions but wished merely to guarantee its own territorial integrity. — Sapa.

'Peace energy' ^{DM} ^{1/5/80} has potential 55 1

CAPE TOWN. — The most fruitful energy co-operation between African states could be in oil refining, the chairman of Sasol and Soekor, Dr D P de Villiers, said in Cape Town last night.

He told a meeting of the Western Cape branch of the SA Institute of Civil Engineers that in the African economic scene there was room for "energy for peace".

"As engineers, you would know... to what extent electrical transmission systems are already crossing African borders."

The cost of oil refineries had escalated beyond reason since 1975, he said, and with the uncertainty of future oil supplies, the building of a new refinery was a risky decision.

Even before the Sasol II decision was taken, the capacity of oil refineries in South Africa had been in excess of demand.

The total capacities of the South African crude oil refineries was 55% of the present needs of the rest of Africa, excluding Mediterranean countries and Nigeria.

It stood to reason that the spare capacity of the refineries would increase with the growth of indigenous fuel production.

"If we add to this that oil prices anywhere in the world are still made up of the starting price in the Persian Gulf, plus sea freight round Africa, it must be realised that in the years to come these refineries will be able to refine crude oil which any consumer country might wish to bring into South Africa, on a most competitive basis.

"I would suggest that co-operation between owners of South African refineries and various Government departments, for the purpose of reviewing import duties, harbour and transport charges, could develop for South Africa an unassailable position as a refiner of crude oils for smaller African countries.

"The new department in charge of energy matters — a laudable development — could well tackle this task as a matter of priority," said Dr De Villiers. — Sapa.

cultural potential of Angola and Mozambique.

The countries will in turn become less vulnerable to Soviet pressure.

But Western Europe sees SA as the greatest stumbling block in these moves. West German academic Dr Klaus van der Ropp (Bonn representative of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, a government-financed body) explains why.

"If there is one political burden on relations between the EEC and the 60 developing countries that are signatories to the Lomé Convention, it is Western Europe's attitude to SA, which is still more or less one of close co-operation."

For this reason, explains Van der Ropp — who worked in Africa for some years and is a frequent visitor to SA — Western Europe will increasingly have to sever links with SA — at least some visible ones — to retain credibility in black Africa. He believes French socialist and EEC Commissioner, Claude Cheysson, could have initiated last year's Arusha conference in Tanzania for this reason. Arusha was a forerunner to the recent Lusaka summit on a counter constellation.

Cheysson, he says, is afraid that, because of Western Europe's links with SA, co-operation between the EEC and the ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) countries will become more problematic.

EEC-AFRICA RELATIONS

Western wooing (1)

Western Europe wants Mozambique and Angola back in its political orbit. And it wants Zimbabwe too. In the process SA could loose out.

The game plan is to include the former colonies in Lomé II, a convention governing EEC economic co-operation with the majority of the world's least-developed countries. It came into effect on March 1, and includes 42 African countries.

Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe safely into Western Europe's fold will ensure that the raw materials of these countries remain accessible to the EEC. Of particular concern are the strategic minerals produced by Zimbabwe, such as chrome and nickel, and the massive agri-

fm 2/5/80

UCT

Scandal could ruin govt

ADM
7/4/80

LAGOS - A government commission set up in Lagos to investigate a scandal which could bring down the newly established civilian government in Nigeria has run into a wall of silence.

The Crude Oil Stealing Tribunal of Inquiry, headed by a high court judge, was ordered after auditors discovered that an amount of almost N3,600,000 was missing for a time from the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation.

The figure of almost N3,600-million seems wildly inflated and is probably a reflection of the chaotic accounting procedures of the petroleum corporation. This alone should be enough to ensure a thorough shake-up of the organisation.

Sunday was the final day for organisations or individuals to submit evidence to the tribunal and despite all allegations and the thousands of words which the mystery has provoked, only two submissions have been received.

Mr Vincent Wairimote, secretary to the tribunal, described the poor response as a matter for deep regret. It might portray Nigeria as a country whose people did not attach seriousness to their national problems, he said.

In fact, everyone in Nigeria is taking the matter very seriously indeed. President Shagari himself ordered the investigation, though he emphasised that the money was missing at some time between 1976 and 1979, long before the civilian government took over.

But it is President Shagari's administration which will be held responsible for the findings of the tribunal, due within three months.

If Judge Irikofe and his colleagues fail to uncover all the facts, Nigerians will complain loudly and claim there has been a cover-up.

But if they do discover all that happened, some very senior members of the previous military administration may be involved and the army might not take kindly to that.

Already the chairman, managing director and most of the senior management of the corporation have been suspended and ordered not to leave Nigeria, but some critics claim similar action should have been taken against top civil servants too.

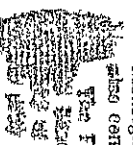
Whatever the truth, the affair has turned into the first political crisis since General Obasanjo voluntarily handed over power to President Shagari, and in a country where corruption is a way of life, the sheer scale of the affair has captured the popular imagination so that this time no cover-up is going to be possible.

Vast Zaire crowds turn out for Pope

By Staff Writers
 (AP) — Pope John Paul II gave preliminary Mass in Zaire a weekend to remember, consecrating eight million people — and speaking out strongly against polygamy.

His admonition about polygamy came only 24 hours before President Mobutu Sese Seko attended yesterday's huge open-air Mass where the new bishops were consecrated — with his fourth wife, whom he married only four days ago.

The new bishops include four Zaireans, two from Burundi, and one from Sudan. A Canadian-born missionary in Djibouti, Monsignor Michel Gagnon was also consecrated.



The Pope placed a mitre on his head and a crozier in the hands of each bishop, and knelt before them one by one.

The vast crowd spread out in the humid heat before an altar shaded by the roof of thatched palm fronds.

During the Mass, the Pope sat on a wooden throne under a bamboo canopy.

Yellow-robed African priests danced around the altar.

Among those present at the open-air Mass, celebrated in front of a Chinese-built People's Palace, were Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko and his bride of four days.

The ceremony illustrated the rapid Africanisation of the Catholic Church in Zaire, where the Pope was spending his third day of an 11-day visit to six African countries.

The first Zairean bishop was consecrated less than 25 years ago. Now there are 60 for the country's more than 12-million Catholics.

Along with the development of a local clergy to replace the original European missionaries, has come an increasing adaptation of African traditions and customs in the church.

The Pope urged all people to accept the new bishops as religious heads, and said the preaching of the Gospel was their main task.

"It is a wonderful thing to see the thirst of your compatriots for the Gospel," he added. The Pope told the bishops the Catholic Church stood for justice and sought to defend the poor and oppressed.

He said they should preserve the faith in unity with the Vatican. This was seen as an appeal to some African prelates not to go too far or too fast in their programmes to Africanise the liturgy.

In a speech prepared for delivery later to diplomats, he spoke of a danger to peace, especially in Africa.

At a Mass in Kinshasa on Saturday, the Pope told Zaireans that men should have only one wife, saying the widespread African practice of polygamy was damaging to the Christian concept of the family.

He sang with a swaying tribal chorus and steel drum band during an African Mass in the little redbrick church of St. Peter's.

In a Mass for married couples, at times drowned out by the wailing of children, the Pope said monogamy was of Semitic origin and was not a

European imposition on African tribal customs.

President Mobutu, who has frequently criticised the Catholic Church openly, announced his fourth marriage to one of his former "minor" wives on the eve of the Pope's arrival in Zaire.

Polygamy is considered by the Church as one of the big obstacles to the spread of Christianity in Africa.

The Pope praised African values such as the close-knit family, the desire for and upbringing of children and the innate spirituality of the people.

But he said the local church must "step by step install the pastoral vision of the husband and wife together."

The Pope's African tour will take him, later to Congo, Kenya, Ghana, Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast. Meanwhile Poland's Catholic

bishops called on their overwhelmingly Catholic country to pray for the Eastern bloc countries to open their borders to the Polish-born Pope.

And they expressed concern for the state of the Church and the faithful in the other countries which make up the Soviet Union's European allies.

Polish bishops expressed concern for the state of the Church and the faithful in the other countries which make up the Soviet Union's European allies.

It was a clear reference to the Soviet republics of Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Ukraine east of Poland, Czechoslovakia in the south and East Germany to the west.

The bishop spoke 11 months after John Paul made his historic and triumphant return to

Poland as Pope and addressed a crowd of hundreds of thousands of faithful at the monastery, home of the sacred "Black Virgin" painting and one of the holiest Catholic shrines in Poland.

"We should be concerned with the state of the church and of the nations which border with us," Bishop Kraszewski said.

All Polish bishops attended the ceremony before leaving for Warsaw, where a plenary session of the Polish Episcopal conference takes place today.

In his sermon and prayer Bishop Kraszewski prayed to Mary to enable Polish missionaries and priests to conduct their apostolic mission especially over the borders of the Communist bloc. Dozens of Polish bishops and priests have been allowed by the authorities to travel overseas to spread Catholicism.

"During the month of May," Bishop Kraszewski said, "we shall pray for the development and freedom of the Roman Catholic Church among the Slav nations."

Similar prayers were to be recited in other churches all over Poland, an estimated 80% of whose population is Roman Catholic. — UPI and Sapa-Reuters.

MASTER SERGEANT K Doe (27) lay across the covers of a double bed in the huge tapestried boudoir of the Presidential Palace in Monrovia and began shouting out a new batch of orders, without taking his eyes off the ceiling.

The only time he turned his head was to check with an Omega wristwatch he'd taken off the old President, William R Tolbert, the day he murdered him.

The sea crashed in great white heaps on the empty beach seven floors down, and was the only other noise in the room apart from Sammy Doe's voice.

Brigadier-General Thomas Quaiwongba was in the next room listening to Doe on his half of a two-way radio.

The other week Quaiwongba moved up from the rank of Sergeant to Commander-in-Chief of the whole army of Liberia, which is not much.

What he gets out of it, though, is a Mercedes and one of the few walkie-talkies that works in this place.

Doe has the best one in the country, and it is such a toy he would rather speak to you through it than have you stand at the bottom of his bed and talk like a normal person.

"There is a newsman here to see you," Quaiwongba, or one of the other people in the outer room, radioed through to Doe in his bedroom.

Doe had too much on his mind. Yesterday, he began the new round of trials of members of the old Government.

One problem was how many people he should execute after a few days of the farce.

More stakes were being put into the sand by the military barracks. Now Doe could order nine shot at a time.

Even more poles were stacked ready to make up to 20 execution posts.

SLEEPING

Hundreds of civilians were sleeping rough around the barracks so they would be right on the spot when the firing squads loaded up for another day's work.

Now there were newsmen around again, and he could not get on with the real job.

"Tell them I'll be down in a few minutes," he said. "They can come with me to see my mother."

He had been much too busy for a couple of weeks to go over and see his mother.

Liberia's sergeant coup boss kills by walkie-talkie

Sammy Doe had come a long way from nothing in a short time.

Outside in the driveway of the palace a black, hearse-like Mercedes 600 filtered into the middle of a convoy of armed troops and moved slowly through a road block of chanting Liberians.

The blue and white paint on their faces had begun to run after a long day dancing to the drums.

THUNDERS

Liberia had always been America's piece of Africa. They sent the slaves back there in 1947, gave them money to start the only part of the continent that had never been under colonial rule.

On a thundery Friday democracy washed away with the rain.

The law of the bush and the jungle, the law that was always really there, was what left its bloody trade mark across a country that had pretended for too long.

The night Master Sergeant Doe finished off President Tolbert with a bayonet was the time Liberia began to slip down the bloody road which is recorded often in recent African history.

When Doe gave the orders to shoot 13 of the old government, at the stakes by the barracks, the sight was terrible.

The first three volleys killed them. Then there were raking of machine

gun fire into the slumped bodies.

What was left was torn at by some women who ran out of the crowd.

"Corrupters will be dealt with most severely," Doe said, trying to explain his afternoon of horror.

"I am able to say that Tolbert had a million dollars on him when he was killed."

Tolbert had run Liberia the kind of way gangster Al Capone ran Chicago.

The new man Doe was still looking for a comparison. It could turn out to be Attila the Hun.

The army rampaged through the liquor stores. A British woman was gang-raped. There were many more.

DRUNKS

Drunks in uniform set up illegal road checks and robbed people in cars.

They were waving guns around in hotels, ordering steaks and taking anything worth stealing.

Doe's new Liberia was off to a smashing start.

In the upstairs room of the main blockhouse in the Barclay Training Centre, the army's biggest base, the people from Tolbert's times sat bunched together listening to "evidence" against them.

Charades was a better game. There was no defence counsel. There was just no defence.

Those found not guilty were taken out with the others and shot on the beach.

The old men collapsed when the guns were pointed at their heads.

The younger ones squeezed their eyes shut and never saw the flash at the end of the barrel.

Around the Western diplomatic circles it was being hinted that a few executions known to the public was only a fraction of the real story.

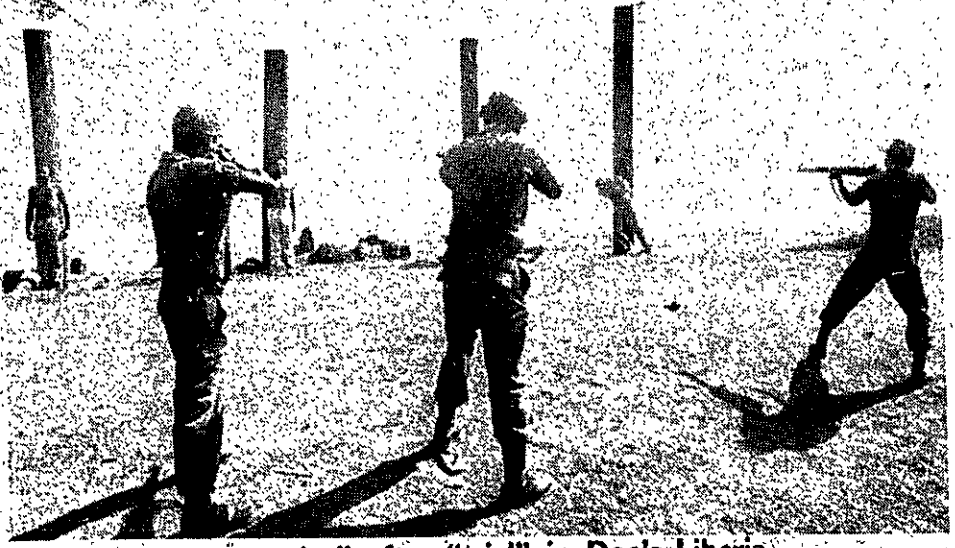
But now, with the light fading and the 6 pm curfew — a shoot-on-sight curfew — coming up Samuel Kanyon Doe, who had won a country faster than you can get a taxi, had made a very important decision: to go down to shantytown and see his mother.



Sergeant Samuel K Doe

Post 8/5/80

prepared or suddenly to increase do now is q controlled demand in shooting price, on a drawn from still q. how better 13 will the next of There the and be met quantity of changing



"Justice" after "trial" in Doe's Liberia.

Pope draws huge crowds in Nairobi

Own Correspondent

NAIROBI. — Gifts of goats, sheep, maize, coffee, fruit, eggs and milk were humbly laid at the feet of Pope John Paul II yesterday when he celebrated Pontifical High Mass, the highest form of the Roman Catholic Mass, before nearly 1-million people in a Nairobi park.

To the delight of the crowds, he donned a multi-skinned coat, emblem of Kingship, which was presented to him.

Kenyan families had camped out around the park all night. The roads into Nairobi were packed with buses, lorries and cars bringing people from the farthest corners of the country.

The centre of the city was virtually cleared of traffic as people streamed through the quiet streets to hear the Pope say mass, to catch a glimpse of him, or if possible touch his vestments.

President Daniel Arap Moi and President Binasha of Uganda, sitting together, stayed throughout the ceremony, though neither are Catholics. President Binasha had flown to Nairobi especially to meet the Pope.

Drums and African chanting accompanied the four-hour service and towards the end the Pope clapped his hands energetically to the African rhythms.

Thousands of people took the

communion, many from the Pope himself, others from bishops and priests of the church.

In his sermon, the Pope spoke of the challenge to the Christian in political life.

"In the state citizens have a right and duty to share in the political life," he said.

"A nation can ensure the common good of all and the dreams and aspirations of its different members only to the extent that all citizens, in full liberty and with complete responsibility, make their contributions willingly and selflessly for the good of all."

For married couples the Pope had a special word: "The generous love and fidelity of husband and wife offers stability and hope to a world torn by hatred and division."

At an earlier meeting with the diplomatic corps in Nairobi the Pope hit out at racial discrimination, atheism, the state of the environment, the refugee problem, corruption, violence and terrorism.

The Pope leaves Kenya today and flies on to Ghana, where he will meet the Archbishop Robert Runcie of Canterbury, Primate of all England and honorary leader of the world's nearly 70-million Anglicans. The Archbishop left London for Ghana yesterday.

Sapa-Reuter reports that the two religious leaders will pray together on Friday in Accra, before having private talks.

Military threatens coup in Ivory Coast

Own Correspondent

PARIS — The man who launched dialogue between black Africa and Pretoria in 1968 is now threatened by a military coup.

President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast has received a letter from senior army officers demanding that he announce social and economic reforms or he will be overthrown "immediately", according to reliable reports reaching Paris.

The officers — a dozen angry French-trained colonels — have warned they will unleash a Liberian-type military coup to "clean out the country's

corruption in high places".

Two former African rulers are living in exile in the Ivory Coast — ousted Emperor Bokassa and Colonel Odemegwu Ojukwe, the former Biafran leader.

There is little doubt that France will react immediately in the event of a coup — the Ivory Coast is looked on as an oasis of prosperity in Africa.

France has elite "intervention units" on standby and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing said last month he would not hesitate to give direct military aid to pro-Western French African states if it was requested.

Egypt suspends autonomy talks

① DM 10/5/80

CAIRO. — Egypt has suspended negotiations at all levels with Israel and the United States on autonomy for Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Egyptian Premier, Dr. Mustafa Khalil, said yesterday.

Dr. Khalil, the chief negotiator at the talks, told reporters the suspension applied to both Ministerial-level and working groups meetings.

He said the decision was taken "due to the lack of progress" in the year-old talks.

The Prime Minister's remarks followed yesterday's statement by the chief US delegate at the talks, Mr. Sol Linowitz, that only the Ministerial-level meetings had been postponed while working groups could continue to work as scheduled.

Mr. Linowitz said: "President Anwar Sadat has asked that there be a postponement of the Ministerial committees and groups in the negotiations until he has a chance to reflect on the Herzlia talks and to consult his advisers."

The US official added: "Meanwhile, the working groups can continue work as scheduled."

The Herzlia meeting, at chief delegate level, ended two days ago without achieving tangible progress.

Dr. Khalil yesterday also referred to a recent statement by the Israeli Premier Mr. Menachem Begin as another reason for the decision to halt the negotiations.

Last Tuesday Mr. Begin told a meeting of the National Liberal Party in Jerusalem that anyone seeking peace with Israel must accept that the security issue was been a major stumbling block in the negotiations.

Egypt is opposed to the Israeli attitude and wants a Palestinian Autonomous Council proposed for the two regions to have wide powers in various fields, including security.

A Ministerial-level meeting had been due to be held in Cairo on Monday to deal with security and other key issues.
— Sapa-Reuter.

UCT

(1) (231) (10/5/80)
**Portugal-Bissau
tie strengthened**

By JOSÉ CAETANO

PORTUGAL and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau yesterday signed a wide-ranging agreement that will strengthen the already strong relations between the two countries.

Guinea-Bissau and its sister state, Cape Verde, are the only former Portuguese colonies which maintain close diplomatic ties with Lisbon and have been visited by President Ramalho Eanes.

The agreement came at the end of a four-day meeting of the Portuguese-Guinean Mixed Commission on mutual co-operation which ended in the Portuguese capital yesterday.

In terms of the agreement, Portugal has agreed to train Guinean officials and provide extra assistance in scientific, economic, health and communications sectors. Portuguese in-

dustrialists are also expected to start investing in the West African country soon.

The Guinean delegation was headed by Mr Filinto Vaz Pinto, Commissar for National Education, while Mr Azevedo Coutinho, a senior Foreign Ministry official, led the Portuguese team.

Portugal is already providing extensive aid to Guinea-Bissau and many Portuguese teachers are teaching there in terms of an early agreement.

Last month, during an official visit by General Eanes to Cape Verde, it was agreed that Portuguese technicians would handle the planned extension of the country's major port, Porto da Praia.

The two countries also signed, among others, a treaty entitling them to catch fish in each other's territorial waters.

① Ldn 10/5/80.
Libya threat over oil

London Bureau

LONDON. — Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi has said he is considering stopping oil supplies to Britain and the United States.

He is also considering withdrawing Libyan assets from both countries. In addition, Col Gaddafi is seeking thousands of millions of dollars in compensation from Britain, West Germany and Italy for the dam-

age Libya suffered during the Second World War.

At the heart of the matter is the decision by the Libyans to replace their diplomats in key embassies around the world by non-diplomats, such as senior students, and to call the premises "people's centres" or bureaus.

The oil stoppage does not pose a great threat to Britain — Libyan oil represents 1% of British consumption.

Pope's vision of a ^① free

ADM 12/5/80

Africa

ABIDJAN. — Pope John Paul II, ending his six-nation African tour, yesterday outlined his own philosophy for the Third World, rejecting Marxism, Western materialism and dictatorship.

The Polish Pontiff has urged Africa to adopt his own brand of Christian humanism, combining democracy, respect for human rights and religious liberty.

He has coupled this with a strong call on the West to do more to help Africa, and on Africa not to take everything that the West has to offer.

In an obvious rejection of Marxism, Pope John Paul said in Kenya that "an atheistic ideology can never be the moving and guiding force for advancing the well-being of individuals".

This is because "it deprives man of his God-given freedom and his spiritual inspiration," he added.

But in prosperous, capitalist Abidjan, the Pope warned against "wishing simply to imitate or import what is done elsewhere for the simple reason that it comes from so-called 'advanced' countries".

"How I would love to defend Africa from partial and materialistic visions of man and society," he added.

The Pope also had harsh words for African dictatorships. He called for an end to "corruption, domination of the weak, the denial to the people of their right to share in political life, tyranny or the use of violence and terrorism".

Instead, the Pope told Africans, they should claim their rights and duties as democratic citizens and question their own motives if they failed to do so.

Advocating religious liberty, the Pope said in the Leftist Congo Republic that "the State can count on the loyal co-operation of the church while it acts to serve mankind, and the church asks the liberty to speak to consciences..."

He supported the Third World in the unsuccessful "north-south dialogue", saying the roots of its failure "are not in the economic or monetary spheres, but in the domain of moral and spiritual imperatives".

"New insights and a fundamental change in attitude are called for," he said.

The Pope issued an emotional appeal in Upper Volta for help from rich countries to fight drought and the southward advance of the Sahara Desert in the Sahel region of West Africa.

But he also told Africans that they should do more to help themselves — partly to avoid pressures from outside.

"Your country must satisfy its food needs," he told a congregation in food-importing Zaire. "Agricultural products are more important than certain luxury products." — Sapa-Reuter.

More deaths as UK police seek Libyan hit men

ADM 12/5/80

①

London Bureau

LONDON. — A warning that four more "hit teams" are in London waiting to kill enemies of the Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi, is being investigated by the Special Branch as the British Foreign Office moves towards a diplomatic confrontation with Libya.

And Italian and West German police fear that a systematic execution campaign has spread to their countries after two more prominent Libyans were killed during the weekend — one in Rome and one in Bonn.

Libyan exiles in Britain believe that gunmen, in groups of three or four, have arrived in recent weeks, and that two other teams are in France.

The would-be killers are thought to be supported by Palestinian extremists.

Former politicians from Tripoli and other prominent refugees claim that the Libyan

Embassy buildings in London have been used for intelligence operations against them since the mission was turned into a "people's bureau" last year.

The police are also concerned at a possibility that three men wanted in connection with the killing of two Libyans in London recently may either be hiding in the embassy's St James's Square premises or protected by the staff.

Sir Antony Acland, a Foreign Office deputy under-secretary, flew to Tripoli secretly for urgent talks more than a week ago, and Colonel Gaddafi's London representative, Mr Musa Kusa, was summoned to Whitehall.

Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, may feel compelled now to order the expulsion of several members of the London mission suspected of helping to hunt down the exiles.

The wealthy Libyan businessman who was shot dead in a

crowded Rome bar on Saturday was the third to be killed in the city this year, reports Sapa-Reuter.

The businessman was talking to two men in a crowded hotel bar in Rome when one of them pulled a pistol and shot him in the face.

Police arrested a cousin of the dead man, Mr Abdallah Mohamed Kazmi.

The cousin was interrogated for 18 hours by magistrates and then arrested on a warrant accusing him of complicity in the murder.

In Bonn, police were interrogating a young Libyan who shot dead a 43-year-old former official at the Libyan Embassy in a busy pedestrian underpass on Saturday, before being seized by passersby.

Italian police believe Mr Kazmi was the latest victim of an anti-exiles campaign and possible links with the Bonn and London killings are being sought.

UK to expel Libyan Embassy officials

LONDON. - The British Government is to expel most members of the Libyan Embassy in London.

The officials are believed to be hiding an assassination squad involved in the killing of two Libyan dissidents.

A spokesman said a Foreign Office Minister, Mr Douglas Hurd, would announce the expulsions of the members of the self-styled "people's bureau" in a special statement in the House of Commons.

Government officials said Mr Hurd's announcement would have almost immediate effect.

They stressed that at least three Libyans wanted by Scotland Yard for questioning in connection with the killing of the two dissidents last month.

British police still hoped to arrest them for questioning.

The British decision was made as Libyan embassies in several countries were taken over peacefully by students and other Libyan nationals and turned into "people's bureaus"

Missions in Vienna, Berne, East Berlin, Warsaw, Ankara, Belgrade and Dacca were among those affected.

A spokesman for a Popular Committee of Libyans, formed early yesterday to run the Vienna embassy, said altogether 15 embassies, mainly in East Europe and Asia, would be "converted".

The spokesman said the action was in response to a call last year by the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, for the people to take over running the country. Last September, eight Libyan missions were taken over by popular commit-

tees. Meanwhile, four Libyan officials, described by President Carter as "would be assassins", arrived in Rome on their way home after being expelled from the United States.

The Carter administration has accused the four, who at first refused to comply with the expulsion order and remained inside the Washington mission, of intimidating Libyan students who had been critical of Col Gaddafi's government.

Libyan Government officials have threatened dissidents living abroad with elimination unless they return home.

A spokesman for the committee at the Vienna embassy, situated in a quiet tree-lined street near the Vienna Woods, said some of the embassy staff would stay on in Austria.

The ambassador, however, would return home, as "he is a representative of the government," the spokesman said. Banners on the embassy railings announced the establishment of the People's Bureau and declared: "No democracy without people's congresses and committees everywhere."

A loudspeaker, set up in the garden, broadcast speeches by Col Gaddafi and Arab music.

The spokesman said that as the people were now running the Libyan Jamahiriya, it was only logical to extend this control to Libyan missions abroad.

"Previously, there was a contradiction, with the people running the country, while abroad it was still being represented by the government," the spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.

Y_E to Y_{F.E.}

But if we increase taxes by R1 within, it will have the effect of generating expenditure by R0,3 within. Why? Assume H.P.C. = 0,7 and MPS = 0,3. It must be remembered that 0,3 of the ~~initial~~ ~~initial~~ ~~initial~~ our income would have been saved in any case. By increasing taxes by R1 within a extra R0,3 within of income has been generated. This fraction of income that would have been saved or not consumed we devote by the letter Z.

$$K_B = \frac{Z \cdot T}{W} \text{ (taxes)} \quad \left(\text{since } K = \frac{1}{w} \right)$$

↓
last balanced
budget
multiplier

* Points: 1. We do not get rid of the budget deficit completely, but it will be smaller than the one we had before.
2. The ~~new~~ longer the proportion of income that goes to

DM 15/5/80
**Botswana
recognises
Polisario
rule**

GABORONE. — The Botswana Government is to recognise with immediate effect the Polisario-controlled Sahara Arab Democratic Republic — otherwise known as Western Sahara. The Department of External Affairs made the announcement in a statement released in Gaborone yesterday.

It said the government "reached this decision after it had carefully examined the whole situation in Western Sahara, as well as its implications for North Africa, the rest of Africa and the world in general."

Among the reasons given for the decision was Morocco's continued military occupation of Western Sahara and her "complete refusal" to negotiate a peaceful solution to the problem "in violation of the numerous resolutions of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of African Unity".

Botswana had taken the decision to "meet an exceptional situation".

It said this did not mean Botswana had abandoned its normal practice of using conventional and juridical criteria generally used by sovereign governments to recognise other states.

"The decision had been taken in order to give diplomatic support to "those whose cause in resisting foreign occupation of their land has legitimacy in international law and practice and is recognised as such by the international community.

"The Botswana Government could not remain indifferent to the wide sympathy with the cause of the people of Western Sahara shown by the international community," the statement said. — Sapa.

Lusaka talks hailed as ^① 'positive step' 21/5/80

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Government did not regard the recent Lusaka conference as an anti-South Africa constellation exercise but rather a positive step on the part of black states to improve their own position, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Any move made by African states to improve their economic situation was to be welcomed.

It was however, interesting to note the attitude of Western states who had had much to say about aid for the reconstruction of Zimbabwe during the Lancaster House negotiations. It now appeared those people were reluctant "to put their

money where their mouth is".

He would not be surprised if Mr Robert Mugabe rejected the paltry R14-million offered by the United States — which should be giving Zimbabwe R300-million to R400-million if it followed the line it once held regarding reconstruction of Zimbabwe.

South Africa understood the problems of its African neighbours, but it was not capable itself of launching massive aid programmes on the continent. The funds at its disposal would be best applied to those states more immediately involved with the Republic and particularly those which had taken their independence from South Africa. — Sapa.

SWA ~~2/1~~
①
summit
3/6/80
begins

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, and Frontline heads of state are in Lusaka for the crucial summit on the independence of South West Africa which began at State House yesterday.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had private talks beforehand with President Kaunda of Zambia.

The other frontline leaders attending are Mozambican President Samora Machel, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who is chairman of the Frontline states, Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana, and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

Killings will go on, says Gaddafi

ROME. — Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has again warned that all dissidents who do not return home by June 10 will face elimination at the hands of death squads.

In an interview with the Italian magazine, Panaroma, Col Gaddafi warned that the killings would go on.

"I cannot guarantee physical immunity to anybody. The revolutionary committees will continue their programmes and will trace and liquidate the dissidents."

The death squads have claimed eight victims in Europe in the past ten weeks.

Col Gaddafi made his original demand to exiles in an address to students in Tripoli on April 27, when he warned that "all persons who have left Libya must return by June 10" or they would be "inevitably liquidated".

In an interview last week with the Rome newspaper, Il Messagero, Mr Abdel Salam Jalloud, second ranking member of the Libyan revolutionary hierarchy, said the death

squads did not receive direct orders to kill.

"Gaddafi has not said 'Kill this one or kill that one,' he has only pointed out the dangers posed by these people," Mr Jalloud said.

Last month sources said that Europe's nine Common Market nations were considering asking for a meeting of the United Nations Security Council to deal with the killings.

Italy, which has more Libyan residents than any other European country has been most affected by the Libyan problem. Of the eight Libyan exiles killed in European capitals, four were killed in Rome, two in London, one in Bonn and one in Athens.

Officially, about 1 500 Libyans live in Italy but there are estimates the resident community may be twice that number because many Libyans have not registered with police.

As Col Gaddafi's deadline approaches Italian police have beefed up their surveillance of Libyans and offered protection to those considered probable targets of the squads.

Last long assault on apartheid

Cape Times 9/6/80
has begun ①

LONDON. — The beginning of last week was notable in Africa for at least two events connected with the Republic: the meeting of six "front-line" states in Lusaka and the rising of black clouds into clear blue skies above Sasol plants.

They were both signals that the African states and the African National Congress were at the start of the last long assault on apartheid. As the black opponents of white domination see it, the co-ordination of this assault began properly 11 years ago, in the same city where the six states have just met, Lusaka.

Achievements

In the decade and a bit since the Lusaka manifesto was issued, offering the white-dominated states of Southern Africa real political negotiation or growing military struggle, the achievements have been remarkable, as Africans see them. At that time it seemed that none of the three goals of the struggle — the ending of Portuguese rule in Africa, the achievement of majority rule in Rhodesia and the ending of white domination in South Africa — would be within sight much before the end of the century. Today the Portuguese have gone, and the majority-ruled state of Zimbabwe has arrived.

And white-ruled South Africa? Does it still look as snugly impregnable as it did at the end of the 1960s in spite of its highly efficient army and the value of gold at a fairly steady price of above 500 dol-

From
**ANTHONY
DELIUS**



lars a line ounce? The African leaders might argue that nationalist guerilla and sabotage action still seemed fairly futile at that time and the Rhodesian forces always seemed highly efficient, and remained so in the parts of the country they could control.

Once again the Lusaka offer has been made. This time, speaking as chairman of the six — the old five "front-line" states with the addition of Zimbabwe — President Nyerere of Tanzania has addressed himself directly to South Africa over the question of Namibian negotiations. He has asked whether what he considers "realistic" negotiations about ending South African rule there are to proceed or whether the war which Swapo is fighting with Africa's backing is to be intensified.

Manifesto's words

It is worth remembering the words of the old Lusaka manifesto at this point: "We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than to kill. We do not advocate violence; we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change."

No doubt the African leaders, in addition to their dislike of bloodshed, are also reckoning on white parents in South Africa becoming as sick of the increasing deaths of their sons on national service as Portuguese parents became and Rhodesian parents were beginning to become. They probably ask themselves why South African whites — or blacks — should regard the Kunene River as any more worth defending as a frontier of white domination than the Portuguese

found the Congo or the Rhodesians the Zambesi.

However, the most recent manoeuvres are intended to put as much pressure on the Western negotiators for the UN with South Africa over Namibia as on the South African whites and government in general. A meeting of the UN council for Namibia which took place in Algeria voiced total impatience with these long-drawn-out Western negotiations with South Africa and called once again for trade sanctions against the Republic. Soon afterwards the six at Lusaka commented on South Africa's time-wasting raising of objections in these negotiations — though they ignored Swapo's record in this regard.

Yet it would be a mistake to believe that these meetings and the sabotage at Sasol were simply meant to panic the West a bit and not as a signal that the "intensification" of the African battle against apartheid was beginning. It could very well be both. Africans, in spite of proclaiming glorious military victories in the first two stages of the Southern African campaign, are well aware that the first part was won by a revolution in Lisbon, and the second by political victory in Salisbury in a ring held by the Commonwealth.

In the aftermath of the Zimbabwean triumph Africans in many places were disappointed that Prime Minister Robert Mugabe should adopt such a low-key attitude toward white domination in South Africa. Two meetings in Lusaka followed Mugabe's success. Each demonstrated that other African nations wanted to show a stiffening of the sub-continent's resistance to apartheid — the meeting of the nine to plan a break-out from South Africa's economic influence and the meeting of the six to hurry on the Namibian negotiations. Mugabe has attended and endorsed the resolutions of both meetings.

Now there is planning between Zimbabwe and Mozambique to deal with anti-Machel resistance groups, which the blacks regard as white-encouraged destabilizers of majority government.

The Africans also calculate on the standard South African official reaction to any period of racial stress and embarrassment — a proclamation that it

is all part of a Red strategy organized by some sinister Russian diplomat in Lusaka and old Comrade Joe Slovo, formerly of Johannesburg, now of Maputo. Pretty soon, according to these black calculations, the government will tell the West to go and jump in the Atlantic, go to the white voters on an anti-communist platform, and give the white opposition another thrashing.

This will demonstrate before the world, once again, the total futility of present white politics — it's all rather like the man who makes up for his failure to achieve anything real in the world by going home and beating hell out of his wife.

"When are you going to try real politics," an African diplomat asked me, "and start negotiating with the black majority? Nelson Mandela might even turn out to be more understanding than Robert Mugabe. After all, Mandela has had twice as long in jail to study the political options, and he never even killed anybody to start with."

East African ⁽¹⁾ row brews after ^{10/4/80} Uganda summit ^{WDM}

By JOHN WORRALL

NAIROBI. — A fine old row appears to be developing in East Africa.

The protagonists are: Mr Julius Nyerere, the Tanzanian President, and Uganda's ruling Military Commission, headed by Mr Paulo Muwanga, versus Mr Daniel Arap Moi, President of Kenya, and Mr Gaffer Numeiry, President of the Sudan.

It all blew up at the Arusha summit conference last week, chaired and hosted by Mr Nyerere, called to discuss the Ugandan situation and the move to democratic parliamentary and presidential elections.

Nothing seemed to go right.

At the last minute, Kenya's President Moi decided not to go because he thought the summit was "inopportune" in view of the prevailing situation in Uganda. It was a direct snub to chairman Nyerere, and of course to the Ugandan Military Commission.

Earlier, President Moi had attacked the military takeover in Uganda and the ousting of President Binaisa. He had vainly appealed for the release of Mr Binaisa from "protective custody".

That got the summit off to a bad start.

It seems that the correct Mr Moi had found the prospect of sitting down at a conference table with the ambitious Mr Muwanga intolerable and he stayed away.

President Numeiry decided to go in spite of his hostility to Mr Nyerere over keeping Tanzanian troops in Uganda, and his disgust over the treatment of Mr Binaisa.

Mr Numeiry went to Arusha to do battle. Although not an East African, the Sudanese President has a common border with Uganda and has suffered from floods of refugees from that unhappy country.

The summit, of course, was held privately, but sources leaked to Nairobi that Mr Nu-

meiry had asked Mr Nyerere for a deadline for the removal of all 10 000 Tanzanian troops from Uganda. Apparently he said free and fair elections could not be held in Uganda with Tanzanian troops there.

Mr Nyerere refused, saying the decision lay with Uganda's military government.

Mr Numeiry also asked for the immediate release of Mr Binaisa. None of this went down very well with Mr Nyerere.

Last year the two clashed at the OAU summit over the presence of Tanzanian troops in Uganda.

The Ugandan spokesman at the summit said the Military Commission had taken power to prevent bloodshed and anarchy developing under Mr Binaisa.

On his way back to Khartoum on Sunday, President Numeiry stopped off in Kenya — pointedly — to inform President Moi of what went on at Arusha, and to confirm their growing friendship.

Reports from the summit said Mr Numeiry had accused the military government of being biased in favour of ex-President Milton Obote, a close friend of Mr Nyerere, who has returned to Uganda to fight in the presidential election. When Dr Obote arrived last month, he was given a reception fit for a President, with several Ugandan Ministers attending.

President Moi's snub to Mr Nyerere will inevitably lead to a deterioration of the already cool relations between Kenya and Tanzania.

Kenya, as well as the Sudan, is convinced that Mr Nyerere is edging Dr Obote to the Uganda presidency. The Kenyans are concerned that Dr Obote and Mr Nyerere are aiming to form a socialist alliance of Tanzania and Uganda, squeezing out private enterprise in Kenya — which is hoping for good trade relations with a reconstructed Uganda.

Gaddafi has lethal weapon to strike Cape tankers

Own Correspondent

PARIS: — Libya's Colonel Moamer Gaddafi has bought a dangerous weapon to attack the West's oil tankers using the Cape route, the weekly magazine, Figaro, revealed in Paris this week.

It is the Zodiac motorised rubber inflatable canoe perfected by French commandos for coastal landings.

But they can be armed with rocket missiles to attack slow moving, heavily laden oil tankers.

Col Gaddafi has been trying to buy Zodiacs from the French for the past two years, Figaro said, but all attempts failed when France realised why he wanted them.

The magazine reported: "Several Western intelligence services, as well as the Israeli and pro-western Arab services, have a new problem

— Gaddafi has managed to buy several dozen Zodiacs, equipped with rocket missiles and a radar control system.

"His targets are probably oil tankers used by

countries on the Gaddafi black list or enemy ports."

South Africa is known to be high on his black list and so is the Cape route.

Only one attempt has been made to attack an oil tanker by a small craft like the Zodiac, when three Palestinians fired two rockets at an Israeli ship in the Red Sea three years ago.

They had used a base in Ethiopia. The advantage for Gaddafi is that a Zodiac

can be launched from a larger ship. The report states he has been actively seeking bases in Madagascar, the Seychelles, Comoros Islands and Mozambique to strike at the Cape route.

These bases were for his submarines, which so far he has been unable to buy. Military experts agree that he could cause havoc with his Zodiacs.

He is believed to have bought them from Sweden.

KINSHASA — To promote the political and economic interests of Western colonising powers, Cecil Rhodes wanted to build a railway from Cape Town to Cairo nearly a century ago. Adama Diagne's goal is even more ambitious.

He wants Africa to develop a railway network as comprehensive and efficient as Western Europe's so that the economy of the continent can be modernised.

"African economies are sagging under the burden of prices. We have to pay for oil and we can't afford expensive air routes and road networks because of the soaring costs of fuel," says Mr Diagne, who is secretary-general of the Union of African Railways, an arm of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

"As we see it, we have little choice but to rely increasingly on a railway network."

TOP PRIORITY

Mr Diagne, who is Senegalese, has headed a programme under which 25 000 kilometres of new railway lines — nearly four times the current figure — are intended to be built by the end of the century. The project is listed as a top development priority at an OAU economic meeting in Nigeria.

"Our real problem is not technical, or even financial, in building a railway network that is comprehensive," Mr Diagne said recently. "Our real problem

Plans for an African

1 railway

network

is political. If only we can get various African countries to agree on a common transportation policy."

Such a policy has yet to be formulated, largely because of the hostilities that exist between several key African nations and internal turmoil in some countries.

For example, disruption of the Benguela railway in Angola by anti-government guerrillas means Angola and Zaire cannot plan a mutually-beneficial transportation system.

It also means Zaire must find other, more costly,

ways to export its copper, cobalt and diamonds.

It was largely to escape the regional economic dominance of South Africa's sophisticated rail network that the Tazara railway was built to link the mining areas of Zaire and Zambia with the port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.

But this rail line has been inefficient because of political differences and economic mismanagement.

To deal with such problems, the Union of African Railways has established regional priorities and has undertaken a programme to train personnel. For instance, in Western Africa, the plan calls for developing roads along the line of the railway linking Abidjan, Ivory Coast, and Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, which runs smoothly because of technical co-operation between the two countries.

TRAINING CENTRE

In North-East Africa, the plan calls for a better railroad link between Egypt and the Sudan. And there are plans to expand the existing railway lines in Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania. These countries will have to provide the financing, and the Union of African railways expects to supply expertise and management.

A centre has been started in Brazzaville to train personnel.

Mr Diagne says there will be similar training centres in four major regions of Africa within a few years — New York Times News Service.

OTE CAREFULLY

- 1 Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
- 2 Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- 3 Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- 4 Do not write in the left hand margin.

WARNING

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

S.A.—White neighbours in a black hat

Star 12/6/80

By Dean de Plessis
The Star's Africa
News Service

South Africa is the shadowy villain behind the grip of crisis and unrest in southern Africa, according to Lesotho's Premier Leabua Jonathan.

From Angola to Zambia to Zimbabwe to Mozambique to his own country, Premier Jonathan charges, he hand of South Africa is evident, sowing instability for Pretoria's own peculiar ends.

In fact, the ends are not that peculiar if judged by the standards of those who support Premier Jonathan's point of view.

They say the broad strategy is to keep South Africa's black neighbours

trembling on the edge of open civil war, thereby hampering development, thereby keeping them economically dependent on South Africa.

Which, of course, means that no nation which relies on South Africa for much of its grain/petrol machinery/spare parts (the list is virtually endless) is likely to take too aggressive a stance against Pretoria.

Every country has its dissidents. South Africa's tactic, according to this school of thought, is to equip and arm the dissidents just enough to keep neighbouring black presidents and prime ministers from an entirely comfortable night's sleep.

This may be too simplistic a view, and Pretoria's official policy remains one

of non-interference in our neighbours' internal affairs.

Those who would point out that South Africa's Angolan adventure in 1976 was hardly a proof of this worthy policy will be told, albeit somewhat uncomfortably, that we were invited in by independent black leaders who feared the spread of marxism.

South Africa's admitted extra-territorial military excursions since then, into Angola specifically, are defended on the grounds that they are directed against terrorists (Swapo) and not against the Angolan Government.

"Every nation has the right of self-defence. South Africa wants no more than peace with her neighbours, but if those

neighbours are prepared to give sanctuary to terrorists they must bear the consequences," is Pretoria's line.

Still, those who support Premier Jonathan's view — and they include most black southern African leaders — say there is considerable evidence that South Africa is pursuing a more covert "destabilisation policy" as well.

In Angola President Jonathan's Savimbi of Unita recently admitted to a group of newsmen at his base in the bush that he received "food and fuel" from the south.

He did not believe his association with the south would weaken his position in the rest of Africa. "Look at the Mozambicans who are supposed to

be marxists. Those are the people who are dealing with the South Africans in a big way," he defended himself. But, if supporters of the "destabilisation" view are to be believed, Mozambique's attitude is a triumph for the alleged strategy.

In terms of the argument, the advantages of Pretoria supporting Savimbi are considerable. Angola does not trade with South Africa, but at Benguela she has a port which, under normal circumstances, could be an important import/export point for Zambia and Zaire.

Savimbi's guerrillas have so far kept the Benguela railway line cut, the port has idle, and Zambia and Zaire, to their shame, have to use South African

transport connections. Without these links the two nations would collapse.

Zambia's "Savimbi" — if officials in Lusaka are to be believed — is Adam Mushala, a former game ranger, who was so incensed at being passed over for promotion that he swore vengeance and took to the bush.

He has allegedly since formed a gang, and over the years has been accused by Lusaka officials of a wide range of crimes from banditry to guerrilla war.

Despite the best efforts of the Zambian army and police, Mushala is still free mainly because he is South African-supported and need only slip back into the Caprivi Strip when things become hot,

say Zambian officials. South Africa has denied any involvement with Adam Mushala, and, significantly, some diplomats in Lusaka say the whole issue was cooked up as a scapegoat by officials seeking to disguise their own inefficiency.

In Zimbabwe the issues are clearer. She is by far our most powerful black-ruled neighbour, the one best placed to lead a "Constellation Southern Africa" without South Africa. Such a grouping would be a disaster for Pretoria: we would have then lost nearly all our sub-continental influence.

But Zimbabwe has no ports. The old Rhodesia was totally reliant on South Africa for a huge range of strategic goods, and so too, so far, is Zimbabwe.

The view of some is that the South African strategy is to keep it that way.

To this end, says the Mozambique government, South Africa is now supporting the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM) which used to operate out of Rhodesia before independence there.

In return for this new support, says Mozambique, the MRM must concentrate on the roads, rail lines and oil pipeline linking Zimbabwe to the ports of Beira and Maputo.

A recent, official news review from Mozambique conceded that "normal use" of these facilities was impossible due to MRM activities, and it openly accused South Africa of being the puppet master.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and President Samora Machel recently

agreed on joint military action against the Mozambique rebels. Clearly both leaders appreciate the vital strategic need to wipe them out forever.

In Prime Minister Jonathan's own patch there is trouble with guerrillas loyal to Ntsu Mokhehle, the Lesotho political leader who claims he was on his way to winning the 1970 general election when Premier Jonathan declared it null and void and ordered a state of emergency.

Mokhehle is now in exile, and armed incursions by his supporters are being up. Recently in a day-long battle, Lesotho police accounted for nine insurgents.

Chief Jonathan says South Africa supports Mokhehle as part of its destabilisation drive, and also that Mokhehle made a deal with South African intelligence that in return for help in invading Lesotho he would supply information regarding South African liberation movements.

Chief Jonathan has also produced a quantity of arms, some of them allegedly rifles stamped with the South African coat of arms, which he says were taken from dead insurgents and which, he contends, proves that South Africa supports them.

South Africa has denied all Premier Jonathan's allegations. Nevertheless, Chief Jonathan and other leaders in this part of the world remain sceptical about Pretoria's official line about keeping our noses out of other peoples' business.

Drive to ^{STAR} sever SA ^{13/6/80} links gains momentum

The Star's Africa News Service

The drive to reduce southern Africa's economic dependence on South Africa gained momentum today as President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia met President Samora Machel of Mozambique in Maputo for talks on transport and the use of Mozambique's ports.

The Zambian leader arrived in Maputo yesterday and spent three hours with President Machel inspecting port facilities there and at nearby Matola.

His visit comes hard on the heels of that by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire who, Radio Mozambique said this morning, intends to export his copper and cobalt through Mozambique soon instead of through South Africa as at present.

Next week, President Mobutu will host a one-day summit in Kinshasa of the leaders of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Botswana and Angola.

Regional co-operation in transport and communications will be further discussed.

The envisaged co-operation union will challenge Premier P. W. Botha's vision of a constellation of southern African states.

Mozambique, with its ports of Nacala, Beira and Maputo, will play a major role in the proposed union.

Intensive talks on the subject have also been held between Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini of Swaziland and President Machel and his Transport Minister, Mr Alcantara Santos.

Zimbabwe's Finance Minister, Senator Enos Nkala, set out the aim of the proposed union earlier this week when he said Zimbabwe would work towards severing all links — including economic links with South Africa.

At present, most states in the region, including Zambia and Zaire, rely heavily on South African ports and its railway network for their imports and exports.

If Zaire and Zambia could now switch to northern Mozambique ports instead, it would represent a considerable saving on transport costs and a "victory" over South Africa.

Kaunda arrives for transport link talks

13/6/80

By JOSÉ CAETANO

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia arrived in Maputo yesterday to discuss the implementation of the mammoth transport plan for Southern Africa drafted at the Lusaka economic summit meeting last April.

Top-level delegations from Swaziland and Zaire have also visited Mozambique in the last week to discuss details of the plan, as well as the use of Mozambican ports by their respective countries.

The visits follow the creation in Maputo of the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission in terms of the programme of action agreed on at the Lusaka Economic Summit last April.

The summit, which was attended by Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania, decided to establish the commission because, in the words of the

programme, "without the establishment of an adequate regional transport and communications system, other areas of co-operation become impracticable".

The communique issued at the end of the meeting said that it was to have the commission's headquarters in Maputo because Mozambique ports "serve four states and with the genuine independence of Zimbabwe can serve another two (Botswana and Zaire)".

The first delegation to visit Maputo was from Swaziland, and was led by the Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini

The delegation had talks with the President Samora Machel and with the Mozambique's Minister of Transport, Mr Alcantra Santos. They discussed the use of the Maputo port for the handling of extra coal exports from Swaziland as a result of the planned expansion of coal the mining exploration in that country. Maputo is

the only outlet for Swaziland's exports

The Mozambique Government announced in March, that a second coal terminal, with a capacity of 6 500 000 tons a year, will be built in Maputo at a cost of R50-million and the pre-qualification papers for tenders have already been issued. The terminal will handle the extra Swazi coal as well as Zimbabwe's and is expected to bid for a portion from the Transvaal sizeable exports

A Zairian delegation has also visited Mozambique this week for exploratory talks on the possibility of a substantial rerouting of that country's exports through Mozambican ports. The delegation was led by President Mobutu Sese Seko and included the Foreign Minister, Mr Nguza Karl Bond

Zaire, who did not attend the Lusaka summit, desperately needs a short route for their exports, because of the unreliability of the Benguela railway

Top Libyan expelled after death threat

By STANLEY UYS
London Bureau

LONDON. — The head of the Libyan mission in London, Mr Musa Kusa, has been summoned to the Foreign Office and ordered to leave the country.

The expulsion followed publication of a front-page interview in The Times yesterday, in which Mr Kusa revealed that Libyan "revolutionary committees" based in Britain were preparing to kill two opponents of the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

Mr Kusa told The Times: "I approve of this." He said the two men on the "hit list" were former Libyan Government employees. Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad immediately investigated the threat.

The Libyan Embassy in St James's Square, London, has long been suspected of harbouring professional "hit men" from Libya and of smuggling in arms for them through the immune diplomatic bag.

The Libyan news agency reported this week that Col Gaddafi had ordered his revolutionary committees around the world to stop the assassination of Libyan exiles critical of his government.

But Mr Kusa told The Times that Libyans dealing with Israel, Egypt and the United States "commit high treason and deserve to die".

Only hours before Mr Kusa made the statement, two Libyans were shot in Italy. Earlier this year, two Libyans, one a journalist and the other a lawyer, were assassinated in London.

Feeling in Britain has been running high against the activities of Arab embassies which have transferred Middle East feuds to London.

The US recently expelled five Libyan diplomats and early last month Libya, under pressure from the British Government, withdrew four of its nationals from its embassy in London, now renamed a "people's bureau".

In retaliation, Libya expelled three British diplomats and 17 other British subjects from Libya, and further retaliation is now expected.

It has been an open secret for a long time that Arab embassies in Western capitals smuggle weapons into the embassies for "hit men". Pressure has been mounting in Western parliamentary circles for diplomatic bags to be

opened (a bag is any container addressed to an embassy).

Yesterday, a crate of "household effects", addressed to the Moroccan Embassy in London and containing R850 000 worth of dagga, was discovered.

The discovery has angered British MPs and questions will be tabled in the House of Commons next week to the Deputy Foreign Secretary, Sir Ian Gilmour, asking whether diplomatic "effects" will be more closely scrutinised in future.

This will raise the whole question of diplomatic immunity, but the feeling is growing in Whitehall that some curb must be placed on Middle East embassies.

Discovery of the dagga follows two Foreign Office circulars to all embassies in London this year reminding missions that a serious view will be taken of any evidence of gun smuggling in diplomatic packages.

The British Government, according to reliable sources, is firm that abuse of diplomatic immunity will not be tolerated.

Freedom from examination of packages consigned to foreign embassies was given under the Vienna Convention, which also confers diplomatic immunity generally.

MOHAMED Farah, 12, killed his first man last year in cold blood.

His best friend, Mohamed Sheikh Abdulahi, was only 13 when he aimed his Kalashnikov assault rifle and cut down four fleeing enemy soldiers.

Farah and Abdulahi are not unique in the Horn of Africa. They are children of the Ogaden, a new breed of pre-teen and adolescent warrior caught in the maelstrom of guerrilla war between the Ogaden's independence-minded ethnic Somali tribesmen and Ethiopia's Soviet and Cuban-backed army.

The Ogaden is a semi-arid land of scrub and cracked earth located in south-eastern Ethiopia and bordering Somalia. The area ceased to be a conventional battlefield 27 months ago when government forces backed by sophisticated Soviet

The warrior children on Africa's youngest war front

1 D
16/6/80
ADH

weaponry and Cuban shock troops, blunted the drive by guerrillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front and the regular Somali army. Ethiopia has ruled the region for nearly a century.

Intense fighting, however, continues in the Ogaden. Thousands of poorly-equipped but determined rebels roam the countryside, battering isolated army outposts and ambushing supply convoys from their makeshift base camps. Boys like Farah and Abdulahi

play a key role in the conflict. Unlike youngsters elsewhere in Africa, who dress in over-sized uniforms and wield toy guns in government-organised youth groups, the children of the Ogaden are frontline combatants. They man ambushes, set mines, join in attacks and patrol along with their older compatriots.

Their lives have been totally shaped by the war, which has spluttered on since the early 1960s. Their chief motivation

RICHARD TOMKINS reports from Ethiopia

for fighting is revenge, a point of honour among the Ogaden's nomadic peoples.

"The Ethiopians killed my father in 1976," Farah said in an off-hand manner. "They also killed my mother last year when they bombed our village. 'I want my revenge. It is my duty and my right.'"

WSLF Commander Abdulrahman Mohamed, in charge of the central region around the towns of Degahabur, Aware and Se-raga, says between 300 and 400 youths bear arms under his command. Thousands more are believed to be fighting elsewhere.

"We lost many young men in 1977 and 1978," he said in his command tent, under the billowing branches of a thorn tree. "The younger ones have taken their place."

"You must remember that we Somalis have an extended family system. All of us have lost loved ones to the Abyssinians (Ethiopians). The only ones who do not fight are those too old or those who are the only ones left to care for the youngest children."

At Gona Gedo, 20km from Degahabur, a major Ethiopian tank base, I saw about 15 children of Farah's and Abdulahi's age. All carried Eastern Bloc Kalashnikovs — the AK-47 rifle favoured by revolutionaries — and were performing military duties. Most were combat veterans. Many had killed. Many had been wounded.

"Yes, I have killed," said Farah, his angular cheek resting against the stock of his loaded rifle. "I killed some wounded. They were left behind on the battlefield when the others ran away."

"It was right to kill them. I was very angry. They killed my mother and my father."

Farah was shot in his left forearm last year when guerrillas attacked soldiers at Degahabur.

"I was attacking with my people when I was hit," he said. Pointing to a large round scar, "I knew I was wounded, my hand just went senseless."

"I didn't fall down or anything, but some others carried me back to our nurse."

Abdulahi, a round-faced youngster with inquisitive eyes and an easy grin, nodded in assent. "It is wrong to kill innocent people," he said, "but not the Ethiopians, not the Amharas (The dominant Ethiopian tribe)."

"This is our country, not theirs. They don't belong here."

The Ogaden was ceded to Ethiopia at the turn of the century by European colonial powers. Its Hamatic peoples share a common culture, language and religion — Islam. Culturally distinct from Ethiopians,

they consider Ethiopians as colonisers who have ruled their land through military force.

Gona Gedo is near Aware, a small town with half a dozen wells, where several hundred Ethiopian troops man trenches to deny guerrillas the only water for miles around.

Neither Farah or Abdulahi can read or write. Neither has ever attended a school. Under Ethiopian administration, schooling and medical services were only available in the larger towns of the region.

"I don't know what schools are," Commander Mohamed said. "What are schools to our people? All we ever got from the Ethiopians were their soldiers and tax collectors."

"We'll have our own schools and hospitals some day, when our land is returned to us. Until then we fight."

As night began to fall, Farah and Abdulahi got up from their commander's tent. A few minutes later they joined a platoon and moved up to the rebel's frontline positions just beyond the village, Farah moving like a predator on the left flank, Abdulahi bringing up the rear.

"How long will I fight?" Farah said. "Until I die." — Sapa-AP.

MOHAMED Farah, 12, killed his first man last year in cold blood.

His best friend, Mohamed Sheikh Abdulahi, was only 13 when he aimed his Kalashnikov assault rifle and cut down four fleeing enemy soldiers.

Farah and Abdulahi are not unique in the Horn of Africa. They are children of the Ogeden, a new breed of pre-teen and adolescent warrior caught in the maelstrom of guerrilla war between the Ogeden's independence-minded ethnic Somali tribesmen and Ethiopia's Soviet and Cuban-backed army.

The Ogeden is a semi-arid land of scrub and cracked earth located in south-eastern Ethiopia and bordering Somalia. The area ceased to be a conventional battlefield 27 months ago when government forces, backed by sophisticated Soviet

The warrior children on Africa's youngest war front

①
16/6/80
ADH

weaponry and Cuban shock troops, blunted the drive by guerrillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front and the regular Somali army. Ethiopia has ruled the region for nearly a century.

Intense fighting, however, continues in the Ogeden. Thousands of poorly-equipped but determined rebels roam the countryside, battering isolated army outposts and ambushing supply convoys from their makeshift base camps. Boys like Farah and Abdu-

lahi play a key role in the conflict. Unlike youngsters elsewhere in Africa, who dress in over-sized uniforms and wield toy guns in government-organised youth groups, the children of the Ogeden are frontline combatants. They man ambushes, set mines, join in attacks and patrol along with their older compatriots.

Their lives have been totally shaped by the war, which has sputtered on since the early 1960s. Their chief motivation

RICHARD TOMKINS reports from Ethiopia

for fighting is revenge, a point of honour among the Ogeden's nomadic peoples.

"The Ethiopians killed my father in 1976," Farah said in an off-hand manner. "They also killed my mother last year when they bombed our village. 'I want my revenge. It is my duty and my right.'"

WSLF Commander Abdulrahman Mohamed, in charge of the central region around the towns of Degahabur, Aware and Se-gag, says between 300 and 400 youths bear arms under his command. Thousands more are believed to be fighting elsewhere.

"We lost many young men in 1977 and 1978," he said in his command tent, under the billowing branches of a thorn tree. "The younger ones have taken their place."

"You must remember that we Somalis have an extended family system. All of us have lost loved ones to the Abyssinians (Ethiopians). The only ones who do not fight are those too old or those who are the only ones left to care for the youngest children."

At Gona Gedo, 20km from Degahabur, a major Ethiopian tank base, I saw about 15 children of Farah's and Abdulahi's age. All carried Eastern Bloc Kalashnikovs — the AK-47 rifle favoured by revolutionaries — and were performing military duties. Most were combat veterans. Many had killed.

"Yes, I have killed," said Farah, his angular cheek resting against the stock of his loaded rifle. "I killed some wounded. They were left behind on the battlefield when the others ran away."

"It was right to kill them. I was very angry. They killed my mother and my father."

Farah was shot in his left forearm last year when guerrillas attacked soldiers at Degahabur.

"I was attacking with my people when I was hit," he said. Pointing to a large round scar, "I knew I was wounded, my hand just went senseless."

"I didn't fall down or anything, but some others carried me back to our nurse."

Abdulahi, a round-faced youngster with inquisitive eyes and an easy grin, nodded in assent. "It is wrong to kill innocent people," he said, "but not the Ethiopians, not the Amhara (The dominant Ethiopian tribe)."

"This is our country, not theirs. They don't belong here."

The Ogeden was ceded to Ethiopia at the turn of the century by European colonial powers. Its Hamatic peoples share a common culture, language and religion — Islam. Culturally distinct from Ethiopians,

they consider Ethiopians as colonialists who have ruled their land through military force.

Gona Gedo is near Aware, a small town with half a dozen wells, where several hundred Ethiopian troops man trenches to deny guerrillas the only water for miles around.

Neither Farah or Abdulahi can read or write. Neither has ever attended a school. Under Ethiopian administration, schooling and medical services were only available in the larger towns of the region.

"I don't know what schools are," Commander Mohamed said. "What are schools to our people? All we ever got from the Ethiopians were their soldiers and tax collectors."

"We'll have our own schools and hospitals some day, when our land is returned to us. Until then we fight."

As night began to fall, Farah and Abdulahi got up from their commander's tent. A few minutes later they joined a platoon and moved up to the rebel's frontline positions just beyond the village, Farah moving like a predator on the left flank, Abdulahi bringing up the rear.

"How long will I fight?" Farah said. "Until I die?" Sapa-AP.

Huge rise in SA exports to Africa

①
②

RDM 16/6/80

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

SOUTH AFRICA'S export trade with African countries is expanding spectacularly in spite of the politically hostile stances of the importing countries.

According to the Department of Customs and Exise, South Africa's exports to Africa rose by about 84%, or R160-million, to R352-million in the first four months of this year compared with the same period last year.

Economists believe that the export total may exceed R1 000 million this year for the first time.

They also expect bigger demands for food from African countries.

The general manager of the Maize Board, Mr H Nel, said South African maize was exported regularly to Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana also depended to a large

extent on South Africa for their maize needs.

Reports indicated, Mr Nel said, that South African maize was also shipped to Kenya, Angola, the Ivory Coast and to other African states

The board was not always aware of the ultimate destination of maize sold by tender for export. There was no stipulation in the board's regulations restricting exports to specific destinations.

"There are no barriers as far as the ultimate destination is concerned. It could be Tokyo, Singapore or Hamburg."

Mr Nel said the board would export 3 800 000 tons this season. Prices on world markets were not impressive — about R109 a ton.

This was substantially below the break-even price. Losses were cushioned by the board's stabilisation fund, which was built up from producer levies

The general manager of the

Wheat Board, Mr J van Aarde, said that in the current season, 60 000 tons of wheat from an estimated surplus of 183 000 tons had been sold to African states.

Negotiations were in progress to market another 45 000 tons on African markets before the end of September.

Countries which recently bought South African wheat included Malawi and Zaire and efforts were being made to sell part of this season's surplus in Zambia and Mozambique.

Mr Van Aarde said that for a number of reasons selling wheat overseas involved big losses. These included high production costs, high transport charges and fierce competition from regular exporters like the US and Canada

"It is far more advantageous for us to sell to countries in Southern Africa because of the lower costs involved and the fact that we are in a far stronger position to compete with other exporters," said Mr Van Aarde.

From watchdog to Samaritan: France seeks new Africa role

FRENCH policy in Africa is changing. Twenty years after most of its colonies won independence, France is looking for new props to shore up its influence on the continent.

At a meeting last month in Nice between President Giscard d'Estaing and representatives of 25 African countries, there were hints from the French side that if France is to play the Good Samaritan to a wider range of needy countries, it will have to spend less time as the "gendarme of Africa".

In the past few years, French forces have rallied to the defence of "moderate" African governments and provided the only effective Western counterweight to Cuban-cum-Soviet intervention.

The climax of France's gendarme role was the Foreign Legion's successful parachute attack on rebels in southern Zaire two years ago. But the three French military actions since then have proved discouraging. In the first, French action was overtaken by events; in the second, it failed; in the third it has proved embarrassing.

Morocco's efforts to maintain control over the former Spanish Sahara began with France as an effective ally of the Moroccans and defending Mauritania against the Polisario rebels backed by Algeria. But a coup d'état in 1978 caused Mauritania to abandon its part of the disputed territory and this changed the alliance. The rebels' "republic" is gaining increasing recognition and France has had to move swiftly to a position of neutrality.

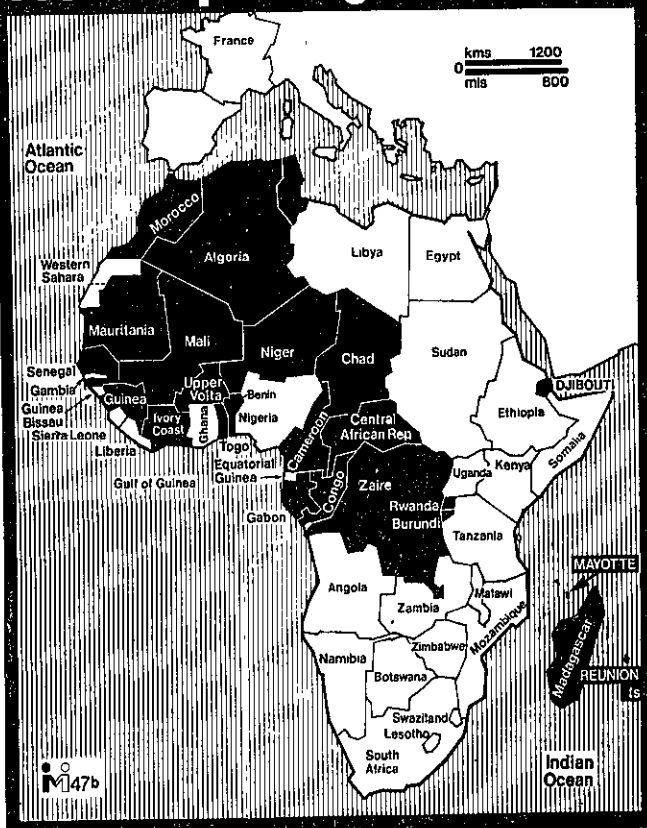
In Chad, 1 100 French troops completed an orderly withdrawal from their isolated base outside N'Djamena, the capital, on May 17, having seen to the evacuation of European families. But the civil war between rival factions of the victorious rebel armies from the Muslim north of the country continues.

France had been proclaiming its intention to pull out for over a year, judging the country to be dangerously over-militarised. In Nice, President Giscard put his foot down and said the troops were going and there was no new French initiative on its way.

The troops originally went in to defend a black-dominated military regime against a Libyan-backed revolt. France's effort towards a political settlement involved rehabilitating Mr Hissen Habré, a former kidnapper who was judged to be the northern leader most likely to stop Chad becoming a Libyan satellite and who was therefore promoted to Prime Minister.

But a negotiated settlement in Lagos last August, from which France was excluded, led to the emergence of Mr

French-speaking Africa



By DAVID WHITE in PARIS

Gorkouni Weddeye as leader of a fragile coalition which soon fell into open conflict. There are real fears that the vast, empty territory will fall under Libyan control.

In the Central African Republic, paratroopers can probably claim they averted a blood-bath, but the French-backed coup which overthrew Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa in September last year and re-installed the previous president has backfired in three ways. First came the acutely embarrassing allegations that President Giscard and other personalities received boxes of diamonds from the deposed dictator.

Then, Mr Bokassa arrived in Paris claiming that he was still a French citizen. The French Government managed to pack the ex-French soldier off to the Ivory Coast, but the incident highlighted the favour Bokassa had once enjoyed.

Finally, Mr David Dacko, the re-installed President, revealed that French troops had not come in to assist after the coup, as had been implied. Instead, the first 400 paratroopers had landed at the same time as he.

President Giscard does not like the word "intervention". At Nice he insisted that intervention was not part of France's policy, which he defined anew as "non-interference and solidarity". By solidarity, he meant that France would continue to respond to appeals

from African countries. But he hoped the appeals would involve contributions to development rather than anything else.

In the mid-1970s, France's main concern was Angola and the progress of the Soviet Union and Cuba on the continent. Now, the preoccupations are more complex.

The Chad conflict is having an unsettling effect on the rest of former French Equatorial Africa while there are fears for the stability of Zaire and certain "moderate" states of former French West Africa. Senegal is in deep economic trouble while an unsuccessful putsch against President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast merely underlined doubts about his succession.

But the Nice meeting showed the French at least as anxious to woo "progressive" states such as Benin and Congo, who are opposed to intervention on principle, as the "moderate" stalwarts.

France has widened the scope of the meetings since President Pompidou launched them in 1973. At Nice, there were 25 African countries represented, 14 by their heads of state. The group has taken in not only Zaire and other former Belgian colonies, but also the smaller ex-Portuguese and ex-Spanish states and two Commonwealth members, Mauritius and Sierra Leone. But there are important absentees, including Guinea, Cameroon and Madagascar.

President Giscard is hoping to get the whole Organisation of African Unity to back his proposal for a "trilogue" between Arab countries, Africa and Europe, already approved by the Franco-African group. The scheme, with cultural trimmings, is essentially a bid to channel more petrodollars into aid for Africa, backed by European guarantees and using European skills and goods.

The "trilogue" requires decisions by the EEC and the Arab League before preparations can be made for a Foreign Ministers' conference. A summit is not expected before 1982, and by that time Africa's economic plight will have worsened and some of its governments doubtless been overthrown.

What the African countries wanted more urgently in Nice was French aid and French support in securing more stable commodity prices and a liberal application of the Lome II trade pact with the EEC. Paris has promised more funds. The budget of its Co-operation Ministry, which handles the bulk of the French aid to Africa, has been raised 23% this year to R900-million.

France has 150 000 citizens living in Africa and over 7 000 troops on the continent. It also has large interests in mineral exploration, oil operations, public works, telecommunications and cars and its trade surplus has been rising.

But mercantile concerns alone would not explain France's interest in maintaining an African lobby. President Giscard keeps a close eye on the continent, and France's Africa policy has remained to a large extent the preserve of a series of presidential advisers.

With the rise in oil prices, the Nice collection of mostly minor African states relies more than ever on France's aid. By presenting himself as their natural protector, President Giscard manages to keep up the appearance that France's Africa policy is still going strong.

THE black states of Southern Africa are trying very hard to reduce their economic dependence on the Pretoria regime. Since Zimbabwe's independence earlier this year, they have lost no time springing into action, writes POST Africa Correspondent.

Events of immense significance are shaping in Southern Africa as the area's black states set about reducing their economic dependence on South Africa.

That the course is strewn with complications and difficulty does not detract from the basic aim: to finally achieve economic independence — every bit as important as the political kind — which means not having to depend on the politically detested Pretoria Government.

SUPPLY

There is a broader strategy at stake too: the post-Zimbabwe strategy of "Africa now stops at the Limpopo. South of that is an aberration that will only change through pressure and isolation."

South Africa's supply and transport links with black Southern Africa give Pretoria considerable influence in the region. Whatever Mozambique or Zambia or Zimbabwe may say about South Africa in public, they and the others know where their bread is buttered: or to be more exact, they know

Southern Africa aims for economic independence from Pretoria regime

where their bread comes from.

It is galling — both subjectively and strategically — to would-be respectable African revolutionaries as far north as Kinshasa to know how heavily they must lean on apartheid South Africa.

Until the independence of Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe there was little to be done except quietly rage. Now practical, though hugely expensive, alternatives are visible.

And the black states of Southern Africa have lost no time springing into action.

It began in Arusha, Tanzania, last year where Southern African heads of state assembled to discuss a counter to Mr P W Botha's "Southern African Constellation:" a scheme they still distrust as an effort to extend South African influence and thus bolster apartheid at home.

Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana, reliant on South Africa for 80 percent of his imports, made the key speech calling for an alternative "constellation" — one without South Africa.

Arusha led to Lusaka, Zambia, in April this year where the plan took more solid form with the creation of a powerful sub-committee on transport and communications.

SUMMIT

In Zaire, President Mobutu Sese Seko hosted a one-day summit to further discuss lessening links, specifically in the transport field, with South Africa.

Keys to the plan are Zimbabwe and Mozambique, Zimbabwe because of its powerful communications/agricultural manufacturing sector and Mozambique because of its three potentially good ports, Maputo, Beira and Mnacala.

Broadly the plan is to use the Mozambique ports for most of the exports (copper and cobalt from Zambia and Zaire primarily) and the imports for the whole region. Zimbabwe would take South Africa's place as the major supplier of

manufactured goods and food for the new union.

The major problem is the lack of adequate rail lines and ports. The line linking Zambia and Zaire to the Angolan port of Benguela is still cut, and kept that way, by Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

The Chinese built Tanzam rail line linking Zambia to Dar es Salaam is falling apart and Dar es Salaam cannot cope.

So the accent has fallen on Mozambique where just about the busiest man these days is surface Transport Minister Alcantara Santos.

HARBOUR

Beira harbour is being dredged to a depth of just over 10 m (which is still too shallow for big container ships), a sophisticated radio system linking Beira, Maputo and Mnacala is being installed and nearly 70 kilometres of track on the rail line linking Zimbabwe to Maputo is being restored. It was destroyed by Rhodesian commandos during the war last year.

Comrade Santos, who has been negotiating with the Swazis and Zimbabweans in the last month, will host a transport commission meeting during the first week of July with representatives from Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi where further plans will be made.

He has already announced that the line linking the coal mines of Moatize in Tete province with Malawi will be modernised as well as plans to electrify the rail line linking Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

There are also plans to open the oil pipeline from Beira to the refinery at Umtali, Zimbabwe, again. This is of central importance for since the pipe was closed shortly after Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, all Salisbury's fuel came through South Africa.

It all sounds very fine, but will it work?

It is ironic that Zimbabwe, according to Finance Minister Enos Nka-

la, should have been assigned the "breadbasket" role in a year when, for the first time since UDI, she has to import maize from South Africa just to feed her own people.

At Arusha it was estimated that economic independence from South Africa would not leave any change out of 2000-million US dollars. That money is not available locally, so there will have to be foreign aid. And experience has shown that in Africa foreign aid never comes in the amounts required.

There is also the inefficiency factor which has crippled many African port and railway systems. Trucks break down and are not repaired. Whole trains get shunted down side tracks and remain ignored, their cargoes rotting. Ships wait up to three weeks for unloading. South Africa recently temporarily stopped its maize shipments to Zambia because more than 1000 of her wagons were stuck north of the Zambezi.

LEADERS

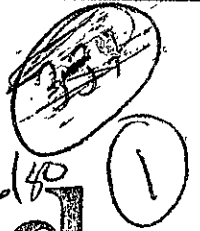
The same malaise may strike the new "Constellation." It is no good having beautiful rail lines and ports without the people to run them and by contrast South Africa's communication lines are models of efficiency.

Black leaders know all this and it has already been announced that despite the planned new order, bilateral trade agreements with South Africa will still be allowed.

It will be expensive, it will take time but, especially if Zimbabwe remains stable and retains enough skills, it can work. Foreign money might be available for the project, especially as world pressure against South Africa grows.

South Africa, instead of turning inward on herself, could through reform at home, endeavour to become part of the new order for she has by far the most to offer in what may be the most powerful "Commonwealth" of the next few decades.

A Third World dumping ground



S Post 22/6/40

A MAJOR new threat to the African environment has emerged with the news that a United States chemical company has offered Sierra Leone's President Siaka Stevens an annual "licence fee" of up to R30-million if he will allow American toxic waste to be dumped in his country.

The US embassy in Sierra Leone warned the Washington State Department of the plan, suggesting it might backfire and lead Africans to condemn the US for "dumping its waste in the black man's backyard." After hurried consultations between the various government departments in Washington, the embassy was instructed to tell the Sierra Leone government of American concern over "the potential adverse environmental and health consequences of the export of toxic wastes to less developed countries."

The US company concerned — the Nedlog Technology Group Inc. of Colorado — has openly admitted its meeting with President Stevens, and says that it has approached officials in Chile with similar proposals. Nedlog vice-president, James Wolfe, says that Sierra Leone is "only one of half a dozen countries we are looking at." Wolfe says his com-

pany wants to ship one million tons of toxic waste to the Third World each year.

The US State Department has been startled by Press reports in Washington quoting chemical industry sources, on plans to dump toxic wastes in Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and other countries as well as Sierra Leone and Chile. US officials were unaware of these schemes, and embassies have now been asked to make urgent enquiries. The scale of the proposed dumping

ports this UNEP resolution and will "discourage" the export of "banned hazardous chemicals" to the Third World.

But whether the US can live up to this promise remains to be seen. At present no laws exist to ban the export of poisonous wastes, and urgent White House discussions are now under way to find a legal basis for any government ruling.

In 1977 Dr J C Ki-ano, Kenya's minister for water development, charged that developing countries

getting.

Officials in Washington feel that while developing nations must make their own decisions on whether to import toxic wastes for reprocessing or underground dumping, the US obligation is to make sure the importers have full knowledge of just what they are accepting. Regulations currently being drafted would force companies like Nedlog to give advance notice to the US government.

Virtually nothing is known about similar exports of toxic waste from other industrialised countries to the Third World. But it seems likely that as controls on waste disposal and pollution get tougher in Europe and Japan as well as in the USA, chemical companies will look increasingly to Africa, Asia and Latin America as potential graveyards for chemicals which are thought too dangerous to be kept at home.

There is a real danger that some Third World governments may be tempted by the big money to risk the environment, health and maybe even lives.

A combination of US government disapproval and unfavourable publicity may now have killed the Nedlog Sierra Leone scheme.

US chemical industry plans to use Africa as a big rubbish dump

as well as the very large sums of money involved, have surprised the officials.

They privately admit to considerable alarm about this potentially worldwide environmental hazard, which until this month had been almost entirely overlooked. "Everybody in the past has been thinking about the export of dangerous products, not wastes", said one source.

The US government has now told its embassy in the Sierra Leone capital, Freetown, to assure the government that it sup-

were being treated as guinea pigs for determining the safety of chemicals, and warned that the Third World would no longer tolerate being used as "a dumping ground for products that have not been adequately tested."

Following Dr Ki-ano's speech, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) resolved that countries importing potentially harmful chemicals from industrialised countries should have "knowledge and consent" about what they were

Why European solutions have failed in black Africa

APRIL TIMES
23/6/80

From ANNE SINGTON

PARIS — Rene Dumont is an expert on the third world, and a voice crying in the wilderness with an energy and indignation that belie his 76 years. Since the early Sixties, when the colonial powers were pulling out of Africa, he has been warning that European solutions are not the answer to black Africa's problems. And he draws little consolation from the fact that events are proving him right.

Professor Dumont, an agronomist with studies of more than 75 countries behind him, argues that Africa is poorer — indeed, is actually hungrier — now than it was in the colonial era — not because of too little technology but because too much technology has been introduced too quickly (and with little imagination). A good deal of the blame for this poverty, he places on the West.

The blame

At the same time Dumont, the author of some 20 books, insists that Africa must accept the blame for many of her problems, and, he is quick to criticize African leaders who, even when not corrupt, have destroyed workable agricultural systems by imposing Western methods of farming. Dumont is no stranger to

politics, but he has not acquired the politician's gift for equivocation. His direct approach became as familiar to the French public as his straggling wisps of white hair when he stood as ecological candidate in the last presidential election. He scored 337 800 votes, or 1.32 percent, introducing the French to popularized ecology. The experience will not be repeated. "I'm a third wonder now," he says.

He was in Paris recently — between a fresh African expedition and a foray into South America — and he talked to me about his long battle against the mistakes, inefficiencies and dishonesties that have marked decades of independence for Europe's former colonies in Africa.

"Tropical Africa started out on the wrong foot in the early 1960s when its newly-independent states failed to seek a form of economic development adapted to their circumstances. Instead, they swallowed whole the colonial model based on export of a single raw material, and attempted to mimic Western production and consumer practices. "I was lecturing in Brussels

on the third world — 'We colonialists were wrong, etc. . . . and a former settler in the audience got up and said: 'I've been back. The peasants are better in our time than they do today.' I told him: 'That's quite true. No need to lie about it. The Mobutu government exploits the peasants even worse than you Belgians did.'"

The precursor of over-Westernization, says the professor, was Britain's groundnuts scheme just after the war, when armies of tractor-were unleashed on South-east Tanganyika. The resultingiasco did not stop everyone else from doing likewise.

"We French had our own little peanuts scheme in the Senegal island of Casamance, and there, at Sefa, midway between the sea and the back country, is a tractor cemetery that is worth a visit. But if you want to see a really grandiose one, go to Nachingwea in the south of Tanzania. We should send out poets there to meditate. *Bon sang* — these are the cemeteries of our civilization."

Such is Dumont's standing that he was commissioned by President Kaunda to carry out a study of Zambia's economy.

He presented his report earlier this year.

"President Kaunda set up 223 production co-operatives in Zambia. Twelve farmers were grouped in each, contributing between them \$6 in capital, while the state put in \$6 000 in the form of a fine tractor, a trailer, tools, fertilizer, seeds — everything except technical skill. And all 223 co-operatives went bankrupt."

"In 1967," Dumont goes on, "I visited one of those co-operatives near Livingstone in South Zambia. Its chief said to me: 'We Tongas have always worked with oxen. We asked for permission to use our credit to buy 24 animals. The answer was 'Farming with oxen is a thing of the past. Here is a tractor.' The tractor has been under repair in the workshop at Livingstone for six months and this year's ploughing season has been completely lost. If they had given us 24 oxen and one had broken a leg — these things happen — we would have gone on working with 23. But when a tractor breaks down, that's that.' One or two countries — Senegal and Mali among them — are coming round to the idea Dumont has been pushing — that what is needed is a lot of animals."

A recent study in Zambia showed that if, say, a bolt snapped during the ploughing season a farmer would have to travel, on average, 160 km by bus — with perhaps only three buses a week — to get a replacement. This could cost him half the season — for a job that could be done by a blacksmith.

But there are no blacksmiths because the Zambian government has ruled that schools, hospitals and administrative offices must be built to modern standards. This means importing prefabricated doors and windows from the West (which means South Africa). If these were made at home, says Dumont, there would be work for the blacksmith. Since they are not, there are no blacksmiths.

"I told President Kaunda: 'In Zambia you have made a maximum of economic errors'. He argued: 'We are not the worst. What about Zaïre?'" Dumont says Kaunda has the right idea



Professor Rene Dumont . . . on where the West went wrong in Africa.

but that, like other African leaders, he is hampered by the clique of profiteers who surround him ("20 percent of the national product goes to the two percent of the population who wield power"). "I warned Kaunda and Nyerere in 1967 of their mistakes and they called me back to advise them last year. But their bureaucrats do not care for my recommendations. Our report was printed by the Zambian stationery office, but the secretary-general derided it to be suppressed."

Tanzania, he says, made an effort for its farmers, but it was misdirected by the bureaucracy. Unwillingness to learn from the peasants is an important aspect of official inefficiency. For centuries farmers in the Tanzanian province of Mwanza have classified their land in 12 categories, each with its own characteristics — suitable for a certain crop, for sowing at the beginning of the rainy season, or later.

But the district officer arrived with his plan, which ignored local knowledge. "Each family," he said, "will cultivate three acres of cotton, three acres of maize and three acres of manioc." He quite disregarded the fact not all the land was suitable for the designated crops.

"In the shanty-towns and in the countryside there is chronic malnutrition," says Dumont. "More than half the population of Africa does not get enough to eat, even in good years. Babies are born smaller. Famine begins in the mother's womb."

"One day soon, when they are dying of hunger, terrorism will become the last weapon of social protest available to the third world. We shall have third world terrorism on our own doorstep."

Dumont blames what he calls the violence of Western institutions for starving the third world.

"In 1973 I agreed to take part in a world seminar on sugar, in Paris. Experts told us the sugar shortage was there to stay. An enormous production effort was called for. Prices rose sky-high and for 18 months the West sold sugar factories to the developing countries.

"Convinced it would make its fortune, the Ivory Coast had bought six large plants. Then sugar prices dropped. President Houphouët-Boigny says: 'We were robbed. They charged too much.' Two of the factories are operating for home consumption. The other four plants have been wrapped in Cellophane. The capital investment works out at \$2 000 per ton of sugar."

By oxen

"On the other hand, in the Cape Verde islands recently I watched an elementary sugar mill in operation. It consisted essentially of two metal cylinders turned by a pair of oxen. Assuming roughly a 200-day season and production of 100 kg a day, a calculated capital investment of two-and-a-half dollars per ton.

"Edward Sokoine, prime minister of Tanzania, said to me the other day: 'They are strangling us. By 'they' he meant the Western world, the capitalist countries, the oil countries. The book we brought back from our African trip is a howl of horror. We have called it 'Africa Strangled'. But will our howl be heard?'"

From the Sunday Telegraph, London

Bokassa

claims

deal with

Rhoodie

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — Ousted Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Empire is about to re-open the Rhoodie case with claims about his dealings with the former Information chief.

French Press reports in Paris yesterday said that the former emperor, embittered at the way he feels he has been abandoned by Western leaders, has decided "to tell all". It will include "dynamite" on Rhoodie, observers believe.

The weekly news magazine "Le Point" reported that the former emperor, from his exile in Ivory Coast, has sent his claims to a publisher in the US.

It said the manuscript "tells all about his relations with several foreign heads of State: De Gaulle, Libya's Colonel Gaddafi, and South African leaders."

French newsmen who covered the "French connection" angle of the Rhoodie affair said there was also a "Bokassa connection", which has been barely touched.

They claimed Dr Connie Mulder, then Information and Interior Minister, had met the emperor privately in Paris.

They said Dr Rhoodie had met Emperor Bokassa in France and in Bangui, capital of the Central African Empire.

Dr Mulder, approached yesterday for comment on the claims, denied ever having met Emperor Bokassa. "I've never met him in my life — not in Paris nor in his country. I have never been there," he said.

Dr Mulder, asked to comment about the alleged South African financing of projects in the Central African Empire, said as far as he knew none of the transactions mentioned had been financed by the defunct Department of Information.

South African money certainly flowed into Emperor Bokassa's coffers when he badly needed it. South Africa and France helped finance Bokassa's coronation.

Emperor Bokassa is believed to be behind a smear campaign against President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, claiming he and his two cousins received presents from the emperor in the form of diamonds.

THE LIBYAN Revolutionary Committee's threat, made known recently, to kill two of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's opponents in London shows how confused the situation has become, both in Libya and abroad. As a result Mr Musa Mausa, head of the Libyan mission in London, has been expelled from the UK.

This month Colonel Gaddafi promised "a bloodbath" among Libyan dissidents who did not return home by June 11. That was not an empty threat. Within hours of the deadline expiring, a Libyan was shot and wounded in the streets of Rome by a gunman shouting "Gaddafi! Gaddafi!" A few hours later another was shot dead in Milan. Before the deadline, nine dissidents had been killed by gunmen over whom the government claimed to have no control.

About the same time as the shootings in Milan Colonel Gaddafi suddenly called for an end to the liquidation of exiles, except those who collaborated with the US, Israel and Egypt.

These attacks abroad are only a small part of a sweeping purge now under way within Libya. Every night in Tripoli and Benghazi gloomy, if impassive, Libyans watch show-trials of officials on television. The accused are invigilated by a Revolutionary Committee before an invited audience which periodically interrupts the proceedings to shout slogans and denunciations. It is fair to say that many of the accused are unquestionably guilty of corruption.

Fear of arrest for corruption, or political dissent has already paralysed parts of the economy. Libyans do not want to put their signatures to any order or invoice which might later give rise to accusations of corruption. Few new contracts have been awarded in the last two months.

Libyans have good reason to be afraid. Some 1 800 are under arrest and executions are thought to be running at about 10 a week, though neither figure can be checked. In the last year 800 Libyans are widely believed to have disappeared or been executed.

Over the years Colonel Gaddafi has had a taste for blood-thirsty rhetoric. It is often said that his bark is a great deal worse than his bite. International adventures, like the disastrous bid to prop up Idi Amin in Uganda in 1979 and the Gafsa raid into Tunisia earlier this year, have hit the headlines.

Such melodramas have drawn attention away from the significance of the social and political revolution that Colonel Gaddafi has launched. The country resembles China in the throes of the Cultural Revolution. The institutions of the state are being attacked by the leader himself. An egalitarian democracy is to be set up. Revolutionary Committees play the role of the Red Guards in China. Nobody in Tripoli knows quite where their authority ends and that of the government begins.

Libya's allies among the hardline Arab states have a similar problem. It is impossible to know how long any

Gaddafi's own Libyan cultural revolution

Not even the Libyans themselves are sure which way Colonel Muammar Gaddafi will move next. Hit squads, frozen bank accounts and corruption all add to this state of uncertainty.
PATRICK COCKBURN, who was recently in Libya, reports.

agreement or alliance signed in Tripoli will last. Militants such as Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organisation suddenly find support cut off because they are not militant enough. Libya's utter intransigence limits its influence, but at the same time it helps to keep the political air of the Middle East electric.

In OPEC Libya's militancy is always significant, though now so traditional that it causes little comment. But even before the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, Libya began to force up oil prices by squeezing independent oil companies which had no alternative source of supply. Higher oil prices last year have allowed the government to cut production to 1.75-million barrels a day and the current emphasis on revolutionary zeal means a tougher deal for the Western oil companies with production and exploration agreements. But, even today, Libya's oil reserves amount only to 25-billion barrels.

Officially Colonel Gaddafi has resigned as head of state and from all other positions to devote his time to "revolutionary work". In fact he acts as a sort of Mahdi (spiritual and temporal leader) with near-absolute control of the forces on which he relies to create his Messianic vision of a new Libya. In 1977 he first launched his campaign for people's democracy and against the Libyan middle class. When popular committees lapsed into apathy

Revolutionary Committees were set up at the end of last year.

Many of Colonel Gaddafi's aims are estimable. He has never been satisfied with running a typical oil state. With the Libyan population only 3-million and oil revenues of R11 500-R14 000-million last year that would have posed few problems.

Instead, Colonel Gaddafi wants a country in which Libyans are not dependent on oil, where they work in factories and on the land instead of comfortably depending on the 1/2-million non-Libyans who make up 50% of the workforce. In what is basically a caste society his vision seems impossible.

The private sector has been wiped out. Every family is allowed only one house and renting property to expatriates, previously a prime source of income for middle-class Libyans, is now reserved exclusively for the state. Bank deposits of individuals were limited to R25 710 in 1978. This inevitably led to currency hoarding. To stop this the government decided to nullify the currency. Old money had to be deposited in a bank where all but R2 700 was frozen.

Long queues formed outside every bank, some reluctant depositors waiting nine or 10 hours. Farmers from the countryside brought van loads of currency into Tripoli. In a few cases, dinar burning par-

ties were held, but in general the whole operation went smoothly. This docility is all the more remarkable since the frozen deposits will be doled out only in cases of emergency. All shops are to be closed and replaced by vast modern supermarkets.

In theory the social and cultural revolution aims to create a new Libya with heavy industry and more extensive agriculture capable of standing on its own when oil runs out towards the end of the century. To develop the country expenditure of R203 000-million is planned over the next 20 years.

Even before the present revolutionary changes all was not going well. In development areas only 9% of industrial labour force and 20% of the agricultural labour force is Libyan. In addition to 32 000 European expatriates (6 000 of whom are British) the semi-skilled and unskilled labour force is dominated by non-Libyans, including 100 000 Egyptians and 70 000 Pakistanis.

Every sector of the economy is being hit by sudden and ill-organised conscription into the army. For instance, one oil company found that of 143 trained Libyan operators and craftsmen only 56 were at work. Of the others, no fewer than 67 had been called up for military service or were missing.

Difficulties are increased by Colonel Gaddafi's sudden declarations of policy. At the end of last year he stated that every truck driver should own his own truck. By the following day the police were stopping trucks, looking at the log book and, if the driver was not the owner, immobilising the vehicle there and then.

Western technicians are increasingly reluctant to go to the country. Three British diplomats and 17 residents were expelled last week. Local housing committees often take over their houses with no warning, depositing furniture outside. "There simply aren't any ground rules any more," one company manager complained. It is impossible to tell when the police will pounce. An Italian leaving Tripoli airport was picked up with some extra dollars in his back pocket. Legally, he should have declared them before entering Libya. He was given 18 months in jail.

The result is economic chaos. Training and education are disrupted by conscription and this sets back efforts to Libyanise the workforce. A methanol plant near Mersa Brega, opened six months ago, has so far operated only for 20 days. The general economic plan over the next 20 years is to bridge the gap between the two main centres of population at Benghazi and Tripoli by building up a hydro-carbon industry on the Mediterranean coast.

Because of over-use in the cities, water is running out, so a big shift of population to the far south of Libya, where water can be pumped from under the desert, is projected. The problem is that few Libyans have the slightest desire to live and work in the wastes of the Gulf of Sirte or in the middle of the Sahara. When cereals grown in the later area finally reach the consumer in Tripoli they will have cost up to five times the international price.

For a long time the Libyans, including the very rich, tolerated their country's bizarre foreign policy escapades so long as they could continue to make money. And when the revolution which Col Gaddafi had for so long tried to export was redirected for internal consumption, they had left it too late.

Against Col Gaddafi's singleness of purpose, if not fixity of vision, there was little they could do. Too many of his enemies were on the make; and frequently on the take; to pose a real threat to his authority. It is possible that Colonel Gaddafi's continually frustrated extremism will drive him to such lengths that he will be overthrown by an army coup perhaps with Egyptian intervention. But so far that is only conjecture.

①
RDM
26/6/80.

Just words . . . and not a spoonful more for the hungry

① RDH
26/6/80

THE world may soon be forced to mount another international emergency food assistance programme such as the one in Kampuchea — this time for East Africa.

More than 50-million people in Tanzania, Uganda, Somalia, Kenya and Zambia might have pinned their faith on the World Food Council meeting held recently in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha.

But nothing concrete came out of it to fight the mass starvation now hitting Eastern and Central Africa.

Tanzania appealed for an informal session of the 36 member states of the organization, which was set up by the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, to discuss the plight of hungry men and women in Uganda and Somalia. But it went unheeded and was relegated to a mere "appeal" at the end of the conference.

The Tanzanian Agriculture Minister, Mr John Malecela, spoke of the horrific situation developing. He said about 100 000 people had died in recent months in the dry northern areas of Uganda and Somalia, where people have lost their livestock and the few crops they cultivate, due to long successive droughts.

In the northern province of Karamoja, in Uganda, at least 100 people were dying every day. It is now the worst area for deaths from hunger in all Africa.

In Somalia more than 1.5-million people are threatened with death, and their number is growing daily as political

tension between Ethiopia and Somalia forces more people to flee their homes.

About 700 000 people are sheltered in small shanty camps with little food supplies, while 800 000 more are roaming the deserts. In neighbouring Djibouti, the situation is growing worse, with little internal aid.

Mr Malecela asked why the world community watched helplessly as people starved. He said: "It is a sad fact of life, particularly in Africa, that a few thousand have to die before meaningful international assistance is made available."

At Arusha, few delegates from the rich and food-producing Western countries took heed of Mr Malecela's plea. In the end the resolution simply called on the world community to come to the aid of nine African countries — Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Botswana and those in the Sahel (West African) area.

A Zambian delegate summed up Third World frustrations: "It was all words. We rumbled around. We concluded that this was more a talking shop than a serious meeting to solve hunger in the world."

The Third World's attempts to convince developed countries of the need for a food contingency, aid convention and food financing facility were thwarted by the major grain-exporting countries — mainly the United States, Japan, Australia and the Euro-

pean Economic Community. They angered other delegates with their non-committal stand.

Only the Group of 77 brought good news for the poor. It pledged that it would step up contributions to the erratic and unstable 500 000-ton international emergency food reserve established by the United Nations General Assembly five years ago to take care of natural and man-made catastrophes.

Even the International Monetary Fund's food import financing facility, intended to bail out poor countries by providing soft loans when food supplies and foreign exchange earnings dwindle, is still on the drawing board.

Since its creation in 1974 the World Food Council has been helping Third World countries to raise local food production and also set up a \$1-billion International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD), mainly for the 48 most needy countries all over the world.

The council advises hungry Third World countries to devise better national food strategies and food security reserves.

In one paper presented in Arusha by world food experts, Africa was singled out as being in a most serious position, with one in five people going to bed with less than the minimum necessary food in their stomachs.

Dr Maurice Williams, executive director of the World Food Council, believes that a

permanent answer lies in individual countries boosting their local food production and investing more in agriculture projects. Food aid to poor countries has reached 9-million tons annually, out of which only one third is set aside to feed the undernourished.

Last year, Third World countries imported more than 80-million tons of food grains, at an estimated cost of \$19-billion. At the turn of this century, the grain import will reach the 145-million tons mark, Dr Williams predicted.

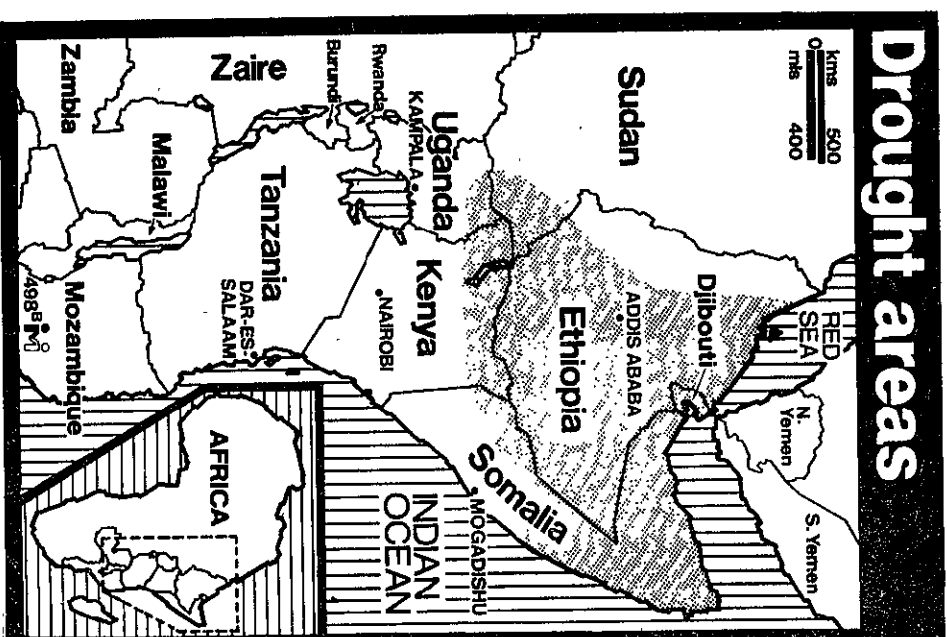
He added: "Africa has 10% less food per head now than it had a decade ago. A hundred million people are daily getting less than the minimum to eat."

A disappointed delegate from Uganda said: "Only Canada made specific promises. It looked as if we were on a football pitch, each side trying to win over the other. Actually it was a virtual tug of war. The seven days spent here did not mean another spoonful of food for the hungry."

Did ideological differences tear the conference apart or was it mere greed or protectionist attitudes which produced so little result at Arusha?

Certainly some delegates had hinted before the meeting that maverick economic-social policies by developing countries were a major cause of the dwindling food production that was forcing them to import grains.

"It was all words." "The seven days spent here did not mean another spoonful of food for the hungry." Just two comments from African delegates to a World Food Council meeting in Tanzania. The Third World came away, feeling all their efforts to get help to relieve the agonising drought disaster in East Africa came to nothing.



Words but no food for starving Africans

From BROWN
LENGA

DAR ES SALAAM. — The world may soon be forced to mount another international emergency food assistance programme such as the one in Kampuchea — this time for East Africa.

The more than 50m people of Tanzania, Uganda, Somalia, Kenya and Zambia might have pinned their faith on the world food council meeting recently held in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha. But nothing concrete came out of it to fight the mass starvation now hitting Eastern and Central Africa.

Tanzania appealed for an informal session of the 36 member states of the organization, which was set up by the United Nations general assembly in 1974, to discuss the plight of hungry men and women in Uganda and Somalia. But it went unheeded and was relegated to a mere "appeal" at the end of the conference.

The Tanzanian agriculture minister, Mr John Malecela, spoke of the horrific situation developing. He said about 100 000 had died in recent months in the northern dryland of Uganda and Somalia, where people have lost their livestock and the few crops they cultivate, through long successive droughts.

Worst area

In the northern province of Karamoja, in Uganda, at least 100 people were dying every day. It is now the worst area for deaths from hunger in all Africa.

In Somalia more than 1.5m people are threatened with death, and their number is daily growing as political tension between Ethiopia and Somalia forces more people to flee their homes.

Some 700 000 are sheltered in small shanty camps with little food supply, while 800 000 others are roaming the deserts foodless. In neighbouring Djibouti, the situation is daily growing worse, with little internal aid.

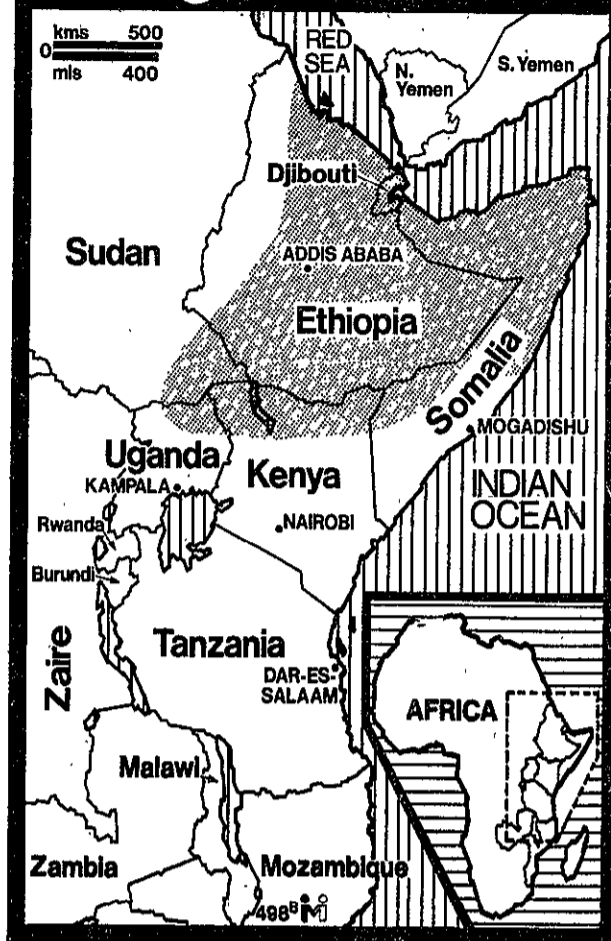
Mr Malecela asked why the world community watched helplessly as hunger racked the people. He said: "It is a sad fact of life, particularly in Africa, that a few thousand have to die before meaningful international assistance is made available."

At Arusha few delegates from the rich food-producing Western countries took heed of Malecela's plea. In the end the resolution simply called on the world community to come to the aid of nine African countries: — Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Botswana and those in the Sahel (West African) area.

A Zambian delegate summed up third world frustrations: "It was all words. We concluded that this was more a talking-shop than a serious meeting to solve hunger in the world."

The third world's attempts to convince developed countries of the need for a food contingency, aid convention and food financing facility, were thwarted by the major grain-exporting countries: — mainly the United States, Japan, Australia and the European Economic Community. They angered other delegates with

Drought areas



their non-committal stand.

Only the Group of 77 brought good news for the poor. It pledged that it would step up help to the erratic and unstable 500 000-ton international emergency food reserve established by the United Nations general assembly five years ago to take care of natural and man-made catastrophes.

Even the international monetary fund's food import financing facility, intended to bail out poor countries by providing soft loans when food supplies and foreign exchange earnings dwindle, is still on the drawing-board.

Since its creation in 1974 the world food council has been helping third world countries to raise local food production and also set up the billion-dollar international fund for agriculture development (IFAD), mainly for the 43 most needy countries all over the world.

The council advises hungry third world countries to devise better national food strategies and food reserves.

In one paper presented in Arusha by world food experts, Africa was singled out as in a most serious position, with one in five people going to bed with less than the minimum food in their stomachs.

Dr Maurice Williams, executive director of the World Food Council, believes that a permanent answer lies in individual countries boosting their local food production and investing more in agricultural projects. Food aid to poor countries has reached nine million tons annually, out of which only one-third is set aside to feed the undernourished.

Last year third world countries imported more than 80 million tons of food grains. At the turn of this century, the grain imports will reach the 145-ton mark, Dr Williams predicted.

He added: "Africa has 10 percent less food per head now than it had a decade ago. A

hundred million people are daily getting less than a minimum to eat."

A disappointed delegate from Uganda said: "Only Canada made specific promises. It looked as if we were on a football pitch, each side trying to win over the other. Actually it was a virtual tug-of-war. The seven days spent here did not mean another spoonful of food for the hungry."

Did ideological differences tear the conference apart or was it a greedy or protectionist attitude which produced so little result at Arusha?

Certainly some delegates had hinted before the meeting that maverick economic-social policies by developing countries were a major cause of the dwindling food production that was forcing them to import grains.

© Copyright 1980 Gemini News Service

OAU's bid to end war in Chad

30/6/80
FREETOWN. — African Foreign Ministers said yesterday that another attempt would be made to finance a neutral African peacekeeping force for strife-torn Chad.

A resolution passed at the closing session of the Organisation of African Unity's Council of Ministers in Freetown said peace in Chad was being undermined by African and other powers.

It warned: "Internecine carnage and destruction of property in Chad may continue unless prompt and effective action is taken."

The resolution, which will be submitted to the OAU summit starting on Tuesday, reaffirmed support for Chad peace accords, signed in Nigeria in August 1979, and for the transitional National Union government of President Goukouni Oueddei.

Forces loyal to the President are fighting those of his former Minister of Defence, Mr Hisen Habre.

Part of the Nigerian agreement was that an OAU force from Congo, Benin and Guinea would go to Chad and help pave the way for elections within 18 months.

But the force proved ineffectual when the fighting erupted, partly because of lack of funds.

An OAU spokesman, Dr Peter Onu, said yesterday that the resolutions called for one more attempt to send a neutral OAU force to Chad.

He said member states would be asked to contribute peacekeeping troops at their own expense, in accordance with conditions to be determined at the summit.

Dr Onu said logistical and operational costs would be met from voluntary contributions.

"In the event of failure by the OAU to raise the necessary funds after a period of two months, the United Nations Security Council will be requested to provide assistance, particularly the necessary financial means to enable peace to be restored in Chad," he added.

He declined comment when asked if the OAU was envisaging purely financial aid or would ask for a UN peacekeeping force.

Dr Onu said the fighting in Chad had caused thousands of casualties and a big flow of refugees into neighbouring countries.

Closing the Council of Ministers meeting, the Sierra Leone Foreign Minister, Mr Abdulai Conteh, said: "The fratricidal wars waged in that country are not only needlessly destructive of life and property, but they also sap the very political will and fibre of our organisation."

He said the tragedy of Chad could have been "nipped in the bud if our organisation were well equipped with the necessary mechanism to respond speedily to such situations."

• The Ministers called for a total withdrawal of Western companies from South Africa. They said Western investments and bank loans helped "bolster the South African regime". — Sapa-Reuter

8 000 die in

30/6/80

Ogaden war

① RDM 30/6

MOGADISHU. — The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) said yesterday its forces had killed 8,048 Ethiopian soldiers and captured 72 in fighting in the Ogaden Desert area during April and May.

The statement followed reports of increased activity in the guerrilla war, which has been going on in the Ogaden since regular Somali troops were withdrawn from the area in March, 1978. — Sapa-Reuters

Several times a week Sister Rosetta and students from the remote mission school at Kaabong in arid north-eastern Uganda perform a gruesome task. They spread out in nearby fields and search the bush for the bloated bodies of children and adults who have died of starvation.

Those corpses that are already decaying are doused with kerosene and burned where they lie. The rest are wrapped in white sheets and carried back to the mission where they are buried, two or three together in unmarked graves.

"Our cemetery is becoming full," says the 35-year-old Italian nun as she surveys more than 15 fresh graves. "More people have died here in the last two months than the previous 20 years. Yet if we had transport and medical facilities we could save many of these people."

Escaped

More than 1 600 km away at a makeshift refugee transit camp on the Somali-Ethiopian border at Tug Wajale, Abdi Duali tells why he fled to safety in Somalia with his six children from the war in Ethiopia's Ogaden Region.

"Ethiopian soldiers attacked my village and I hid with my children in the bush," he says. "When I crept back I found my wife killed, so I ran away with my children."

The family faces a bleak future. There are already 1.5-million refugees from the war in Somalia, more than one for every three indigenous Somalis. There is not enough food and medicine for their needs. As a result thousands have already died and hundreds more join them every week.

Seven years after famine claimed the lives of a quarter of a million people in the Sahelian drought in West Africa, the continent is again faced by a disaster of huge proportions. This time it is East Africa that is bearing the brunt.

Danger

Food experts estimate that more than 60-million people will experience prolonged hunger this year in a string of nations stretching from the Red Sea to the South African border. Thousands have already died and hundreds of thousands are considered in immediate danger if emergency supplies do not reach them

Africa's growing toll from war, drought

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Nairobi.

rapidly. All, to some extent, are victims of drought which is endemic in Africa.

But 2.5-million are refugees from prolonged and indecisive conflicts in the Ogaden, Eritrea and Chad as well as civil strife in Uganda. They have sought safety in pitifully overcrowded and unsanitary camps in Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia. Equally disturbing is the fact that over the past 10 years, Africa has become the world's hungriest continent with the population expanding three times faster than food production. Of the 29 hungriest nations classified by the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation, 23 are now in Africa.

Horror

In Uganda's desolate north-eastern Karamoja region man and the elements have combined to create an area of stark and unremitting horror in this African tragedy. The war that toppled Idi Amin 16 months ago prevented crops being planted.

At the same time the armoury in the town of Moroto was looted of 12 000 automatic weapons and a million rounds of ammunition. Much of it found its way into the

hands of traditionally warring tribesmen who made the transition from spears to Russian AK47 automatic rifles in one bound. They have since laid waste the region, burning, killing and cornering most of the food supplies as they go.

Some 400 000 people in the region face starvation. Successive Ugandan governments have done nothing to restore order and corrupt officials in the capital of Kampala 320 km away have stolen international relief supplies and sold them at enormous profit to themselves.

Buried

Says Melissa Wells, the head of the United Nations development programme in Uganda: "Just by adding up the figures from each church mission station we know at least 100 people are being buried every day. But there's no way of telling how many other people just die of starvation in the bush before making it to food distribution centres."

Some relief workers estimate that deaths are running at 500 a day and predict the situation can only get worse because of the continuing blood

chaos in the region.

In Somalia the continuing war between Somali backed guerillas and Ethiopian troops backed by Cuban forces for the Ogaden region has created "the worst refugee problem in the world.

"As a result of what appears to be a deliberate bid by the Ethiopians to drive all Somali-speakers from the region, 1.5-million refugees have flooded into Somalia. Some 700 000, nearly all of them women and children, are being cared for in 25 government camps. The rest are nomadic groups who have crossed the border with their cattle and are roaming the country in search of food.

By September

Relief workers fear that they may be joined by up to 100 000 more by the end of the year. They warn that there will be mass starvation unless the world provides 80 000 tons of food before September to feed the victims of a relentless war.

In Ethiopia itself, nine of the nation's 14 provinces have been declared drought areas and the government claims that five-million face starvation. The figure is considered highly inflated by UN officials who say perhaps one-million face famine and that 150 000 tons of grain together with other relief supplies are urgently needed to avert disaster.

However, the Marxist rulers of the nation have good reason to exaggerate their difficulties. It was a massive famine in Ethiopia in 1973 which gave impetus to the revolution that toppled Emperor Haile Selassie.

Some one-million refugees from Ethiopia's northernmost province of Eritrea — where secessionist guerillas are fighting a war stretching back 17 years — and from northern Uganda have also flooded into Sudan. The government this week called an international conference in the capital of Khartoum at which it urgently appealed for aid to cater for their needs and also feed its own people.

Drought and a combination of poor storage facilities, lack of planning, inadequate distribution and low government prices for vital agricultural crops have created food shortages in a string of other east African states, including Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

①
STAR
11/2/80

SA rail link: no option yet for Africa

LUBUMBASHI (Zaire). — Black African states are discussing ways to lessen their dependence on the Southern African rail system. They hope, now that Zimbabwe is independent, under a black government, to be able to divert their trade through Mozambique.

The leaders of Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique met recently in this southern Zaire mining town and agreed to seek a transport pact which would achieve this aim.

But, as officials of all four countries acknowledge, there are major problems.

"The Southern African rail system is like the human arterial system," said one Zimbabwean official. "You can cut off the limbs, and the organism keeps going — but you can't do without the heart. At the moment, as far as black Africa is concerned, the heart is in the wrong place: South Africa."

Turmoil, war and upheaval over the past five years have left black African exporters with little option but to ship goods through South Africa.

Zaire's traditional export route for its copper and cobalt, which earns two thirds of its foreign exchange revenue, was the Benguela railway through Angola, supplemented by a circuitous rail-river route to the Atlantic coast at Matadi.

But the Angolan civil war in 1975 closed the Benguela route, and the continuing revolt since then by anti-government guerrillas has prevented it reopening.

Earlier this year Angolan officials said the line was operating again, but Zairean diplomats say there are still "enormous problems" before Zaire — which covertly supports Angola's anti-government rebels — can revert to using it.

The rail-river route to Matadi is almost at a standstill, the diplomats say, so there is no real option except to ship out vital exports through and South Africa.

Zambia, too, is highly dependent on this trade corridor.

Like Zaire, President Kaunda's landlocked nation used the Benguela railway for half its trade until 1975, and was able to switch to the newly-opened Chinese-built Tazara line to Dar es Salaam when the Benguela was severed.

However, mounting problems on the Tazara, attributed by experts to mismanagement, inefficiency at Dar es Salaam, and lack of operating skill on Zambian railways, forced President Kaunda in 1978 to fall back on the South African route.

The bush war in Zimbabwe was still raging at the time, and President Kaunda's border with the rebel British colony was closed, in theory, to all traffic except Zairean goods in transit.

With copper exports slowing because of problems on the Tazara, and economic crisis deepening, President Kaunda reopened his so-called "southern route" through Rhodesia to South Africa — effectively tightening Pretoria's grip.

Rhodesia itself at one time had a choice of two export routes: the South African connection and rail links to Mozambique.

However, when President Machel came to power in Mozambique and independence from Portugal was declared in 1975, the border with Rhodesia was closed — and Salisbury's external trade became dependent totally on South Africa.

The result, embarrassing for the black African states to its north, is that South Africa now controls the key export routes of its ideological foes.

Peace in Zimbabwe and recent overhauls of port facilities in Mozambique mean that, technically at least, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe can lessen their reliance on South Africa by diverting goods through Beira and Maputo — both of which are working at less than full capacity.

This could provide a cheaper export route for the three countries; an economic boost for Mozambique from port and transit fees; and, as an added bonus, a propaganda coup in the ideological battle against South Africa.

However, there are doubts about Mozambique's ability to maintain port efficiency, the Zimbabwe-Beira rail link needs overhauling, and the Zimbabwe-Maputo rail link will not be reopened until November, freight agents say.

In addition to these problems on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique part of the system, Zambia railways has a poor record as a partner in rail systems, freight agents say.

The four-nation summit in Zaire failed to discuss such issues as quotas and tonnages to be shipped through Mozambique, and participants said that — for the time being at least — black Africa will retain its reluctant dependence on trade routes through South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa being RDM 3/7/80 torn by strife OAU told ⁽¹⁾ ~~(2)~~

FREETOWN. — Peace is deserting the African continent.

This was the message to African leaders at the 17th Summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity from the Secretary-General, Mr Edem Kodjo, yesterday.

He decried the wars in the Western Sahara and Chad in his sombre annual report to the Organisation.

Chad, he said, was a country "dying under our very eyes".

Africa's inability to halt the war in Chad demonstrated the limitations of the OAU, he said. Of the R45-million needed for military intervention in Chad, only R225 000 has been collected so far from member states.

In the Western Sahara, Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas are fighting Moroccan troops in an independence bid for the former Spanish colony.

"The painful problem of the Western Sahara remains pre-occupying," he told delegates, and noted an OAU committee had urged Morocco to withdraw its troops from the area evacuated by Mauritania.

If money could not be found for an OAU force within the next two months, the Organisation will appeal to the United Nations for financial aid.

Turning to the problems of southern Africa, the Togolese Secretary-General said: "This is where horror reaches its highest point".

He condemned the "deplorable deadlock" over Namibia.

"South Africa, with arrogance and stubbornness, once again throws the challenge at us," Mr Kodjo said.

He said South Africa was trying to undermine the "growing influence" of Swapo.

"The abject system of apartheid is being reinforced with a whole arsenal of measures."

If South Africa persisted in "crime and the spilling of blood", sanctions would become a matter of urgency, Mr Kodjo said.

One glorious victory this year had been the independence of Zimbabwe — the fruit of hard work by the Frontline states, the Patriotic Front and the OAU as a whole.

The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, is attending his first OAU summit as leader of his country.

Mr Kodjo welcomed the proposal from President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, the new OAU Chairman, for an African security council. He said the OAU needed crisis machinery that could intervene rapidly.

He also stressed the need for an OAU defence force.

He painted a sombre picture of the OAU's financial situation, saying only 51% of contributions for 1979/80 had so far been received. Financial contributions were now R8,2-million in arrears — the equivalent of one year's budget. Only 18 member states had paid their dues to the liberation committee, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Can Numeiri pull off peace in Eritrea?

FOR three years there has been an acute shortage of coffee in the market places of the Sudanese capital, Khartoum.

Political differences with neighbouring Ethiopia have halted the flow of the traditional bitter mocha coffee across the border.

Sudanese coffee-drinkers have had to make do with a small amount of their favourite drink brought up from the south, which has easy access to Ugandan and Zairian coffee but there is no means of distributing it to the Sudanese people.

There has been no foreign exchange to buy this expensive commodity on the world market. Only the very rich have been able to afford the luxury of imported instant coffee.

But in May the Ethiopian leader, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, visited Sudan for the first time in his five years in power. At the same time a shipment of 1 000 tons of mocha coffee arrived in Port Sudan from Ethiopia.

The coffee beans — worth \$3.5-million and bought on deferred credit terms — are beginning to filter out into the Khartoum market, and Sudanese cafeterias can once more offer their traditional sweet and spicy coffee served in small clay jars.

The coffee deal is part of an economic package which combines the first fruits of a rapprochement between Sudan and Ethiopia. Apart from coffee, Ethiopia is supplying Sudan with lentils, and Khartoum hopes to send an equal volume of commodities across the border in the other direction.

First signs of a thaw between the two proud neighbours came in January with the visit of Ethiopia's Major Dawit Wolde Giorgis, Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Ministry, to the Third National Congress of the Sudanese Socialist Union in Khartoum.

On that occasion, Sudan's President Jaffer Numeiri surprised his country by stressing the close ties between Sudan and Ethiopia. "We drink from the same water," he said, promising a new initiative to bring peace to Eritrea, the northern Ethiopian province which has been struggling for self-determination for two decades.

Politically the rapprochement has internal and external dimensions. At home, Mr Numeiri hopes a show of more friendly relations with his Marxist neighbour will win around opposition critics, like former Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi, who have attacked his pro-Western for-

eign policy and demanded a more neutral Afro-Arab oriented diplomacy.

More understanding with opposition leaders would certainly make Mr Numeiri's task in ruling Africa's largest country easier.

The Sudanese President also hopes closer ties with Addis Ababa will encourage

his neighbour to stop supporting the small number of southern Sudanese who campaign against his regime from the Ethiopian capital.

In return, Col Mengistu wants Khartoum to stop backing the two main Eritrean guerrilla forces, the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF).

At the moment, Mr Numeiri has domestic reasons for wanting an Eritrean solution. For years the Sudanese people have supported hundreds of thousands of refugees from there. But many are tired of this economic burden. In response to criticism, Mr Numeiri was forced to deport nearly 1 000 Eritrans from Khartoum to

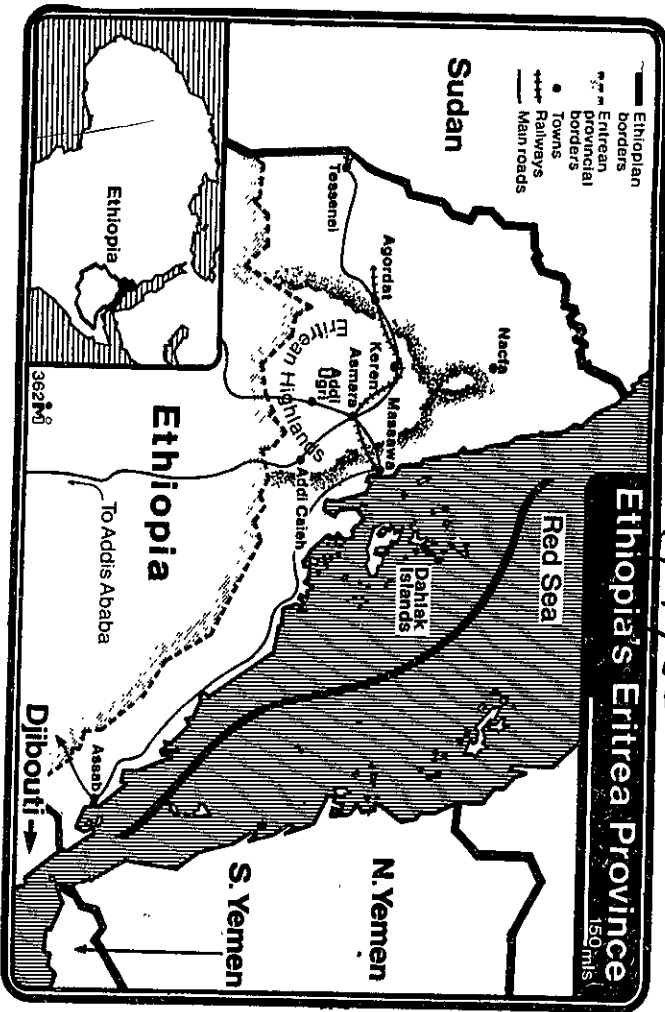
camp near the Ethiopian border in December. In Kas-sala province, Sudanese and Eritrans clashed bloodily. Mr Numeiri seems inclined to try to convince Col Mengistu to offer Eritrea regional autonomy, modelling himself to the late Emperor Haile Selassie who mediated in similar circumstances between north and south Sudan before autonomous regional self-government was set up in Juba in 1972.

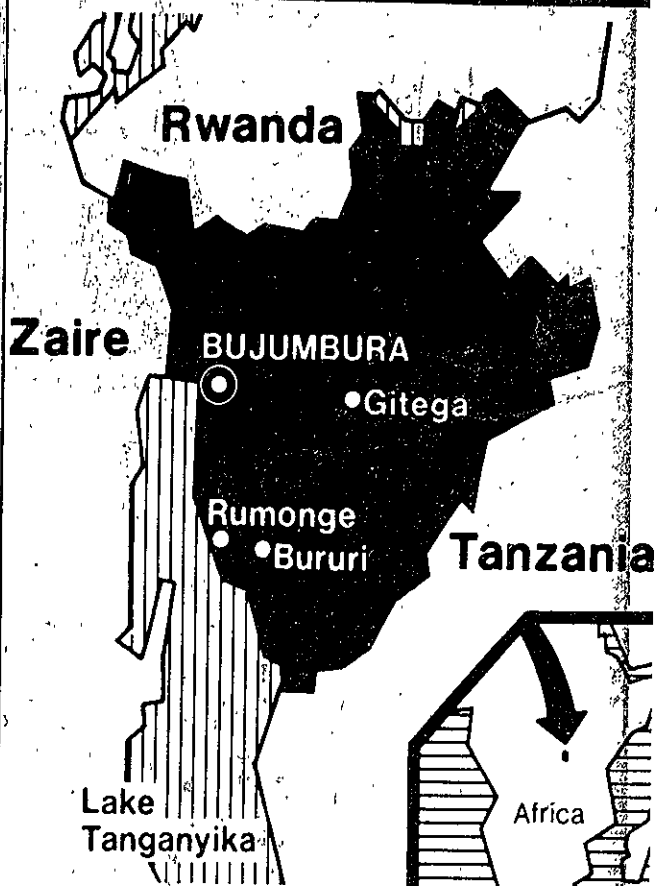
Col Mengistu has been urged to take a conciliatory line by his East European allies and by Arab countries such as Iraq. It is said Cuba has forbidden its troops in Ethiopia to fight in Eritrea because it disagrees with Col Mengistu's military policy.

A solution guaranteed by a wider spectrum of powers than his Marxist allies would give the West a long awaited opportunity to regain a foothold in Ethiopia. This in turn might help defuse the tense political situation in the Horn of Africa.

The major stumbling block is likely to be the attitude of the Eritreans themselves. They say they will settle only for total independence.

Mr Numeiri's role is vital. By threatening to shut off their supply lines he can force the Eritreans to talk. — GEMINI





THE government of the tiny African state of Burundi has been dominated by the warlike minority Tutsi tribe for years. The Tutsis have held down the majority Hutus, very often violently. Eight years ago 150 000 Hutus were massacred and 80 000 fled the country. Now, reports **VICTOR NDOVI**, in spite of efforts by the military ruler to appease the Hutus, tension is rising again.

135781 P RDM 3/7/80

POLITICAL tension is simmering in the small African state of Burundi. Its military ruler, Colonel Jean Baptiste Bagaza, is desperately trying to reduce the minority Tutsi domination in the government. It is one of the deepest ethnic animosities in Africa.

About 84% of Burundi's 4-million population are Hutus. The ruling Tutsis constitute 15% while the neglected pygmy group, the Twa, comprise less than 1%.

Suspicion and intrigue are rife in the country. There is a marked military display of paranoia. Security police often search hotel rooms of the country's few visitors. Armed troops regularly patrol the streets.

Col. Bagaza travels around the capital Bujumbura with a heavy military escort while the air force's sole Alouette helicopter hovers above the presidential motorcade, its guns trained down.

Outside Bujumbura people shy away at the sight of visitors and run at the sound of approaching vehicles. Foreign missions in the capital face enormous difficulties in organising social events.

Invitations to Burundians to receptions have to be routed through the Foreign Ministry which may or may not pass on the invitations. Of those on the list of invitees few may turn up and if they do, discussion on politics or domestic issues is strictly taboo.

The giant and warlike Tutsis have dominated Burundi politics for years. In 1972/73 the Tutsis unleashed a campaign of mass persecution against the majority Hutus following an abortive uprising by the Hutus. An estimated 150 000 Hutus died, including most of the professional and skilled classes.

The new government, which took power in a bloodless coup in November 1976, is still Tutsi-dominated but it denies ethnic hostilities. It has said that the 80 000 Hutus who fled from Burundi eight years ago are welcome to return but few have gone home.

The government is still heavily military — the army is 99% Tutsis — and is noticeably worried about a possible violent Hutu retaliation.

Hutus still vividly recall the massacres of eight years ago. They are worried because the current generation of Hutu secondary school leavers will ultimately fill the vacuum created by those killed in the 1972 campaign of selective genocide.

Bagaza's government has made sincere efforts to erase traditional prejudices and rivalries in its quest for national unity and reconciliation. Some hardliners have been dropped from the government and moderate sympathetic to Hutu integration, have been appointed.

As a result, the Hutus have again started to take part in

the country's political life. But doubts persist over the progress to integration. The authorities remain hypersensitive over the issue.

When Bagaza took power, he attempted to win the support of the Hutu people, who are mainly peasants. He abolished the head tax (the feudal system of forced labour), doubled the price of coffee and tripled that of cotton, Burundi's principal cash crops.

At the same time he restricted landowners to a maximum of four hectares of land and decreed that returning refugee Hutus be resettled near or on land they formerly worked.

However, one source of major friction has still to be tackled. Competition for posts in government, held mainly by Tutsis, is stiff. Increasing numbers of educated Hutus qualify for these jobs, but they are virtually debarred.

Last year violence broke out among students of the conflicting ethnic groups in several schools and there were some deaths.

Despite Bagaza's genuine appeasement of the Hutus the ruling class is pressing the President not to yield too much to their demands for more equal treatment.

But he is acutely aware of the problems which continue to haunt his country. Last December he told a national congress of Burundi's only political party, the National Unity and Progress Party (Uprona): "It is only in the crucible of a national party that national unity can be forged. There all ethnic groups can blend."

However, the continued Tutsi control of the military-dominated government in Burundi has tended to diminish Hutu confidence in the regime. Bagaza is having to tread very warily in his efforts to alter or reduce the Tutsi element in his government.

Political ills have meant that the government has had to relegate development in agriculture which is the mainstay of the economy. Since Burundi gained independence from Belgium in July 1962, there has been little economic growth.

There have, however, been plans for agricultural diversification, including tea production. The present government has also promised villagisation and co-operative programmes in an effort to improve the economy.

Nearly every inch of arable land in the tiny country is under cultivation. Its high population density means Burundi is running out of land.

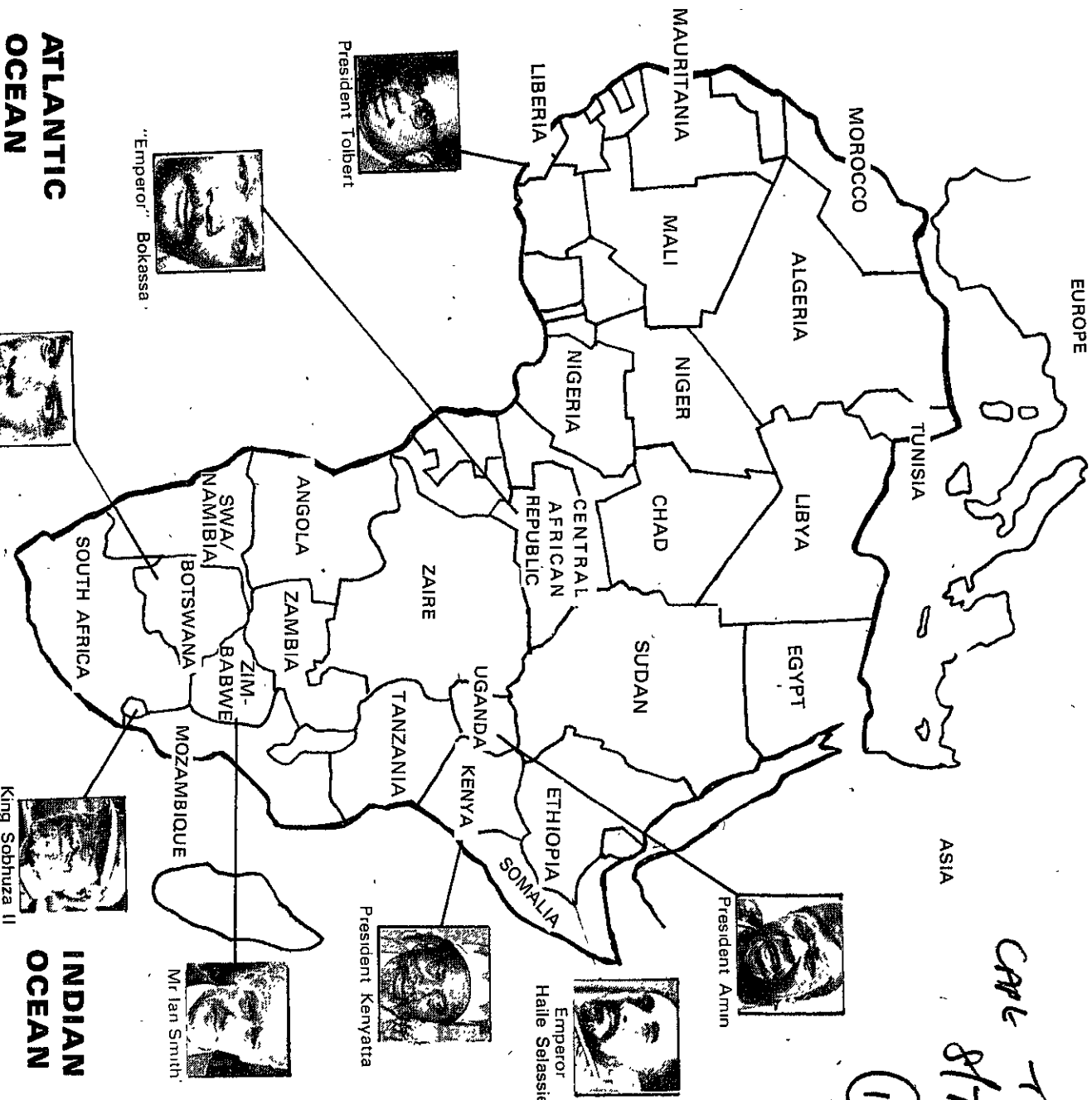
In addition, deforestation, caused by random tree-felling for fuel and to create more space for cattle grazing, has greatly affected rain catchment areas, leading to droughts.

Last year lack of rain caused the failure of many food crops and there was widespread malnutrition.

The changing face of Africa

APL Tim Ed
8/7/80

①



- President Tolbert of Liberia, assassinated 1979
- "Emperor" Bokassa of Central African Empire, exiled 1979
- President Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana, dying
- King Sobhuza II of Swaziland, dying
- Mr Ian Smith, voted out of office in Zimbabwe, 1979
- President Kenyatta of Kenya, died 1978
- Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, deposed 1974
- President Amin of Uganda, ousted 1979

THE deathbed drama surrounding the heads of two African states bordering South Africa, President Seretse Khama of Botswana and King Sobhuza II of Swaziland (the world's longest-reigning monarch) has given new emphasis to the changing face, and the changing faces, of Africa south of the Sahara.

Only some of the changes that have occurred in the past 20 years have been through the natural death of heads of state; most have occurred through assassination, and in military or civilian take-overs.

In these past two decades 14 heads of state and of governments in African countries that have attained independence have been assassinated, have been shot dead or have "disappeared" in military coups. In this period, since Kwame Nkrumah led Ghana to the first

By Roger Williams



Chief Reporter

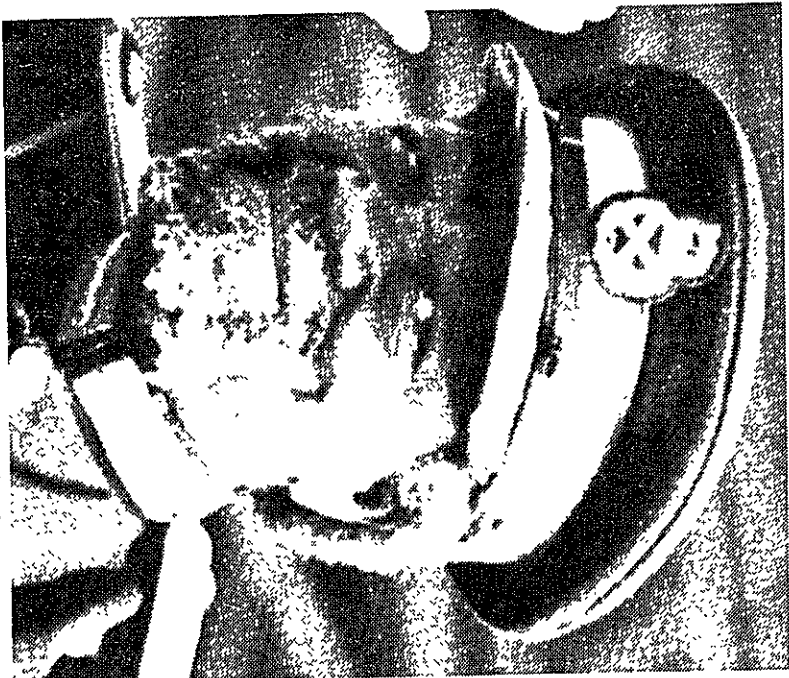
Upper Volta and Zaire. Two African heads of state who have been sent packing, President Idi Amin of Uganda and the self-styled "Emperor" Bokassa of the Central African Empire, have been termed madmen and mass-murderers. In Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, change was brought about ear-

lier this year through the ballot box, after a long and bloody bush war. The Patriotic Front, whose forces were either termed "terrorists" or "freedom fighters" during that war, depending on which side one was on, was swept to power and the Smith and Muzorewa regimes were succeeded by the new government of Mr Robert Mugabe, an avowed Marxist. Mozambique, to the north-east, and Angola to the north-west of South Africa, had already gone Marxist after generations of Portuguese colonial

rule. While South African forces are fighting off the Swapo threat on the Angolan border, SWA/Namibia is preparing itself for an uncertain independence, amid growing speculation about the political future of Botswana and Swaziland.

While the winds of change sweep across the continent, serious food shortages are facing 17 countries in Africa, and hundreds of people are dying from starvation every day.

United Nations agencies say they simply do not have the food to cope with the situation. One of the worst-affected areas is Karamoja in northern Uganda, where Roman Catholic missions estimate that people, mainly children and the elderly, are dying at a rate of 100 a day.



King Sobhuza II of Swaziland



President Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana

We can handle it, says Mozambique Govt

MAPUTO. — Mozambique's national Director for Ports and Railways yesterday claimed his country could handle any extra cargo resulting from recent moves towards regional co-operation in transport.

Mr Subhasschandra Bhatt said the total cargo handling capacity of Mozambique's three main

ports — Maputo, Beira and Nacala — was 100% above current traffic levels, the Mozambican news agency, Alim, reported.

Work on improving the three ports had already begun, and a British firm of consultants had completed a viability study into deepening the access channels

to Beira.

As soon as additional geographical studies were completed, a start would be made on widening and deepening the channels to admit supertankers, Mr Bhatt said. A deep-water berth would also be built at Beira.

The emergence of an inde-

pendent Zimbabwe had meant that Mozambique's Indian Ocean ports were now accessible to a number of the country's landlocked neighbours.

Last week a meeting was held in Maputo to set up a nine-nation commission for transport and communications. The countries involved are

Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia.

Beira's port authorities have a long way to go if they are to build up handling capacity to pre-1965 levels, when just over 3-million tons of cargo were handled each year. — Sappa.

EAST AFRICA

FM 11/780

Changing relations ①

Since the dissolution of the East African Community in 1977 relations between the former partner states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have followed a zigzag path. At the root of the problem is the deep-seated political animosity that exists between capitalist Kenya and socialist Tanzania.

Kenya's blatant prosperity has long rankled with Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, whose ujamaa policies have stalled any real progress for his country.

Since the Tanzanian-backed overthrow of Idi Amin early last year, Uganda has been caught in the middle of what has emerged as a commercial tug-o-war. In the past Kenya relied heavily on both countries as export markets for its thriving industrial base. Nyerere, however, is miffed at the unequal balance of trade and sees Uganda as his salvation.

Landlocked Uganda has historically relied on Kenya as a conduit to the outside world, importing its consumer goods from Kenya and using the Indian Ocean port of Mombasa as an outlet for its coffee and other exports.

Nyerere would dearly like to cash in on Ugandan trade by rechannelling these exports through Dar es Salaam to revitalise his stagnant economy.

Things are becoming particularly urgent now that Zimbabwe's independence has opened up alternative routes for Zambia. Last year, Zambia was exporting half of its copper through SA and the other half through Tanzania on the ill-fated, poorly-maintained Tazara railway. Now Zambia can opt against this inefficient route and send all its copper out along the cheaper route through Zimbabwe to Beira and Maputo in Mozambique.

When this happens, the Tazara railway will become obsolete and the port of Dar es Salaam, once badly congested, will lie idle.

Tanzania allows the border with Kenya to become porous when it suits its needs and bought 60m shillings plus of Kenyan goods last year. For instance, one thousand tonnes of maize seed are trucked from Kenya to Tanzania every year to enable the staple food crop to be planted.

Exports to Zambia, which must inevitably pass through Tanzania, also continue at a steady level. Last year the value was over 100m shillings, four times greater than the value of Zambian exports to

Kenya.

To achieve his aim, Nyerere has insidiously manipulated the chaotic political scene in Uganda. Despite protests, he has successfully pushed forward his old friend Milton Obote, who was president of Uganda when Idi Amin seized power in the 1971 coup. Since his return from exile some weeks ago, Obote has been actively campaigning under the banner of the Uganda People's Congress for a return to power.

Elections are planned for later this year, probably September. And with 10 000 Tanzanian troops as caretaker security, the chances are that he will win.

As a result, relations between Kenya's President Moi and Tanzania's Nyerere are downright frosty. Nyerere is using resumed trade relations between the two countries as a carrot, but the Kenyans won't play ball.

Nevertheless, they have been hit just where it hurts most. The export-oriented Kenyan economy relies heavily on its regional neighbours. Since Nyerere summarily closed off his border with Kenya in February 1977, exports have plummeted. The downward trend continues but it is unlikely it will be staunched entirely as the economic survival of all three East African countries is inextricably intertwined.

Uganda still remains one of Kenya's most lucrative trading partners, ranking third after West Germany and Great Britain. Last year Kenya sold that country goods worth over 600m shillings. By comparison only 16m shillings of imports came from Uganda, according to official statistics. However, customs records tell only part of the story.

A thriving smuggling racket exists between the two countries. It is believed by many that a considerable proportion of the maize Kenya has been importing recently ended up in Uganda, where it fetches far higher prices. If this is true, it would explain the ongoing shortage of maize in Kenyan shops, which are branded with long queues of hungry customers.

Uganda, in its turn, prefers to sell its coffee in Kenya where the blackmarket rate is up to 12 Ugandan shillings for one Kenyan shilling. Coffee smuggling last year deprived Uganda of about 50 000 t of its 165 000 t harvest.

Observers predict that up to 60% of this year's coffee crop will be smuggled out of Uganda into Kenya and also Rwanda and Zaire. With over 1 billion shillings owing to Tanzania in salaries for its soldiers and foreign reserves whittled down from \$90m in June 1979 to a meagre \$20m this April, the long-term implications of this black market trading do not bode well for Uganda's already shaky situation.

In the meantime, it is likely that practical realities will continue to give Kenya the trading edge over her less fortunate neighbours, but at the cost of political reconciliation.

① RDM 12/7/80

The long, dry scourge of Africa

SEVERE drought has spread right across Africa in the last five months, wilting crops and pastures right along the semi-arid Sahel zone below the Sahara, and has broken into full-scale famine in north-east Africa and on the Horn.

Some rain has now fallen, but too late to stave off further widespread crop and livestock losses.

Nearly six million people are now believed to be affected by famine in Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Southern Sudan and the northern provinces of Uganda and Kenya.

Estimates agree that some 600 people a day have been dying of starvation throughout the region in the last few months. Most experts believe that potential human losses are much greater than during the last Sahelian drought of 1973-74 when at least 150 000 people died.

It is scarcely surprising that most of those actually dying are the roofless and politically marginal nomads of the lowlands.

The bulk of the dry lowlands of the famine region is nomad territory. In the Ogaden, herdsman have traditionally moved freely between Ethiopia and Somalia after water and grazing, driving them with the biggest concentration of Ethiopia's 27-million head of cattle (the largest herd in Africa) and camels.

Eritrea, but for a core of sedentary farmers at the centre of the province, also has a nomad tradition, and Karamoja, Turkana and Southern Sudan are populated by "shifting cultivators".

The methods these people have traditionally used to shield them from an erratic climate no longer work. Equally, caught between war and civil strife, they lack the political influence to mitigate the added horrors of natural disaster.

Ethiopia and, more indirectly, Somalia, are fighting for control of the Ogaden and nationalist guerrilla armies have been waging war with Ethiopia over Eritrea for nearly 30 years.

Karamoja, because of the breakdown of order in Uganda during the rise and fall of Idi Amin, has become lawless in the extreme.

Yet the nomads remain locked into a cycle of production and subsistence in which the slightest changes in climate will continue to have immediate and dramatic effect.

When drought strikes, the only alternative for the farmer and herdsman is to eat the remaining seed and slaughter or sell off livestock. The effects are two-fold.

First, seed stocks empty. Replacements of just the right variety are almost impossible to find outside the Sahel.

For the farmer the only escape from the famine cycle, once it is in motion lies in recourse to adequate and controlled stocks of the right seed varieties. Right now, these do not exist.

Secondly, as cattle are reared mainly for milk and blood, and as bridal dowries, the nomadic livestock market is small and easily glutted.

Poor stock values and high food and seed prices during the 1973 drought in Ethiopia prompted one study to note that "people died in Ethiopia not because of an extreme shortage of food, ie famine, but because of an extreme shortage of money, ie poverty".

Growing human and herd populations have tilled and trampled vast tracts of northern East Africa and the lowlands of the Horn into virtual desert.

Boreholes once sunk near good grazing are now ringed by up to 15km of sand and once desertification passes a critical point it is virtually unstoppable.

The experts label the region's ecology as "finely balanced", which is a measured way of saying anything can happen — and probably will.

All modern science knows for sure about rainfall in the region is when it is most likely to occur. "Accurate prediction is impossible," one British climatologist says, "even a day in advance."

For nomads, the drought threshold has risen dramatically. "We have got to the stage now," one agriculturist says "where the land traditionally used (by the nomads) can satisfy their basic needs only under the very best climatic circumstances."

Hungry Africa 'will need SA's grains'

12/7/50

Pretoria Bureau

SOUTH African grain will be needed to an ever-increasing extent to stave off widespread hunger in other African states, say Government sources.

Spokesmen for the maize and wheat boards say that South Africa is the most convenient and cheapest source of the grains, and the demand for food is rising with the growing populations in countries such as Zaïre, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, and even Zimbabwe.

Diplomatic sources point out that South Africa's ability to produce surplus grain and other foods could give powerful support to diplomatic penetration into other African states — provided real progress is made in removing race discrimination at home.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, confirmed in Pretoria yesterday that demand for food from oth-

er African states was increasing.

"This is mainly because of shrinking production there, rising populations, droughts, lack of farming expertise and other reasons."

He said South Africa was ready to export its surplus agricultural products to any country in Africa "if they are prepared to pay cash and the price is right."

South Africa was in a strong competitive position, compared with European and North American exporters. Transport costs from the West were prohibitively high.

Also, South African maize — which is sun-dried — is preferred to the United States machine-dried varieties.

It was reported earlier this week that Zimbabwe would import 180 000 tons of South African maize next year. Its imports this year are expected

to exceed 40 000 tons.

A Maize Board spokesman has pointed out that the loss on South African maize exports has been reduced dramatically by selling to other African states. The loss on shipments to Europe is R40 a ton.

If South Africa sold its entire 3.6 million ton maize surplus on the European market, the loss would be more than R150-million.

The general manager of the Wheat Board, Mr J van Aarde, said: "The demand for our wheat is strong. We could get rid of our entire annual surplus by selling in Africa, rather than selling at heavy losses on other world markets."

Meanwhile, South Africa's 200 maize silos are filling up from the second largest crop on record. The railways are using more than 700 trucks a day and working at top pressure to move the harvest.

Neighbours to get more aid

POS 17/7/82 28/01

SOUTH Africa is to spend an extra R119 million on development aid to countries in Southern Africa this year.

In a major drive to promote Prime Minister Mr P W Botha's idea of a constellation of Southern African states, foreign aid and technical assistance are to be dramatically increased.

Plans have been drawn up with the Department of Foreign Affairs to implement the scheme and to concentrate on helping to stabilise the economies of SA's neighbours.

In addition to spending R150,6 million on development aid — up from R33,7 million last year — South Africa will continue to pay R60 million in grants to BophuthaTswana and Venda for the first three years of those countries' independence. Up to now, South Africa has often been accused of using its foreign aid to win political friends.

The aid programme is open to all countries on the sub-continent who apply for it.

Mr Dion Richter, head of the Economic Development Co-operation section of the Department of Foreign Affairs, said that applications would be closely vetted and that assistance would only be given to worthwhile projects.

The entire programme will be co-ordinated by a committee headed by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie.

Called the Committee for Economic Development and Co-operation, its membership is drawn from various departments of the government.

Inadequate assistance to pay on

Constitutional reform demand of mkt

Press freedom claim riles Africans

YAOUNDE — A US delegate raised a storm of protest at a Unesco conference on African communications in Yaounde Cameroon, when he said that freedom of the Press did not exist in Africa.

Mr Albert Fitzpatrick, of the US-based World Press Freedom Committee, told the meeting last night that problems of

communication on the African continent could be solved more easily if there were Press freedom.

Delegates from Tunisia, Tanzania, Gabon and Kenya rejected Mr Fitzpatrick's remarks which were dubbed "insulting and stamped with the paternalism Africans are trying to put behind them."

The African delegates

said African countries did not need foreign standards to shape their ideas of freedom.

Mr Fitzpatrick rejected African allegations that the Western Press painted an unfavourable picture of Africa. He said that a study by his committee of news stories from two Western news agencies showed this to be untrue.

— Sapa-Reuters.

Star 25/7/50

(1)

Kenya moots new network

YAOUNDE — Kenya has appealed at a Pan-African conference in Yaounde, Cameroun, for a fund to finance a modern communications network on the African continent.

The Gabon Information Minister, Mr Zacharie Mboto, told the conference: "Africa has the least developed communications system in the world."

Africa's colonial past has left the continent with an awkward inheritance in terms of communications. To send a telex message from English-speaking Ghana to French-speaking Ivory Coast next door it is usually easier to go via London.

From Liberia all international telephone calls go through a New York switchboard. — Sapa-
Reuter.

①

Star 26/7/80

① RDM
31/7/80
Blow to
Ethiopia's
relations
with US

WASHINGTON. — Relations between the United States and Ethiopia — shaky ever since the Lion of Judah, Emperor Haile Selassie, was toppled by a socialist revolution in 1974 — have sunk to their lowest level.

On Tuesday, the Addis Ababa Government expelled the US Ambassador, Mr Frederic Chapin.

In angry response, the US State Department accused Ethiopia of welching on its debts, perpetrating gross violations of human rights and making anti-American statements.

Ethiopia, whose population comprises 85% peasants, nationalised American property valued at about R25-million in 1974 and has failed to pay any claims.

Since 1976 it has failed to meet payments on about R3 400 000 in military sales by the US.

In 1977/78 Ethiopia fought a major war with neighboring Somalia, where the US is negotiating for the use of military facilities to support its oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

A US State Department spokesman, Mr John Trattner, said both governments will be represented now by a charge d'affaires. Twenty other Americans stationed at the US Embassy will remain.

Mr Trattner said the principal factors causing strains between the two countries were Ethiopia's refusal to compensate US claimants whose property was nationalised, its failure to pay outstanding para-military sales debts to the US, its record of gross violations of human rights and its frequent anti-US statements. — UPI



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA FM 1/3/80
EXAMINATION In deep water ①

Section

When Ghana became the first black African country to win independence more than 20 years ago, it was looked up to by its neighbours as leader of the continent

CANDIDATE MUST enter in (1) the number of each question asked (in the order in which it has answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

Internal	External
----------	----------

Now, after six leadership changes and several coups interspersed by an attempt at civilian rule, Ghana is nearly bankrupt and seething with political discontent.

President Hilla Limann, elected last year, says that the country is united in that "all of us have agreed that Ghana should resume its rightful role in Africa and that the people of this country should be able to walk erect again in dignity."

But in a BBC interview last month, when he was asked about another coup he said "anything could happen."

The main threat to the new civilian government comes from the supporters of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, a young officer who caught the public imagination last June when he and some of his colleagues seized power, engaged in a vigorous anti-corruption campaign, and then — as promised — handed over power to an elected civilian government.

The three months of his rule were devoted to uncovering the vast corruption in high places which had paralysed the economy and public life for so many years, but in the process he offended powerful interests, ruined many small traders who were harassed by youthful army squads bent on stamping out hoarding, and demoralised the bureaucracy.

Many civil servants may have needed to be demoralised. They had entrenched themselves in cushy jobs which were nothing but a drain on the economy. But in mobilising the public to clean up slums and repair roads, in creating the expectation that Ghana was on the march again and that conditions for ordinary people would radically change, Rawlings and his Armed Forces Redemption Council

(AFRC) implied that he had a programme for recovery which did not really exist.

Beyond the anti-corruption drive and the populist euphoria of the June 1979 "revolution," the AFRC knew nothing about political organisation or economic planning.

When Limann took over, he undertook to uphold the new constitution, including the "transitional provisions" which provided for a continuation of the AFRC house-cleaning campaign and clauses making it illegal to reverse the AFRC measures. These included confiscating ill-gotten gains and sentencing public figures found guilty of misusing their office.

AFRC members have been dismissed from the armed forces and are under constant surveillance, but many Ghanaians believe that the AFRC group is merely biding its time, waiting for the right moment to replace the new, inefficient administration. Nobody seems to doubt that it is in their power to do so.

As soon as the civilian government took office, it announced stringent measures to reduce inflation and get the budget back into balance. But the 1979 budget deficit rose by almost 70% above the forecast figure, to \$640m.

Unfortunately, Limann's party conducted its election campaign last year on the promise to "flood the market with goods." It did not say how it would pay for the imports.

Suppliers' credits had largely dried up, and shortages of basic consumer items continue, leading to widely-held suspicions that traders are hoarding goods once again. The supply position has been made worse by the weakness of the currency.

The official rate is 4,6 cedis to the US dollar, but on the black market \$1 buys more than C20

Inflation and government attempts at wage restraints have led to serious labour unrest. With a new harshness displayed to workers, the unions have been able to unite and enlist public sympathy. In his June budget for 1980/81, Finance Minister Amon Nikoi raised prices for cigarettes and beer, increasing also import duties on many essential consumer items. Ghana's TUC is threatening "serious confrontations" unless free wage bargaining is restored to match the rising cost of living.

Strikes affecting transport services have interrupted the export of cocoa, the country's main foreign exchange earner and which also contributes more than one third of government revenues. The 1980/81 budget envisages a deficit of \$582,5m, one third of which Nikoi hopes to raise abroad.

Limann blames "a few civilian imps" for being behind Rawlings's coup, and says that corruption will only be eliminated when people are educated to understand that honesty is the best policy. Many Ghanaians feel that more radical measures are needed.



- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering. 2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used. 3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used. 4. Do not write in the left hand margin. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed. 2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator. 3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out. 4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Libya pledges to switch war support to SWA

① TDM 2/8/50

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — Libya has for the first time released details of massive wartime support for the Patriotic Front and indicated it means to divert that effort to the South West Africa fight.

It has also proposed moving the headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee from Dar es Salaam to Luanda to better coordinate the support effort.

Pledging to "multiply" assistance for "the liberation of Namibia", Dr Ali Treiki, Foreign Secretary to strongman Col Muammar Gaddafi, has told a visiting UN delegation that

over the past two years Libya spent more than R60-million "in assisting the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle".

Thousands of guerrillas had received their training in Libya — the last 3 000 left immediately after independence.

Now, with Zimbabwe "emanipated" and Angola under constant attack from South Africa, both the United Nations and the OAU were duty bound to come to Angola's assistance, Dr Treiki said.

Libya's current share of the OAU Liberation Committee's budget was R310 000, but that would be increased, he said.

Dr Treiki's remarks were made in a "prolonged exchange of views" with a four-man Middle East mission from the Council for Namibia.

The mission also visited Kuwait and Iraq and dealt at length with efforts to mount an effecting oil embargo.

South Africa was getting its oil from just about everywhere, and there was nothing Kuwait could do about it, that government bluntly admitted.

Iraq said that it means to raise the issue again with fellow members of the Organisation for Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec) and with the Arab League.

Somali Premier tells of Soviet plan that failed

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — Somalia's President Said Barre, once the firmest Soviet puppet in Africa, yesterday revealed a Soviet plan for the continent which fortunately went wrong.

He made the revelation in an exclusive interview with the French evening newspaper *Le Monde*, in Mogadishu.

He said: "Moscow planned to make the Somali Army into new Cubans, and tell us who to fight and where and when."

This was in 1976 and 1977, a time when the 20 000 strong Somali Army was one of the best equipped and strongest in Africa. If the Soviet plan had succeeded, there would have been serious repercussions throughout the continent.

But President Barre decided instead to launch his army against Soviet backed Ethiopian troops in Eritrea, claimed by Somalia, and his troops were heavily defeated.

He expelled all Soviets in November, 1977.

He has no illusions about Soviet ambitions in the Horn of Africa, he told *Le Monde*.

"Moscow is making promises about leaving the Horn of Africa alone when it has no intention of keeping them. How can the West be so credulous?" he asked.

Le Monde answered the question of whether Berbera, overlooking the Gulf of Aden, was ever a Soviet air and naval base as claimed by the CIA in 1976.

The answer is a firm "yes".



PRESIDENT SAID BARRE
... expelled Russians

The newspaper described it today as "an immense cemetery of Soviet tanks, planes and guns".

In 1976, President Barre's Foreign Minister publicly derided the CIA reports as "ridiculous".

President Barre, to back up claims of continuing Soviet aggression in the Horn of Africa, told *Le Monde* that daily air raids were made on Hargeisa, second largest town in Somalia and former capital of British Somaliland. "There is always heavy damage and often dead and wounded," he said.

"Ethiopia, backed by Moscow, is planning to invade us and cut Somalia in two by occupying Hargeisa and Berbera."

"Moscow has taken over Mussolini's dream of a great East African Empire," he said.

What does Libya want from the US?

① RDM 7/8/80
CULTIVATING Billy Carter is just one ploy in a broad-based Libyan campaign to win friends — or at least influence people — in the US.

And that campaign, some experts believe, is part of an even grander scheme by Libya's eccentric President Muammar Kaddafi to establish a new world order based on his own peculiar part-Marxist, part-Islamic, part-anarchist philosophy.

"Recognition in a nation of less than three million people is not enough for Kaddafi," says one American expert on Libya. "He wants to be the saviour of all mankind."

The US cut back its diplomatic relations with Libya last December after Kaddafi allowed — some say ordered — a Libyan mob to sack and burn the US embassy in Tripoli.

But even before that, US-Libyan relations were uneasy. Violently anti-Israeli and armed with an enormous Soviet arsenal, Kaddafi's regime has waged repeated hate campaigns against "imperialist" America. The US, in turn, has denied delivery of eight C-130 transport planes the Libyans bought for \$36-million (R27-million) in 1973 and still desperately want.

Nevertheless, the two nations have a vital economic link: the US relies on Libya for about 10% of its imported oil — and Libya needs US oil payments to finance domestic development and foreign adventures.

Terrorists: there have been plenty of both since Kaddafi seized power from Libya's King Idris in a 1969 coup. Jolting his desolate North African nation into modernity with dizzying speed, Kaddafi has built schools, hospitals, housing and factories.

He has also nationalised most industries, abolished private enterprise and replaced the official Government with "people's committees" — all according to his "Green Book" of aphorisms. At the same time, Kaddafi has diverted billions of dollars to back Muslim guerrilla uprisings and to bank-roll terrorist groups.

Last year, he invaded Chad and sent almost 3 000 Libyan troops on a bloody, fruitless mission to rescue toppled Ugandan despot Idi Amin. He has plotted to overthrow Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, because of Sadat's efforts to make peace with Israel.

In the US, Libyan overtures have been relatively subtle — and there have been no allegations of illegalities so far. Libya funds a lobbying group in Washington, the Arab-American Dialogue Committee, and its chairman, Richard Shadyac,



President Kaddafi: A new world order?

personally contributed more than \$1 400 (R1 056) last spring to political candidates including GOP Presidential hopeful John Connally, Democratic Representative. Last May, staff members of the Carter-Mondale Re-election Committee asked Shadyac, an attorney who formally represents Libyan interests, to organise Arab-American voters — but Carter campaign chairman Robert Strauss now denies that the Shadyac connection had top-level approval.

Elsewhere in the US, Libyans have tried to use their vast wealth to buy a better image. The Libyan Government has flown scores of Americans — including journalists, academics and government officials — to Libya on all-expenses-paid junkets.

Libyans have endowed an Arab Studies professorship at Georgetown University for \$750 000 (R562 000), bought wheat from Idaho farmers and discussed possible investment in black businesses with American black leaders.

Mischief: what the Libyans hope to gain through such efforts is not clear. Winning release of their grounded C-130s is clearly one objective. So is undermining support for Israel.

Some Libya-watchers think that Kaddafi feels the need for backstage ties with the US because he depends so heavily on US oil technology — and fears relying solely on the Soviets for arms. Others believe that Kaddafi knows he can't change US policy and is only meddling to be mischievous.

Kaddafi has had trouble of his own in recent months. Nearly 4 000 suspected dissidents were arrested between April and June, intelligence sources report, and some were forced to confess in televised show trials.

Five outspoken Libyan exiles have been assassinated. But such measures cannot conceal the failures of Kaddafi's "people's government" — shortages of food and other products, mounting bitterness among middle-class Libyans over the loss of property and profit and an army increasingly demoralised by Kaddafi's reckless military campaigns.

Still, there is no organised political opposition, and most Libyans seem content with their new shared wealth. As long as petrodollars keep fueling his grandiose plans, Kaddafi will remain a troublesome figure who cannot safely be ignored.

①
RDM 8/8/80
'Closer
airwave
links
needed'

Southern African Bureau

MASERU. — The secretary-general of the Pan-African Telecommunications Union has recommended closer regional co-operation between independent black African states in Southern Africa in order to reduce their dependence on South Africa in the communication network.

Mr M B Camana was addressing a Press conference in Maseru yesterday. He said the Pan-African Telecommunications Union was a specialised agency formed by the Organisation of African Unity to improve communication between the countries of Africa.

One of the priorities of his union was to train personnel for the communication network. The union would like to introduce HF and microwave links in order that some of the countries which have to go via Paris for communication would have a direct link with other countries of Africa.

He also recommended the introduction of satellite as means of communication in Africa.

Mr Camana leaves for Gaborone today.

Gloomy future for poor Africa — prof

① COM
9/8/80

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

UNEMPLOYMENT in Africa would soar to an estimated 60-million by the year 2000 should unemployment continue to grow at the current rate, the acting chairman of the Africa Institute, Dr P Smit, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing the annual general meeting of the Institute, Dr Smit said 20 of the world's 31 poorest nations were in Africa.

The continent contributed only 2.7% of the world's production and the average per capita national product of R317 was the lowest of all the continents, while its infant mortality rate of 155 per 1 000 was the world's highest.

Of a potential work force of 140-million, 10-million people living in urban areas were unemployed, and there were a further 50-million under-employed in rural areas.

Consequently the pressure on African governments to provide more employment opportunities would increase and existing social problems — such as the slums around cities where there were inadequate services

— could be expected to increase.

Many urban centres were able to provide employment for only a very small number of work-seekers, with the result that dissatisfaction and the danger of revolution, particularly among young people, continued to grow.

Although two-thirds of Africa's population was engaged in agriculture, per capita food production had declined since 1960.

Compared with the rapid population increase agricultural production had increased by only 19%.

In 1978 African countries were obliged to import about 11-million tons of grain and, according to estimates, this figure would increase to 80-million tons by 1990.

About 42-million people in Africa were suffering from hunger and in at least 32 countries the calorie intake was lower than the minimum requirement determined by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation.

In many African states per capita food production was

much lower than before independence. Mozambique was a striking example of this, and indications were that Zimbabwe was rapidly following the same path.

Besides the deteriorating economic situation, the stark reality was that Africa had not yet reached the end of political instability.

Earlier this year Africa experienced its 50th coup which not only plunged its oldest republic, Liberia, into chaos, but also claimed the life of the serving OAU chairman, President Tolbert.

Dr Smit said South Africa was a regional power with considerable potential to promote progress and political stability in a large part of the continent.

"If South Africa's concept of a constellation of states is to become a reality, this will be solely on a basis of knowledge and co-ordinated action.

"Up to now the present aid by State departments had not always lived up to expectations. It remains surprising that South Africa does not show a greater interest in the continent to which its fate is tied," Dr Smit said

WU

SWAPO I can live with.
After all, the whites are living with that fellow in Rhodesia — Mugabe? One thing I'm not doing is going to Johannesburg.

PERCEPTIONS differ from country to country in Southern Africa.

The tough boutique manager expressing her determination to stay in Namibia has her counterpart in Salisbury.

Majority rule isn't too bad close up. The relative success of the Mugabe government is already having an impact in Windhoek and the prospect of Sam Nujoma coming to power is now counted as a probability, not a possibility.

Up north where the army attackably conducts visitors on sight-seeing trips the dry "culling" season as it is sometimes colloquially referred to (an expression borrowed from the Rhodesians), was in full swing.

Reeling off "kill-rate" statistics with the cold detachment of briefing officers the world over, an army spokesman described the recent destruction of the Swapo HQ in Angola.

A journalist friend who attended the operation told me privately that the Swapo dead, like the South African dead, were mere boys, 14 or 18 years old.

The problem is that kill-rates are deceptive. In the case of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), the force level has remained static at about 7 000 for the last three years.

Swapo apparently makes up many of its losses from the half-million Cuanhama Ovambo tribesmen who live on the Angolan side of the border. And while it can be argued that this shows Swapo has difficulty recruiting in Ovamboland it is still a virtually bottomless well of reservists.

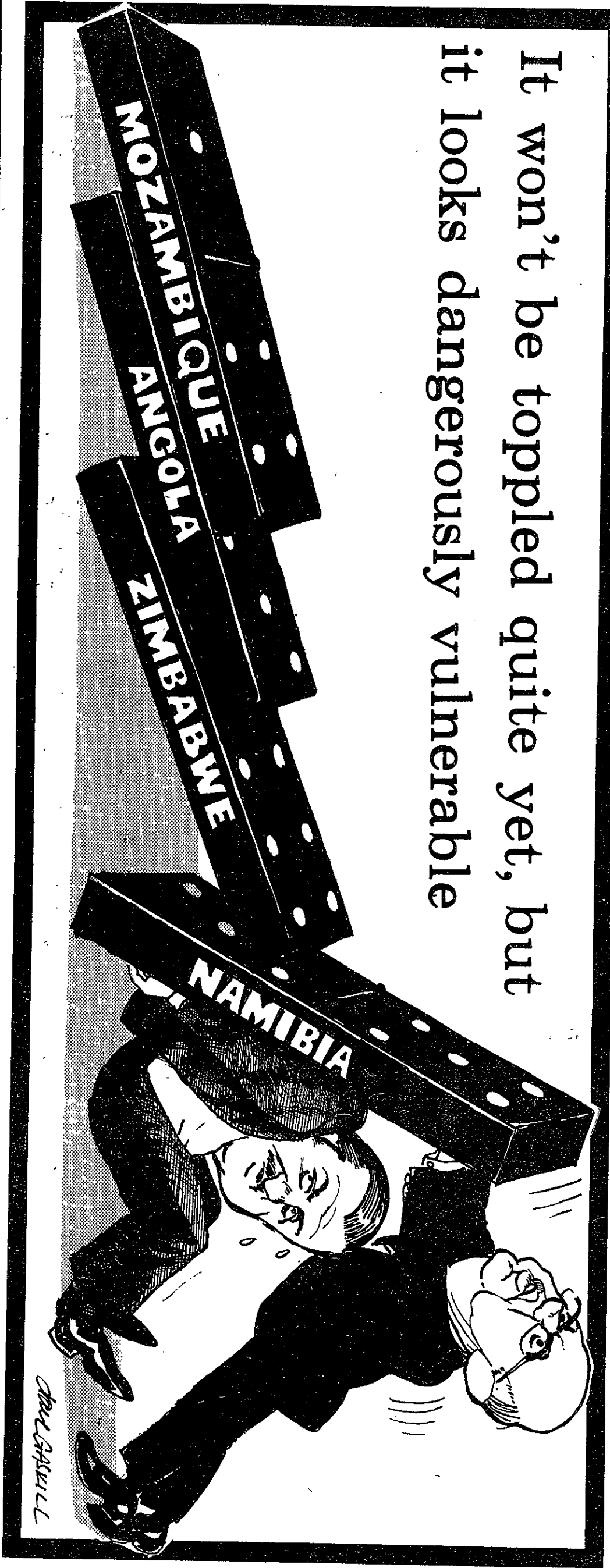
While the kill-rate ratio is ostensibly in the security forces favour it is not necessarily in the white man's favour. Unlike Rhodesia, most South African troops killed in action are white.

There is an inevitable sense of withdrawal up there on that distant and hostile frontier. War is tough

The last domino

17/8/80 SUN TIM

It won't be toppled quite yet, but it looks dangerously vulnerable



THE UN settlement plan for Namibia is once again in the balance as the world waits for the South African reply to Dr Waldheim's letter. DAVID WILLERS, Africa expert at the South Africa Foundation, recently returned from a high-level visit to the territory.

white souls at present. Probably fewer than 60 000 would remain after independence.

played in the service of a modern war. But theirs is the cause of desecration — Kill or be killed.

pression of steadfast resolution, with bomb shelters in every backyard and a massive security fence under construction around the settlement.

A veritable Capivi Mafeking that has already been bloodied by mortar fire.

Here, too, one gets a sense of the explosive international potential of this war, with Zambia just across the border.

Almost secondary to the war professionally paid. Conscription does not exist in Namibia. Nor does there seem to be any indigenous rush to volunteer for the security forces.

Detecting Swapo fighters are not exactly swelling security force ranks either. So the professionals salute the colours in defence of —

This question is the nub. Andre du Pisani, of the University of South Africa, argues that the

terms (democracy vs Marxism) which virtually ensures that the "moderates" are bound to be losers by definition unless they can deliver the economic and political goods the people want.

Du Pisani says a legitimate (Africanised) bureaucracy and a drastic alleviation of black unemployment (running at a rate of 25 per cent) are, therefore, immediate priorities.

But South Africa hasn't the time to tackle these priorities. International pressures for a settlement are mounting and valuable years have been wasted trying to patch up the differences between the whites, let alone the blacks, Hereros, Damaras and all the others.

The National Assembly has only recently been given the teeth it needs to start a social programme to win it some popular support, but at least four years are required to accomplish anything meaningful.

... the time span of an average African development plan.

There is little doubt in most observers' minds now that Swapo would win an election held tomorrow. Also, that every additional day South Africa remains in the territory means another 20 votes for Sam Nujoma. . . . If only because he will profit from the record of a frankly racial system that encouraged divisionist tribalism, resentment and low wages.

Conflict

Not everybody in Namibia sees the conflict in straightforward ideological terms either, and there are many who would agree with Lord Caradon, former Minister of State at the British Foreign Office, that few people who know Nujoma well would describe him as a Marxist.

What will be the legacy of the decades when Namibia was the virtual fifth province of South Africa? Deserted ghost towns on the border, a resentful minute white population and a hostile and bitter black government in Windhoek?

Or will Pretoria stay on until it is convinced the DTA will win a UN-supervised election? Perhaps at great cost internationally to South Africa.

After Zimbabwe, people wonder what is holding up the logical progression of black rule in Namibia. But Namibia is South Africa's last psychological domino, not to be toppled quite yet.

It also looks increasingly like an albatross: a mauling abattoir with exposed flanks, dangerously vulnerable.

SA EXPORTERS

26/8/80 ARGUS.

STEP UP SALES

TO AFRICA

(1)

Financial Editor

SOUTH AFRICAN exporters have greatly increased their sales to other African states in recent months, Miss Sally Gallagher, Safto's marketing executive for Africa, said in Cape Town today.

Boost for Safto seen

CAPE TOWN manufacturers are becoming more and more export orientated, in spite of the booming home economy, says Mrs May Truter head of the Safto office in Cape Town.

In the past 12 months the local membership of Safto has doubled and manufacturers are showing increasing attention to winning export markets in Europe and Australia.

Mrs Truter believes manufacturers in the past few years have learnt how valuable an export market can be when the domestic economy turns down and are no longer prepared to sacrifice export sales for the sake of quick profits at home.

However, she warned that South African companies should not regard neighbouring black states as their exclusive markets.

Northern hemisphere countries, especially Japan were becoming increasingly aggressive in selling to these markets and South African exporters would have to be prepared to fight for them.

The Japanese offered extended credit facilities at low interest rates which South African companies could not match.

MIDDLE EAST

Miss Gallagher is in Cape Town to tell local businessmen about export possibilities in the African continent and the Middle East.

She said South African exporters had made large inroads in the Mauritian market.

They were also greatly expanding their sales in Mozambique where a market existed for all types of South African goods, even luxury articles which were bought by the expatriates there.

African states were keen to buy South African manufactured goods as they were being made for African conditions. South Africa's ability to give fast deliveries was also in its favour. And its exporters also had a good reputation for providing after-sales service.

This reflected the fact that the African countries were a major market for South African firms but only a small segment of the market of northern hemisphere firms.

Another senior Safto official visiting Cape Town is Mr Ken Mason, its North American director, who is here to brief local firms on the American and Canadian markets.

OPPORTUNITIES

Mr Mason said that in spite of the United States recession there were still export opportunities for South African firms.

Although the motor industry had been hard hit, there were signs of recovery in other sectors of the economy.

Starvation faces millions in parched Africa

S. Times ①
3/18/80

EAST Africa is in agony from its worst drought in 15 years. From Djibouti down through Ethiopia and on to the southern Sudan, Somalia, Kenya and Uganda, Africa is dry and white as old bones.

Local politics and intermittent bush wars, rocketing birthrates, stagnating food production and government inefficiency, greed and indifference have all contributed to the nightmare.

Famine

According to United Nations estimates in Nairobi, more than 20 million face the threat of famine this year.

Of these, 12 million may develop acute malnutrition and a million or more can be expected to die by the end of the year.

Some horror stories:

● In the hard-hit Karamoja district of northern Uganda, UN relief officials have had to stop distributing emergency food supplies because of the total collapse of law and order in the region, including armed attacks on their food convoys.

The government in Kampala has been unable and unwilling to restore order so that starving people might be helped.

Slaughter

● In northwestern Kenya, armed gangs slaughter one another in pitched battles over dwindling herds of

By NICHOLAS PROFFITT

thirsty, scrawny cattle in a tribal feud that has left hundreds dead.

Nairobi officials do not interfere in the killings.

● In the Horn of Africa, continuing warfare between the Ethiopian army and rebels in the Ogaden, Eritrea and Tigre regions has combined with drought to send millions of hungry refugees in search of safer havens.

About 1.5-million people have trekked across a desert floor strewn with the carcasses of dead cattle and camels to refugee camps in Somalia, only to find that the hunger and disease they fled lay waiting at the end of their journey.

● On the rim of the Sahara desert — which is moving south at a pace of six kilometres a year — the nations of Chad, Niger, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Gambia and the Cape Verde Islands all need periodic emergency shipments of food to stave off starvation for 30-million people.

● African countries that once exported food — such as Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe — have all become importers.

Rwanda, Mozambique and Botswana are short of food.

Lush Zaire knows starvation in the more remote rural areas.

South Africa has experienced drought and a reduction in agricultural production; the burden of shortage has fallen on the poor.

Africa's per capita food

production declined by one per cent each year in the 1970s.

The population is now growing at an annual rate of about 2.9 per cent, making famine inevitable.

In Mozambique, food losses due to bad weather have been exacerbated by Soviet fishing trawlers working off the coast, drying Mozambican waters of fish and shellfish.

In Zimbabwe, eight years of civil war ended stock-dipping procedures that kept livestock free of ticks and other disease carriers, leading to the loss of vast herds to disease.

Collapse

In Ghana, corruption helped turn a chronic food shortage into a famine.

The coup led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings last year was launched in part to rid Ghana of politicians who pocketed foreign exchange needed to buy new agricultural machinery, keeping 10-million Ghanaians hungry.

In Zaire, gradual collapse of civil administration and transport routes in remote areas has caused starvation in many villages.

In Kenya the problem has been inefficiency and greed. After a bumper crop in 1978, the government lowered the price, causing irate farmers to switch to more profitable crops.

War has been a handmaid to famine.

In the Sudan, nearly half

a million refugees, mostly from the war in Eritrea, have flooded in; despite pledges of money and food from the West, the Khartoum government will still wind up 50 000 tons of food short this year.

Fighting between northern Muslims and southern Christians in Chad sent 110 000 people, mostly women and children, streaming into Cameroon, bringing the usual problems — no food, no medicine, no shelter and no sanitation.

In Somalia there are 1.5-million refugees, and as many as 1 500 more arriving each day.

Hundreds die of starvation, malnutrition and related diseases every month.

Fighting and famine have threatened 5-million people with starvation in the eastern and southern regions of Ethiopia.

Nowhere is the famine more acute than in Uganda's Karamoja, where more than half the 350 000 population are in acute danger of starving to death.

Former Amin soldiers have joined tribal frays over cattle and weapons have found their way into tribal hands as well.

Yet when a reporter asked an Ugandan health official about the situation, the man replied:

"The Karamojong are savages. If they didn't starve to death they'd just kill each other. Let them die."

"There are so many bodies, the hyenas are no longer hungry," says a Catholic nun working in Karamoja.

Economic prospects look bleak for Africa

Warning flags can't be ignored

TREASURIES and planning departments all over East Africa are hoisting warning flags which their political masters cannot ignore. Economic growth in the early 1980s will be negligible or even negative, with profound repercussions for governments. Real incomes will fall, there will be fewer jobs and school places, and social services will deteriorate.

The message, underlined in the recently published World Bank report for 1980, comes as the area is facing its most serious food shortage for decades. Tensions in the region are considerable.

PLIGHT

The plight crosses ideological boundaries. From broadly capitalist Malawi, whose average growth in the 1970s was 6.7 percent, comes the forecast in this year's economic survey that "there will be no growth in the economy during 1980." In socialist Zambia, the Minister of Finance, during the January budget speech, told his countrymen of a "long and difficult journey ahead."

But the message is perhaps most starkly spelt out in a White Paper published by one of Africa's most stable and successful governments — Kenya.

"We must face squarely the fact that the coming years, and the next two years in particular, will be a time of austerity during which there will be slower growth of the economy, less employment creation and more limited social services than were envisaged," the paper warns.

PROBLEM

It is not as if these states ended the 1970s without severe problems. All have to cope with an already considerable pool



Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

of unemployed. Zambia, for example, had 366 000 wage earners in 1971, and that figure probably does not exceed 370 000 today. The 30 000 school leavers who come into the jobs market each year are clearly not being absorbed.

Kenya, where the 3.9 percent annual population growth is probably the world's highest, faces acute pressure on land, with some half a million landless peasants and continuing fragmentation of smallholdings. In Malawi, farm workers' average wages, pitifully low from the start, have been falling in real terms in recent years. In Tanzania, the poorly planned and implemented "villagisation" programme, which regrouped some 13-m peasants, has adversely affected agricultural production.

Some reasons for the bleak prospects also cross ideological differences. The agriculture-dominated economies of Kenya, Uganda and Malawi have no more control over international prices for



Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya.

their export crops than does Zambia over the value of its copper, which provides 90 percent of foreign exchange earnings.

One result is that these and other less developed countries have been powerless to prevent deteriorating terms of trade with the industrialised world. Thus Malawi has watched the purchasing power of its exports (tea, sugar, tobacco) fall from an index of 84.7 in 1978 (the level was set at 100 in 1970), to 76.1 in 1979.

REASON

One main reason was the rising cost of fuel. Prof. Kighoma Malima, Tanzania's Minister of State for Planning and Economic Affairs, calculates that oil imports took 10 percent of Tanzania's export earnings in 1972: "But in 1980 a reduced quantity of oil imports will account for about 45 percent of export earnings." Kenya needed the equivalent of some 60 percent of its main export, coffee, to pay for petroleum imports in 1973. By



Hastings Banda of Malawi.

1979 that percentage had doubled.

The net result has been growing balance-of-payments difficulties in the region, and the consequent need for assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. But the terms, particularly of the former, are often bitterly resented.

Not all East Africa's problems can be blamed on external factors. Government policies, inadequate in either conception or application, play a major part. The villagisation programme in Tanzania, while bringing benefits in education and social services, has contributed to a fall in the cashew crop from 126 000 tons in 1972 to 69 000 tons in 1978, while coffee production is below 1972 levels, Zambian tobacco production is below pre-independence levels, and the state-owned National Agricultural Marketing Board is widely recognised as a grossly inefficient, massively subsidised obstacle to progress.

While the case for regional co-operation has

pecting a plot concocted by President Julius Nyerere to reinstate former President Milton Obote and spread the Socialist doctrine in East Africa.

Meanwhile, Tanzania harbours exiled opponents of Dr Hastings Banda, whose cool relations with Mozambique (dating back to his pro-Portuguese line during Mozambique's war for independence) were not improved by the ageing President's admission of responsibility for a parcel bomb which blew off the arms of a Malawi opposition leader.

POLICY

The combination of austerity and policy shortcomings add up to a severe test of these countries' political institutions. Whatever their ideological difference, all the heads of state, ranging from the autocratic Dr Banda to the articulate spokesman for the Third World, Dr Nyerere, share a belief in one-party systems of government under which rival organisations are banned.

This leaves few safety valves, and as the economic screws tighten it would seem that internal dissent must increase.



Godfrey Binaisa of Uganda.

never been stronger, regional tensions militate against this. Kenya remains acutely nervous about Somalia's claims to the northern chunk of its territory. And Kenya and Tanzania — whose common border has been closed since 1977 — are at loggerheads over Uganda, with the former sus-

8/9/80 (1)

25 African states face critical food shortage

Star 8/9/80

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A critical shortage of food in 25 African nations — including some of South Africa's black neighbours — has prompted a United Nations aid agency to call an emergency meeting of donor countries.

The UN food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) believes vast numbers of African people face slow starvation next year as "acute famine conditions" spread across large regions of the continent.

Mr. Edouard Saouma, director-general of the Rome-based FAO, has asked 31 major Western

food producing countries, other donor governments and UN Development and Assistance Agencies to attend a meeting at FAO headquarters on September 19.

WARNINGS

This move follows increasingly urgent warnings from the organisations in the past three months of the growing number of African countries facing immediate food shortages and a gloomy projection of supplies during 1981.

In cabled invitations to governments, participating in aid programmes, Mr. Saouma said that "contributions still continue to

fall severely short of requirements" and that "in many parts of the continent, famine is becoming acute."

He says most countries affected by drought and diminished crops face shortages that will continue through next year.

Mr. Saouma is urging governments to use the meeting to make a more careful assessment of the critical food situation in Africa and to pledge more assistance and speedy delivery of emergency supplies.

Six weeks ago he pointed out that almost half-a-million tons of food was urgently needed in southern African nations alone.

The general approach will now be applied to the problem in MAN. 530 which follows.

Re: Term 5: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. This stream is the tax shield arising from the tax deductibility of the interest on an equivalent (the displaced) loan.

Re: Term 4: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. To facilitate a fair comparison with leasing the most rapid method of depreciation allowed by the Receiver of Revenue should be used. Furthermore more depreciation in this context includes the investment and initial allowances.

Re: Term 3: Here it is suggested that a discount factor equal to (or slightly higher than) the interest rate on a comparable loan should be used for this term. This stream is riskier than the stream in Term 2 because the lessee requires to have a taxable income to get the cash flow.

Nine review progress

9/9/60

STAR



The Star's Africa News Service

SALISBURY — The flags of nine black southern African nations fluttered outside a Salisbury hotel today as representatives from these countries met to review their progress in lessening their dependence on South Africa.

The three-day meeting of the Southern African Development Co-

ordinating Conference will also review progress by member countries in preparing plans for increased regional co-operation.

The meeting here is a follow-up to the one on regional co-operation held in Lusaka in April this year.

The nine nations — Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, Tanzania, Angola, Botswana and Zimbabwe — have set

up the regional body as a challenge to the proposal by the South African Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, to create a constellation of southern African states.

The Salisbury meeting will also examine development projects in preparation for the second southern African Development Co-ordination Donors Conference in Maputo at the end of November.

energies (eV) to
will and convenient
dominantly with
gions onization
a process the
ne in these
it is
is distance
is called
m) at
the rate
hat is
this
of the

Flaming ROW threatens OAU

RABAT, Morocco—Colonialism being a dirty word in Africa, it was fighting talk when Morocco was accused in the Organisation of African Unity of trying to colonise Western Sahara.

To most Moroccans the accusation is an intolerable insult to their country and their king. It turned a smouldering dispute into a flaming row threatening to splinter the OAU.

The row erupted from a move at the 50-member OAU's summit in Free Town, Sierra Leone, last July for recognition of the "Sahrawi Republic" the Polisario insurgent movement has declared in Western Sahara.

Several of the 26 countries that supported the move threatened to walk out of next year's OAU summit in Nairobi if no seat is reserved there for Sahrawi.

At the same time Morocco threatened to quit the OAU if the "phantom state" was recognised. There were indications that Morocco might be followed out by several of the 24 states that voted against recognition of Sahrawi. In an attempt to avoid splitting, the OAU gave

A row over a strip of desert — Western Sahara — has brought the Organisation of African Unity up against its most serious

crisis and threatened to shatter the unity the OAU has carefully maintained since 1963. HENRY REUTER of The Star's Africa

News Service visited two of the countries at the centre of the row, Morocco and Mauritania, for first-hand reports.

NOUAKCHOTT, Mauritania—One of the ironies of the Western Sahara crisis is that a key role in it is being played by Africa's "nothing land" — Mauritania.

When Mauritanian Government dignitaries make their voices heard in the halls of the OAU and elsewhere they are talking on behalf of a vast stretch of nothing — 1 189 000 square kilometres of shifting dunes in which life for man is a continual battle to avoid being choked to death by sand.

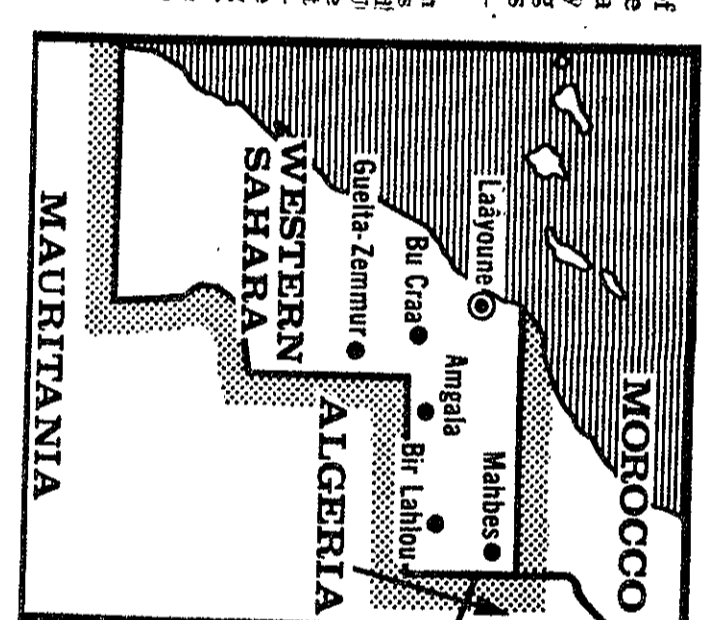
The country's official population estimate, 1.6-million, is misleading. Nearly three-quarters of all the Mauritanian people live in the far south along the north bank of the Senegal river which forms the boundary with Senegal.

As Senegal claims, frequently, they are really black Senegalese who happen to live on the other side of the river and who have nothing in common with Mauritania's real population of Moorish nomads.

Today the pale-faced Moors are becoming tired of their nomadic lives in the moving desert, continually seeking forage for their goats and camels, and are finally beginning to react to demands by the "crazy" Moroccans in the main cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, Tangier and Marrakech, and in the fertile farmlands, the war is remote, but something to be fought for the honour of the royal family.

Morocco is the envy of many African states, with a per capita income of \$400, a good climate, thriving agriculture, considerable industrialisation, a valuable and growing tourism industry and vast reserves of phosphate which are the main export. Morocco is also the world's largest exporter of sardines.

A recent declaration by King Hassan that "we should endeavour to get the poor out of poverty without impoverishing the rich" was in itself sufficient to con-



Much ado over Africa's 'nothing land'

Nouakchott isn't much of a capital city. It is a collection of small stores, a couple of mosques, and some low-rise Government buildings made from the same drab concrete as the collection of embassy residences, each behind its own high wall and fighting a gallant if losing battle to keep the desert out.

The tent and shanty dwellers simply move their homes when sand dunes descend on them. More permanent buildings have difficulties.

Nouakchott's most popular hotel for its few visitors is the Shabab, a 40-room prefabricated job. Timber-bull in Canada and planked down on the sands four years ago.

Like the rest of the capital, the hotel snug-gles close to the desert, surrounded by waste paper and old cardboard cartons which blow across the sands from — who knows where? Despite the high wall surrounding it the hotel staff move ten tons of blown sand daily from its short driveway.

It boasts a portable swimming pool which, before they put a prefabricated building around and over it, filled

with sand every 48 hours. "Around here," explained an off-course Indian engineer, "the people live on goats and camels and the goats and camels live entirely on paper and cardboard. There must be some food value in the cellulose. I swear they never eat anything else."

"What's more," confirmed the hotel manager, an off-course Egyptian, "this diet makes them very tough. I stewed that leg of goat you're trying to eat for three hours, and I note that you still can't get your teeth into it."

Export

Mauritania is broke, officially because of drought and its disastrous war against Polisario and unofficially because it has virtually no means of earning money.

Its only significant cash earner is the export of iron ore, and its iron ore mine is in hock up to its neck to Arab oil states and, anyway, is due to be exhausted in 10 years.

For the past seven years the oil-rich Arab states have been keeping the Mauritanian economy functioning with \$160-million annual grants. Late last year they agreed to put up the bulk of an additional \$400-million which is needed to begin the exploitation of newly-discovered iron ore deposits.

Thus, although the oil magnates favoured, and being installed, Morocco in the Western Sahara dispute, they were glad to have Mauritania pull out of the war because this ended the Polisario blockade of the iron ore railway from the mine to Nouakchott — a blockade which had forced the industry to close down for 10 months.

There have been three changes of Government in Nouakchott since President Mokhtar Ould Daddah was overthrown in a military coup, in July 1978. The coup was led by Colonel Ould Salek, who made it his first business to bring about the reconciliation with Polisario.

Then, in April last year, pressure from the oil states resulted in Ould Salek being thrown out of office, his pro-Polisario Ministers being dismissed and a new, anti-

units, and is claiming some successes.

In one desert clash, on August 21, the Moroccans said they had destroyed 80 Polisario vehicles and three batteries of Stahn Organs (ground-to-ground rocket launchers) and to have killed more than 200 Polisario troops, with only six Moroccans wounded.

Thriving

Polisario forces are invariably referred to as "mercenaries" in Moroccan newspapers and on radio and television. For Moroccans in the main cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, Tangier and Marrakech, and in the fertile farmlands, the war is remote, but something to be fought for the honour of the royal family.

Morocco is the envy of many African states, with a per capita income of \$400, a good climate, thriving agriculture, considerable industrialisation, a valuable and growing tourism industry and vast reserves of phosphate which are the main export. Morocco is also the world's largest exporter of sardines.

A recent declaration by King Hassan that "we should endeavour to get the poor out of poverty without impoverishing the rich" was in itself sufficient to con-

country and how much compensation should be paid to their owners.

The slaves known as Harratines are the descendants of slaves owned by Moorish nobles. Legally, they were emancipated many years ago but in a country which has nothing and offers no means of livelihood, they have continued working as slaves in return for their keep.

Nobody has yet suggested how they will support themselves when they are fully and properly emancipated, least of all the slave's own political movement, the Mouvement des Harratines.

However, unlike South Africa's white minority, Mauritania's rulers are presented with a relatively simple course of action which would assure their continued domination of the country. They can just give the blacks away — to Senegal.

Referendum

President Senghor has long argued the merits of making all the blacks living on the Mauritanian side of the Senegal river Senegalese citizens.

He has suggested that they be given an opportunity, through a referendum, to decide by whom they should be governed. He has indicated that he is at their service should they wish to join the Senegalese black slave.

And he has suggested if Senegal has as my right to run a Senegal River North Bank State as Algeria, called Western Sahara.

Majority

Ould Heydalla's position vis-a-vis Polisario and Morocco is a little vague, and at the moment Ould Daddah, who was allowed to leave the country after his overthrow, is hustling his Arab oil states for the financial support which would enable him to stage a comeback attempt.

Whoever emerge eventually at the top of this

Livelihood

This action followed a consultation with Muslim leaders who thought deeply on the issue and finally announced that while they recognised the lawfulness of slavery in Islam, they considered that the Government had the right to emancipate slaves.

A Government committee is now trying to establish how many black slaves exist in the

Changes

This work had been held up while Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and others made it clear that they were offering no cash without strings. For their \$400-million they wanted a wide measure of political control of the country as well as control of the iron ore project.

country and how much compensation should be paid to their owners.

The slaves known as Harratines are the descendants of slaves owned by Moorish nobles. Legally, they were emancipated many years ago but in a country which has nothing and offers no means of livelihood, they have continued working as slaves in return for their keep.

Nobody has yet suggested how they will support themselves when they are fully and properly emancipated, least of all the slave's own political movement, the Mouvement des Harratines.

However, unlike South Africa's white minority, Mauritania's rulers are presented with a relatively simple course of action which would assure their continued domination of the country. They can just give the blacks away — to Senegal.

Referendum

President Senghor has long argued the merits of making all the blacks living on the Mauritanian side of the Senegal river Senegalese citizens.

He has suggested that they be given an opportunity, through a referendum, to decide by whom they should be governed. He has indicated that he is at their service should they wish to join the Senegalese black slave.

And he has suggested if Senegal has as my right to run a Senegal River North Bank State as Algeria, called Western Sahara.

Battle

Some other OAU states share this view. Others are opposed to Sahrawi's recognition by the OAU in principle, simply because the state doesn't exist. What does exist is a running desert war, which Polisario has been winning. Its forces, believed to number 10 000, ran rings around Mauritania's 12 000-man army before that country retired from the battle in August last year and relinquished its claim.

It has also tied up a large part of Morocco's 90 000-man army in repulsing its frequent attacks on southern Moroccan towns. Morocco's answer — sending out convoys of up to 1 000 vehicles into the desert to contact and destroy Polisario —

Cardboard

Nouakchott's most popular hotel for its few visitors is the Shabab, a 40-room prefabricated job. Timber-bull in Canada and planked down on the sands four years ago.

Like the rest of the capital, the hotel snug-gles close to the desert, surrounded by waste paper and old cardboard cartons which blow across the sands from — who knows where? Despite the high wall surrounding it the hotel staff move ten tons of blown sand daily from its short driveway.

It boasts a portable swimming pool which, before they put a prefabricated building around and over it, filled

with sand every 48 hours. "Around here," explained an off-course Indian engineer, "the people live on goats and camels and the goats and camels live entirely on paper and cardboard. There must be some food value in the cellulose. I swear they never eat anything else."

"What's more," confirmed the hotel manager, an off-course Egyptian, "this diet makes them very tough. I stewed that leg of goat you're trying to eat for three hours, and I note that you still can't get your teeth into it."

Export

Mauritania is broke, officially because of drought and its disastrous war against Polisario and unofficially because it has virtually no means of earning money.

Its only significant cash earner is the export of iron ore, and its iron ore mine is in hock up to its neck to Arab oil states and, anyway, is due to be exhausted in 10 years.

For the past seven years the oil-rich Arab states have been keeping the Mauritanian economy functioning with \$160-million annual grants. Late last year they agreed to put up the bulk of an additional \$400-million which is needed to begin the exploitation of newly-discovered iron ore deposits.

Thus, although the oil magnates favoured, and being installed, Morocco in the Western Sahara dispute, they were glad to have Mauritania pull out of the war because this ended the Polisario blockade of the iron ore railway from the mine to Nouakchott — a blockade which had forced the industry to close down for 10 months.

There have been three changes of Government in Nouakchott since President Mokhtar Ould Daddah was overthrown in a military coup, in July 1978. The coup was led by Colonel Ould Salek, who made it his first business to bring about the reconciliation with Polisario.

Then, in April last year, pressure from the oil states resulted in Ould Salek being thrown out of office, his pro-Polisario Ministers being dismissed and a new, anti-

Majority

Ould Heydalla's position vis-a-vis Polisario and Morocco is a little vague, and at the moment Ould Daddah, who was allowed to leave the country after his overthrow, is hustling his Arab oil states for the financial support which would enable him to stage a comeback attempt.

Whoever emerge eventually at the top of this

Livelihood

This action followed a consultation with Muslim leaders who thought deeply on the issue and finally announced that while they recognised the lawfulness of slavery in Islam, they considered that the Government had the right to emancipate slaves.

A Government committee is now trying to establish how many black slaves exist in the

country and how much compensation should be paid to their owners.

The slaves known as Harratines are the descendants of slaves owned by Moorish nobles. Legally, they were emancipated many years ago but in a country which has nothing and offers no means of livelihood, they have continued working as slaves in return for their keep.

Nobody has yet suggested how they will support themselves when they are fully and properly emancipated, least of all the slave's own political movement, the Mouvement des Harratines.

However, unlike South Africa's white minority, Mauritania's rulers are presented with a relatively simple course of action which would assure their continued domination of the country. They can just give the blacks away — to Senegal.

Referendum

President Senghor has long argued the merits of making all the blacks living on the Mauritanian side of the Senegal river Senegalese citizens.

He has suggested that they be given an opportunity, through a referendum, to decide by whom they should be governed. He has indicated that he is at their service should they wish to join the Senegalese black slave.

And he has suggested if Senegal has as my right to run a Senegal River North Bank State as Algeria, called Western Sahara.

At the same time Morocco threatened to quit the OAU if the "phantom state" was recognised. There were indications that Morocco might be followed out by several of the 24 states that voted against recognition of Sahrawi. In an attempt to avoid splitting, the OAU gave

units, and is claiming some successes.

In one desert clash, on August 21, the Moroccans said they had destroyed 80 Polisario vehicles and three batteries of Stahn Organs (ground-to-ground rocket launchers) and to have killed more than 200 Polisario troops, with only six Moroccans wounded.

Thriving

Polisario forces are invariably referred to as "mercenaries" in Moroccan newspapers and on radio and television. For Moroccans in the main cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, Tangier and Marrakech, and in the fertile farmlands, the war is remote, but something to be fought for the honour of the royal family.

Morocco is the envy of many African states, with a per capita income of \$400, a good climate, thriving agriculture, considerable industrialisation, a valuable and growing tourism industry and vast reserves of phosphate which are the main export. Morocco is also the world's largest exporter of sardines.

A recent declaration by King Hassan that "we should endeavour to get the poor out of poverty without impoverishing the rich" was in itself sufficient to con-

country and how much compensation should be paid to their owners.

The slaves known as Harratines are the descendants of slaves owned by Moorish nobles. Legally, they were emancipated many years ago but in a country which has nothing and offers no means of livelihood, they have continued working as slaves in return for their keep.

Nobody has yet suggested how they will support themselves when they are fully and properly emancipated, least of all the slave's own political movement, the Mouvement des Harratines.

However, unlike South Africa's white minority, Mauritania's rulers are presented with a relatively simple course of action which would assure their continued domination of the country. They can just give the blacks away — to Senegal.

Referendum

President Senghor has long argued the merits of making all the blacks living on the Mauritanian side of the Senegal river Senegalese citizens.

He has suggested that they be given an opportunity, through a referendum, to decide by whom they should be governed. He has indicated that he is at their service should they wish to join the Senegalese black slave.

And he has suggested if Senegal has as my right to run a Senegal River North Bank State as Algeria, called Western Sahara.

Majority

Ould Heydalla's position vis-a-vis Polisario and Morocco is a little vague, and at the moment Ould Daddah, who was allowed to leave the country after his overthrow, is hustling his Arab oil states for the financial support which would enable him to stage a comeback attempt.

Whoever emerge eventually at the top of this

Livelihood

This action followed a consultation with Muslim leaders who thought deeply on the issue and finally announced that while they recognised the lawfulness of slavery in Islam, they considered that the Government had the right to emancipate slaves.

A Government committee is now trying to establish how many black slaves exist in the

country and how much compensation should be paid to their owners.

The slaves known as Harratines are the descendants of slaves owned by Moorish nobles. Legally, they were emancipated many years ago but in a country which has nothing and offers no means of livelihood, they have continued working as slaves in return for their keep.

Nobody has yet suggested how they will support themselves when they are fully and properly emancipated, least of all the slave's own political movement, the Mouvement des Harratines.

However, unlike South Africa's white minority, Mauritania's rulers are presented with a relatively simple course of action which would assure their continued domination of the country. They can just give the blacks away — to Senegal.

Referendum

President Senghor has long argued the merits of making all the blacks living on the Mauritanian side of the Senegal river Senegalese citizens.

He has suggested that they be given an opportunity, through a referendum, to decide by whom they should be governed. He has indicated that he is at their service should they wish to join the Senegalese black slave.

And he has suggested if Senegal has as my right to run a Senegal River North Bank State as Algeria, called Western Sahara.

OAU summit in Nairobi it no seat is reserved there for Sahrawi.

At the same time Morocco threatened to quit the OAU if the "phantom state" was recognised. There were indications that Morocco might be followed out by several of the 24 states that voted against recognition of Sahrawi.

In an attempt to avoid splitting, the OAU gave its special committee on Western Sahara three months to come up with a solution. The committee met this week in Freetown, Sierra Leone, with less than a month of the negotiating period left.

Aspirations

It was President Samora Machel of Mozambique who stirred up the row in July when he accused Morocco at the OAU summit of trying to colonise Western Sahara (a former Spanish colony divided by Spain between Morocco and Mauritania, which abandoned its claim in the face of the Polisario's guerilla war, leaving Morocco fighting on its own).

Rejecting the Mozambique leader's accusation, Moroccan Prime Minister Maati Bouabib claimed it was actually Algeria (the Polisario's main backer) that had colonialist aspirations in Western Sahara.

This is the way the struggle is seen here by most of Morocco's 19 million people. Morocco's case in a nutshell is that Western Sahara was a part of Morocco for cen-

increases, as the medium. The die is therefore high

Relatively are not significant the much lighter electrons in matter lost per collision is only a tiny fraction of the proton energy. These heavy particles therefore retain their original directions throughout the slowing down process and their ranges are well defined - do not vary much from one particle to another of the same energy (fig. 24(a)). Incident electrons, however, can scatter through large angles in their collisions with atomic electrons (of similar mass) and can lose a large fraction of their energy in a single collision, therefore their detailed trajectories vary a great deal from one electron to another and their ranges are not well defined (fig. 24 (b)).

Some range data are listed below:

Energy	α	P	e	Ranges in Aluminium (in mm)	Ranges of 1 MeV protons in different media (in mm)
1 MeV	0.00356	0.0126	1.56	Air	Aluminium
10 MeV	0.0600	0.611	19.6	20.0	0.0126
					0.0106

(b) Neutrons interact only with the nuclei in atoms and their interaction is a statistical process. If we place a slab of matter of thickness x

at right angles to beam of N_0 neutrons per second (as in fig. 26) a fraction N/N_0 of the beam is transmitted without interaction and a fraction $(1-N/N_0)$ interacts with nuclei in the slab. The number N of neutrons emerging per second is given by

$$N = N_0 \exp(-\alpha x) \dots \dots \dots (33)$$

where α is the neutron interaction coefficient of the slab and depends on neutron energy and on the species and density of nuclei in the slab.

The neutron-nucleus interaction is either a nuclear scattering process, in which the neutron transfers some of its energy to the resulting (charged) recoil nucleus, or a nuclear reaction which usually leads to the emission of charged particles or gamma rays. Thus the secondary particles resulting from neutron interactions in matter are often charged particles and these particles then interact with the matter as described in (a). Hydrogenous media such as wax, water or plastic are of particular interest because a neutron can lose any fraction (0-100%) of its kinetic energy in a

thriving agriculture, considerable industrialisation, a valuable and growing tourism industry and vast reserves of phosphate which are the main export. Morocco is also the world's largest exporter of sardines. A recent declaration by King Hassan that "we should endeavour to get the poor out of poverty without impoverishing the rich" was in itself sufficient to condemn him in the socialist world as reactionary imperialist. But in the West, Morocco is widely regarded as the African non-oil-exporting state most likely to succeed.

which provides just about the only break in the country's 1300-km coastline. Apart from the Atlantic Ocean and the Senegal River, Mauritania's boundaries follow, vaguely, old caravan routes and one has to go to Nouakchott or Nouadhibou to confirm that the country really exists at all.

paper and old cardboard cartons which blow across the sands from - who knows where? Despite the high wall surrounding it the hotel staff move ten tons of blown sand daily from its short driveway. It boasts a portable swimming pool which, before they put a prefabricated building around and over it, filled

A copy is the half activity. particular to one half Thus N/N_0 Some values

STAR 11/9/80

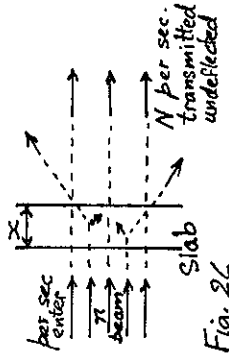


Fig. 26

Talks on reducing reliance

on SA

①
com
11/19/60

SALISBURY. — Ministers from nine Southern African signatory countries to the Lusaka Economic Agreement meet in Salisbury today to study their strategy for economic disengagement from South Africa.

Permanent secretaries and other senior government officials of the countries are in the city working on a draft to be ratified at the ministerial meeting.

Some of the Ministers, including Zambia's Minister of Transport and Power, General Kingsley Chinkuli, arrived yesterday.

The signatories to an agreement concluded in March are Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

There have been 10 presidential, ministerial and experts' meetings since the accord which voted to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa. — Sapa.

Black states seek to ^{STAR} cut ties ① 12/9/80

The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY — Southern Africa's black plan to lessen dependence on South Africa will soon be taken further when Eastern, Western and Arab bloc countries will be asked to fund the programme.

This was disclosed here yesterday at the conclusion of a one day ministerial session of the Southern African Co-ordination summit conference.

This week's conference is a sequel to several other meetings of black African states in the past few months.

The next meeting will be in Maputo on November 27 and 28 and most "well to do" countries of the West, East and Arab bloc have been invited. Their financial support would be solicited for transport and communications projects.

15/9/80
SA trade

with ~~SIATK~~

black

Africa

'explodes'

NEW YORK — "South African trade with black Africa is exploding at an exponential rate, giving the lie to threats at the UN of a boycott of Pretoria," Business Week says.

In its September 22 edition the US publication adds that "last year South African exports to black African areas outside the rand bloc — the areas tied to Pretoria's currency — grew by 39 percent. So far this year they are running 75 percent ahead of 1979 and will reach 1300m dollars (about R900m) by year-end, accounting for 10 percent of all South African exports.

"That is the simple reality that black African delegates at the UN will have to wrestle with next month when they consider proposals for selective sanctions against Pretoria aimed at enforcing UN instructions on moving SWA/Namibia towards independence."

As an example, Business Week says that "oil-rich Nigeria, which officially does not trade with South Africa and leads the call for sanctions against Pretoria, nonetheless receives South African meat and other products through such devices as double invoicing and false certificates of origin." — Sapa-AP.

Own Correspondent

Dutch MIP spearheads anti-SA drive

5/11/73

AMSTERDAM — Dutch Christian Democrat MP Jan Nico Scholten returned on Friday from Salisbury with concrete proposals to help make the black nations of southern Africa less dependent economically on South Africa.

Mr Scholten, who in July led a revolt against the Dutch Cabinet's decision to oppose a unilateral oil embargo of South Africa, claimed that the Frontline states could be well on the way to economic independence within 18 months if they were given the necessary support by the West.

He said the "Nine" are to organise a "pledging conference" in Maputo in November, when Western governments and aid organisations will be called on to pledge their support for the countries at present largely dependent on their southern neighbours for fuel and food supplies.

The aim of Mr Scholten's visit to Zimbabwe was to compile a shopping list of concrete proposals to aid the Nine — to complement his call for joint action by the Netherlands and the other Benelux countries and Scandinavia, to increase the economic isolation of South Africa.

Mr Scholten already has appointments with several Western European Foreign Ministers to discuss and proposals to complement the additional pressure he wants to see exerted on Pretoria.

Mr Scholten stressed he did not wish to harm South Africa. "I feel a close personal and historical bond with the Republic, but the country is heading for catastrophe if the whites are not willing to share power.

"Even the neutron bomb can no longer contain resistance within Southern Africa. That is why I am in favour of increasing pressure on the Pretoria Government. It is in the interests of black and white. But I do so with a heavy heart."

During his visit to the United States in early August, Mr Scholten applied for a visa to stop over in South Africa on his way to Salisbury.

His application via the Dutch embassy there — Mr Scholten (48), travels on a diplomatic passport for which visa applications have to be made via the Dutch government — was honoured.

South Africa. "I feel a close personal and historical bond with the Republic, but the country is heading for catastrophe if the whites are not willing to share power.

"I regret the decision, because I particularly wanted to talk to people on the spot. Unfortunately this has been made impossible for me."

When asked if he planned to protest, Mr Scholten said: "No, I shall wait until Nelson Mandela is President.

Mr Scholten's concern about the problems which would be faced by South Africa's neighbours should pressure from the West increase may mark moves to restore unity within Holland's Christian Democratic Alliance.

At his weekly Press conference, Dutch Prime Minister Dries van Agt echoed Mr Scholten's words.

He emphasised the need to give aid to the nine Frontline states while ad-

mitting that Holland has not found much support in Western Europe for a oil embargo.

"Countries are now queuing up to back an oil embargo," he admitted.

He stated, however, that the Dutch Government was seeking support from the Nordic Council — from which a reply was expected soon — as well as from Belgium and Luxembourg, while lobbying the UN was in progress.

The Dutch Parliament is expected to discuss the issue in mid-October.

① WTM 18/9/80

African news agency proposed

SALISBURY. — News in Africa must be "decolonialised" so that Africa can "see itself through its own eyes", says Mr Justin Nyoka, a senior official at Zimbabwe's Ministry of Information.

"The communications system in Africa is still run and controlled exclusively by the former colonial powers," he said in an interview after attending a recent Unesco conference on communications, held in Yaounde, Cameroun.

All countries represented at the conference supported the establishment of a pan-African news agency, he said.

"What we are saying is that all major news agencies and networks are colonial and in the case of Zimbabwe, the main papers are a colonial relic."

Mr Nyoka, who also visited London and Nairobi, said he was greatly disappointed at the negative coverage of events in Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa by the media in Britain.

"We are not being reflected in a true perspective," he said.

Most of the western newspapers, news agencies, radio and

television stations reported news from Africa from their own point of view, and to them only bad news was good news.

"We feel that the best thing to do to counteract this, is to mount a major offensive as a continent to feed the outside world with the positive aspects of our development."

"We have to aim at telling the whole truth before the enemy tells half-truths."

To this effect, the conference recommended inter-territorial exchanges of news between neighbouring countries, the establishment of regional satellites and the establishment of a pan-African news agency with headquarters in Dakar, Senegal.

"At the moment we are at the mercy of colonial powers, we cannot even communicate among ourselves without going through their countries."

"As an example, as soon as we established our own news agency, Zimbabwe and Mozambique would be feeding each other with news, especially as we have an information agreement signed recently," he added.

Prospects for economy in Africa 'poor'

WASHINGTON. — Prospects for world economic growth have deteriorated in the past year, the World Bank says in its annual survey.

For developed and most Third World countries, the outlook is gloomy. Only those developing countries with oil resources can look forward to some improvement.

The survey is titled World Development Report 1980.

It said growth prospects were especially unfavourable for low-income countries in Africa, which "face a desperately-hard adjustment period — coming on top of the economic stagnation of the 1970s".

The plight of poor Asian and African countries — but particularly the latter — deserved special attention from the international community.

"Impaled on the trident of inflation and recession in the developed countries and much more expensive oil, world growth prospects have deteriorated in the past year," the report said, adding that four-fifths of the developing world's people — those living in countries which do not produce oil — could expect annual growth rates of only 1.8% to 2.4% in the next five years, much lower than forecast last year.

Developing countries, as a whole, have started the decade facing two major challenges, it said "First, they must strive

to continue their social progress in a climate that is less helpful than it was a decade ago — or even a year ago.

"Secondly, they must tackle the plight of 800-million people living in poverty who have benefited too little from fast progress."

The bank's economists predict that oil and other energy consumption will rise through the decade, but level off towards the end.

A bank official told reporters that a recent decline in energy costs had the disadvantage of encouraging policy makers "to go to sleep" and be ill-prepared for expected future increases.

To reach higher growth rates in the 1980s, he said, developing countries should cut trade deficits by raising exports rather than lowering imports. They should also increase investment and improve efficiency in the use of resources.

The bank's report is studied carefully in Third World countries, because it indicates the future course of bank lending.

Bank officials said the agency's lending policies were changing, with less funds devoted to individual economic projects, and more to broad-based aid to help countries to restructure their economies.

It also places high priority on so-called human capital development — the building pools of skilled labour in countries to which the bank lends money.

The report is the last to be presented by the bank's current president, Mr Robert McNamara, who retires next year.

In an introduction to the report, he said: "There is a real risk that the domestic economic problems of richer countries will cause them to give inadequate attention to the problems of the developing world" — Sapa-Reuter.

①
GENERAL NEWS

RDM 19/9/80

Rich African elite causes class barriers

GENEVA — Increasing control of Africa's wealth by a small minority is creating rigid class barriers among Africans; the International Labour Organisation (ILO) warned yesterday.

And these differences seem likely to become yet more rigid as the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

In many African nations, six out of 10 people cannot satisfy their basic needs in food, clothing, housing, education and health care and the majority of wealth is in the hands of just 20% of the population.

"There is a daunting picture of widening inequalities between rich and poor in many countries of the African continent, and the ranks of the poor are growing alarmingly."

And unless this trend is reversed, the ILO fears that the

disparities could harden into permanent class barriers.

In the Central African Republic, Guinea, Mali, Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda and Upper Volta the per capita income stagnated during the 1960-1977 period and in Chad, Ghana, Madagascar, Niger, Senegal and Somalia the income per head decreased.

But the rich minority continued to control the largest share of wealth.

In Zambia, the wealthiest 2% of households in 1974 accounted for 20% of the nation's income — the same amount that was shared between 50% of the country's poorest people.

And in Gabon, Swaziland and Kenya, two-thirds of the wealth is held by 20% of the population.

The study said the most blatant inequalities exist in the

fields of education and health care, with education geared towards children from better-off families and health care concentrated on curative treatment which is too expensive for the poor.

A decline in agriculture and the failure of industrial expansion to meet the basic needs of the poor, aggravate the situation and hunger and malnutrition are on the increase.

"If African countries are to arrest the trend towards massive misery for a large proportion of their population, they need to formulate a coherent strategy for rapid economic growth backed up by vigorous redistributive measures that can lead to a more equal sharing of the benefits of development," the study concluded. — UPI.

Nigeria hosts housing conference

By JOSÉ CAETANO

THE biggest housing conference ever held in Africa has opened in Nigeria with the theme of "Fifty Years of Housing in Africa: Lessons for the Future".

The one-week conference, organised by the Association of Housing Corporation of Nigeria, is being held at the Durbar Hotel Kaduna in Lagos. Two hundred delegates, representing both state and private organisations from all over the world, are participating.

A variety of papers, covering different aspects of housing in Africa, will be read. Topics include: low-cost housing and housing for the low income group; housing finance — a historical perspective and lessons for the future; construction techniques; and the participation of the private entrepreneurs in housing.

Somali ^① bases on 23/9/80

for US

WASHINGTON — The United States and Somalia agreed yesterday on a plan to allow US Forces to use Somali ports and airstrips.

The agreement, disclosed by US State Department officials, completes arrangements for a network of military facilities in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf region begun by the administration of US President Jimmy Carter after the fall of the late Shah of Iran.

The agreement with Somalia, along with those reached earlier this year with Oman and Kenya, will enable the United States to project its military power into the region, said the officials.

The most important aspect of the Somali deal will be access to the port and airstrip at Berbera on the Gulf of Aden. It is strategically situated near major oil shipping lanes.

The Soviets were developing Berbera as a base until 1977 when the Somalis expelled them because of Soviet support for Ethiopia.

The US will not establish a base in Somalia, but plans to help improve ports and airstrips and to store fuel and equipment there. Facilities will remain under the host government's control. — Sapa-AP.

IVORY COAST ① Tatty showcase

FM 26/9/80

Ivory Coast has long been the showcase in West Africa for economic success under an open door capitalist system. Its political stability under the leadership of President Houphouet-Boigny has been held up as an example of African democracy. It has also been one of the rare countries which openly advocated "dialogue" with SA, and Prime Minister John Vorster paid his historic visit to Abidjan in 1971.

Today the economy of Ivory Coast and its political structure are now in peril.

Houphouet-Boigny is 75 years old. Although he has no intention of relinquishing office, there has been growing concern in the country at the lack of an heir-apparent, and a congress of the ruling PDCI is to be convened to nominate a successor.

Intensive consultations between Houphouet-Boigny and his closest advisers and friends are examining the various options. In Ivory Coast, such decisions are arrived at by consensus within a top elite of powerful political figures and business interests, with consultation of a wider public a mere formality.

This old boy network is combined with a patronage system which keeps high office and economic perks such as directorships of major companies within the command of a restricted circle of influential families. It is through this nexus that Hou-

phouet-Boigny worked to maintain the political equilibrium, bestowing favours to sway opinion, balancing one interest group against another, and satisfying regional interests.

Effective though this method has proved itself, it depends entirely on the president's skills and political judgment — a talent which is not easily handed on.

Houphouet-Boigny himself is aware of this, hence his recent statement about the need to put Ivorian democracy "back on the rails." The House of Assembly will be enlarged, and general elections will be held in October, followed by presidential elections later in the year, though there is no intention of allowing any opposition to the ruling party.

The process may not be smooth: there were riots in July, following the controversial election of a local party official. A few weeks before that there was an attempted coup. In the short term a violent upheaval is unlikely, if only because of French security support for the present order.

On the economic front, Paris is less inclined to help. The Ivorian economy is firmly based on cocoa and coffee, and prices for these commodities have fallen by 25% since mid-1979. Abidjan made an attempt to maintain its export earnings in October last year by suspending cocoa sales which, it was hoped, would lead to a recovery of international prices.

The stockpiling continued until May 1980, but the move failed because other producers did not follow suit. In fact, the international cocoa organisation collapsed,

adding further to Ivory Coast's troubles. The exercise cost the country about \$95m — \$75m because of the price drop, \$8m in lost interest on export earnings, \$5m in financing the stockpile, and at least \$7m in storage costs.

Coffee prices were down too, and bad weather caused a smaller harvest than in previous seasons: the value of total exports declined by 48% between 1978 and 1979, according to provisional 1979 figures. Imports fell by 53% during the period.

The commodity boom in the mid-Seventies had led to ambitious development plans, but foreign borrowing increased at such a rate that the country had to have recourse to short-term commercial finance on hard terms. The foreign debt stood at over \$4 billion last year and is now over \$6.5 billion.

Economists think the ratio of debt service to exports could reach 30% by next year. After World Bank and IMF warnings, the government promised not to have recourse in future to commercial loans of shorter than 12-year duration. Public investment was \$1.2 billion in 1979, and the 1980 budget intended to increase this to \$1.46 billion, to which cocoa and coffee earnings were expected to contribute more than half.

A ceiling has now been put on public expenditure of \$250m a year, and major projects worth almost \$1.5 billion were cancelled.

Much of the foreign debt was run up by the 35 state-owned corporations, of which only seven are to be retained in their present form.

WORLD NEWS

Refugees face death as fuel flow stops

3/15/80
Ebn

NAIROBI — Western relief workers said yesterday that tens-of-thousands of refugees in Somalia may starve to death within days because of a fuel shortage caused by the Iran-Iraq war.

The relief workers said nearly all 32 camps housing more than 800,000 refugees in Somalia would be without food within a week unless fuel arrived. They said many of the 800,000 refugees living outside camps also facing starvation.

Food stocks had already been exhausted at several camps, according to a statement signed by representatives of the League of Red Cross Societies, Oxfam and four other agencies.

The statement said the Somali Government and some foreign embassies in Mogadishu were trying to obtain diesel fuel for food trucks by buying the fuel aboard tankers already at sea and diverting them to Somalia.

"The lives of tens-of-thousand of refugees depend upon the immediate success of this effort," it said.

The refugees are nearly all from the Ogaden, the semi-arid region in western Ethiopia which is claimed by Somalia. Ethiopia, with Soviet and Cuban help, defeated Somalia in a conventional war in the Ogaden in 1977-78. Large-scale skirmishing continues.

The refugees make up more than one-quarter of Somalia's population and are widely considered to pose the gravest survival and resettlement problems in the world.

The Western relief workers said regular deliveries of the 480 tons of food needed daily by the refugee camps were interrupted a week ago when the Gulf conflict began to affect fuel supplies.

Somalia obtains all its oil from Iraq.

Relief workers said the Somali National Refugee Commission was currently allocating 800¢ of diesel fuel a day to transport food. They said about 12,700¢ a day was needed. — Sapa-AP.

Masire leads trade move progress

5 AM
22/10/80

1

1

DR OULETT MASIRE

Own Correspondent
BRUSSELS Southern African states were making "good progress" in efforts to reduce their economic over-dependence on South Africa, Botswana President Dr Ghetit Masire told a meeting of ambassadors from developing countries in Brussels yesterday.

Dr Masire, who is on a week-long visit to Europe, was addressing the Committee of Ambassadors, representing 59 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries linked by a special trade and aid agreement — the Lomé Convention — to the European Common Market.

Dr Masire outlined the background to the forthcoming Southern African Development Conference, which was addressing the Committee of Ambassadors, representing 59 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries linked by a special trade and aid agreement — the Lomé Convention — to the European Common Market.

Dr Masire, outlined the background to the forthcoming Southern African Development Conference, which was addressing the Committee of Ambassadors, representing 59 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries linked by a special trade and aid agreement — the Lomé Convention — to the European Common Market.

Dr Masire, who is on a week-long visit to Europe,

was addressing the Committee of Ambassadors,

representing 59 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries linked by a special trade and aid agreement — the Lomé Convention — to the European Common Market.

Dr Masire, outlined the background to the forthcoming Southern African Development Conference, which was addressing the Committee of Ambassadors, representing 59 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries linked by a special trade and aid agreement — the Lomé Convention — to the European Common Market.

STAR 23/10/80 (1)

Masire confident on European aid

Own Correspondent

BRUSSELS — Botswana's President Quett Masire has left Brussels confident of concrete European support for the movement to free southern African states from trade dependence on South Africa.

Dr Masire is in Europe in his capacity as chairman of the forthcoming Maputo conference of the Southern African Development Co-ordination (SADC) countries — Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

HOPE

Speaking to journalists yesterday at the end of a four-day stay in Brussels during which he met top EEC and Belgian Government officials, Dr Masire said: "I have every reason to hope that the sympathetic response with which I have met will be matched in material

terms.

Widespread support had been voiced for the aims of SADC "to promote economic development and co-operation amongst ourselves, and reduce the present heavy economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa," the President said.

CONFERENCE

All nine EEC member countries had been invited to the November 2, Maputo conference at which potential aid donors will have a chance to discuss various projects which they are being asked to finance.

These are mainly to do with improving the region's transport and communications networks and developing agriculture.

The EEC has already given over R30-million to countries in the SADC group linked to the Common Market under its trade and aid agreement.

SAA beats ban on crossing Africa

STAR
24/10/80
①
289

By Kevin Murray, Air Correspondent

A 17-year-old ban on South African flights over black Africa has been beaten. This follows months of top secret negotiations between SAA and the charter airline, Luxavia.

From the end of this month SAA flights to Rome and Athens from Johannesburg will be operated by Luxavia, and will be routed directly over Africa via Nairobi instead of around the Bulge.

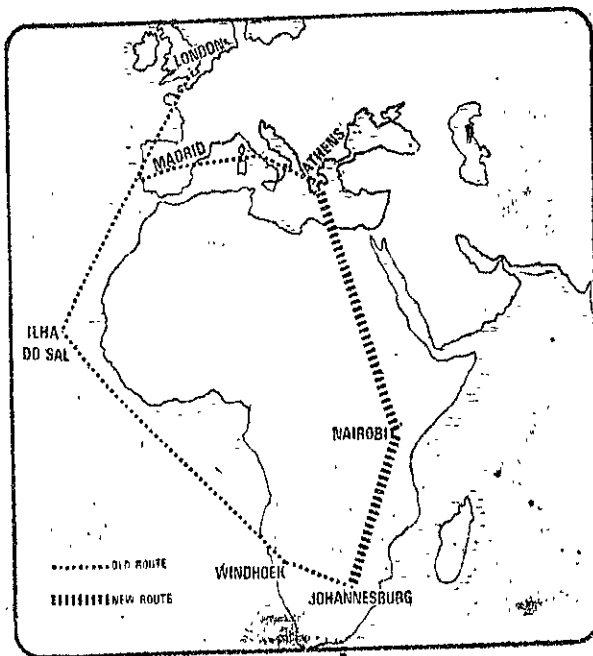
The cheap-fares airline will be using an SAA Boeing 747 SP painted in Luxavia colours for these flights.

The direct routing through Africa will represent a time-saving of about seven hours on a Johannesburg - Athens flight — and a saving of hundreds of thousands of litres of jet fuel a year. SAA crews seconded to Luxavia will fly the aircraft.

SAA has been forced to surrender these two prime European destinations because of spiralling fuel and operating costs, which have become crippling on top of the ban on flying over the African continent.

The Organisation of African Unity and the Arab League banned South African overflights in 1963, and since then every SAA flight to Europe and the Middle East has had to fly around the Bulge of Africa.

The through-Africa flights are part and parcel of a package deal with Luxavia, which has purchased a second Boeing 747 SP from SAA to develop its own services to Luxembourg. (The current selling price of a 747 is about R60-million, but sources in both airlines refused to reveal SAA's price.)



SAA beats ban on flyovers

from page 1

sell one of its aircraft and place a second at the disposal of another airline because of its recent purchase of two Boeing 747 Combi aircraft.

The Luxavia service to Athens and Rome is a scheduled operation and will not offer seats cheaper than other airlines.

But the purchase of a 747 for its Luxembourg flights means that it will now be able to offer 40 percent more cheap seats to this destination.

The airline has long been popular with low-budget travellers and has a number of special prices to Luxembourg which other airlines cannot offer.

Weekly

Luxavia will inaugurate a weekly 747 service to Luxembourg on October 29, and its first flight to Athens and Rome will leave on October 31.

Thereafter flights from Johannesburg to Athens and Rome will leave every Monday and Friday night, returning the next day. SAA's orange livery will no longer be seen in Italy and Greece.

While not in service between Johannesburg and Rome and Athens, SAA's Boeing 747 in Luxavia colours will be used to fly to other destinations around the world, but this will be an entirely SAA operation.

SAA will still fly to Lisbon, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, Vienna, Zurich, Madrid and Tel Aviv.

Sources say the new Luxavia 747 and the repainted SAA 747 will be able to carry 24 first-class and 255 economy-class passengers.

SAA has been able to
To Page 3, Col 4

SADC move against SA trade dependence

BRUSSELS — Botswana's President Quett Masire has left Brussels confident of concrete European support for the movement to free southern African states from trade dependence on South Africa.

Dr Masire is in Europe in his capacity as chairman of the forthcoming Maputo conference of the Southern (SADC) countries — Angola, Botswana, African Development Co-ordination Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Speaking to journalists this week at the end of a four-day stay in Brussels during which he met top EEC and Belgian government officials, Dr Masire said, "I have every reason to hope that the sympathetic response with which I have met will be matched in material terms."

Widespread support has been voiced for the aims of SADC "to promote economic development and co-operation amongst ourselves, and reduce the present heavy economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa," the President said.

All nine EEC member countries have been invited to the November 27 Maputo Conference at which potential aid donors will have a chance to discuss various projects which they are being asked to finance.

The EEC has already given over R30-million to countries in the SADC group linked to the Common Market under its trade and aid agreement.

The terms of the agreement, known as the Lome Convention, were recently renewed, and with Zimbabwe due to join next year, EEC aid in the region could increase to around R80-million.

European countries have already given the SADC over R350 000 to finance regional cooperation studies. Asked whether the Maputo Conference might be used as a springboard for political attacks on South Africa, Dr Masire said, "We are trying to deal with this as an economic problem, we are very worried about our economic situation vis-a-vis South Africa, which could become more intransigent towards us because it knows we depend on it so much."



Dr Quett Masire . . . leading role in breaking SA ties.

We want to stop 'aid syndrome'

STAR
5/11/80

Black-ruled southern Africa is reaching for the final goal of uhuru — economic independence. But some states, at least, do not want this to be seen as antagonistic towards South Africa, reports Keith Kiewiet, of The Star's Africa News Service, from Maseru.

The move by black southern Africa to reduce economic dependence on South Africa is an attempt to gain "real independence" says Swaziland's Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla.

This supports an earlier statement in Brussels by Botswana's President, Dr Quett Masire, that the black-ruled states are not seeking confrontation with South Africa in their move to strengthen economic co-operation among themselves.

In a rarely-granted interview, the prince outlined Swaziland's role and motivations in the initiative. He quashed any suggestion that the southern African grouping was designed to "get at" South Africa.

"We, and I believe other southern African states, simply want to be less of a burden on the West," he said. "We want to stop the 'aid syndrome' and thus become truly independent."

Prince Mabandla said it would be more logical for South Africa to be part of this new economic bloc and, indeed, he would welcome it but, as he said, "while there is apartheid in South Africa this is not possible."

An attempt "to get on one's own feet" could not be construed as an attack, economic or otherwise, on South Africa, he said.

Some critics of the new initiative see it as a counter to the constellation of states concept being promoted by the South African Government.

Prince Mabandla said the Pretoria government was over-sensitive about imagined attacks on it but under-sensitive about the real issues facing it.

He stressed the non-aligned stance of Swaziland and said pragmatism, reason and consultation were the proper ways to strive for ideals.

His prime concern, he said, was the positive development of Swaziland and its people.

So, for example, Swaziland was going to watch more closely the working conditions of its expatriate workers in other countries.

"This does not mean, as some people seem to view it, that we are suddenly going to cut off our supply of workers to South African mines.

"It simply means that where we see that conditions are not up to acceptable standards we will use all the channels at our disposal to see that matters are put right.

"And this does not apply to South Africa only but to other countries where our people go to seek work, Zaire for example."

Swaziland will be one of the countries attending the Southern



A Swazi farmer, using the skills he has learnt from the Taiwanese Agricultural Mission in Swaziland, ploughs his own rice paddy.

African Development Co-ordination Conference in Maputo on November 27 and 28.

The main aim of the Maputo meeting is to raise funds and major international aid donors such as the World Bank and potential European and Arab donors (including the EEC) have been invited.

Landlocked Swaziland walks a delicate tightrope of diplomacy between powerful South Africa and the ideological pressures of black Africa.

How independent can Swaziland become?

It has what is considered to be one of the world's most efficient sugar processing industries. It also has a highly successful forestry and pulp industry, an asbestos mine, a large fertiliser factory and a number of smaller industries.

Tourism brings in a fair amount of money and the soil is rich, water is plentiful and the climate good for most farming practices.

But, Swaziland imports something like 80 percent of its maize meal — the staple food — from South Africa.

The country is so heavily dependent on South Africa that economic independence at this stage is a distant dream.

There is potential for a high degree of economic independence. But, as diplomats point out, one of the greatest obstacles is the traditional way of life and the subsistence farming that goes with it.

While nobody is prepared to advocate a "revolution" to change this way of life, observers point out that an efficient marketing system could do much to help the agricultural economy.

Agriculture is, above all, what could bring Swaziland wealth.

Getting development aid is bound to be an uphill battle because Swaziland is not as poor as other African states — although it has a fairly large aid income.

Cape Verde

'link' led to

Bissau coup

① 20m 19/11/80



MR VASCO CABRAL
... bullet wounds



MR JOAO VIEIRA
... coup leader

By JOSÉ CAETANO

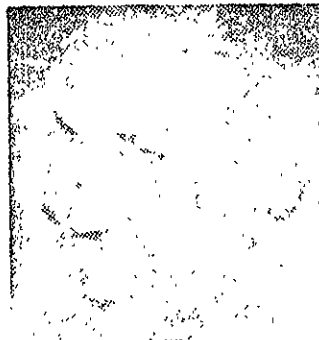
PRIME MINISTER Major Joao (Nino) Bernardo Vieira, leader of the Guinea-Bissau Revolutionary Council which overthrew the government of President Luis Almeida Cabral at the weekend, said in a communique broadcast yesterday by Radio Bissau that the coup "had the objective of putting a step to the proposed amalgamation of Guinea-Bissau with its sister Republic of the Cape Verde Islands".

Both the former Portuguese colonies are ruled by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC).

The Cape Verde Islands, 400km off Guinea-Bissau, is the only African country which provides South African Airways with strategically important landing and refuelling facilities. South African planes use the Ilha do Sal Airport on flights to Europe.

The coup was launched late on Saturday when Major Vieira ordered the arrests of President Cabral and his brother Vasco, (a Minister of Finance).

Later, in a broadcast to the nation, Major Vieira announced a dusk-to-dawn curfew and appealed to the population "to stay in their homes and wait



PRESIDENT CABRAL
... under arrest

for permission before going out into the streets".

A broadcast in French reassured foreigners and diplomats that they had nothing to fear.

President Cabral and his family are under arrest at Rubaque Island, while Mr Vasco Cabral has taken refuge at the Swiss Embassy in Bissau — where he arrived with bullet injuries to his shoulders.

Both men are brothers of the late Mr Amilcar Cabral, founder of the PAIGC.

Meanwhile, Mr Aristides Pereira, President of the Cape Verde Islands and secretary-general of the PAIGC, said in a radio statement that Cape Verde condemned the coup.

He has
that company
the world.
is for
optimisation.
Operations
town and
Computer
tion and

Has a degree
been with She
as an interna
His experience
financial man
He has taught
Research at th
Stellenbosch.
He is recognis
Society of Sou
design of Indu

Klaas van der Poel

Racial split threatens sister states

THE weekend coup in Guinea-Bissau has brought relations between that country and its sister Republic of Cape Verde Islands to breaking point and might result in a racial split within the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), which rules both countries.

The PAIGC was formed in 1966 to fight for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, then under Portuguese administration. Among the original members were several Cape Verdians, including the party's first leader, Mr Amílcar Cabral (assassinated in 1973), and his brother Luís, the now deposed President.

Mr Luís Cabral, the PAIGC's number-two man, was appointed President of Guinea-Bissau at independence in September 1974. The country, with a population of 570 000, on the West Coast of Africa is bordered by Senegal in the north and Guinea-Conakry in the south.

Later, Mr Aristides Pereira, leader of the party and its secretary-general, became President of Cape Verde when the coloured-populated archipelago, about 350km west of Bissau, attained independence in June 1975.

Major Joao "Nino" Bernardo Vieira, leader of the Revolutionary Council which overthrew President Cabral at the weekend, explained

that the objective of the coup was to put a stop to the proposed amalgamation with Cape Verde "in accordance with the aspirations of the people".

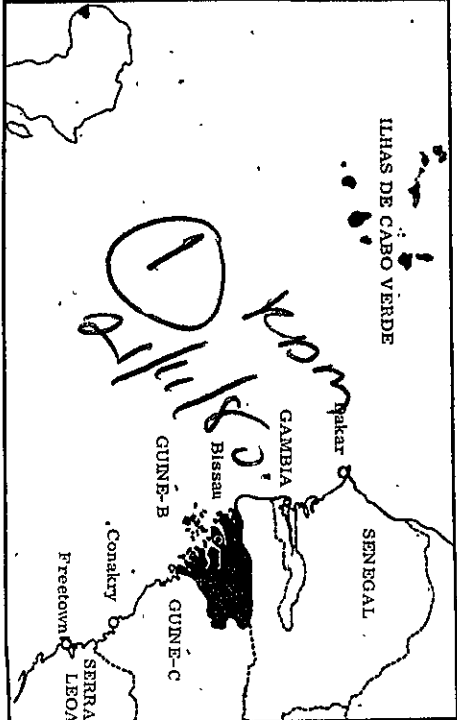
Subsequent events seem to indicate that there is a growing resentment among the natives of Guinea-Bissau against the coloured Cape Verdians holding the majority of senior positions in the party as well as in the Bissau Government and civil service.

There have been numerous cases of assaults on Cape Verdians in the streets of Bissau since the weekend, despite appeals by the Revolutionary Council.

The coup was originally due to take place last Sunday evening, when President Cabral was to be arrested on his arrival in Bissau after a weekend spent at his holiday home on Bubaque Island, while the rebellious troops would then capture the military headquarters and occupy the national radio station.

But the Prime Minister, Major Joao Vieira, ordered his troops into action late on Friday after being questioned at his home by the Director of Security, Mr Antonio Busscardim, on reports that he was planning the overthrow of the government. Mr Busscardim was killed during the coup.

President Cabral was arrested on Bubaque Island and is now in detention, together



with his wife and his one-year-old daughter, at the government guest house in the centre of Bissau. The house is being guarded by two armoured cars.

So far, only three of the 25-member PAIGC's Political Bureau have given their support to the new Revolutionary Council. The majority is either under arrest, have gone underground or escaped to neighbouring countries.

Among those under arrest is Mrs Carmen Pereira, the Guinea-born leader of the Popular Assembly. The Minister of Transport, Mr Manuel "Manecas" dos Santos, has been reinstated to his position after being arrested. He had given himself up to the new authorities after having eluded capture for two days. Others, like the executive

secretary of the Political Bureau, Mr Jose Araujo, and the Minister of Interior, Com-mandant Constantino Teixeira, who were in Portugal at the time of the coup, have flown to the Cape Verde capital for talks with Mr Aristides Pereira.

Mr Jose de Araujo was the author of the "amalgamation constitution" that was the cause of the rebellion and which was to be implemented in January next year. The proposed constitution provided for a restriction of the powers of the then Prime Minister, Major Vieira, who led the coup.

In an effort to gain acceptance, the new regime has broadcast statements by detained members of the former government praising the coup. It has also announced

that rice can now be bought without the need of ration or party membership cards.

President Aristides Pereira, in his capacity as leader of the party, has sent a message to the chairman of the OAU, President Siaka Stevens, and to the 19 other heads of state in Africa, expressing his "concern over the internal situation in Guinea-Bissau" and calling "for guarantees that the fundamental rights of the leaders and militants of the party and members of the deposed government will be secured".

In his message the PAIGC leader also called "for assurances that the physical well-being of President Cabral will be guaranteed", and demanded that he be given the right to choose "the country in which he may want reside".

At this stage the only country to have recognised the new government is Guinea-Conakry, which sent a top-level delegation to Bissau two days after the coup to reassure Major Bernardo Vieira's government of its support. The Conakry delegation also pledged 700 tons of emergency food aid.

Relations between the two countries have been severely strained over the last three months because of a dispute of their sea limits.

FOOTNOTE: South African Airways has important refuelling and maintenance facilities on the Cape Verde Islands.

STAR 24/11/80 ①

Maputo meeting a bid for SA cash

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The real purpose of next week's nine-nation Southern African development co-ordinating conference in Maputo is to seek up to R750-million in aid, says a leading article in the latest issue of *The Economist*.

When finance and economics ministers from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe meet with aid donors in Maputo, "much will be heard

about the 'struggle for economic liberation' from South Africa," says *The Economist*.

"In reality, the chances of most of these countries achieving a UDI from South Africa during this century are remote.

"Zambians eat South African meakie-meal . . . with South African cutlery off South African China. Migrant workers from Malawi and Mozambique dig for gold on the Witwatersrand.

Nine black States ^{SAC} _{25/6/80} hoping for ① millions

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — Ministers from the nine black Southern African States participating in the devesion could account for the Mozambique capital are expected to arrive here today for their one-day meeting tomorrow.

Also expected today are the 28 foreign governments and international development agencies that have responded to the appeal for funds from the regional grouping of Southern African States which have made up their minds to cut their economic dependence on South Africa before the next decade.

The ministers, two from each of the participating countries — except Zimbabwe which is sending four ministers and two deputies — will hold a private session tomorrow before going into the two-day conference with the overseas donors.

PRIORITIES

Meanwhile, the steering committee of the nine nations, made up of senior civil servants from the member countries, are continuing their deliberations aimed at listing in order of priority projects for which they are seeking money.

The nine nations taking part are Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Tanzania, Lesotho, Angola, Swaziland and Botswana.

According to diplomatic sources here Holland has committed R8-million, Sweden will be offering R40-million.

● See Page 15.

Ex-Minister seizes power in Volta

Rem 24/1/80
D

ABIDJAN. — A military coup has overthrown the democratically elected civilian government of President Sangoule Lamizama in Upper Volta.

Diplomatic sources in the neighbouring Ivory Coast said the coup was led by Colonel Saye Zerbo, a former Foreign Minister who now commands a regiment in the country's capital, Ouagadougou, on Monday night.

The sources said there had apparently been no violence and President Lamizama was still at his residence. "Not one shot was fired," an Upper Volta diplomatic source said.

The sources added that according to a radio announcement the new regime had dissolved parliament and suspended the constitution.

Upper Volta, an impoverished, land-locked country of about 6-million people, was one of only two multi-party democracies in French-speaking black Africa. The sole remaining multi-party democracy is Senegal.

Upper Volta's two international airports were closed and all telephone and telex links with the country were cut.

The new rulers have imposed a curfew from 7pm to 6am.

The coup, the third since Upper Volta's independence from France in 1960, was preceded by a two-month teachers' strike which led to a major political confrontation between the opposition parties, which support-

ed the teachers, and the government.

The opposition failed on November 11 to push through parliament a no-confidence motion.

In recent weeks the government of President Lamizama has imposed censorship on foreign Press reports out of the country.

President Lamizama came to power through a 1966 coup. He was then a lieutenant-colonel and chief of staff of the army, coming to power peacefully on a wave of public discontent with President Maurice Yameogo.

Ten years later, threatened with a general strike, President Lamizama staged a second "coup" by dissolving Parliament. But the country returned to civilian rule in 1977 and the following year he was democratically elected President.

His government stood to the right of centre and favoured a French presence in Africa. It draws much of its support from the Mossi, the most important ethnic group.

Upper Volta is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a per capita annual income of only R120.

The country has few resources except unexploited manganese.

Diplomatic sources said the new government had indicated it would respect its international obligations. The country receives large amounts of foreign aid. — Sapa-Reuter.

5 APR 26/11/80

Looking for a way to break SA 'hold' on trade

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — Ministers from the nine black states that form the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) will be spending most of today locked behind closed doors in an effort to find a common solution to their common problems to break what they see as South Africa's stranglehold on their economies.

The nine black states — Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zambia, Swaziland, Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho — are meeting to agree on the wording of their plea to the international community for monetary as well as technical aid if they are going to make good their break with South Africa.

The SADCC members will tomorrow be meeting their potential donors whom they are expecting to contribute about 2 000-million dollars for development projects in the region.

According to informed sources here, it will not be too difficult to persuade the donors of the need for the break in trade relations between the SADCC members and South Africa.

The only problem, said the source is that the donors themselves are going through a period of depression in their own countries.

However, the potential donors feel very encouraged by the performance of the black southern African states, particularly the way they have avoided political confrontation with South Africa.

The black states participating in the SADCC conference in the Mozambican capital have set themselves a target date by which all — save in the case of Botswana which is expected to reduce, not cut off completely — will have stopped trading or shipping through the Republic.

At the moment, it is estimated Zimbabwe exports 1 500 000 tons and imports 1 000 000 tons through South Africa.

Zimbabwe has undertaken to reduce this to zero in the next 10 years.

In the case of Zambia, about 150 000 tons of her exports and 300 000 tons of her imports go through South Africa. The SADCC would like this to stop completely by the end of this decade.

Botswana exports 75 000 tons through South Africa while 200 000 come back through the same route. Because of her geographic position she is not expected to find alternative routes immediately but will be expected to reduce the traffic to 60 000 tons in exports and 175 000 tons in imports.

Volta ^{27/11/80} President held ^{from} after coup ^(C)

OUAGADOUGOU. — The former President of impoverished Upper Volta has been put under house arrest after a coup that ousted him from power, military sources in the country's capital, Ouagadougou, said yesterday.

Mr. Sangoué Lamizana was overthrown on Tuesday in a bloodless coup led by Colonel Saye Zerbo, a former Foreign Minister in the sub-Saharan nation.

It was the third coup in Upper Volta since its independence from France in 1960.

The sources said Mr. Lamizana, 64, was being held at his official residence where he has lived since assuming power in 1966.

They said other political leaders and military officials had also been arrested and taken to a military camp near the capital.

The capital city was calm yesterday.

Reports reaching Abidjan in the neighbouring Ivory Coast said the new military junta would try to uplift the country's stagnant economy, but it planned no major change in the toppled regime's foreign policies.

Statements broadcast by Upper Volta's state-controlled radio stations said Col Zerbo took over power because of the landlocked West African country's retarded economic position.

The broadcasts pledged that Upper Volta would respect all international accords concluded by the fallen regime, which belongs to the French franc zone and is a trading partner of the European Economic Community. — Sapa, UPI.

US ready to offer aid to SADCC countries

MAPUTO — The United States Government would like to co-operate with the nine black southern African nations meeting here to improve transport and agriculture in the region, the head of the American delegation to the Mozambique conference, Mr Joseph Wheeler, has announced.

In an exclusive interview shortly after his arrival at Maputo Airport yesterday, Mr Wheeler said his government hopes the Maputo conference will be a success.

Mr Wheeler is the deputy director of the United States' agency for international development.

"We are very supportive of the nine countries which are meeting here. We have come here to co-operate in an efficient way, in a helpful way, and we would like to participate with other foreign governments to get these efforts off the ground," he said.

"We would like to hear a consensus from the member countries of SADCC as to their priorities of their projects so that we can work on them soonest."

Lengthy 'shopping list' of nine black states

By Wilf Mbanga of The Star's African News Service

MAPUTO — Nine black southern African countries are today presenting a shopping list to the international community in the hope of getting donations of attracting investments for a number of development projects they need before they can cut trade relations with South Africa.

The nine nations held a ministerial meeting in Maputo yesterday and agreed on the order of priority for the projects for which finance is being sought.

The countries taking part in the conference are Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland—the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council.

Conference sources said that the meeting yesterday decided that improvement of the ports at Beira, Maputo, Macala and Lobito were priority No 1.

The electrification of the railway line between Gwelo in Zimbabwe and Beira was also of major importance, the meeting decided.

Zimbabwe cannot increase traffic on the Beira route because of steep gradients inside Mozambique which make it difficult for locomotives to pull heavy loads.

Improvements to the Malawi-Nacala railway are considered important. This would help relieve congestion on the Beira line, the ministers at the meeting decided.

The Mozambicans, on the other hand want Nacala to be the biggest port in their country because it has a natural deep harbour and would be able to handle traffic from Zambia and Malawi.

Apparently, the Malawians want the addition of a section of a line in Malawi to link it to the Tanzam line in Zambia.

5-7A
27/11/80
①

Zimbabwe happy with support given to SADCC

STAR
28/11/80

①

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Although the international community had not made impressive financial pledges to the nine black southern African countries meeting here, the purpose of the gathering had been supported, the leader of the Zimbabwean delegation here, Dr Bernard Chidzero said.

In an interview after yesterday's conference between the members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) and about 38 governments and several other international development agencies, Dr Chidzero said the speeches which took up all day had impressed him.

"Several delegates to the meeting supported the purpose of this meeting.

They have said they support the desire of the nine countries of this region to reduce their dependence on South Africa. They see the need for these countries to emancipate their economies and of course their mobilisation of international support for their struggle," he said.

SUPPORT GIVEN

Dr Chidzero said the SADCC members had not only been given political and moral support by the international community but had been given "a fairly sizeable lump of money."

"It is true that the project proposals we had put forward require much more money than has been indicated in the speeches made. On the other hand, we realise that it will take some countries considerable

time to make up their minds which projects to support."

Zimbabwe, he said, was a landlocked country and it needed new access to the sea.

RAIL LINKS

"Therefore we need to improve our rail links with Mozambique and the harbours of Beira and Maputo. These are some of the projects being picked up by the international donors. This will facilitate our access to the sea and reduce the very high dependence for shipping on South Africa we have today," Dr Chidzero said.

Today Dr Chidzero will be presenting his working paper on transport and communications in southern Africa. The paper details the projects for which money is being sought.

EEC blow for black countries

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The European Economic Community was prepared to finance only 14 of the ninety-five projects to help the nine black southern African countries meeting here to sever their economic dependence on South Africa, according to informed conference sources.

This falls far short of the expectations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council, which is holding its second meeting in the Mozambican capital.

The purpose of the meeting here is to persuade the international community to either invest in or donate to these projects, making it easier for the landlocked countries in particular to break their reliance on South African parts.

"We had expected the EEC to come up with better offers. This is very disappointing indeed," said one conference official.

Bad start for Maputo conference

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The first day of the two-day conference of black Southern African countries with international donors here got off to a bad start with long tedious speeches during which a number of delegates fell asleep. Very little money, the reason for the gathering, was produced.

Many of the international donors used the occasion to give South Africa a tongue-lashing. They said the aims of the nine

black nations to improve transportation and communications among themselves and to lessen their dependence on their feared "ugly sister" south of the Limpopo was wonderful.

Only the applause woke some of the sleeping delegates.

Those delegates who did not fall asleep appeared interested only in finding out how much money each country's representative was offering. Some of the black

participants lost interest and walked out to join friends over a beer while others just sat there looking bored.

Two members of the Zimbabwean delegation were slumped over their desks and at one stage there was nobody from the Malawian delegation in the conference room.

The only team that sat through it all looking alert was that of the Chairman, Botswana Minister of Economic Planning, Mr Peter Mnisi.

At the end of the day as delegates trooped out there was disappointment written all over their faces.

Most of today they will try to convince their rich acquaintances they have made a mistake by not "digging into their coffers."

There are more speeches on the programme. No doubt they will be long but the monetary contribution will not go far.

Machel hits at SA

By Wilf Mhanga

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The economic dependence of the nine black southern African states on South Africa was planned by Pretoria to increase nine state's dependence on the white-ruled nation, President Samora Machel said in

Maputo yesterday.

The Mozambique leader was opening the conference seeking international financial and technical help to lessen dependence on South Africa.

He said that black states' reliance had transformed the south into an economic "pole of attraction."

in Maputo. The conference is the culmination of a series — the first of which was held in Arusha, Tanzania last year — intended to co-ordinate economic development of southern African states north of the Limpopo. It aims to improve transport and communications between these countries, to expand co-operation in trade and industry, and to co-ordinate aid programmes to the region. No less important is the attempt to draw African states away from P W Botha's mooted "constellation of southern African States" orbiting Pretoria.

Representatives of some 30 developed and developing countries will take part. Among those present will be Botswana, whose Finance Minister Peter Musi will chair the two-day conference; Zambia, Zaire, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Angola, Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi. Mozambique's President Samora Machel will open the conference.

Observers have noted that while Pretoria's constellation would have the necessary economic and financial muscle to succeed, the "counter-constellation," weak in this regard, has the political will to succeed. Hence the "key aim," identified by Musi, of getting pledges from the industrial countries and funding agencies at the conference for financial support of regional projects.

The EEC, Opec, the World Bank, and the African and Arab Development Bank will attend the Maputo conference. Representatives of Scandinavian and Eastern bloc countries will also be present.

DEVELOPMENT FM 28/11/80
Summit in Maputo ①

Black African states are meeting in Mozambique this week to attend the Southern African Development Conference

Blow to African 'common market'

MAPUTO. — The European Economic Community (EEC) is unable to fund key parts of an ambitious black African proposal to lessen economic dependence on South Africa.

This could deal the plan a major blow.

The EEC development commissioner, Mr Claude Cheysson, told the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) at a two-day meeting which opened in Maputo yesterday that the community could not provide funds for transport projects in Mozambique.

These are central to the nine-nation African "common market" plan.

Western countries, including Britain and West Germany, said existing aid programmes to SADCC states would be continued.

Mr Cheysson said that under the latest Lome agreement the EEC could provide nearly R100-million in aid for regional projects in the seven SADCC member states which are Lome signatories: Botswana, Tanzania, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi.

Further bilateral aid could also be provided outside Mozambique, according to EEC officials.

The ninth SADCC state, Angola, is another non-Lome member, but is seeking funds to rehabilitate its rebel-besieged Benguela Railway to the Atlantic coast. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC could operate from Mozambique'

Unity after development talks between southern nations

SAC-29/1180 (1)

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Under certain circumstances Mozambique would allow guerrilla fighters of the African National Congress (ANC) to operate out of his country, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Joaquim Chissano, has announced.

Speaking at a Press conference at the end of a two-day donors' aid meeting, Mr Chissano said his country would allow the guerrillas from South Africa to operate from there "only if we are forced to."

"We are a peaceful country but if we are forced to we will allow the ANC to operate from here," he said.

Mr Chissano said his country could not support sanctions against South Africa as it would be tantamount to suicide.

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The nine-member Southern African Development Conference which ended here last night had brought about a sense of unity between the black nations in this region, the Botswana Foreign Minister, Mr Achie Mogwe has said.

In an interview with The Star here last night Mr Mogwe said although the money pledged was not as much as he had hoped for he was not disappointed.

SUCCESS

"This conference as a whole has been a huge success. You can say it has exceeded our expectations considering the organisation was only born last year in July."

Mr Mogwe said what had impressed him most at the conference was the

level of attendance and the number of people attending.

Some people have said they want to support particular schemes, others want to support projects once more details have

9 states to reduce dependence on SA

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The nine black southern African nations who ended their meeting here last night are set to introduce their programme to make it possible for them to reduce their dependence on South Africa.

The members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference which met for two days with international donors, have been promised R550-million within the next five years.

Most of this would have been spent in this region had there not been the Maputo meeting. In real terms the conference here has brought only R50-million.

The conference chairman, Mr Peter Mmusi, said member countries were now working towards accelerating economic and social development in their region.

been supplied.

"We will now be able to achieve economic interdependence with other black states in our region. South Africa can also come in later when it has done away with her apartheid," he said.

Mr Mogwe said Botswana could never support economic sanctions against South Africa as they would never work.

"Sanctions have never worked anywhere in the world. If they failed in Zimbabwe what makes you think they will work in South Africa. Why should Botswana be made to suffer for something that will never work?" he asked.

Mr Mogwe said the SADC had decided to examine the possibility of building a new railway line linking his country with SWA/Namibia, once it becomes independent.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Klaas van der Poel

Has a degree in Oper been with Shell Inte as an international His experience inclu financial management

He has taught course Research at the Busi Stellenbosch.

He is recognised as Society of South Afr design of industrial

ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS by Ray Woodley

We won this one: But reading about it gave me goose pimples

FOUR Frontline states, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, will invade South Africa in 1985. The dramatic order will come from CASPA (Confederation of Africa South People's Army) backed by the Soviet Union.

Forces from Zimbabwe and Botswana will operate as guerrillas, though on a very large scale, with the two main thrusts coming from Namibia and Mozambique.

They will be supported from the sea by coastal ports, air bases, better equipped armies, both in combat and logistic units, and the opportunity of seaboard aid.

From Mozambique, a force of nearly 30 000 will take part. The force will be made up in the first place of the recently-reconstituted Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) army, swelled by more Makonde troops from the Mozambique United Front (FUMU).

Moscow has reacted to these war rumours. Novosti Press Agency, as quoted by a special correspondent for World Paper (November 1980 issue), states:

"It would be over-simplifying things if we accepted these military frolics like General Sir John Hackett's book."

Who is Gen Hackett? Sir John, GCB, CBE, DSO and Bar, MC, MA, LL.D., is the editor of "The Third World War" (Sphere Books). It is a shell-shocking narrative of great land battles on the Central Front between NATO and Warsaw Pact Forces in southern Africa.

It includes the Middle East confrontations between Iran and her allies (like the United States) and the Left-wing Arab states. The book also looks at the lives of ordinary people in this global maelstrom.

Two nuclear attacks — on Birmingham and Minsk — are predicted with all the attendant horrors and devastation.

Call it make-believe, but Vasil Yemelyanov, of the USSR Academy of Sciences, says: "Imagining fantasies on the theme of nuclear war, and even more on nuclear war provoked by the USSR, is not just an absurdity but a dangerous lie bordering on a crime."

South Africans may entertain similar alarming thoughts about a rumoured invasion from the Black states "Up North".

Gen Hackett, assisted by many other military experts, writes: "The expeditions from Zimbabwe and Botswana were essentially huge distractions for the South African security forces, to whom excellent communications southwards from Mbizi and Gaborone were important."

As Botswana had few men to spare, Namibia was to draft in a force of 20 000 guerrillas.

The Zimbabwe force would be about the same size."

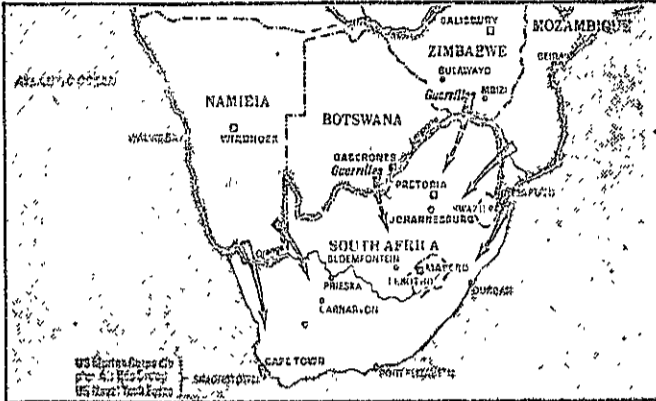
The other main operation would be the SWAPO (Namibia is independent), Angolan, Cuban and Nigerian attacks — all from Namibia — one force heading for Prieska, the other for Cape Town and Simonstown.

The Nigerians provided 30 000 men, the Cubans 10 000, the Angolan and SWAPO contingents numbered 50 000 together — a force similar in total to the eastern armies invading from Mozambique," writes Gen Hackett.

"Soviet advisers and technicians were much in evidence." Far for the course (or battlefield) of Russian participation so far in southern Africa.

What sort of opposition would these contingents meet in South Africa?

"There was South Africa's regular army, swelled by former Rhodesians and refugees from Namibia — with a growing number of volunteers from Australasia — to a force of



• Battle plan for the 'liberation' of South Africa

90 000," is the general's reply.

Gen Hackett maintains that a US naval force at sea, even if no American formations are involved in land fighting, will form a "defensive ring".

Behind the regular SA Army, would the "Volkssturm" (Hackett's word) of 200 000 strong, efficient, well-trained men and women, dedicated to the idea of winning, or dying — a hard nut for CASPA to

crack.

America involvement? The brave (remember those decorations) general continues: "The United States wanted to hang on to what it regarded as two of its strategic interests: Middle Eastern oil and the ability to bring tankers and other shipping round the Cape."

For the USSR the requirement was to keep a grip on southern Africa, which would give her dominance of the sea

routes, and control of the Middle East and its oil. "Those involved there had other ideas. The Black African nations wanted to destroy the White hold on South Africa and have it for themselves, its riches, its land, its influence, its strategic potential. "The White South Africans were equally intent on keeping what they had. Neither cared greatly for the broader issues beyond their own horizons."

One wonders if the Reagan Regime will view the importance of Simonstown with the nonchalance of Jimmy Carter and his advisers. Remember "World War" was written before the recent Presidential election.

"Everything the United States hoped for depended on winning at sea, which itself demanded ascendancy in the air. The Soviet Navy's defeat had two important effects, on the battle in Africa. "First, the severance of maritime connection with the Caribbean meant no Jamaican

or Cuban reinforcements or supplies could come by sea to West Africa.

Happily the battle for the Indian Ocean was less intense and less costly than the battle for the Atlantic, but had been equally important.

Just as reassuring is that South Africa contained the invaders and the USSR lost control over events in either the Middle East or in southern Africa.

Orders from Moscow became confused and inadequate by the end of August 1980. The war had ceased. The SA Kommandos proved "fantastic", but it was a fantasy tempered with a cool measuring of military odds.

The fantastic speculations are backed by true-life pictures of the military weapons, including that of an armoured car of French make being used by the SA Defence Force in operations in Zululand.

Meanwhile, I will rearrange my goose pimples

More cash on the way after Maputo meeting — Chidzero

STAR
1/12/80

(1)

Own Correspondent

SALISBURY — Although only R653-million of an estimated R2,3-billion was pledged by donor countries and international organisations during the Maputo meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, there is every indication that more aid is on the way.

"What we got is far short of what we want and what we expected, but this is only the first stage and we expect more money from various sources," said the Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero.

Dr Chidzero, who led Zimbabwe's team of 17 Ministers, officials and experts to the meeting, said the meeting had been "a success."

"We received firm com-

mitments for more aid but procedural requirements made it impossible for them to be definitive of the amounts they will give," said the Minister.

The meeting — which was a follow-up to the Lusaka economic summit which charted a path for economic disengagement from South Africa — was attended by Ministers of the nine SADCC countries, 30 representatives from other countries, 18 from development agencies and observers.

Dr Chidzero said although money was in short supply, it had been encouraging to note the support each speaker had given to the ideals and objectives of the SADCC.

Apart from the reduction on South African dependence, the organisa-

tion aims to accelerate the economic and social development of their countries, the promotion of trade among themselves and self-sufficiency.

Dr Chidzero said the bulk of the money raised so far would be used for the improvement of transport and communications — identified as a prerequisite for increased regional production and trade.

The deepening and expansion of the vital ports of Beira and Maputo would begin this month while other related projects were being looked at, he said.

"Some projects have, in fact, already started and others will be started as soon as funds have been allocated and matters finalised.

Maputo talks an attempt to end nationalist fragmentation

LONDON. — Those who merely see this last week's Maputo conference between the Southern African states and aid-givers from most parts of the world as a hostile gesture against white domination and apartheid will be aware only of the least important aspect of the meeting.

The real significance of these exchanges in Mozambique seems to me to lie in the attempt they represent to get out of the trap of nationalism into which all Africa has allowed itself to be rushed since 1945. Both the nine African states attempt to set up some sort of a community effort to develop their resources and the South African proposal for a "constellation" are part of a positive reaction against nationalist fragmentation.

Broken up

One of the underlying causes of Africa's weakness and disorder today is its leaders' acceptance that the continent should remain broken up more or less in the same crazy patchwork of territories it became during the snatch-and-grab politics of the colonial era. Africa went from colonialism rampant to nationalism rampant. The result is that the continent is now divided up into some half a hundred states, about 2½ times as many as that other continental area of nationalist instability, Latin America.

Among the three dozen or so poorest countries in the world, Africa has a score, while Asia and Latin America share the remainder. One of the reasons why these poorer African countries remain in fairly desperate straits is that they have to compete for international aid, investment and trade against other African countries with better prospects for develop-

ment, such as the possession of mineral resources or more promising agricultural organization, or both. And it is not as if these poorer countries gain something by trade with better-off neighbours, because African countries still seek the greatest part of their trade with the rest of the world and do hardly any with one another.

Historians of the future will be astonished that the continent's most economically developed country, South Africa, has proceeded to knock itself to bits as well. After spending the 19th century overcoming a tendency to break up into at least four parts and achieving Union in the early 20th century, South Africa went into a nationalist frenzy augmented by race prejudice and fragmented herself into a dozen pieces.

Above the Limpopo two attempts at larger unity came unstuck — the Rhodesian Federation was wrecked by African resentment of white domination, and the East African Community was wrecked by the political suspicion and national rivalry of its parts.

Now it seems that both north and south of the Limpopo there is a new desire among states to come together and find new strength in co-operation and internal trade. South Africa would like to build up a kind of loose community of Southern African states based on its own considerable development, economic strength and possession of financial know-how. Meanwhile, the nine states above the Limpopo are asking the world to help them develop their considerable human, mineral, land and water resources in one great economic unit across the waist of Africa from Atlantic to Indian Ocean.

There is no doubt about the



economic potential of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, working in concert. And much of the rest of the world, at least of the industrialized world, whether democratic or communist, seems prepared to take that potential seriously. The United States, the Scandinavian countries, the EEC, Comecon, Japan, Brazil, the UN Development Programme, the World Bank and others are obviously prepared to send men of great

ability to listen to what the nine think they need in terms of cash aid to develop that potential, or at least make a beginning.

The sum arrived at, after three major meetings among the nine, is about two billion American dollars, to lay an enduring foundation of transport and communications between them — that is roads, railways, waterways and development of harbours. This, say the leaders of the nine, is to free their nations severally and individually from having to depend as heavily as now on port, rail and road facilities from South Africa.

But even if this dependence did not seem objectionable to them because of apartheid, the nine would still need development of this order to realize the possibilities of trade between themselves and with the rest of the world, including South Africa.

It is uncertain as yet what

fraction of the nine's requirements in aid is likely to be offered firmly after all the polemic, even sympathetic, listening done by world's aiders. America's attitude won't be fully known until President-elect Reagan assumes office. But whatever is forthcoming, dependence on South African economic facilities and production is likely to go on for a long time — quite a few of those states, as the Economist remarked of Zambia, eat South African mealie-meal with South African cutlery off South African plates.

Sheer loathing of economic domination by the whites of the south, powerful though this racial reaction undoubtedly is, may not be sufficient to build up the constructive effort required. What is much more necessary is for co-operation to be realized between the nine states on a practical level, and the ability to make their trade with one another more effective and mutually beneficial. The spirit is willing and the potential is there, as was shown and known even in the days when a similar group tried to come together round the dissolving East African Community.

On paper such a bloc of African states from east to southwest coasts offers economic attractions at least twice as great as those of South Africa. This would be especially so if the bloc were joined by Namibia, Zaire and Kenya, and Salisbury and Nairobi became the financial poles of the region. But if one considers that Tanzania is even now maintaining the closure of its border with Kenya to prevent the growth of trade between Zambia and her one-time East African partner, possible future difficulties can be seen. The

coolness of China, one-time railway builder between Tanzania and Zambia, can also be seen as a pointer to international complications among the aiders.

SA prospects

On the other hand, the growth of a vast new economy next door to South Africa could very well increase the Republic's own prospects for fruitful trade with Africa in the future. This would be even more the case if South Africa were seen to be genuinely ending the racial politics and practices which have turned all Africa against her present rulers.

There is a long way to go yet on both sides of the Limpopo, but there are lessons to be learnt on either side from the other, to the general economic and political benefit of all this African sub-continent.

Chad in chaos as 20-year civil war rages on

PARIS — The situation in Chad is catastrophic, a French Minister said yesterday.

Mr Robert Galley, Minister for Co-operation with Developing Nations, noted in a radio interview the reports of Libyan involvement in the long civil war in Chad.

He said Libya raised an "Islamic legion" among immigrant workers in Libya who then went to fight "in terrible conditions in a war in which they were not concerned".

"The situation is catastrophic for the people. The State no longer exists. All that remains is people who fight each other," Mr Galley said.

"France and the African nations are dismayed by the refusal of most of the Chadian factions to agree."

The latest phase of the civil war, which has raged on and off since independence in 1960, has opposed the two leading Muslim factions of northern Chadians, led by the interim President, Mr Goukouni Weddeye, and the former Defence Minister, Mr Hissene Habre.

Their forces have split and devastated the capital, N'Djamena. There are 11 political factions recognised in the country, mostly Muslim groups. The Christian or animist southerners have stayed out of the latest round of fighting this year.

Both Mr Weddeye and Mr Habre have been allied with and opposed to Libya in recent years. Currently Mr Weddeye is receiving Libyan aid in the form of men and material, and France charged this week that the Libyans had set up an air base 60km from N'Djamena.

Diplomats said Colonel Wadel Abdelkader Kamougue, leader of a Christian faction from the south of Chad, told Chad journalists his troops had taken over from Mr Weddeye's soldiers the fight against forces of Mr Habre.

Western diplomats in Kousséri, a town in Cameroon just across the Chari River from N'Djamena, said Mr Weddeye's troops had been seriously drained through fighting and desertions.

Col. Kamougue's reappearance in the confused 20-year-old civil war follows a hiatus of several months. His troops fought several battles last June against Mr Habre's army.

Col Kamougue told journalists 2,000 of his troops had been airlifted to N'Djamena during the past 15 days.

That figure was received sceptically by diplomats in Cameroon. They also doubted recent United States Defence Department estimates of 3,000 to 4,000 Libyans fighting in central and southern Chad.

French military analysts say the Habre, Weddeye and Kamougue factions number no more than 1,500 troops each. The French set the number of Libyans fighting in N'Djamena as a few dozen, but say there could be far more fighting in the north.

The civil war broke out again last March after a lull in the dispute as to which of several tribal, religious and regional factions should control the sprawling, primitive country more than twice the size of France, its former colonial master. — Sapa-AP and UPI

STP
Meeting ①
2/2/80
over coup

LISBON — Heads of state of Portugal's former African colonies meet in Luanda today to consider last month's coup in Guinea-Bissau.

The president of the Cape Verde Islands, Mr Aristides Pereira, Presidents Samora Machel of Mozambique and Manuel Pinto da Costa of the island republic of Sao Tome and Principe will be at the meeting, reports Angop.

There was no mention of the new government in Guinea-Bissau being represented at the talks. — Sapa-Reuters.

Forgotten war hots up again

K'EBRI DEHAR (Ethiopia) — Largely unnoticed by the outside world, Ethiopia and Somalia have been engaged again in large-scale fighting for the last six months for control of the Ogaden, over which the two have been warring almost continuously for 20 years.

Once again, too, the Ethiopians are prevailing, but this time without the help of Cuban combat troops, who played such a prominent role in the 1977-78 Ogaden war and

The Ethiopian Army, reinforced by two new divisions, has gone on a major offensive against Somali regular forces and guerillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front, the Washington Post Service reports.

raised such alarm in Western circles about Soviet expansionism in Africa.

After several years of being bottled up in garrisons and hardly moving into the surrounding countryside, the Ethiopian Army, reinforced by two

new divisions, has gone on a major offensive against Somali regular forces and guerillas of the Somali-backed Western Somali Liberation Front.

Not only has Ethiopia finally succeeded in clearing most of the northern and central portions of the Ogaden of hostile forces, it has for the first time in five years succeeded in reaching the disputed, colonial-drawn border-line.

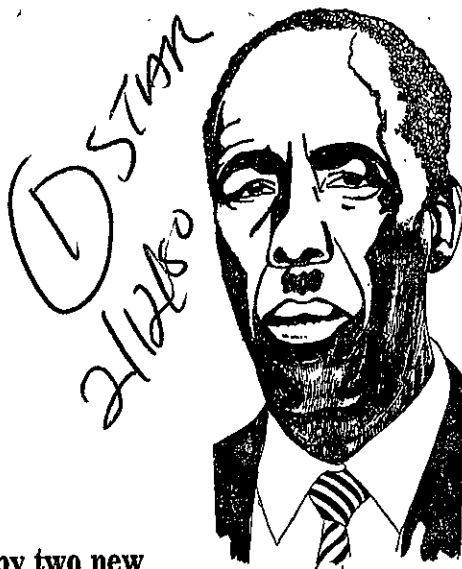
As the fighting has escalated and the Ethiopian presence made itself felt once more in the barren Ogaden landscape, thousands of Somali nomads and even some weary Liberation Front guerillas are streaming into the already overcrowded shelters set up by the Ethiopian government for drought victims earlier this year.

Account

The one on the outskirts of K'ebri Dehar, a dusty crossroad market town, now holds 15 000 Somalis, and 300 new arrivals during a recent three-day period could be seen milling around the feeding centre set up by the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission for drought victims.

The account of which country is responsible for the escalated fighting, differs sharply on the Ethiopian side of the border from that on the Somali side.

The Ethiopians say the Somalis started it last autumn by stepping up the infiltration of regular and irregular forces to challenge a new Ethiopian control over the disputed



Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre . . . he declared a state of emergency in October.

territory.

Despite Somali assurances to the US government last August that regular army troops would no longer be involved in the Ogaden struggle, Ethiopian and Western diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa concur that Somali Army units were engaged in the fighting as recently as late September and early October.

That was one month after the US under-secretary of State for African Affairs, Richard Moose, assured Congress that Somalia had decided to forego military means in pressing its long-standing objective of incorporating the Ogaden into a "Greater Somalia."

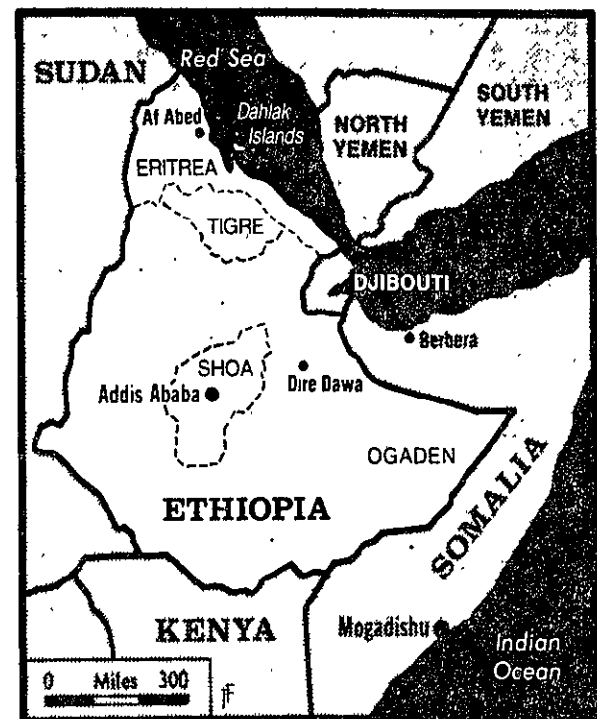
The Somali assurance was a key element in the Carter administration's defence of a deal to provide Somalia with \$30 million in military aid in the next two years in return for access to strategically located Indian Ocean ports and airfields.

In the latest reported large-scale engagement, according to an official Ethiopian report, at least six "fully mechanised units" of battalion size took part in a two-pronged Somali incursion into Ethiopia's Bale province west of the Ogaden starting on September 18.

Heavy armour, artillery, infantry and combat aircraft of both countries were involved in the battle, which occurred on the south-western border and as far as 294 km inside Ethiopia, a government communique said.

The Somali force was defeated on October 4 after suffering 1 100 casualties and the annihilation of the 275th battalion, the statement said.

The Ethiopians later published in the local



Press the tag numbers of six regular Somali Army soldiers captured in the fighting who belonged to the 184th 183rd and 9th battalions.

Western sources say 500 to 1 000 Somali regulars are probably still operating in Ethiopia, primarily in the eastern salient of the Ogaden jutting into northern Somalia.

Attempt

This was the second time in five months that the Ethiopians had reported a major engagement with the regular Somali Army.

In early August, a government communique said 14 000 Somali troops had attempted in the previous two months to take the garrison town of Uardere, east of K'ebri Dehar, and had been beaten back, suffering more than 3 000 casualties.

Western diplomatic sources say the size of the Somali force was closer to 6 000 to 8 000, but they do not dispute the Ethiopian claim that the Somali Army was involved in the battle for Uardere, where the Ethiopian-supported Somali opposition organisation known as the Somali Salvation Front is said to be headquartered.

The biggest difference in the latest confrontation has been its closeness to the disputed border, one indication of the Ethiopian success in pushing the Somalis out of the Ogaden.

The Somali Army had established a kind of buffer zone along much of the common frontier. The Ethiopians now have penetrated it, provoking a strong Somali reaction, according to one Western diplomatic account.

The presence of Ethiopian troops so close to

Somali territory and the probability that the fighting spilled across the border may have been the main reason that Somali President Mohammed Siad Barre declared a state of emergency late last month.

One effect of the fighting has been the raising of tensions between Somalia and Kenya.

Kenyan police recently intercepted a Somali column passing through North Eastern province on its way to southern Ethiopia, a route used by the Somalis before in an attempt to get behind Ethiopian lines.

Signs of the improvement in the overall Ethiopian position inside much of the Ogaden are noticeable in K'ebri Dehar, where until recently Western Somali Liberation Front guerilla bands were a serious threat.

The town bears the scars of war and the six months it spent under Somali Army occupation in 1977. Residents say the Somalis stripped houses of windows, doors and corrugated tin roofs when they left, taking most of K'ebri Dehar's 15 000 to 18 000 inhabitants with them.

Now those people are returning from the Ogaden bush and Somalia refugee camps, seeking help from the Ethiopian Government.

The Ethiopian relief commission estimates the combined loss of livestock and property at almost \$2 700-million after close to six years of war and drought. It has drawn up a \$330-million programme to begin rehabilitating roughly 2.4-million people throughout south-eastern Ethiopia, 800 000 of them nomads once living in the Ogaden.



By W.H. Mbanga,
The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY — The East-

West ideological clash has
thwarted to a certain ex-
tent ambitious projects by
nine black southern Afri-
can states to help them
lessen their economic de-
pendence on South Africa.

The battle for economic
and political influence on
the continent of Africa is
waged with subtle
weapons such as aid —
with strings attached —
and preferential trade as-
seen in the Lomé Conven-
tion and the rival Eastern
Bloc version, Comecon.
The ideological struggle

Ideological clash casts a shadow over black states

STARS
2/12/80

In Africa between the two
great power blocs has cast
a long shadow on the
attempts by the nine
members of the Southern
African Development Cor-
poration (SADC) which met last
week in the Mozambican
capital with international
donors.

The purpose of the
meeting was to seek
monetary aid to the tune
of R1.500-million from the
international community
so that the member coun-
tries could improve roads,
railways, harbours and

communications in the re-
gion so that their traffic
could by-pass South
Africa.

The nine black nations
— Zimbabwe, Zambia, Ma-
lawi, Mozambique, Tanzan-
ia, Angola, Botswana, Swaz-
iland and Lesotho — feel
that South Africa has a
stranglehold on their eco-
nomies and that they could
use this to blackmail them
economically. Any attempt
on their part to force
South Africa to change its
racial policies could not
possibly succeed while the
country controls their ex-

port and import routes
almost exclusively.

To rectify this situation
the nine black states
called on the international
donors to give them polit-
ical as well as monetary
aid to release their
dreams.

A large number of
countries attended and
gave unqualified political
support for the scheme.
Morietary support
of R41-million was
pledged — money that
would not have been
spent in this area had it
not been for the Maputo
conference. In total,
however, R490-million was
pledged by the interna-
tional community to the
region over the next five
years.

The next step facing
the member countries is
to carry out costly feasibil-
ity studies of proposed
developments — a study
at Beira harbour, for ex-
ample, will cost an esti-
mated R1.1-million.
Once this has been
done, detailed plans will

be presented to the
interested governments,
particularly Britain and
the United States who
insisted on this before
committing themselves
financially. The foreign
governments, after study-
ing the plans, will then
decide to what extent
they will commit them-
selves.

A major snag developed
during the course of the
Maputo talks resulting in
pledges of monetary sub-
sidies falling far below the
expectations of the
SADCC.

The nine-nations squab-
bled among themselves
when they realised that
money that could have
been donated because Mo-
zambique and Angola had
not joined the Lomé Con-
vention and Mozambique,
in the words of its
Foreign Minister Joaquim
Chissano, was seriously
contemplating joining
Comecon.

The other seven coun-
tries involved, all former
British colonies, protect-
ed their interests — Zim-
babwe, Zambia, Lesotho,
Botswana, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Tan-
zania — are members of
Lomé.

Mozambique in particu-
lar finds it very difficult
to join Lomé because of
what is known as the
Berlin Clause in the Lomé
agreement which demands
that signatories recognise
West Berlin as the sole
representative of the Ger-
man people.

The reason for Mozam-
bique's reluctance is her
close ties with East Ger-
many which trains her
army and police force.
East Germany also gives
monetary aid to Mozam-
bique.

At a Press conference
last week Mr. Chissano
said his country hoped
more time to be given
ced about the advantages
of adhering to the Lomé
Convention.

"There are many ways
of co-operating with the
E.E.C. members without
necessarily belonging to
the convention," he said.

In economic terms the
Maputo Conference
realised very little by way
of hard cash. Basically the
conference was an inter-
national rather than a re-
gional affair.

Joaquim Chissano
"Mozambique contem-
plating joining Comecon."

Senegal leader quits

Own Correspondent

PARIS — One of Africa's most pro-western and moderate leaders, Senegalese President Leopold Sedar Senghor, is to resign as head of the west African state on December 31 after 20 years in power.

President Senghor (74) told the French newspaper Le Monde he would keep the leadership of his party, devote himself to

developing an African "international socialist" movement, and his place would be taken by Prime Minister Abdou Diouf.

Two years ago, sources here said, Mr Senghor was in contact with white opposition South African leaders hoping for an invitation to visit South Africa, to act as mediator between South Africa and black Africa.

3/2/80 SIM 1

TABLE 13: CAPITAL-OUTPUT RATIOS, 1971, 1976 AND 1978

a) All Sectors: K, Y measured in millions of rand, 1970 prices)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				
	Agriculture		Mining	Manufacturing		Electricity	Construction		Commerce	Transport etc	Finance	Services	All
1971	K	2 403	1 885	3 174	2 182	178	1 702	4 726	6 479	7 545	30 274		
Y	1 154	1 170	2 847	329	576	1 912	1 215	1 520	1 821	12 543			
	61	61	1,11	6,63	0,31	0,89	3,89	4,26	4,14	2,41			
	25	25	5 046	3 615	231	2 468	7 613	8 868	12 027	45 541			
	57	57	3 342	507	591	2 420	1 801	1 867	2 418	15 554			
	25	25	1,51	7,13	0,39	1,02	4,23	4,75	4,97	2,93			
	8	8	36,0	7,5	25,8	14,6	8,7	11,5	20,0	21,6			
	1976		Manufacturing		Census		Reserve Bank - 1976						
	K	Y	K	Y	K/Y	K	Y	K/Y					
	717 679	849 507	0,84										
	953 378	1 156 606	0,82										
	Primary & fab.metals	292 580	2 116 716	1,08									
	Machinery	379 266	1 041 443	0,36									
	Transport, equip-	319 248	564 812	0,57									
	ment												
	Other	1 595 530	2 163 022	0,74									
	TOTAL	6 257 681	7 892 106	0,79	4 643 000	3 393 000	1,37						
			(1976 prices)		(1970 prices)								

Sierra Leone

slow 4/12/80
①

strikes rich deposits

By HENRY REUTER
of The Star's Africa
News Service.

FREETOWN (Sierra Leone) — The discovery of rich gold deposits in Sierra Leone has drawn speculation in mining circles that within 10 years the country may become the continent's largest gold supplier, with production exceeding that of South Africa.

Government surveys have indicated the existence of a "gold belt" some 112 km long by between eight and 9.6 km wide, running through hilly country from just north of the town of Bo in the Southern Province, almost due north towards the Guinea border. Some mining experts believe the belt may extend a further 64 km north, into Guinea.

A Canadian geologist, Ernest Bazinet (49), set off the gold rush recently after two years' work at one of the belt's southernmost mining prospects, Baomuhun. A story published in the Canadian magazine Northern Miner last August was picked up enthusiastically by other publications.

Subsequent reports said Bazinet found some old colonial surveys in tin trunks in the Sierra Leone geological department. Thumbing through the yellowed pages he found that the British colonial Government had identified gold at Baomuhun in the 1920s, but at that time the gold price was so low it was decided that the deposit was not worth exploiting.

Accessible

He then did some sampling of his own and — Eureka!

Bazinet confirmed evidence of old drill holes that the ore was rich, lay fairly near the surface and was accessible initially by open cast mining. The reports said he estimated conservatively that the deposit could be about 20-million tons of ore averaging about 0.2 oz of gold per ton.

In fact, the true story was not quite like that.

According to Sierra Leone's director of Geological Surveys, Ghernor Wurie, Africans have been panning alluvial gold in the area since 1929. Original test drilling on the Baomuhun site was car-

ried out between 1962 and 1965.

Drill core assays showed gold yields ranging from 1.7 up to 14.75 pennyweights per ton of ore, at levels ranging from 18 metres to 198 metres. With world prices at around 35 US dollars an ounce they were not considered worth exploiting.

But as the gold price rose, after 1973, so did the potential. In 1974 Sierra Leone prepared a report summarising the earlier findings and circulated it, in the hope of attracting a developer.

Figure

The report concluded, "Based on the available evidence this gold prospect is an attractive exploration bet with the target being a moderately large low-grade gold operation."

"At that time," says Wurie, "we reckoned that a world gold price of 300 US dollars would be a cut-even figure. Anything over 400 US dollars would be highly profitable."

Bazinet took up the story in an interview.

"There were enormous gaps in the government report. I found that the geology of the area is almost identical with that of the famous Homestake mine in South Dakota," he said.

Declining to put a value on it, he summed up the prospects with, "It appears to be a medium-grade, fairly large deposit."

"Widths are substantial, making for fairly large-scale, low-cost mining, originally open-cast, followed by reasonably large-scale underground mining."

On his findings so far, he estimates that even at the 1974 gold price Baomuhun would be well worth exploiting. Bazinet, an experienced geological consultant who has worked in South Africa, added, "this is the best prospect I have ever seen."

Interest

After the circulation of the 1974 government report on Baomuhun the Diamond Distributors Exploration Company (DDX), reportedly with Harry Winston and Son, took an exclusive prospecting licence (EPL) on 26 sq km of the original 80 sq km Baomuhun area.

Two years ago they assigned 60 percent of their rights to Eurocan Ventures, a small company of which Bazinet is president

and in which Adolf Lundin, the Swiss-based chairman of Gulfstream Resources is reported to have an interest.

Eurocan has raised R2 255 000 for test drilling to prove the mine which is expected to take more than a year, involving 30 000 metres of drilling with drills.

"If this was in Canada," says Bazinet, "we would be using 30 drills. But this is Africa."

Under the Sierra Leone Mining Act the EPL holder is granted the mining licence, the terms of which will be negotiated later. The mine is not expected to come into production until 1984.

Friend

"But," says Wurie, "Baomuhun is only a beginning. Identical indications have been found throughout the entire gold belt, and several other areas already surveyed have prospects as good if not better than Baomuhun."

An EPL for one such area, in the Nimini hills was issued recently to Leon Templesman and Son, the American diam-

ond company. Head of the firm, Maurice Templesman, is often seen with Jacqueline Onassis Kennedy and is a personal friend of Sierra Leone's President Siaka Stevens. Templesman is also a trustee of the African-American Institute, which will hold an important conference here next month.

EPLs for four other areas — in the Sula mountains, the Kangari hills, at Lamminaia and in the Gori hills — are waiting to be taken up.

As part of its long-term plan to develop the gold belt, the Sierra Leone Government has persuaded the World Bank to finance the first phase of a R150-million hydro-power plant at Bumbuna on the Rokel river to serve the entire area. Construction will begin in early 1982.

"Now the world has found out about our gold deposits," Wurie says, "in 10 years the country's entire economy will be transformed."

That is, given continued political stability. (c) Argus Co 1980.

Freetown



The time, the place, the clothes and the transport are different, but this drilling rig crew at Baomuhun is nevertheless reminiscent of the early Witwatersrand gold miners who posed for photographs at their diggings.



While foreign capital is being harnessed to exploit Baomuhun's underground gold, locals quietly go

ahead with illegal panning of the river below the mine site for alluvial gold.

Guinea-Bissau censured

STAR 417-180 (1)

LISBON — The presidents of four former Portuguese colonies in Africa have censured the new military government in Guinea-Bissau, at a meeting in Luanda, the Angolan News Agency reported yesterday.

It said the presidents of Angola, Mozambique, the Cape Verde islands and Sao Tome and Principe condemned the coup which deposed President Luis Cabral, but agreed to

send a delegation to contact the new authorities.

After a hastily convened one day meeting in Luanda, the four heads of state issued a communique saying the military takeover in Guinea-Bissau threatened the survival of the ruling African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) as a supra-national organisation, the agency said.

The PAIGC also ruled the Cape Verde Islands, 640 km to the west of Guinea-Bissau, and was founded to unite the two territories, a project which has been indefinitely shelved by the new authorities in Bissau.

The communique said the coup was an attack on the prestige of the liberation struggle in other former Portuguese colonies.
— Sapa-Reuter.

EAST-WEST ideological clash has frustrated to a certain extent ambitious projects by nine black Southern African states to help them lessen their economic dependence on South Africa.

The battle for economic and political influence on the continent of Africa is waged with subtle weapons such as aid — with strings attached — and preferential trade as seen in the Lome Convention and the rival Eastern Bloc version, Comecon.

The ideological struggle in Africa between the two great power blocs has cast a long shadow on the attempts by the nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) which met last week in the Mozambican capital with international donors.

The purpose of the meeting was to seek monetary aid to the tune of 2-billion US dollars from the international community so that the member countries could improve roads, railways, harbours and communications in the region so that their traffic could by-pass South Africa.

The nine black nations — Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho — feel that South Africa has a stranglehold on their economies and that she could use this to blackmail them economically. Any attempt on their part to force South Africa to change her racial policies could not possibly succeed while she controls their export and import routes almost exclusively.

To rectify this situation the nine black Southern African states called on the international donors to give them political as well as monetary aid to realise their dreams.

A large number of countries attended and gave unqualified political support for the scheme. Monetary support, however, was less forthcoming. Only 58,5-million dollars of new money was pledged — money that would not have been spent in this area had it not been for the Maputo Conference.

In all, however, 650-million dollars was pledged by the international community to the region over the next five years.

The next step facing the member countries is to

Not so easy to cut links with SA

1
Argus
5/12/80
CWA

carry out costly feasibility studies of projected developments — a study at Beira harbour, for example, will cost an estimated 1,5-million dollars. Once this has been done, detailed plans will be presented to the interested governments, particularly Britain and the United States, who insisted on this before committing themselves financially. The foreign governments, after studying the plans, will then decide to what extent they will commit themselves.

A major snag developed during the course of the

many which trains her army and police force. East Germany also gives monetary as well as material aid to Mozambique.

The other seven countries involved, all former British colonies or protectorates — Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Tanzania — are members of Lome.

Mozambique in particular finds it very difficult to join Lome because of what is known as the Berlin Clause in the Lome agreement which demands that signatories recognise West Berlin as the sole

WILF MBANGA of Argus Africa News Service reports on the difficulties nine black Southern African states face in seeking independence from South Africa.

Maputo talks, resulting in pledges of monetary support falling far below the expectations of the SADCC.

The nine nations squabbled among themselves when they realised that money that could have been donated was not forthcoming because Mozambique and Angola had not joined the Lome Convention, and Mozambique, in the words of its Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano, was seriously contemplating joining Comecon.

The reason for Mozambique's reluctance is her close ties with East Ger-

representative of the German people.

At a Press conference last week Mr Chissano said his country needed more time to be convinced about the advantages of adhering to the Lome Convention.

'There are many ways of co-operating with the EEC members without necessarily belonging to the convention,' he said.

Another problem encountered was the political difference of opinion between Zambia and Malawi. Malawi would like her railway line to extend into Zambia and join the Tanzam line. The Zam-

cul
In th
ts th
they
ts ts
homel
lower
the C
const
employ
size
Statis
for el

bians say publicly that use of this line by Malawi would congest it. It is widely known, however, that their Presidents do not see eye to eye on most things.

One thing on which there was a consensus at the Maputo conference was the endorsement by the international community of the nine black Southern African states' desire to break their economic ties with South Africa because of her apartheid policy.

But in economic terms the Maputo Conference fell well below expectations. Basically the conference was an emotional rather than an economic affair.

rather (1)
servi
elect
reaso (1)
the curren
Comparing

Set for take-off

①
FM 5/12/80

"The dimension of the tasks we propose in order to achieve the progress, self-sufficiency and development of this zone . . . is a challenge that our peoples are determined to win. It is expressed in the vastness of the programmes we intend to develop in the efforts we are making to turn the complementarity of our economies into an effective instrument of our common struggle" — Mozambique's President, Samora Machel, in his opening address to the Second Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC2).

A watershed in Africa's quest for economic development. This was the view of delegates and observers at the SADCC2 (pronounced Sadec) meeting in Maputo last week. The launching of this sub-regional development programme will, it is thought, be the forerunner of other such projects in Africa. Exceeding expectations, ministers of some of the 30 foreign governments and 18 international funding agencies present firmly pledged an amount over the next five years of US\$650m to the nine Sadec member countries' endeavour to accelerate economic and social development; co-ordinate development projects on a regional basis; promote regional self-reliance; and reduce their dependence "particularly, but not only, on South Africa."

In a statement after the conference, the chairman, Botswana's Finance Minister Peter Mmusi declared: "The conference has been highly successful, we are very pleased . . . Sadec is now in business." The success of the conference, added Mmusi, implied no threat to or confrontation with anyone, but was an important contribution to the new international economic order of the North-South dialogue, and added to peace and stability in the region.

The nine Sadec countries are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. They have a population of 60m in an area of 5m km², with a gdp of around US\$20 billion "even in their present undeveloped state." There is a possibility of Zaire joining the bloc (the country had observers at Maputo), and members "look forward" to an independent Namibia's inclusion.

Set in motion by the Frontline States' foreign ministers in Gaborone in May 1979, Sadec has moved forward with "impressive speed," according to a number of foreign delegations the FM spoke to in

Maputo, now clearly the political capital of the bloc.

The Lusaka Declaration, Towards Economic Liberation, adopted by heads of the nine countries at the first Sadec conference in April, was fully endorsed by the contributing delegations. Mozambique's Foreign Minister, Joachim Chissano, said at the close: "We see with great satisfaction that we have the support of the world community in obtaining greater economic independence in relation to South Africa. The realisation of our objectives depends on our unity. . . The conference has set an excellent example of how countries with

Staff writer Amarnath Singh attended the Maputo conference on development last week. His report on this page is exclusive to the FM.

political and social differences can work together."

Apart from the specific initial pledges of \$650m, all the governments and agencies represented affirmed commitments to increase their involvement in and support of Sadec regional projects in terms of financial, technical and consultancy services.

Some old Africa hands are a bit less sanguine about the pledged loans, pointing out that a proportion is already tied to the region in bi-lateral and jointly funded projects. In this regard, suggested a UN delegate, it would be interesting to see how, for instance, the next tranche from the World Bank (presently committed to its seven Sadec members to the tune of

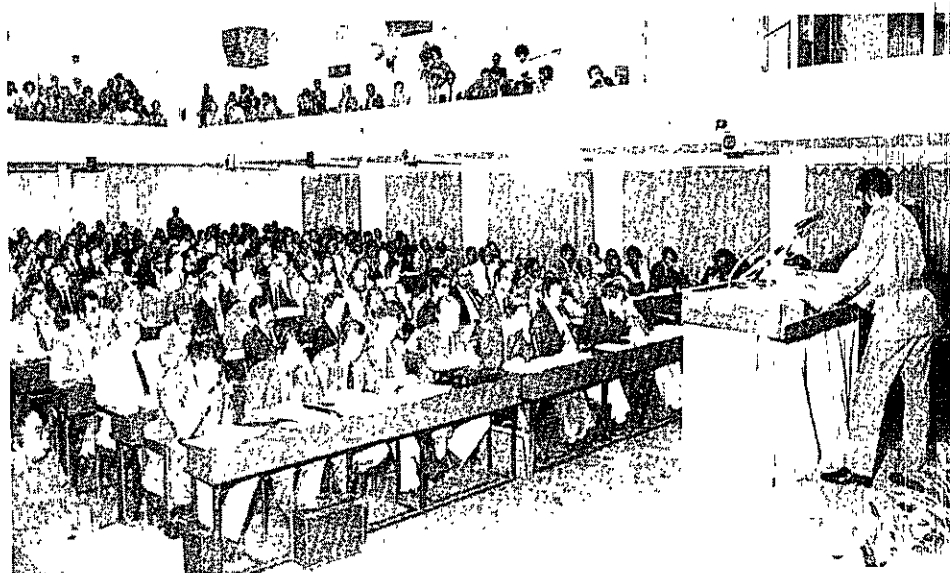
US\$400m) is allocated to specific Sadec projects. Many delegates expressed the wish first to study detailed project proposals before committing themselves.

The basis of the overall effort is the Transport and Communications (T&C) project, drawn up by Mozambique, whose Minister of Ports and Surface Transport, Luis Alcantara Santos, heads the T&C Commission. Santos presented papers on T&C projects for delegates' discussion on the second day. In all there are 95 separate projects worth around \$2 billion aimed at improving transport and communication links between the Sadec countries.

\$800m injection

Together with the US\$650m, unspecified commitments mean that the projects (T&C mainly, with some going to the food security, and manpower training projects) can be assumed to have some \$800m to get on with. At the closing session, the Nordic states undertook to finance the T&C secretariat and a number of studies and projects in addition to their individual pledges (total US\$36m). The Opec Fund delegate mentioned no figure in his address, but hinted to the FM that, pending ratification, at least \$60m would be forthcoming initially — interest-free over 20 years with five years grace unconditionally: almost unique terms.

The African Development Bank provided the heftiest injection: US\$384m in investment credits and project finance. Apart from the EEC finance to its Lome 2 members (US\$800m to all the Sadec members excluding Angola and Mozambique), EEC Commissioner Claude Cheysson "guaranteed through the Regional Fund a minimum of US\$100m to be at the disposal



Machel addresses the conference . . . "determined to win"

J. NDIKI

B. NEWMAN

K. NGQAMQO

Thorny problems in the Horn

All is not well in the Horn of Africa, at least not as far as Somalia's neighbours are concerned. The infiltration of Somali guerrillas into Marxist Ethiopia and capitalist Kenya has prompted these two countries to reassert an alliance that transcends conflicting ideologies.

Last Monday Ethiopia's military leader, Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, flew into Nairobi for a series of talks with the Kenyans on how to deal with their common foe. The sight of an Ethiopian flag snapping in the breeze at the head of Haile Selassie Avenue, one of Nairobi's busiest thoroughfares, symbolised how times have changed since the royalist days of the emperor.

Spurred on by possibility of attack from Somalia, the two countries have signed a mutual defence pact. And with Somalia pursuing its expansionist policy with greater zeal than ever, this scenario cannot be ruled out.

Fighting

Worn down by continual fighting against secessionist movements and guerrilla groups, the weary Ethiopians have been trying to bolster regional unity where they can. Last month Mengistu patched up a long-standing feud with the Sudan's President Numeiri.

The Sudan has for years accorded hospitality to rebels fighting for the liberation of the provinces of Tigre and Eritrea in northern Ethiopia. The new friendship could pave the way for peace talks between the Ethiopian government and guerrilla groups which have, in the past, enjoyed a base in Khartoum.

Now Mengistu is turning his attention to his other beleaguered area, the Ogaden. This barren and inhospitable region, that constitutes about a third of Ethiopia, is inhabited by nomads of Somali origin. Aided and abetted by Siad Barre's government, secessionists have been engaged in full-scale fighting against Ethiopian troops for about four years.

Somalia's expansionist ambitions are reflected in the five-pointed star on the national flag. One point denotes the disputed Ogaden. Two more are the former colonies of British and Italian Somaliland, now united into present day Somalia. The fourth point is the independent nation of Djibouti while the fifth represents the northern third of Kenya, another semi-desert region well populated with ethnic Somalis. If all three regions were conquered, Somalia would double both its area and its population.

Stepped-up fighting in the Ogaden and a

new wave of violence from bandits in Kenya's north-eastern province have made both the Kenyans and the Ethiopians jittery. The Kenyans are particularly incensed by the murder of seven civil servants last month, and President Daniel Arap Moi took the opportunity of Mengistu's visit to lambast Siad Barre, by referring to Somalia's "barbaric forms of aggression."

Regional friendship, however, has been overshadowed by global power play. In a move that imitates US overtures to Somalia, Russia has been seeking a stronger military foothold in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopians have already allowed the Soviets to anchor Indian Ocean-bound warships in the Dahlak Islands near the Red Sea port of Masawa. Now they are reportedly asking for a higher profile onshore that includes the construction of airfields for use by the Soviet air force.

As the Russians have poured more arms into Ethiopia than any other black African country — some \$2 billion over the past three years — Mengistu is in a delicate position.

Giving in to Russian demands for a stepped-up military presence might cause the US to be less cautious about arming Somalia. Right now a \$20m military sales loan offered in return for a base for the US redeployment force has been stalled in Congress.

The US is waiting for reassurance that arms purchased will not be used in the

Ogaden. Kenya, on the other hand, has already signed an agreement with the United States that provides refuelling facilities at air fields and the port of Mombasa.

Somalia has made its intentions towards its neighbours very clear. And as long as Somalia continues to be a threat to Kenya and Ethiopia, these two ideologically opposed countries will be vulnerable to the strategic demands of their two super power protectors.



Daniel Moi . . . lambasting Somalia's "barbaric aggression"

Farmers join Buthelezi probe

Mercury Reporter

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has thanked the Natal Agricultural Union for 'seeing the light' and agreeing to serve on the Buthelezi commission.

Reacting to the news that the union had changed its mind about participation, Chief Buthelezi said he regarded the union as one of the most important organisations

in the province.

The union's non-participation, to which he had already resigned himself, would have left a void within the commission, he added.

At a council meeting in Pietermaritzburg last week, the union nominated well-known Harding farmer Tony Erskine to serve on the commission. He will represent the union on the commission's economic sub-committee.

The Christmas party nobody

S. Express
14/12/80
①

asked us to

SOUTH AFRICA was not there, and neither was Russia.

But almost everybody else who is anybody was there. The second Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (Sadec) held in Maputo at the end of last month was probably the most important international meeting yet to discuss the affairs of this region.

The outcome of the conference will have important long term economic, political and international repercussions for South Africa, the West, the Third World and the Eastern bloc.

African observers in Maputo described the meeting as the first major step to give concrete substance and contents to the Lusaka Constellation, launched in April. Delegates in Maputo pledged \$650-million over five years to make Black Africa less economically dependent on White South Africa.

"It was a conference more of deeds than words," one Mozambican minister remarked. "I have attended several international conferences on economic development and cooperation where much was said but little achieved. This was different."

Behind the scenes there was a subtle international ideological conflict, manoeuvring and rivalry involving issues such as the membership of Lome and the Eastern European Economic bloc, Comecon, sanctions against South Africa and the so-called Berlin clause.

The nine Sadec countries — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — speak for a total population of 60-million, have a Gross Domestic Product of \$20 000-million, control vast mineral and other economic reserves and occupy 5-million km². They were joined at the conference table by representatives of 30 other governments and 18 international agencies.

Significantly, every Western country was represented. There were also delegates from Australia, Japan, Brazil, Iraq, Kuwait, Venezuela, East Germany, Yugoslavia, the United Nations, the European Economic Community, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the World Bank, the Arab Bank, the African Development Bank and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Zaire sent an observer and made it clear that it wanted to become the 10th Sadec country — but can expect a decision on that only after a summit of the Sadec national leaders.

Hopes were also expressed that an independent Namibia might soon be included. The African National Congress, the Pan African Congress and the South West African People's Organisation were invited to send observers, but did not.

Absent were: the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China — and South Africa, the most powerful country in the region.

The Maputo conference was the culmination of a series of remarkable and unusually swift moves since the Gaborone Conference in May last year between the foreign ministers of the five Frontline states. Their delibera-

J H P SERFONTEIN EXAMINES THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA AS BLACK STATES MAKE THEIR FIRST MOVES TO SEVER TRADE LINKS WITH THE REPUBLIC



• President Samora Machel of Mozambique ... 'Peace in Africa will not be possible until South Africa is liberated'.

tions lead to the first Sadec conference in Arusha, Tanzania, in July last year and the Lusaka Summit in April this year.

In Lusaka, nine African heads of state signed the historical declaration: Southern Africa — Towards economic liberation.

They committed the "Southern nine" to integrate their economies and gradually reduce their dependence particularly, but not only, on South Africa. Accelerated economic development and regional self reliance were the twin objectives of the declaration.

At the moment, most of the Sadec countries rely heavily on South Africa's harbours and communications — and South African food exports.

The first priority was identified as the regional development and upgrading of the transport, harbour and communications infrastructure after the ravages of the war in Zimbabwe and the continuing war in Angola. To coordinate efforts, the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (Tandc) was set up with headquarters in Maputo.

During last month's Sadec meeting, Tandc canvassed international support for its programme and submitted a comprehensive "shopping list" to delegates.

Mr Luis Alcantara Santos, Mozambican Minister of Posts and Surface Transport, who heads Tandc, explained to delegates:

"For the next 10 years \$1 912-m will be needed for 97 projects which will include the development of harbours, railways, roads, aviation and telecommunications. Of that development, 40% will go to Mozambique."

Once Mr Santos had submitted detailed plans, the \$650-m pledges came in.

All the donor governments and agencies affirmed their commitment to increase their involvement in support of Sadec projects. As well as money they promised technical and consultancy services.

The biggest pledge was made by the African Development Bank — \$380-m. The EEC promised \$100-m over five years and committed a further \$800m through the Lome Convention.

Italy pledged \$50-m, the United States \$25-m, Holland \$16-m and Sweden \$11-m. France, Canada, the United Kingdom, Japan and Brazil have made general, but unspecified, pledges.

The Nordic states undertook to finance the Tandc secretariat and a number of specialised studies and projects in addition to their individual pledges which totalled \$36-m. The Opec fund delegate mentioned no final figure in his address, but indicated that pending ratification at least \$60-m would be forthcoming initially, interest free over 20 years with five years grace unconditionally — almost unique terms.

The pledges mean that one third of the amount needed by Tandc over the first five years of its programme is already there — Tandc has almost \$900-m in the kitty and almost all the donors have made it clear that they will repeat their pledges when the initial cash runs out.

Conference spokesman Mr Fernando Honwana (from the Office of the President of Mozambique) stated confidently: "We can safely go ahead."

Dr Bernard Chidzero, leader of the Zimbabwean delegation and Minister of Economic Planning and Development in Mr Robert Mugabe's government, commented: "It's a success — and this is

only the first stage."

The conference chairman, Botswana's Minister of Finance Mr Peter Mmusi, declared: "Sadec is now in business."

And a confident Mozambique Foreign Minister, Mr Joachim Chissano, said: "We see with great satisfaction that we have the support of the world community in obtaining greater economic independence in relation to South Africa. The conference has set an excellent example of how countries with political and social differences can work together."

Projects that will be tackled immediately by Tandc will be the development and enlarging of the harbours at Beira and Maputo (\$340-m), the upgrading and improvement of the railway links between Mozambique and Zimbabwe (no amount yet specified) and the Nacala-Malawi border railway (\$200-m).

Simultaneously, Sadec will tackle food production and manpower training.

Large scale illiteracy and lack of technical workers are probably the biggest obstacle to economic growth and development in the region.

Swaziland has been placed in charge of investigations into manpower development and training and Zimbabwe has been charged with the Sadec food security project.

The absence of the Soviet Union and Comecon from the conference seemed to underline that effective economic development in Southern Africa will be initiated by finance, economical and technical know-how from the West — possibly backed by money from Arab and other rich Third World countries.

It looks as if the Soviet bloc will be taking a back seat.

Brazilian and Japanese interest in Sadec was significant. Brazil, particularly, is looking for new markets and wants to involve itself in the Tandc programme to upgrade the Mozambique/Zimbabwe/Malawi rail links.

A Brazilian trade and technical

commission is expected in Mozambique and Zimbabwe very soon.

A subtle yet important ideological battle was fought over the involvement of the Sadec countries with the Lome Convention. At the moment, Angola and Mozambique do not belong to Lome. Western delegates in Maputo tried to pressurize the other seven Sadec countries to persuade the two non-members to join, by specifying that the EEC pledge of \$100-m could only be used to assist development in the countries of those who belonged to Lome.

Sadec countries came out strongly against this "economic interference" which they labelled "new colonialism".

The West believes that Angolan and Mozambican objections to Lome are that the convention recognizes the so-called Berlin clause which acknowledges Berlin as the capital of a united Germany. Mozambique and East Germany have very close ties.

West Germany lost out at Maputo when that country's EEC partners refused its demand that Western Europe unite to negotiate with Sadec. Most preferred to enter into bilateral agreements.

The Maputo conference — held in the old military club, once the symbol of "Portuguese eternal rule in Africa" — was of great historical importance.

It must eventually, of course, be seen as yet another move in the long conflict to achieve eventual majority rule in South Africa.

Then, in the words of Lesotho Foreign Minister Mr C D Molapo: "South Africa will be welcomed into the ranks of the Sadec countries."

In his opening address Mozambique President Samora Machel said: "The liberation of Namibia and South Africa is indispensable to the establishment of the climate of lasting peace and stability necessary for the cooperation of every country in the area without exception."

South Africa must not underestimate the long term implications of the discussions in Maputo.

The Lusaka Constellation has finally succeeded in isolating the Pretoria Constellation of South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha to a domestic rearrangement of South Africa.

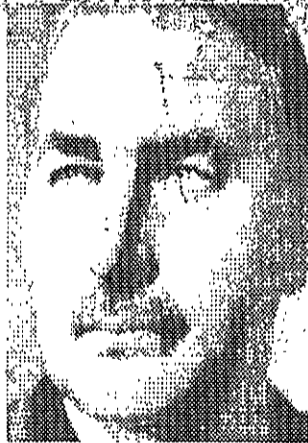
SUNDAY EXPRESS December 14, 1980 25



• Joachim Chissano
... 'The West must help us hit South Africa'



• C D Molapo
... 'South Africa is welcome — but without apartheid'



• David Smith
... a warm welcome from President Machel



• Archie Mogwe
... 'Sanctions are a separate issue'

ALTHOUGH the second Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (Sadec) was held less than 200km from South African territory, there were no emotional attacks on the Republic. Short of a few sentences formally rejecting apartheid, delegates confined themselves to development and economic issues.

There was no discussion around the conference table about sanctions against South Africa but the subject came up more than once at Press conferences. Chairman Mr Peter Mmusi stated on the eve of the conference that sanctions against South Africa would be ineffective, would not work and would only harm the Black states.

"It is vital that we develop the infrastructure of the region," he said, clearly suggesting that the Sadec countries would then be better able to withstand the shocks of sanctions against South Africa.

Botswana's Foreign Minister, Mr Archie Mogwe, said the issue was a political one and each member state must make its own decision.

'We will fight apartheid with deeds, not words'

Mozambique Foreign Minister, Mr Joachim Chissano, said that Mozambique believed in sanctions against South Africa but it would be easier for Western countries to apply them. Their links with South Africa were different to those of Black Africa and they were more easily able to afford sacrifices.

"Sacrifices for us mean that we must cut part of our own bodies," he said.

Whilst he would welcome an successful oil boycott against South Africa, Mozambique would not enforce such a boycott, if it looked as though it would fail.

"Why should the harbour of Maputo suffer (by Mozambique barring oil in transit to South Africa) if oil is entering through Durban anyway?" he said.

And another senior Mozambi-

can official added: "It would be suicidal for us to apply sanctions."

Allegations that South Africa was penalising Botswana for its political views were made by Mr Mmusi. "Each time a Botswana delegate makes a sharp attack on apartheid at an international conference, it is always followed by a delay in goods from South Africa, or a sudden, unexplained shortage of refrigerated meat wagons for Botswana rail exports," he said.

Most Western delegates and observers at Maputo saw economic assistance to Black Africa as a positive alternative to sanctions against South Africa. And the leaders of the Sadec delegations saw Western involvement in the conference as a positive political commitment to what they claimed was

the West's long term strategy to isolate South Africa.

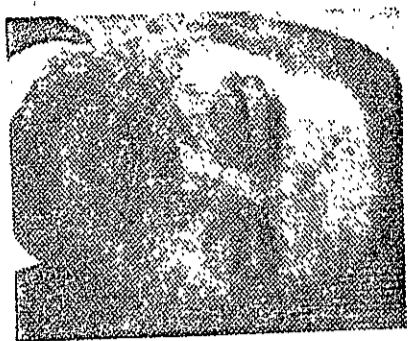
"The pledges (the West has made to the Sadec programme) say clearly that the West is taking a stand against South Africa," a senior official said.

The composition of the Sadec delegations refuted a widely held view among Western delegates that the African states wanted to use the conference to further a racial confrontation with South Africa. At least four of the nine countries had Whites in their delegations.

Most prominent was Mr David Smith, Zimbabwe's Minister of Commerce and Industry and until recently a stalwart of Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front government but welcomed with obvious warmth that by Mozambique President Samora Machel.

AFRICA DARE NOT UNDERESTIMATE IMPLICATIONS OF MAPUTO TALKS

There were white Ministers representing several black member states at the Maputo talks. Mr David Smith, Zimbabwe's Minister of Commerce and Industry (and former Ian Smith stalwart), received a remarkably warm welcome from President Samora Machel



SMITH

WORLD STEPS INTO AID FIGHT TO GUT SA TIES

BY J. H. P. SERONJENI

THE second Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference in Maputo was probably the most important international meeting yet held in this region of Africa.

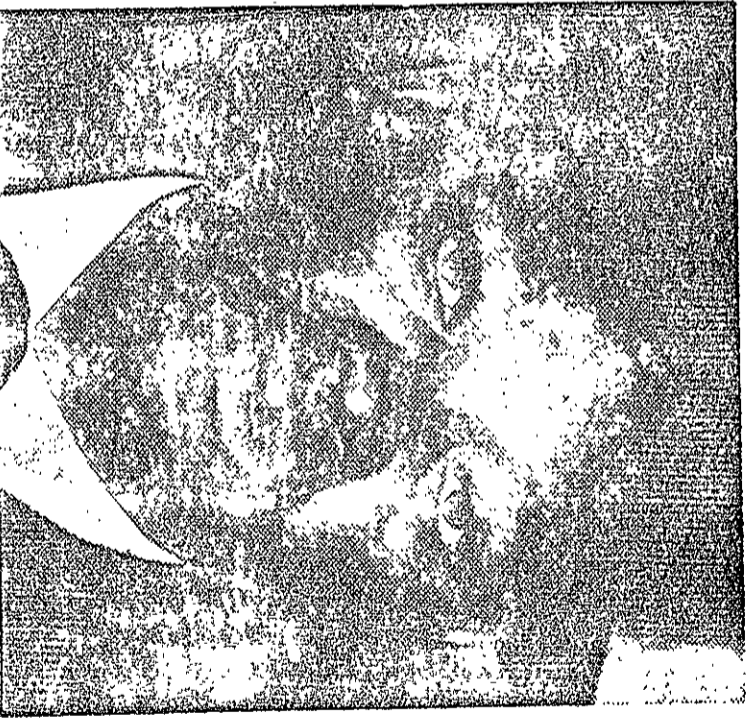
The outcome is bound to have important long-term economic, political and international repercussions for South and Southern Africa, the West, the Third World and the Eastern Bloc.

In terms of international co-operation for regional economic development, African and other observers described it as a success and a watershed. It was the first major step to give concrete substance and momentum to the Lusaka constellation launched only in April this year with the declared objective to make the black states economically less dependent on South Africa — with R520-million being pledged over five years.

It was described as a conference more of deeds than words. One Mozambican Minister remarked: "I have attended several international conferences on economic development and co-operation where much was said, but little achieved. But this is the first time that financial pledges and other commitments are actually made at a conference."

The talks took place between the nine Saded countries — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — and representatives of 30 Governments and 18 international agencies.

The nine Saded countries have a total population of 60 million in an area of five million square kilometres. Although it includes some of the poorest countries in the world even in their present underdeveloped state it has a GDP of some R16-billion and has considerable mineral and other economic potential.



Man at the wheel
Conference chairman Peter Mmusisi: "Saded is now in business. It has been a conference of deeds and not words."

stocks of sanctions against South Africa.

But when asked after the conference whether the Saded countries were rejecting sanctions, he denied it.

Foreign Minister Archie Mgohe said sanctions were a political decision to be taken by each member state separately.

A Mozambique spokesman said his country believed in sanctions and that it had worked when Mozambique applied it against Rhodesia in 1976.

But it would be much easier for Western countries to apply sanctions because their links with South Africa were more political and economical.

Another Saded official Mozambican told me: "It would be suicidal for us if we applied sanctions."

This is vital for the success of the medium and long-term strategy to reroute through Maputo roads to and from the Saded countries at present going through the South African harbours.

Two other priorities to be tackled simultaneously are food production and manpower

improvement of the railway links between Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

It was evident that most Western countries see economic assistance as a positive alternative to SA sanctions. And privately Saded leaders see Western involvement as "a positive political commitment" to their long-term strategy to isolate SA internationally.

The general public view that the "Southern Nine" has embarked on a racial black-white conflict with South Africa was refuted by the composition of the Saded delegations. At least four of the nine countries had white Cabinet Ministers included as well as white officials.

Most prominent was Mr David Smith, Zimbabwean Minister of Commerce and Industry and until recently a stalwart of Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front Government.

And it was obvious with what warmth President Samora Machel welcomed him at the ceremony before the

Handwritten note: "Saded is now in business" with a circled '1' and a scribble.

has considerable mineral and other economic potential.

Significantly virtually every Western country was represented, also countries such as Japan, Brazil, Iraq, Kuwait, Venezuela, East Germany, Yugoslavia and many other East European countries, the UN and UN agencies, the EEC, Opec, the Arab Bank, the World Bank, the African Development Bank and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

But the Soviet Union, China, Comecon and, of course, South Africa, the most powerful country in the region, were all absent.

Hopes were expressed that an independent Namibia might soon be included in Sadedec.

The Maputo conference was the culmination of a series of remarkably swift moves since the Gaberone conference in May last year between the five frontline states' foreign ministers. This led to the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference in Arusha in July last year and was followed by the Lusaka summit attended by nine heads of state in April this year.

On April 1 they signed

has considerable mineral and other economic potential.

TOUGH We see we have the support of the world community in obtaining greater economic independence in relation to South Africa - Mozambique's Foreign Minister, Joachim Chissano.

the historical Declaration Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation.

This declaration committed the "Southern Nine" to cooperate to integrate their economies and gradually "to reduce their dependence particularly, but not only, on South Africa. Agreed regional self-reliance are the twin objectives of the declaration".

At the moment most of Sadedec countries rely heavily on SA harbours, food imports and communications. Therefore priority number one is the development on the regional basis of the transport, harbour and communications infrastructure, which has suffered badly through

Two other priorities to be tackled simultaneously are food production and manpower training.

There are some important features about the Maputo conference: Firstly, very little was said about South Africa or its racial policies. Short of a few sentences formally rejecting apartheid, the Sadedec 9 confined themselves to the urgent matters of development and economic priorities.

Confidence spokesman Fernando Honwana (of President Machel's Office) stated confidently: "We were not expecting anything quite like this. It means that in the next few months will have a snowball effect, so we can safely go ahead."

At the end of the conference, chairman Peter Mmusi, Botswana's Finance Minister, declared: "The conference has been highly successful. We are very pleased. Sadedec is now in business."

And Mozambique Foreign Minister Joachim Chissano said: "We see with great satisfaction that we have the support of the world community in obtaining greater economic independence in relation to South Africa."

Projects that will be tackled immediately by the Sadedec Tanc Commission will be the development and enlargement of the Beira and Maputo harbours and the upgrading and im-

proved themselves to more detailed plans were submitted.

Moreover, all these governments and agencies affirmed commitments to increase their involvement in and support of Sadedec regional projects in terms of financial, technical and consultancy services.

This means that one third of the amount needed is already pledged for the next few years, whilst almost all the donors made it clear that they will repeat these pledges.

Together with unspecified commitments, Tanc can be assumed to have some R640-million to get on with.

Some more cynical observers pointed out that less than 20 percent of the money pledges were new investments. Secondly there was no discussion about sanctions against South Africa.

The conference chairman, Mr Mmusi, said on the eve of the talks that sanctions against South Africa would be ineffective and would only harm the African states. Therefore it was vital to develop the infrastructure in the region - suggesting apparently that at some future date the Sadedec countries would be better able to withstand the

with what warmth President Samora Machel welcomed him at the ceremony before the conference.

When Mr Smith entered the Presidential reception hall, already full of delegates, everything became suddenly quiet, and a pin dropping could be heard.

But President Machel quipped: "We must be careful. Here comes the sanctions breaker." And he went up to him, hugged him and gave him a warm embrace.

In his opening address President Machel said: "The liberation of Namibia and South Africa is indispensable to the establishment of the climate of lasting peace and stability necessary for the co-operation of every country in the area, without exception."

Therefore the Pretoria Government, with its immense economic and political power, dare not underestimate the long-term implications of the Maputo conference, however weak and undeveloped the Sadedec countries might be.

The success of the Maputo conference, with its financial boost for its concrete programme of Lusaka constellation has finally succeeded in isolating the Pretoria "constellation of states" as a mere "domestic rearrangement of South Africa".

Two other priorities to be tackled simultaneously are food production and manpower training.

There are some important features about the Maputo conference: Firstly, very little was said about South Africa or its racial policies. Short of a few sentences formally rejecting apartheid, the Sadedec 9 confined themselves to the urgent matters of development and economic priorities.

Confidence spokesman Fernando Honwana (of President Machel's Office) stated confidently: "We were not expecting anything quite like this. It means that in the next few months will have a snowball effect, so we can safely go ahead."

At the end of the conference, chairman Peter Mmusi, Botswana's Finance Minister, declared: "The conference has been highly successful. We are very pleased. Sadedec is now in business."

And Mozambique Foreign Minister Joachim Chissano said: "We see with great satisfaction that we have the support of the world community in obtaining greater economic independence in relation to South Africa."

Projects that will be tackled immediately by the Sadedec Tanc Commission will be the development and enlargement of the Beira and Maputo harbours and the upgrading and im-

DUN TR
14/12/80

① RDM 19/12/80

Mobutu warns of turmoil after Libyan intervention

PARIS. — President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre said yesterday that the Libyan military intervention in Chad marked the start of a destabilisation of the area south of the Sahara.

The Zaïrean leader, who is in Paris on a private visit, spoke to reporters after a 30-minute talk with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, which centred on the situation in Chad.

"Libyan intervention on the side of the provisional government marks the start of a destabilisation of the entire area," he said, referring to Libya's military aid to Chadian President Goukouni Oueddei that helped him defeat forces of the former Defence Minister, Mr Hissene Habre.

"You in Europe," President Mobutu said, "you deplore the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. How can you accept Libyan occupation of Chad? It's

the same thing."

"France should not have withdrawn from Chad where it has a certain moral responsibility in the situation prevailing there now."

France evacuated its military peace-keeping force from the landlocked African country early this year so as not to become directly involved in the civil war there.

President Mobutu expressed the hope that a planned peace conference set for December 23 in Lagos, Nigeria, might allow Mr Habre and Oueddei to conclude a definitive peace.

Meanwhile, in the Chad capital, n'Djamena, the Chad Government accused France of organising this week's signing of a ceasefire agreement by Mr Habre's rebel forces with the intention of "jeopardising the victory of government forces over the rebellion".

A statement issued after a Cabinet meeting in n'Djamena said Mr Habre's acceptance of the ceasefire after his Armed Forces of the North (FAN) were pushed out of n'Djamena on Monday was "nonsense dictated by France".

The government also announced that the eastern town of Abeche, which had been Mr Habre's main stronghold, had fallen.

The statement said it should be clearly understood that during the Lagos conference there could be no question of Chad being represented by factions.

"The rebellion ended on Tuesday, December 16 at 8am with the fall of Abeche," the statement said, adding that it would be more appropriate for the Lagos conference to consider an aid programme for reconstruction and repatriation of refugees. — Sapa-AFP, UPI.

identified
rol
: technolo-
there is
s and
, there
low
is the
about con-
output

Assuming that the Reserve Bank ratios reflect at least an underlying trend, it appears that they support view I better than

Bulletin.

facturing in 1976 by the Manufacturing Census and the Reserve Bank Quarterly the considerable discrepancy in the capital-output ratios reported for man- (11) capital-output ratios must be interpreted with caution as can be seen from

1971-78, took place were the private mining and manufacturing sectors. (1) the sectors where the greatest proportional increase in capital-intensity

sector.

small share in services output) sectors and the finance can disregard domestic service here, as it accounts for a state-owned electricity, transport etc and services (one (1) the most capital-intensive sectors are the predominantly

The following can be noted from Table 13:

Note: 'K' refers to fixed capital throughout.

b) 1976 Manufacturing Census

a) S A Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin, June 1979: S-75 and S-86

Sources: (Table 13)

SA's Africa exports hit R1 000m record

RDM 31/12/80 (1)

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

SOUTH African exports to African countries have broken through the R1 000-million barrier for the first time, the Department of Customs and Excise has announced in Pretoria.

Efforts to expand South Africa's broadening trade bridge-head in many African countries will be continued and intensified in the new year.

For the first 11 months of 1980, exports to the rest of the continent were valued at R1 022,5-million.

Imports from African countries rose to a record R264,4-million for the January-November period.

According to a Government source in Pretoria, South African trade is penetrating deeper into Africa.

He estimated that South Africa was now exporting goods and services to more than 40 African states.

What the spectacular trade expansion indicated, he said, was that African countries struggling with massive economic and food production problems were pushing political antagonism and boycotts aside to trade in the best and cheapest market — South Africa.

Although no breakdown of the details of trade with individual countries is given by the department it is clear that food

— maize, wheat and processed foods — makes up a big slice of exports to countries in Southern Africa, including Zaire, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

However, the Pretoria source said African states with mining industries were buying increasing quantities of mining plant and other machinery from South Africa.

Agricultural authorities said it was clear that most African countries, because of fast-expanding populations and a lack of expertise, were falling further and further behind adequate production levels in basic foods.

ROB TAYLOR reports that by June this year economists were already forecasting that the total export volume to African countries would exceed R1 000-million.

At the time the general manager of the Maize Board, Mr H Nel, said South African maize was exported regularly to Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana also depended to a large extent on South Africa for their needs, and reports indicated that maize was also shipped to Kenya, Angola, the Ivory Coast and other African states, Mr Nel said.

And at the same time the general manager of the Wheat Board, Mr J van Aarde, said that in the current season 60 000 tons of wheat from an estimated surplus of 183 000 tons had been sold to African states.

Negotiations were in progress to market another 45 000 tons on African markets before the end of September.

Countries known to have bought South African wheat included Malawi and Zaire and efforts had also been made to sell part of this season's surplus to Mozambique and Zambia.

Mr Van Aarde said that for a number of reasons, selling wheat overseas involved big losses. These included high production costs, high transport charges and fierce competition from regular exporters like the US and Canada.

It was far more advantageous for South Africa to sell to countries in Southern Africa because of the lower costs involved and the fact that South Africa was in a far stronger position to compete with other exporters, Mr Van Aarde said.

The record exports this year represent a major achievement for the Railways, which played an active role in the movement of freight northwards through Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire and other countries.

Close liaison with transport organisations across the borders helped to alleviate problems such as the massive build-up of railway trucks in Zambia.

Early in October the Railways was forced to place a temporary embargo of goods being railed to Zambia, Zimbabwe and Zaire because of the congestion on the two railway lines to the north.

Teenoffensief in Afrika kom

klappert 7/1/79 (1)

changes in market demand are sensitive (in both). We are not certain about its price under the non-gold employment in 1946 to 38,9 per cent is that (whatever its South African mining sector than was formerly the

Van Ons Politieke Redaksie
BELANGRIKE woelinge in Afrika dui op 'n Westerse teenoffensief om Rusland en Kuba se invloed op die vasteland te verminder — en dit lyk of die Kommunistiese China daarmee saamwerk.

As die mense daarmee vorder, kan dit die politieke aansyn van Afrika ingrypend verander. Vir Suid-Afrika sal dit klaarblyklike voordele hê.

China het baie jare al ernstige rusie met Rusland, en sy toenadering tot die Weste sal hom beter in staat stel om die Russiese invloed teen te werk. Hy onderhandel bv. met Brittanje oor 'n handelsooreenkoms en het diplomatieke betrekkinge met Amerika aangeknop.

Volgens die Britse premier, mnr. James Callaghan, kan Brittanje tot R1750 miljoen se goedere aan China lewer, berig Sapa-reuter — A.P. Daaronder is bepaald militêre vliegtuie, toerusting om die Chinese nywerheid te moderniseer en so meer.

Terwyl Amerika reëlings tref om die Chinese adjunk-premier Teng Hsiao-Ping vandeesmaand op sy besoek rojaal te onthaal, is 'n sterk Chinese sending in Afrika doenig op 'n sending na Tanzanië, Mosambiek, Zambië en Zaire.

Die vermoede is dat die Chinese in private gesprekke sal beklemtoon wat hulle in die openbaar sê. Dat Moskou en sy Kubaanse handlangers uit Afrika verdryf moet word. Die Chinese kan wys op die opbouwende hulp wat hulle

gee, bv. die Tanzanië-spoorlyn, terwyl Rusland en Kuba oorloë stook. Die gevolge van China se meer Westerse gesindheid op

die wêreldwye magsewewig is indringend bespreek op die Westerse spitsberaad in Guadaloupe — en die Weste is self besig in Afrika.

FROM 22,0 per cent in guous consequence of this total employment in the able from year-to-year

'n Belgiese sending is Angola, wat ook toenadering tot die Weste soek, om te kyk hoe die hawe van Lobit uitgebrei en die pas hantouende Benguela-spoor na Zaire verbeter kan word. Pres. Mobutu van Zaire is in Brussel vir samesprekings oor Belgiese hulp aan sy land.

Daarby kom mnr. Roy Jenkins, voorsitter van die Europese mark-kommissie, vandag in Dakar aan op 'n sending na Senegal, Mali en Ghana.

Dr. Kurt Waldheim, sekretaris-generaal van die VVO, is op pad na Kuba om onder meer met pres. Castro te praat oor die Kubaanse militêre bemoeiinge in Afrika, waarvoor 'n sterk groep in die VVO, veral ook onder die onyverbonde state, erg bekommerd is.

A cause near to everyone

DD 12/1/79. ①
A new year — and a new United Nations concern: 1979 is International Year of the Child, (IYC) and the 20th anniversary of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

Throughout the next twelve months the efforts of national commissions throughout the world will be directed towards the plight, and possibilities, of 1.3 billion children under the age of 15.

How will children fare from 1979? From Geneva and New York, UN agencies are mounting a campaign to make it clear that they would be the first to benefit from success in any of the UN's many concerns:

Water: A 1975 survey from the World Health Organisation (WHO) found that 1 230 million people lacked safe water, and 1 350 lacked proper sanitation. Seven hundred million were children, doubly vulnerable to water-borne diseases, which are a major cause of infant mortality.

Health: More than 15½ million babies throughout the world do not live to their fifth birthday. Fifteen million of the deaths are in the developing countries. The vast majority could be prevented by social development, better food, and application of simple treatment. One hundred thousand children go blind each year from a lack of vitamin A.

Wars and disasters: The UN High Commissioner for refugees assists some 10 million refugees throughout the world — four million in Africa alone. Half are reckoned to be children — and the psychological effects of abrupt uprooting on them are incalculable.

Urbanisation: Cities, particularly in the developing world, are growing rapidly, and within them, the slums areas are expanding at twice the overall rate. Some 156 million children under 15 are living in slums at the start of 1979.

Migration: Untold numbers of people are

Iain Guest: Geneva

to take up new work — some of them permanently, some temporarily. This calls for special measures to help them assimilate while maintaining their own cultural heritage.

In each case, says the UN, children will derive special benefit from improvements — like the fresh water being introduced through a quarter of a million village hand pumps in Bangladesh by UNICEF, the UN Children's Fund.

But there is another category of child working that is not so easy to condemn. That is the 40 million children working without pay in their family plot of land, particularly in the rural areas of the developing countries. They make a vital contribution to the welfare of poor families.

Some say much the same about child prostitution. In the impoverished north eastern province of Brazil, cases have been reported of parents selling their daughters of 13 into prostitution. This is clearly an abuse — and in East Africa prostitution has been found to carry a serious health risk: one survey by the University of Nairobi in 1973 found that there were 7 000 cases of gonorrhoea for every 100 000 population, compared with just 308 in Greater London.

But when jobs are short, particularly for girls, prostitution is a lucrative form of self-employment. It is also difficult to prevent.

The use of drugs by young children is another major problem. According to a recent report from the UN Narcotics Division, hundreds of thousands of children are on drugs — despite police success in seizing a ton of heroin in Europe in 1978.

Half a million children live in the hill-tribe areas of the "Golden Triangle" — Burma, Thailand and Laos. Their mothers work up to 18 hours a day

barons. They return so exhausted "that they lace the gums of young children with raw opium to keep them quiet", says the UN report.

In Peru, one out of every five schoolchildren is on drugs. A survey in Colombia found 130 000 young addicts in three cities: 14% of the addicts in the Philippines are 13 or under.

In the West the habit begins in the womb for children of addicted mothers. "For literally thousands of babies each year the first thing they know of the world is the excruciating pain of heroin withdrawal" says the report.

Surveys have found 6 000 young addicts in Denmark, ten per cent of those questioned in a British school survey admitted use of drugs. And, warns the report, doctors do not recognise the distinction between "hard" and "soft" drugs.

Another statistic that UN officials here hope will stir some action during 1979 is the number of children killed each year in car accidents: no less than 4 862 children under 15 died from traffic in the US in 1975, 1 480 in Japan, and 586 in England and Wales.

There are well-established reasons for this. Mrs Van der Does, Secretary-General of the International Federation of Pedestrians, based in The Hague, says: "The child of eight cannot cope with traffic.

"He cannot look over cars. Impressions do not stick in his mind. He cannot assess speed properly, so that while parked cars are a fine place to play, they are also the worst cause of accidents."

Equally worrying are the numbers of children acutely murdered. In England and Wales, according to WHO, 36 children under the age of one were murdered in 1976 — more than the victims in the one to 4 age bracket.

The family will loom large over the new year. No one doubts that the habits of parents and the general state of the family has a direct and lasting effect upon the child's development. According to the British Royal College of Physicians, one out of every three regular smokers start smoking before the age of nine, and their parents also smoked.

The UN report on drugs states that studies in France, Argentina and Switzerland have all indicated that boredom at home, broken marriages, neglect and parental alcoholism are major reasons why children turn to drugs.

Other developments in the family are less easy to trace: In the US, 10% of all families are single parents. What effect does divorce, and the change in age structure (with old

people living longer, spending their last years in the family) have on children?

One thing is certain: the International Year of the Child, for those involved, will not be a sentimental event. It will be an opportunity to improve education, change legislation, affect governments. "We cannot leave it up to the families," says Rigmor von Euller, the children's "ombudsman" for Sweden. "National legislation has to create the climate where the family can flourish."

In Sweden itself a law of 1977 puts an end to the concept of an "illegitimate child," allowing both parents to share the child, and bring him up without fear of social stigma, even if they are not married.

Another far-reaching Swedish law in 1974 allow-

ed fathers and mothers to collect maternity leave and take time off to tend newly-born children. This frees the mother to continue her career. By 1976, 10% of all child care leave was being taken by fathers.

The only other country where this is practised is Cuba. But at a meeting in Athens mid-1977 to launch IYC, speakers agreed that allowing a mother to do satisfying work, free from drudgery, will be one of the major factors in improving the child's environment.

UN officials hope that pressure groups throughout the world will push for such changes — and like the Federation of Pedestrians will "declare war" on the social and political climate that disturbs the early years of children.

"Roads must adapt to people, not people to cars," says Mrs Van der Does. "Most residential streets need carry no traffic. We are fighting polluted streets just as we fight polluted water and air."

Britain can expect to attract campaigners because it is the only country in Europe which still permits corporal punishment of children in schools.

This, in the view of many, adds to the climate of violence which in turn encourages violence among children. Others are increasingly dismayed at violence in the media.

Throughout the world, particularly in the developing world, the war will be broader — to improve the general level of development. For a rural peasant whose children are teetering on the brink of famine, there is only one priority.

Similarly child labour will not stop until parents are relieved of having to put their children to work. And child prostitutes will continue to offer themselves as long as jobs are short, inflation blazes, and they are drawn to cities by advertising.

In short, the message and the enemy — during the International Year of the Child looks like being the same as every other special UN event. But the cause, of course, will be nearer everyone's heart.

— GEMINI © Copyright



NO FUTURE FOR HIM. This malnourished child in the Horn of Africa died within twelve hours of the picture being taken.

A new horror out of Africa

"IT IS a statement of fact to refer to the country as 'the concentration camp of Africa'; not the Auschwitz built for the extermination of a people, but a cottage industry Dachau."

The country referred to is the little known former Spanish colony of Equatorial Guinea, a country where people have been "unskillfully" hanged in public to the strains of Mary Hopkin singing "Those Were The Days". Prisoners have been beheaded and their heads left to rot on public display.

Ten of the 12 Cabinet Ministers at independence just over a decade ago have been killed. A leading opposition politician died from gangrene after his eyes were gouged out and possibly as many as a third of the population of 300 000 have fled into exile, including the bulk of the surviving intellectuals.

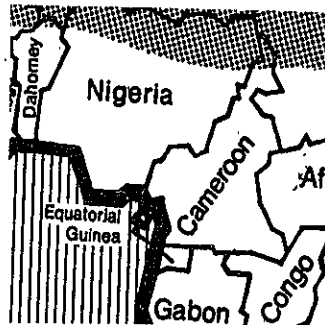
Presiding over all this is Macias Nguema, who has bestowed upon himself 46 official titles, including "El unico miraclo" (The Unique Miracle).

Hitherto little has emerged about this tragic country, located between Gabon and Cameroun in what is sometimes referred to as "the armpit of Africa".

Now the most detailed and damning indictment of Equatorial Guinea has been compiled in a 30 000-word report written for the Geneva-based International University Exchange Fund by Dr Robert af Klinteberg, a Swedish anthropologist experienced in refugee problems in Africa, Asia and Europe.

The main objective of the report, entitled "Macias Country", is to study the plight of the refugees. However, it is in the analysis as to why they became refu-

The concentration camp of Africa. That is what a Swedish anthropologist has dubbed a new horror in Africa — the tiny state of Equatorial Guinea. **DAVID MARTIN** reports.



gees that the full horror of Macias' "unique miracle" unfolds.

In 1965, three years before independence the then Spanish colony's per capita GNP of about \$460 was the highest in black Africa. There was only 11 % illiteracy and a better doctor-patient and a patient-hospital bed ratio than anywhere in Africa. The infant mortality rate was the lowest on the continent.

"After 1969 Equatorial Guinea slowly dropped out of the world," Klinteberg says.

Cocoa exports, upon which the country heavily depended, have fallen to a tenth of their previous level, with plantations overgrown and abandoned and beans rotting on the trees. The story of timber and coffee, the two other main exports, is similar.

The fishing industry has collapsed, partly because Macias stopped people from owning boats to curtail the refugee exodus and partly because he gave the Soviet Union a fishing monopoly in return for credit. And, Klinteberg says, based on his own observations, almost all of the country's livestock has been slaughtered for feasts to honour Macias.

Hardly any vehicles are operational and there are no buses, taxis or other public transport. Garages and fill-

ing stations are closed and the number of ships calling at Equatorial Guinea ports has fallen from 663 in 1967 to no more than 10 a year.

The capital, Malabo "has electricity more or less daily and water for one hour a day". The national bank has been closed since its director was publicly tortured to death. The post office is also permanently closed. Malabo, Klinteberg says, "gives a general impression of a place hit by war or the plague". Little food is available, most shops are closed and prices are exorbitant, with inflation probably the highest in Africa.

Permission is even required to buy a bar of soap. "Wristwatches, spectacles and the like are things of the past, which helps to explain the matter-of-fact way in which most of my belongings were stolen by the Milicianos (militants of Macias's ruling party) at the airport when I was leaving the country."

In an attempt to revive the crippled economy, Macias introduced forced labour. The 25 000 forced labourers do not receive any pay. For working a 12-hour day, 365 days a year, a labourer receives 20 kg of rice, four litres of palm oil and four kg of fish a month irrespective of the number of his dependants. There is

no medical care, freedom to communicate or right to go home.

The Ministries of Popular Education, Popular Construction, Agriculture, Popular Health, and Electricity and Natural Resources have no budgets and their doors have been locked for a long time. Macias, in addition to being Life President, holds the portfolios of Defence, National Security and of Trade. Various relatives and fellow-villagers fill the posts of Foreign Minister, and Secretary-General for Defence.

After Macias became Life President in 1972 all church services had to include the slogan "God created Equatorial Guinea thanks to Macias, without Macias Equatorial Guinea would not exist." Priests who did not comply were imprisoned and even killed.

Later, religious meetings, Christian names, funerals, baptisms, and the offering of alms were prohibited. Sermons, in a country with 95 % of the population Christians, were subject to censorship.

Finally last year Macias declared that Equatorial Guinea was an "atheist state" and expelled the remaining priests.

Klinteberg accuses the Vatican, the Spanish Government, the United Nations, European Economic Community, French business interests, the Soviet Union, China and Cuba of all being party to a conspiracy of silence.

He points out that some of the claims by opponents of Macias as to the numbers of people who have been killed or who have fled into exile are exaggeration. But he adds: "The silence perpetuates the terror, and the cost is paid by the people of Equatorial Guinea."

1973	4 242	8 765	552
1974	4 835	9 905	594
1975	5 881	9 176	600
1976	5 503	9 595	551
1977	5 290		

0777
12/3/79

333m city Blacks

(1)

NAIROBI — Africa's urban population of 130 million is expected to increase to 333 million in the next 20 years, according to Mr. Paul Mwaluko, director of the Nairobi-based United Nations Centre for Human Settlements.

Addressing students at the Nairobi University campus he said the population in most African countries was growing at an annual rate of between 5 and 6 percent.

At this rate, the population in most of Africa would double within the next 15 years.

Mr. Mwaluko said urban unemployment, unskilled manpower, inadequate housing, mass transit congestion and lack of community facilities would combine to make life in many cities intolerable. — (Sapa-AP.)

The Star

Thursday March 22 1979

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

By David Lamb
— Los Angeles Times
News Service

NAIROBI — Across the length and breadth of Africa, eight wars are raging. They involve 15 African nations, the shadowy presence of foreign powers and perhaps half-a-million men under arms. Each week the conflicts claim hundreds of lives.

Some seem insoluble and have been going on for so long that they no longer even arouse debate when African presidents hold their annual meeting. Others are so distant, or so provincial that African diplomats consider them only with a yawn, if at all.

But whatever their length and however large or slight their consequences to the non-African world, the continent's continued readiness to seek military solutions to negotiable problems underscores a tragic truth — that black Africa as a whole has not known a day of peace since independence began to dawn on it 20 years ago.

Among the 55 or so African liberation movements operating at home and abroad are those pledged to bring down the governments of the following nations and dependencies: Zaire, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Chad, Somalia, South Africa, Rhodesia, Equatorial Guinea, Uganda, the Central African Empire, the Congo, Malawi, Benin, the former Spanish Sahara, the French overseas department of Reu-

On a continent where 19 countries are prising that peace is tenuous, words run by soldiers, most governments are are bellicose, armies are overarmed authoritarian and many ministers are and power is synonymous with a gun. poorly educated, it is probably not sur-

Africa's eight wars

Unlike the United Nations, the OAU has no Security Council and no mechanism to end wars. Consensus among the 49 member states is all but impossible.

At some point, Africa must stop pretending that all Africans are brothers," said a Kenyan scholar.

Many African governments, however, would fall in a weekend without foreign military assistance. Uganda's Amin stays in power only because of the presence of Libyans, Palestinians and Nubian mercenaries recruited from the Sudan. President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire would fall without Western guns and the Senegalese and Moroccan soldiers who keep the peace in Shaba Province.

The Ethiopian government would be short-lived without its 18,000 Cubans, as would the Angolan government without its 20,000 Cuban soldiers.

The Comoran government was installed by 30 European mercenaries. On a continent where 19 countries are run by soldiers, most governments are authoritarian and many ministers are poorly educated, it is probably not sur-

drawn without regard to ethnic, religious or cultural cohesion. These boundaries combined with the colonial practice of favouring some tribes at the expense of others did little to encourage the growth of nationalist unity.

Thus, after independence, with nationalism often a fuzzy concept and most governments threatened more by internal than external influences, black Africa started building up its armies.

For instance, until recently, Uganda spent about half its budget on defence. The Mauritanian army grew from 900 to 18,000 soldiers between 1971 and 1978. Many of the armies are staffed heavily of mercenaries, by members of or supporters of these President's own tribes.

London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies says military spending in black Africa increased from 1,000-million dollars (1,850-million) in 1975 to 3,500-million dollars (6,250-million) in 1978. It was the largest defence expenditure for any Third World bloc outside the Middle East.

The eight African wars are:

● ERITREA: About 40,000 Arab-backed, marxist-orientated guerrillas are fighting for independence in Eritrea's northern-most province against half the 200,000-man Ethiopian army. The war started in 1961, after Eritrea ended Eritrea's local autonomy and absorbed it as a province. The Ethiopian Government is marxist.

● CHAD: President Malloum's 11,000-man army is battling forces loyal to Prime Minister Habre around the capital, and Libyan-backed guerrillas in the north. Government forces, supported by France, control less than half the country.

● SAHARA: Spain pulled out of the Spanish Sahara in 1976, giving the phosphate-rich northern two-thirds to Morocco, and the poor southern third to Mauritania. About 10,000 Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas are fighting for the Sahara's Moroccan marxist government of Agostinho Neto has its 20,000-man Soviet equipped army committed to a civil war against South African troops. Mauritania is supported by France.

● UGANDA: Last October, Amin sent his army into Tanzania and annexed 1,136 square kilometres of that country. He later withdrew the Tanzanian Government sent about 4,000 of its troops into Uganda. The Tanzanians, armed with Chinese and Russian weapons, are trying to overthrow Amin with the help of Ugandan guerrillas. Amin's forces have Soviet weapons and are backed by more than 1,000 Libyans and Palestinians.

● ANGOLA: The marxist government of Agostinho Neto has its 20,000-man Soviet equipped army committed to a civil war against South African troops. Mauritania is supported by France.

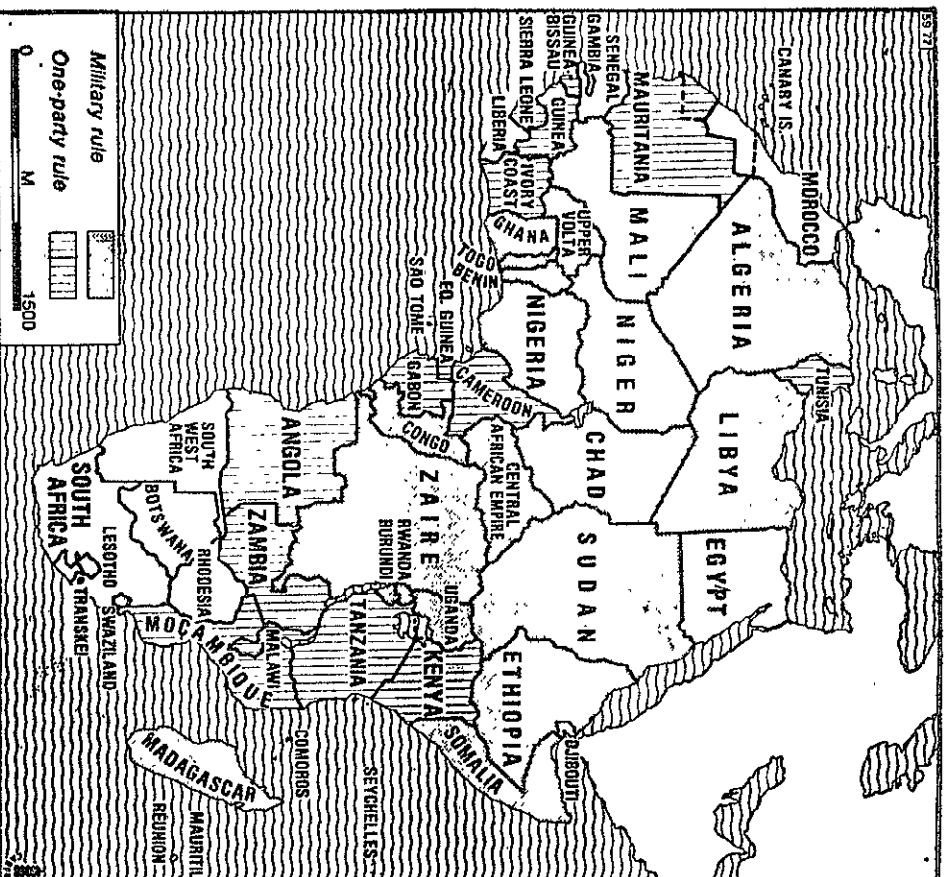
National Union backed for the Total Independence of Angola guerrillas led by Dr Jonas Savimbi. The rebel leader, who claims to have 20,000 men under arms, controls southern Angola despite the presence in the country of 20,000 Cuban troops supported by the governments.

● RHODESIA: About 10,000 Patriotic Front guerrillas inside Rhodesia are fighting with the support of black Africa, to wreck the internal settlement and to disrupt elections scheduled for April 20. One wing of the Front, based in Zambia, is supplied by the Soviet Union, the other, in Mozambique, by China. The daily death toll in war averages 35.

● NAMIBIA (South West Africa): Swapo guerrillas, led by Sam Nujoma and based in Administered territory, Angola, are fighting African forces together by the Western prior to the arrival of a UN peacekeeping force in the South Africa-dependence.

● MOZAMBIQUE: Frelimo guerrillas are fighting for independence from Portugal. The Portuguese Government is backed by the United States and Britain.

● SOMALIA: The Somali Government is fighting against the Ogaden region and armed by Saudi Arabia and Egypt, are fighting Ethiopian regulars and their Cuban advisers. The guerrillas, backed by Somalia regulars, fought and lost a war against South African troops.



BRIEFING

SAFES—R95.00
Ex G.S.T.

Height	Width	Depth	Weight	Price
No 1	510	410	170	R95.00
No 2	610	510	238	R120.00
No 3	760	560	349	R165.00
No 4	910	610	521	R210.00
Rifle	1300	410	130	R140.00

A LARGE RANGE OF NEW & USED EXECUTIVE AND CLEICAL FURNITURE AVAILABLE
Immediate Delivery ex-Stock

R.C.D. (PTY) LTD
Tel 52-2573/4.

ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS

WE SPECIALISE in overhead lines, EHT and LT Renovation and trenching
INSTALLATION and commissioning of switch yards, substations, etc
TURNKEY operations, electrical designs.
WE CAN ALSO OFFER ARTISANS ON DAY RATE.

MAJOR TUNE-UP
AT
TUNE-UP CENTRE (PTY) LTD.
834-5770 LANCE ST (OFF HALL ST) 834-5740

SUPPLY AND FIT
Pipes, gaskets, condenser, air cleaner, oil filter, T/C gaskets, service engine oil, fuel filter.

SERVICE
Green, adjust brakes, major lubrication, engine car wash, balance front wheel, service steering, road test.

CHECK
Compressions, coil, HT leads, radiator hoses, belts, lights, shocks, steering pipes, wheel bearings and front suspension.

ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT • WORK GUARANTEED
R55,00 — ESTABLISHED 25 YEARS
— CREDIT CARDS OK

"The storm has not struck yet," South Africa's former Prime Minister John Vorster said two years ago of the continent's increasing military problems. "We are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it."

Although most of Africa's 420-million people live in peace and several governments are forging true political stability, Mr Vorster's words were prophetic. Bloodshed in the name of official causes is increasing in Africa and the Organisation of African Unity has all but admitted that it is helpless to reverse the trend.

When the OAU media committee met in Nairobi this month to seek solutions to the continent's eight wars, the secretary-general began the session with these words, "Our task here today is to bring a smile back to the lips of our African brothers."

A few delegates grumped. But such bro-mides were as close as the OAU came to taking a stand on anything. It did manage to send representatives to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, for a day, but they never had the chance to discuss the Tanzanian-Uganda war as intended, with Tanzania President Julius Nyerere. They had forgotten to take along their night clothes and they were back in Nairobi by dinner-time.

"As far as I can tell, they were more interested in wearing pyjamas than in settling a war," fumed the Tanzanian Foreign Minister. The helplessness of the OAU to take a position on anything except apartheid partly explains Africa's inability to negotiate settlements to its wars.

The secessionist war in Ethiopia's Eritrea province, for instance, is now in its 18th year; the war in Chad is in its 13th. Fighting between Ethiopia and Somalia in the Ogaden region has been going on periodically for four centuries.

STAR 22/03/79

Ralph Perrott Associates

MANAGEMENT AND PERSONNEL CONSULTANTS

ACTING ON BEHALF OF OUR CLIENTS, WE INVITE APPLICATIONS FOR THE FOLLOWING POSITIONS:

Production Controller
 (Preswork)
 Our client, one of South Africa's leading Engineering Companies located on the East Rand, requires a Production Controller for their preswork-ship engaged in precision steering and blanking. He will be a mature man in the 30-40 age bracket, bilingual for pre-ferably, matriculated and with a technical background. He must have had experience in production planning and control in a similar industry. The salary will be around R11 000 per annum and the position carries all usual fringe benefits. Ref: PZ1188.

Contract Systems Engineer
Security Systems
 A highly successful and well established South African Security Systems Company, requires an Electrical Electronics Engineer to fill this post. The work involves control of tenders and liaison with customers at all levels. Applicants need not be graduates but must be technically qualified to at least 15 or National Diploma level. Experience in the security systems field, including C.C.T.V., lighting, sales, etc., will be an advantage as will be the ability to speak German and/or French. Overseas training will be given to the successful applicant. A good salary plus comprehensive company car. Ref: WZ156.

Pharmaceutical Ethics Representative
 A very well established and highly respected Pharmaceutical Manufacturer requires an experienced representative for the Japara Street area. Applicants must have first class connections in the area and good track records. A good salary and annual bonus is offered plus company car.

Production Engineer
 (Electronic Batch Assembly)
 Our client on the West Rand, in the field of sophisticated electronic equipment and control systems, requires a Production Engineer, in the 30-45 age bracket. He should have a B.Sc. in Electronic Engineering with extensive experience in electronic batch assembly. A generous salary is negotiable for the right man and the position carries a bonus and all usual fringe benefits. Ref: PZ1190.

Publishers' Representative
 A bright young man, preferably with a University degree and bilingual, is required by a go-ahead company to represent them in Limpopo and Bookshelves throughout the Republic. He will handle published medical, scientific and technical works as well as locally published academic and legal publications. The successful applicant is likely to be someone who has already had selling experience, who is free to travel extensively and who will negotiate a salary of up to approximately R8 400 per annum. He will also have full use of a company car, pension fund and medical aid facilities and annual increments. Ref: PZ258.

Internal Auditor
 An internationally known Hotel Group operating extensively and successfully in Southern Africa, requires an Internal Auditor in the 25-30 age group, preferably with an Internal Audit, and ensure good working conditions. The Group Internal Auditor, and ensure good internal financial control in the numerous hotels of the Group. Salary negotiable, company car and the usual fringe benefits and career prospects associated with a large and expanding international operation. Ref: ZD045.

Area Sales Representative
 The flexible packaging division of a major international Company require a matured, energetic, preferably bilingual, aged 25-35 with a proven sales and stable track record. He must be initiative, be self-motivated and of sober habits. His job will be to sell plastic packaging to the food and food processing industries where he will be in contact with factory managers and the marketing manager. The salary will be a company car, will be negotiated around R12 000 per annum. Ref: VZ223.

Insurance
 The foremost term broker in Johannesburg are in urgent need of two young men to fill the following vacancies: You will be in your 1. Assistant to Managing Director in Swaziland. He must be in a 20-30 age bracket, have had about 4 years experience in the term insurance industry. You will be the desk bound and the 2. Assistant in the "Special Department" in Johannesburg. Age about 25 with 2/3 years previous experience - preferably in doing. If you have knowledge of Jewellery and precious stones insurance, so much the better. Ref: VZ231.

Sales Representative
 (Building Materials)
 A leading Company dealing with building products require a mature man in the 35-45 age bracket to promote their lines to architects and the professionals in the building industry. He must be bilingual and fully familiar with the technical aspects of building construction. The point of sale will be to builders' merchants but his job is to estimate the promotional responsibilities of his job. Salary is negotiable around R10 500 per annum with a car and usual fringe benefits. Ref: VZ227.

Works Engineer
 One of the leading and well-established pipe manufacturers and fabricators require a bilingual man up to the age of 50 years old. He will be responsible for all plant and machinery so he must be in possession of a Government Certificate of Competency. He will have a labour force of about 300 to control. This is a challenging and rewarding position so it is unlikely that the successful applicant will be offered less than R15 000 per annum, plus company car. It is essential that he is fully conversant with hydraulics and pneumatics. Ref: VZ228.

Chemist
 (B.Sc. Honours)
 The Research and Development department of an expanding industrial chemical organisation on the East Rand, is looking for an assistant to their senior chemist. The work in this section is concerned with the non-routine analysis of a wide range of organic compounds. Problem solving will be an important part of his responsibility and he must be able to supervise laboratory staff. The company offers full opportunity for career growth and an attractive salary and working benefits. Ref: D150.

Cost and Management Accountant
 (B.Sc. Honours)
 A highly reputable pharmaceutical house requires a qualified accountant or one due to qualify soon, to fill this post. A C.M.A. is preferred but not essential and applicants with a C.A. or B.Com. with some experience in cost and management accounting, should apply. The preferred age is 25-30. Advancement prospects and conditions of service are excellent. Ref: WZ201.

Process Utilities Engineer
 (Energy Conservation)
 A large industrial chemical organisation requires a graduate engineer to assume responsibility for the conservation of energy, and other utilities at their extensive premises on the East Rand. Ideally the appointed engineer should have four to five years experience, be self-motivated and have a keen interest in conservation in all its forms. In addition to a negotiable salary, a double cheque bonus is offered. Prospects are good and there is a full range of big company benefits. Ref: D191.

Sales Engineer
 (Electrical Engineering)
 This is a career opportunity for a man in the 25-35 age bracket with a minimum qualification of NTC3. He must be thoroughly bilingual, preferably with Afrikaans as his home language, and experienced in high voltage switchgear up to 33 kV. He must be able to discuss schemes with Senior Engineers and to handle contracts from the enquiry stage to final delivery, including the negotiation of orders and the monitoring of progress through manufacture. The salary is negotiable around R11 000 per annum, plus company car and the position carries all usual fringe benefits. Ref: PZ191.

SAVE!! ECONOMY TUNE
SAVE!! YOUR CAR
SAVE!! MAJOR TUNE-UP

R49
 INC. GST.

PLUS LUBRICATION

INCLUDES:

- Compression test
- Taps set
- New plugs
- New points
- New condenser
- Battery service
- Fan belt checked and adjusted
- New oil/filter
- Greasing system
- Leaking system
- Pressure tested
- Balances and clutch checked and adjusted
- Set dwell & timing
- Carb setting
- Distributor service
- Electronic cleaning of injection system, changing system and coil

TUNE-A-CAR 5 Loveday Street
 2 months unconditional guarantee
 838-7791 838-3849

PERSONEL MANAGERS

MEDICAL AID TO DIRECTORS,


Personnel Managers

TOO SMALL? If your group is under ten (10) we can offer you Medical Aid at rates and benefits applicable to large schemes.

TOO MUCH? Are you paying a levy of 10%-20% more because your group is under 10? We can save you this extra.

TOO BUSY? Mr. Financial Director when did your large company last review its Medical Aid Scheme. We can provide a detailed comparison to improved benefits and costs.

CALL: Personal Benefit Services
 TEL: 783-4846



COMPLETE MAJOR TUNE-UP AND LUBRICATION PLUS ENGINE FLUSH FOR ONLY R55 GST

MAJOR TUNE-UP, Compression Test, Tappet Setting, New Plugs New Points, New Condenser, New Air Filter, Set Dwell Angle and Timing, Service Distributor, Set Carburetor, Check Charging System, Electronic Checking of Ignition System.

Complete LUBRICATION SERVICE, New Engine Oil, New Oil Filter, Grease car and top up all levels, Check all lights, Pressure test Cooling System, Brake Linkage and Pads Inspected, Brakes adjusted, Fan Belt checked and adjusted, Clutch checked and adjusted, Complete Battery Service plus Engine Flush.

SPEEDWAY CONTINUE cor Loveday Street
 3 month unconditional guarantee South and Kay Street
ASK FOR RON OR SALLY 834-4105

THIS WEEK'S SPECIAL

DOWNTOWN WAREHOUSE

SOUTHERN SUBURBS

WAREHOUSE

FUCHS XTRA LARGE MODEL FRIDGES R 389,88

5-Piece Chrome and Glass DINING ROOM SUITE R 139,88

Large GARDEN SWING WITH CANOPY R 39,88

BABY BOUNCING CRADLES EACH R 2,88

BABY PUSH CHAIRS FROM R 16,88

CREDIT CARDS WELCOME

SONY HI-FI TABLES R 249,88

SONY HI-FI TV BUNNY EARS R 9,88

SONY HI-FI TABLES R 60,88

TV BUNNY EARS R 9,88

4-piece BRAND NEW SONY HI-FI TABLES R 249,88

BABY COTS FROM R 39,88

JUVENILE BEDS R 49,88

CAPIL HEATERS BRAND NEW COMPLETE FULL RANGE OF HEATER ODDMENTS from R 5

HUNDREDS MORE BARGAINS FREE PARKING

DOWNTOWN

SOUTHERN SUBURBS WAREHOUSE

Cnr. Hippo & La Rochelle Rds near Rand Stadium off Eloff Str Ext



HOW TO GET THERE

PRICES EXCLUDE GST

imbued with the language and spirit of the Old, and maintaining that these two names are reproductions of the patriarchs Asher and Gad, their sex having been changed in the transition from one language to another, and representing the Greek and Roman elements in the Church, while the Epistle to the Philippians is itself a plagiarism from the Agricola of Tacitus.¹

At one crucial point at least Baur did make a permanent contribution to New Testament criticism. He recognized and asserted the difference in character between the Fourth Gospel and the other three. Until his time, almost all those who had dealt with the historical issues of the life of Jesus had taken the Fourth Gospel as their starting-point; the traditional ascription of its authorship to the beloved disciple had hardly been questioned; and who could be a better authority for the life and teaching of Jesus than the one who had lived in closest intimacy with him? This basic question, which the other Gospels were then fitted in as well as well saw, and argued persuasively, the other way round. If we wish to see the Synoptic Gospels bring us nearer to the truth, Baur wrote about the Fourth Gospel as the central clue to Christian history. The Fourth Gospel is not the written idea; and that the Johannine community made up equally of Gentiles and Jews which Christianity has grown from. He is accordingly convinced that the Fourth Gospel is earlier than the second half of the first century.

When he comes to the Synoptic Gospels, Baur, by his presuppositions. Luke thus markedly Pauline in character. The Gospel is authentic in that it has drawn out its own message in the Gospel message and which gives it its universal character. But chronologically this understanding comes later and can only to a limited degree bring us into contact with the original historical material. Wherever Luke and Matthew disagree, Matthew is to be unconditionally preferred. In Mark, Baur could find no trace of the opposition between Jew and Gentile. Therefore, on his principle, this must be a late

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, *Essays on 'Supernatural Religion'* (1889). The essay from which the quotation is taken was first published in the *Contemporary Review* in 1871.

document, belonging to the period not earlier than the middle of the second century, when reconciliation has finally taken place. So he takes Mark to be a compilation dependent on both Matthew and Luke, and written with the express purpose of reconciling the differences between them. Having disposed of the other Gospels, Baur now turns to Matthew. Here, too, from this point of view, much must be rejected as mythical in character and as later additions to the original narrative. But here, in this primarily Jewish Gospel and especially in the speeches, Baur believes that we can find at least some authentic evidence of what Jesus believed and taught.

V

Ferdinand Christian Baur has enjoyed an immense reputation in Germany, both during his lifetime and since his death. The Tübingen school, of which he was the central figure, dominated the scene for a generation. As we have seen, up to a point the reputation of Baur was deserved by his immense industry, by his steadfast

consistency—this is the starting-point of any historical criticism in relation to the historical circumstances that can be ascertained, and by certain validity. But there is a great deal to be said in favour of Baur's solutions, even when some of the questions. This suggests that Baur was basically wrong or that there were applications of it. It is in the field of its application that Baur's solutions have nothing to do with critical method and again, when the presuppositions are taken into account, critical method is for the time

of us to work without presuppositions. What we should ourselves be aware of what our presuppositions are, and we should make allowance for the distorting influence that they are likely to have on work which professes to be critical and unprejudiced. Baur was well aware of this. In the introduction to his history of the Church he tells us that the task of the historian is 'to place before ourselves the materials given in the

MONDAY, 26 MARCH 1979

MONDAY, 26 MARCH 1979

Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

Hansard 8 (533) 26/3/79
Economic Co-operation and Promotion
Loan Fund

58. Mr. J. D. DU P. BASSON asked the
Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(a) How many African countries received (i) loans and (ii) other forms of financial aid from South Africa in terms of the Economic Co-operation and Promotion Loan Fund last year and (b) what was the total amount of such financial aid.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(a)(i) and (ii) Last year two African countries received loans from South Africa in terms of the Economic Co-operation and Promotion Loan Fund.

(b) The total amount of this financial aid was R2 055 000.

In the International Year of the Child the spotlight is on the children of Africa, writes DAVID LAMB from Karai, Kenya.

The United Nations has proclaimed 1979 the International Year of the Child, and on a continent where 44 percent of the population is believed to be under the age of 16 much thought and conversation is given these days to the children of Africa.

If there is such a child as the typical African child, he probably lives in a dusty, sleepy village like Karai, an hour's walk from the paved road to Nairobi. His life is as harsh, as tenuous — and as full of dreams and love — as that of any child on earth.

Perhaps nowhere in the world are children more revered and the family as cohesive as in Africa. The young, the old, the infirm are never without care, food or shelter as long as there is a relative or tribal brother with anything at all to share. Individual interests are considered self-indulgent: what matters is the well-being of the collective unit.

"My family works hard to give me a chance, so I owe them everything," said ninth-grader Charity Tayani. "When I marry, if my family come to my house, or anyone from my tribe, I will find them some jobs."

Infants die

But kinship alone is not enough to ensure the future of Africa's sons and daughters. They endure burdens unknown to children in the developed world and what is taken for granted in the West — health, education, a reasonable standard of living, even survival itself — is still in the prayers of the world's poorest, least developed continent:

• More than 40 percent of African children under the age of five go through a period of malnutrition severe enough to cause mental or physical damage affecting their growth, according to reports.

• The sub-teen African child-labour force numbers an estimated 16-million. According to the World Bank, 27 children per 1 000 are in the African labour force, compared with 14 in Asia, 6 in South America and 1 in Europe and the United States.

• The United Nations says that 156 infants die out of every 1 000 born in Africa, compared with 102 in Asia, 24 in Europe and 19 in North America. In Kenya, one of black Africa's most developed countries, one in eight children born in the Year of the Child will die, usually from preventable illnesses.

• The number of illiterates in black Africa grew by 56-million people between 1960 and 1970. In Central and Eastern Africa, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund says, only 43 percent of the children between the ages of six and 15 are in school. Fewer than 30 percent of the girls in the age group attend school.

• Nearly 2-million African children are officially classified as refugees by the United

Nations. Nearly half of the world's population of refugees, 8.5-million are black Africans, most of them having fled from the tyranny of their own governments.

From his earliest days the Kenyan child is strapped with cloths to his mother's back, accompanying her while she tills the fields, gathers firewood and collects water. The child is coddled and fed on demand, not on a schedule, and only rarely does he cry.

Tends herd

By the time the child is four or five he has assumed the responsibility of tending the herd or caring for brothers and sisters. He is seldom balky and never disrespectful to his parents. His freedom is great and largely undirected. His stimulation comes mostly from his own inventiveness.

He may cut off the top of a banana tree and use it like a rubber tyre to float in a stream. He may entwine palm leaves to make a soccer ball. He may build a little cart with wooden wheels and grease the

"bearings" with fresh cow dung. But almost certainly he has never had a store-bought toy, and if he lives here in Karai, only 48 km from Nairobi, he has never seen an electric light, a telephone, a flush toilet or a comic book.

"In the first year the physical development of children in rural Africa is precocious compared with Western norms," said Dr Nina Darnton, an American child psychologist working in Kenya.

"There is tremendous stimulation and love between mother and child. Then, by the second year, the mother usually has had another baby and the first child is taken off her back. It's like a sudden fall from grace and the child is left pretty much alone, unstimulated.

"The precocity levels out with Western norms. By the third year it has declined. This is the time in the Western world when mothers are giving their children toys and sitting down to explain the way things work. But a mother in rural Africa doesn't have time for that.

For the African child, life is changing rapidly — perhaps too rapidly. He is being educated for jobs that are not available, taught the value of farming land that he may never be able to buy. In Karai, a grazing area that the British turned into a confinement community for Kikuyus during the Mau Mau war of the 1950s, an undeveloped hectare cost R3 300. Even at these prices, none is for sale because every inch of Kenya's arable land — only 17 percent of the total — is already lived on or farmed on.

But still the baby boom in Africa continues unchecked. Nairobi's population is expected to double within 10 years, Kenya's within 20 years.

The competition for land, jobs, houses and food can grow only stiffer.

The subchief of Karai, James Kamau, contemplated the implications of this to the children of Africa the other day as he sat in the Happiness Cafe, eating the daily special, a 36c bowl of beef stew. A sign on the wall nearby said, "No credit Sunday through Sunday."

"The young men no longer stay in Karai," Kamau said. "They go to Nairobi to look for jobs as casual labourers. And the people with education, they go too."

Youths dawdle

"Soon we will have water here. The pipeline the Government is building has already reached those hills over there. Then we will have development and maybe people will come back to settle. But how are we going to support more people here? This is the very poorest part of Kikuyuland."

The problem is even more acute and obvious in cities like Nairobi. Legions of unemployed youths dawdle on the streets; crime is increasing; high school graduates beg for jobs as gardeners; people caught in the act of theft are routinely beaten unconscious or dead by jeering young mobs unless a policeman is close by to intervene.

"There is a tremendous pent-up frustration in our young people," said Dr Joseph Muhangi, a Kenyan psychiatrist. "We have two worlds —

that of the rich and that of the poor. If you're not in the first one, your aspirations may be very great, your opportunities very limited."

The Mayor of Nairobi, Andrew Ngumba, has four children studying at universities in the United States. He puts it this way:

Want a tie

"We need to start giving our children practical education that prepares them and trains them for the realities of life. Everyone can't be a doctor, an engineer, a chairman of the board.

"Now you take America. People are prepared to use their hands there. In Kenya, they're not. If they've had even a little education, they don't want to pick up a broom or a hammer. They want a job where they can wear a tie and sit at a desk. That is status.

"I have many friends who come to City Hall and ask if I can find their sons jobs as clerks. But no one ever asks me if I can help them get training to be a carpenter or a plumber." — Los Angeles Times News Service.

Africa's children—the disadvantaged

slow 9/16/79
①

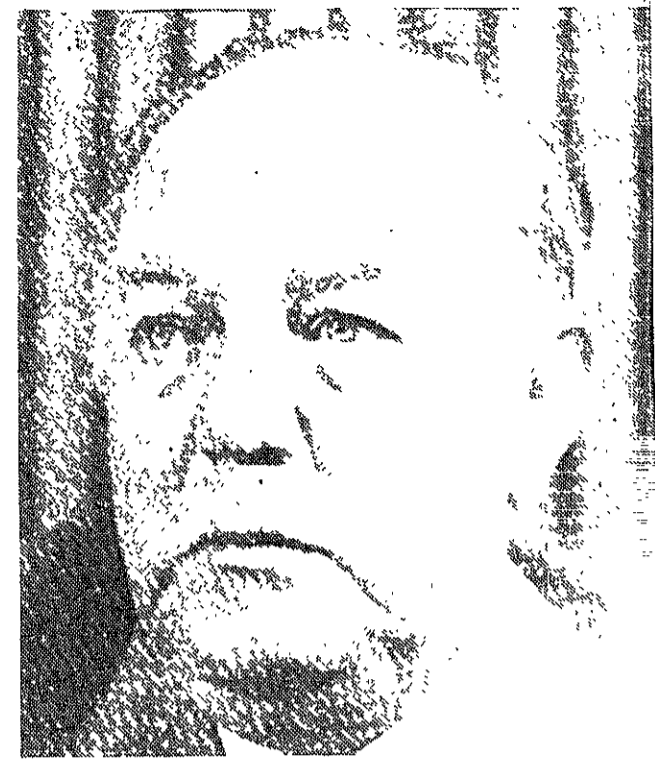


The life of the African child is as full of dreams and love as that of any child on earth.



SA's forlorn attempts 'to make Africa safe for apartheid'

ROM
2/1/79



...er prime minister Mr John Vorster: SA's self-interest lay firmly behind his early dialogue policy

PATRICK LAURENCE: Deputy Political Editor

In the later years of his premiership, Mr Vorster pursued detente, another policy based on self-interest

HIS speech on foreign policy in Parliament last week the Prime Minister, P W Botha, adopted an attitude of realpolitik when he stressed that South Africa would be guided by self-interest rather than friendship and that she would take a neutral stance in the East-West struggle.

It is an old aphorism rather than a new insight that foreign policies rest ultimately on self-interest, although the self-interest may be heavily overlaid with ideological justification.

The aphorism of South African policy-makers seeking to protect South African self-interest applied equally to the earlier phases of South African foreign policy which matured after Pretoria was threatened with isolation in the wake of the Sharpeville shootings of March 1960.

Self-interest lay behind South Africa's outward policy in the era of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, it permeated the dialogue policy of the earlier years of Mr John Vorster's premiership and it provided the motor force of the policy of detente in the later Vorster years.

The South African-born black political scientist, Dr Sam Nolutshungu, has defined South Africa's self-interest well in his book

Botha's approach was generally treated as though it were startlingly new. But it contained innovative elements, particularly a bold pronouncement on equality in the struggle between the super-powers, was not as novel as the news media generally seemed to think.



Dr Hendrik Verwoerd (left) missed a number of important opportunities to bridge the gap with black Africa. In 1958 he turned down an invitation from Dr Kwame Nkrumah (right) to discuss "closer links of friendship", and in 1962 he spurned a dialogue gesture from Sir Abubaka Tafawa Balewa (centre), the Nigerian prime minister

"South Africa in Africa: A Study of Ideology and Foreign Policy."

He wrote of the period 1945-73: "The basic aim of the Africa policies of South Africa thus remained the same... to establish an African political context which was ideologically and organisationally favourable to white minority rule in South Africa."

Confronted with the reality of independent African states, South Africa sought to make "Africa safe for apartheid," Dr Nolutshungu said.

His pre-detente view is valid for detente — which started with the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique and ended with the outbreak of 1976 rebellion in South Africa's black townships — and Mr Botha's emerging new policy of "self interest".

But, of course, that does not mean that there were no changes during the transition from the outward policy to the Botha approach. There were permutations in perceptions and methods but not in ultimate objectives.

Thus, to cite four obvious switches in approach to Rhodesia from UDI to the one man, one vote election last week:

1. Under Verwoerd South Africa maintained formal

ties with Rhodesia after UDI but was outwardly surprisingly cool toward the Smith regime.

2. In the first years of Mr Vorster's premiership South Africa moved to a more active role as an ally of the Smith administration, sending in police to fight African nationalist insurgents.

3. But in the last three years of Vorsterian rule South Africa switched away from its role of military ally to that of the "honest broker" trying to bring about a political settlement in Rhodesia, as evidenced by the Victoria Falls Bridge meeting of the parties to the Rhodesian dispute on a train provided by South Africa.

4. Today, after seeing its peace-making bid flounder in the continuing bloody civil war, South Africa seems "perilously close" — as the British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, has put it — to committing itself to backing the internal settlement government in Rhodesia.

Running through all these mutations in foreign policy is the common aim of securing South African interests. These interests can be defined as follows during the four phases outlined above:

1. Dr Verwoerd feared entanglement with the illegal Smith regime would be in-

terests (as he told Rhodesia's elder statesman, Sir Roy Welensky) and thus adopted a policy of minimum and discreet support.

2. Mr Vorster was influenced by the pact between the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the African National Congress of South Africa and the presence of ANC insurgents in Rhodesia to believe that South Africa's self-interest demanded intervention.

3. Mr Vorster appeared to believe — or was led to believe — that South African help, via pressure on Mr Smith, in bringing about settlement in Rhodesia (and Namibia) would secure the ultimate prize: "normalisation" of relations with key black states and, through them, with the rest of black-ruled Africa and the West.

4. Mr P W Botha and his Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha, distrust the West, accuse it of adopting "a policy appeasement" to the Patriotic Front in Rhodesia (and Swapo in Namibia) and fear the result will be the installation of aggressive anti-South African "Marxist" governments in Salisbury (and Windhoek). Hence the clear signs of movement toward backing of internal settlement at the risk of international condemnation.

But, as Dr Nolutshungu pointed out, South Africa's foreign policy is founded on a fatal contradiction between her externally-directed desire for friendship — or, in the jargon of realpolitik, co-operation on the basis of mutual self-interest — and her internal desire to persist with race policies designed to protect white hegemony.

Successive South African Prime Ministers appear to have nursed the hope that, somehow, skillfully executed foreign policy would make apartheid or any of its aliases less repugnant to black-ruled Africa. In spite of minor successes, such as the state visit to South Africa of President Banda of Malawi, it was a forlorn hope.

During the years of detente it was believed in official circles that Transkei independence as a concrete manifestation Pretoria's sincerity would soften hostility in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) toward South Africa.

But grand apartheid, like petty apartheid, was unacceptable, the more so because grand apartheid proposed the division of South Africa into mini-bantustans in direct opposition to one of the first OAU resolutions that there should be no carving up of African territories.

Judging from Mr Botha's speech in Parliament on South Africa's internal affairs, no changes away from bantustans are in the offing — only proposals to consolidate them more effectively and link them more closely with urban blacks.

The enlarged bantustans will logically form part of the "constellation of Southern African states" about which Mr Botha spoke. The anticipated addition to the constellation of internal settlement governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia is unlikely to make it more

acceptable to OAU countries.

Rightly or wrongly, however, a hard fact of realpolitik, internal settlement governments in these territories will almost certainly be seen as bigger and better bantustans — as "South African satellites" — and the bloody struggle of the past will continue but with "puppet" black governments rather than "reactionary racist regimes" as the target of subversion.

South African foreign policy over the last two decades has been described by the Zimbabwean political scientist, Ariston Chamhambani as a series of missed opportunities. To list them:

● In 1958 South Africa was invited by Dr Kwame Nkrumah as an independent African state to attend the first Conference of Independent States in Accra to discuss "closer links of friendship." South Africa turned down the invitation.

● In 1962 the then Nigerian Prime Minister, Sir Abubaka Tafawa Balewa, offered to visit South Africa to engage in dialogue and to "reassure the Afrikaner people of the good intentions of the African people." Dr Verwoerd spurned the offer because he deemed the Nigerian a moderate "fanatic."

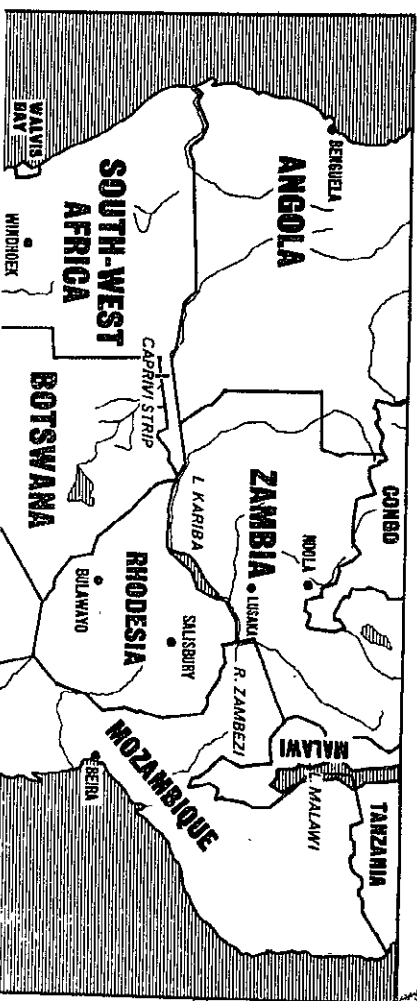
● In 1969 East and Central African States issued the Lusaka Manifesto, in which they made clear their opposition to apartheid in all guises, but nevertheless offered to hold discussions on the grounds that they preferred to "negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill." South Africa rejected the manifesto.

As South Africa moves closer to backing internal settlements in Rhodesia and Namibia, one wonders whether rejection of the chance of international acceptable settlements in both territories may not be seen in the future as another lost opportunity.

CT. 7/5/79

An ocean-to-ocean arc of troubled African nations

From ANTHONY DELIUS



LONDON.—The May Day reprimands issued by President Samora Machel of Mozambique against the Roman Catholic Church, "old-fashioned" trade unions and wearers of wigs and trendy gear may be linked to the great area of unease lying around Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, increasingly disturbed by the struggle inside that country. An arc of troubled nations bends over the top of the south sub-continent from the Indian to Atlantic oceans, from Mozambique across Malawi and Zambia to Angola.

Undoubtedly it is Mozambique that is most constantly affected by the Rhodesian war, its fledgling Marxist government providing the main base camps for the Mugabe wing of the Patriotic Front and at the same time trying to lay the foundations of what its leaders regard as an authentic socialist state.

Underground

Adding to these leaders' confusions is the amount of advice being poured into their ears from Marxist advisers originating from a variety of countries and organizations including Bulgaria and the old South African Communist Party. But the most immediate irritant comprises the activities of an underground sabotage movement.

This group is known as the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM), which has set light to fuel tanks, cut communications here and there, and even ambushed regular troops. The Mozambique authorities say that MRM guerrillas are trained in Malawi and Rhodesia, and suspicions are even voiced that South Africa also assists them.

No doubt President Machel

is anxious to give his supporters and Mozambicans in general something more substantial and visible to blame for the difficulties his regime is having, hence the reference to the "anti-socialist" attitudes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and imitators of the decadent West.

President Mobutu of Zaire, for opposite "capitalist" reasons, also attacked the activities of the leading churchmen in opposing his "African authenticity" campaign of yesterday, yet his difficulties and failings only grew worse. But there can be little doubt that the frequent invasions of Mozambique by Rhodesian forces striking against guerrilla bases is a large element in the difficulty of meeting the country's need for economic growth and stability.

The inability of the Mozambican army to do anything about stopping the Rhodesian incursions at present also reflects on the authority of President Machel's government. Although the Machel regime doesn't seem to be much

shaken by the MRM's "bandit" activity any more than by the reported dissatisfaction among the people at having to share supplies of scarce foods with Patriotic Front guerrillas, it is very uncomfortable to have to live with. Hence the recent well-publicized shootings of saboteurs, intended to demonstrate firmness of authority as well as a warning to others contemplating subversion.

Malawi, lying along Lake Malawi and Mozambique's north-western border, seems at first sight to be not very much affected by or concerned in the problems, ideological aims or racial struggles of her neighbours. Indeed Malawi's President (for life) Hastings Banda was positively hostile to Mozambique's present rulers when they were conducting a guerrilla war against the Portuguese, and he is quite open about his willingness to have dealings with South Africa and Mr Smith's Rhodesia, and probably with Bishop Muzorewa's Zimbabwe-Rhodesia as well.

What is more, he has been more successful than either of

his neighbours, Zambia and Mozambique, in developing the agriculturalists and agriculture of his country.

But there have been reports of some rumblings in the Malawian army, and of Banda's having to accept some manifestly unfair treatment of some other officers by the commander-in-chief in order to keep that officer's loyalty. If the number of people the president once kept in detention — though he has let most of them out over the past year or — is anything to go by, then he does have some security problems.

There are three Malawian political groups in exile, all with head offices in Tanzania. The leader of one, a Soviet-trained economist who works in a Maputo official bank, Dr Attai Mpakati, had his hands badly injured recently by a letter-bomb.

President Banda is now getting on for 80, and if he should die soon it's obvious that the rulers of Zambia, Mozambique and Rhodesia-Zimbabwe will have an intense interest in what sort of government gets into power in Malawi.

The Zambians are in such a state of disturbance over Rhodesian incursions against Joshua Nkomo's guerrillas, the near-collapse of the economy and a continuing crime wave that some talk of the country being in an advanced condition of "destabilization". There is no doubt that the once-great authority of President Kenneth Kaunda has been dangerously reduced. His own confidence in the Western powers, and particularly Britain, has been so eroded by the failure of the Anglo-American plan to achieve anything so far in getting a settlement for Rhodesia that he is reported to be increasingly willing to look to the Russians and Cubans for protection from Rhodesian raids.

The Russians of course may give him weapons and advisers but they are unlikely to provide him with the sort of cash aid his country's economy so desperately needs. It is estimated that Zambia has suffered losses amounting to hundreds of millions of rands owing to the confrontation with UDI Rhodesia — and if the Commonwealth conference does take place in Lusaka in August as scheduled, it is likely to hear a desperate plea for large compensation.

Relations have improved between Angola and Zambia since the days when President Kaunda used to talk about Russians and their "cubs" (Cubans) being the major influence in Luanda.

Although one of the frontline states, Angola had enough troubles on its territory between the borders with South West Africa and Zaire to want

too much involvement in the Rhodesian struggle. But slowly the provision of training camps for Cubans to create guerrillas for Joshua Nkomo's cause has drawn Angola into that confrontation more substantially, and the heavy raid by the Rhodesians on a training camp near Luena in Angola has marked this. Perhaps it's significant that the Angolans say the attack was really a joint South African-

Rhodesian operation, with Rhodesian aircraft refuelling at a base camp in SWA/Namibia. The Russians and the Cubans may be as interested in keeping that great arc of territory across the middle of Africa "destabilized" and ready for international use, as the Americans and British are anxious to cool things there, without much help from the Rhodesians.

The Star

Thursday May 17 1979

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

Settlers are abroad in black Africa again today: more than 500 000 of them in countries as diverse as Mozambique, Cameroon and Sudan. DEON DU PLESSIS, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.



Black Africa's refugee settlers

They are refugees, forced from their homelands by dictators and tyrants, wars and famine.

But they are not ordinary refugees who will seek temporary sanctuary and then return: they are part of a United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) scheme that aims to make them self-sufficient in their adopted countries.

There are, for instance, about 200 000 Zaireans being resettled in permanent agricultural centres in Angola, 20 000 Angolans in Zaire, about 10 000 Zimbabweans in Botswana, about 4 000 Equatorial Guineans in Gabon.

The UNHCR sketches the background: "Wherever they come from, wherever they go, refugees seldom have

many belongings. There are often more mouths to feed than hands to do the work. The social structure of the refugee group is disrupted by flight and this can only be aggravated by transfer to a different cultural setting.

"The privations and tensions resulting from their flight make the refugees both materially and psychologically dependent on others. This encourages a paternalistic attitude on the part of organisations and individuals who help them."

Objective

It was to overcome these problems that the UNHCR first launched the self-help scheme for refugees in the 1960s. In the beginning about 10 000 Mozambicans were set up in their own agricultural community at Rutumba in Tanzania.

Today at least 520 000 other refugees are in-

involved in similar schemes in 12 African countries.

Permanent

The UNHCR says: "The principal objective of these settlement programmes is to make the refugees self-sufficient by the UNHCR when they are able to produce enough to feed both the active and the passive members of the population; when essential services in the fields of housing, health and education are provided; when the refugees are able to take initiatives, to organise and be responsible for their own future; when their standard of living is more or less that of the local population in the area; in other words, when they constitute a community which is viable both economically and socially."

The cost of setting up such centres is con-

siderable. Land must be donated by (or bought from) the host government, agricultural equipment and seeds must be supplied, water laid on, housing materials found. The UNHCR supplies some of the money.

Other help comes from church groups and United Nations bodies such as the World Food Programme.

It is difficult to say how permanent the new settlements will be, but in many cases, even if the problems at home disappear, many refugees will choose to stay where they are.

In general, the resettlement programmes are a success. The UNHCR points out that the trauma of having to flee one's home need not be an entirely negative experience.

"It can be a challenge, a stimulus, to those who

have lost everything. Freed from certain restraints, they abandon ancestral customs which often hinder rural development.

"In some cases the agricultural techniques of the refugees are more advanced than those of the local people and can serve as an example. Ideally, such settlements can catalyse the development of an entire region."

In any case, life for the new settlers is considerably more pleasant than it is for most refugees (the half-million odd in permanent camps form only about 30 percent of all refugees in Africa) who have to forage off the land, throw themselves on the mercy of locals or while away their time in fenced and guarded refugee camps.

© Argus Co. 1979.

The Carter administration may be able to buy time over lifting sanctions on Zimbabwe Rhodesia, but how will it use that time — in the face of opposition in the Senate? asks GRAHAM HOVEY in Washington.

President Carter's African policy based on historic American ideals and assumptions of shared interests with black African countries, faces a threat of destruction from forces in Congress who call it naive, one-sided, partial to "marxist terrorists" and indifferent to Soviet and Cuban penetration.

Opposition intensified when the President refused to lift sanctions against Zimbabwe Rhodesia after the installation of a black majority government and elections judged free and fair by many foreign observers.

Under fire from conservatives and some moderates in both parties, Mr Carter lost a vote in the Senate but won support from the House Foreign

Affairs Committee which may permit him to retain sanctions through next autumn, keeping in step with Britain, which is still recognised by the United Nations as legally sovereign in Salisbury.

In sum, the Administration may be able to buy several more months of time, but how will it use that time?

It will certainly try again, with Britain and the so-called front-line states — Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and Botswana — to negotiate peace and an internationally acceptable political solution for Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

Ideally that would mean inclusion in a new government of some elements in the Patriotic Front coalition fighting the Government of Prime Minister Abel Muzorewa.

The alternative could be a "worst-case" scenario of expanding war, with Soviet and Cuban "advisers" flocking to the guerrillas while the Muzorewa regime begins to crumble. For this scenario, Washington has no known policy.

Administration specialists concede that they must respond more effectively to widely held concerns in Congress and the country about African policy by making clear that:

● They, too, are concerned about Soviet and Cuban adventures in Africa, but believe they can be most effective by co-operating with African nationalist leaders who say they will not accept domination by Moscow or the West.

● They do not favour the Patriotic Front over the Muzorewa Government and intend to tighten relations with the Bishop, who is to visit Washington this month, hoping to encourage him to broaden his administration and to move towards more genuine majority rule. A middle-level American diplomat is going to Salisbury to monitor the situation.

● But they must also explain more convincingly the risks, as they see them, of alienating black Africa and lining up with South Africa's detested white rulers in recognising a Salisbury regime

that the non-white world still regards as merely a black front for continued white domination.

Many senators remain indifferent or hostile to black African governments they have watched voting repeatedly in the United Nations against the United States, including front-line leaders the Administration relies on in seeking peaceful change in southern Africa.

"The position of the front-line states should not be considered identical to that of the Patriotic Front," one policymaker said. "They fear that the war will spill over into their countries, ruining already shaky economies and pushing them to seek Soviet and Cuban military aid."

Senatorial critics are not swayed by the argument that to repeal sanctions now would risk retaliation from Nigeria, the second largest supplier of American crude oil imports. To them, the Patriotic Front leaders, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, are marxist allies of the Soviet bloc, rather than African nationalists taking arms and training from

Russia, Cuba and China because they could not obtain such help from the West.

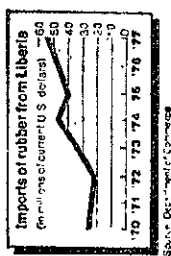
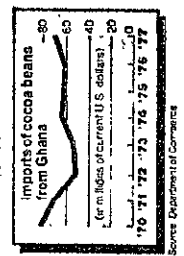
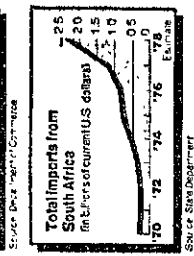
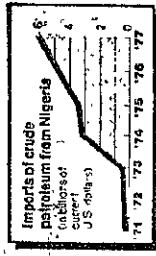
Some senators view Soviet policy in Africa as an uninterrupted series of triumphant advances that eventually would threaten American supplies of strategic African minerals and the sealanes around the Cape of Good Hope.

Administration specialists insist there are more setbacks than advances in Moscow's recent record in Africa, citing the expulsion of Soviet military missions from Egypt, Somalia and the Sudan as offsetting advances in Angola and Ethiopia.

In contrast, they argue, the Carter Administration has largely restored good relations with black African leaders, obtaining their co-operation in seeking solutions for Zimbabwe Rhodesia and for South West Africa (Namibia).

The Carter Administration's insistence on political rather than military solutions in Africa is rooted in the professional background of relatively young policymakers who

Respite for Africa up but dangers pile up



share a common experience of disillusionment with the United States involvement in the Vietnam war. They include Andrew Young, chief delegate to the United Nations, his deputy Donald F. McHenry, Assistant Secretary of State Richard M. Moose Jr. and C. William Maynes and W. Anthony Lake, chief of the State Department policy planning staff. All but Mr Young were foreign service officers who once resigned in disagreement with Indo-China policy.

Extremely sceptical about the desirability of American military involvement, direct or indirect, they believe the perceived Soviet threat in Africa has been exaggerated. They often quote Nigeria's head of state, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo, who in 1978 advised "the Soviets and their friends... (to) not overstay their welcome. Africa is not about to throw off one colonial yoke for another."

They are implacably opposed in particular to any military connection with Bishop Muzorewa's

Government in its present form or to any action that would seem to align the United States with South Africa, as happened during Angola's civil war in 1975-76.

That is why they are alarmed when even moderate senators such as Jacob K. Javits of New York, ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, speculate that at some point the United States may have to send military assistance to help defend the Muzorewa Government — New York Times News Service

More than a dozen strikes erupted in the armed violence during 1978.

Russia and China continue their push for communist control of the continent. Alarmed Western diplomatic intervention is stopped up... and yet, for the foreseeable future at least, the white man's domination of south remains secure.

This is one of the findings of the new strategic survey of the International Institute for Strategic Studies — and its views of events in Southern Africa promises little comfort for the Western democratic world.

Blask

Peaceful solutions to Southern Africa's several crises eluded Western and African leaders again in 1978.

And, while there were 'significant achievements' in keeping these crises free of great-power confrontation, the South African Government's response to external pressure and to a growing security threat has been to move rapidly towards the militarisation of South African society at the cost of political, economic and social strains.

In terms of Western liberal ideals, the picture in Southern Africa is bleak.

Zimbabwe-Rhodesia has fulfilled its role as the Anglo-American proponent; South Africa has frustrated outside efforts to have UN supervised elections in South West Africa and, inside the Republic, administrative and legislative measures have together done a lot towards putting the country on a war footing.

Pressure

The survey, which confines itself to events in 1978, records these 12 months as a period which saw a series of deepening crises steadily applying pressure on the South African Government.

It also records the Government's response: 'tougher, less compromising, increasing its pressure

on peaceful opponents at home, particularly the English-language Press, and stepping up its use of banning, indefinite detention without trial and other harsh measures.

Domestic race relations were quieter than in the previous two years, blacks gained a few significant concessions from the Government and private industry (such as the steel industry's decision to drop the colour bar), but there was no move to give them a political voice in South African affairs.

Assault

Not in spite of the surface calm, 'polarisation between and within the racial communities' continued.

The survey continues: 'KwaZulu leader Gatsha Buthe's assault by young radical blacks, the leargas attack by a white right wing group on a racially mixed theatre, scenes of unrest following the funeral of black consciousness leader Steve Biko... all these were indications of the growing schisms.'

But, 'even more ominous for the chances of peaceful political evolution in South Africa was the growing number of attempted and successful political assassinations by both pro- and anti-Government groups,' the survey observes.

Skills

Also, the outflow of white South Africans from the country has 'profound implications' for the Government.

In terms of security, it means loss of needed white skills and potential white recruits. In addition, the Government's annual economic growth target of 5-6 percent is based on a projected net inflow of 30,000 white a year.

Apart from the Department of Information scandal — 'by far the most serious in the party's history' and the cause of great damage to the Government and to Afrikanerdom — black disaffection flourished, the homelands were a new source of friction and non-white unemployment grew, perhaps as high as 30 percent or more.

Assured

The Botha administration 'came into power to face intensifying political, economic and military pressures from abroad' and yet the white man in South Africa is still in a position which is relatively assured.

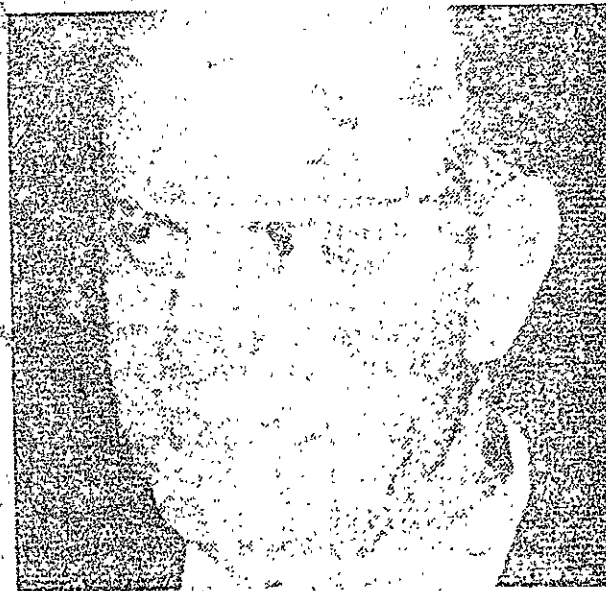
Says the survey: 'In spite of the growing internal and external pressures, South Africa remains very strong in relation to an immediately foreseeable threat to her security.'

'The overwhelming majority of her white community support the Government's efforts to pursue racial separation and white supremacy.'

'She has a strong, diversified economy, considerable arms-producing capability and a well-trained, modern, well-equipped army... factors which have allowed the government to continue its policies in defiance of world opinion and in a non-white majority of some 22 million.'

WHITES 'STAY NUMBER ONE'

Weekend Argus Bureau



Mr P. W. Botha

Stew 7/18/79
**Problems
of black
Africa**

A conference which will deal with problems which have beset black Africa over the past 20 years and the lessons which can be learnt from them is to be held in Pretoria on Friday.

It is organised by the Africa Institute and speakers will include Professor M W Murphree of the Centre for Interracial Studies at the University of Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

Professor D A Kotze of the department of development administration and politics at the University of South Africa will discuss social, political and economic factors which have lead to revolutions and political violence in Africa.

NAVORSING

Gedurende die verslagjaar het die navorsing van die Sentrum die volgende behels:

A. Mobiliteit en Politieke Verandering in Suid-Afrika

Hierdie projek is 'n paar jaar gelede aangepak. 'n Ondersoek onder die kleurling bevolking van die Kaapse Skiereiland is onderneem. 'n Aantal tydelike navorsings-

c) Ander lede:

Mr R. Bosman
Professor A. Cupido
Mr N. Daniels
Mr Achmat Davids
Professor R.J. Davies
Professor J.J. Degenaar
Mr René de Villiers
Dr J.D. du Plessis
Professor J.J.F. Durand
Professor J.B. du Toit
Mr A. Flederman
Professor R.F. Fugle
Mr G.J. Gerweil
Erw. D. Guma
Professor A. Paul Hare
Dr Gertrud Heydorn
Mr F.A. Jirassakuldech
Mr H.W. Middelmann
Erw. M.T.L. Molletane
Professor A.D. Muller
Sheik A. Najjar
Mr Victor Norton
Professor N.J.J. Olivier
Mr L. Phillips
Professor H.P. Pollak
Mr W.J. September
Mr Franklin Sonn
Mr P.M. Sonn
Regter J.H. Steyn
Mr R. Tobias
Professor R.E. van der Ross
Professor J.H. van Rooyen
Mev. S. Walters

4

Friends (Quakers) en van die American Friends Service Committee deurgesproeg. Hy het 'n aantal konferensies in verskillende dele van die land bygewoon, baie vergaderings toegesproeg en senior beamptes van die Carnegie Corporation, van Community Relations Services van die Departement van Justisie van die Amerikaanse regering, van die American Friends Service Committee en kollegas verbonde aan verskeie universiteite besoek.

Gedurende Augustus en September het die Direkteur Engeland, Nederland, Switserland, Swede, Israel en Zambie besoek. Hy het vooraanstaande joernaliste, Suid-Afrikaanse diplomaate, senior amptenare van die Suid-Afrika-Stigting en verskeie regerings betrokke by Suid-Afrikaanse belange ontmoet. Hy het besprekings gevoer met stigtings, trusts en opvoedkundige verenigings. As gevolg van sy besoek aan Nederland het hy 'n toelae vir die Konstruktiewe Program ontvang van die Algemeen Diaconaal Bureau van die Gereformeerde Kerken in Holland.

Professor J.L. Boshoff, ere-fellow van die Konstruktiewe Program, het met 'n aantal instansies, wat universiteite in Natal en Transvaal insluit, en met verskeie handels- en industriële firmas in Natal, kontak opgebou.

(b) Konferensies

Gedurende 1978 het die Direkteur die volgende konferensies bygewoon:

Jaarlikse Konferensie, Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee- en Raadsvergadering van die Suid-Afrikaanse Instituut vir Rasverhoudinge, Kaapstad (Januarie).

Suid-Afrikaanse Jaarlikse Vergadering van die Religious Society of Friends, Stutterheim (April).

Negende Wêreldkongres van Sosiologie, Uppsala, Swede. Verhandelings voorlegging in Werkgroep 6 en vergaderings bygewoon van die Raad van die Internasionale Sosio-logiese Vereniging as die ampelike afgevaardigde van Suid-Afrika (Augustus).

Africa's mimic people

MANY African rulers today are mirror images of their former colonial masters. Although the Europeans may have left, their lifestyles and ideas remain.

Now a meeting of African planners and government officials has called on the continent to turn its back on its colonial past and to discover its own patterns of development.

"We in Africa have over the years become mimic people. Although we pretend to be real, to be preparing ourselves and our countries for self-reliant development processes and authentically African lifestyles, all we have really succeeded in doing is mimicking other societies."

This is what Mr. Adediji, the Nigerian executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), said at a recent Addis Ababa seminar on "Alternative Patterns of Development and Lifestyles".

Copying the West has left Africa in a mess.

Poverty is on the increase, as is urban squalor and disease.

If Africans are going to clear up this mess they must work for self-reliant development.

The message of the Addis seminar was a radical one: African governments have got everything wrong. They must start again.

One of the major reasons why Europeans colonised Africa was to produce crops there cheaply and to send the harvests back to Europe to feed their own people.

But all that Africa was left with was cash and very little food with which to feed its own starving millions.

The effect of this was that African countries had to depend heavily on foreign aid and loans. Now so many countries are so deep in debt that they are obliged to continue producing these "cash crops" while their own people have to go without food.

For years now Africans have been talking about rejecting western economic ideas. But little has been achieved and alien practices continue.

While many Senegalese go undernourished, vegetables grown under European supervision are being exported to Europe.

In Malawi, valuable trees are being cut down to provide fuel for tobacco curing for the benefit of cigarette smokers in rich nations.

Alien development strategies, the Addis meeting concluded, have also led to a "persistence of unemployment and underemployment".

Health care too has suffered. While scarce funds are squandered on building expensive hospitals, training doctors in western medicine and buying inessential drugs, almost nothing is being done to stop the spread of indigenous diseases.

Real independence will not come to African countries until they stop copying the West. If they do not find their own patterns of development, there will be more poverty and more dependence on richer nations.

JIMOH OMO-FADAKA, a Nigerian journalist, reports.

In West Africa, for example, half a million children die every year from measles.

But how is "change" to be brought about within the present established political machinery, which is still much influenced by conventional priorities, and suspicion of innovation?

Experts may agree on a theoretical course of reform, but their deliberations are meaningless without the support of the establishment. For it is within its ranks that co-operation has first to be secured. This is political reality.

Although experts can help to devise frameworks

and blueprints for alternatives only political leaders have the power to make them a reality.

One of the major factors to be overcome is "lack of political will, or a resistance to change" by the beneficiaries of existing lopsided and inequitable patterns of development.

Will the privileged who benefit most from the existing situation, for change and existing policies that are in the best interests of the majority of their people? They do not, what then?

One looked for guidance on this vital issue at Addis Ababa, but the delegates remained silent.

Gedurende die eerste nege jaar van sy bestaan het die Sentrum vir Intergrasie studies gereeld 'n Jaarverslag oor sy werksaamhede gepubliseer. Om die Sentrum se 10de verjaarsdag op 1 April 1978 te vier is die Jaarverslag in 1977 vervang deur 'n Oorsig oor die Eerste Tien Jaar.

DIE OORSPRONG EN DOELSTELLINGS VAN DIE SENTRUM

Die Sentrum word grootliks gefinansier deur die Aha

INLEIDING

Telefoon: 65-4145; 69-8531 vltb. 766

Kantooradres:
Leslie Social Sciences Building
University Avenue
Groote Schuur Campus

Posadres:
P/a Die Universiteit van Kaapstad
Rondebosch
Republiek van Suid-Afrika
7700

(Geregistreer as The Abe Bailey Institute of
Inter-Racial Studies Limited
(Beperk deur Garansie))

SENTRUM VIR INTERGRASIE STUDIES

1978

JARVERSLAG

Both Africa and the OAU are in trouble

① 29/7/79

When the bickering died down after the opening of the OAU summit in Monrovia, the delegates got down to discussing the future of their continent and had to accept that Africa faces a bleak future. A special correspondent reports.

JAARVERSLAG
1978

AFRICAN leaders have accepted — for the first time — that Africa faces a bleak future, including both increased political instability and weak, if not retrogressive, economies.

By the time they had ended their deliberations at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Monrovia, there was a general agreement that the policies of the past had failed, and that the OAU and Africa were at difficult crossroads.

In an effort to stave off economic catastrophe and its concurrent political turmoil, African leaders made several proposals, each tied to the other, including an economic summit meeting in Lagos to plan an African common market, the beginnings of an OAU human rights charter and a planned revision of the OAU charter, which up to now, has been inviolate.

Two root causes of Africa's limited development since the 1960s, according to delegates, "are the narrow nationalisms" that prevent regional economic co-operation, and a weak history of protecting human rights.

Some said Africa and the OAU had reached a turning point in their development where the brutal suppression of dissidents or minority ethnic groups could no longer be glossed over and ignored in the name of once sacred "African solidarity."

The Nigerian head of state, Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, told the delegates that myriad conflicts in Africa "all point to the inescapable fact of the structural and operational weaknesses of the OAU itself."

The theme of economic development coupled with a human rights programme grew out of a symposium on economic and social development held in Monrovia in February.

The symposium's bleak report on Africa's development read: "Africa is unable to point to any significant growth rate or satisfactory index of general well-being in almost two decades of independence."

Africa's gross national product, the report continues, accounts for "only 2.7 percent of the world products." Africa's R293 per capita income is the lowest in the world. Its infant mortality rate of 37 per 1 000 born is the world's highest. There is one doctor for every 672 city residents and one doctor for 26 000 rural farmers.

Die Sentrum word grootliks gefinansier deur die Abe Bailey-Trust wat ingevolge die testament van Sir Abe Bailey gestig is. Dit is geregistreer as The Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies Limited (Beperk deur Garansie) - 'n maatskappy beperk deur garansie en sonder 'n aandeel-kapitaal kragtens die Maatskappywet 1973 (Wet Nr. 61 van 1973).

Hopeful new era for East Africa

A HOPEFUL new future has blossomed out for the whole East African area, which has had its full share of trouble and turbulence in the past years.

The obvious change for the better is the end of the Amin regime, which has brought new life and new hope to Uganda after the continuing tragedy of the past eight years.

But there are other signs, possibly generated by the liberation of Uganda, of a new look spreading over this huge and important area inhabited by some 60 000 000 people.

The icy situation between Kenya and Tanzania, the clash of ideologies, the chauvinistic attitudes struck by both countries and their leaders, looks like being brought to an end very soon.

This clash between these two important countries came to a head when President Julius Nyerere unilaterally closed the Tanza-

nian border with Kenya, stopping all trade, and even road and air communications. This crisis struck when the East African Community, with its great transport corporations, its economic and scientific agencies, collapsed in 1977.

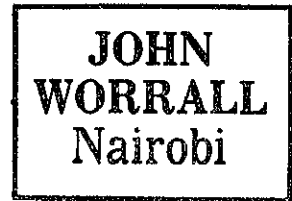
There were acute Tanzanian jealousies of Kenya, with its greater industrial strength, its sounder capitalist economy, its tendency to take the lead, for these reasons, in community affairs.

Kenya sold more goods to Tanzania than Tanzania sold to Kenya, and Kenya tended to dominate the community with its great financial institutions, its insurance houses, banks and tourist groups.

But that collapse was two and a half years ago, and both countries have learned that co-operation

is better than a quarrel. Serious issues have to be decided by all three former community partners, and this very much includes Uganda.

These include the division of the assets and



liabilities of the defunct community and its corporations, which run into hundreds of millions of pounds.

Coping with a fair division of the debts and the credits is a notable Swiss economist and banker, Dr. V. Umbricht, who was put in by the World Bank, a very large creditor of the community.

Aeroplanes, railway locomotives, buildings, airports, railway yards, ports and even ships are involved.

The best sign for years that East Africa wants to let bygones be bygones was the recent meeting between Kenya's new President Daniel Arap Moi and Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere.

Significantly, it was Nyerere who sent out the invitation to Moi to meet him at Arusha, in Tanzania once the headquarters of the East African Community.

For a year or more Kenya has made it clear that it wanted to heal the breach. But Tanzania has been slightly aloof, though indicating that the new Moi Government in Kenya might be more amenable than the old regime of Jomo Kenyatta, with

whom the quarrel started.

Quite a lot was achieved at Arusha. The two Presidents agreed that negotiations for a new trade pact would be started at once; that the air space of the two countries would be freed to foreign and national aircraft.

For two-and-a-half years international services could not be flown between Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, and travellers had to go around half Africa to get from one city to another.

Charter flights were banned. It was also agreed to go ahead with completing the division of the assets and liabilities of the community; and to co-operate in reviving the fortunes of Uganda.

President Binisa of Uganda was not at the meeting, but his country is an important link between Kenya and Tanzania, and it depends a great deal on the three-way co-operation between the three countries. It may well have been that his influence was strong in bringing Moi and Nyerere together.

navorsings-Fellows het aansienlik tot die Sentrum se program bygedra: dr Sheila T. van der Horst, afgetrede mede-professor van Ekonomie, U.K., en professor J.L. Boshoff, gewese Rektor van die Universiteit van die Noorde.

LIDMAATSKAP

Soos vooreen gemeld, is die Sentrum vir Intergroepstudies geregistreer as 'n maatskappy. In die Memorandum en Statute van vennootskap word voorsiening gemaak vir die benoeming van eenhonderd lede. Tans is daar 57 lede en hulle sluit die volgende in:

a) Drie stigterslede:

- Mnr J.G. Benfield
- Mnr H.L. Kennedy
- Mnr P.G.T. Watson

b) Sewentien persone wat gedurende die afgelope 10 jaar lede van die Beheerraad was (* dui stigterslede aan):

- Professor E.V. Axelson
- Professor J.F. Beelman
- Professor J.F. Brock
- Mnr C.S. Corder
- Professor W.H.B. Dean
- Dr J.P. Duminy
- Professor G.F.R. Ellis
- Biskop A.W. Habelgaarn
- Mnr E.V.E. Howes
- Professor M.F. Kaplan
- Dr. W.A. Landman
- Mnr G.K. Lindsay
- Sir Richard Luyt
- Professor S.J. Saunders
- Professor H.W. van der Merwe
- Mede-professor D.J. Welsh
- Professor Monica Wilson

JAARVERSLAG

1978

SENTRUM VIR INTERGROEPSTUDIES

(Geregistreer as The Abe Bailey Institute of
Inter-Racial Studies Limited
(Beperk deur Garansie))

Posadres:
p/a Die Universiteit van

stad

aterdag, September 15, 1979

766

Young tightens relations in Africa

YAOUNDE. — Ambassador Andrew Young and a party of US businessmen he is heading, met government officials from Camroon to discuss ways and means of tightening bilateral relations.

Mr Young told newsmen he was discussing both economic and political issues because "they go together."

He said: "One of the things we have seen was that the US previously has neglected Africa economically."

"The United States has not approached business in Africa with the serious long-term needs of both Africa and the US."

He said previous US interest put emphasis on Africa's production of raw materials. Now, Mr Young said, the US administration is thinking of business in broader terms and is trying to make US businessmen listen to what the Cameroon and other African governments needs are. — UPI.

aan het die
verslag oor
in se 10de
jaarverslag
jaar. Tien Jaar.

5

RDM

DIE OORSPRONG EN DOELSTELLINGS VAN DIE SENTRUM

Die Sentrum word grootliks gefinansier deur die Abe Bailey-Trust wat ingevolge die testament van Sir Abe Bailey gestig is. Dit is geregistreer as The Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies Limited (Beperk deur Garansie) — 'n maatskappy beperk deur garansie en sonder 'n aandeel-kapitaal kragtens die Maatskappywet 1973 (Wet Nr. 61 van 1973).

Bokassa did murder children says Dacko



President David Dacko, new leader of the Central African Republic, addresses a news conference in Bangui.

BANGUI — The man who toppled Central African Emperor Bokassa said yesterday the fallen dictator did murder school children in a massacre last April.

"I have direct evidence that the emperor went at night to Bangui's central prison and bashed children to death there on April 18," said Mr David Dacko, President of the restored Central African Republic.

Emperor Bokassa, overthrown while in Libya last Thursday, was accused last month by a five-nation African commission of ordering the massacre.

The massacre followed demonstrations by pupils against compulsory school uniforms.

The commission said the emperor almost certainly took part in the killings and quoted witnesses as telling how he gouged out one schoolboy's eye with a sharpened cane.

President Dacko made his charge in a speech to students at the presidential palace, now guarded by French combat troops flown in at his request after the coup.

Between 800 and 900 French combat troops stationed in the neighboring countries of Chad and Gabon, where France has military bases, were flown here when the new leader called on France to back his coup.

The troops were yesterday controlling a small student demonstration in

front of the presidential palace.

The students were protesting against the fact that the President was keeping the whole Cabinet as it was under the emperor.

They claimed Ministers and especially the Vice-President, Mr Henri Moidou, Bokassa's Prime Minister until Friday, were all his accomplices and should be tried for crimes against humanity.

President Dacko told the students he would seek the extradition of the toppled emperor — now sitting in a plane on an air-strip in France and refused entry by the French — from wherever he eventually found exile. — SAPA-RNs



PRES DACKO . . . "my country is poor."

Central African Republic seeks SA ties

① 25/9/79

BANGUI — The new Central African President said last night he was ready to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa.

President David Dacko told a press conference that deposed Emperor Bokassa had forged private links with the South Africans and that he intended to make them official, whatever other African countries said.

"I would do it officially, in the light of day, instead of hypocritically having trade relations with South Africa as many African nations do", he said.

"My country is poor, ruined, and we are ready to have economic and diplomatic relations with any country, including South Africa".

If South Africa was the best-placed country to develop Central Africa's natural resources, diamonds and uranium, there was no reason why he should not call on it.

Asked when such relations would be established, he replied: "I just await the appointment of a foreign minister".

The President said he thought it would be a good thing to have relations with Israel, but that had to

be done in close consultation with other independent African countries.

The President also said if French troops were needed to maintain order, "I am prepared to keep them here for 10 years".

In Johannesburg, Mr John Barratt, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said last night it would be an important new link for South Africa if President Dacko followed his intention through.

He said he was surprised that President Dacko had come out and announced his intention publicly. "But it sounds like he intends to act on it."

Mr Barratt said there had been reports in the past of South African financial aid to the Central African Republic but they had never been confirmed.

"It's clear there have been links, but for them to have known officially would have been far too embarrassing for South Africa because of Bokassa's actions and reputation in the past.

"With Dacko it would be far more meaningful."

He said President Dacko would probably get sup-

port from Ivory Coast, but added that he would come under heavy pressure from the Organisation of African Unity to prevent diplomatic ties with South Africa from taking place.

"The OAU will see Dacko's intentions as a setback," he said.

Meanwhile, in Bangui last night, there was confusion about whether the ex-emperor had been sentenced to death.

Speaking at a press conference here, President Dacko denied Central African radio reports that he had condemned Bokassa in his absence.

Earlier, the radio repeated every hour that President Dacko had sentenced Bokassa to die and a proclamation was printed to be posted on every wall in the city.

Bokassa has been granted asylum in Ivory Coast. — SAPA-RNS-DDC.

Earlier report, page 7.

Amnesty offer

KABUL — The new Afghan leader, Mr Hafizullah Amin, has offered an amnesty for anti-government rebels and called for better relations with Pakistan and Iran. — SAPA-RNS.

US blacks lobby for Africa

STAR 25/9/79

WASHINGTON — A delegation of black political and civil rights leaders have spent some hours with Secretary of State Mr Cyrus Vance, urging "massive increases" in American aid to Africa.

While a spokesman clearly sought to play down the importance of the meeting it fits into the pattern of increasing determination on the part of the black community to influence United States foreign policy decisions.

This determination has emerged most clearly in the wake of Mr Andrew Young's resignation as United States ambassador to the United Nations. After an unauthorised meeting with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Yesterday's delegation to the secretary for state was led by a two-year-old lobbying organisation called TransAfrica, with the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the National Urban League.

Before the meeting Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, said after Mr Andrew Young's resignation, blacks saw the need to be even more vocal on foreign affairs.

TransAfrica officials claimed 47 African states received only 12 percent of all American foreign aid, while seven Middle Eastern and northern African countries received a massive 57 percent.

Arab aid fails to satisfy Africa

①
STAR

26/9/79

A few weeks ago the Israeli trade union federation, the Histadrut, announced it was resuming trade union ties with Zaire.

It quoted an official from the central African state as saying the move was a step towards the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel, which the Zairean Prime Minister had approved.

The announcement, which infuriated the more discreet Israeli Foreign Ministry, was a bombshell in the highly sensitive world of Afro-Arab relations.

Before, during and after the 1973 Arab-Israel war one black African country after another broke diplomatic relations with Israel out of solidarity with the Arab cause. Today Israel has relations only with Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland.

In government circles in Israel the possibility of Zaire or other black African states resuming diplomatic relations with the Jewish state is dismissed as unrealistic. But it is an indication of deepening discontent between black Africa and the Arab countries, now rising again with this year's oil price increase.

Israel maintains strong economic ties with several black African states and there are more Israelis in Africa today than before diplomatic links were cut.

At the Organisation of African Unity summit in Monrovia there was a concerted but unsuccessful move to put a motion on the agenda recommending the re-establishment of relations with Israel. The OAU refused to support a draft resolution condemning the Camp David accord and gave President Sadat of Egypt a standing ovation.

The basic cause of black African discontent is dissatisfaction with Arab aid for black Africa.

The black African states expected the oil rich Arab countries which predominate in Opec aid-giving to go a long way to compensate them for the fourfold increase in the oil price imposed by Opec in 1973/1974.

However, the Arab states soon made clear that they had no intention of giving Africa more than a small amount of balance of payments assistance and would concentrate on aid tied strictly to projects.

A Special Arab Fund for Africa was set up and began disbursing money for balance of payments support in late 1974. But its total disbursements

JAMES BUXTON and DAVID LENNON report on dissatisfaction in black Africa over Arab promises of aid and the resulting reappraisal of relations with Israel.



Dr Banda . . . diplomatic links.



President Sadat standing ovation.

amounted to only \$222-million by the end of 1978 and the two countries receiving the largest sums, Tanzania and Ethiopia each with \$14.2-million, found this covered only 4 and 8 percent respectively of their oil bill over the 1974-76 period.

Another organisation the Opec Special Fund, largely financed by Arab countries, had handed out some \$130-million to both Arab and non-Arab Africa by the end of 1978 in balance of payments.

Several new Arab project aid funds were set up after the 1973/74 oil crisis, including the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (ABEDA) which gives aid only to black African states. This method of aid giving — also preferred by Western aid organisations — inevitably means slow disbursements because projects have to be approved and then begun before any money is handed out, and the problem is compounded when new aid institutions are only getting going.

According to OECD figures total bilateral aid from individual Opec states to sub-Saharan African states was \$401-million in 1975, \$455-million in 1976 and \$454-million in 1977. But omitting contributions to three Arab League members, Sudan, Somalia and Mauritania, the amount received by the remaining 45 states was \$71-million in 1975 and \$131-million in 1976.

African states became disgruntled at what they considered the paucity of Arab aid disbursements to them set against average Opec aid disbursements of \$5.5-billion a year from 1975 to 1977, most of which stayed in the Arab world.

This feeling boiled up at the Afro-Arab summit in Cairo in March 1977, and was satisfied only by a pledge by Saudi Arabia,

Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar to channel a total of \$1,449-billion in development aid to black Africa over the coming five years.

ABEDA's capital was boosted by \$180-million and most of the remainder was to be channelled through the aid funds of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi.

Yet there has been only a small increase in funds committed by the bank between 1976 and 1978 (cumulative commitments reached \$282.6-million by the end of last year while disbursements totalled \$65.1-million at that time).

African states accept that the reason for the slow translation of commitments into disbursements is to a large extent their own fault for not presenting or implementing projects quickly enough (though some Arab funds are faster than others at paying up where the work has actually been done or purchases made).

But they feel they should have had more direct compensation for the quadrupling of the oil price in 1973/74 and for the 60 percent rise which has taken place this year, for which only one country, Iraq, has made public an offer of partial compensation. Hence the frustration and the renewed interest in relations with Israel.

Israel does not have the financial resources of the oil-rich Arab states but it does have considerable technical expertise useful to developing countries, which they do not. Its development assistance to black African countries officially ended with the break in diplomatic relations, but several states now pay for Israeli consultants in many fields on a commercial basis. — Financial Times News Service.

Africans want Britain barred from Olympics

①
27/9/79
STAR

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Sports Council of Africa failed to get New Zealand expelled from the Montreal Olympics, but it has plenty of time to ensure that Britain is ousted from the Moscow games next year, a spokesman for the council said yesterday.

Mr Jean-Claude Ganga, the secretary, was speaking from Cameroon on a BBC television programme on the coming Barbarians rugby tour of Britain and the proposed visit of the Lions to South Africa next year.

He said Africans were disappointed that Britain had not banned the Barbarians, and could not understand why this had not been done, since France and Eire had refused permission for South African rugby sides to tour.

"We will do everything in our power to get Britain out of the Olympic Games next year," said Mr Ganga.

African countries had failed to have New Zealand excluded in Montreal only because there had not been enough time to exert pressure — "only a few days," said Mr Ganga.

Earlier in the programme, Mr Denis Follows, chairman of the British Olympic Committee, said he had learnt that the Russians would make it difficult for Britain to participate if sporting contacts with South Africa were maintained.

PURCH

Bokassa

helped kill ^{11/10/79} children, say ^{N.M.} survivors

We ha
secon

Could

(1) N

(2) D

(3) P

Is th

(1) P

(2) F

(3) A

(4) D

Pleas
if an

If nev
of ex

Mercury Correspondent

BANGUI — The deposed Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Empire was involved personally in the massacre of schoolchildren earlier this year and was seen smashing open the skulls of several boys, some as young as six or seven, with his imperial cane, survivors of the killings said last night.

The diminutive emperor, enraged over a student movement against him, was seen in the cells of the Ngaragha Prison, on the banks of the River Oubangui, in Bangui, on the night of the massacre.

Assaulted

More than 150 schoolchildren had been dragged to the prison by imperial guards. They had been beaten and assaulted with rifle butts.

Then, according to the only three survivors of the massacre, Bokassa himself appeared and set about the children with his ivory-inlaid, ebony cane.

Some of the children killed had only just started school.

An account of the killings, on the night of April 19, was given by two of the older students, Simon Jeudi and Jules Bao.

Jeudi (18) said he was picked up at his home in Bangui and taken to the prison.

Soldiers then clubbed him and others with rifle butts. The youngest, it seems, died almost immediately.

Jeudi said he survived only because he pretended he was dead. But six months later he still shows signs of a broken arm and severe back injuries.

"There was no air and the floor of the cell was covered in excrement," he said. "There was blood everywhere."

Terrible screams

About 10 o'clock the steel door opened and the emperor came in.

"I saw the emperor repeatedly striking several of the kids on the back of the head with his stick."

Then the emperor told the soldiers behind him to carry on while he went to the other cells to do the same thing there. "I could hear the terrible screams from the other cells while he was there," Jeudi said.

DATE

se Requisition requesting a new/

with the following information for our records
the machine

hine is required

and excess work load

machine required i.e. whether golf ball and
features are required

ent, please state Serial Number, make and type

The consequences ^① of Bokassa's overthrow

FRANCE'S overthrow of Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa in what is again the Central African Republic looks like marking the most important turning point in French African policy since the rush to independence 20 years ago.

Accusations by opposition movements that France has carried out a "colonial reconquest" are not far from the truth. After analysing a potential ideological and revolutionary Islamic pincer movement threatening Western influence and mineral reserves in Africa, France is establishing the late 20th Century equivalent of protectorates.

New policy

The elements of the new policy are becoming increasingly visible in Central Africa. The operation placing David Dako in power was the first by a new permanent long range French strike force.

French troops carried out the bloodless coup, taking over a key point in Bangui to allow the new President to land by French Air Force plane in a captured airport.

President Dako's limited indict for political independence has been

PAUL WEBSTER

—Paris—

demonstrated by his embarrassed withdrawal of an offer to recognise South Africa after a sharp private reprimand by French officials.

At the same time, the French Government is blocking the arrival of what it considers anti-French politicians while French soldiers establish their control over the provincial centres in the landlocked State.

Taking no notice of international debate on the morality of the operation, French paratroopers have moved into a long disused French base on the border with Cameroon which is seen as the eventual tactical headquarters for future African operations.

"In their baggage!"

Although Bokassa's tyranny gave France an excuse to move into Central Africa, the arrival of troops with their own choice of President "in their baggage" is a logical development of a strategy built up by President Giscard since coming to power five years ago.

Like General de Gaulle, he has been extremely sensitive to the link between France and its former colonies. But while De Gaulle was motivated by sentimental reasons arising from Black Africa's support for him during the war, Giscard is more aware of Africa's growing potential as a raw material supplier.

Since the fall of pro-Western forces in Angola after the Portuguese withdrawal when President Giscard privately regretted sending French troops, he has been obsessed by the double threat of the spread of Soviet influence coupled with revolutionary Islam financed from Libya.

Third World

He sees France filling an ideological gap left by the United States and Britain, but to make it credible to the Third World he has stepped up his condemnation of South Africa's apartheid.

Yet till now though French reaction has been disjointed, responding after the event. His invitation to Black States three years ago to call on French help if threatened from outside has seen two opera-

tions in Zaire, Air Force and ground troop backing for Mauretania, the basing of 25 000 men in Chad and the retention of 6 000 troops in the East African enclave of Djibouti.

In all, some 2 000 French advisers are either providing the main defence force or training facilities in Black Africa.

Base in Senegal

This ad hoc policy is rapidly changing to a coherent imposition of Western influence by force with the encouragement of most of the French-speaking Black leaders. The most open is probably President Mobutu of Zaire, whose former Belgian territory has twice been saved by French military aid after rebel invasions from Angola.

The operations in Chad and Mauretania have been welcomed by President Senghor of Senegal—once a French Government minister—who has helped France develop its base in Senegal where Jaguar fighter bombers, sophisticated communications and aircraft maintenance facilities provide a key logistical headquarters.

It was from there that France originally intended to equip, train and officer a Black African strike force backed particularly by Gabon, Senegal, the Ivory Coast and Morocco.

After experimental co-operation in the Shaba Province of Zaire this sort of co-operation is seen as useful only for controlling already subdued territory.

As a result, the real long range intervention force is being provided by France. In June, after many denials, three regiments of marine paratroopers of the 11th parachute division were placed on permanent standby as a special intervention group. Based in the south of France, they receive special training in desert and jungle fighting and receive the latest French equipment.

Their first exercise, a show of force in Shaba Zaire, earlier this month, showed they were battle ready for the Central Africa operation.

South of France

An armoured half brigade also permanently established in the south of France for long range intervention is also being set up. Equipped with tanks and self-propelled heavy artillery, the completed

strikeforce will be backed by a fleet of Transal troop carriers with extended range and Breguet reconnaissance planes to serve as flying command posts.

From the well established base in Senegal, almost any African State can be reached, but intervention will be far more effective from the strategically situated Central African Republic which borders on Zaire, Congo - Brazzaville, Cameroon, Chad and Sudan.

At the same time, senior French officers have been told to restudy tactical plans for intervention in any of the 20 or so French-speaking States — including former British and Belgian territories — who attended the Franco-African summit at Kigali, Rwanda in June. The priority is Senegal, France's most loyal ally, where an Islamic militant revival sponsored by Libya could threaten the Christian President in a predominantly Muslim State.

In most former colonies, French-speaking leaders are so in tune with French policy that there is no point in overstating the French threat. But Central Africa has already become the public illustration of how military presence can limit independence. David Dako's "joke" in offering recognition to South Africa ran contrary to the tone of the recent meeting between French Foreign Minister Jean-Francois Poncet and his South African counterpart, Pik Botha, in Paris.

The French leader gave the most outspoken condemnation of apartheid ever made by a French Government leader and it was feared that Dako would compromise the new French attitude.

Family links

Cynically, critics of French African policy say that Giscard is motivated only by protecting Western capitalism, seeing more rewards in flattering Black leaders than in encouraging South Africa which desperately needs European co-operation on any terms.

The President's profitable family links with the Central African Republic are widely quoted as an extra motivation for Giscard's ending 13 years of self-interested French support for Bokassa.

Whether the final straw was concern over uranium reserves, Bokassa's sudden flirtation with Libya or his attempt to strike Giscard's personal aide during diplomatic negotiations, argument about motives is irrelevant.

All political comment in this issue unless otherwise stated, is by J. O. McMillan, M. C. Mattson, A. G. Fishley, L. E. Swift and S. P. Horning, sub-editing and headings by B. Parkes; posters by R. Hawkins and cartoons by P. Lessing, all of 13 Devonshire Place, Durban.

Bokassa

(1) 5/10/79 NIM

ordered

elephant

massacre

We have received your Purchase Requisition for a second hand typewriter.

Could you please furnish us with the following information:

- (1) Name of person requiring the machine
- (2) Department
- (3) Please state why new machine is required

Is this machine for a

- (1) Part-time post
- (2) Full-time post
- (3) Additional post
- (4) Does this position demand excess

Please state full details of machine if any special key board or features

If new machine is a replacement, please state details of existing machine

Mercury Correspondent

BANGUI — Three quarters of the elephants in the Central African Republic had been slaughtered for their ivory, the country's new government claimed yesterday.

It said that a company in which deposed emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa was principal shareholder, butchered more than 30 000 elephants and sold their tusks to European middlemen.

Bokassa, already accused of cannibalism, is said to have sent troops with sophisticated weapons and helicopter gunships to take part in the hunts.

Elephant numbers are estimated to have dropped from about 40 000 to fewer than 10 000 during Bokassa's rule.

A European diplomat said that in April he was at Bangui airport when 40 tons of ivory were flown to a Paris dealer.

Tusks from about 900 elephants make up an ivory consignment of 40 tons.

Traced

The Government, which recently seized power in a coup, said almost all ivory shipments had been traced to Bokassa and his associates — among them a Spaniard and the Belgian sister of Bokassa's first wife.

Directors of the company were on a wanted list drawn up by the new government but had fled the capital.

It said the company's Bangui offices were now under guard as were other establishments owned by members of Bokassa's family and entourage.

Ivory, it is claimed, was only a part of Bokassa's business activities which it is estimated earned him and his associates as much as R18 million a year most of which is said to have been taken to Europe.

Richest

Bokassa's hunting expeditions are said to have contributed to his staggering wealth.

Foreign residents in Bangui believe he is one of the world's richest men as a result of his 13 years in power.

In addition to ivory he is alleged to have dealt in diamonds and, with a Portuguese trader, was involved in Zaire's coffee markets, exporting beans through his country.

Government officials in Bangui said last night they would demand his extradition from the Ivory Coast.

Among the charges he would face were embezzlement of public funds and cannibalism.

The collapse of the

cannibal king



In front of the Bangui prison, a woman demonstrates for the release of her young brother who had disappeared. Immediately after his coup, President David Dacko ordered all prisoners taken by ex-Emperor Bokassa to be released.



Joyous Bangui residents hold the remains of one of the many statues of Bokassa they tore down and defaced after the madman's overthrow.

CENTRAL African ministers entertained by self-styled Emperor Bokassa were told at the end of the dinner that they had "dined on the body of a colleague", the Daily Telegraph newspaper reported in London this week, quoting the British honorary consul in Bangui.

The consul, Fred Coperman, reportedly said the incident took place a few weeks before the ousting of the dictator while on a visit to Libya last month.

According to Mr Coperman, "human flesh prepared as (roast) joints" was found in the deep freeze of one of Bokassa's residences after the coup.

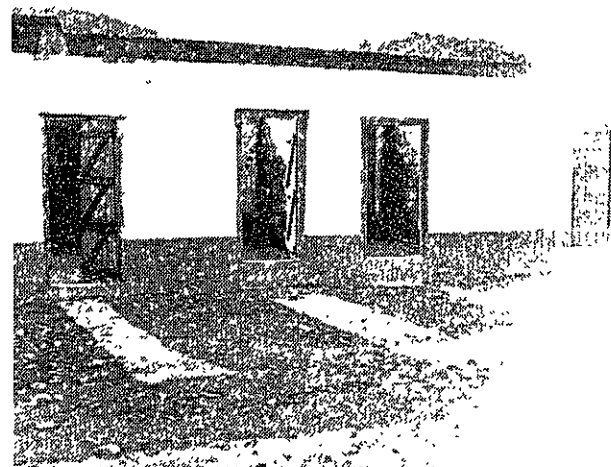
One of the bodies was reportedly identified as

that of Gaston Wemou, who, according to his niece, was arrested on August 11, following a minor traffic incident.

Another body found was that of Jean-Robert Massamquet (25), reportedly arrested on August 26 after Bokassa "harangued him" on student unrest, the Telegraph said.

The paper said the limbs and head were missing on the two bodies.

The Telegraph added that a national enquiry commission in Bangui on Monday began looking into accusations of "cannibalism", assassinations and embezzlement against the deposed dictator, currently living in exile in the Ivory Coast. It back up the government request for his extradition. — Story and pictures by AFP.



One of the emperor's horror jails in Bangui where children and political opponents suffered deaths at the hands of the madman himself.

Flutter in the vestry

THE next Archbishop of Canterbury, the Reverend Robert Runcie has knowingly ordained practising homosexuals to the priesthood and insisted that they keep their sexuality secret, the newspaper Gay News claimed this week.

At the same time, a spokesman for the Christian movement said: "We feel he will be able to delay making public the commitment he has so far made private to many in the clergy without losing credibility."

Bishop Runcie has denied the report.

7/10/79 Sunday Post



THE YEAR

ACCEPTED ACCOUNTING PRACTICE

APPLIED EXAMPLES

Proof of SA aid to Bokassa destroyed?



Emperor Bokassa

PROOF of secret links between deposed Emperor Bokassa of the now defunct Central African Empire and white regimes — possibly South Africa and, more certainly France — has been hastily burnt in Berengo Palace, according to French sources in Paris.

Observers believe that France had wide-ranging and not always obvious interests in the country, which is potentially rich in uranium. And they point out that Bokassa was ruthless enough to seek aid even from South Africa — "secretly if it suited his book".

If there are secrets about South African aid, these could now be resting behind locked doors in the French embassy in Bangui.

And if South Africa did give money to the man now strongly suspected of cannibalism, there appears little hope of details being revealed today.

South African aid, because of its potential for embarrassment, could have been kept well away from the state "books".

The hardest of the reports said French paratroops — who were airlifted in as David Dacko ousted Bokassa — rushed to the palace and burnt incriminating documents.

It is believed that the French Government organised the "clean-up" of the palace to get rid of proof of "various interests" which it wanted to hide.

— SUNDAY POST Correspondent.

plant for R60 000
ed at 12½% p.a.
e is granted for
n the reducing
nd 42% in 19.7,
and R50 000
ended 31.12.19.6

ount in respect

ed in the
December 19.7,

ms causing

y the existence
a division of the
which was taxable,

4. How does the answer to 3. change if the R70 000 is now a deductible loss, which can be set off against the taxable income from other sources of R50 000? Draw up the income statement assuming the deferral method is used.
5. Further to Note 4, assume now that the company has a set profit before depreciation of R60 000 in 19.8.

Draw up the income statement for the 19.8 financial year under a) liability method

b) deferral method

Assume the tax rate remains 42%

ONION RINGS

Peel and slice jar
add oil. Dip the
fill brown in the
and season with sa

Cannibal's gems lose their glitter

11/10/79
N.M.

Mercury Correspondent

PARIS — Diamonds are not President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's best friends today.

For the powerful satirical weekly *Canard Enchaïne* has accused him, his brother, a cousin and two Cabinet ministers of receiving diamonds as "presents" from the bloodstained hands of Emperor Bokassa.

It said French Secret Service agents had been flown to Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic, to destroy any incriminating documents about Bokassa's gifts to French personalities.

The weekly published the photostat of a memorandum, dated 1970, signed by Bokassa requesting the State Diamond Bureau to give a 30-carat diamond to Bokassa's secretary, named as Madame Dimitri, for the then



French Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing. The diamond is valued today at R200 000.

But the weekly hinted that other diamonds had been given to the French President on each of his five safaris to the Central African Republic.

Bokassa also gave diamonds to the President's brother, Olivier, and his cousin Jacques, as well as

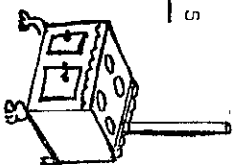
Giscard would like to discard these bloodstained diamonds . . .

to Co-operation Minister Robert Galley and Defence Minister Yvon Bourges, the magazine said.

Bokassa, on his frequent trips to Paris, always carried with him a satchel of diamonds from his country's own fields. It was generally agreed that he handed some out to cement deals with businessmen.

This new scandal covers

in
jell for
in a
sifted
marmal-
asonable



Put the joint to a bright clear fire, floured well. Baste contin-

Dacko's men detain three

BANGUI — Central African police have arrested three people working for opposition leader Mr. Ange Patasse, one of them a "mercenary", the state radio reported this week.

The radio said the mercenary would be put on trial, but did not identify him or the other two people it said had been picked up on Tuesday. On Wednesday, reports said two pro-Patasse French citizens had been arrested.

Mr Patasse, a former prime minister who returned a week ago after the fall of Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa, is spearheading a drive for dissolution of the new government of President David Dacko.

Five days after taking office on September 20, Mr Dacko said Mr Patasse, leader of the Central African People's Liberation Movement (MLPC), would be arrested for embezzlement if he returned from exile in France.

The new president backed down, however, shortly after students began demonstrating in favour of the former prime minister, leading to a meeting between the two on Monday.

No communique was issued, but they were believed to have discussed Mr Patasse's call for withdrawal of the French troops that supported Mr Dacko's coup and the future government of the former French colony.

According to unconfirmed reports, the French citizens arrested in Mr Patasse's entourage were Mr Constant Lavaudi, a former legionnaire in his 50's, and

Mr Philippe Girard, 27, who identified himself as a journalist.

Both were said to have arrived last Thursday with Mr Patasse, who said that the arrests were a "provocation" aimed at undermining an party Central African conference set to open in Bangui on Monday.

Meanwhile at the United Nations, Central African Republic envoy Mr Simon Kibanda told the General Assembly in New York yesterday that his government had called for French help last month "to rid us of one of the most barbarous and bloody regimes that ever existed."

Replying to criticism by the Libyan Foreign Minister of French military intervention to depose Central African Emperor Bokassa, Mr Kibanda said the appeal to France had been made "strictly within the terms of Central African sovereignty and in conformity with existing aid agreements (with France), in order to safeguard the people against a military rabble armed to the teeth." — AFP.

PRACTICE



Mr Ange Patasse answering newsmen's questions at Orly Airport, France, last week.

on of the taxable, is now a taxable used, as a set tal year

19.7, respect

ended 31.12.19.6
 00 and R50 000
 00 and 42% in 19.7,
 on the reducing
 and is granted for
 12% p.a.
 000 for R60 000

Africa gives Western democracy another go



Twelve of Africa's 50 independent states are governed by elected parliaments.

After Africa had been stripped of all her traditional political structures by colonial invaders and later given "independence" she started off with a parliamentary system. It failed. Now some of the continent's biggest and wealthiest countries are giving it another go. COLIN LEGUM reports.

AFTER two decades of retreat from parliamentary democracy, Africa is experiencing a new surge of political freedom.

The return of Nigeria's soldiers to their barracks last week after 13 years of military rule fulfilled their promise to restore a full-blooded multi-party system to the continent's most populous and one of the richest countries.

Just a week earlier, the army in neighbouring Ghana similarly surrendered power to an elected parliament.

The return of parliamentary democracy to these two important West African republics means that a dozen of the continent's 50 independent states are now governed by elected parliaments.

Apart from Nigeria and Ghana, the other states are Morocco, Senegal, Egypt, the Gambia, Upper Volta, Botswana, Djibouti, Liberia and Tunisia.

South Africa does not qualify as a parliamentary democracy because, although it has an elected parliament, it denies votes to blacks.

In addition to the 12 parliamentary democracies in Africa, a further nine countries elect their parliaments but restrict candidates to members of the ruling party.

Nevertheless, the value of elections in single-party states like Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania, the Ivory Coast and Algeria, is that they do allow for the democratic selection of candidates from among party members, and offer a choice of candidates to the electorate.

What seems evident in the Africa of today is that the pendulum has begun to swing away from the tendency towards military regimes and tightly organised single-party states which typified the continent in the first 20 years of post-colonial independence.

The frustration of democratic practices was perhaps inevitable as the new nations struggled to

overcome the economic, tribal and regional conflicts which are the common experience of African freedom.

Military rule has proved, without exception, to be a failure.

The question is how far the pendulum will continue to swing towards genuine forms of parliamentary democracy. A great deal will depend on the success or failure of the new civilian governments in Nigeria and Ghana.

Ghana is now embarking on its third attempt at parliamentary democracy since that dynamic country achieved its independence under Dr Kwame Nkrumah in 1958.

Its revolutionary committee, under Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, has promised to keep a careful eye on the new regime to ensure that it does not relapse into the corruption and nepotism that have blighted Ghana's political life throughout all successive regimes in the past 20 years.

In Nigeria the new government has the great advantage of taking office at a time when the economy is at a new peak because of the country's oil wealth.

If democracy can now succeed in these two countries it could be infectious by demonstrating that — contrary to earlier ideas — parliamentary democracy can be made to work in Africa.

1 6 1/2 or 7 oz can tuna, drained and broken in large chunks
1 c lemon juice

In a large salad bowl, combine lettuce, apple, orange sections, tuna and nuts; toss together. Combine mayonnaise, soya sauce and lemon juice; mix well. To serve, add dressing to salad; toss gently. Makes 4 - 6 servings.

---oOo---

... IN THE CENTURY. — AFP. ...

OUTCRY OVER REPORT OF BOKASSA GIFT

① 14/10/79 Sunday Post

CLAIMS that President Valery Giscard D'Estaing received a priceless diamond gift from the deposed Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Empire have led to a storm in France.

French opposition politicians have demanded a government inquiry but a spokesman for the President has dismissed the allegations as "defamation".

The allegations were published this week in the Paris satirical investigative weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné*.

The article also said the Bokassa palace archives were seized during France's military intervention in Bangui last month and moved to the French embassy in case they contained material compromising Mr Giscard d'Estaing and other members of his family.

The presidential spokesman, Mr Pierre Hunt, said the accusations were an "orchestrated campaign" being carried out by newspapers allied with President Giscard's opposition.

FRENCH PREMIER AT CENTRE OF THE STORM

Mr Hunt refused to say whether the President had in fact received the gems.

The French Foreign Minister, Mr Jean Francois-Poncet, denied that any documents were seized from the Bokassa palace and transferred to the French Embassy.

He said the sending of French paratroop units to Bangui during the coup that brought the Bokassa regime to an end already had precedents in French military interventions in

Mauritania, Zaire and Chad.

"In all these cases it was a matter of sending help to friendly African countries with which France has long-standing links," he said.

The opposition Socialist Party said the Socialists would seek to expose "the truth behind the affair which is being hidden from the French".

In Bangui Emperor Bokassa's successor, President Daeko, has confirmed that the country has



Former Emperor Bokassa

asked the Ivory Coast to extradite Bokassa so that he can be tried.

The confirmation came as a new mass grave was discovered close to Ngaragba prison in Bangui.

Ngaragba prison was the site of the killing of about 100 schoolchildren last April in which, according to independent jurists, the then emperor "almost certainly" took part — AFP.

3. How will the answer to 2. be affected by the existence of an extraordinary gain on disposal of a division of the company, amounting to R70 000, all of which was taxable, in the 19.7 financial year?
4. How does the answer to 3. change if the R70 000 is now a deductible loss, which can be set off against the taxable income from other sources of R50 000? Draw up the income statement assuming the deferral method is used.
5. Further to Note 4, assume now that the company has a set profit before depreciation of R60 000 in 19.8.

Draw up the income statement for the 19.8 financial year under a) liability method

b) deferral method

Assume the tax rate remains 42%

The Star

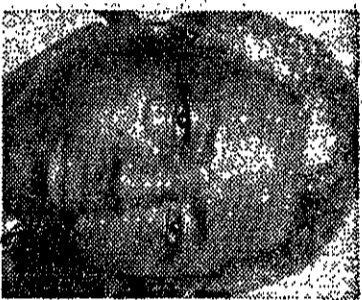
Friday, October 19, 1979

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

Ghana and Nigeria at crossroads of destiny

By Pranay B Gupta
ACCRA (Ghana) — On the evening of his inauguration as Ghana's first civilian President in seven years, Hilla Limann sat reviewing the country's economic situation with fellow members of his People's National Party. He paused at one point, wearily wiped his brow, and said, "Ah, the enormity of it all."

The former diplomat, who has never before held high office in this country of 10-million people, knows that Ghana's economy is in a shambles, that cocoa, its main foreign exchange earner, is at its lowest production level in 20 years, that there are debilitating shortages of food and consumer goods. It has been that way, more or less, for years. The central question in



New Presidents Hilla Limann (left), of Ghana, and Shehu Shagari, of Nigeria: in both countries the military will be peering over the civilian government's shoulder.

Ghana, therefore, is whether a civilian government can do better than its military predecessors in stemming economic, political and social decay. It is a question of some significance not only for Ghana but for the rest of West Africa. For this same question, in somewhat modified form, can also be asked of Nigeria, which is also inaugurating a civilian government after 13 years of government by men in uniform.

It would be banal and too simple to say that both countries stand at the crossroads of their political and economic destinies — Ghana, in fact, is perched at the precipice, while Nigeria, endowed with oil resources that this year alone will bring in \$15-billion (R12.5-billion) in revenues, is poised to assume an even greater role in African and international affairs.

Both countries, however, have histories of political and social instability and in each, the military will be peering over the civilian government's collective shoulder, despite the disclaimer of the outgoing Nigerian Head of State, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo, that all he wants to do is to raise chickens.

In Ghana, the threat was explicit. Flight-Lieutenant Jerry J Rawlings, whose Armed Forces Revolutionary Council seized power last June and promptly executed three former chiefs of State, warned last week that if the new Government engaged in corruption, it would be "unseated and resisted."

Looking at the long bread queues that curl around the shacks of Jamestown, at the decaying inner city of Accra, at the inadequate transportation and communications, it is hard to see how the Limann government can set Ghana on the road to recovery. The key is cocoa, which provides Ghana with about 70 per cent of its total export earnings and 55 per cent of government revenues each year.

Yet this year's production of less than 270,000 tons will be eclipsed by Brazil and the Ivory Coast, which have been steadily increasing their share of the lucrative United States cocoa market. Corruption and mismanagement are largely at fault. Aging amelondia trees were not properly replaced, so that at least a quarter of the 4-million acres under cocoa plantation is believed to be unproductive. Farmers, lured by the harder currencies in Ivory Coast and Togo, smuggled out much of what was produced to these neighbouring states.

The Rawlings regime disbanded the corrupt Cocoa Marketing Board and named a Yale University-trained management expert to oversee cocoa operations. But neither officers nor civilians have a strategy



have determined what role the state should play in it.

Lieutenant Rawlings acknowledged that his main priority was "housecleaning." But the severe anticorruption measures he instituted — including public floggings of merchants and the razing of the Makala market in Accra — scared off foreign as well as domestic entrepreneurs. The junta also reintroduced price controls but these increased consumption and threaten to exhaust limited supplies.

Yet hitting price controls would boost inflation, already at an annual 125 per cent. Foreign experts advise currency devaluation and budget cuts, also politically sensitive steps.

Nigeria embarks on its civilian era with a fat bankroll. But traditional tribal, regional and religious animosity between northern Muslims and southern Christians and animists could pull apart President Shehu Shagari's patchwork National Party of Nigeria, despite his impressive vote — Nigeria's 19 states.

In the economy, Mr Shagari will need to look beyond oil — currently known reserves are expected to run out in 20 years. He will also have to work on developing agriculture and better distribution of consumer goods.

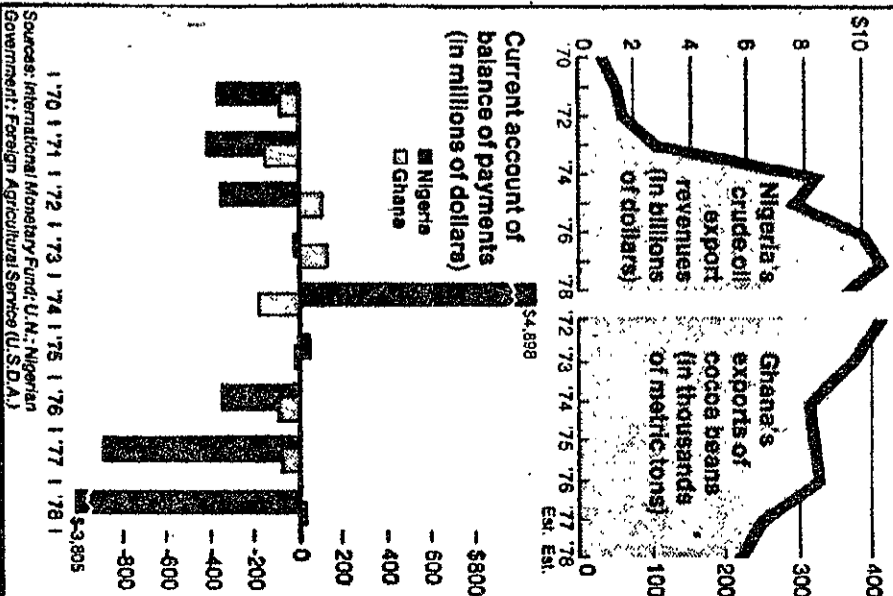
His administration has pledged to uphold the policy of import substitution, under which foreign investors have been encouraged to manufacture in Nigeria rather than bring in finished goods. But it must reduce the red

an understanding where- by the young officers will be given foreign military or diplomatic posts. But the military leadership is said to be unsure of Mr Limann's ability to govern.

The Nigerian military is believed to have more confidence in Mr Shagari. During a two-month transition period, Mr Shagari and General Obasanjo consulted several times a day. Nigerian officials point out that since the General was so closely involved in the civilian takeover, he is presumably anxious to see that it works. — New York Times News Service.

the division will have to be more public decisions can be.

Two African economies, two different trends



Sources: International Monetary Fund; U.N.; Nigerian Government; Foreign Agricultural Service (U.S.D.A.)

Blacks trained in revolution near Havana

NM 14/11/79

MIAMI — About 30 000 Cuban, African and Nicaraguan youths were studying in 50 rural schools on Youth Island (Isle of Pines), about 12km south of Havana, Radio Havana said yesterday in a broadcast monitored here.

The schools would provide students with a revolutionary atmosphere that they could later take home, said Mr. Luis Boko, political adviser to the Congo's Embassy in Havana.

The broadcast said young people from Ethiopia, South Yemen, Angola and Mozambique were also studying in schools on the island.

Independence of Angola, charged recently that Cuba kidnapped 6 000 Angolan children aged from seven to 15 years and sent them to Cuba for indoctrination.

"Cubans are perpetuating cultural genocide against my people, which must be restrained," he said.

Dr. Savimbi has been leading a guerilla war against the Government of the late President Agostinho Neto whose Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola gained control of the former Portuguese colony in 1975. — (Sapa-AP.)

Indoctrination

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, head of the Angola National Union for Total

	55,55	51,04	29,36	27,05
1-4	0,16	0,76	3,56	3,42
5-24	0,02	0,07	0,20	0,22
25-44	0,06	0,17	0,36	0,45
45-64	0,25	0,75	2,15	1,27
65+	1,04	1,61	5,45	2,93
ALL	0,19	0,56	1,66	1,61
NO.	399	198	3472	2593
	1,55	2,81	5,60	5,60
	1,55	2,81	5,60	5,60

87 NEOPLASMS

II

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,17	0,13	0,00	0,21	0,06	0,16	0,04	0,06
1-4	0,03	0,07	0,07	0,00	0,07	0,05	0,03	0,04
5-24	0,09	0,05	0,07	0,05	0,06	0,04	0,05	0,04
25-44	0,26	0,33	0,21	0,26	0,54	0,56	0,34	0,36
45-64	3,01	2,58	1,47	2,19	5,10	2,68	2,32	1,91
65+	12,24	7,26	4,70	5,18	12,59	7,51	5,16	4,10
ALL	1,41	1,21	0,36	0,43	1,03	0,69	0,58	0,45
NO.	2920	2522	126	152	1170	809	3472	715

III ENDOCRINE, NUTRITIONAL AND METABOLIC DISEASES

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,09	0,05	0,06	0,21	2,27	1,68	2,31	1,96
1-4	0,03	0,01	0,00	0,05	1,27	1,08	1,02	1,29
5-24	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,02
25-44	0,02	0,02	0,08	0,08	0,08	0,05	0,06	0,07
45-64	0,09	0,12	0,39	0,88	0,28	0,42	0,24	0,61
65+	0,39	0,59	1,61	2,59	0,81	1,28	1,04	1,44
ALL	0,05	0,08	0,12	0,18	0,28	0,26	0,22	0,33
NO.	114	173	43	63	316	307	455	530

Africa's Guinea - a ravaged land

THE flames of the oil wells off the coast of Nigeria flicker against stormy dusk clouds. They are only a few dozen kilometres across the sea from the island capital of Malabo, but they seem a century away.

Equatorial Guinea, which had one of the highest per capita income and literacy rates in Africa at the time of independence from Spain 11 years ago, seems to have returned to the 19th century.

There is no electricity. The new industries have ground to a halt.

The jungle creeps into cocoa plantations. The jobless wander about aimlessly and rats dash across hospital wards.

Most people live on wild fruits and vegetables, and a packet of cigarettes costs a week's average salary.

This is what its first president, Francisco Macias Nguema, did to his country in a decade of unchecked power, medieval economic management and merciless repression.

The young military leaders who ousted the primitive autocrat two months ago and sent him to his death by firing squad on September 29 now face the uphill task of rebuilding the country from scratch.

And signs are that after a decade of growing international isolation and gradual sliding into the Communist camp, they will turn to the West for help.

The task is immense. The social fabric and the economy of the country have been destroyed.

Some areas have been left without men of working age after Macias moved whole populations by force to cocoa plantations to replace tens of thousands of Nigerian labourers who fled because of harassment.

According to figures quoted during the trial of the late dictator, purges and persecution of political opponents and intellectuals have sent two-thirds of the population into exile in Spain or neighbouring Gabon and Cameroon.

With its finances in total chaos and its infrastructure torn to pieces by the medieval economic policies and merciless repression of the now deposed dictator Macias Nguema, Equatorial Guinea is now struggling back into the 20th century. And indications are that it is turning to the West rather than to the Communist countries for help, as AFP's Francois Raitberger reports.

Picking up the pieces after ten disastrous years under the dictator Nguema

Most trained professionals are also gone.

The few industries have closed down. Their Spanish owners and technicians fled during anti-Spanish riots in 1969 or left later following bureaucratic harassment and arbitrary fines.

The capital's power station broke down 18 months ago.

Cocoa production, the country's main source of wealth, dropped by 80 percent to around 8 000 tons last year.

The last French company exploiting timber on the mainland packed up two years ago, leaving thousands of dollars worth of equipment rusting in the jungle.

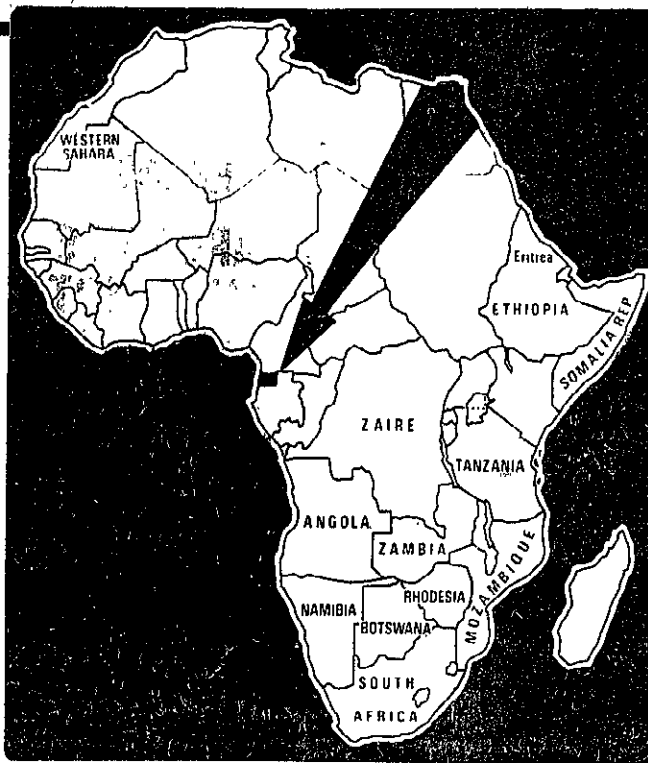
The Soviet Union was granted exclusive fishing rights.

Diplomatic sources say Equatorial Guinea gets in return 4 000 tons of frozen fish a year.

Finances are in total chaos. The public treasury, which Macias kept in a hut in his remote home village, was partly burnt and plundered in the fighting that followed the military coup.

The few records left show that Equatorial Guinea has only 4 848 000 dollars left in its bank accounts abroad.

Yet this bankrupt country, strategically located in the Gulf of Guinea, is becoming the centre of an international struggle



Arrow shows Equatorial Guinea.

for influence.

Macias had increasingly relied on the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba for technical co-operation and trade.

While Malabo only has one scheduled international flight a week — to Madrid — three Tupolev jetliners land each week at the capital's tiny airport, flying in relief teams for the Soviet fishing fleet.

The fishermen drive straight to the sleepy village of Luba, 50 km west of Malabo, where the fleet of 50 to 60 trawlers is based.

The only Russians to be seen in Malabo are diplomats and the Guineans feel they have been cheated.

"Eleven years of Macias, 11 years of small fry," they chanted in the streets after the coup.

Asking a Guinean about the Russians inevitably triggers a litany of grievances: "They did not help us in anything, they just took our fish away."

Unlike the Russians, the Chinese are to be seen all over Malabo, wandering in groups, often putting their hands in the mud to dig holes and fix pipes.

Western diplomats say there are 200 to 300 Chinese working in Equatorial Guinea, building a 3 000 kilowatt dam on the mainland and a telecommunications centre in Malabo.

Madrid has moved quickly to help its former

colony and win back influence. Within days of the coup, a high-level diplomatic mission visited Malabo to enquire about the country's most urgent needs.

Full diplomatic relations, suspended two years ago, were restored and the Spanish embassy in Malabo is today the busiest of the few that remain.

Spain has airlifted several dozen tonnes of urgent supplies, including 1.7 tonnes of medicine to check epidemics of polio and whooping cough.

Spanish doctors have toured the country's hospitals to assess their most urgent needs. Two small Spanish air force planes are ferrying passengers between the island and the mainland.

The European Common Market has released a nine million dollar credit and airlifted medicine, food and other basic necessities, while the United Nations has granted 750 000 dollars worth of aid.

It will certainly take all the aid it can get for Equatorial Guinea to get back into the 20th century.

But aid will not make up for those tortured and killed under Macias, for the victims of epidemics and for hopelessly broken families.

Equatorial Guinea faces the difficult times of reconciliation. Only a dozen of Macias' henchmen were brought to justice and sentenced together with their master — six of them to death.

Others are said to be in jail, others are still holding official positions and the government cannot do without them until professionals have come back or new ones have been trained.

Doomsday calls about the Third World are not premature, as these two articles point out. But there is a reason...

ONE of the results of food aid to Africa might be starvation in the countries receiving it.

This startling charge is made by a man who is in a position to know.

Dr Siegfried Bethke, who was in charge of the World Food Programme's projects in 23 West and Central African countries until last year, has made public a series of memoranda he handed to the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organisation

Dr Bethke charges that food aid may actually be undermining local agriculture. It is "not at all unlikely", he says, that the "rather steady flow" of free food prevents local farmers from selling their produce, and so discourages them from growing it. This saps the desire of governments to plan to increase home production.

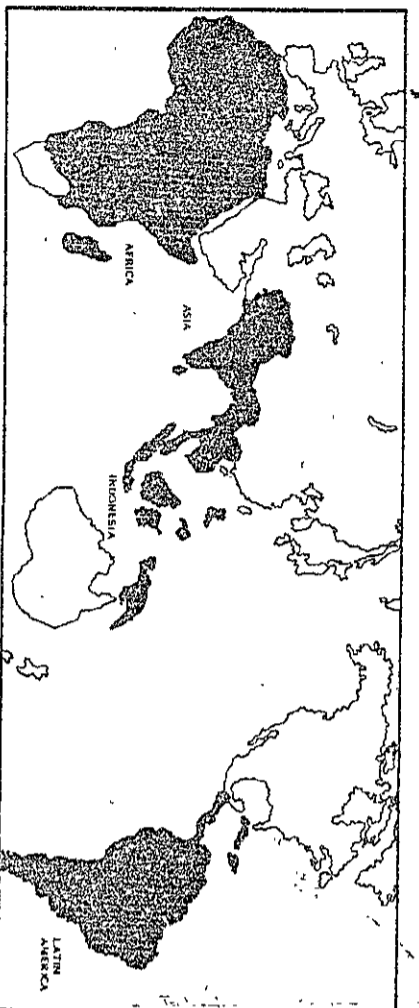
Bethke quotes a report to one of the governments in the region which says that farmers did not bother to weed cereal crops until very late, if at all, and so got only poor yields, because of the food aid programme.

He maintained that food aid is not needed except in "true emergency situations," such as after the Biafran War and during the great drought in the Sahel in the early 1970s.

Most countries in the region are, in fact, close to self-sufficiency in food, says Bethke. And yet, he reports, WFP food aid in West Africa is "alarmingly" on average almost five times as high per person as in the desperately needy countries of South-eastern Asia.

If these effects are indeed taking place, he goes on, food aid in its present

IS THIS FOOD THAT WILL KILL IN THE END?



The Third World... separated by oceans but united in need.

form and/or size will have to be seen as an offence from the development of view.

"The feeding of supposedly hungry or malnourished people today may result in the inability of feeding really starving people tomorrow — in 20 or 30 years from now."

The memorandum includes a catalogue of reports of corruption and diversion from WFP officers on the spot. One wrote: "In almost every country that I have been in, the tendency is for the project manager, once he is appointed, to bring in all his closest relatives. The whole set up becomes a family affair from then on." But Dr Bethke's all-

The annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Belgrade last week agreed that the most important priority in the present chronic state of the world economy was the fight against inflation. But they also warned that if the danger of widespread famine and unemployment was to be avoided, aid to the underdeveloped countries would have to be vastly increased.

THE nightmare of a world teeming with billions of people desperate for food and other basic necessities could become reality within a few decades if more is not done to help the developing countries.

This was the sober warning of the president of the World Bank, Robert Macnamara, at the combined annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Belgrade recently.

The results of these meetings, attended by the finance ministers and central bankers of 138 countries, were gloomy enough for citizens of industrial nations.

assists such nations, has responded by stressing the plight of the poorer nations, and seeking support for its development projects.

The Bank's officials are trying to persuade the peoples of the industrial nations to become less shortsighted and realise that they, too, would not want to live in such a world with all its political instability and potential violence.

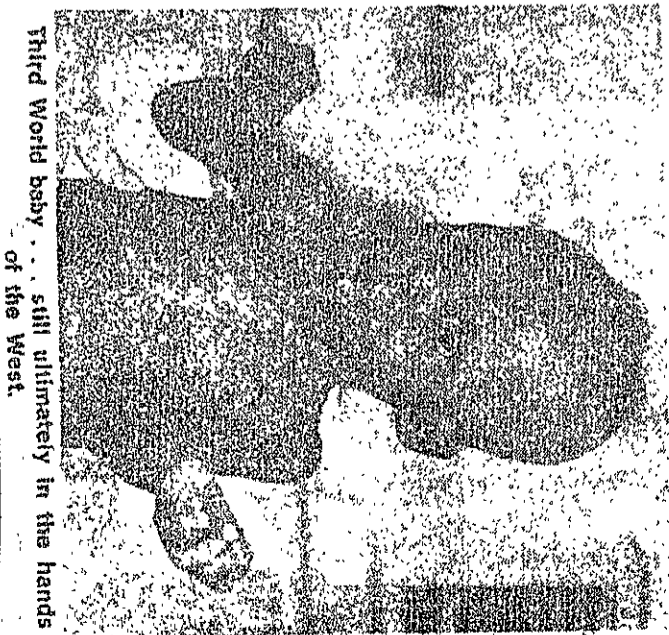
The industrial nations must make up to the fact that they are not alone in the world, and must allow their governments to pour more aid into the Third World.

If this is done, officials feel, then the world as a whole will benefit, for the increased prosperity of the developing nations will create exciting new markets for the industrial states, helping to reduce unemployment everywhere.

Governments will keep tight limits on public spending, which will probably mean that public services will deteriorate.

Governments will attempt to re-channel labour and resources from weak into strong areas of their economies to encourage production. — SUNDAY

World-wide starvation may become reality — unless...



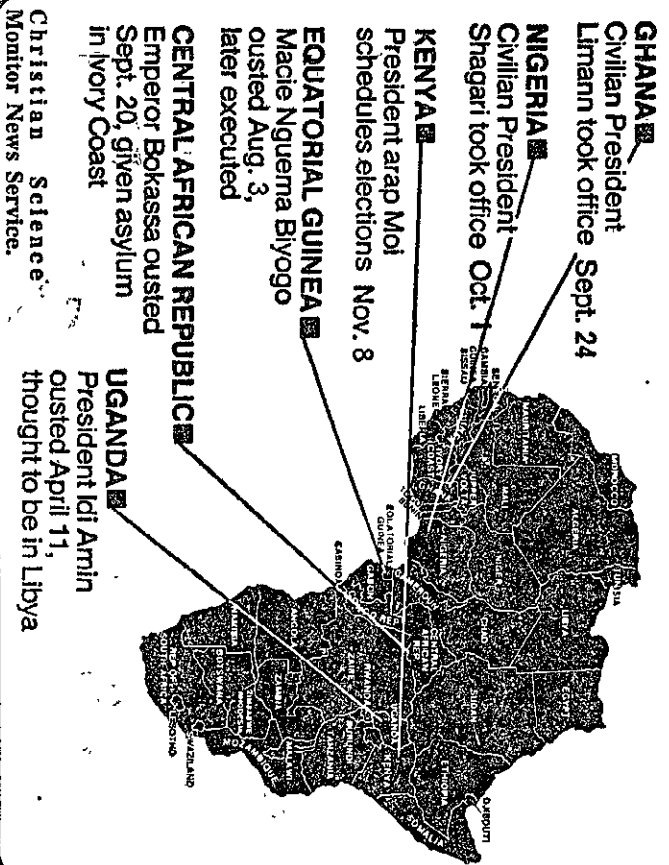
Third World baby... still ultimately in the hands of the West.

The Star

Monday October 29 1979

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE ***

BLACK AFRICA A momentous year



After two turbulent decades of adjustment to independence, black Africa has begun to make notable strides toward improving its record on democracy and human rights.

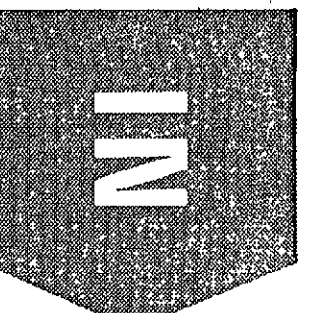
A series of events this year has helped underline the view held by some white critics that black Africans lack the responsibility and experience to govern themselves wisely and to build humane, democratic societies.

Among these events are: ● The transfer of power by orderly process from military to civilian government in West Africa's two most important English-speaking countries, Nigeria and Ghana.

● In Kenya, East Africa's biggest success story, preparations for a November 8 general election, 15 months after the calm and orderly transfer of power to President Daniel arap Moi on the death of the country's venerable founder, Jomo Kenyatta.

● The removal from power of the three most egregious tyrants on the continent — Idi Amin in Uganda, Macle Nguema Biyogo in Equatorial Guinea and self-styled Emperor Bokassa in what is once again the Central African Republic.

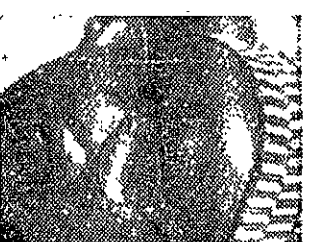
In both Nigeria and Ghana, the military kept its word and returned to its barracks by the time it had promised. In Nigeria, civilian President Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sworn in on October 1. In Ghana, civilian President Hilla Limann took the oath of office on September 24.



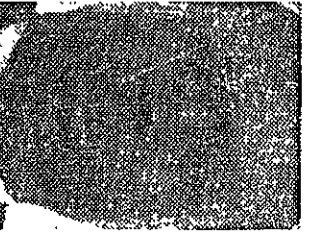
LIMANN



SHAGARI



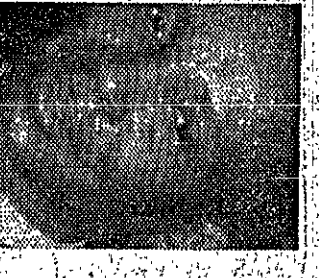
MOI



BIYOGO



BOKASSA



AMIN

There are signs that black Africa, after two troubled decades of independence, may be settling down to more orderly processes of government, as this analysis by **GEOFFREY GODSELL** indicates.

Some cynics wonder just how definite the military withdrawal from politics in both countries will prove. In Nigeria, it had been in power for 13 years, in Ghana for seven (after an earlier interlude of military government from 1966 to 1969).

But in both countries, the military took steps before withdrawing designed to lessen the likelihood of a repetition of past mistakes — mistakes that led to the collapse of earlier civilian governments and (in Nigeria's case) to a tragic and fratricidal civil war.

In Nigeria — the giant of black Africa, with a population of perhaps 80 million and an impressive income from oil — these steps were far more carefully thought out and orderly than those in Ghana (population only 11 million).

Brutal

In Ghana, the pre-transfer "cleansing" was done by a Revolutionary Council under Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, who seized power from the generals and colonels only four months ago.

It was a rough and ready, even brutal, process aimed at punishing those most grossly guilty of corruption and scaring those less obviously involved in questionable practices or likely to be tempted by them.

Eight prominent Ghanaians, including two former military heads of government, were executed. Merchants, including women, suspected of profiteering were publicly flogged.

In defence of these measures, it can be argued that they defused a potentially explosive situation prior to the planned transfer of power to civilians. On the other hand, the four-month interlude has "spoiled" Ghana's tradition of political upheaval without bloodshed, and has raised questions about discipline in the military and the police.

Descendant

The new President of Ghana, Limann, is relatively young. A former diplomat, he was almost unknown to his countrymen until he announced his candidacy for the presidency.

His political organisation, the National Party, is the descendant of Nkrumah's Convention People's Party, and the late Nkrumah's son, Francis, is Minister of Health in the new civilian cabinet.

But apart from that, the Cabinet members apparently have been chosen to minimise any impression that the civilian presidency of Limann might be a return to the excesses and mistakes of the later Nkrumah years. In Nigeria, there is a

parallel effort to avoid a return to the politics and the mistakes that threatened the breakup of the country over a decade ago, when the then Eastern Region tried to set up Biafra as an independent Ibo state.

The Nigerian military, before setting in motion the electoral process to restore civilian rule, supervised the introduction of a new constitution intended to block domination of the country by any one of its main ethnic groups at the expense of the many others.

In the 1960s, the Ibo of the east resented most the power of Muslim Hausa and Fulani of the north. The third main ethnic grouping is that of the Yoruba in the west.

The division of Nigeria now into 19 states is one of the measures intended to ensure a fairer division of power. In elections this past summer, the results showed the continued appeal of the political leadership of these three main groupings, based on their regional power bases.

Challenge

The new civilian president, Shagari, in many ways is the heir to the northern leadership killed in the upheaval of 1966. But his claim to the presidency is legitimised (and confirmed by the Supreme Court) by his having won broader national support in the August election than either of his two chief rivals, Chief Obafemi Awolowo (a Yoruba from the west) and Naandi Azikiwe (the country's first president after independence and an Ibo from the east).

The challenge to Shagari is to form a government — his

cabinet has yet to be announced — and to distribute patronage in such a way that he can persuade his countrymen that he is running things in the interest of all Nigerians, and not just that of his fellow northerners.

Kenya, seeing how the Western Press concentrates on troubles rather than quiet success in black Africa, often feel they do not get the credit that is their due. They lack Nigeria's oil, but they are doing better economically than most

of the rest of black Africa. And although their parliamentary system is based on a one-party operation, there is unlimited freedom of choice between candidates in any one parliamentary constituency.

President arap Moi is constitutionally obliged to offer himself for re-election on November 8 — but at this stage, his impressive showing after President Kenyatta's death is expected to result in his being returned unopposed.

Democracy

Resurrected;

tyrants

toppled

Stev
29/10/79



Prof sounds warning to black states

By MARGARET SMITH
London Bureau

LONDON — One of Africa's most distinguished academics predicted this week that at some stage the African homelands might be recolonised by white South Africa for security reasons.

"As acts of sabotage within the white areas increase black homelands (would) serve in part as areas of temporary refuge for guerrillas."

Professor Ali Mazrui of Kenya, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, offered his predictions in a lecture broadcast by the BBC.

Prof Mazrui was speaking in the first of this year's BBC Reith lectures, considered a major annual landmark of the English-speaking academic world.

He said "Under international pressure South Africa will increasingly liberalise its system in fits and starts. "But as a result of that liberalisation, the opposition to the system will find it much easier to organise itself."

South Africa's neighbours, like Mozambique and a black-ruled Zimbabwe, would have to brace themselves for Israeli-like reprisals from South Africa if they served as willing or unwilling hosts to SA guerrillas.

Asked whether whites would leave South Africa in these times, Prof Mazrui said, "I think there is a lot of foolish romanticism about the Afrikaners. It goes back to the Boer War and even further back to their proud trekking into the hinterland."

"I agree that Afrikaners have more to lose than English-speaking white South Africans, but I am not persuaded the majority would rather die than seek refuge elsewhere."

The majority of any society, race or nation were pragmatic when it came to issues of life or death. The Afrikaners would fight, they would kill and be killed for a while. But when the cost really became too high the exodus would begin.

"Nor do I believe the argument that the Afrikaners have nowhere to go. If there is a revolution in South Africa, I haven't the slightest doubt that many Western doors will open for them."

The Netherlands might prefer for the time being to maintain a political and moral distance. But when the racial chips were down and Dutch-speaking whites were on the run from black revolutionaries, Holland would open its doors, partly for reasons of kith and kin and partly for reasons of its own tradition of humanitarianism.

Prof Mazrui said he didn't expect to see South Africa in the future cease to be a multiracial society. A third or even a half of the total white population might leave, but a million or two would remain to work out an alternative deal.

"It's conceivable that by the end of the century the proportion of whites within South Africa to blacks will remain relatively the same, while power has effectively shifted to the black majority."

"But half the whites need not be the same people."

Where the methods of providing a given service use the same kinds of resources in different proportions, the decision-making can be simplified by means of Linear Programming, though health service choices cannot usually be presented in the simplified way required by this method.

2. CHOICE OF PROGRAMMES

So far, we have discussed methods of choosing means to obtain a given objective. But what tools are available to aid the choice of objectives themselves? Can anything be said on the question of the priority to be given to particular diseases or age groups, whether to allocate more to child welfare clinics or care of the aged?

Overall criteria are needed, and they have to be expressed in such a way that they can guide these detailed questions. Essentially, the problem is not only to relate resources used to objectives achieved, but to relate the various objectives to each other.

There are various means of doing this; but all of them require that expenditure be accounted for by the ends it is expected to achieve.

2.1 Programme Budgeting

Programme budgeting, also known as budgeting by objectives, involves the presentation of expenditure data according to the objectives to which it is directed. Thus, projects to combat TB would be grouped together, geriatric problems, sanitation programmes, etc.

This is necessary:

- to know the cost of pursuing each objective;
- to group together activities with the same objectives which can be compared by cost-effectiveness analysis;

The grouping of expenditure into programmes is an art. Pole, an economist in the U.K. Department of Health, writes:

"Programme structure should, in my view, be mainly determined by the decisions to the taking of which one wishes it to contribute... One might suggest that where decisions are primarily a matter of political or moral judgement - of determining basic priorities - one would want the activities to be compared to reside in different programmes - the mentally handicapped against the alcoholics; but where it is a more technical question of how particular objectives can best be achieved - drug therapy against behavioural therapy - one would want the activities to be compared to be within a particular programme. This distinction ties up with an economic jargon of slightly older vintage - that of cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness; and through that to the main stream of neoclassical welfare economics, which attempts to make a distinction between the choice of the composition of the basket of outputs and the choice of the set of resources from which each output is to be produced. The former is, in a broad sense, a question of tastes, values, or utilities; the latter is a question of techniques".

He adds:

"In practice, it is not an easy matter to make a hard and fast distinction between technical matters and matters of values or utilities in the health services. From one point of view, the question whether to treat schizophrenics in hospital or in the community is a technical one. Which is the cheaper way to fulfil whatever are the society's requirements for the treatment of this group? But community care originally became fashionable as a good thing in itself. The practitioners are very apt to muddle the medical and economic arguments when it suits them, and the politicians and administrators equally so when it suits them, but the economist's concern is to keep them separate".

Programme budgeting, then, entails the attempt at this separation, sorting out from the multiplicity of decisions those which can be made on the basis of administrative or economic, together with medical-technical criteria, and those in which the role of the public through political

BUSINESS MAIL

How SA helps its neighbours

LONDON. — If one country in Africa can be said to have benefited from the war in Rhodesia, it is South Africa, reports the Financial Times. Not only has the international imposition of sanctions been a major bonus for South Africa's trade with Rhodesia, but the war has equally increased the reliance of all Rhodesia's neighbouring black states on the relative economic wealth of the white south.

Zambia is probably the most extreme case of a country forced to depend more and more heavily for its supplies on a regime it abhors.

The Commonwealth conference provided a string of embarrassing examples. The red carpet on to which Queen Elizabeth stepped when she arrived in Lusaka was made in Natal. Apart from such necessities as maize and wheat coming either from or through South Africa, the shops in the Zambian capital were for once well stocked with such items as Granny Smith apples from the Cape, and hugely expensive South African alcohol.

The growing dependence of Zambia on South Africa, both for its communications and supplies, and to a lesser extent that of most of the other black states in Southern and Central Africa, provides a new urgency for them to seek a solution in Zimbabwe Rhodesia. Significantly, the front-line states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia — and South Africa have simultaneously revived the idea of regional cooperation.

The difference is that Mr P W Botha sees it as a South African-centred "constellation of states", whereas the front-line concept is of an alliance aimed at the exclusion of South Africa, and the reduction of their own dependence on Pretoria.

However, there is a growing temptation in South Africa to use its economic muscle to win an attractive (and sympathetic) political solution in the region. It is a strategy which could well prove counter-productive. But equally the efforts of the front-line states to reduce their dependence seem to be doomed.

In several key areas the black states of Southern Africa are more dependent on South Africa today for economic survival than they were in the past.

Transport is the most glaring example. The southern railway route, from Zambia, across the Victoria Falls and south through Rhodesia and South Africa, carries almost 46% of all the external trade of Zambia and Zaire's Shaba province, a two-way traffic totalling 109 000 tons a month.

The commodities carried are fundamental to the well-being of those countries: copper exports, in each case the principal source of foreign exchange, and imports of basic foods, coal and coke for Zaire (much of it actually bought from Rhodesia), and fertiliser, mining equipment and lubricants for Zambia.

Three factors have made the southern route so important. The closure of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border cut the rail route to Beira. The Angolan civil war cut the Benguela railway line, which had been the major copper export route.

Finally, Tazara, the Chinese-built railway from Zambia to the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam, has been crippled by shortages of spares and repair skills.

Road routes are unable to compensate for the shortage of rail capacity. Inadequate maintenance has played havoc with the road service to Dar es Salaam. The other road link, from Zambia to Moatize in Mozambique and thence to Beira, suffers the additional hazard of attacks by Rhodesian-backed anti-Frelimo guerrillas. And the road route via the Kazangula Ferry to Botswana has been severed since the Rhodesians bombed the ferry.

Zambia's desperation, which last June almost forced her to reopen the road routes through Rhodesia in addition to the rail route, was highlighted by the arrival in Johannesburg of a Zambian Airways freighter — for the first time since independence — to collect a load of food, machinery and spare parts for the mines, as well as several luxury cars.

It is believed that a regular airfreight service from Johannesburg operating up to five times a week, goes to Lusaka in an unmarked aircraft.

South African hauliers estimate that Zambia imports between 50% and 60% of its requirements from South Africa.

Moreover, in recent weeks the southern route to East London has been the only one carrying copper, because Dar es Salaam has been hopelessly congested since the Uganda war.

Malawi has steadily increased its consumption of South African imports to about 35%. Mozambique, although still far short of its consumption in the days of Portuguese rule, is another growing customer.

The growing network of regional power links provides a fascinating example of the growth of interdependence in spite of political aversion and of political antipathy outweighing economic considerations, but more of the former than the latter. The Kariba hydro-electric power scheme on the Zambesi border of Zambia and Rhodesia has continued to function, providing electricity to both countries despite the worsening war.

The Cabora Bassa scheme, also on the Zambesi, but in Northern Mozambique, is an illustration of that country's pragmatism in persisting with projects conceived under colonial rule. Since June, the five generators there have been pumping 1 450 MW of power into the South African grid through a 1 400 km powerline, with the scheme in full operation.

The other area of interdependence, the recruitment of mi-

grant labourers to work in South African mines, provides South Africa with cheap labour, and her neighbours and near-neighbours with jobs and foreign exchange.

There is undoubtedly considerable temptation for South Africa to use her economic power for political ends. "South Africa has done enough now to demonstrate its goodwill," says one leading South African trader. "Now it should be trying to change the nature of the dialogue."

Such a thought would also seem to be behind Mr Botha's commitment to the creation of a Southern African Constellation of States with a common opposition to Marxism. It is contrary to the hitherto low-key South African approach.

As for the front-line states, their prospects of reducing their dependence on South Africa seem increasingly slim. On the one hand, there seems little prospect of reopening the Benguela Railway until the Unita guerrillas in Angola are defeated, and thus are prevented from sabotaging the line.

Many in Zambia are deeply pessimistic, in spite of a £40-million aid plan to the line, proposed to the European Economic Community in June. Nor is there much prospect for improving the efficiency of the Tazara railways, which this year has been closed by a strike and by washaways. Zambian Railway is now borrowing 12 South African locomotives to keep its traffic moving.

The most helpful developments for the black states would be for settlements to be achieved in Namibia and Rhodesia. The former could help the Luanda Government finally to defeat Unita by cutting the guerrillas off from their South African supply lines, and thus help to reopen Benguela.

In the longer term it could also open up the possibility of a new rail route from Botswana west to Gobabis, and thence to Walvis Bay, thereby reducing the strategic importance of the rail route through South Africa.

A Rhodesian settlement would open up the Mozambique rail routes, although they would need a huge aid programme to achieve their former traffic capacity. It would also provide an alternative to South Africa as a supplier of food and manufactured goods, if the economy is not ruined by the war. Both settlements would enable black Southern Africa to become more self-sufficient and less reliant on the white south.

Even then, there is little prospect of South Africa's economic and infrastructural pre-eminence disappearing.

But South Africa could jeopardise her won position if she were to use her economic muscle. Any such overt move would give the front-line states well-nigh irresistible ammunition for the widest measure of international support in their search for self-sufficiency, and would probably result in UN condemnation as a threat to international peace, the legal prelude to sanctions.



Deficit of 3.7 years in 1979 has increased to 7.0 years in 1970

Why the African tyrants fell

NM 5/11/79

ALAN RAKE

THIS year Africa has lost its three most tyrannical rulers, each with the blood of his own people on his hands. Uganda's Idi Amin was toppled in April, Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea followed in August and finally the Central African Empire's Jean Bedel Bokassa lost his throne on September 21.

Amin and Bokassa had seized power by armed military coups. Nguema had been put in by the ballot box at the time of independence. But once in office all three had ruthlessly crushed the opposition and had concentrated power absolutely in their own hands.

They all ruled by fear. Amin's henchmen are estimated to have massacred between 200 000 and 500 000 innocent Ugandans. In Nguema's Equatorial Guinea, totally sealed off from the outside world, more than a third of the population of 300 000 either died or fled into exile in neighbouring territories under his regime.

Bokassa is less famed for mass genocide than his

personal involvement in the killing of more than a hundred schoolchildren last April or in leading his troops to beat up the vagrants and beggars in Bangui city centre in 1972.

All three ruined their small economies, neglected the welfare of their people and became obsessed with clinging to power at all costs. Early opposition was brutally squashed. Prominent political figures were made examples to others who might have had liberationist ideas.

Eight years

Amin will be remembered particularly for killing Uganda High Court Judge Benedicto Kiwanuka and Archbishop Janai Luwum. Nguema had his former foreign minister thrown out of a window to his death.

Incidents like this cowed internal opposition which for years seemed to have vanished altogether. Idi Amin remained in power for eight years, Nguema for 10, and Bokassa for 13. They survived for such

long periods because no one dared question them internally, while external powers either minded their own business or supported them for their own devious interests.

At no stage did Britain do anything to topple Amin. Until the end he was given tacit political support as a better alternative than the former President Milton Obote while economically he was sustained by the airlift of goods from Britain.

France maintained its aid to Bokassa until the massacre of the children in April, while President Giscard d'Estaing used the country for his hunting safaris.

African countries preferred not to raise their own voices in criticism because of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) principle of non interference in the affairs of neighbouring States and the desire not to rock the boat of African unity.

Why then did the dictators fall and why did they all fall in the space of a few months? Perhaps all three countries had reached a point in which the people had had enough and were

prepared to throw off the yoke, though there was little evidence for this immediately before the coups.

Or it may have been that revolutionary movements in exile had steadily grown until they were strong enough to organise a coup. Bokassa had certainly spelt out his doom when the schoolchildren were killed. His ambassador in Paris resigned and his former Prime Minister, Ange Patasse, set about coordinating the opposition movements in Paris.

Amin's fall was even more closely related to opposition movements getting together and coordinating their efforts. His fate was sealed when the National Consultative Council was formed by Ugandan exile groups at the historic meeting in Moshi, Tanzania, in March. But external politicking was not itself enough to topple the iron men from their thrones.

This year has witnessed a significant change in the thinking of most Africans and many governments towards international morality. In the past African rulers wanted to cling to power and gave each other mutual support. When criticised by thinking Africans, they warned of the dangers of disrupting African unity and of criticising Africa in the fashion of the old imperialists.

An army to fight

Then this year came Tanzania's invasion of Uganda. It took place reluctantly after years of border provocation by Amin followed by a preemptive strike into the Kagera salient. It would not have occurred at all were it not for the unhesitant backing of the Uganda exiles and their willingness to form an army to fight alongside Tanzanian troops.

But, even more important, it depended on President Nyerere realising that a moral issue was at stake and that the only way to unseat Amin was to fight.

The invasion succeeded, but as a consequence Nyerere was criticised bitterly by many of the African heads of State at the OAU meeting in Monrovia in July.

French African Links

965 km



All political comment in this issue unless otherwise stated, is by J. O. M. Miller, M. C. Malpas, A. G. Fishley, L. E. ... and S. P. ...

Arab spies expose

NM 14/11/79

①

Kenya-Israeli links

NAIROBI — The row between the Kenyan Government and the Arab League over Arab surveillance of Kenyan trade with Israel took another turn yesterday.

The Arab league flatly rejected Kenya's protest over Arab espionage at Mombasa port.

In statement the league said Kenya's protest was "unacceptable".

It has taken the Arab League two weeks to reply to Kenya's angry accusations of "interference with the right of Kenya to trade with any country".

It was revealed two weeks ago that Arab agents in Mombasa were passing information to the Arab League on companies trading with Israel. Twenty-four Kenya-based firms were involved.

They had been blacklisted by the Central Boycott Office in Damascus, Syria, which controls the campaign against Israel.

Some of the firms are multi-nationals like Cadbury, Schweppes, Coca-cola, Metal Box Company, Rand Xerox and Brooke Bond.

Others are Kenyan firms such as Block Hotels, Mackenzies, the Zim Line Agency and the Star Transport Company.

Yesterday's statement by the Arab League said "The principle of the Arab boycott of Israel has become an inseparable part of commercial legislation operating in Arab countries — hence concerns dealing with any Arab country must confirm they are not dealing with Israel."

The Arab League said it was "surprised" at the tone displayed in the re-

cent statement by the Kenyan Foreign Office.

Nine Arab nations have missions in Nairobi in addition to the Arab League office.

What annoyed the Kenyans were the disclosures in local newspapers that Arab spies have access to bills of lading and customs declaration documents proving that Kenya firms are trading with Israel.

Kenya supports the PLO struggle to have its own State but also recognises the right of Israel to exist. There are many Israeli firms operating in Kenya.

Blacks trained in revolution near Havana

NM 14/11/79

MIAMI — About 30 000 Cuban, African and Nicaraguan youths were studying in 50 rural schools on Youth Island (Isle of Pines), about 12km south of Havana, Radio Havana said yesterday in a broadcast monitored here.

The schools would provide students with a revolutionary atmosphere that they could later take home, said Mr. Luis Boko, political adviser to the Congo's Embassy in Havana.

The broadcast said young people from Ethiopia, South Yemen, Angola and Mozambique were also studying in schools on the island.

Independence of Angola, charged recently that Cuba kidnapped 6 000 Angolan children aged from seven to 15 years and sent them to Cuba for indoctrination.

"Cubans are perpetuating cultural genocide against my people, which must be restrained," he said.

Dr. Savimbi has been leading a guerilla war against the Government of the late President Agostinho Neto whose Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola gained control of the former Portuguese colony in 1975. — (Sapa-AP.)

Indoctrination

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, head of the Angola National Union for Total

	55,55	51,04	29,36	27,05
	8,27	7,48	3,56	3,42
	0,21	0,21	0,20	0,22
	1,14	0,78	0,36	0,45
	3,30	1,37	2,15	1,27
	5,48	2,78	5,45	2,93
	3,33	2,69	1,66	1,61
	3792	3146	3472	2593
	5,60	2,81	1,59	
	0,76	0,76	1,98	
	0,07	0,07	0,56	
	0,17	0,17	0,45	
	0,75	0,75	1,37	
	1,61	1,61	2,78	
	0,56	0,56	1,66	
	198	198	3472	
	0,13	0,13	0,15	
	0,02	0,02	0,15	
	0,06	0,06	0,45	
	0,25	0,25	0,45	
	1,04	1,04	1,98	
	0,19	0,19	0,45	
	399	399	315	
1-4	0,16	0,13	0,13	
5-24	0,02	0,02	0,02	
25-44	0,06	0,03	0,03	
45-64	0,25	0,13	0,13	
65+	1,04	0,72	0,72	
ALL	0,19	0,15	0,15	
NO.	399	315	315	

87 NEOPLASMS

II

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,17	0,13	0,00	0,21	0,06	0,16	0,04	0,06
1-4	0,03	0,07	0,07	0,00	0,07	0,05	0,03	0,04
5-24	0,09	0,05	0,07	0,05	0,06	0,04	0,05	0,04
25-44	0,26	0,33	0,21	0,26	0,54	0,56	0,34	0,36
45-64	3,01	2,58	1,47	2,19	5,10	2,68	2,32	1,91
65+	12,24	7,26	4,70	5,18	12,59	7,51	5,16	4,10
ALL	1,41	1,21	0,36	0,43	1,03	0,69	0,58	0,45
NO.	2920	2522	126	152	1170	809	3472	715

III ENDOCRINE, NUTRITIONAL AND METABOLIC DISEASES

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,09	0,05	0,06	0,21	2,27	1,68	2,31	1,96
1-4	0,03	0,01	0,00	0,05	1,27	1,08	1,02	1,29
5-24	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,02
25-44	0,02	0,02	0,08	0,08	0,08	0,05	0,06	0,07
45-64	0,09	0,12	0,39	0,88	0,28	0,42	0,24	0,61
65+	0,39	0,59	1,61	2,59	0,81	1,28	1,04	1,44
ALL	0,05	0,08	0,12	0,18	0,28	0,26	0,22	0,33
NO.	114	173	43	63	316	307	455	530



WASHINGTON — Both the British Labour and Conservative parties appeared to be on the threshold of new Africa policy directions — policy directions which posed hard choices between black Africa and South Africa.

Britain's hard Africa choice

South Africa. Mr J G H Leahy, in a recent address to the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Professor O'Meara said the British Government now seemed at least willing to consider the possibility of sanctions against South Africa.

This statement was made in evidence to the House Africa Subcommittee yesterday by Professor Patrick O'Meara, director of the African Studies Programme at Indiana University, the author

of several books on Rhodesia and Southern Africa and an expert on British interests in Africa.

The professor told the sub-committee that, until the 1960s, the major part of Britain's trade was with South Africa and a substantial portion of its investment was in Southern Africa.

While the strategic importance of the Cape and the significance of South African minerals were still emphasised, both Britain and the United States now had a new set of priorities.

"In simple terms, trade and oil thus will lead to a fundamental reordering of Britain's Africa policy."

Referring to remarks made by the new British Ambassador to

Professor O'Meara was giving evidence as part of a series of sub-committee hearings to establish an "overview" of United States interest in Africa. Yesterday the sub-committee heard evidence on the interests of the major colonial powers, Britain, France, and Portugal.

The production of oil by Nigeria, which started in 1958 had changed the overall trading pattern, with Nigeria now the tenth largest oil producer in the world. Its extensive spending had led to

it becoming Britain's ninth largest market — and the largest British market in Africa.

"Popular support for policy has always been strongest when British economic interests have been threatened.

He concluded: "Britain will have to make hard choices in the future between black Africa and South Africa and both the Labour and Conservative Parties appear on the threshold of new policy directions in this regard."

Dear

Yours faithfully,
J G H Leahy

South Africa. Mr J G H Leahy, in a recent address to the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Professor O'Meara said the British Government now seemed at least willing to consider the possibility of sanctions against South Africa.

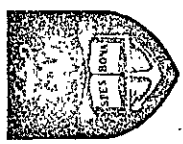
He concluded: "Britain will have to make hard choices in the future between black Africa and South Africa and both the Labour and Conservative Parties appear on the threshold of new policy directions in this regard."

He concluded: "Britain will have to make hard choices in the future between black Africa and South Africa and both the Labour and Conservative Parties appear on the threshold of new policy directions in this regard."

He concluded: "Britain will have to make hard choices in the future between black Africa and South Africa and both the Labour and Conservative Parties appear on the threshold of new policy directions in this regard."

RONDEBOSCH WALK OVERS SEÇİFFO ETTİVİTRİSİNİMDA

POSTAL ADDRESS
UNIVERSITY PRIVATE BAG
RONDEBOSCH 7700



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

(WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLLEGE)

TELEPHONE 69-4351
TELEGRAMS "UNIVERSITY RONDEBOSCH"

NON
DC

15/11/79

Both white and 'coloured' females have shown an increasing life expectancy at the age of 45, and although this has been small, it contrasts with the downward trend of both white and 'coloured' males.

Although it is apparent that the Expectation of Life at birth for the 'coloureds' has shown a marked improvement between 1941 and 1970, it is salutary to note that neither 'coloured' males nor females, at either e₀ or e₄₅, have reached expectations of Life in 1970 which are as high as the whites were in 1929. What also gives some cause for concern is that although the expectation of Life cannot be expected to improve indefinitely, it would appear that the 'coloured' life expectancy is levelling off at a much lower age than has occurred in the white population.

is consistently worse than that of the whites. The 'coloureds' have higher mortality rates for all the major causes of death apart from cardiovascular diseases and neoplastic diseases in men over 65 years of age, neoplastic diseases in women in this group, and cardiovascular disease in men 45-64 years of age during 1960 and 1970. Clearly the rate of 5/1 000 which has been chosen is entirely arbitrary but a similar pattern of mortality emerges if lower or higher levels are selected.

Two aspects of these age-cause specific mortality rates require emphasis. Firstly, whilst being affected by the incidence of the diseases in question, these rates are also influenced by their fatality rates, for example, a decrease in the mortality related to Tuberculosis will not only be influenced by a decreasing incidence of this disease but also by improved prevention at

Defector confirms Red goal in southern Africa

Seizure of control over southern Africa is the most important and immediate aim of the present Russian leadership.

And the year 1977 was "very important" for the preparation of the final Soviet attack on southern Africa because the Soviet leadership then took note that the Carter Administration would not support anti-communist and pro-Western governments in southern Africa — "on the contrary, the United States Government actually lined up behind some of the demands of the USSR, the Patriotic Front, Swapo and the African National Congress."

These unequivocal statements come from Dr Igor S Glagolev, until his defection to the West in October 1976, a senior member of the USSR Institute of History, an adviser on foreign affairs and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and a consultant to the Soviet Communist Party's Politburo.

IN THE KNOW

As conservative congressman Bob Bauman said when he read an article by Dr Glagolev into the Congressional record this week, the Russian defector "is a man who definitely knows what the Kremlin dictatorship is up to... a man who saw first-hand what the Soviets are up to."

Dr Glagolev, who now lives under cover in the United States said the Soviet's primary purpose in southern Africa was to get control of the region's "enormous natural resources."

These would be used for a major increase in Soviet reserves of hard currency and for a more effective expansion of Soviet control in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Referring to southern Africa's "unique mineral resources," Dr Glagolev said southern African reserves as a percentage of non-communist world reserves in 1975 were: platinum 99 percent; vanadium 96 percent; diamonds 92 percent; chrome ore 84 percent; manganese ore 83 percent; gold 61 percent; fluorspar 50 percent; titanium 40 percent; uranium 30 percent.

Dr Glagolev said the decision to begin the southern African offensive was taken in the 1960s when the then leader of the Communist Party in South Africa, John Marx, and some pro-Soviet terrorists from Rhodesia were summoned to Moscow.

"I participated in negotiations with them... later Marx attended a special conference organised by the Communist Party Central Committee and he received Soviet instructions."

IN LONDON

"His headquarters were in London and he was already controlled by the Soviet Politburo. The present national chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa, Uesif Dadu, has also been controlled by the Soviet leadership for a long time. He attended international conferences of communist parties in Moscow in 1960 and 1969.

"Dadu is one of the authors of the present programme of the Communist Party of South Africa which openly stipulates destruction of the structures of South African society.

John D'Oliveira IN WASHINGTON



"In September, 1979, Dadu was awarded the Soviet order of 'Friendship of Peoples.'

"The Soviet leadership controls through him not only the South African Communist Party but the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress as well. Dadu is the president of the South African Indian Congress and vice-chairman of the revolutionary council of the African National Congress."

Dr Glagolev referred to the institute for Africa in Moscow and said the institute was the "brains trust" for the Soviet offensive in Africa.

THE KGB

For the first half of the seventies, the institute operated under the directorship of V. Solodovnikov, one of the most important KGB agents who was subsequently appointed Soviet Ambassador to Zambia in order to organise the terrorist invasion of Rhodesia.

"It is important to note this institute began to consider invasion into southern Africa as a major goal of Soviet foreign policy only in the 1970s.

"In the 1960s it paid much less attention to this region.

"In 1976, however, a deputy director of the institute, Yablochkov, announced, at a secret meeting of the Permanent Interagency Council on the Foreign Policy of the USSR and International Relations announced that the elimination of the Western influence in southern Africa is the major task of Soviet foreign policy.

"I was a member of this council and I attended this meeting..."

CIVIL WARS

Dr Glagolev said inclusion of pro-Soviet terrorists into southern African governments and the occupation of these areas by pro-Soviet forces (as the Soviet plan anticipated) would lead to bloody civil wars, political and possibly physical liquidation of the present elected governments and parliaments, mass robberies, the creation of concentration camps and the suppression of all human rights.

Supporters of democracy would be persecuted and all expressions of independent opinion would be forbidden.

Whites would probably flee before the communist takeover. However, the black population would not be able to do this and it would suffer the main human losses.

Dr Glagolev said the Western powers should change their policy from the present help to pro-Soviet terrorists to help for the elected governments of southern Africa — "This change has already begun, but it is still very slow. If a conservative President is elected in the United States in 1980, the change should become more pronounced."

7. Van Tonder, J.L. and Van Eeden, I.J. (1975) : Abridged Life Tables for all the population groups in the Republic of South Africa (1921-1970), Report S-34, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.
8. Preston, S.H., Keyfitz, N. and Schoen, R. (1977) : Causes of Death: Life Tables for National Populations, Seminar Press, New York
9. Sadie, J.H. (1970) : S. Afr. J. Economics, 38, 1.
10. Coll, R. (1976) : Monitoring of Government Statistics, in Seminars in Community Medicine, Volume 2, .bld.

...that this is so for both whites and 'coloureds'. In fact, so marked is this difference that at e₄₅ 'coloured' females have a better expectation of life than white males. What is perhaps of some concern is that the gap between the expectation of life for males and females is widening. This trend is apparent in both the whites and the 'coloured' communities, although it is particularly marked in the latter for whom Male:Female deficit of 1.0 years in 1941 at e₀ has become 6.9 years in 1970. For whites a deficit of 3.7 years in 1929 has increased to 7.0 years in 1970.

Mortality rates greater than all of these major causes of mortality and infant mortality rates exceed those of the whites.

However, in this context, what r disease classification a certa despite the fact that the over system are comparable for w broad category the mortalit Table II provides the prop diseases for the whites, A Ischaemic Heart Disease 1, Asian communities, Cerebr latory Diseases in the 'col

Similarly, if the Accident in greater detail, motor ity in whites, 'coloureds' the white community is sui side. For Africans, the

The expectation for life a 'coloureds' is summarised an expectation of life for large measure of migration of life for women in compf ties. However, what is o life for the three communi ratios are 1:0,91:0,76 for of 45 these are 1:0,91:0, The 'coloureds' are less males and females, a diff infant mortality rate in Asian females have the w communities, which is in at e and males at e45. women have the highest mortality rates for respiratory, circulatory, digestive, genito-urinary and ill-defined causes of death (Table I) may contribute to this anomalous situation.

Fig. 7 summarises the percentage improvement in the expectation of life at birth subsequent to the total elimination of the mortality associated

The South African population from all causes of death. The proportional contribution of the seventeen major disease categories of the International Classification of Disease (8th revision) to the overall mortality of the various communities is summarised in Fig. 5. The whites show a typical

71 20/11/79 RST

AACC in grip of cash crisis

NAIROBI — The Nairobi-based All African Conference of Churches is in the grip of a major financial crisis because of its support for African guerrilla movements, say reports circulating here.

Christian sources say many overseas donors, who account for 80 percent of the AACC's financing are withholding contributions pending the solution of a two-year-old deadlock over the position of the organisations' controversial secretary general Canon Burgess Carr.

Canon Carr a Liberian, came under strong criticism from the Kenya government which accused him of dabbling in politics instead of attending

to church affairs. Soon after, Canon Carr led a campaign to persuade the AACC to move its headquarters from Nairobi, where it had been based for 12 years.

He claimed that the only politics he had meddled in had been the churches' support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and the dependent Africa.

The "quit Nairobi" campaign was defeated at a meeting in Lome and Canon Carr was sent on a compulsory 15 month Sabbatical leave. He was later ordered to return to his duties in Nairobi by May 31 this year, but has so far failed to do so.

Canon Carr is reported to be working as a visiting professor at Harvard University in the United States.

The mortality of the circulatory mortality of the circulatory diseases in the 'coloured' community. In the white community, the mortality rates for most causes of death are so low, the importance of the circulatory diseases become disproportionately exaggerated.

Of the cause specific mortality data as proportional a certain amount of information. Table I analysis of these data in the form of cause for defined age groups by sex, in the white, Asian es.

Table I) are compared with the proportional mortality major disease categories (Fig. 5), it will be relatively minor proportional contribution made by the 'coloured' community, the actual rates for ar than those of the whites. The reason for this is that the mortality rates for Infectious and parasitology that they effectively swamp the proportional mortality of the circulatory diseases in the 'coloured' community. In the white community, the mortality rates for most causes of death are so low, the importance of the circulatory diseases become disproportionately exaggerated.

TABLE II

	WHITE		ASIAN		COLOURED		BLACK	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Motor	485	104	42	13	572	161	282	59
	24.6%	15.4%	12.6%	12.5%	26.3%	24.7%	15.1%	18.2%
Suicide	59	41	41	2	680	167	806	89
	3.0%	6.1%	12.3%	1.9%	31.3%	25.6%	43.1%	27.5%
Homicide (E960-E969)	1973	677	333	104	2175	652	1868	324
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Accidents, Poisoning and Violence (E800-E999)								

Sparks spark detentions

NAIROBI — The atmosphere remains tense after President Jibellia Albert Njiru took office in 1971. A coup in 1971 to remove and replace the incumbent president was ordered and the coup was successful. Additional measures were taken to control the city government and to throw out the incumbent government by force. The president is alleged to have been plotting to overthrow the incumbent president. The president is alleged to have been plotting to overthrow the incumbent president.

Sparks spark detentions

NAIROBI — The atmosphere remains tense after President Jibellia Albert Njiru took office in 1971. A coup in 1971 to remove and replace the incumbent president was ordered and the coup was successful. Additional measures were taken to control the city government and to throw out the incumbent government by force. The president is alleged to have been plotting to overthrow the incumbent president. The president is alleged to have been plotting to overthrow the incumbent president.

* 1970 vehicle exhaust-gas" is a code used in South Africa. See Ref. 13.

HONEY CAKE

- 1 cup flour
- 4 t baking powder
- 2 T butter
- 1 egg
- 1/2 cup sugar
- 1/4 t salt
- 1/2 cup milk

Sift dry ingredients. Heat milk and 2 tablespoons butter until melted. Beat egg and add to milk and butter. Mix with dry ingredients and bake in buttered fairly deep pie dish approximately 20 minutes at 350^oF or 180^oC.

Melt honey and 1 1/2 tablespoons butter and pour over hot cake before serving. Serve with whipped cream.

NUT CAKE

- 4 eggs
- 1/4 lb sugar
- 1/4 lb ground almonds (or haz)
- 1/4 t baking powder
- 1/2 T flour
- 1/4 grated lemon (skin & lem)

Beat yolks with sugar until flour, baking powder and beaten egg-whites. Bake a
Serve with whipped cream.

Jan

- 3 T honey
- 1 1/2 T butter

if it is too thick. Chill in a large bowl. Before serving pour on sour cream and sprinkle with chopped chives.

BEAN SOUP (Serves 8)

Cat

- 1 pkt sugar beans
- 1 slice beef shin or soupmeat
- 1 Kassler rib or bacon bones
- handful soup celery chopped
- 2 bay leaves
- 1 onion studded with 8 cloves
- 2 carrots, chopped
- 2 1/2 litres water
- salt & pepper to taste

Wash beans, cover with water, bring to boil. Wash from heat and soak

NM 23/11/79

Fanatics

still

hold out

in mosque

CAIRO — Armed religious fanatics holding an unknown number of hostages were apparently still in control of the Grand Mosque at Mecca yesterday, more than 48 hours after they had stormed Islam's holiest shrine, killing several people.

Prince Nayef Ibn Abdulaziz, said there was no reason to believe that either the United States or Iran was behind the attack.

He also said the attack was not politically motivated.

Hallucinations

The only indication of the attackers' motives has come from official Saudi statements describing the attackers as suffering from hallucinations and deviating from Islam, suggesting they are a minority Muslim sect.

Several reports say the gunmen forced worshippers to recognise a man put before them as the mahdi (messiah). A minority of Shi'ites themselves a minority Muslim group, believe a mahdi will return to lead Muslims. — (Sapa Reuter.)

But the Saudi Arabian Information Minister, Sheik Mohammed Abdo Yamani, said in a radio broadcast yesterday that security forces would bring the crisis to an end "within the coming hours".

The minister said only a handful of gunmen remained in the mosque and that Saudi security forces had the situation under control.

Not political

Saudi officials have put the number of people trapped at between 30 and 50.

The Interior Minister,

Capitalism and African culture

S Post
25/11/79

AFRICANS are torn between rebellion against the West and imitation of it, says Kenyan-born Ali Mazrui, Professor of Political Science at America's Michigan University.

Speaking on British radio Professor Mazrui said that unless restrained by dictatorial governments an increasingly large number of African entrepre-

neurs adopt capitalist behaviour.

He noted that two value systems often interacted — the drive for profit, borrowed from the West, and the traditional social value of seeking the approval of the community by sharing one's bounty and displaying one's cattle.

This, he said, had resulted in the buying of flashy and expensive cars and houses, and the

throwing of expensive parties. This was evident in Nigeria, Kenya, Ivory Coast and Zaïre, he said.

The migration from rural areas to the cities had undercut many of the traditional patterns of life. Furthermore, the pursuit for personal profit had grown in Africa and this both reflected and reinforced the trend towards individualism.

As a result, many as-

pects of cultural life were changing in Africa.

Professor Mazrui also said that "a new juju" had cast its spell over Africa, "mesmerising the ambitious, titillating the greedy, and spellbinding the acquisitive".

He identified the juju as "cold foreign exchange — the availability of convertible currency as a form of international power". — SUNDAY POST Correspondent.

Oil Boonanza

NM 2/6/1979

① Israel hands over wells to Egypt

Cat

EL TOR — Egypt recovered the Alma oilfields in the Sinai Peninsula yesterday after 12 years of Israeli occupation, gaining the first major financial benefit from the peace treaty it signed with Israel last March.

The return of the oilfields, developed by Israel, virtually completed the first stage of Israel's withdrawal from Sinai under the terms of the treaty. It also meant that even at Egypt's planned lower extraction rate of 20 000 barrels a day, the country would gain about R212-million a year in foreign exchange.

Yesterday's hand-over took place at a brief ceremony in the small,

desert fishing town of El Tor on the Gulf of Suez.

Israel's representative on the Israeli-Egyptian Sinai Commission, Brigadier General Dov Sion, contrasted what he said was the security and stability of Egypt and Israel with what he called the instability of other countries in the area.

The head of the Egyptian team, Brigadier-General Saifeddin abu-Shenaf, said he wondered what would have happened if Egypt had given in to pressure from Arab opponents of its peace initiative when President Anwar Sadat went to Jerusalem.

"Has pressure ever raised a flag?" he asked as the Egyptian flag fluttered

over a desert dotted with date palms.

He said Egypt had opened the way for security and stability in the region and would follow its peace initiative to the end.

He predicted that the Palestinian question would be resolved in accordance with the Camp David peace accords of September 1978, which provided for full autonomy for the Palestinians.

Egypt now controls most of the territory west of a line running from El Arish on the Mediterranean to Ras Mohammed at the southern tip of Sinai.

Next January Israel is to return a bulge in the centre including three strategic

passes. The rest will be handed back over the next two years.

Mr. Sadat promised to sell Israel 2 000 000 tons of crude a year when he met the Prime Minister, Mr. Meachem Begin, in Haifa last September, but the two men left the pricing to their ministers and it remains unclear whether agreement on this has been reached.

The Egyptian Petroleum Minister, Mr. Ahmed Ezzeddin Hilal, has repeatedly said there will be no preferential treatment for Israel. In an interview published on Saturday he raised the price for the Alma crude, saying it was 35 dollars and might reach 40 dollars.

The hand-over of the oilfields provoked protests from some Israelis.

A group calling itself the Patriotic Organisations' Bloc distributed black-framed obituary notices which read:

"We regret to announce the death of Alma oilfields — the only chance for an economically independent Israel."

The Alma wells had been providing 22 percent of Israel's oil needs.

In 1975 Israel withdrew from the Abu Rudeis oilfields, also in the Sinai, under an interim agreement with Egypt which followed the 1973 "Middle East War." — (Sapa-Reuter.)

brinjals
white vinegar
olive oil
garlic
fresh marjoram

Peel brinjals and cut into Julienne strips.
Put into enamelled pot and cover with white vinegar and bring to the boil. Cook for as short a time as

Sue J

hill in a large bowl. Before
ream and sprinkle with chopped

oupmeat
bones
opped
cloves

water, bring to boil.
remove from heat and soak
boil again, add rest of
oil beans are tender. Cool.
beans. Purée remaining
slowly. Put a few reserved
bowl. Sprinkle with Worcester
sauce. Garnish with cream and
lemons.

beat yolks with sugar until creamy, then add nuts,
Flour, baking powder and lemon. Fold in stiffly-
beaten egg-whites. Bake at 350°F for ½ hour.

Serve with whipped cream.

Arms for Kenya . . .

① The Natal Mercury
24/1/79

Britain backs Moi in R165m deal

Mercury Correspondent

LONDON — Britain is following up her civil aid programmes to Kenya with agreements to sell Hawk jet planes, Vickers tanks and missiles worth at least R165 million to presi-

dent Daniel Moi's Government. Whitehall advisers now regard Kenya as Britain's best friend in Black Africa and a vital strategic area while instability and political uncertainty continue in Uganda, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Ethiopia.

Deliveries of 12 BAC Hawk T-52 ground attack planes, costing R40 million, begin next year. Eighty Vickers Mark III Main battle tanks, each worth about R300 000, will be sent in over the next 18 months. Kenya is also understood to have

decided to buy BAC Rapier surface-to-air missiles. This transaction is still under consideration. An undisclosed number of Swingfire anti-tank missiles were delivered to Nairobi recently.

... and in Uganda, legs

KAMPALA — Uganda's civilian Government has quietly repealed one of the most-hated decrees issued by former military dictator Idi Amin — a 1976 ban on miniskirts and wigs for women.

The repeal last week went largely unnoticed, partly because of confusion surrounding Cabinet changes announced by President Godfrey Binaisa, and partly because Ugandan women began ignoring Amin's decree as soon as he was overthrown in April. Most Kampala women now wear Western-style dresses — but not minis. Under Amin women found it

safer to wear long, full-cut African-style dresses with hems that brushed the ground. Western dresses could bring trouble, even if the height of the hems didn't violate the decree. Seemingly trivial, the dress code was used by military officers under Amin as an excuse to detain women at will, rape them and then shave their heads with broken glass as a sign that they were criminals. "The humiliation we underwent was unbearable," Mrs. Harriet

Kaggwa, secretary-general of the Ugandan Red Cross, said in an interview. Mrs. Sophia Shanbe said a group of Amin's soldiers detained and assaulted her one night after they found her walking alone. "I was in a short dress but not a mini," she said. "I begged them to let me go home to my child. When they realised that I was telling the truth they finally let me go." (Sapa AP.)

"Our women will still have to keep decent," the Justice Minister, Mr. Steven Arikko, said when the National Consultative Council, the interim Parliament until elections in 1981, abolished the dress code. The warning is not spelled out in

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,51	0,54	2,10	1,24	7,00	6,86	19,69	19,83
1-4	0,04	0,04	0,21	0,35	0,75	0,77	2,58	2,48
5-24	0,01	0,01	0,09	0,06	0,08	0,03	0,21	0,23
25-44	0,05	0,05	0,28	0,17	0,42	0,31	0,72	0,78
45-64	0,44							
65+	1,84							
ALL	0,22							
NO.	463							

Ghana fuel rationed

ACCRA — Petrol rationing has been introduced in Ghana in spite of the fact that the nation has a rich offshore oil rig at Saltpond.

The problem is that the oil drilled at Saltpond has to be transported to the United States for refining, leaving Ghana with an acute fuel shortage.

Most petrol is imported from Nigeria which recently raised the fuel price.

Currently Ghana is spending close to R20-million a month on fuel.

imports, all in scarce foreign exchange.

Private motorists are now restricted to 27 litres a week, diplomats and government vehicles to 45 litres a week and taxi drivers to 31,5 litres a day.

— POST Africa News Service.

Africa

XVII

ALL CAUSES

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	21,76	16,18	40,44	27,11	133,70	119,02	91,30	88,18
1-4	1,17	0,94	2,42	2,39	17,22	16,21	10,23	9,93
5-24	1,05	0,46	1,31	0,74	2,26	1,25	1,64	1,12
25-44	3,02	1,47	4,33	2,48	8,80	4,96	4,78	3,70
45-64	17,46	9,49	26,27	18,72	24,27	17,87	18,06	15,57
65+	73,62	54,55	92,20	82,93	95,90	71,79	53,38	45,89
ALL	9,44	7,40	8,03	5,51	14,62	11,00	8,77	8,13
NO.	19600	15374	2828	1967	16632	12847	18348	13062

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,85	0,69	1,43	0,37	3,32	0,70	1,22	0,26
1-4	0,49	0,21	1,55	0,40	2,89	0,76	1,10	0,31
5-24	0,71	0,22	1,34	0,91	2,19	0,90	1,02	0,53
25-44	1,18	0,30	0,95	0,29	1,91	0,56	0,89	0,20
45-64	1,25	0,42	3,33	104	2175	652	1868	324
65+	1,26	0,71						
ALL	0,95	0,33						
NO.	1973	677						

Sudan, Somalia move to check severe female circumcision

KHARTOUM — Sudan and Somalia, two African countries where the severest form of circumcision is carried out on young girls, are taking steps to modify this harmful custom.

Although neither government is prepared to forbid female circumcision outright, the aim is to stop the form involving infibulation, the sewing up of the vulva.

Doctors have long condemned this cruel custom, which often produces serious complications when the girls grow up.

Using widespread education campaigns highlighting the dangers, the two governments will be trying to persuade parents to substitute more modified forms of circumcision, such as excision of the clitoris, in place of the complete removal of the female external genitalia, which is still common in some African countries.

It is estimated that between 20 and 30 million women in Africa and the Middle East have been circumcised. Anaesthetics are seldom used for the operation.

The Sudanese National Council for Social Welfare is publishing a booklet for circulation to women's groups, girls' secondary schools, and nursing and midwifery training centres.

Prepared by two Sudanese doctors in collaboration with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), it explains

that infibulation involves amputation of the clitoris and most of the labia majora and labia minora, after which the wound is closed, usually with string or thorns, leaving only a tiny opening the size of a matchstick for passing urine and menses.

Some girls die immediately from blood poisoning. In womanhood, the small orifice can result in serious infections and cause cysts, preventing a woman from conceiving. During childbirth, a woman must again be cut, causing more bleeding and risk of infection.

PROBLEMS

The booklet points out that female circumcision causes difficulties when having sex, "taking the enjoyment out of marriage and leading to problems between the woman and her husband." A question-and-answer section deals with some of the inevitable objections:

Q Does the practice not prevent a girl from losing her virginity and a woman becoming unfaithful to her husband?

A This is not true. Bad conduct is prevented by the girl's religious and family education.

Some young men are now avoiding marrying girls who have had the operation, the booklet says, adding, "It is false belief that the operation is required by religion. There is nothing in the Koran about the operation and the Prophet Muhammad himself warned against the practice."

The operation has been nominally illegal in the Sudan since 1946 and carries a penalty of five years in prison for the circumciser. The fact that the law is ignored is the main reason for the new, softly-softly approach.

Somalia plans a similar campaign. However, since no research has ever been done on female circumcision in Somalia, the health authorities are first carrying out a survey of women ranging from 16 to 60 years about the practice. Husbands will be asked to comment on the effects of infibulation and excision of the clitoris on conjugal relations.

Given the extreme sensitivity of all but the most sophisticated Africans and Arabs towards such traditions, WHO and UNICEF are greatly encouraged by the co-operation received from Khartoum and Mogadishu in the UN's campaign against female circumcision.

The regional director of UNICEF, Aida Gindy, an Egyptian, stresses the danger of trying to move too fast.

Some Western feminist organisations do not share her view and have accused UNICEF of being "too timid", especially during the International Year of the Child. Led by the militant American campaigner, Fran Hoskens, they are demanding the complete abolition of all forms of female mutilation.

They object to the emphasis laid on the medical aspects, although UNICEF and WHO point out that this makes the most persuasive argument when dealing with tribal traditionalists.

Infibulation is confined to Muslim communities, almost exclusively in the Sudan, Somalia, Mali, Djibouti and along the Red Sea coast. Although it is often called Pharaonic circumcision, researchers have established it was never practised in Egypt. It is believed to have originated in the northern part of the Sudan, predating Christianity and Islam.

Greed as well as tradition can be a reason. It is the most positive way of ensuring a girl's virginity, and this is important when considering the value of the "bride price" paid to a girl's father by a prospective groom. — Observer Foreign News Service.

with selected major categories of disease. Clearly, this is an entirely hypothetical situation. However, these competing risks life tables not only provide an indication of the relative importance of various disease categories to both the overall mortality experience and also to expectation of life of the three communities, but also

- REFERENCES
1. Department of Statistics (1977). Census of Hospitals and Establishments for In-Patients. Report 20-06-C1. Government Printer, Pretoria.
 2. Department of Statistics (1977). Report on Deaths 1974. Report 07-03-10. Government Printer, Pretoria.

Human rights progress in Africa says report

AD 10/12/78

LONDON — Amnesty International said in its annual report on human rights yesterday that political dissenters throughout the world ran an increasing risk of execution, abduction and murder.

The London-based Nobel Prize-winning organisation painted a grim picture of the extensive violation of basic human rights.

"In many parts of the world political opponents are increasingly being threatened with the death penalty and, in many cases, executed," the 220-page report said.

The organisation also drew attention to the

widespread use of torture and the large number of political dissenters missing without trace.

It said that 15 000 people were reported to have disappeared in Argentina since the 1976 coup and that political opponents were being murdered in several Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The report, which covered 96 countries for the 12 months until May this year, said the detention of political opponents was common place.

In El Salvador, it quoted a British parliamentary delegation as saying, some detainees were blown apart by explosives strapped to their bodies.

Reports from Guatemala said that in one cemetery 770 unidentified corpses were discovered during the first six months of 1978.

But there were some encouraging signs in Africa and Western Europe where there was growing concern and recognition of human rights violations.

The report said political detainees had been released in Kenya, Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea and Tanzania.

But while there was no significant violation of human rights in some African countries, many states continued to detain, torture and frequently execute political dissenters.

It said executions were carried out in Angola, Zaire, Nigeria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Liberia and Kenya, and extra-judicial killings by government forces were common in Uganda and Ethiopia during the year.

Amnesty, which campaigns against the death penalty for any offence, noted there was a dramatic increase in the number of executions in South Africa.

It said 132 people were hanged in 1978, all but one of them black, and the rate was maintained in the first months of 1979.

It added that detentions, bannings and allegations of torture continued. — SAPA-RNS.

2
01
2
01
R
R
G
Sw
Lgt
Sur
Lge
Sur
D

Star 13/12/79

3 African states in 'merger plan'

The Star's Africa News Service

NAIROBI — Mozambique security men and other Government officials may be posted to work in Uganda along with their Tanzanian counterparts under a "merger plan" worked out by the three states.

Kampala sources say that under the plan government staff of the three countries will be interchangeable and that the respective defence ministries have been specifically included in the arrangement.

The plan also includes a clause providing for each country to go to the others' defence if attacked.

Tanzania has recently been increasing the size of its Uganda occupation army which is now reported to number more than 30 000 troops and 1 000 police.

The Tanzanian Government announced yesterday that the force would remain in Uganda at least for the next two years. This is contrary to President Nyerere's assurance to the last OAU summit meeting that his forces would withdraw "as soon as possible" and that the withdrawal had then (last July) already begun.

Tanzania gave Uganda a bill for R132 million last week "for security arrangements" and declared that in future, Uganda would have to meet the cost of maintaining Tanzanian troops in the country.

Many prominent Ugandans have been demanding the withdrawal of the Tanzanians on the ground that they are looting the country and massacring its wildlife for food and profit, but the Tanzanian Government claims that its troops are remaining at the request of the Ugandan Government, which is dominated by pro-Tanzanian ministers installed with the backing and at the instigation of President Nyerere.

Defence ministry officials have claimed in Kampala that the latest "threat" to Uganda is being posed by former Ugandan Defence Minister Felix Onama, who is alleged to be recruiting forces in southern Sudan to invade the country.

In hot weather, do not hesitate to mix soda water with ordinary wine for a refreshing outdoor drink. It's an age old custom in Europe. In really hot weather, try chilling sherry before serving it as an 'appetizer' (muscatel).

To tenderise any meat - and add flavour - soak for an hour or two before cooking. Always warm before adding to hot food. Curry tends to kill any table wine; but a sweet muscatel wine can be sipped with it. Do not blunt your palate before meals by taking spirits.

Preserve left-over wine in a bottle with a thin film of fresh oil and use for cooking.

To remove ring stains left on polished wood by bottles and glasses, rub well with a damp cloth dipped in cigarette ash and oil. Then repolish.

Rinse glassware in warm water with a little ammonia added to it. This will make the glass sparkling bright.

Wine is Harmony. What melody there is for the Connoisseur in a glass of brilliant wine

André L. Simon.

U. A "clover" is a small section of the bulb, is used crushed in foil, and rubbed round a salad bowl, to give the salad a Juice used to flavour steaks and sauces and with seafood. Mixed butter for savoury bread.

ICE. Not to be confused with mixed spice, which is a mixture of and mostly used in cakes, biscuits, etc. Allspice is so named use it resembles the aroma of mixed spice. It is used ground in serves, meat dishes and seasonings.

ECORNS. Used in pickles, and for boiling in browns, tongue, salt and pork.

UET GARNI. This is a "Faggot of Savoury Herbs", or a bunch of herbs including bay leaf, and thyme, are used.

That skillfully chosen wine turns a meal into a banquet. Taken regularly in moderation, as it should be, wine is everywhere considered a most pleasurable aid to health. It brings good digestion, good humour, and an air of gracious living.

Learn to choose wines well, so that they blend with each occasion, every course. Learn to add the zest of wine to your cooking. It tickles up the delicate flavour of almost any dish.

For storing wines, use a cupboard in a quiet, cool corner of the house, or under the stairs. Corked bottles must lie flat so that the cork remains moist; screw capped bottles may stand upright. Place the sparkling wines in the lowest, coolest racks, then the whites, then the red, and finally the dessert

Struggle for African — not black — rule

The recent election victory by a white Kenyan, Philip Leakey, in a Nairobi constituency with an overwhelming majority of black voters, has received a fair amount of attention in the South African media.

It was, after all, a somewhat unusual occurrence in a continent where relatively free elections are rare and where ethnic considerations frequently dominate the choice of leadership. The implications of black Kenyan voters choosing a white person to represent them in parliament have, received somewhat less attention than they deserve.

And if one looks back on the history of Kenya, the election of Mr Leakey, as well as that of a Kenyan of Asian descent, must surely give some hope in the Southern African sub-continent where the tradition of white minority rule has not yet taken place.

Just over twenty years ago the Mau Mau uprising, which had resorted to the ancient tradition of blood oath-taking as part of its mobilisation campaign,

had in turn been violently suppressed by the colonial power. Racial tensions were very high.

In December, 1963, Kenya gained its independence with the Mau Mau leader, Jomo Kenyatta, as its first president. At that time there were fears that the African majority would finally take its revenge on the white people living there.

Their fears were fuelled by the anti-Belgian atrocities in the Congo and the activities of guerrillas in the Portuguese-controlled Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

President Kenyatta himself publicly prayed "that Verwoerd and his fellow racists will not goad and goad the Africans to a point where the nationalist movement will be driven to oppose the white man as such."

The editor of the New Africa magazine, Peter Enahoro, has recently written that Kenyatta should not have had to have made this point.



Political Correspondent BARRY STREEK reports

"Anti-colonialism was not per se an anti-white denigration, but under the combined interests of empire builders, white supremacists and their scattered allies, the two had become synonymous so that even today many Africans are victims of distortions."

"Our newspapers wrongly describe the freedom campaigns in Rhodesia and Namibia as 'the struggle for black rule.' We read in enlightened African newspapers of the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia for African rule."

"The fact is that the freedom fighters are waging a war for majority rule — for the right of the majority of the citizens of those countries, white, black and brown, together to have a Government chosen by the majority of the people."

Inevitably, there will be some concern that Enahoro has accepted violence can be used to bring this about, but that

does not detract from the basic point.

For sure, it is stating the obvious when one recognises the simple fact that the majority of people in Africa are black, but it should not mean that the establishment of a system whereby every adult has the vote will bring black rule to the exclusion of other racial groups. Indeed, in South Africa,

where the non-African groups comprise something like 25 per cent of the population, it is difficult to see how anyone could effectively govern the country by excluding those groups, particularly as much of the wealth and technological skills are concentrated among the minority.

More than that, though, is the argument various nationalist leaders, including Dr Connie Mulder, have made that the white people in South Africa are Africans. They have emphasised, too, that the Afrikaners were the first group on the continent to use this name to describe themselves.

There was great joy when President Kenneth Kaunda accepted a few years ago that the whites in South Africa were African.

The underlying assumption in Prime Minister Botha's proposals for a constellation of states is that the future of the sub-continent lies in the hands of all the people living in it and that eventually some

institutional framework, possibly a council of states, should be set up so that the people of Southern Africa can resolve joint issues together.

In Transkei, the leadership has been at pains to argue that race is not a criterion for citizenship and, indeed, some whites and Coloureds have already been granted Transkeian citizenship.

When I was in Umtata recently there was considerable speculation that the day when a white MP is elected was not far off.

South Africa's military leaders have also been saying for some time that the answer to the overall situation is 80 per cent political and that in terms of this the people of South Africa, all the people, have to stand together.

All these facts back up what Peter Enahoro wrote: the future of multi-racial societies in Africa does not lie in white or black rule, but in African rule. It led to government

by the people of those societies.

There were whites in Africa "who have neither the courage nor the will to strike out boldly and seek to join the nerve centre of their adoptive country's political activities. They flatter and kow-tow, content to snatch a quick buck. Then they retire to drench themselves in gin-and-tonic and the sundowners to which the obligatory black African guest is invited."

There were also blacks who frowned heavily upon any form of white participation in politics.

"Among such black Africans are your everyday opportunists, who are not even the racial bigots they pretend to be, but heady-eyed humbugs ambitious to grab business opportunities for themselves."

Others were "prisoners of suspicion and inferiority complex, born of the colonial experience."

He added: "The future of Africa's inherited multi-racial societies does not lie with the white escapists nor with the anti-racial black-facials."

"It does not lie in constitutional provisions granting special considerations to white minorities such as has been inserted into the Zimbabwe constitution. The future of multi-racial societies cannot be guaranteed by conspicuous privileges and rights for any racial group, whether it is the majority racial group or the minority."

"Under the Kenyan system a candidate for parliamentary election is vetted and approved by the ruling KANU party. Philip Leakey passed the test."

"He takes his seat in the Kenya National Assembly not as an apologist for a self-conscious white community, but as the elected member chosen by a majority of his constituency, white, black and brown Kenyans alike."

"That is how it should be. That is how it must be."

If only we could learn that lesson in South Africa, and work for it. That, too, is how it should be.

and Parascitic Diseases, diarrhoeal diseases, tuberculosis are the most

mortality also being of importance. Within the category of Infectious

with diseases of the respiratory system and certain causes of perinatal

and contributory to the overall mortality (19.5% and 23.5% respectively),

Africans and coloureds, In Infectious and Parasitic Diseases make an import-

of the Circulatory system (50.5%) being of major importance. For urban

Diseases being of minor importance (2.0%) and Neoplasms (15.6%) and Diseases

Diseases being of major importance. For urban

various communities is summarised in Fig. 5. The whites show a typical

Classification of Disease spectrum of mortality with Infectious and Parasitic

the South African population from all causes of death. The proportional

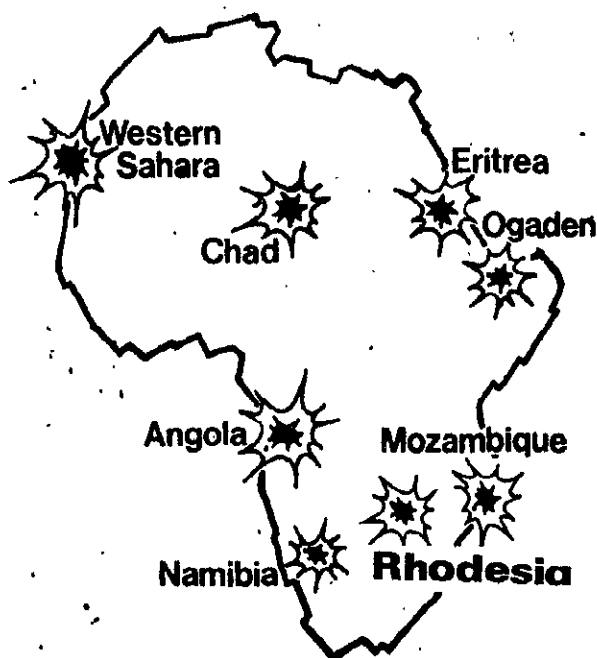
contribution of the seventeen major disease categories of the International

Classification of Disease (8th revision) to the overall mortality of the

Mortality rates greater than 1/5000 appear in italics in Table I. For all of these major causes of mortality, the Asian and coloured mortality rates exceed those of the whites.

NM 18/12/79 (1)

A human wasteland



Special Correspondent

NAIROBI — Bloody retributions, repression, guerilla wars and famine have transformed parts of Africa into a human wasteland.

From the Western Sahara in the north to Rhodesia in the south, from Equatorial Guinea in the west to Somalia in the east, millions have fled their homelands for an uncertain future as refugees.

International relief officials estimate that four million refugees — nearly half the world's total of 8 1/2 million refugees — live in Africa. That is one out of every 200 people in Africa and a 300 percent increase since 1967.

Sometimes moving is easy. Millions are nomads used to packing their stick-and-skin huts on the back of a camel and moving on to fresh pastures every few months. Thousands of others can pile their few possessions on a bus and build new mud or stone dwellings wherever they go.

But for an increasing number of urban Africans, like those who fled Kampala during the war against Uganda's President Idi Amin, becoming a refugee is an expensive move that means leaving behind cars and houses and taking children out of school.

A survey shows the scope of the problem:

Somalia, one of the world's 25 poorest nations, houses the largest concentration of refugees in Africa — an estimated one million from neighbouring Ethiopia. The number grows by about 1 000 people daily as fighting continues between ethnic Somali tribesmen and government troops in Ethiopia's Ogaden Desert.

Targets

About 35 000 Ugandans fled to Sudan this year during the ouster of Amin, joining about 250 000 refugees there from continuing conflict in Ethiopia's northern-most Eritrea Province.

Hundreds flee daily from the war in Rhodesia to Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia, where refugee camps often become military targets.

An exodus of tribesmen

from the Western Sahara to neighbouring Algeria continues as independence-minded rebels step up their war against Morocco, the governing power.

When rains fail hundreds of thousands of Africans trek to greener fields or leave their homes to cluster around emergency feeding stations. But the major cause of the continent's vast population shifts is violence.

"Unless African Governments learn how to create institutions capable of solving differences and conflicting views without necessarily resorting to the use of the gun, the refugee situation in Africa will get worse," concluded a report on refugees at a UN-sponsored meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, this year.

Mr. Andrew Kashindo, a Refugee Projects Officer in Nairobi for the All-African Conference of Churches (AACC), said the root of Africa's human migration is political instability and general disregard of human rights.

Overthrown

The governments of Amin of Uganda, Equatorial Guinea's Francisco Macias Nguema and Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Empire, all overthrown this year, were known for repression. But they were not the only men who came to power by a coup and viewed dissidence as a crime.

"Some Governments just don't want to be opposed in any way, shape or form," Mr. Kashindo said. "They regard any dissension as treasonous, so people run away from the country."

"A refugee, cut away from most of his family or friends, feels very dependent and confused," he said. "Some cannot adjust to the situation and become social wrecks."

"Making matters worse, many host countries don't even have enough jobs for their own people so refugees who don't have

Refugees and nomads of war-torn Africa



THE scene in Somalia — a woman comforts her children after fleeing from her home in Ethiopia.

special skills face a very bleak future."

In some cases, Mr. Kashindo said, governments cite a policy of non-interference in the affairs of neighbouring States from which the refugees came. In others, the host government is troubled by internal instability and sees refugees as an unwanted and possibly dangerous burden.

"With the majority of African governments, the support for refugees is very poor in the sense that they don't like to go by international protocol," Mr. Kashindo said.

Mr. Christopher Bakwesega, a former refugee worker with the AACC, said some governments fear that their populations, seeing refugees being granted basic human rights, may begin to question the extent of their own freedoms.

Mr. Kashindo said about 18 of the 50 African countries have signed UN and Organisation of African Unity (OAU) refugee protocols. The protocols commit governments to working with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other agencies to assist

victims of political oppression.

These countries bear about 90 percent of the refugee load in Africa. Among them are:

Tanzania: 161 500 refugees from Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda.

Mozambique: 120 000 refugees from Rhodesia.

Sudan: 285 000 refugees from Uganda and Northern Ethiopia.

Cameroon and Gabon: 90 000 to 105 000 refugees from Equatorial Guinea.

Zaire: 136 000 refugees from Angola and Burundi.

Somalia: an estimated one million from Ethiopia's disputed Ogaden region.

Complicating the situation, refugee officials say, is the reluctance of many long-term refugees to return to their homelands, in spite of amnesties or changes in government.

In exile

About 250 000 Angolans who fled the 1975-76 civil war remain in Zaire, Zambia and South Africa. An estimated 500 000 refugees from the 1960s Congo rebellion still live in exile throughout central Africa.

Those who have been in exile for long are reluctant to be repatriated because in many parts of Africa today, independence does not necessarily ensure protection of one's basic human rights," Mr. Peter Onu of Nigeria, assistant secretary-general of the OAU, said.

Mr. Kashindo and officials at the Nairobi office of the UNHCR say one positive development is a tendency of some African States to give refugees land in remote areas, providing a degree of self-sufficiency.

But those in city slums and shanty towns face a future mainly of cash hand-outs from international organisations. (Sapa-AP.)



JEAN Bokassa — self-styled emperor, overthrown earlier this year, rated as one of the exponents of repression in central Africa.

THE FINAL DAYS OF COLONIALISM

AFRICA: THE 70S

VICTORY OVER THE NEW DICTATORS

THE decade that was the seventies was for Africa a weird mixture of liberation and further oppression.

On the one hand, for the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, the seventies brought the end to colonial domination and the birth of nations which, despite enigmatic post-colonial problems, have begun the slow march to freedom. And for Zimbabwe the blood is still spilling onto the calendar of the 80s.

On the other hand, it was a decade of further oppression in the form of merciless, pathological dictators like Amin, Bokassa and Nguema.

But in the end they fell too. And now the people of their countries also look to the 80s with new hope.

The conflict has been only too apparent. In fact the past 20 years in Africa have been marked by 45 coups most of which have been led by the military. About 10 heads of state have been assassinated and of the leaders who came to power when their countries achieved independence, three are in prison and only seven still in power.

The full story of Idi Amin's horrific deforestation of Uganda has yet to be told.

His eight-year rule ended just as the decade was about to turn. But, even now, officials

are uncertain how many died. The most conservative estimate is 300 000 — the most probable, says Uganda's new Ministry of Justice, is 750 000. Certainly, official records now reveal that he left behind him 200 000 widows, 800 000 orphans, 300 000 displaced persons within the country and 100 000 refugees who are still returning to Uganda to pick up the pieces of their shattered lives.

The rest of the world tried to cope with Amin by seeing him as a self-inflated buffoon. But with Emperor Bokassa there was no such luxury.

In 1977, he crowned himself Emperor in a ceremony so lavish against the background

of a country starving for the basics of life that even his French friends began to quail.

Then, in April this year, he ordered the slaughter of hundreds of school children because they refused to buy school uniforms from a shop part-owned by his wife.

Rebel forces, backed by French paratroopers, finally found the strength to topple him from power while he was away on an official visit to Libya.

In Southern Africa the Portuguese coup in 1974 stripped the white south of its buffer states of Angola and Mozambique and the newly declared Republic of Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa found themselves embroiled in

a guerilla war still largely unresolved.

For Mozambique, the battle now was against the colonial inheritance — and the Frelimo Government took up the challenge.

In the field of health, it brought about a complete change of emphasis from curative to preventive medicine.

The results were soon felt. Whereas in pre-independence times 20 000 children died of measles each year in Mozambique, the toll last year dropped to 103.

But for South Africa, there was little to rejoice about.

The Soweto unrest which began on June 16, 1976, the death of Steve Biko the following year, and the Mu-

THE ULTIMATE PRIZE



The kids are all right. Youngsters attending literacy classes in Mozambique.

dergate scandal came as three incidents which seriously battered the 30-year-old self-created image of a government doing the best it possibly could in difficult circumstances.

South Africa's intervention in the Angolan civil war of 1975 proved a political rather than a military disaster for Pretoria.

The generals blamed the politicians for the retreat from the Cuban-led forces of Dr Agostinho Neto's MPLA movement in Luanda.

The politicians in turn blamed the United States, and Dr Henry Kissinger in particular, for the debacle, but no one seemed to have learnt the lesson.

If anything, Pretoria seems set for another military adventure north of the Limpopo as the decade ends.

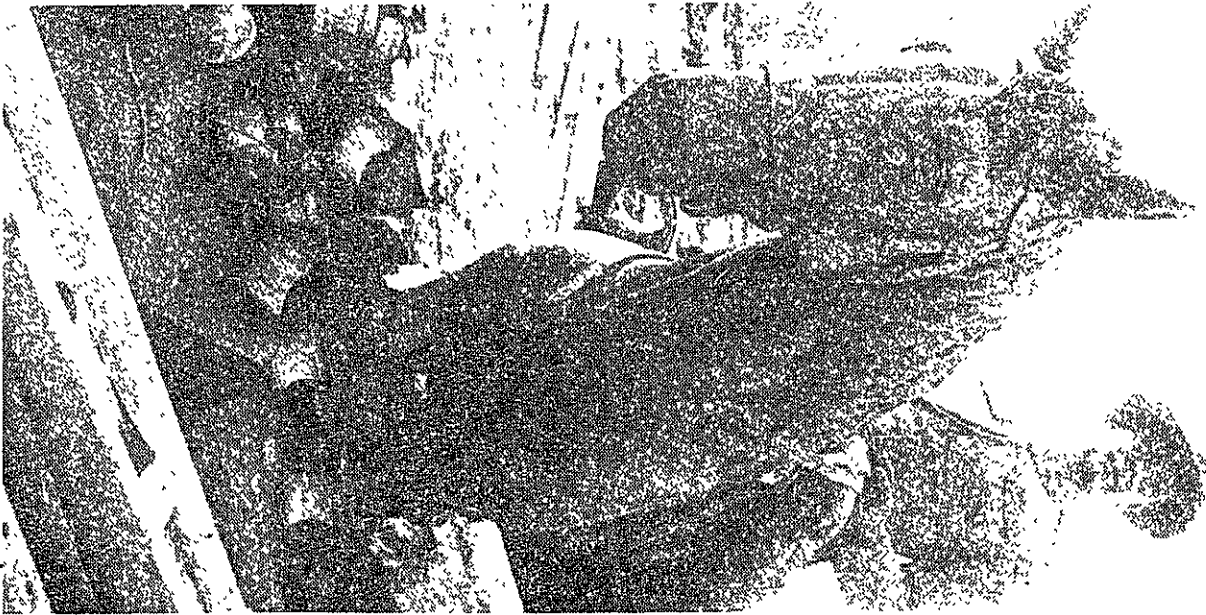
In fact, from the start to the finish of the 70s, it was Rhodesia which held world attention and frustrated international ideals.

Last year alone, nearly 6 000 Rhodesians of all races were estimated to have died in the war, and the relentless erosion of Rhodesian society, the economy and manpower led slowly to the internal settlement and then to the historic Lancaster House talks.

And so Africa ends the 1970s as it began — with the promise of peace — SUNDAY POST Correspondent and AFP.



The fall of a dictator — a jubilant Central African crowd surrounds the smashed statue of deposed Emperor Bokassa.



The fall of colonialism — a Portuguese pioneer strides his legless horse in Mozambique.

DISILLUSIONMENT gives way to hope in Africa

In Africa the decade now past was the age of disillusionment.

It all looked so much easier from the capitals of the north as the '70s dawned.

The '60s had been a heady time. In the post independence excitement former colonial masters were assuaging their national consciences with fat aid handouts, Africa's new rulers — suddenly part of the "Afro-Asian bloc" — were wooed by East and West.

The Pan Africanist dream of a continental brotherhood persisted, there was lofty talk of a crusade by the newly free to "liberate" the white South. There were high hopes for a decade in which the new leaders would scourge away the many warts in Africa wrought by the circumstances of the past.

But very little of any of this came to pass.

Instead the '70s taught Africa, in the words of the American dictum, that "lunch is never free" in the end someone, somewhere has to pay.

Drought and famine in the Sahel and Ethiopia, declining agricultural output in Zambia, Tanzania and Ghana, retrogression in industrialisation: these were the grim lessons, sometimes at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives, proving that a country which cannot pay its way suffers cruelly.

The oil crisis, and the resulting global recession, cast heavy strain on donor countries too, no strings-attached handouts to Africa dwindled and the continent began to realign itself. Indeed, "someone has to pay" in this instance preferably themselves. The death of Pan Africanism was another

The age of disillusionment in Africa is giving way to the age of pragmatism, and as the '70s die new hope for the continent abounds. DEON DU PLESSIS of The Star's Africa News Service reports **STAR 3/12/79** (1)

feature of the age of disillusionment. Africa learned that the new black rulers never formed a great new brotherhood, but that nationalism and self interest can make them as much capable of cunning, deceit and double standards as anyone else.

The Pan Africanist dream died as country after country — Uganda and Tanzania, Zaire and Angola, Somalia and Ethiopia — turned against each other. Africa learned too that black leaders are capable of much greater horrors than the colonial master of old. The lesson was rammed home by mad tyrants like Idi Amin of

Uganda, Bedel Bokassa of the ranshiackie "empire" in Central Africa and Francisco Nguema of Equatorial Guinea. For the people of these unhappy countries the age of enlightenment, promised them in the '60s, simply never dawned.

President Barre of Somalia learned another great truth, which President Neto of Angola was learning when he died and which many other leaders were aware of anyway, that Russia and her allies are not a benevolent force in Africa.

Russian communism, despite the protestations, is not in Africa for the good of the people. The Soviets revealed themselves as the

new imperialists — an imperialism more uncomfortable than the American brand which at least brought positive aid — posing as great a threat to African freedom as the European colonialists of a century ago.

The lesson will not be lost on African heads of state in the '80s.

It is perhaps natural that an age of disillusionment should give way to an age of pragmatism and, as the '70s died, signs of hope abounded.

Decade-old military dictatorships in Ghana and Nigeria were replaced in 1979 with democratically elected civilian rulers. In Ghana particularly there

was a new zeal to do away with corruption and grant those honest and got on with same, solid government.

The new pragmatism was demonstrated in southern Africa too in 1976 when Tanzania's President Nyerere dramatically abandoned his earlier, more radical stand on Rhodesia and threw his weight, and that of the other Front Line Presidents, behind settlement and democratic elections.

Regarding South Africa itself, Africa learned there could never be the glorious crusade dreamed of a decade ago. Hostility to apartheid has not lessened, but as Prime Minister Botha began to abandon the harder line of his predecessors there were signs that Africa was at least willing to "wait and see".

Africa has shown too, in this last year, that tyrants do not last for ever. Amin, Bokassa and Nguema are gone. Uganda in particular is falling on to the path of democracy again. It is another sign of hope for the '80s, particularly if Africa's people resolve never to allow such barbarism to be forced on them again.

There were, of course, African leaders who recognised the values of pragmatism from the beginning and who guided their countries well throughout the turmoil. Presidents Khama of Botswana, Banda of Malawi, Jawaara of Gambia and Kenyatta (and later Moi) of Kenya were a few.

The hope for the '80s now that Africa has learned such bitter and expensive lessons, is that more like them will emerge.

The hope must be for a continent less strident, less bombastic, better run and more peaceful. In the light of the last year of the '70s, it is a possibility.

	BLACK		COLOURED		ASIAN		WHITE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	49	56	120	139	28	15	115	121
	2.1%	2.9%	3.9%	4.4%	2.5%	1.9%	1.2%	1.5%
	273	212	190	276	115	127	212	389
	11.4%	11.0%	6.1%	8.8%	10.1%	15.8%	2.2%	4.9%
	148	66	845	566	537	246	5737	3118
	6.2%	3.4%	27.1%	18.0%	47.3%	30.6%	58.8%	39.3%

Rheumatic Heart Diseases (390-398)
 Hypertensive Diseases (400-404)
 Ischaemic Heart Diseases (410-414)

TABLE II