

Copy Times 4/1/82

# THE four horsemen of the Apocalypse rampaged through Africa in 1981, trampling half-a-dozen nations in their progress.

At year's end, it was obvious that in spite of — and sometimes because of — the efforts of politicians of every stripe, general peace and prosperity for the continent's 401-million people is not yet in sight.

Indeed, reports published during the year showed that Africa was becoming increasingly militarized, with governments spending more on arms and military equipment than on health and educational services combined.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, or example, laid out R52-million for MiG-21 jet fighters he really didn't need — just as he was negotiating a huge International Monetary Fund loan to avert economic disaster in his country.

South Africa, too, did its share towards updating the statistics, with a defence budget of R2 637-million, although it paid with its own money.

Zimbabwe had a fairly peaceful year on the whole, although 1981 started badly when a Bulawayo beerhall punch-up between unreconciled Mashona and Matabele elements of the new Zimbabwe National Army escalated into a mutiny.

In mid-August, a massive explosion of mysterious origins wrecked the Inkomo military barracks 40km from Salisbury, but no culprit was found, although the Zimbabweans blamed South Africa — without supplying proof.

Thereafter, peace reigned till another massive explosion destroyed Mr Mugabe's party headquarters in Salisbury in mid-December. An accident — or an act of terror? As 1981 drew to a close the cause remained a mystery.

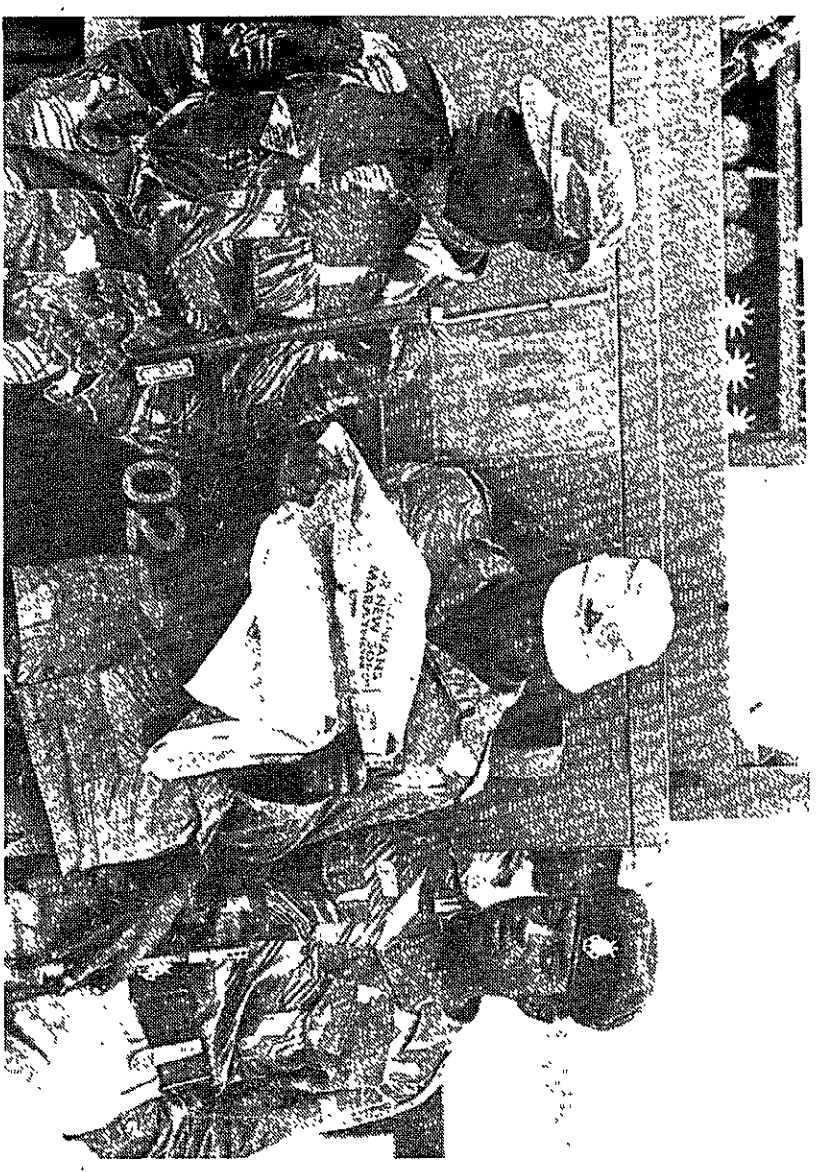
Tanzania, although in desperate financial circumstances, stayed as peaceful in 1981 as it had been all through 1980. The last of the 10 000 troops deployed in Uganda came home to find the economy in a state of total crisis as a result of a grain borer-beetle plague, bad droughts, corruption and governmental ineffectuality, but as in the past, President Julius Nyerere was bailed out by emergency food shipments from abroad.

Liberia, which suffered a coup in 1980, spent a quiet year. Master-Sergeant Samuel Doe, the head of State, took to wearing civilian clothes instead of uniform and appeared firmly entrenched. In August there was an attempt to topple him, but Doe quashed the plotters by arresting his second-in-command, Major-General Thomas Weh Syen, other



**A review of 1981 by our defence specialist Willem Steenkamp**

# Africa restless, and armed to the teeth



The efforts by Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, to integrate the country's ex-guerrillas into a single army backfired early in the year when fighting between Zipira and Zanla troops exploded in Bulawayo. Here young soldiers relax during a lull in the fighting.

knew by 3.3 percent during 1980/1. ●Zaire, to the disappointment of President Mobutu Sese Seko's myriads of enemies, seemed no worse off than in 1980, and in some ways appeared to have improved, since it did not go through a reprise of the internal un-

three neighbouring countries — Nigeria, Senegal and Zaire — announced they would form an all-African Chad peace-keeping force and all the signs were that it would be needed.

Uganda was ravaged all through 1981 by the badly-disciplined armed forces of President Milton Obote, gangs of soldiers-turned-bandits and murderous private armies owing allegiance to various anti-Obote elements. In Kampala, there were endless random murders and numerous shoot-outs between police and marauding soldiers.

Attempts by such rebel groups as the Uganda Freedom Movement and the Uganda Patriotic Movement to overthrow the Obote government started early in the year; and in March UN food officials received an anonymous threat promising death and kidnapping unless they stopped all aid to the Obote government.

In spite of government claims that the various rebel groups had little popular support, pro-Amin elements reportedly controlled most of the troubled West Nile province by late June. At year's end much of the north-west was said to be in rebel hands.

Christmas, President Mobutu was still ensconced in Kinshasa. ●Zambia, by contrast, had to contend with more or less the same problems as in 1980 — a shipwrecked economy and attempted coups — and dealt with them in the same way. By borrowing large sums and blaming South Africa for everything.

The first anti-South African accusation came on New Year's Day, when the Minister of Home Affairs claimed he had "irrefutable" but unspecified information that two prime 1980 coup suspects were hiding out in South Africa.

In mid-February both the Namibia Institute and Swapo moved their offices out of Lusaka because of fears that South African commanders planned to raid his capital — a claim that never materialized.

In June, government sources claimed a new coup — involving a South African commando squad and a Zambian group and some Katangese mercenaries — had been foiled.

In June, government sources claimed a new coup — involving a South African commando squad and a Zambian group and some Katangese mercenaries — had been foiled.

asked to comment, an SADF spokesman said acidly: "Somebody must have had a dream".

Kaunda responded by expelling two United States diplomats (thereby damaging relations with his chief aid donor), arresting several members of his armed forces and staying home from the 1981 OAU conference, just in case.

Angola suffered the full horrors of warfare, contending simultaneously with raiders from SWA/Namibia running riot in its southland, and escalating domestic insurgencies by Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement and the Plebe organization in the oil-rich Cabinda enclave.

Angola paid dearly for its latest policy of integrating the insurgents with its own forces; as a result it suffered an unprecedented year-round number of incursions and attacks from SWA/Namibia.

Small-scale raids started early in the new year; March saw the first big blow, when SAAF aircraft which started at the end of August.

Protea raiders killed about 1 000 Swapo members and Angolan soldiers, not to mention a few Russians, laid the towns of Xanxongo, Onjiva and Cahama in ruins, knocked out various heavy anti-aircraft missile sites and returned in triumph with immense quantities of captured war material.

On October 30, the Angolans — still reeling from the effects of Operation Protea — waded of a new incursion 1981's third. Once again they were right, and a month later Pretoria released news of Operation Daisy, the deepest ground raid yet (240km inside Angola), which destroyed supply dumps and installations and killed more than 70 Swapo members.

Evidence that Angola's home-grown insurgents were still active came in early March when 18 Unita members were condemned to death for bomb

a report that Angola was ready to negotiate with Savimbi. This was promptly denied by Luanda, however — but to many observers there seemed a whiff of sweet reason in the air as the year ended.

Or was there? Just before Christmas, Angola claimed forces from over the border were still occupying a large swathe of its battered southland.

SWA/Namibia's low-profile struggle between government forces and Swapo insurgents — the root cause of the fighting north of the border — was overshadowed not only by the raids into southern Angola but also by the political wheeling and dealing over the territory's future.

All the same, the total casualties for 1981 were higher than ever before. According to official sources, the security forces killed 1 479 Swapo insurgents — a figure which included "only those who have been positively identified and counted", and not counting the 1 000 or so killed during Operation Protea, the major raid into southern Angola in 1981.

The civilian death-toll in the operational area — mainly in the heavily-populated central Ovambo-land region, a traditional hot spot — stood at a tragic 92, two-thirds of them as a result of landmine explo-

negotiators claiming the Angolans had reacted "favorably" to proposals on the SWA/Namibia issue. Mid-December brought

It was Operation Cerberus, curiously for the most devastating raid yet in Operation Protea,

Both and General Elias, but he said that they would do it again if Mozambique insisted on harbouring ANC insurgents (a news item which caused much alarm in West Africa's so-called "Muslim Belt").

Although a planned Chad-Libya merger did not materialize, the Libyan intervention in Chad's civil war continued to unsettle the region.

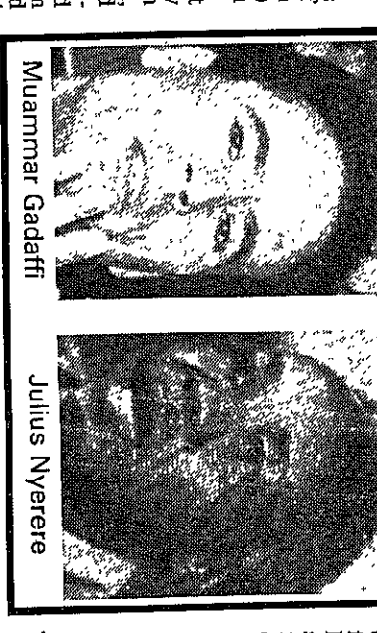
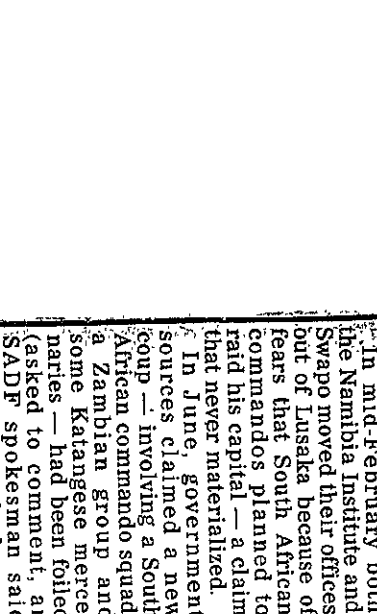
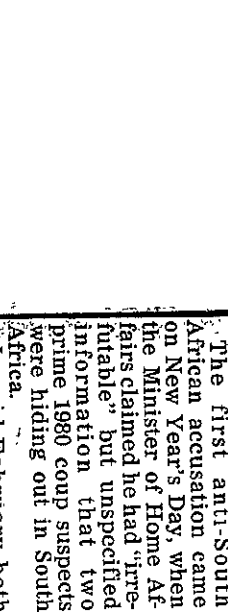
Meanwhile, the civil war kept going, and in early September it was claimed the anti-government forces of Hissen Habre had killed 104 Ouaddai soldiers and 25 Libyans in fighting near the Sudanese border.

At the end of October, President Ouaddel yielded to outside pressure and called on Libya to withdraw. To everyone's surprise the Libyans pulled out within days — but only as far as the Aoziz Strip in northern Chad, three hours' flight from the capital, which they had occupied unilaterally in 1973.

Early in December, RNM leader Afonso Dalakna and his staff escaped. The official news agency, AIN, said captured documents proved South Africa was helping and advising the RNM.

In December, the shoe was on the other foot, when the government announced the destruction of a rebel headquarters in central Mozambique, although RNM leader Afonso Dalakna and his staff escaped. The official news agency, AIN, said captured documents proved South Africa was helping and advising the RNM.

In December, the shoe was on the other foot, when the government announced the destruction of a rebel headquarters in central Mozambique, although RNM leader Afonso Dalakna and his staff escaped. The official news agency, AIN, said captured documents proved South Africa was helping and advising the RNM.



Mobutu Sese Seko

Kenneth Kaunda

Muammar Gaddafi

Julius Nyerere



**OIL**

**African find**

① FM  
8/1/82

5 = 40% (F)

The Great Rift Valley of East Africa could contain deposits of oil and gas on a scale comparable to the Middle East. That is the startling message from recent geophysical studies conducted by scientists from the highly reputable Duke University and funded by a consortium consisting of the US Government, Mobil and the French oil company Elf Aquitaine.

The Duke team, headed by Dr Daniel Livingstone, recently published its findings through the US National Science Foundation, which reported the proceedings of a meeting of the American Geophysical Union at San Francisco where the news was originally broken. It appears, incidentally, that the sponsors of the investigations had hoped to keep the results secret for the present.

The seismic studies undertaken point to the possibility of both oil and gas finds in a vast region — the Rift Valley stretches thousands of kilometres through Tanzania, Burundi, Zaire, Malawi and Zambia. Potentially oil-bearing sediments 3 000m thick were identified under both lakes Tanganyika and Malawi. One of the cores from Lake Tanganyika turned out to contain organic sediments similar to those found in the crude oils of Saudi Arabia.

The US scientists intend to return to East Africa next year to complete their drilling programme. Meanwhile, wild rumours of "Saudi-sized" oil deposits are sweeping America.

It cannot be emphasised too strongly that speculation on an oil-rich East Africa is, at

this stage, hopelessly premature. Only actual oil strikes can confirm the presence of oil in commercial, let alone Saudi-scale quantities. And even if oil is struck in any of these countries, time and money have to be committed to develop the necessary network of oil terminals, pipelines and wells to permit commercial exploitation.

But to avoid too pessimistic an evaluation, it should be noted that the recent vast Mexican oil discoveries have already falsified the oil majors' long-standing official pessimism about ever again discovering an oil source comparable to the Middle East in any part of the world. With America's oil reserves already set at a possible 200 billion barrels, no one should dare any more to disregard the possibility of further large discoveries.

Indeed, Professor Peter O'leil of Erasmus University, Rotterdam, has long been urging an intensified oil search in the Third World, where there are many geologically promising areas. So the fact that he could well be regarded as a preliminary indication of his argument.

It should also not be overlooked that Chevron has made a small but promising oil find in the Southern Sudan in the same general area.

Meanwhile, grandiose speculation about the geo-political effects of a large strike in East Africa should be held in check, pending an actual oil strike.

inter-  
restic-  
it has  
2) and

al

All answers

Number

Number

Surname

First Name

Date

Degree/Di-  
you are reg

Subject

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No.

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Examiners' Initials		

**NOTE CAREFULLY**

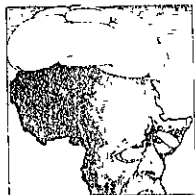
1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for 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**

# The crisis of Uhuru



"Africa is dying," said Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Secretary-General Edem Kodjo two years ago. But critical as its malaise may be, the distressed continent

could yet be saved if it were to accept a sound and specific prescription for economic recovery; one that rewards personal effort and enterprise and concentrates more on the creation — and less on the distribution — of wealth.

This prescription is contained in a study commissioned from the World Bank by the bank's African governors. It focuses on reforms to reverse declining per capita incomes and agricultural output and stresses the importance of sound economic management of domestic economies.

In addition, the World Bank calls for "much more" financial assistance to Africa south of the Sahara from the international community in order to underpin the domestic reforms advocated. According to the study, a shortage of foreign exchange and investment resources would hamper the achievement of the structural changes needed to put sub-Saharan Africa onto a faster growth path.

The direction of these structural changes is all important. Africa, for the most part, has failed to marshal what resources it has to provide for even its most basic needs. Instead, its constituents have simply become what one American diplomat called "foreign aid junkies," chalking up high debts to Western financial institutions.

The World Bank report identifies five main causes of Africa's slow growth:

□ **Politically**, countries have expended considerable effort building national institutions and loyalties out of diverse regions and cultures

□ **Militarily**, many have suffered from internal conflict. Expenditure on arms in the poorest states almost doubled as a proportion of gnp in the Seventies.

□ **Agriculturally**, many countries have to contend with uncertain climatic conditions and poor soils.

In addition, many states have been severely hampered by having started out with poor infrastructure and few trained administrators. And, finally, an average population growth of nearly 3% has drained resources.

The picture, after some 20 years of independence, is not one of unrelieved gloom. Thanks to foreign aid and international credit, educational enrolment at primary level has risen from 36% in 1960 to 63% in 1978; life expectancy has risen from 39 to 47 years; child mortality rates fell from 38/1 000 to 25/1 000; and the number of kilometres covered by all-weather roads has tripled.

But it is clear that this rate of progress is unlikely to be maintained.

In the first two decades of independence, 19 countries showed a per capita growth rate of less than 1%, and during the Seventies 15 countries showed a negative rate. Last year's World Development Report projected that Africa's gnp will hardly rise this decade.

Inefficiencies in the domestic policies of most African governments have been mutually reinforcing. Trade and exchange rate policy is at the heart of the failure to provide adequate incentives for agricultural production and for exports, according to the World Bank's report. This has been worsened by inefficient marketing. These weaknesses come on top of a widespread bias against using prices to ration resources and as an incentive to investment. There has also been a correspondingly widespread conviction that physical control can operate efficiently over a wide front to allocate resources. A preference for large public sector bodies has led to bureaucracy.

Against that background, the lack of sufficient managers and administrators in most of these countries places a greater burden on the public service than it can bear. Its efficiency is therefore eroded.

The report points out that many of the activities undertaken by the public sector could have been better provided if left to free enterprise, even in the form of co-operatives and other self-help institutions. For example, privately-run bus operators were allowed to compete with the public bus company in Nairobi. The result is that the city now has an efficient service and a small, profitable public bus company. In Abidjan, on the other hand, the public bus monopoly trebled its number of buses but still serves only the city centre — at a loss.

The disappointing export performance — exports fell by 1.9% a year in 1970-1979 — and not the terms of trade have been the main cause of rising current account deficits and foreign exchange shortages. Even traditional African primary commodity exports, such as cocoa, groundnuts, cotton, rubber and sisal, fell in relation to total developing country exports. The main causes were rapid population growth, a structural inability to diversify in response to changes in demand, and the fact that governments did not want to export. The latter derives partially from guaranteed quotas accorded under the Lomé Convention. Thus, "on balance, protectionism in the region's traditional markets had little effect on African growth in the last decade."

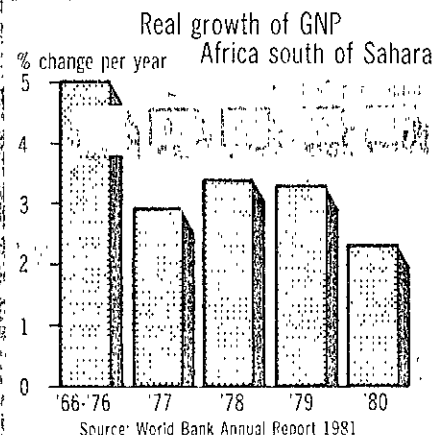
The World Bank identifies the exchange rate policy of African governments as the main cause of declining agricultural production and exports. There has been "a tendency to let real official exchange rates become overvalued because of higher inflation at home than abroad." This amounts to an attempt to administer domestic prices at levels that are too low in relation to those of their trading partners.

In other words, distortions appear if the civil service, rather than the market, determines prices. Resources in both manufacturing and agriculture are then allocated wrongly while ordinary people are encouraged to buy precisely when they shouldn't. Inflation is but one consequence, as all society suffers from the dead hand of state control.

Furthermore, policies intended to curb imports have in fact curbed exports as well, particularly agricultural exports. Farmers pay high prices for equipment and protected consumer items while the prices they receive for their exports are kept low.

In several African countries farmers are not paid enough to cover production costs, and producer prices have "almost overriding importance for agricultural output." Ghana, for example, consumer prices rose 22-fold between 1963-1979 and the price of cocoa in neighbouring countries rose 36 times. But Ghanaian farmers were paid only six times more. The result has been

## PRODUCTION PLUNGES



### From the Daily Telegraph

If we are honest we must admit that what is wrong with Ghana is wrong with most of Africa: inefficiency, corruption, stagnation.

Talk of the fall in cocoa prices is beside the point. The dreams of early independence are all dead. Were we wrong to leave so quickly?

# SA steps up aid <sup>①</sup> to island <sup>Star</sup>

The Star's Africa  
News Service

PORT LOUIS — South Africa is to provide housing, medical supplies and free flights to the Republic for medical treatment as part of an aid package accepted by Mauritius.

According to reports here, South Africa will send a team of experts to supervise the building of 20 three-roomed houses financed by Pretoria. A gift of an undisclosed quantity of medical supplies will be made during the year. And up to 50 Mauritians who need medical treatment in South Africa will be flown in free by South African Airways.

The aid package is in addition to the R35-million made available to the Government here by Pretoria to help with rebuilding after the damage caused by Hurricane Claudette in December 1979.

While South Africa is increasing its aid to Mauritius, Japan has ordered a review of its aid programmes for the island and the freezing of all projects now being planned, according to the Mauritius newspaper, l'Express.

The decision will not affect projects already under way, such as a marine research centre being built here by Japan.

While no reason for the Japanese decision has been given, it is assumed here that the Tokyo government wants to await the outcome of the coming elections before deciding whether to continue aiding Mauritius.

There is a strong chance that a leftist government might take over after the election.

# Major revolt in the world missed

See 2/2/82

A new book gives an analysis of Ethiopia's revolution, which received little world attention. Richard Gott of the Guardian reviews it.

is much easier to help them with housing, services and welfare, which the sociologists say will be essential whatever the region's future might be, because urban drift is inevitable anyway.

Unemployment, poverty and the interdependence between Natal and KwaZulu on one hand, and the region and South Africa on the other, are the priority problems there, according to the commission's researchers.

One line of attack on all three, they say, is the Prime Minister's own regional development plan unveiled in November at his Good Hope conference with the private sector in Cape Town.

This cuts across political boundaries within the Natal KwaZulu region and fits in perfectly with the kind of massive development and decentralisation essential for all groups.

It also fits in with the Buthezi Plan, they state, because economic integration will inevitably lead to political co-operation in any case.

**TOMORROW:** Black majority rule in South Africa would probably lead to civil war between blacks and whites, believes Chief Gatscha Buthezi.

The revolutionary upheaval in Ethiopia in the 1970s may well prove to be one of the most significant revolutions of the last two centuries, comparable with those in France and in Russia.

Certainly, as Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux emphasise in their new book, it was "Africa's first major social revolution."

Yet apart from its initial years — with their typical episodes of terror, counter-terror, and foreign intervention — it has received little public attention beyond the country's borders.

It is, therefore, of great importance that a book has finally been published which sets the available facts into a useful theoretical framework — neither too rigidly dogmatic



Mengistu... clambered to the top after four assassinations.

nor too diffusely liberal. For the first time we have an account of the revolution and its various episodes which — if often somewhat opaquely written — seeks to sustain a well thought-out line of argument uninfluenced by partisan clamour.

And the picture that emerges is of a genuine national and social revolution that caught both left and right on the hop — and left political scientists reeling.

The left in particular, both inside and outside Ethiopia, misjudged the nature of the event. The dimensions of the upheaval, as Halliday and Molyneux explain, were on a historic scale. "This political and social power of an entrenched ruling dynasty has been broken, those who held social and economic sway in the countryside have been expropriated, and a long-established pattern of particularist ethnic domination has been shattered."

A surprise it may have been, but once it happened the collapse was dauntingly swift.

From the very first Potemkin-like mutiny in January, 1974, to the formation of the Derg in June was a mere six months, and, before the year was out, the Emperor had been deposed (September) and his senior officials executed (November). In the first six months of 1975 banks and insurance companies were nationalised, the principal industrial and commercial undertakings were expropriated, and the most far-reaching land reform in Africa had been enacted ("against the advice of the Chinese, Yugoslav, and Russian embassy officials").

It took rather longer for Mengistu Haile-Mariam to clamber to the top, over the corpses of Andom (1974), Habte, Bentu, and Abate (1977).

Each assassination in these three years represented some new shift in the revolutionary dynamic as the soldiers within the Derg tried to wrestle with what Halliday and Molyneux see as the two main issues in dispute — how to relate to the civilian opposition forces and how to handle the Eritrean problem.

This is perhaps the weakest part of the book, where the fat bones of theory protrude rather too starkly through the thin meat of fact.

Halliday and Molyneux harshly, but necessarily, conclude that the Ethiopian Left quite simply failed "to

combine a socialist intellectual commitment with a concrete appreciation of the specific features of Ethiopian society or the political traditions of the country."

The military on the other hand (who were also to some extent foreign trained and from the middle strata) were less unfamiliar with these specialties, "they were endowed with some of the practical experience that would enable them to control a state machine and outmanoeuvre the more vocal but ineffective civilian rivals."

If the Ethiopian Left had had this analysis available to them ten years ago, perhaps their activities might not have been so irrelevant to the dynamics of their country's revolution.

**The Ethiopian Revolution by Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux, published by Verso Editions.**

# SA 'terrorism' leads to call for sanctions

SALISBURY. — A hard-hitting draft resolution condemning South African "aggression, subversion and terrorism" in neighbouring territories has been issued by a group of European parliamentarians after a tour of Frontline States.

The resolution makes sweeping attacks on South Africa's domestic and foreign policies and calls on all governments to participate in the mobilisation of sanctions against South Africa.

The draft resolution and the report of a fact-finding mission to Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe, will be debated today by the representatives of the 71-nation group gathered in Salisbury.

The investigating group, made up of 14 men and women including nine members of the European parliament, made its most detailed observation on the situation in Angola after visiting the war-ravaged southern region and meeting with the Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, and Swapo representatives.

The report said there had

## Mail Correspondent

been a considerable escalation of the hostilities in the region last year — with attacks reaching up to 250km inside the country in August.

Mr Jorge told the group that 11 000 South African troops supported by 36 m-41 tanks and 70 armoured cars had been involved in the August invasion.

In addition to support from 155mm artillery and 127mm missiles the force also had the backing of about 90 aircraft including helicopters.

South Africa's aerial superiority had allowed it to make at least 1 600 reconnaissance flights which contributed to efficient gathering of military intelligence.

The group was told by a Swapo representative that it

was not true that the South African forces withdrew after an attack inside Angola because "they were a constant presence in the area".

The group was taken to a refugee camp containing about 3 000 people where they were told that the total number of displaced people in southern Angola was about 130 000.

In Zambia the main effect of South African policy, the delegation was told, was an increasing refugee population comprising 28 000 Angolans, 5 500 Namibians, 5 000 Zaireans and 3 500 South Africans.

## Evidence

In Zimbabwe the group met the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, who outlined his government's evidence of attempts by South Africa to destabilise Zimbabwe.

This included the allegation that South Africa was training a secret army of more than 5 000 dissidents in the Transvaal.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday the Defence Force had stated repeatedly that its cross-border operations were aimed at Swapo only.

Swapo used base facilities in countries such as Angola from which to murder, rape, rob and terrorise the innocent and unarmed citizens of Namibia.

The SADF was responsible for the safety of Namibia's citizens and would seek, find and destroy Swapo wherever they might be hiding, the spokesman said.

# Ban on SA visitors to Mauritius possible

①

E. Post  
10/2/82

**Post Correspondent**  
DURBAN — The possibility of South Africans being barred from the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius is strong if the Left-wing Militant Mauritius Movement (MMM) wins the general election in May.

The local village council elections were scrapped in January by the orders of the country's leader, Sir Sewsunke Ramgoolam, because the ruling coalition Government, consisting of the Democratic Party and the Centre Party, feared a defeat in these elections against the MMM.

The leader of the MMM, Mr Paul Berange, has already stated that he will adopt sanctions against South Africa if he comes into power, in line with other OAU states.

He is also on record as saying that the time might come when South Africans would have to be barred from the island.

All indications are that the MMM, which has been canvassing strongly on the island, is likely to win.

Political observers on the island point out that the coalition Government, headed by Sir Sewsunke Ramgoolam, is very shaky.

They also point out that Sir Sewsunke is now an old man — he is well into his 70s — and is facing a powerful challenge from the

youth of the island who have been promised jobs, free hospitalisation and free education by the MMM party.

Most of the older people on the island, where unemployment is rife, would prefer the moderate coalition Government to remain in power, but Mr Berange has seized on the vital question of unemployment and poverty.

He has also threatened to nationalise all the sugar lands, owned by the whites. The 5 000 whites on the island are almost virtually in control of the sugar industry, which is the second biggest moneyspinner after the tourist industry.

Many whites on the island, who have relatives living on the Natal North Coast, have been applying to Pretoria to settle in South Africa. But they have had to wait their turn because of the massive influx of white Zimbabweans.

Many North Coast farmers who have relatives in Mauritius say that the whites on the island are fearful that Mr Berange will nationalise both the farming and industrial sectors should he come to power.

Mr Berange has also promised to allow Russian warships into Port Louis, the capital of Mauritius.

# Anti-SA pledge by black states

DAR-ES-SALAAM. — Black African states have announced they will step up support for nationalist movements struggling to overthrow white rule in South Africa, the government newspaper Sunday News reported yesterday.

Defence Ministers from seven black African states, after a two-day closed meeting in Arusha, Northern Tanzania, issued a joint communiqué saying political and material support for nationalist movements would be intensified.

Ministers from Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Lesotho attended the meeting.

They condemned South Africa's military activities against black-ruled neigh-

bouring states and said it was following a policy of deliberate destabilisation in Southern Africa which was a threat to peace and security in the region.

The Frontline states have frequently denounced South Africa for its military incursions in Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho to strike against nationalist guerrillas fighting either for the independence of South West Africa or for black-majority rule in South Africa.

They have also accused South Africa of supporting resistance movements in Mozambique and Angola.

Lesotho is not formally a member of the Frontline grouping but it attended the meeting because it was a recent target of the South African Defence Force. — Sapa-AP-Reuter.



# Mugabe gives PW fuel for thought

ZIMBABWE's refusal to negotiate with South Africa at ministerial level for urgently needed fuel supplies will greatly enhance Mr Robert Mugabe's reputation when the leaders of nine front-line states meet in Maseru next week for further discussions on means to lessen their dependence on South Africa.

The question being asked in diplomatic circles in Pretoria is: How much longer can the Zimbabwean premier hold out against the wishes of the Government of Mr P W Botha, which has been trying to gain some form of recognition from Zimbabwe in its drive for regional status.

To Pretoria's chagrin, Mr Mugabe refused to allow his country's fuel problems to be discussed with South Africa's Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr P T C du Plessis.

It is known in Pretoria that the Harare Government approached South Africa for emergency fuel supplies after the trans-Mozambique pipeline was disrupted last year by saboteurs, said to be members of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR).

But the negotiations were called off when the South African Government tried to make the supplies conditional on ministerial talks.

Instead, Mr Mugabe repeated earlier accusations that South Africa was backing the MNR as part of its Southern Africa strategy of ensuring that Zimbabwe — and other members of the South African Development Co-ordination Committee (SADDC) — remain in a perpetual state of economic dependency on this country.

South Africa had tried previously to force Zimbabwe to negotiate economic links between the two countries at ministerial level, when the 17-year-old Preferential Trade Agreement between the two countries was due to terminate at the end of last March.

Although the termination of the agreement threatened to cost Zimbabwe about R40-million a year, Mr Mugabe only allowed the negotiations to proceed as long as they did not involve ministers.

In the end the agreement was extended — within two weeks of its scheduled termination — after a visit to Cape Town by Zimbabwean officials, although not at ministerial levels.

SADDC delegates to the Maseru conference next week will witness a diplomacy of a different kind from the blackened and shrapnel-pocked walls of private houses to the 40-odd freshly dug graves in the local cemetery where the victims of South Africa's most recent strike against its political opponents are buried.

Maseru is symbolic ... not

so much for the SADDC as for South Africa's resolve to use force on her neighbours to achieve security goals and using its economic might to maintain her influence in Southern Africa.

It amounts to a mixture of wielding the sword and waving the olive branch at her neighbours, almost simultaneously.

Events during last December bear testimony to this ...

Early in December, Mr Pik Botha, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, flew to the Cape Verde Islands for what were supposed to be secret talks with representatives of Luanda's MPLA government.

There was no statement after the talks, although a Washington government official said they had focused on security of the Angola-South West Africa border and the possibility of completing the giant Ruacana irrigation and hydroelectric scheme on the Cunene River.

"They were not negotiating the Cuban withdrawal, although I am certain it came up. They were talking about coexistence along that border, about trying to avoid a military escalation," the official said.

Scarcely 12 hours after the two South African Ministers had returned to Pretoria, specially trained assault teams slipped across the Caledon River border into Lesotho under cover of darkness to attack homes used to plan raids on South African targets by members of the banned African National Congress.

Ironically, and possibly as a decoy, accredited military correspondents had that day been taken on a tour of South Africa's eastern border with Mozambique to witness for themselves the lack of tension in the area.

The Mozambicans had been accusing South Africa of a troop build-up along this border.

A few days earlier, Mr Pik Botha had warned that South Africa would not tolerate ANC operations from Mozambique into South Africa.

At the same time, he warned Cuba not to send troops to Mozambique — presumably from Angola — because "such an eventuality will not be tolerated".

In spite of the increased tensions between South Africa and Mozambique, ministerial representatives from Pretoria and Maputo met at a hotel near Komatipoort three days after the SADF raid on Maseru to discuss closer economic ties.

That the talks took place at all is surprising in view of events which led up to them.

Officials in Pretoria like to give the impression that they were initiated by Mozambique ... proof of the desperate situation into which their economy had fallen.

Mozambique apparently wanted to talk about MNR sabotage to the powerlines which feed electricity from Cabora Bassa into the South African grid, about the employment of more Mozambicans in South African mines and South Africa's continued use of Maputo as an import-export harbour ... all factors which could aid her ailing economy.

South Africa, on the other hand, is said to have advanced the idea of the two countries investigating the possibility of setting up joint water schemes in rivers which form their common boundaries.

"Forget about direct aid ... we have tried that. Talk instead about the age of water diplomacy," a Pretoria Government official said after the Komatipoort talks.

The official could be right, bearing in mind South Africa's interest in the Ruacana scheme, of buying water and power from Botswana and Lesotho and the new possibility of schemes which would benefit herself and Mozambique.

Schemes such as these would also ensure that South Africa's close links with her neighbours remain intact ... which conflicts with the aims of the SADDC.

This, according to Dr Peter Vale, of the South African Institute for International Affairs, is where the policies of the sword and the olive branch are linked.

"By providing regional prosperity (increasing the dependence of her neighbours on South Africa), the temptation of hosting the ANC by these neighbouring states is weakened.

"The very geographical closeness means a deep economic reliance — more a dependency — on South Africa," Dr Vale said.

Only Zimbabwe remains aloof of Pretoria's overtures.

## REGIONAL TRADE ①

### African community

FM 21/1/83

Despite its formal launch on January 1, the East and Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA) agreement has yet to be signed by at least six of the 18 participating countries.

There have been recurrent snags since proposals for the PTA were put by the UN's Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) five years ago. An abortive ratification meeting was held in December 1981. But the signs are now more encouraging.

Institutional mechanisms, however, have yet to be finalised. Full producer commodity lists from members are to be forwarded to Lusaka by February 15, according to a Swaziland source. Negotiations between members for the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers for all products are to be completed by June this year. And a payment and clearing house is to be set up by the end of 1983. It has also been suggested that a trade and development bank be created.

Two PTA latecomers, Rwanda and Burundi, appear likely to endorse the agreement for this African common market. Other signatories at last October's PTA meeting in Lusaka included: Zambia, whose president Kenneth Kaunda was elected first PTA chairman, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Zimbabwe,

Swaziland, Lesotho, Comoros and Mauritius.

However, Tanzania, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the Malagasy Republic, and Seychelles have so far held back. Reasons are not immediately clear in all cases. Tanzania appears not to have cleared up hassles with Kenya resulting from the winding up of assets and liabilities of the old East African Community. Nine of the countries are, incidentally, members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), whose main thrust is to improve communications and other development infrastructure.

Botswana and the other stragglers look likely to sign at some stage — if only out of political solidarity as opposed to perceived real economic benefits. A desire for "goodwill" seems to be why Lesotho and Swaziland joined. Together with Botswana, they (the BLS states) are members of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) dominated by SA and acknowledged by them to be crucial to their economies.

Thus special provision, in PTA protocol 12, grants concessionary treatment to exports from the BLS states without requiring BLS reciprocity to PTA members. That would contravene the SACU agreement. Late last year Pretoria complicated matters for the BLS by pushing the idea of "closer co-operation" via the SACU (*Current affairs* December 10), when all the BLS states want is an "improved" SACU revenue-sharing formula.

1 2 3 S. Times  
23/1/83

# Opec giants take part in SADCC conference

MORE than 60 countries and international organisations are to seek ways to improve the energy requirements of independent Southern African states when they meet in Maseru this week.

And leading the discussions will be oil giants Kuwait, Egypt, Venezuela and Nigeria, says a spokesman for Lesotho. All three are members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec).

It will be the most high-powered conference on energy, agriculture and industry problems held in Southern Africa, and is taking place at a time when Zimbabwe, in particular, is in the grip of an oil crisis.

The occasion is a conference of the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Committee (SADCC). Preliminary discussions are to start tomorrow, with the nine-member council of SADCC Ministers meeting on Wednesday.

The official opening, by King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho, is on Thursday.

Agriculture, industry, transport and energy are the main items on the agenda, the first to be held by SADCC in Lesotho. Previous meetings have taken place in Zim-

By NORMAN CHANDLER

babwe, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique.

All nine member states — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho and Tanzania — are to be represented at ministerial level, but it is believed that a number of heads of state may make an appearance as well.

"As far as we are aware, Ministers are to represent their countries, although that does not rule out the possibility of prime ministers and presidents coming here," a government source said.

Countries and agencies, apart from the frontline states, to be represented in Maseru include Canada, Denmark, Egypt, West Germany, Kuwait, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway.

Portugal, Elre, Finland, East Germany, India, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, the Organisation for African Unity, the African Development Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and United Nations aid organisations.

# 'Destabilization' by SA: Call for action

CML 10/1/83 28/1/83

Own Correspondent

MASERU — The opening session of the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) in Maseru yesterday was marked by a growing intolerance of regional economic destabilization — for which the South African Government is being blamed.

In his report to the conference, the Vice-President of Botswana and chairman of the SADCC's Council of Ministers, Mr Peter Mmusi, said: "We cannot ignore the continuing, indeed escalating, acts of economic destabilization and of sabotage which are being directed at our member States."

He implied that continuing "armed aggression and sabotage" should be met with "intense diplomatic activity, formal protests, withdrawal of aid and of access to financial facilities, selective sanctions in respect of critical goods and of air transport".

The SADCC's progress was threatened by destabilization and it was "vi-

tal" that something be done to stop it.

The SADCC could not ignore the sabotage of infrastructure in member States.

"We have not blown up the Durban oil facilities to force our neighbours to use the Beira pipeline. We have not sabotaged the South African rail link to Maputo to enforce use of the Limpopo Valley line.

"Our forces do not occupy the Free State or ravage the Northern Transvaal. We do not interfere with normal trade in fertilizer and fuel, crippling the food security, transport and industrial development of South Africa

## Direct threat

"South Africa has acted to undermine the development of regionally coordinated action and the building of prosperous, forward-looking economies in our countries. Its actions are a direct threat and hindrance to the implementation of technical and economic co-operation within the SADCC," Mr Mmusi said.

In his opening address

to the conference, King Moshoeshe II of Lesotho said the SADCC States had a duty to convince developing countries of their will to succeed.

"We must be seen to have effective, decentralized and democratic administrative structures to translate policies to decisions and action. Those structures must embody mass participation in the development process by the groups both affected."

It would be a "stab in the back of our peoples" to make the SADCC an "accident of history" able to survive only on the financial aid of donor States.

The SADCC was formed in 1980 in an effort to lessen the economic dependence of member States on South Africa. The nine members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The Maseru Conference, which ends today, is being attended by about 600 delegates from the member States, donor countries and international aid agencies.

Deport  
Murray  
call to



World  
in brief

R3,6m embezzlem

28/11/83 12014

# Blasts rock Maseru as nine states meet

By CHRIS FREIMOND

MASERU — A series of explosions rocked Maseru early yesterday — but failed to disrupt the opening a few hours later of the annual meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) in the city.

The blasts occurred near Lesotho's abattoir about 7km north of Maseru. Very little damage was caused.

The sabotage is believed to be the work of the Lesotho Liberation Army, the military wing of the external faction of the opposition Basotho Congress Party.

The bombing was clearly timed to coincide with the SADCC conference which is being attended by about 600 delegates from Africa, Europe and the United States.

The incident was seen as an attempt to embarrass the Lesotho Government and to dissuade donor countries from investing in Lesotho.

There was no official statement about the blasts yesterday and very few delegates and journalists at yesterday's SADCC's opening ceremony seemed aware that they had occurred.

The abattoir, on the main road to the north, is only a few hundred metres from the South African border, across which the saboteurs are believed to have fled.

Sapa reports that a unit of the LLA blew up two water reservoir tanks, a house in which a generator was kept and a diesel tank at Khubetsoana, near Maseru.

The complex serves the newly established abattoir with water.

# SA blamed for 'destabilising' SADCC states

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

MASERU — The opening session of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) in Maseru yesterday was marked by a growing intolerance of regional economic destabilisation — for which the South African Government is being blamed.

In his report to the conference, the Vice-President of Botswana and chairman of the SADCC's Council of Ministers, Mr Peter Mmusi, said: "We cannot ignore the continuing, indeed escalating, acts of economic destabilisation and of sabotage which are being directed at our member states".

He implied that continuing "armed aggression and sabotage" should be met with "intense diplomatic activity, formal protests, withdrawal of aid and of access to financial facilities, selective sanctions in respect of critical goods and of air transport".

The SADCC's progress was threatened by destabilisation and it was "vital" that something was done to stop it.

"Sympathy alone is not enough. We welcome the support expressed at the Blantyre Conference (of the SADCC) for our condemnation of economic destabilisation and sabotage. We hoped that this expression of support would ward off future attacks. I regret to say that it has not done so," he said.

Although the SADCC was neither political nor aggressive, the organisation could not ignore the sabotage of the infrastructure in member states.

"We have not blown up the Durban oil facilities to force our neighbours to use the Beira pipeline. We have not sabotaged the South African rail link to Maputo to enforce use of the Limpopo Valley line.

"Our forces do not occupy the Free State or ravage the Northern Transvaal. We do not

interfere with normal trade in fertiliser and fuel, crippling the food, security, transport and industrial development of South Africa

"South Africa has acted to undermine the development of regionally co-ordinated action and the building of prosperous, forward looking economies in our countries. Its actions are a direct threat and hindrance to the implementation of technical and economic co-operation within the SADCC," Mr Mmusi said.

It was of little use to develop infrastructure and then to "watch in silence as they are blown up".

In his opening address to the conference, King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho said the SADCC states had a duty to convince developing countries of their will to succeed.

"We must be seen to have effective, decentralised, and democratic administrative structures to translate policies to decisions and action. Those structures must embody mass participation in the development process by the groups both affected," he said.

It would be a "stab in the back of our peoples" to make the SADCC an "accident of history" that is only able to survive on the financial aid of donor states.

"It is our conviction that this organisation is the beginning of a much more permanent and fruitful dispensation in political, economic and social relations amongst our member states and within the states themselves," the King said.

The SADCC was formed in 1980 in an effort to lessen the economic dependence of member states on South Africa.

The nine members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

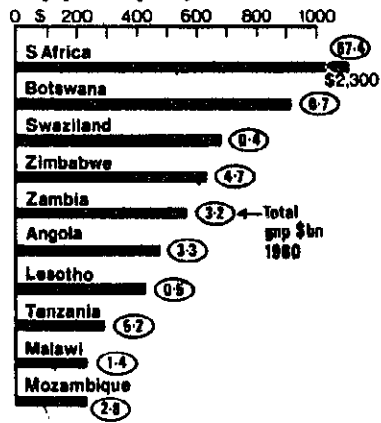
The Maseru conference, which ends today, is being attended by about 600 delegates from the member states, donor countries and international aid agencies.

# BUSINESS

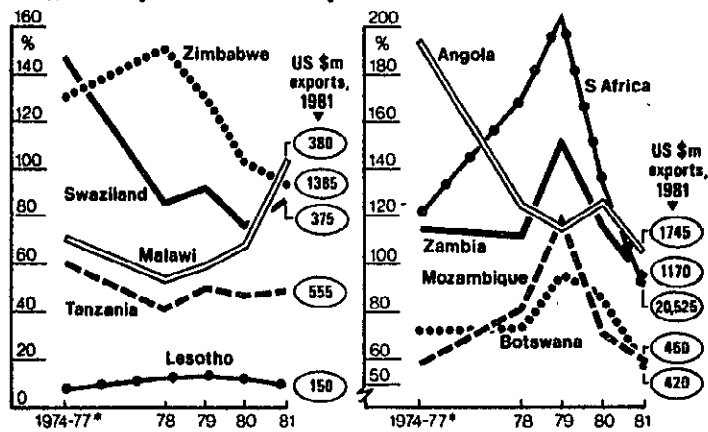
① Staw 26/1/83

## Southern Africa: dollar poor, resource rich

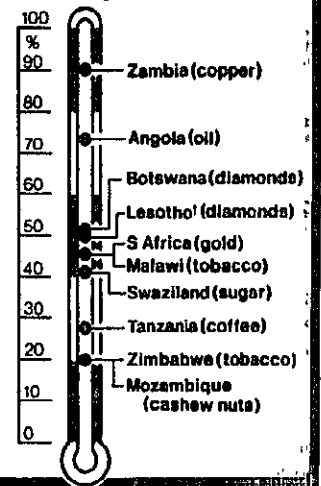
Gnp per capita, 1980



Value of exports as % of imports



Major export as % of total exports (1979-81 average)



Sources: IMF, World Bank, EIU

THE ECONOMIST

\*Average † Estimate

By David Braun

The nine countries meeting in Lesotho from tomorrow to fight economic dependence on South Africa have a balance of payments crisis no less important to their small economies than that of Poland, Brazil or Mexico to those countries, says the British journal *The Economist*.

The two-day conference, to be opened tomorrow by Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe, will be attended by at least one Minister from each member country and high-level observers from 22 donor countries.

This will be the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference's first fund-raising meeting since 1980 — when more than R700 million was pledged towards transport and communications projects.

The SADCC countries are determined to sever what they consider the shackles which bind their struggling economies to South Africa, forcing them to rely on it for most of their imports, transport infrastructure and many other services and supplies.

Pretoria shrugs off the attempts to form an economic union which excludes it.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, the Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industries, last month said South Africa had no differences with SADCC but did not think the concept would achieve its full potential without this country.

## Black Nine will seek ways to fight dependence on SA

SADCC has not yet affected trade between South Africa and the nine, and recent declines of trade in the region stem from the world recession.

The SADCC nine — Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Swaziland, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi and Botswana — allege Pretoria is forcing them to divert scarce resources from food and development to defence.

### DISSIDENT FORCES

They allege Pretoria is destabilising them to keep them dependent on South African ports, railways and factories.

In truth, the SADCC countries have enormous problems with dissident forces. Mozambique is constantly reeling under rebel attacks on roads and railways and the disruption of these has crippled landlocked neighbours Zimbabwe and Malawi.

In Angola, Unita guerillas have destroyed the southern communications structure and the Benguela railway, which ferries much of Zambia's exports, has been out of action for years.

Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland depend totally on South Africa for transport links, while

even Tanzania relies on the white south for food imports.

The *Economist* says each of the nine is pledged by SADCC membership to fight economic dependence on South Africa.

Yet, apart from Tanzania and perhaps Angola, each is forced by poverty to rely more than ever on South Africa as the region's cheapest and most efficient supplier of food, fertiliser and transport.

There is, *The Economist* says, no choice for the black-ruled countries but to seek IMF aid.

"Among the black-ruled countries wholly south of the equator, only oil-rich Angola and copper-rich Zambia now export more than they import. Zimbabwe, the economic powerhouse of the region, saw its trade account swing sharply into deficit in 1981; and in the first half of 1982 the deficit was more than double that for the entire preceding year."

But the IMF, *The Economist* says, is not a haven the African countries like. Tanzania, Zambia and Zaire have failed to meet lending criteria in the past and have forfeited IMF money.

Now all three, and Zimbabwe, are negotiating with the IMF — likely to result in even stiffer

repayment conditions. Zambia this month asked creditors to reschedule its debt and devalued the kwacha 20 percent the SDR.

Consumer goods prices were decontrolled at the end of 1981 and most have already risen smartly. The budget at the end of this month is likely to be an austere one, says *The Economist*.

Zambia is not alone in this situation. Tanzania devalued last March, followed by Malawi, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Even South Africa has had to allow the rand to float down 30 percent against the dollar and has also been forced to adhere to austere fiscal and monetary policies to comply with IMF conditions for a big loan.

Even with these difficulties, *The Economist* says, South Africa's industrial, agricultural and military resources remain, by African standards, awesome.

"Events of the past year suggest that the South African Government is more determined than ever to use them to achieve its economic and political goals."

The nine black-ruled countries will be well aware of this when they gather in Masere tomorrow.

① RDM 29/1/83

# Harsh words for Pretoria

THE South African Government can expect increased international outrage at what is widely perceived as its strategy of systematic economic sabotage in Southern Africa.

This was probably the clearest message to emerge at this week's SADCC conference in Maseru, attended by 600 delegates from the nine member states, donor countries and international aid agencies.

The destruction throughout the region of dams, power lines, oil installations and railway lines by "South Africa and her proxies" was harshly condemned.

The destabilisation process is clearly the greatest threat to the SADCC's success — and there is very little that any of the member states can do to stop it.

"None of us will retaliate with military action. We can only hope that the South African Government will soon see that in the long run destabilisation will affect South Africa more adversely than any of us," a senior official said.

But the developed countries can do something about it and the signs in Maseru were that moves will be made towards more effective

CHRIS FREIMOND reports on the third annual meeting of the South African Development Co-ordination Conference which ended in Maseru yesterday.

measures to end destabilisation.

At a Press conference yesterday the European Economic Communities Commissioner for Development, Mr Edgard Pisani, said while European governments had not yet reached the stage at which they would insist on disinvestment in South Africa, there was a growing and influential body of opinion in Europe that this should be done.

The general belief at the Maseru conference was that South Africa could not afford to allow the SADCC to succeed. To do so would lessen the Republic's economic grip on member states, and also increase international pressure on Pretoria to move away from apartheid.

But statements in Maseru by senior representatives of European governments confirmed the growing anger with Pretoria:

● The Swedish Foreign Minister, Mr L Bodstroem, said South African policies were a threat to international peace and a strong international response was called for.

● The Norwegian Foreign

Minister, Mr S Stray, said the problems of Southern Africa were so serious that if they were left unresolved they could pose a severe threat to world peace.

● The Dutch Minister of Co-operation, Mrs E M Schoo, said apartheid was the cause of destabilisation in Southern Africa.

Most observers agree that the SADCC has made good progress and can work — if given the chance.

The organisation was established in 1980 by nine Southern African states — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It is a bold move by the states to stand on their own feet and minimise their politically unpalatable economic reliance on South Africa.

In the opinion of the donor states the SADCC has adopted a pragmatic and realistic approach to regional development. It has proposed nearly 100 projects which would cost over R1 500-million.

Priority is being given to manpower training, trans-

port, communications, energy, industrialisation and agriculture.

One of the region's most pressing problems, lack of food, is being given urgent attention.

The chairman of the SADCC's Council of Ministers and Vice-President of Botswana, Mr Peter Mmusi, proposed in Maseru this week that a regional "food management" policy be established to cope with shortages and suggested a food bank of staple foods.

The sale of Angolan oil to members at preferential prices is being considered.

Planning and negotiations for most projects are well advanced and large scale development is likely to be reached within three years.

Co-ordination is the key to the SADCC's success. Inter-action between member states, donors and aid agencies is paramount to the thinking of the organisation's planners.

In his report to the conference Mr Mmusi said greater consideration should be given to the mutual interdependence which exists in the in-

ternational community.

Addressing donor states, he said: "Our loss of ability to earn enough from exports to service our debts and to pay for adequate levels increase the problems of your financial institutions, manufacturing firms and training companies.

"In particular we are alarmed at the rise in protectionism and of the subsidisation of commercial agricultural exports."

In his opening address to the congress King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho urged the SADCC to move steadily towards a situation where it would not need to rely on hand-outs from donors for survival.

He also called on the member states not to lose sight of the needs of their peoples in the overall development strategy.

The argument, often advanced by Pretoria, that the SADCC cannot succeed without South African participation, was rejected by development strategists attending the conference.

With the help — particularly in the planning, training and development stages — of Europe and the United States, observers give the SADCC a good chance of success — if destabilisation is brought to an end.



① Argus 29/1/83

# Mugabe moots army for Africa

**JOHANNESBURG.** — An African dream with important consequences for South Africa has been dramatically revived by Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, with his call for a regional army to "repulse Pretoria's aggression".

For nearly two decades the Organisation of African Unity has talked of forming a pan-African security force to police the continent and to give muscle to its threats against the white-ruled south.

With lack of funds and motivation, the plans were generally dismissed as so much hot air and rhetoric, a view reinforced by the recent dismal failure of the OAU peacekeeping force sent to Chad.

Mr Mugabe, however, is not given to making rhetorical statements.

Even before he made his call for a regional defence force he had sent troops to Mozambique to help guard the Beira/Mutare pipeline, along which flows much of Zimbabwe's fuel, against the attacks of the Mozambique National Resistance movement.

He and President Samora Machel both claim the anti-Frelimo guerillas are armed and supported by South Africa, a claim that Pretoria has repeatedly denied.

Mr Mugabe's decision to deploy his forces outside his borders was made after long months of soul-searching.

## Military

Ultimately landlocked Zimbabwe was goaded into taking an active military role in Mozambique by the increasing MNR attacks on its vital links with the Indian Ocean ports of Beira and Maputo.

While that deployment is a far cry from a united regional force powerful enough to threaten South Africa, it is a significant illustration of the determination of at least one of South Africa's neighbours to fight for its economic independence.

Mr Mugabe made his appeal for the creation of a multi-national army during a speech in Dar es Salaam on Thursday in which he

**BRENDAN NICHOLSON of the Argus Africa News Service examines the growing mood of aggression towards South Africa by black leaders in the subcontinent.**

said it should be set up by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

## Domination

The SADCC was established by nine black-ruled Southern African states to break South Africa's economic domination of the subcontinent.

While the group has previously emphasised publicly that it merely sought economic independence and did not seek confrontation with Pretoria, a meeting of its foreign ministers last week indicated a hardening of attitude.

Botswana Vice-president and chairman of the SADCC's council of ministers, Mr Peter Mmusi, a man noted for his moderation, told the meeting: "We cannot ignore the continuing, indeed escalating, acts of economic destabilisation and of sabotage which are being directed at our members states."

## Significant

Mr Mmusi said South Africa was undermining the regional development plan and said it was "vital" that some-

thing be done. It may be significant too that Mr Mugabe's statement, which received front page treatment in Zimbabwe's press, was made on his return from Algeria whose government is noted for its support of revolutionary causes.

Zimbabwean troops from the estimated three companies deployed in Mozambique have already been in action against the MNR.

## Repulsed

On January 7 they repulsed a group of guerillas who had launched a mortar attack on a pumping station about half-way along the 288-km fuel pipeline.

Mr Mugabe's final decision to send troops over the border is believed to have followed the destruction of the pumping station at Maforga in an October attack in which three Portuguese technicians and their families were abducted.

The Portuguese were later released unharmed but refused to go back to work on the

pipeline without protection.

Now they are escorted in and out of Mozambique by troops and helicopter gunships.

Zimbabwe's position worsened when saboteurs blew up part of the Beira fuel storage depot just before Christmas causing a major petrol shortage that jolted the whole economy.

Other Zimbabwe imports and exports have also been disrupted by MNR attacks on road and rail links to the Mozambican ports increasing Harare's dependence on the routes through South Africa.

## Warned

The MNR radio station (Radio Free Africa or the Voice of the Hyena depending which side you are on) has frequently warned that it will attack Zimbabwean targets if the Mugabe government continues to help Mozambique militarily.

On October 2 last year guerillas demonstrated their ability to carry out widespread disruption of transport facilities by blowing up a Zimbabwe-bound train laden with road-building equipment and other vehicles near Chicalacuala in southern Mozambique.

Zimbabwe is not the only black-ruled state in Southern Africa with a vital interest in Mozambique's security.

Without the Mozambique ports Zambia would have to pay South Africa to help shift the huge overflow of its exports from the inefficient Tanzam Railway to Dar es Salaam.

Plans for Zimbabwe's military commitment were ironed out at a meeting of security delegations from Harare and Maputo which were led by the two country's leaders.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda was involved in similar meetings though nothing has emerged yet to support an MNR claim that he has also sent troops to help fight the guerrillas.

## Train

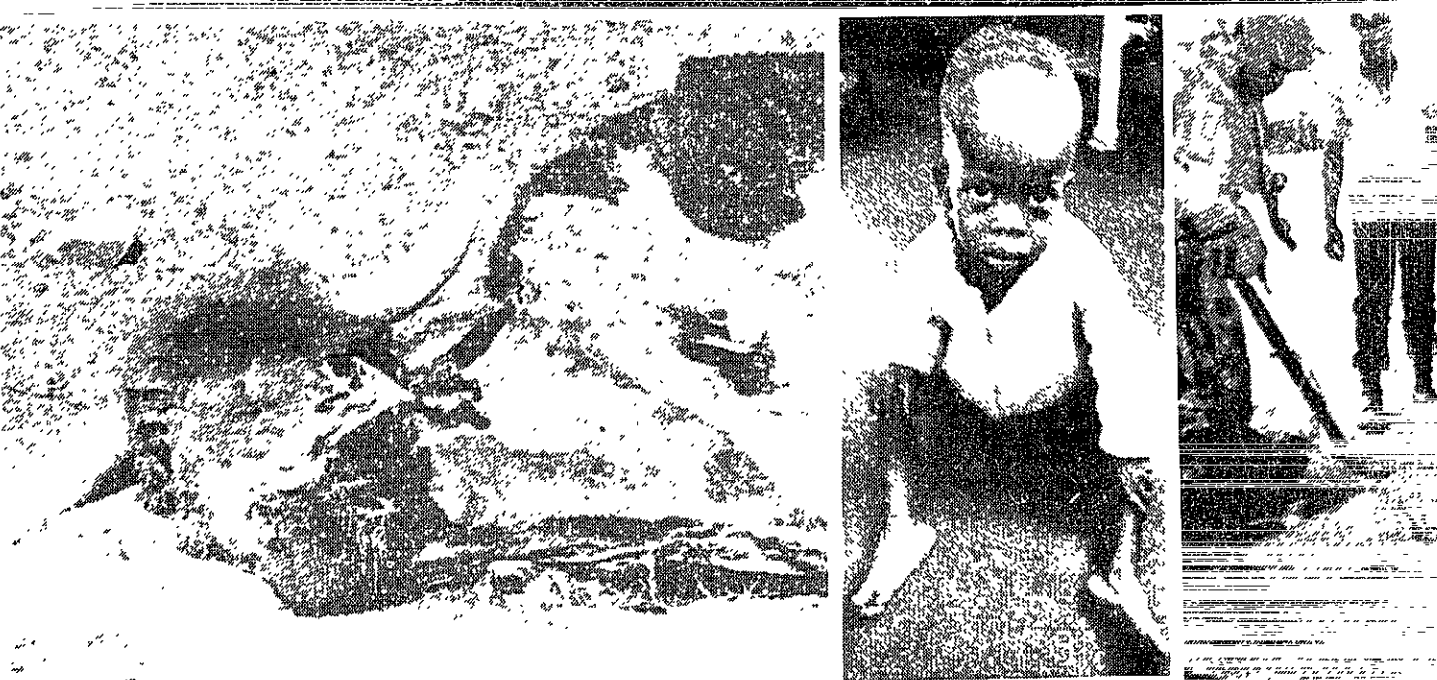
Tanzania already has troops in Mozambique helping train Frelimo's army.

Yet another SADCC member, Malawi, one of South Africa's few "friends" in Africa, was threatened with economic strangulation when the MNR began ambushing vehicles carrying fuel and other supplies from Tete to Blantyre last August.

It was subsequently reported that President Machel had asked Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda to help guard sections of road vital to his country.

# WORLD NEWS

## Southern Africa's 'other constellation of states' tries to pull together



SINCE the early Sixties the fires of uhuru have licked their way through Africa, stopping only at the Limpopo.

But the newly independent African states have discovered there is more to human dignity than the vote.

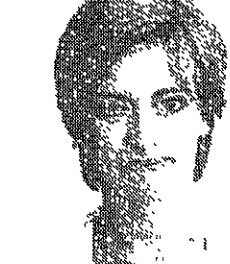
Confronted with awe-inspiring difficulties, nine southern African states — Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Tanzania, Angola, Swaziland, Mozambique, Lesotho — have united under the SADCC to pull themselves up by their economic bootstraps, sharing skills and complementary economic plusses.

One of the main aims of the SADCC is to reduce economic dependence on South Africa and the fortunes of the SADCC will be crucial to the South African Government.

First, the greater economic independence the frontline states have, the more they can ignore political pressure from Pretoria and assist, if they wish, insurgents.

Second, and a frequently ignored feature, the SADCC can have economic repercussions for South Africa. South Africa has 50 percent of the continent's rail rolling stock. Much of it is used to transport goods in neighbouring states, including Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi, and Zimbabwe and South Africa receives substantial revenue from this.

Although much of Africa is an agricultural disaster area, not only because of drought but also because of bad farming



**CHARLENE BELTRAMO** reviews this week's third Southern African Development Co-ordination Council conference in Maseru... WHILE most Southern African states report declining food production, their populations are soaring. More than 50-million people live in the nine

SADCC countries of Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique. Their populations will exceed

Wars, drought, lack of services, an exodus of down of communication

and land utilisation, the SADCC has recognised the danger posed by starvation and the use of food as a political weapon against them if they don't achieve self-sufficiency.

However, a mere R100 million has been allocated for agricultural projects.

But South Africa's excessive protection of local manufacturing industry and high import costs — making its agricultural products, particularly maize, among the costliest in the world — could work to the SADCC's advantage if it improved agriculture in member states.

The SADCC was born in Lusaka, Zambia in April, 1980. The impetus, in part, came from Prime Minister P W Botha's dream of a constellation of states which, to the frontline states, bore a closer resemblance to a nightmare.

One of the aims, the SADCC says, was "to reduce as far as possible the vulnerability of the countries of the region to economic blackmail and reprisals."

The subsequent raid by South African commandos on the homes of African National Congress members in Matola, Mozambique (1981) and Maseru, Lesotho (1982) have entrenched this view in the eyes of SADCC member states.

So, too, has alleged Pretoria involvement in regional destabilisation

which mainly affects Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho.

SADCC sources insist they are an economic and not a political organisation. However, it is an internationally accepted economic truth that the two are inextricably intertwined as transport and communication are vital to breakaway from subordination to the South African economy.

Mozambique has been given the task of investigating this area for the SADCC

SADCC sources say political upheavals and military conflict have left the railways and ports of Southern Africa badly in need of rehabilitation, vital if the economic potential of the area is to be realised.

As an example, the Benguela railway line, which runs from Angola to Zaire and Zambia, has barely been operational since the first South African invasion of Angola in 1975. When in operation, it runs slowly because troops walk ahead looking for explosives or damage to the line, says SADCC director Arthur Blumeris.

This adds to freight costs and makes the transportation of perishables almost impossible.

Last week the bombing of a vital bridge stopped the rail link again. This happened a few days after the second largest hydro-electric scheme in

Angola, at Lamun Dam, was destroyed, killing dozens of people and destroying crops.

The transport and communications report to the Maseru conference noted that the condition of railway tracks in Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland and Tazara (Tanzania to Zambia) are poor. This has restricted transport possibilities to three of the six SADCC ports.

In addition, "shallow entrance channels in Dar es Salaam, Beira and Maputo, worn-out facilities and shortage of equipment and skilled manpower are major problems"

Port capacities will be adequate to the year 2000 — provided present development plans are implemented but container facilities are virtually non-existent.

Similarly, the capacities of rail lines up to 1990 will be adequate but with the same proviso as for ports.

If SADCC is to succeed in this area — and if transport and communications fail nothing else can succeed — international aid will have to be substantial.

The implementation of port, road, aviation and telecommunication projects will cost R2 538-million. However, the conference was informed, only R665-million had been pledged, of which R550-million has already been used.

Member states are also anticipating growth in overseas trade to top a remarkable five percent per annum from 1981 onwards — coal excluded.

By 1990 Mozambique anticipates exporting 2.9-million tons of coal through Beira; Zimbabwe 5-million tons through Maputo; Botswana and Swaziland expect to export 5-million and 2-million tons respectively via Maputo

All Swazi overseas trade by 1990 will, according to SADCC, be routed via Maputo.

Overseas trade through South African ports, will, if SADCC succeeds, drop from 2.94-million tons from SADCC countries in 1981 to a projected 700 000 tons by 1990.

SADCC plans to increase member state exports through its harbours — Maputo, Beira and Nacala in Mozambique, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and Lobito in Angola — from 7.33-million tons in 1981 to 28.7-million tons in 1990.

Road transport is another major problem for the nine states. Only Zambia and Zimbabwe have a majority of tarred roads.

Despite these vast problems, the commitment of the SADCC countries to improve the situation was the most impressive feature of the conference.

## South Africa a threat to peace, says EEC's Pisani



THE European Economic Community considers the new South African constitutional dispensation as "merely a game rather than truly building up a constitutional system."

This was said by Edgar Pisani, Development Commissioner of the EEC, during a Press briefing in Maseru this week.

Pisani strongly attacked South Africa and its policies.

He said: "the South Africans are trying to suggest they are on the path of a new social and political system. Yet they suggest Swaziland should take their land; they are creating Bantustans with everything but the capacity to govern themselves; they are sweeping out the executives in Namibia."

"They are changing some words, some paragraphs in the constitution. They are doing a lot to insinuate they are changing their attitude but at the same time they came to Lesotho to kill people."

"And at the same time they refuse contact on an

equal footing for a new system of government in South Africa.

"In Namibia they are delaying opportunities for a settlement."

"It is not because of Cuban soldiers that South Africa went into Angola in 1975. On the contrary, it was because of the presence of South African troops in Angola that Cuban troops went there."

"In politics it is possible to play games for a long time but eventually a new organisation and independence comes to the fore."

"Namibia must gain its independence in conformity with the resolutions of the UN General Assembly."

"South Africa is a threat to peace, it has put itself beyond the pale of the international community and is creating long term risks to itself."

Pisani said the question of sanctions against South Africa were continually being debated in the EEC Parliamentary Assembly.

Sanctions, he said, would be a very difficult tool to use.

"It is a weapon which

could hurt many people including European countries with their high unemployment figures, not just South Africa."

"We have to convince the more reactionary forces in South Africa that the common interest of the region is the quick evolution of the situation. Apartheid is not an acceptable social system."

"Sanctions could have a detrimental effect on the European economy as well."

"We would have to be sure that sanctions would not aggravate the situation in the southern African region — are we sure that sanctions would work?"

"It is not a problem of rhetoric, it is a very difficult economic problem because the Southern African economies are dependent on South Africa."

"But nothing is enough except action. It has to be very clear that we will not abandon the idea of sanctions against South Africa. If it comes necessary we are ready to take the course."

# AUFHURU

Pick up the pieces after the chaos left by the gales of change



Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique, Angola. By 1990 their 75-million.

of health and veterinary skilled workers, breakdowns and transport and

high food prices have been the lot of many of these countries after independence and have seriously damaged their economies.

Many of these countries have blamed external elements for their plight but SADCC has forced member states to critically examine their own shortcomings.

The countries are pooling information and food surpluses, not only to reduce reliance on the Pretoria Government, but to fight starvation and unemployment in their countries and ultimately earn the necessary foreign exchange to pay debts and restructure their countries.



## Mugabe revives the African dream of an army to keep an eye on South Africa

□ BRENDAN NICHOLSON □  
Tribune Africa News Service

AN African dream with important consequences for South Africa has been dramatically revived with Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's call for a regional army to "repulse Pretoria's aggression."

For nearly two decades the Organisation of African Unity has talked of forming a pan-African security force to police the continent and to give muscle to its threats against the white-ruled south.

With lack of funds and motivation, the plans were generally dismissed as rhetoric, a view reinforced by the recent failure of the OAU peacekeeping force sent to Chad.

Mugabe, however, is not given to rhetorical statements.

Even before he made his call for a regional defence force, he had sent troops to Mozambique to help guard the Beira-Mutare pipeline — along which flows much of Zimbabwe's fuel — against the attacks of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement.

He and President Samora Machel claim the anti-Frelimo guerillas are armed and supported by South Africa, a claim Pretoria denies.

Mr Mugabe's decision to deploy his forces outside of his borders was made after long months of soul-searching.

Ultimately, landlocked Zimbabwe was goaded into taking an active military role in Mozambique by the increasing MNR attacks on its vital links with the ports of Beira and Maputo.

While that deployment is a far cry from a united regional force powerful enough to threaten South Africa, it is a significant illustration of the determination of at least one of South Africa's neighbours to fight for its economic independence.

Mr Mugabe made his appeal for the creation of a multi-national army during a speech in Dar es Salaam on Thursday in which he said it should be set up by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

While the group has previously stressed publicly that it merely sought economic independence and did not seek confrontation with Pretoria, a meeting of its foreign ministers last week indicated a hardening of attitude.

Botswana Vice-President and chairman of the SADCC's council of ministers, Peter Mmusi, a man noted for his moderation, told the meeting: "We cannot ignore the continuing, indeed escalating, acts of economic destabilisation and of sabotage which are being directed at our member states."

Mr Mmusi claimed that South Africa was undermining the regional development plan and said it was "vital" that something be done.

It may be significant, too, that Mr Mugabe's statement was made on his return from Algeria, whose Government is noted for its support of revolutionary causes.

Zimbabwean troops from the estimated three companies deployed in Mozambique have already been in action against the MNR.

Despite Pretoria's denials, the influential *New York Times* gave an indication of world opinion on the subject of who arms the MNR when it declared in a recent editorial: "No-one would be surprised to learn that South Africa planned the sabotage attack on the Mozambique oil storage tanks."

Referring to Pretoria as "the bully", the newspaper suggested that South Africa had planned the attacks using black surrogates.

It noted that the attacks had left Zimbabwe dependent on South Africa for oil and added: "Forcing Zimbabwe to its knees will not make it a safe neighbour for South Africa"

## FOOD . . . the critical problem for the SADCC

PAPERS presented to the SADCC conference showed the food situation in their countries is critical. Food shortages are continuing in Mozambique and basic food is still being rationed.

Drought, which stunted food crops in the southern provinces in 1982, is now taking its toll of livestock.

Although the world food programme has distributed 10 000 tons of maize in the northern port of Nacala more aid is needed. In addition 350 tons of sorghum and maize seeds, worth R250 000, have been provided by aid organisations.

However, SADCC noted, farming in Mozambique is mainly done by families, production technology is primitive and productivity low.

Mozambique's farming situation is worsened by the fact that it, as with Swaziland, has no government agencies providing estimates of food production or making qualitative assessments of food through the growing season.

Mozambican food marketing networks broke down after independence. Many farmers are no longer, or only erratically, being visited by government food marketing agencies, so many stopped producing cash crops and went back to subsistence farming. This in turn led to food shortages in the cities.

More than 200 000 tons of Zimbabwean maize has been distributed to SADCC countries by the world food programme.

SADCC has suggested Zimbabwe hold a grain reserve of 250 000 tons purely for member countries.

At the conference, SADCC appealed for aid to finance the R8,75-million it will cost to store and handle this maize.

Drought has also seriously affected Zimbabwe maize crops this year. Its wheat crop has been affected by a shortage of irrigation water and it is down 20 000 tons on the 1981 yield of 195 000 tons.

In Zambia, drought has meant only 459 000 tons of marketable maize will be harvested, while local consumption is estimated at 700 000 tons. In addition, the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) has reported that the situation in drought-affected areas is aggravated by increasing numbers of refugees from neighbouring states which require special food relief assistance. (Africa has half the world's refugee population — 10-million people).

In 1981, Zambian farmers marketed 7,7-million bags of maize (90kg bags), 70 percent of which came from rural peasant farmers.

However, Zambia only

has storage facilities for 8,23-million bags.

SADCC describes these facilities in rural areas in particular, as "very crude and very deplorable" resulting in high maize losses.

Botswana is also ravaged by a severe drought.

In 1981 it produced 54 000 tons of maize and sorghum but last year's harvest is expected to be below 16 000 tons. This has pushed total cereal import requirements for 1982/83 up.

Angola, which was 95 percent food sufficient before independence, now imports 80 percent of its food requirements.

The UN emergency food assistance programme is supplying 9 432 tons of maize and 707 tons of edible fats for war displaced persons in southern areas and 10 000 tons of cereals for drought victims. However, internal distribution of relief aid is hampered by inadequate transport facilities.

Lesotho, a country carved between towering mountains and the gullies of severe soil erosion, has had two years of deteriorating crops ravaged by both drought and frost.

Malawi has suffered less from drought than its neighbours — allowing its maize crop last year to increase seven percent to 1,55-million tons.

But President Hastings Banda's nation is less fortunate with livestock.

The annual mortality rate among village herds is about 15 percent. Malawi is losing, from East Coast fever alone (a cattle disease), some 39 000 animals a year. This is equivalent to 6 000 tons of edible meat and sufficient to raise per capita consumption by just over 5kg a year. It has a national herd of about 900 000 cattle — mainly the indigenous short horned Zebu cattle.

Swaziland's food situation is so critical that United Nations aid organisation has appealed for assistance for the tiny landlocked kingdom.

Tanzania is the only one of the nine SADCC nations not experiencing some sort of severe food problem. But this follows on the heels of a two-year drought period which the country's farmers are only now pulling out of.



# City archbishop queries hot-pursuit raids into SA

ARGus 31/1/83

Religion Reporter - ARE neighbouring countries entitled to make "hot-pursuit" raids into South Africa when armed South African-trained men cross the borders into their territory?

The question is asked by the Most Rev Philip Russell, Archbishop of Cape Town, in his February newsletter, Good Hope.

Referring to a trial being held in Harare, Archbishop Russell said it was claimed that the man in question had received training by the SADF in bushcraft, un-armed combat, rifle use and parachuting.

"None of these allegations has yet been proved - any more, of course, than those made by the

SADF in respect of the recent Maseru raid. But they do give rise to an interesting speculation.

"Say the allegations are correct. Would Zimbabwe be entitled to conduct a pre-emptive raid into the Republic?"

"And if they did, what would happen to the raiders? We can give an easy answer to that, all right!

"But in answering are we not, however unconsciously, falling into the power-game trap: Might is right. Right to sock the ANC in Maseru, right to knock the daylights out of any invader.

"There is, of course, nothing new in all this sort of thinking. It is as old as Cain and as new as the latest Cruise missile. And we in South Af-

rica are no worse and no better, no holier or less holy than anyone else in the world.

"We possibly swallow the militaristic propaganda of the Government more easily than others do, because of the monopolistic control of radio and TV and the network of laws covering military information.

"But as Christians we have got to hear alarm bells ring when the slogan 'might is right' - however camouflaged - is even an unquestioned part of our national thinking."

Archbishop Russell said that how disastrous this "might is right" thinking could be was indicated in the Orderly Movement and Settle-

ment of Black Persons Bill.

The Bill had not yet become law. But it contemplated making life intolerable for blacks in cities and using the twin arms of the police and the SADF to enforce the law.

"Those blacks whom it is proposed should be banished to swept-under-the-carpet rural areas, and kept there by our security forces, are our brothers and sisters in Christ.

"We have got to oppose the military direction of the present Government and seek total reconciliation in Christianity or, I believe, we would be failing in our duty towards God."

# PROJECTS APPROVED

## Donors meet for consideration

by KOENA KOTSOKOANE

Projects worth a total of US \$1.6 million in the agricultural and industrial sectors have been approved by the Southern African Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) Council of Ministers for presentation to the Donors' conference which opens in Maseru this morning.

\$1.5 million has been earmarked for development in the industrial field and \$100 million for agriculture.



Commissioner Edgar Pisani

## SADCC Maseru will be concrete—Pisani

by MATLALI MOTHEBE  
THE Commissioner of the European Economic Commission (EEC), Mr. E. Pisani, arrived yesterday at the head of a seven-man EEC delegation to attend the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference which opens here tomorrow.

On his arrival at the airport, Mr. Pisani said the present conference would be most useful because SADCC member states would for the first time present con-

crete projects for consideration by the donor countries.

He said politically the conference would underline the solidarity between the Southern African states and the international community.

Mr. Pisani said the EEC would play a special role in assisting SADCC to fulfil its objectives and to underline the political situation of the member states.

A total of 87 projects have been recommended by Tuesday's meeting of the Council of Industry Ministers of the SADCC, according to its chairman, Mr. Mramba, who is Tanzania's Minister of Industry. They will be presented to the Donors' Conference which opens in Maseru this morning.

In an interview with Lesotho Daily Mr. Mramba said these projects were proposed to satisfy the basic needs of the region identified at the Industry Ministers' meeting in Arusha, Tanzania in 1979.

He said most of the in-

dustrial projects were of a nature that would maximise agricultural production in the sub-region.

"For unless industry can first be used to boost agricultural production, its own development would soon be jeopardised by a lack of raw materials," Mr. Mramba said.

Some of the first projects to be launched will include tractor and farm implement assembly plants and the production of pesticides insecticides and fertilizer.

Other projects to be presented at to-days donors' conference will be in the field of energy.

## 'SADCC meeting here is clear breakthrough'

by JOE MOLEFI

AN eminent American political scientist and scholar, Professor Gwendoline Carter, says the SADCC meeting in Maseru this week is a clear breakthrough by the member countries in their commitment of partnership to help themselves.

Speaking on arrival in Maseru to attend the SADCC conference as an observer, Professor Carter said the international community was enthusiastic to support the SADCC member countries because they were satisfied with their collective effort to develop themselves.

She said it was also a demonstration of concern by the international community to lend a helping hand to the SADCC countries.

Dr. Carter spent three months touring the nine SADCC states to study their problems in relation to their common objective of reducing dependence on South Africa.

"Participating even as an onlooker in the constant interactions with the

delegates as the SADCC conference got underway, has given me the awareness that this organisation of majority-ruled states is moving beyond its natural concentration on the needs and potentialities of its individual members into a genuine regional association which is balancing the potentials of individual members with common regional needs", she said.

Professor Carter said the SADCC had come of age and was reflecting in its planning, the maturity that signals a strong and mature association in which the common needs of the individual countries become the touchstones of decisions.

She said what was happening within the SADCC was the result of decisions by states operating under majority rule and thus represents their freely chosen will.

Dr. Carter is a Professor of Political Science in the Programme of African Studies at Indian University in the United States and has written extensively on the politics of South Africa.

## Tobenno Gallery and Ta--Hsing and Tobenno Distillery



Tobenno Gallery

and

### Ta-Hsing and Tobenno Distillery

Welcomes all the Delegates to Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) and wishes the conference success.

We invite you to come and see our Handspun — Mohair Tapestries in different sizes and various designs: African Designs, Villages Scenes and Flowers.

We sell fine hand-made china, vases, cups, and lamp stands.

In our TaHsing Tobenno Distillery we sell at very low prices Herbal Liquor and Lesotho Sorghum Spirit (KIKI)

See you at: Tobenno Gallery

Ta-Hsing & Tobenno Distillery Area

(Behind Maseru Station)

P.O Box 1385

Maseru 100, Lesotho

TEL: 23038/22699

# Post-colonial regimes in Africa will provide economic liberation

by L. LEJAKANE

**NORMALIZATION** of political life by post-colonial regimes in Africa will provide the best political climate for economic liberation and the biggest weapon against South Africa's destabilization policies, the Director of the Institute for Southern African Studies Dr. Michael Sefali said this week.

Speaking from the Headquarters of the Institute in Roma, Dr. Sefali said South Africa was taking advantage of various opposition groups which were questioning the the legitimacy of the present regimes.

He expressed hope that because of SADCC's potential of providing a strong and economically attrac-

tive area for investment and markets for various goods, donor countries would oppose South African economic sabotage activities on the projects they finance.

Dr. Sefali said the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) based in Maputo had to date approved 106 projects for implementation with financial commitments approximated at US \$665 million.

In the areas of industrial development, concrete projects for feasibility studies and implementation are to be presented at the Maseru SADCC conference.

On the area of energy, conservation and security co-ordinated by Angola,

Dr. Sefali revealed that a study of the means of achieving regional self-sufficiency in the supply of petroleum products and negotiations for securing international co-operation were well underway.

In the field of Manpower Development, for which Swaziland has the co-ordinating function, he said external commitments of co-operation had been secured with regard to studies in various training programmes.

Work upon soil conservation, and land utilization, for which Lesotho is responsible, has started with the preparation of a preliminary list of possible areas for investigation.

Dr. Sefali dismissed as incorrect assertions that without donor assistance

most SADCC projects cannot be implemented. "I wish to argue that quite a number of SADCC projects can be implemented without donor assistance". For instance, Zimbabwe can meet Tanzania and Zambian needs for mealie meal without the involvement of external donors. If it were not for South Africa's economic sabotage, Mozambique could provide an effective route for Zimbabwe exports and imports including the import of crude oil, he said.

Dr. Sefali pointed out that the structure of economic co-operation within SADCC member countries already existed. Roads, harbours, railways airports and postal communications have been built already.

"What are needed are high quality goods and



Dr. Michael Sefali, Director of the Institute for Southern African Studies.

services produced within member states in order to put the existing communications infrastructure to good use".

On the possible involvement of socialist countries towards SADCC activities Dr. Sefali stated that some SADCC member states such as Angola and Mozambique have developed strong economic links with the socialist countries which are already making a significant contribution to their econo-

mic development. He expressed optimism that in the near future when details of projects and their priorities have been agreed upon, socialist countries would also be involved in the regional programmes of the SADCC countries.

As a matter of policy, socialist countries support the SADCC strategy of economic liberation and regional, co-operation in Southern Africa, he reaffirmed.



## Fraser Group

## of Companies



FRASER in Lesotho welcome FRASER

delegates to the Southern African  
Development Co-Ordination Conference,  
and  
congratulates Lesotho for hosting the  
conference. May the conference be a great  
success

# International airport: Work on civic construction to start in March

by JOE MOLEFI

CIVIC work on the construction of Lesotho's 49-million dollar international airport near Maseru will start before the end of March this year, making a significant development in plans towards the realisation of an important air link between Lesotho and the outside world.

Tenders to the successful bidder will be announced by the end of February, the Director of Civil Aviation in the Lesotho Ministry of Transport and Communications, Mr. Thabang Motsosi, said in Maseru this week that the launching of construction work on the ambitious airport project this year significantly coincided with the holding of the SADCC conference in Maseru.

He said the new Lesotho International Airport will put Lesotho on the path of achieving the SADCC countries' main objective of increasing communication and trade among the SADCC member states and consequently reducing dependence on South Africa.

Air transport is a vital service which plays a key role in Lesotho, because of its geographical situa-

tion within Southern Africa, and is crucial in the development of trade relations between Lesotho and the other member states of the SADCC and the rest of Africa.

Mr. Motsosi said air transport is the only means by which Lesotho can undertake trade with other states in the Southern African region without depending entirely on the South African transport system.

He said the Lesotho Government placed top priority on the airport project and that it was hoped the target date of commencement of operations in March 1985 would be met on schedule and event be accelerated.

Lesotho is at present linked with other member countries of the SADCC — Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique — through air routes served by her young and fledgling national airline, Lesotho Airways. Passenger and freight traffic on these routes have so far been encouraging and with plans for expansion, the volume of business carried by the airline will increase.

Mr. Motsosi said the new Lesotho International Airport would bring in a new dimension in

the operations of Lesotho Airways, by providing the airline with appropriate facilities for expanding its aircraft capacity in order to expand trade links among the SADCC member states.

The international airport, with a runway 3,200 metres long is adequate to accommodate all aircraft types within the SADCC countries, including Boeing 737, 727 and 707 aircraft.

Mr. Motsosi said one of the most important aspects in the establishment of the international airport is the provision of employment for the people of Lesotho during the construction phase, during which no fewer than 100 Basotho have been employed.

As far as training is concerned, he said by the time of its completion, the airport project will be the centre of the most advanced technology in Lesotho which will require very highly skilled personnel to carry out operations.

The Department of Civil Aviation had already worked out details of training plans for local personnel, some of which had already been implemented.

The next 24 months will see the introduction of intensive training in various technical sectors of civil aviation, including attachments of Basotho personnel and on-the-job training in some of the SADCC member countries.

The construction of the Lesotho International Airport will be financed by Arab Banks, comprising the Kuwait Fund, Abu Dhabi Fund, Saudi Fund, the Opec Fund and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA), the African Development Bank (ADB); the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Government of Finland.

The Canadian firm of Consulting Engineers, Delcanda International of Ottawa were responsible for the design of the airport.

The Department of Civil Aviation in the Ministry of Transport and Communications is the executing agency and has been provided with technical assistance by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) through the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO).



The Angolan Minister of Foreign Trade, Mr. Ismael Martins, arrives at the Leabua Jonathan Airport, Maseru, on Tuesday to attend the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

## Victim of mob justice dies in hospital

by STAFF REPORTER  
THE man who killed an Irish Roads Engineer at Pitso Road last Saturday died at the Queen II Hospital on Tuesday.

Petrose Mokoena (30) of Motimposo was beaten up by road workers after he stabbed Mr. Gregory Ash with a knife last Saturday.

A memorial service for Mr. Ash was held at Our Lady of Victories Cathedral in Maseru on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister has sent a message of condolences to the Irish Prime Minister, Dr. Garret Fitzgerald and to the family of Mr. Ash.

The Prime Minister expressed sympathy over the violent death of Mr. Ash while he was serving both Lesotho and Ireland.

He said the anger of the Basotho over this hideous act had been displayed by Mr. Ash's workers who had felt compelled to take the law into their own hands by seriously injuring Mokoena at the scene of the stabbing.

The body of Mr. Ash

will be flown to Ireland for burial.

## African Centre for Monetary Studies

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the post of Director of Research at the African Centre for Monetary Studies in Dakar, Senegal.

The Director of Research will supervise the Department and direct research in the field of money, banking and finance.

### QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE:

Advanced degree in Economics with emphasis on Monetary Analysis. The candidate must have a good knowledge of Econometrics and Statistics and at least five years research experience. In addition, candidates must be nationals of countries with membership in the Association of African Central Banks. French and English being the working languages at the Centre, it would be preferable that candidates have some knowledge of these two languages.

All applications together with detailed curriculum vitae should be forwarded to the Central Bank not later than Tuesday 15th February, 1983. Only the successful applicant will be contacted after.

SALARY: US \$33,325 per annum excluding allowances.

# LANCERS INN

## Studio I Night Club

STUDIO I NIGHT CLUB welcomes all the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) delegates to Lesotho.

We wish a most successful conference.

Studio I provides a warm atmosphere to relax in: where you can listen to the magic sounds by B. J. the D. J.

## Rendez Vous Restaurant

RENDEZ VOUS RESTAURANT is looking forward to meet all the delegates of the SADCC conference. We have a la carte international cuisine and Frank Swanston plays for you on the piano.

We are situated in the middle of the town.



Mr. Bangani Tsotsi.

## Tsotsi climbs the ladder to the top

by KOENA KOTSOKOANE  
THE new Country Director for the Institute of Development Management (IDM) is Mr. Bangani Tsotsi (37) who was appointed at the beginning of this year.

Tall and slightly bearded, Mr. Tsotsi holds a Masters' Degree in Public Administration from Temple University, Philadelphia in the United States of America. He has a wide experience in management and administration which he acquired in the USA in the personnel management and administrative fields. He also worked as Hospital Administrator from September 1974 to January 1977 in the Zambian Copperbelt.

On his arrival in Lesotho in 1977, Mr. Tsotsi was employed as Chief Staff Development Officer in the Cabinet Office (Personnel). Later he joined the Ministry of Health as Hospital Services Administrator and moved to the National Manpower Development Secretariat as Deputy Director in November 1978.

Prior to joining IDM,

Mr. Tsotsi was Personnel Manager for the Lesotho Electricity Corporation. He replaces Mr. Tom Makase whose contract has expired.

In an interview with Lesotho Daily, the new Country Director expressed hope that IDM's contribution towards developing manpower in both Lesotho and the region as a whole will increase in the future.

Mr. Tsotsi said he was particularly interested in IDM's role of accelerating the localisation of expatriate positions with well-trained indigenous managers who will be industrious as well as effective in managerial jobs.

He went on to say it was IDM's intention to direct their courses in such a way that they are relevant to suit particular needs of various organisations.

On the other hand IDM offered its services outside the official prospectus per invitation.

Mr. Tsotsi, who is married with one child, is looking forward to the challenge offered by his new job.

# Energy Minister and Norwegian Foreign Minister sign accord for three hydro-electric plants

by K. KOTSOKOANE  
THE Minister of Energy, Water and Mining, Mr. Matete Majara and the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. S. Stray yesterday signed an agreement for three mini-hydro electric plants which will cost \$700,000.

These plants will be built in the highlands in areas still to be specified.

Speaking at the occasion, The Minister for Economic Planning, Labour and Manpower, Mr. E. R. Sekhonyana said that this was the culmination of cooperation between Lesotho and Norway in the Energy sector, and he hoped that other avenues in this field will be exploited.

He added that the mini-hydro electrical plants are a novel scheme and one of the most crucial in Lesotho's efforts to achieve

self-sufficiency.

In response Minister Stray expressed satisfaction with the agreement as the first stage which will lead to more cooperation between the two

countries.

Minister Sekhonyana noted that the African Development Bank has also supported four water schemes with piping in the Mafeteng, Mofale's

Hoek, Quthing and Mokhotlong districts.

The French Government meanwhile has agreed to fund three other mini-hydro electrical plants.



The Swaziland delegation attending the SADCC Council of Minister's Session at the Hilton yesterday.

## Priest's application for bail turned down

by EDDIE MOHOLISA

THE application for bail by Father Shadrack Nduma of the St. Agnes Anglican Mission in Teyateyaneng was turned down in the Lesotho High Court on Monday.

The presiding judge, Mr. Justice B. K. Molai, said Fr. Ndumo and two other persons have been indicated on allegations of treason emanating from activities aimed at overthrowing the government of Lesotho.

In refusing him bail he said the charges had become of so serious a nature that they now raised a greater temptation for

Father Ndumo to abscond.

The prosecution papers before the court described Father Ndumo as an "architect of the Lesotho Liberation Army."

He is charged together with Molefi Raphaelile and Nyamane Kholoane for subversive activities committed in Teyateyaneng, Maseru, the National University of Lesotho and the two South African towns of Ficksburg and Senekal between March 1981 and September 1982.

In his prayer Fr. Ndumo said he had no intention to abscond because he has a sick wife in hospital and three children who are being cared for by relatives.

## Finance officer

LESOTHO PLANNED PARENTHOOD ASSOCIATION

QUALIFICATIONS: Degree in Accounting. Experience in Personnel Management and Project Accounting will be an added advantage.

DUTIES:

- Keeping of books of Accounts
- Supervising Work Programme Estimates
- Preparing regular monthly, quarterly, half-yearly and Annual Financial Statements
- Operating the Pension Fund with the help of the Pensions Committee
- Having Custody of Property of the Association

FRINGE BENEFITS

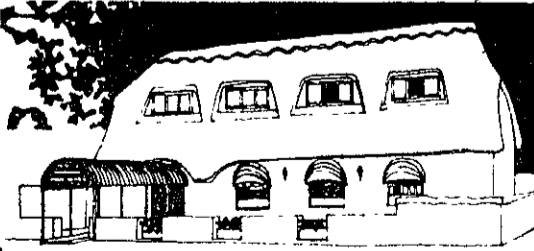
- 21 Working days annual leave
- Participation in 5% Contributory Pension Scheme

SALARY SCALE:

- M7128 x 198 — M8118 p.a.

Application forms are obtainable from LIPA, AME James Centre, P.O. BOX 340, MASERU, 100, and should be filled and returned to Executive Director not later than 9 February, 1983.

Interested applicants who had responded to the previous advertisement may re-apply.



**BOCCACCIO**  
ITALIAN RESTAURANT

Telephone 23279  
Maseru  
Kingdom of Lesotho

**GIOVANNI ERUDITISSIMO**  **BOCCACCIO FIORENTINO**

Victoria Hotel  
Kingway  
Open Road → Holiday Inn  
Next to Basotho Hat  
**Joe & Juliano** welcome you to genuine French and Italian Cuisine and a Continental Atmosphere  
Open daily (except Monday) 12.30 p.m. - 2.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. - 11.00 p.m.



# MASS PARTICIPATION CRUCIAL—MOTLOTLEHI



His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II speaking at the opening of the SADCC Donor Conference in Maseru yesterday.

## SA's acts of sabotage against our economy will not be tolerated

by KOENA KOTSOKOANE  
THE Chairman of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) Council of Ministers, Mr. Peter Mmusi, says the SADCC member states cannot sit idly by while South Africa performs acts of sabotage against their economic efforts.

Addressing the Donor Conference of SADCC Maseru at Hilton yesterday Mr. Mmusi cited the destruction of petrol facilities at Beira and the continued acts of aggression against Angola as moves to cripple the economies of SADCC countries.

"It is not much use to de-

velop ports and pipelines, roads and railways and then watch in silence as they are blown up."

Mr. Mmusi said the SADCC member states were not responsible for acts of sabotage against South Africa although she was actively involved in undermining economic co-ordination of the sub-region.

He asked why South Africa's acts of aggression against the SADCC states are not dealt with through internationally accepted practices which include withdrawal of access to financial facilities and selective sanctions in respect of critical goods and air transport.

See page 4

by STAFF REPORTER  
MOTLOTLEHI MOSHOESHOE II has described the Southern African Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) as a concrete response to the aspirations of the people of the region to improve their living standards.

Opening the SADCC Donor Conference in Maseru yesterday, Motlotlehi said SADCC's strongest asset is the people and for it to succeed, it should make sure that its guiding star is mass participation in develop-

ment.

He said it will be crucial for SADCC to enlist the participation of the people through farmers' unions, women's organisations, institutions of learning and financial institutions in planning

and carrying out its development programmes.

Motlotlehi urged the SADCC community to use the assistance it would receive from the Donor Community to establish foundations for a lasting improvement

of the living standards of its people.

"It will be a stab in the back of our people to make SADCC an accident of history that can only survive so long as the financial spirit of the Friends of SADCC sustain it", he said.

He further urged the SADCC to re-commit itself to greater co-operation with the rest of the African Continent.

See page 2

## Nordic countries to support victims of sabotage in SADCC

by EDDIE MOHOLISA  
AND MPINE TENTE  
THE Nordic countries of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, have assured the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) member states of support in their quest for economic and political development leading to full self-reliance.

This assurance was given by Denmark's Foreign Minister, Mr. U. Elleman-Jansen who spoke on behalf of the Nordic countries at the opening of the SADCC conference at the Hilton Hotel yesterday.

The Nordic countries will give support to those member states whose economies were vulnerable to external sabotage. Mr. Elleman-Jansen referred to the sabotage acts committed by South Africa's apartheid regime in Lesotho, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Lesotho's position as an enclave within South Africa indicated an urgent need for economic independence. This, Mr. Elleman-Jansen pointed out, was underlined by the recent South African Defence Force raid on Maseru on the morning of December 10, last year.

He said South Africa's illegal occupation of Angola and the recent sabotage on the Beira oil pipe-line in Mozambique were other incidents of concern to the

international community.

Mr. Elleman-Jansen commended the Nine member

states of SADCC for the progress they have achieved (See page 4)

## BLUES INTERIOR DECORATORS

Specialist in Wall to Wall carpeting, curtaining, wall-papers, all bedding materials and garden furniture.

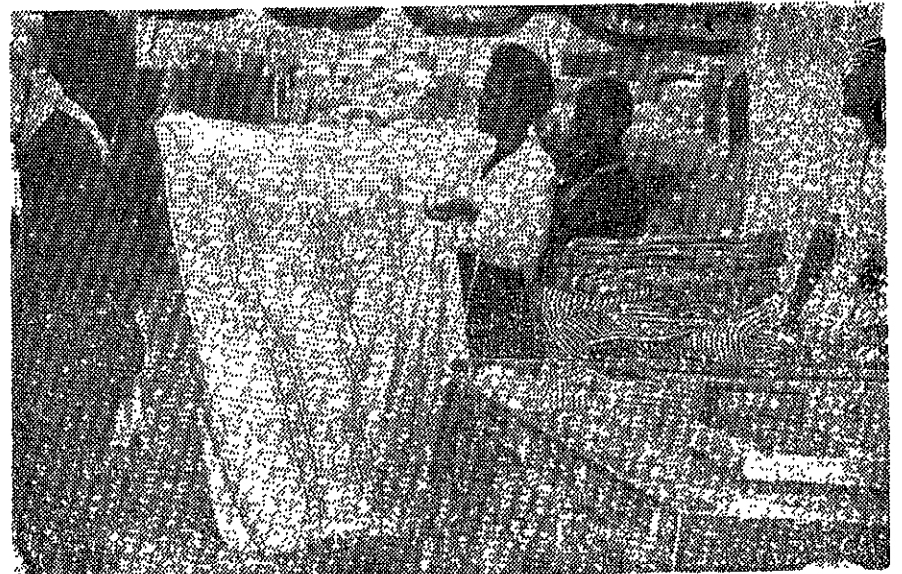
We Keep a complete range of all brands of carpets, the largest and most beautiful selection of curtains in town.

We accept all calls throughout Lesotho. We give free quotations.

NEW — Carpet and upholstery cleaning is a new service we give to all our customers.

Please call for a variety of special offers at:

BLUES INTERIOR DECORATORS,  
P.O. BOX 2081,  
LEABUA HIGHWAY,  
MASERU,  
TEL. 23585.



# Motlotehi addresses SADCC

THE ideals that brought Heads of States and Governments together in Lusaka, on the 1st of April, 1980, have, again, brought together, in Lesotho, distinguished delegates from the Member States of our organisation.

The commitments which Heads of States and Governments took, on behalf of their peoples, on that day, are still very much alive; and this Conference serves as a continuing reminder of, and a re-dedication to, those commitments — commitments to economic liberation, to the eradication of all forms of poverty and deprivation amongst our peoples.

We are gathered here because we have accepted both the moral and political commitment that the well-being of our societies is the primary goal of our development policies.

We believe that a radical "basic needs" approach has a better chance of eradicating poverty in our societies within the life-time of some of us.

We believe that there must be popular participation, in the definition, implementation, and benefits of basic needs strategies, we believe that popular participation entails, not only concentration on material needs, but also a full commitment to, and respect for, basic human rights.

We believe that a society must rely primarily upon its own resources, and then co-operate with like-minded countries.

Ultimately, we believe that there must be, amongst our countries and societies, a package or packages, of mutually reinforcing policies which will enable us to achieve our ideals and objectives.

It is recognised that specific sets of policies, in each country, may depend on such factors as its own level of economic development, its own pattern of income and wealth distribution, and the local definition of basic needs; but, nonetheless, there must be certain common principles that must guide us all if we are going to achieve the ultimate end with harmony.

Many of the developing countries stand accused, by some of the developed countries, of adopting the rhetoric of basic needs while implementing only those marginal reforms required to give credence to the notion of progress, and hence, forestall popular challenges!

It is to our honour that we must re-state our beliefs, and convince the developed countries of our will to succeed.

We must be seen to have effective, decentralized, and democratic administrative structures to translate policies into decisions and actions; those structures must embody mass participation, in the development process, by the groups most affected — for example, farmers' organizations, chambers of commerce, trade unions, women's organizations, institutions of learning, financial institutions.

## LOUD AND CLEAR

One would like all the member states of our organization to re-confirm in a manner that will be loud and clear, those ideals and objectives which motivated the founding fathers — which ideals and objectives are, in fact, embodied in the spirit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Charter — that a national government, if it wants to be truly national, ought to govern by the people, for the people, and for the outcasts as well; that no leader, however, valuable he may be, can substitute himself for the popular will; that a national government, before concerning itself about international prestige, ought first to give back to all the citizens their dignity, fill their minds, and feast their eyes with human things, and create a prospect that is human, because conscious and sovereign men dwell therein.

If each national government did those things, then it would follow that all national governments were on the same course, and ultimately all of our peoples in the region would attain true political and economic liberation.

## TRIBUTE

While, we pay tribute to the founding fathers of this organization, let us all remember, with deep respect, the departed soul of our late dear friend and brother, King Sobhuza II, and also the late Vice-President of Botswana, Honourable Seretse.

The special place which the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) holds in charting new Southern African social, political and economic initiatives needs no further elaboration.

The success of previous meetings of the SADCC at ministerial levels, at consultative levels with donor countries, and at summit levels, bear testimony to a hope we all cherish of a better future for all in the sub-region.

## MOTIVATED

We are motivated by the rationale of SADCC, in order to accelerate our economic development and mutual beneficial inter-dependence, so as to sustain our

hard-won political independence.

It is to the noble aspirations of our peoples — aspirations of improving their standards of living; of guaranteeing continuance of political participation under democratic and just institutions they have entrusted to your care; that you are responding through SADCC.

## COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Time is calling upon the collective leadership of this sub-region to chart this course, because it is in Africa's interests to do so.

It would be a stab in the back of our peoples to make SADCC an accident of history that can only survive so long as the financial spirit of the friends of SADCC sustain it.

It is our conviction that this organization is the beginning of a much more permanent and fruitful dispensation in political, economic and social relations among our member states, and within the states themselves.

## UNBREAKABLE TIES

But, we must never forget that our responsibilities extend far beyond the environs of Southern Africa.

We have unbreakable ties and commitments with the rest of our brothers in the African continent, and, as we mould the SADCC, we have to equally re-commit ourselves to strengthening the fraternal bonds in political, economic and cultural terms with the rest of Africa. The same sentiment can be repeated in relations between Africa and the rest of the developing world.

## FOOLHARDY

It would be foolhardy of us to forget that nations have in the past and even in the present, unleashed the full might of their powers against each other, and that wars have been fought in pursuit of economic and political self-interests.

As we further broaden our relationships, let us encourage the North South to recognize each other as members of the same human race, who would either prosper together, through mutual extension of benefits, or face negative consequences through individualistic and selfish maximization of sectional interests.

We appeal to our friends not to look at human issues, in Africa, in terms of the East-West conflicts.

We appeal to them to take African nationalism in the same way that the revolution of the East and the West were taken — as expressions of legitimate aspirations of their peoples.

## PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS

To us this meeting reflects in very strong and positive manner the commitment of those progressive elements constituting co-operation between the SADCC countries in the South, and the SADCC friends in the North. We are even more encouraged to notice such co-operation in development.

It should be our inflexible determination that this commendable milestone should further harmonize with other regions and lead to more cross pollination of concepts, and to more mutually beneficial global arrangements, leading in the end to new and truly just world economic order.

## PROBLEMS

On the home-front, our sub-region is faced with problems of infrastructure and communications; problems of inadequate supply and distribution of food as well as problems of increasing populations that negate real growth.

Not least is the problem of inadequate compensation for our products, while imperatives of development necessitate us to procure capital goods at market prices.

## PEOPLE ARE A SOURCE

Platitudes and empty recriminations will not help us to overcome our problems.

We should remember that people are a source of indefatigable strength and, whatever strategies we contrive towards social, economic and political development, it is this asset, the people, that is important.

It is thus all the more relevant that among reports to be tabled at this conference, there will be one on manpower development.

## GUIDING STAR

Because SADCC is for the people as a whole, and not for any one section of them, let us, as we today rededicate ourselves to the Lusaka commitment of the 1st April, 1980, make sure that our guiding star is mass participation in development, through a sensitive and accountable leadership



The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Stray, pays a courtesy call on the Prime Minister, Dr. Leabua Jonathan at his offices on Wednesday.

It is our hope that the spirit of SADCC will inspire the initiative of our farmers; that it will motivate the positive responses of our teachers and the youth; that it will give a sense of purpose and full participation to our workers; that it will encourage the responsible progressive creativity of investors in relation to equitable distribution of the fruits of such investments.

## FOOD PRODUCTION

As we increase food production, let that production be carried out by people themselves, because food self-sufficiency or security can only be sustained at acceptable momentum when the right ratio between technical inputs and peoples participation is struck.

As we tackle the industrial initiatives, let us attempt to satisfy, first, the basic needs of our populations and central to this "basic needs development" is a shift, throughout the economy, towards more appropriate technologies producing more appropriate goods.

The basic needs approach does not deny that trade is important for our foreign exchange earnings.

What it means is that the political and economic systems will bring about a greater awareness for a national commitment, to develop an independent technological capability, and to foster appropriate technologies.

This, in turn, would mean the beginning of an end of foreign domination of many manufacturing concerns, and the transfer of control over export trade from foreign to local entrepreneurs, thus advancing the goal of national and collective self-reliance.

It is important therefore that industrial initiatives be based on products having first immediate relevance to the peoples of our region within the framework of our organization, and secondly, having a competitive advantage in international markets.

Only when industrial production is relevant to our peoples, will alienation and negative or apathetic attitudes be overcome.

## ENERGY

The increasing awareness, throughout the world, of the need to urgently solve the energy problems at both national and international levels — could not make this conference a more fitting venue for the discussion of this important subject.

Lesotho's experience, arising from total dependence on external sources, have been harsh and bitter.

Our scarce foreign exchange resources are heavily loaded consequently, our agricultural sector is going to be affected in terms of growth and competitiveness, and our industrialisation initiatives will be greatly slowed down.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon us at national levels and within the context of our SADCC's responsibilities to gear all our efforts and harmonise our policies in such a way that the effects of these energy problems can be minimized.

## DECEMBER 9

By now the distinguished delegates are all familiar with the events of the early morning of December 9 last year, a day that constitutes sad memories not only amongst us in Lesotho, but also among all people of goodwill.

Without belabouring the events of that tragic day we wish to thank our brothers in Africa and all our friends in the international community, for unmistakable support and expression of solidarity with our people at that time when we needed you most.

## POLITICAL SUPPORT

We know that, among other reasons, you are here motivated by a spirit of giving us political support during this trying time. We take full note and we thank you.

(Continued on page 4)

# Soil Conservation in Lesotho

## Trees to combat soil erosion

by M. MATHAHA

THE menace of soil erosion causes Lesotho an annual loss of 2% of her limited arable land of 390,000 hectares. This represents 13% of the country's land base of 3 million hectares.

Under the country's Third Five Year Development Plan (1980-85) the Ministries of Agriculture and Marketing and Rural Development and Cooperatives are engaged in an intensive erosion control programme.

According to the Ministry of Agriculture's Chief Conservation Officer, Mr. J. M. Lepele, the country-wide problem of erosion has been aggravated by ignorance of conservation methods and a general lack of interest in conservation projects on the part of the public.

He believes this was brought about by the ex-

clusion of the public from government-run projects. "Success lies in their involvement," he noted.

The division of conservation has been divided into five sections - soils, planning, forestry, engineering and operations.

The Planning Section deals with the Physical Planning, which involves experiments to identify suitable conservation measures for various soil types in the country; the training section which is considered to ensure the success of the programme and the information section, the extension arm of the department which concentrates on dissemination of information.

### COURSES

Officials from the training and information section go out into the villages to conduct courses on soil conservation measures for

village conservation committees who later carry on the job.

Assistant Conservation officers are stationed in each of the areas earmarked for conservation committees. It is also hoped the recently introduced labour-intensive policy, will involve the public in conservation measures.

Foundations for a comprehensive, national afforestation programme have been laid out.

The forest act of 1978 and the 1980 Forest Regulations laid out legal authority for the planting, establishment, management, maintenance and control of Forest reserves.

Tree and Shrub planting is done over an area of 50 hectares per year.

The kinds of conservation activities the Division of Soil Conservation undertakes are dam building, construction of terraces, water-ways, gabions, stone structures, and diversions.

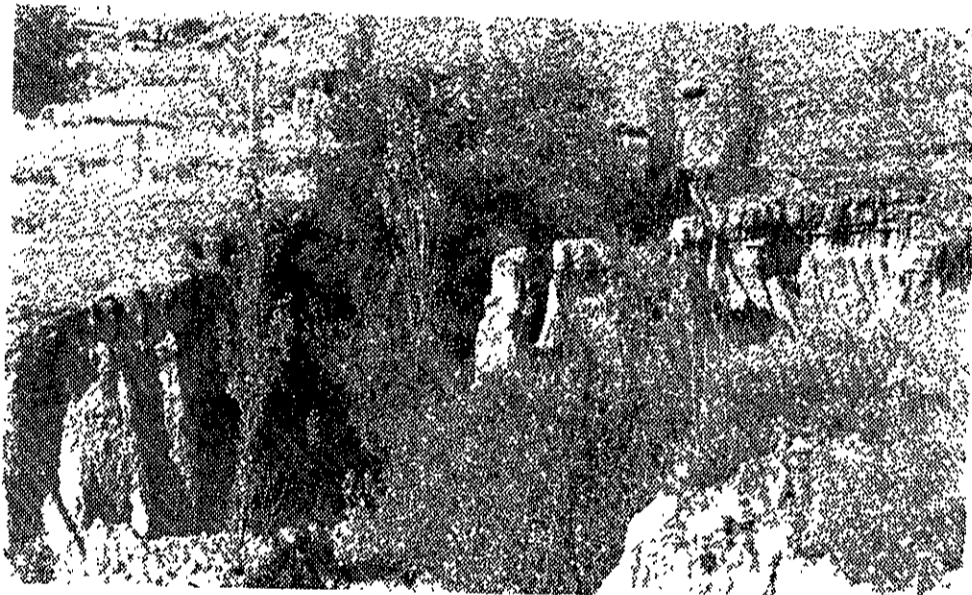
The success of the conservation project cannot be measured until it be known what percentage of land has been eroded. This is planned for the near future, according to the Chief Conservation Officer, Mr. Lepele.

The Division is currently concentrating on protection and prevention of erosion rather than reclaiming land.

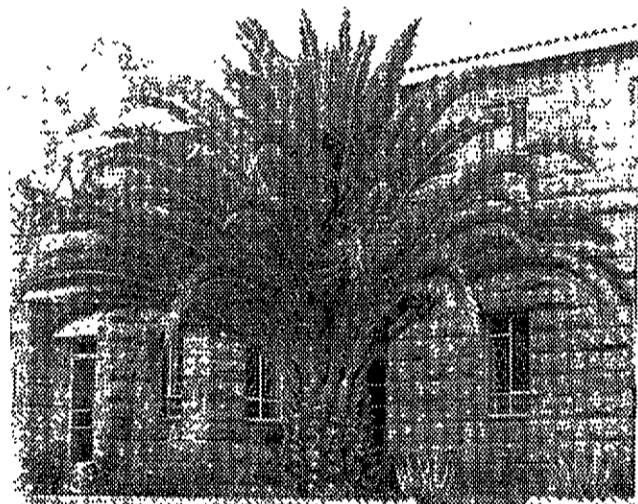
A reclamation project was undertaken a few years ago under the auspices of the Thaba-Bosiu Development Project at Ha Ratau, Thaba-Bosiu. Although this was successful, it also proved expensive, Mr. Lepele said.



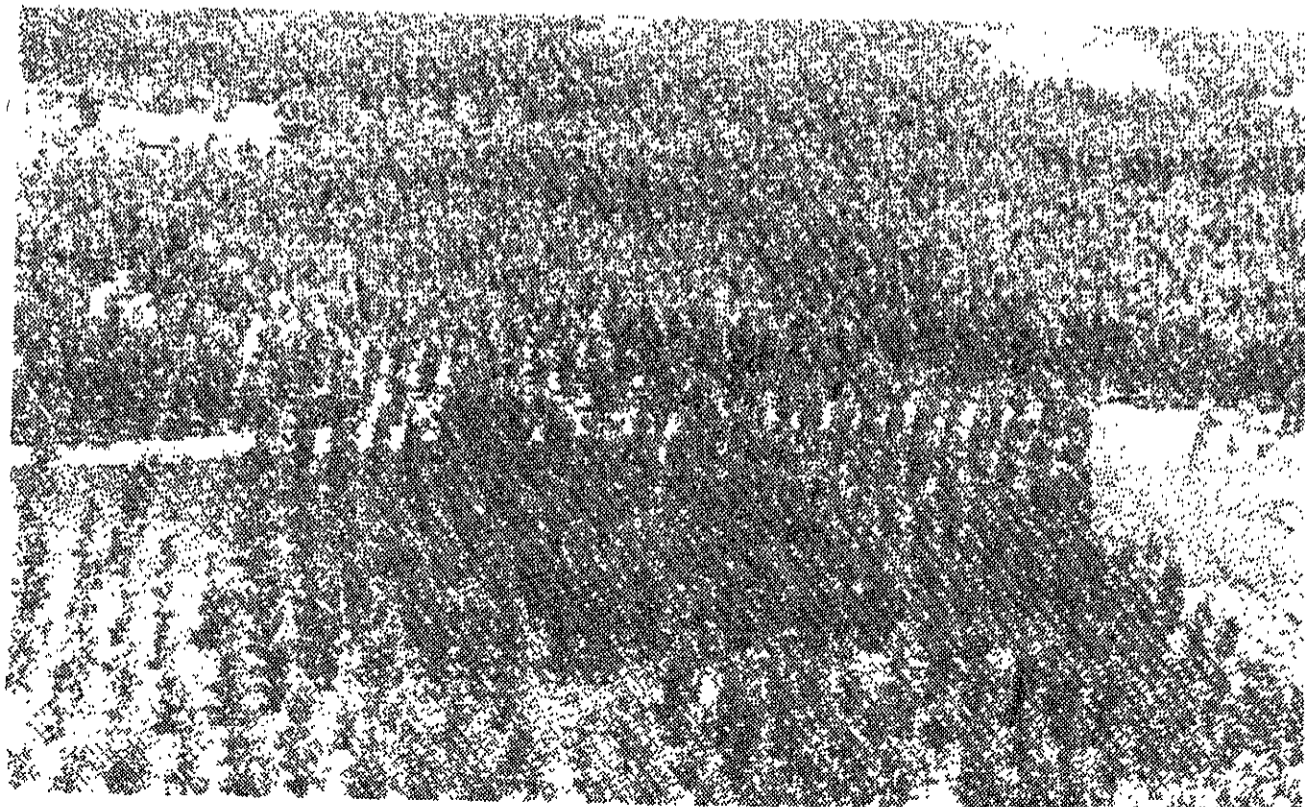
Queen 'Mamohato leads the nation by planting a tree on the annual tree planting day.



Soil conservation work led by Motlotlehi Moshochoe II a few years ago has arrested erosion in gullies at Tseroane, Berea.



Lesotho's climate allows the growth of various types of exotic trees including this palm tree.



Trees planted under the Woodlot Project at Mokhehoaneng, Berea.

### WOODLOTS

The Division of Soil Conservation is also being assisted in the afforestation programme by a sister-department, the Lesotho Woodlot Project, which although established mainly to create plantations to produce wood fuel and

small sized timber, also helps in the forestry conservation programme.

Under the Lesotho Woodlot Project which has been operating since 1973, 213 plantations with a total area of 3,656 hectares, have been planted with mainly pine and eucalyptus.

The project has six nurseries which are estimated to have produced about a million tree seedlings in 1981.

The other sections, soils, engineering and operations, identify soil types to ensure proper constructions and execute the projects, with their surveyors and equipment.

### RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Ministry of Cooperatives, Rural Development oversees conservation projects by self-help organisations and there are currently 115 of these in eight of the country's 10 districts employing 3,825 people.

These projects which are operated with the assistance of the Canadian Relief Services (CRS) which supplies food aid and the Lesotho Government which gives financial assistance, still do most of the work supervised by the Division of Soil Conservation although they are largely labour intensive according to Minrudev Conservation Officer, Mr. E. T. Lethole.

### Church services

ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL OF ST MARY'S  
ST. JAMES  
LANCERS RD. MASERU WEST

#### SUNDAY EUCHARIST:

6.30 a.m.	Sesotho
8.00 a.m.	English
9.00 a.m.	Sesotho

Christmas and Easter: at the same times  
(DEAN AND RECTOR: VERY REV ISRAEL AWELANE TEL. 23697)



Chairman of SADCC Council of Ministers, Mr. Peter Mmusi

## Sabotage against our economy is intolerable

From page 1  
ECONOMICS

Mr. Mmusi noted that this external factor of destabilisation coupled with severe weather conditions have affected each SADCC state for over two years.

The drought threatens the continuing resilience and viability of our fragile ecologies thus rendering our programmes in respect of food security, crop research and soil and water conservation increasingly important, the Chairman said.

Notwithstanding global recession, Mr. Mmusi urged that greater weight be given

to the mutual inter-dependence which exists within the international economy.

This international economy is threatened by the rise of protectionism and subsidisation of commercial agricultural exports that hamper SADCC's export efforts, he explained.

The Chairman urged the Conference to consider the possibility that basic regional reserves of staple foods be stored at strategic points here in Southern Africa for ready availability to avoid the lag between aid commitment and procurement and between procurement and delivery.

# SADCC is in line with Lagos Plan of Action for Economic Dev. of Africa

by K. KOTSOKOANE

"THE Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) is in line with the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa," the Assistant Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity, (OAU), Mr. Paul Etiang said yesterday.

According to Mr. Etiang, the OAU will encourage SADCC from a technical approach by co-operating with international and regional organisations that may fund programmed projects.

In an interview with Lesotho Daily, Mr. Etiang said that the Lagos Plan of Action envisages a 20 year programme within which Africa will develop an African Common Market that includes all her countries.

He added that the aim is to establish an African Economic Community in the 1990's with a projection to declare herself-sufficient by the year 2000.

Mr. Etiang said existing economic groups like the Economic Commission for Western African States (ECOWAS) would be solidified and new sub-groupings such as the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), set up.

He explained that the SADCC therefore, fits in as a voluntary expression of the sovereign rights of members of the OAU in addition to fulfilling economic programmes for the continent.

The Assistant Secretary noted that SADCC was in no way working against South Africa but was embarking on a positive ef-

fort by the nine to take over and handle their own economic destiny as they have done in obtaining political independence.

### OAU SUMMIT

Despite recent political developments within the OAU, Mr. Etiang said, the Organisation has viewed this as a temporary but healthy situation in that, it has given it the forum to deal with matters that disunite the body.

He expressed hope that the final outcome of all

these differences will be genuine comradeship since all emergent issues will have been dealt with.

He explained that to the present, only issues of common and mutual interest such as anti-apartheid campaigns have been discussed.

In conclusion he disclosed that the OAU Summit will take place soon at a date to be announced by the current Chairman, President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya.

## King addresses SADCC

(Continued from page 2)

We know that you are fully aware that the tribulations of Lesotho are only a manifestation of a more sinister and general factor that it destabilizing all the black majority-ruled democracies of Southern Africa.

### PARTNERS

We appeal to all our partners in development to strengthen their resolve in continuing to lending a help that they are already so generously giving to our countries, so that the people of Angola can ever stand with strength and dignity to defend their independence; so that the peoples of Zimbabwe, and of Mozambique can be left alone to enjoy their hard-won independence and determine their social and economic destinies without interference or sabotage to their economies.

Let all in Southern Africa remember that the joint sacrifices, of our partners in development, and those of our peoples, can only bear fruit within an atmosphere of full respect to our political sovereignty.

Is it too much to request all of our peoples to rally around the sacrosanctity of human person, regardless of religious and ethnic accidents, which were not meant by the Creator to become sources of strife between men, but are complementary colours of the life kaleidoscope?

### HUMAN DIGNITY

We hope that the humble arrangements for this conference will facilitate fruitful deliberations and considerations of the heavy agenda before you.

Your vistas should ensure the future of SADCC to serve the peoples it is intended to serve; we hope that SADCC will open to our peoples that degree of versatility and mobility so that they can respond to the advantages of co-operation and collaboration among themselves; we are confident that SADCC leaders will continue to be wise and be aware of, and sensitive to the aspirations of their peoples, so that this organisation, can fully be a peoples organisation serving at all times the interest of the people, to give the people that human dignity which is their right.

### NECESSARY STEPS

While consolidating our economic independence, we further look ahead with a hopeful sense of anticipation to the day that Namibia will take its rightful seat amongst us, within SADCC.

We even enter in a much greater hope that all the people of South Africa will jointly take those necessary steps to remove all the obstacles which have kept South Africa away from our collective effort to mobilise all of our economic and human resources for the betterment of the entire Southern Africa.

## EEC aid to SADCC tops 420m dollars

by STAFF REPORTER

DEVELOPMENT co-operation between the European Economic Community and Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference presently amounts to \$423 million under the ACP/EEC Lome II national and regional programmes.

## Nordic states to support victims

From page 1

in the short period dating from the formation of the organisation in July, 1979 in Arusha, Tanzania.

He said this marked a new milestone in the economic development of Southern Africa region.

A message from the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, who was unable to attend the conference congratulated the SADCC countries on the progress they have made since the Arusha conference.

He said both economic and political co-operation was necessary.

He further pointed out that in pursuing their economic objectives the states SADCC should not detract their attention from South Africa's repeated acts of aggression to frustrate their efforts.

According to reports, this amount is available on grant terms to ACP members of SADCC.

Funds amounting to \$357 million have been allocated in agricultural development schemes, economic and social infrastructure in the rural areas for education and training.

A further \$2 million supports small social and rural development projects annually.

The \$66 million available under Lome II for SADCC regional projects extends to programmes in a range of sectors, including transport, energy, communication, agricultural research, disease control, vocational training and technical assistance.

In addition to the national and regional programmes of Lome II special provisions amounting to \$61 million have been earmarked for the stabilisation of export earnings (Stabex) for supporting mineral production capacity and for humanitarian aid in emergency situations.

Significant food aid contributions are also made by the Community to SADCC countries, which currently run at more than \$14 million per annum.

Additional emergency aid for refugees and displaced people notably in Lesotho and Angola is available.

## Hotel Victoria

Tel. 22002

Saturday night is  
Carvery night  
A choice of 4 delicious  
PA roasts

Beef

\*\*

Lamb

\*\*

Pork

\*\*\*

Turkey

Served with farm fresh vegetables

Selection of sweets

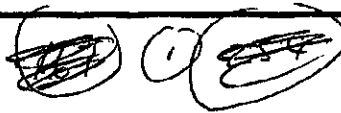
\*\*\*

Coffee. M9-00 per person

## Lesotho Airport shop for tapestries

Take a Lesotho Tapestry Home at end of your stay in the Mountain Kingdom.

Available at reasonable prices at Airport shop, Leabua Jonathan Airport, Maseru.



# Sabotage in Lesotho seen as evidence of SA attempts to destabilise neighbouring states

A view of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) conference by Jasper Mortimer of the Argus Africa News Service.

MASERU. — The saboteurs who sneaked up to two small reservoirs outside Lesotho's capital early on Thursday did more harm to the South African Government than to their targets.

The blasts, which occurred minutes later, did not rock Maseru, as was reported, either literally or figuratively.

But they provided the 315 delegates to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference — including the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Norway and Denmark — with what was seen as a clear case of "South Africa's economic destabilisation of neighbouring states".

## CENSURE

Exploding only hours before the conference's start, the bombs set the tone for the most vigorous censure of South Africa ever heard at an SADCC meeting.

Founded in 1980 as a pooling of resources of nine Southern African states, the SADCC has up to now been noted for its

emphasis on economic concerns. Its members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Though its aim is to reduce members' reliance on South Africa, it has been low-key in its condemnation of the apartheid government.

Only last August did the Times of London say the SADCC had won the respect of Western governments and aid agencies through its "seriousness of purpose, sensibly limited objectives and refreshing lack of cant and political posturing".

## FRENETIC

But since then the "destabilisation" campaign has grown at an almost frenetic pace. On one day last year — December 9 — the Mozambique National Resistance (which the US State Department says is South African-backed) blew up 34 fuel tanks at Beira and the SADF itself provoked a world outcry with the attack on Maseru which left 42 dead.

Elsewhere, Zimbabwe has endured weeks of petrol queues because of an MNR attack on the Beira-Mutare pipeline, has killed three SADF soldiers who were making an "unauthorised sortie (allegedly to attack the railway), and has lost a dozen jets to unknown saboteurs at Gweru airbase.

In Angola, the Unita rebels, widely believed to be South African-supplied, continue to render the Benguela railway inoperative and 14 days ago "whites with beards" sabotaged the Lomaum hydro-electric power station.

Little wonder, then, the knives were out in Maseru.

## DEVELOPMENT

"It is not much use developing ports and pipelines, roads and railways and then watching in silence as they are blown up," said the chairman of the SADCC council of ministers, Mr Peter Musi, who is also Vice-President of Botswana.

"We," he said pointedly, "have not blown up the Durban facilities to

force South Africa to use the Beira pipeline. We have not sabotaged the South African rail link to Maputo to enforce use of the (Zimbabwe-Mozambique) line.

"It is vital that something be done to attack South Africa's attacks," he urged the representatives of 28 countries and 22 donor agencies.

He suggested they use intense diplomatic pressure and selective sanctions on critical goods and air transport.

## DEPLORED

In reply, speaker after speaker deplored apartheid, criticised South Africa's presence in SWA/Namibia and said the Maseru raid was "tragic" (US), "brutal" (Norway and Denmark) and "barbaric" (Commonwealth).

Strongest of all was Swedish Foreign Minister Mr Lennart Bodstrom, who reiterated his country's call for "comprehensive" sanctions against South Africa. However, this option, it is often said, would cost the West more than it is prepared to pay.

# Lesotho sabotage did South Africa no good

The saboteurs who sneaked up to two small reservoirs outside Lesotho's capital early on Thursday did more harm to the South African Government than to their target.

For the blasts which occurred minutes later did not "rock Maseru" (as was reported) either literally or figuratively.

But they did provide the 315 delegates to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference — including the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Norway and Denmark — with what was seen as a clear case of "South Africa's economic destabilisation of neighbouring states."

Exploding only hours before the conference's start, the bombs set the tone for the most vigorous censure of South Africa yet heard at a SADCC meeting

Founded in 1980 as a pooling of resources of nine Southern African states, SADCC has up to now been noted for its emphasis on economic concerns. (Its members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.)

Though its aim is to reduce members' reliance on South Africa, it has been low key in its condemnation of Pretoria. But recent events have changed that.

On December 9 the Mozambique National Resistance (which the US State Department says is South African-backed) blew up 34 fuel tanks at Beira and the SADF itself provoked a world outcry with the attack on Maseru which left 42 dead.

Elsewhere, Zimbabwe has endured weeks of petrol queues because of an MNR attack on the Beira-Mutare pipeline, has killed three SADF soldiers who were making an "unauthorised" sortie, and has lost a dozen jets to unknown saboteurs at Gweru airbase.

In Angola the Unita rebels, widely believed to be South African supplied, continue to make the Benguela railway inoperative and 14 days ago "whites with beards" sabotaged the Lomaum hydroelectric power station.

Little wonder, then, the knives were out in Maseru.

Since its inception in 1980, the SADCC has been low key in its condemnation of the South African Government. Recent events have changed that, says Jasper Mortimer of The Star's Africa News Service in this report from Maseru.



Mmusi . . . selective sanctions urged.

"It is not much use to develop ports and pipelines, roads and railways and then watch in silence as they are blown up," said the chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers, Mr Peter Mmusi, who is also Vice-President of Botswana.

He urged the representatives of 28 countries and 22 donor agencies to use intense diplomatic pressure on South Africa, withdrawal of access to financial facilities and selective sanctions on critical goods and air transport.

In reply, speaker after speaker deplored apartheid, criticised

South Africa's presence in Namibia, and condemned the Maseru raid as "tragic" (US), "brutal" (Norway and Denmark) and "barbaric" (Commonwealth).

The conference had been called to ask the donors to contribute R900 million towards 85 industrial, agricultural and energy projects in the SADCC states. The donors have already provided R644 million for about 100 transport and communica-

tions projects, of which 21 have been finished or are under construction.

The EEC's Commissioner for Development, Mr Edgard Pisani said the numerous acts of sabotage were executed by "South Africa and its allies." The attack on the reservoirs was not performed by the SADF "but with the support of it." (The SADF has denied supporting the Unita, MNR and Lesotho rebels.)

"The characteristic of these attacks is that they are aimed at destroying the economic capitalities of these countries, said Mr. Pisani

And what if the A N C is using these states to attack South Africa?

"If from time to time there are some counter-initiatives, this does not alter the fact the main burden of war activities (in this region) is the responsibility of South Africa."

Much of what Mr Pisani said was highlighted for the conference by the attack on the reservoirs. This was presumably carried out by the Lesotho Liberation Army and had the characteristics of their work: a small-scale target in an isolated place, close to the Free State border.

The LLA would have intended it to draw the delegates' attention to Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's dictatorship. But through a series of misjudgments the attack backfired.

Instead of choosing a target such as a police station which symbolises the force on which Chief Jonathan relies, the LLA chose an economic target: the water supply for an abattoir that is being built for the export market.

And as if the LLA wished to alienate world opinion, the abattoir is being funded by Denmark whose Foreign Minister was attending the conference.

The attack focused attention on the alleged "South African backing" for the LLA rather than on Chief Jonathan's seizure of power.

THE MUST enter in  
er of each question  
er in which it has  
e columns (2) and

External
(3)

r or other material  
ation room unless

nicate with other  
cept the invigilator.

be torn out.

ed to the commis-  
leaving the exam-

be used.

- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

CAPE TIMES 3/2/83

# CP calls on Magnus Malan to resign

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party spokesman on defence, yesterday called for the resignation of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, over the Seychelles mercenary affair.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, Mr Van der Merwe rejected what he described as an "unconvincing explanation" of the affair by the Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha, in the House on Tuesday.

Mr Van der Merwe questioned the findings of the parliamentary select committee that General Malan had not been aware of the "Hoare episode", that no responsible official had given approval for the abortive attack on the Seychelles and that no state funds had been used.

## NIS role

He said he believed that the National Intelligence Service had been involved in the incident.

Mr Van der Merwe called on the prime minister to prove that he was fulfilling his promise of clean administration by replacing the Minister of Defence who, if he had genuinely been unaware of the Seychelles affair, was "not only an embarrassment to the country but possibly also a risk".

The CP Member for

Jeppe began his speech by expressing his party's support of the security forces. "The Conservative Party does not intend to make cheap politics out of the fatherland's affliction," he said when he announced his intention to speak on the Seychelles affair.

## 'Astonishing'

However, in the light of the defence force's inadequate handling of the affair which had caused a world-wide sensation and destroyed the force's "strong-man image", the prime minister's statement was astonishing.

"He gives a few unconvincing explanations and then suddenly it is not in the country's interests for anyone to ask any more questions about it."

"The question is: Did this minister know of the Hoare episode or did he not?"

"There are factors that point to the minister having been aware of it or, as a reasonable alternative, evidence that he should have been aware of it."

The Supreme Court finding had been that cer-

◆◆◆◆  
To page 4

**B**

"This brings problems over the Russian spy found in the bosom of the South African Navy."

"There is no better proof of the incompetence of the minister. If he really did not know of this affair, then he is not only an embarrassment, but possibly also a risk."

## 'Clean'

"The prime minister promised us clean state administration. He must prove that the administration is clean by replacing the minister."

Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, stood up and asked: "Does he imply dirty administration by the government and the Minister of Defence?"

Mr Van der Merwe replied: "I imply nothing. I say clearly this is the weakest example of administration that I know of."

When he proceeded to refer to the detention of Commodore Gerhardt on allegations of spying, the Speaker of the House stopped him because of the *sub judice* ruling. — Sapa

weapons and other help, they would have acted without permission or clearance.

On the question of state funds, Mr Van der Merwe said: "This secret committee" (the parliamentary committee) had found that none were used.

"This finding must be seriously doubted. How on earth can one say state funds were not used when an arsenal of defence force weaponry was used? Guns were used, thousands of bullets were fired, lorries were used. What were they fueled with? Water or petrol?"

## 'No control'

"It is obvious that this episode cost the South African taxpayer a great deal of money."

Had General Malan genuinely not been aware of the affair, his dilemma was even greater, Mr Van der Merwe said. "This means he was blissfully unaware that brigadiers in the defence force were giving their assistance and support to a military attack on another country. It means he has no control over the defence force."

tain members of the SADF had helped the soldiers involved in the attempt and that the NIS had been aware of it. Yet the parliamentary committee had found that no responsible officials had given approval to the attempt.

"So I ask, if the Supreme Court finds that two SADF brigadiers were involved, how does this mean responsible officials were not aware of the attempt? Does this mean the two brigadiers were irresponsible?"

"Both of them are still in the defence force. Both of them last week received the Southern Cross decoration for outstanding service," he said, to laughter from the opposition benches.

## 'Hard to believe'

Mr Van der Merwe said he was convinced that neither of the two brigadiers would have involved themselves in the attempt without the knowledge of their superiors. It was hard to believe that in such a serious matter, where they had to make decisions to provide

THE SADCC

① FM

4/2/83

# Regional tensions grow

Condemnations of Pretoria's alleged destabilisation of its neighbours' regional development efforts marked the latest summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Lesotho's capital, Maseru, where the meeting was held, was the scene of last month's SA Defence Force attack on ANC houses. As the SADCC meeting started, a bomb placed by the insurgent Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) blasted a reservoir outside Maseru. SADCC members accuse SA of backing the LLA, a charge that is denied by Pretoria.

The meeting, which concentrated on priorities and constraints in agriculture and industry, was also attended by 22 funding agencies. Aid of about \$900m was sought for projects, including regional energy development.

Although SADCC's numerous summits suggest movement towards enormous infrastructural goals, some observers believe there has been an explosion of paperwork to the detriment of "action projects on the ground."

The nine-member development bloc includes Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Zimbabwe. SADCC has expressed willingness to include an independent Namibia in its ranks, but Zaire's application to join seems to have been placed on ice.

Botswana Vice-President and Finance Minister, Peter Mmusi, who is incumbent chairman of the SADCC minister's council, reportedly said in Lesotho: "It is not much use to develop ports and pipelines, roads and railways and then watch in silence as they are blown up." He called for diplomatic pressure and selective sanctions to be exerted on Pretoria by the foreign nations at the conference.

Potentially the most serious reflection of heightened regional tension is the call by Zimbabwe's PM, Robert Mugabe, for the creation of a multinational army under SADCC's aegis to "repulse Pretoria's aggression." Mugabe issued the call in Dar es Salaam a week earlier.

However, lack of finance, difficulties in standardising weapons and command structures, and transport and communication problems faced by SADCC, make the prospect of such an army hard to envisage in the short term. So says Peter Vale, research director of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Vale points out, though, that commonly-perceived SA destabilisation has pulled SADCC members together more strongly. Yet, should SADCC's Western backers, who

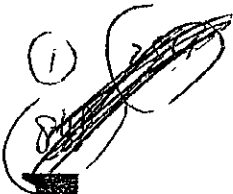
see the organisation as a "peaceful alternative" to conflict, express reservations about the mooted army, the conflict scale could move up a notch. Vale adds that Moscow may well see an opening for itself if diplomatic efforts toward peace fail.

□ Prime Minister P W Botha denied in Parliament this week that SA was trying to destabilise the region.



# SA may aid black rebels — Malan

Cape Times  
4/2/83



Stationery  
to R3,25. Add-on  
to humorous, we  
n Stutta  
ha Valen  
her you  
utator

BAR-E

DION'S  
CHI DO

body  
twin grills  
braal-ing heig  
different taste  
DION'S LO

OLDIN

DION'S  
LOW PRIC

GI

**TELETYPE**

WHAT do you think of violence at political meetings, such as that which took place in Stellenbosch this week? Do you feel the rough stuff is part of a South African tradition or does it show contempt for the basic principles of democracy? If you would like to comment on this issue phone Teleletters on 41-3361 ext 219 between 9am and 12 noon tomorrow. It is essential to give your name and home address if you wish to be quoted.

● St Val — stupid cupidity, cupid stupid-ity? Page 13

**Political Staff**  
**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — South Africa might be forced to support resistance movements such as Unita and the MNR if neighbouring territories continued to harbour ANC and Swapo terrorists. General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, said in Parliament yesterday.

His surprise statement in a lengthy rejection of charges that South Africa has been actively following a policy of "destabilization" on the subcontinent is expected to have international repercussions.

It comes only days after the Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, refused to answer challenges by the Opposition to say categorically that South Africa was not already supporting them.

General Malan said recent bombings had been largely planned in Lesotho and Mozambique and warned that South Africa might be forced to reconsider its offer of non-aggression treaties with neighbouring countries.

People who supported the argument that South Africa was destabilizing the region — a propaganda campaign mounted by Moscow — were playing into Moscow's hands.

Recent editorials in the Cape Times had been echoes of recent broadcasts from Moscow Radio



General Malan... bours do not listen. The South African Government will be forced to... the interests of South Africa and in the interests of the security of... its people, to reconsider... this attitude and...

**CAMERALAND**

**A SOUND PROJECTOR**

AT A  
**SILENT PRICE**

**R199.00!**

# Malan

## Political Staff

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — South Africa might be forced to support resistance movements such as Unita and the MNR if neighbouring territories continued to harbour ANC and Swapo terrorists, General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, said in Parliament yesterday.

His surprise statement in a lengthy rejection of charges that South Africa has been actively following a policy of "destabilization" on the subcontinent is expected to have international repercussions.

It comes only days after the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, refused to answer challenges by the Opposition to say categorically that South Africa was not already supporting them.

General Malan said recent bombings had been largely planned in Lesotho and Mozambique and warned that South Africa might be forced to reconsider its offer of non-aggression treaties with neighbouring countries.



General Malan

People who supported the argument that South Africa was destabilizing the region — a propaganda campaign mounted by Moscow — were playing into Moscow's hands.

Recent editorials in the Cape Times had been echoes of recent broadcasts from Moscow Radio, he said.

The Official Opposition should take a clear stand against countries harbouring terrorists to infiltrate South Africa.

"Why can't our neighbours undertake, as South Africa has, to stop terrorist infiltration?" he asked.

"If certain of our neigh-

bours do not listen, the South African Government will be forced, in the interests of South Africa and in the interests of the security of all its people, to reconsider this attitude and offer.

"No matter what methods we have to use to fight South Africa's enemies in those countries, even if it means that we will have to support anti-communist movements, for example the MNR and Unita, and allow them to act against Swapo and the ANC from our territory, we will have to do it.

"We might be forced to do it — we will have to fight communism wherever it is in the interests of South Africa."

The South African security forces had captured terrorist plans for bombings and murders, yet when action was taken to prevent them, there was an outcry.

The ANC, he said, aimed to create a Marxist government by force in South Africa and had established its headquarters in Mozambique.

"If these organization conduct sabotage, must we sit back with folded arms and simply warn them diplomatically that they must stop?"

WHAT do you think of violence at political meetings, such as that which took place in Stellenbosch this week? Do you feel the rough stuff is part of a South African tradition or does it show contempt for the basic principles of democracy? If you would like to comment on this issue phone Teleletters on 41-3361 ext 219 between 9am and 12

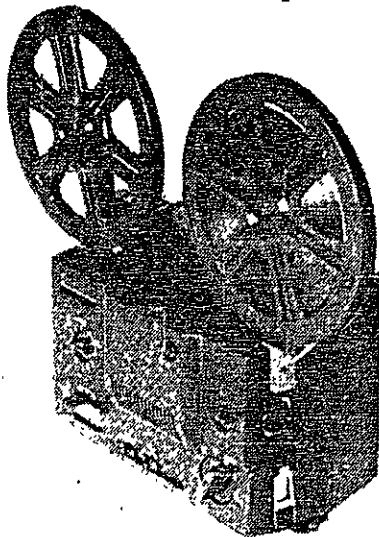


noon tomorrow. It is essential to give your name and home address if you wish to be quoted.

● St Val — stupid cupidity, cupid stupidity? Page 13

## CAMERALAND

**A SOUND PROJECTOR**  
AT A  
**SILENT PRICE**  
**R199.00!**



### OUTSTANDING FEATURES:

- F1.3 f = 15 — 25 mm zoom lens
- 12V 100W tungsten halogen lamp with integral dichronic reflector
- Super-8 and Single-8 films
- Fully automatic reel-to-reel threading
- 18 and 24 fps (by selector switch)
- Forward and reverse
- 110V — 240V 50/60Hz 160W
- Electronically governed DC magnetic motor mounted on the front cover
- Music power 5W (4W rating, 4-8Ω)



MASSUTED ADVERTISEMENTS  
CALL OR PAGE 14 TODAY

### BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) \$503,00  
FT Index (close) 646,80  
RDM 100 831,80

BAR-E  
DION'S  
CHI DO  
body  
in grills  
braai-ing height  
different taste  
DION'S LO

OLDIN

DION'S  
LOW PRICE



SIZE  
DION'S L

WIFT

Guarantee

8

20

# NIS fired Dolinчек — in Seychelles 'AWOL'

ARGUS 10/2/83

**Parliamentary Staff**  
FORMER Durban-based National Intelligence Service officer Martin Dolinчек was fired for being "absent without leave" six months after being caught by the Seychelles police in the aftermath of the attempted coup there.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, after refusing last week to answer questions on the Seychelles debacle, yesterday threw a little more light on the many unanswered questions of the affair.

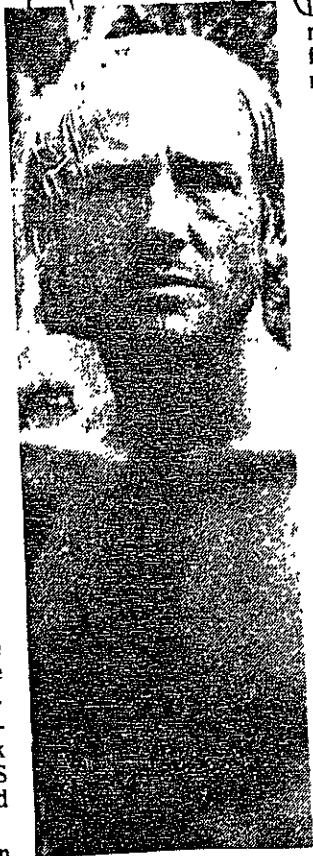
In reply to questions by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, he confirmed for the first time that Dolinчек was still in the employ of NIS at the time of the coup attempt.

Mr Botha indicated indirectly that Dolinчек had not informed his NIS seniors of the planned attempt.

But he had reported on earlier plans for a coup. On July 21 1978 Dolinчек had submitted a report saying that a representative of deposed President Manham was planning a coup.

Three days later the then head of NIS, General Hendrik van den Bergh, gave an instruction that the service was not to be involved.

The planned coup was monitored "until confirmed information was



Martin Dolinчек

received that all planning in this regard had been terminated".

The Prime Minister said Dolinчек was dismissed from the NIS because he acted "contrary to the provisions of Section 9 of Act 104 of 1978".

The Act, which established the NIS, states under Section 9 that a person should be dismissed for being absent without

(1) leave for more than one month, or immediately for taking other employment

The Prime Minister and Dr Slabbert clashed again on the coup issue, with Mr Botha accusing Dr Slabbert of disregarding "a tradition of long-standing which existed between prime ministers and leaders of the official opposition pertaining to security matters".

Since Dr Slabbert had disregarded his offer "I am not prepared to discuss the matter with him any further.

"However, I am prepared, if they so wish, to take the leaders of the other two parties into my confidence"

In reply to questions by Mr Philip Myburgh, PFP defence spokesman, General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, said there had been an investigation into the false call-up papers issued to some of the mercenaries who took part in the coup attempt.

Those involved in issuing the papers had been identified but were not in the service of the Defence Force at the time.

The matter had been handed to the appropriate attorneys-general for consideration of criminal proceedings.

A junior Citizen Force officer had resigned his rank and appointment.

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
	6	
	4	
	5	
	15	
min-	DPA	
s-		
als		

## Directions

- The answers only on the right hand pages will be marked. The left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
- 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.
- 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.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

## WARNING

- No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out
- 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

27 1 3  
Mandela  
swop deal *Star*  
rejected 14/2/83

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa has rejected a Seychelles offer to free four condemned mercenaries in exchange for the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, it was reported in London yesterday.

The rejection, disclosed by senior diplomats, leaves the fate of the white mercenaries uncertain, though the signs are they will not be executed.

President Albert Rene's government, which dislikes the death penalty, is hoping that the South Africans will come up with an alternative proposal.

The British Foreign Office has been advised of the Seychelles move because two of the condemned men are Britons. This could lead to London-Pretoria talks.

The mercenaries were sentenced to death for their part in the Seychelles coup bid of November 1981.

The four mercenaries are Britons Bernard Carey (39), and Roger England (28), Zimbabwean Aubrey Brooks (39) and Jerry Puren (39), a South African who once was former Katangan Prime Minister Moise Tshombe's Air Force commander and later an adviser to Zairean President Mobutu.

ernment of the Republics of South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei during the Summit Meeting held in Pretoria on 11 November 1982. The guidelines were also accepted by the governments of the self-governing national states during meetings that took place between them and the Minister of Co-operation and Development in Pretoria on 10 November 1982, subject only in the case of the Lebowa Government to further discussions to be held on certain aspects thereof.

be elected on the basis of the voting rights held by member countries.

- (2) It was agreed at the Summit Meeting to aim at 1 September 1983 as the date for the establishment of the Bank.

(a) (i) An authorized and issued ordinary capital stock of R2 000 million, of which ten per cent (R200 million) is to be paid up during the first five years after the founding of the Bank, was agreed to.

(ii) The agreed objectives of the Bank can be summarized as the promotion of economic development, increased productivity, and improved levels of living, in particular in the less developed parts of the region covered by its membership. These objectives are to be pursued through the more effective mobilization and application of human and financial resources for development, not in competition with, but supplementary to and in support of the role that private financial institutions and the rest of the private sector can make towards the said objectives.

- (b) It was agreed that there will be twice as many directors on the Board of the Bank as there will be member countries, and that one half of the number of directors will be appointed by the member countries on the basis of one director per member country, while the other half will

Household Q. Col. 122-124 X  
Development Bank for Southern Africa

Mr H. H. SCHWARZ asked the Prime Minister:

- (1) Whether the planning of the Development Bank for Southern Africa has been finalized; if not, why not; if so, (a) what (i) is its capitalization and (ii) are its objectives and (b) who will be on its board of directors;
- (2) when is it anticipated that the Bank will commence operation?

The PRIME MINISTER:

- (1) Yes. The Committee which was appointed last year by the South African Government to report, *inter alia*, on the setting up of a Development Bank for Southern Africa, drew up a set of guidelines for the formation of such an institution. Those guidelines were discussed on behalf of the South African Government with the Governments of the independent states, and the guidelines, as amended in the light of the negotiations, were formally adopted by the heads of gov-

# Nine-state body lauded for seriousness, sensibility and 'lack of political posturing'

At its recent conference in Maseru, the delegates of 28 donor nations and 22 aid agencies clearly indicated there was an abundance of goodwill towards Sadec.

This nine-state body has impressed the West with what The Times of London called "its seriousness of purpose, sensibly limited objectives and refreshing lack of political posturing." (The members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.)

In speech after speech at Maseru, the donors said they were willing to back Sadec projects (provided they were feasible) with money or expertise or both.

With all this support, everything now depends on Sadec's ability to deliver.

Donors will not only want to see detailed feasibility studies, but once they have given the funds, they will want to see results.

Of course, this is well known by the men at the top of Sadec — persons such as Peter Mmusi, the chairman of Sadec's council of ministers and Botswana's finance minister, and Bernard Chidzaro, the Zimbabwean finance minister. How far down the message penetrates awaits to be seen, but so far Sadec's strategy has been commended.

EEC Commissioner for Development Edgard Pisani told pressmen at Maseru that Sadec had begun correctly when (at the 1980 Maputo conference) it launched 100 projects to build up the region's transport and communications infrastructure.

It was now doing the right thing, he said, by moving into specific projects.

Most of the 85 industrial, agricultural and energy projects presented at Maseru were small-scale schemes costing under R10-million. This should make them easier to fund and, in a way, easier to share out among the nine states.

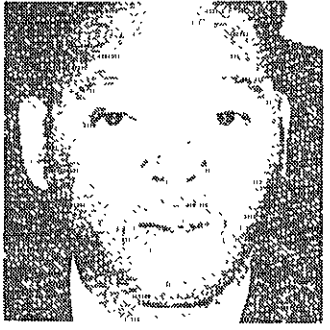
**POTENTIAL**  
Although Sadec states will continue to rely heavily on South Africa in the short or medium term, the potential for their regional co-operation is quite high.

Some examples:  
● Angola has offered to sell oil at preferential prices, expecting, naturally, this concession to be reciprocated on imports from member-states.

● Mutare (formerly Umtali) and south-eastern Zimbabwe receive their electricity from Kariba, 500 km away. But a mere 50 km over the border, in Mozambique, is the Chicamba hydro-electric dam from which an unused 110 kilowatt line runs to Mutare. Sadec's energy sector (under the co-ordination of Angola) asked at Maseru for R700 000 to open this line and improve it. They got it.

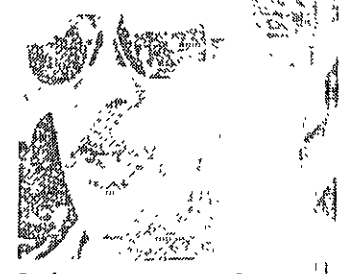
● All the national power grids could be joined, so that states with excess hydro-electric capacity such as Zambia and Mozambique could feed those less fortunate. This could yield huge economic advantages provided political problems did not interfere.

● In 1980 Sadec states were estimated to have produced 90 per cent of their grain requirements. Droughts and population growth have reduced this percentage, but self-sufficiency in cereals remains achievable. Sadec is trying to implement "food security" plans requiring grain reserves of at least three months in each state. It also plans to set up a R4 million regional "early warning system" to predict harvests in time to



Chairman of the Sadec Council of Ministers Mr Peter Mmusi

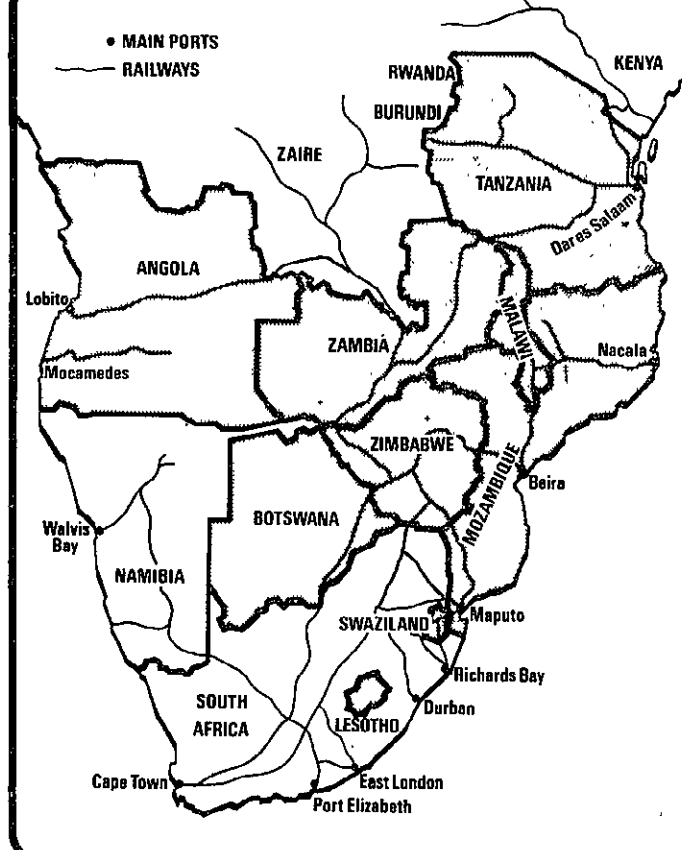
The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference — better known as Sadec — celebrates its third anniversary in April. This article examines the strengths and weaknesses of this nine-nation body that aims to reduce its dependence on South Africa. Jasper Mortimer of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.



Sadec's Executive Secretary Arthur Blumeris

# Future looks bright for pragmatic Sadec

## SADCC AT A GLANCE



● **WHAT IT IS:** The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC, commonly known as Sadec) is an economic and technical co-operation body formed in Lusaka in April 1980 by nine black-ruled states.

While not primarily anti-South African, it is black Southern Africa's answer to moves to bring countries other than former South African homelands into Pretoria's "constellation of states."

● **MEMBERS:** Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Zimbabwe.

● **AIMS:** Twofold. First to pool resources and co-ordinate mutual development in transport, communications, industry, agriculture and other fields, mainly through foreign aid. Second, to reduce member states' dependence on South Africa.

● **STRUCTURE:** Heads of state of member countries

meeting in council top the hierarchy. Then comes a cabinet level Council of Ministers, followed by a standing committee of senior officials and then 14 sectorial committees for each of which one state has special responsibility.

A small secretariat headed by Zimbabwe diplomat Arthur Blumeris has headquarters in Gaborone.

● **PROJECTS:** Of 110 transport and communications projects — such as improving Mozambique's harbours and railways to help bypass South African ports and extending telephone and telex links — 50 are being worked on and three have been completed.

Of the estimated total cost of about R2 530-million only about R650-million has been firmly committed and only a small part of that spent.

A further R800-million is sought for about 50 industrial projects and R100-million for about 30 agricultural projects.

Star Info-Pak

arrange for food to be moved from areas of surplus to areas of shortage.

● **DISAPPOINTED**  
Given R1.3 million, Sadec believes it can control foot and mouth disease along the Zambian-Malawian-Tanzanian borders. Meanwhile Botswana, which recently developed an improved vaccine, is stepping up production to able to supply the whole region.

● Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi each want to build a R3 million factory to make hoes and animal-drawn ploughs, harrows and carts. Zimbabwe could supply mild steel to each plant.

● By building a R10 million continuous casting machine at the Ziscosteel works, Zimbabwe could supply the region with steel billets.

● Relaxation of trade bar-

riers could theoretically open a collective market of 55 million people.

Sadec asked the donors at Maseru for R900 million to implement these projects. It could only have been disappointed by the R150 million to R200 million it received. But the aid is expected to rise after the feasibility studies come in, around April.

Two World Bank economists commended the projects as "sensible" but said the Bank would carry out its own investigations before making commitments.

Sadec's terminology of loans and grants is easily confused. A "pledge" means a donor agrees to spend a certain amount in a given region or country over a number of years. A "commitment" is money allocated by a donor to a specific project for the receiver to draw on.

At its Gaborone summit last July, Sadec said donors had already pledged nearly R900 million to its transport and communications projects. In Maseru, after a revision of these projects, Sadec said R644 million had been committed.

How much of that had already been spent was not known, said liaison official Tim Sheehy.

One aspect of Sadec organisation that is widely admired is the small secretariat that former Zimbabwean ambassador to the EEC, Arthur Blumeris, runs in Gaborone with a budget said to be only about R40 000 a year. The body wisely avoided the cumbersome bureaucracy that mars the Economic Community of West African States.

The rationale for a tiny secretariat is that member-states will themselves implement the projects in their territories. The

weakness in this method, as the well-known US academic Gwendolen Carter pointed out in Maseru, is that it imposes onerous Sadec responsibilities on civil servants who already have national duties.

What has Sadec achieved to date? "One can't expect to see the results before 1985-86," said Professor Gavin Maasdorp of Natal University's economic research unit.

Sadec officials at Maseru said 53 of the now 110 transport and communications schemes were "being implemented" — a phrase which ranges from feasibility study to construction. Among them is the improvement of the road from Zimbabwe through Mozambique to Malawi. The rest were either being considered by donors or being prepared for consideration.

The chief cry in Maseru was that South Africa and its alleged proxies in Angola and Mozambique were sabotaging the members' bridges, railways, oil depots and hydro-electric schemes.

For the first time at a Sadec meeting, the Council of Ministers, which has previously curbed its anti-South African rhetoric, issued a special communique devoted to condemning what is called South Africa's "economic destabilisation." Yet the sabotage is not seen as a major hindrance.

"It's disruptive, it's costly, but it's not going to set us back by years," said Bernard Chidzaro, the Finance Minister of Zimbabwe, which has sent about 100 troops to Mozambique to defend the Beira pipeline.

The big area that Sadec yet to tackle is trade.

### OBSTACLES

Previously, Sadec has not it was not trying to create trade but only self-reliance. it is desired that development will lead to trade.

The obstacles to free trade Sadec, however, are numerous. Foremost is the danger of Zimbabwean dominance. Zimbabwe is the only member that produces steel, and the only with a significant manufacturing sector.

Further problems will come from some members' loyalty to the Preferential Trade Area while others (Tanzania, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique) not and from three members being party to the Southern African Customs Union.

Sadec approves of certain projects involving South Africa such as the Lesotho Highlands water scheme and the Swaziland-Komatipoort railway, the grounds they help the members to strengthen their economies so they may eventually reduce ties with Pretoria.

As one finds elsewhere in policies, Sadec does not mind being pragmatic.

# End of a boom

ARG 23/2/83 (1)

Patrick Bishop in the Ivory Coast sees the end of the good times

ABIDJAN, the capital of Ivory Coast, is Lyons transplanted to the tropics. The phones are efficient, there are croissants for sale in the street and by mid-afternoon that day's *Le Monde* is on sale at the news-stands.

Glittering high-rise blocks forest the city's administrative and commercial quarter, housing banks, oil companies and international agencies. Across the lagoon stands the Hotel d'Ivoire, home of West Africa's only ice-skating rink.

The contrast between Ivory Coast, a former French colony, and Ghana, its neighbour to the east, could not apparently be more complete. As Ghana, burdened by corruption, has staggered through successive coups and economic misfortunes, Ivory Coast has enjoyed until recently an annual economic growth rate of seven per cent and continuous political tranquility.

But now the boom years are over. The businessmen who flocked here "because it works" are wondering whether the stability that came with economic growth can survive the chillier climate, and the Ivorians are casting nervous eyes next door and wondering if the same thing could happen to them.

Ivory Coast's wealth was built on the coffee and cocoa boom of the Seventies. When prices collapsed at the end of the decade the discovery of offshore oil seemed heaven-sent.

## Oil glut

Since then a worldwide oil glut has ruled out any hope of a bonanza. Production is due to rise by 25 percent this year but Ivorian oil is deep lying and hard to extract. It needs high prices to justify the cost of extraction, so a new strike 20 miles offshore is being left alone for the meantime.

Debts have heaped up with the slackening of the boom. Ivory Coast owes six billion dollars abroad. The economic growth rate slackened to zero last year and is expected to go into reverse.

Harder times, and the lesson of Nigeria, have brought home the potential of Ivory Coast's own immigrant problem. Ivorian servants are virtually unknown in Abidjan. Most menial tasks are done by a million or so guest workers from Upper Volta, as well as Malians and Liberians, many of whom have no official papers.

As jobs get scarcer Ivorian students have been growing resentful towards the many Ghanaian accountants and technicians who work here. A government pledge to open to open these jobs up to natives has already placed the "outsiders" in jeopardy.

## Benign pragmatism

As yet economic difficulties have done little to ruffle the placid waters of Ivory Coast politics. President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, officially 77 but older in reality, has ruled with benign pragmatism since independence in 1960 without challenge.

Recently he shrewdly defused an opportunity for possible anti-government resentment by exposing a number of bureaucrats who had abused government loans to build houses which they rented back to their employers for a large profit.

As a gesture of confidence in the future, it was decided last week to move the business and administrative capital of the country to Yamoussoukro, more than 160 kilometres inland. Its alleged advantage of being centrally situated is augmented by the fact that it is Houphouet's birthplace.

When you ask European residents why Ivory Coast works and its English-speaking neighbours do not, they invariably reply: "The French".

"As long as they stay here this place is basically OK", said an English diplomat. "The problems will start in earnest if they decide to leave".

The Ivorian Government seems to share that view. At the Ministry of Scientific Research, six out of the minister's eight advisers are French. In all there are 3 800 French "technical counselors" working for the Government.

At present few if any of the 50 000 French residents seem anxious to leave. To some observers, their presence perpetuates a pleasant but impermanent neo-colonialism that must eventually collapse.

"The real hope for West Africa lies with places like Ghana, despite what they are going through now", said one Englishman. "When order emerges there, it will be something they have worked out themselves and can operate".

© London Observer Service.

# 1m refugees in region

EAST LONDON — There were over a million "refugees" or "displaced persons" wandering around Southern Africa, the national president of the Red Cross Society, Dr Pieter Smit, said here yesterday.

In an interview, Dr Smit said that the continent had one of the largest populations of refugees or voluntary exiles because of instability and poverty. He said only rough estimates of the number of refugees could be made due to unreliable information.

"Authorities tend to inflate figures when they want aid or underestimate the problem to hide the problem"

Dr Smit blamed military build up and foreign intervention in Africa as a major reason for instability and refugees.

"Many African countries appear to be able to afford armaments but do not have enough to feed their own people.

"If they have to make war, they should be able to at least feed their people."

Foreign interference in African battles was also part of the tragedy, he said.

"If people would not interfere, many of the wars in Africa would soon stop

"In Angola, for example, if the MPLA and Unita were left alone to fight it out, the war would soon burn out one way or another, but start introducing other powers who are aiding and abetting both sides and the war keeps going."

Dr Smit said Red Cross aid to refugees was not haphazardly determined as many people thought.

"First we carefully evaluate the needs of the people we will help and then distribution of aid is carefully controlled.

"There is always the danger of black markets being set up with aid to refugees, but over the years the International Red Cross has devised ways and means of overcoming these problems."

He said refugee needs were often food, housing, medication, education and employment.

"Many of these refugees, if you can call them that, are people who have nothing and they move across borders because they have nothing to lose.

"Imagine a refugee drifting into a country and offering his labour for half the salary of the locals in that country. The refugee becomes cheap, sweated, almost slave labour.

"One only has to look at the very recent example in Nigeria to see what consequences this can have."

Nigeria recently deported thousands of Ghanians, who, it was claimed, were taking jobs away from Nigerians.

Another problem the Red Cross faced was maintaining its impartiality, particularly during a civil war when desperate people on both sides need Red Cross aid.

"The constitution of the society is impartial, and governments accept this and take it in good faith that we will not become involved in political dispute

"We must be impartial, particularly to both sides of warring factions.

"The International Red Cross deals primarily with governments in power. When there is a civil war, such as in Angola between Unita and the MPLA, we have to get permission from the ruling government to communicate with opposing forces. "The staff and organisation are protected under the Geneva Conventions."

Dr Smit said the Angolan civil war had resulted in a change from the customary procedure for the release of prisoners of war.

Normally, in war, PoWs are not released until the cessation of hostilities, but in Angola PoWs had been released before the war ended.

He personally has been involved in the release of 15 missionaries, two Russians and three clerics.

"Their greatest joy," he said, "is to get back home."

One of Dr Smit's most rewarding achievements was when he secured the release of a Catholic archbishop, Monsignor Alexandre do Nascimento, from Unita in Angola.

"He went back to Rome and I got a letter from him thanking me for having secured his release ... and telling me that he has been made a Cardinal."

Getting people back home and putting families together again is an important role played by the Red Cross.

"We have set up tracing agencies to trace displaced people and get them back with their families.

"This is a real service with real humanitarian effects.

"You can imagine the joy of a family meeting up again." — DDR



LONDON — European multinational companies have been blamed for much of Africa's chronic food shortages.

The accusation is made in a book published in Britain which exposes big business companies as cashing in on Africa's agricultural misfortunes with a callous eye on their profits.

It points to the past and present policies of foreign companies in the diversion of much of Africa's food potential to the crop demands of Europe, and of shaping countries' agricultural produce to suit their own needs.

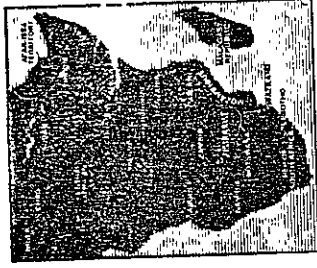
The book, titled 'Agriculture in Africa', was researched by two authors under the auspices of the London-based Earth Resources Research Organisation.

But the criticism is not aimed at big business alone.

The book questions the approach of African governments who have been willing to use the advice and technology offered by the companies, knowing that their demands would be at the expense of their own people.

The companies involved are international household names, including Unilever, Tate and Lyle, Brooke Bond, Nestle, ICI, Shell, BP and Hoechst.

Their interests span the whole spectrum of agricultural business as



Tina Patten reports on a new book which claims that European companies in Africa are responsible for much of its food shortages.



# Big business takes away Africa's food

24/2/83



The multinational promoted schemes, it is claimed, profit the companies but do little to improve agricultural self-reliance — and often cost more to maintain than justified by returns.

It is pointed out that sugar schemes are spreading across Africa despite enormous over-production and low prices. But companies see the potential for producing fuel from sugar in order to replace costly oil exports.

These schemes have been shown to be a costly luxury in hunger-stricken countries. One in Kenya had to be abandoned because the fuel to run the plant would cost more than the fuel produced.

The conclusion drawn by the authors is that the interests of "agribusiness" cannot coincide with those of most of the African population.

African governments, it is argued, must build up their own expertise and capacity to assess agricultural development. Evidence suggests that reliance on agribusiness to generate capital for development has increased dependence on industrialised countries.

African governments will have to realise that it is they who will have to feed Africa in the end, not big business.

ments, usually in the form of aid.

The book claims that companies sell themselves on the basis of increasing Africa's profits from agriculture and meeting food shortages.

But, in reality, the large-scale, technologically complex and massively expensive schemes which they promote bypass peasant farmers who make up the mass of Africa's population.

It is argued that large schemes inevitably affect the control of the land, and eight out of 10 of the continent's rural labour force is already thought to be landless.

examine the companies which already dominate trade in Africa's traditional crops of coffee, tea, cocoa, palm oil and rubber.

But they point that the companies are now opening new markets and growing fruit, vegetables, flowers and even "fluffy green foliage for bouquets" to fly to the cash-ready European markets.

It is argued that, in the past, food production has not been profitable enough for big-time agricultural business, but the potential has been seen, and they are now moving into staple food crops like maize and rice.

This has been made possible by low interest loans to African govern-

they own plantations, processing plants, shipping companies, agricultural suppliers, management companies, distribution combines, warehouses and retail outlets.

The book shows the enormous potential power the companies have over food production, and their ability to step in at any stage of the product chain.

It analyses the agricultural business of many of Africa's more prosperous countries — excluding South Africa, which it admits is in a league of its own — and gives reasons why Africa is the number one hunger continent.

The authors, Barbara Dinham and Colin Hines,

# SADF officer <sup>27/10/83</sup> died <sup>27/10/83</sup> on sabotage mission'

Defence Reporter WHERE and how did Lieutenant Alan Gingles of the South African Defence Force (SADF) die? A British Sunday newspaper says he was killed while on a sabotage mission inside Mozambique. The SADF merely says he was killed in action in the operational area.

At the weekend, 18 months after Lieutenant Gingles's death, the Observer newspaper claimed it had "the first direct evidence" that South Africa was attacking non-military installations in 'black Africa'.

## Railway line

The Observer's report, first quoted this week by the Burger in Cape Town, said it had identified Lieutenant Gingles as a Northern Irishman in SADF service who had been shot dead while attempting to blow up a railway line between Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The Observer had come by what it said was a page from a hand-written novel found at the scene of Lieutenant Gingles's death, and the writing was the same as those in a number of his letters shown to the newspaper by his father.

A spokesman for the SADF did not dispute Lieutenant Gingles had been a British subject serving in the South African Permanent Force at the time.

## 'No comment'

However, he would not comment on the exact place or circumstances of Lieutenant Gingles's death, referring inquiries to a statement of October 17, 1981, in which the SADF had announced that Lieutenant Gingles had "died in action against terrorists in the operational area on October 15, 1981".

The same statement gave Lieutenant Gingles's address as the military base at phalaborwa in the north-eastern Transvaal. phalaborwa is near the western border of the Kruger National Park, some 70km from the Mozambican border. The Maputo-Harare railway line runs almost parallel to the border about 140km inside Mozambique.

Star 28/2/83 (1) (2)

# Expulsion order was a disservice to Africa

Nigeria's sudden expulsion of illegal aliens could be a worrisome forerunner of what could happen in other African countries as global recession results in deep economic stagnation and more and more countries victimise foreigners in their midst in a search for scapegoats or real solutions.

This action may be a temporary popular success for President Shehu Shagari's National Party in an election year. But it is doubtful whether Nigeria or any other similarly affected country has fully studied the real impact of their alien populations.

It is not entirely clear, for example, whether the foreign populations represent an asset or a liability to the Nigerian economy. The exceptions to the expulsion order that were made for skilled foreigners and for employees of government institutions will alleviate some disruption. But there is bound to be a shortage of rural and household labour, and wages will rise as more demanding Nigerians replace departed foreigners.

From the crudeness of the expulsion, it does not seem that alternative strategies of control such as registration, quotas or an amnesty were considered. The expulsion will not allay mass discontent with the unemployment, corruption and staggering inequalities of wealth that make jittery Nigeria so heavy-handed in putting down internal unrest.

The move could not have come at a worse time for Ghana, which has been forced to interrupt long-term rehabilitation efforts. The immedi-

**It is essential that African countries co-operate in designing sensible, humane policies for their foreign populations, says Kojo-Bentsi-Enchill.**



Shagari... temporary popular success in election year.

ate priorities — relocation and resettlement — are being efficiently handled, but food and housing shortages will worsen.

The greatest challenge is to deploy returning Ghanaians in productive agricultural projects, but it is doubtful whether the resources for bold initiatives are available.

Although Ghanaians and other Africans may now hesitate over migrating to relatively richer countries, the underlying economic causes will continue to operate. Many will be driven to return sur-

reptitiously to Nigeria and form a large exploited underclass uncertain of its rights and future.

The real loser is black Africa. The ineffectiveness of the Economic Community of West African States as an instrument of regional co-operation and development has been starkly revealed. The social climate for joint action among African states has deteriorated. Nigeria's leadership in Africa's international diplomacy has been harmed.

The manner of the expulsion, the paucity and tardiness of internal criticism — and, indeed, the belated criticism from other African states — will not be lost on international opinion.

Some Western observers will point to this conduct to offset criticism of their countries' links with South Africa or of their own racially discriminatory societies. And rightly so, for if we Africans treat each other this way, little moral force remains to condemn others' faults.

The really important thing is for African countries to embark on a careful study and assessment of their foreign populations and co-operate in designing long-term strategies for sensible, humane policies. — New York Times.

● Kojo-Bentsi-Enchill, a Ghanaian, is a specialist on international human rights.

# Sabotage death claim: Warning on '2nd front'

By Ius Wentzel  
Political Correspondent

DESTABILISATION claims would start to stick unless allegations of attempted sabotage in Mozambique by a South African army officer who was killed could be disproved, an Opposition spokesman has warned.

Mr Roger Hulley (P.P.) (Constantia) has accused the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan of being evasive in Parliament.

Answering questions by Mr Hulley, General Malan agreed that Lieutenant Alan Gingles was in the SADF and that in October 1981 it was announced he had been killed in the operational area.

He refused to give further details as it was not Defence Force policy to divulge the service particulars or the circumstances under which members of the SADF were killed in the operational area.

### Three blacks

The Observer a London Sunday newspaper reported last week that Lieutenant Gingles a Sandhurst-trained Ulsterman, with three blacks was killed in an explosion on the railway between Zimbabwe and Beira.

They were blown to pieces, but a page of a hand-written novel on Northern Ireland was found. The newspaper traced Lieutenant Gingles's family in Northern Ireland.

Mr Hulley said the allegations about Lieutenant Gingles were being used as evidence of destabilisation by South Africa.

"It is, therefore, vital that this serious allegation be cleared up in public.

"If this charge cannot be disproved, the destabilisation allegation will start to stick.

### "Cover-up"

"Against this background General Malan's response, now and during recent debates, does not inspire confidence.

"It makes me suspicious of a cover-up. His evasive replies are trifling with his duty to account to the public on a nationally vital issue.

"This is a most serious matter. If the Government is using the SADF deliberately to interfere in the internal affairs of our neighbours, then South Africa will be morally defenceless against similar interference in our own internal affairs.

### Vortex of war

"The Government will then also be directly responsible for contributing to an escalation of the Soviet presence in Southern Africa.

"The RSA cannot afford a second military front in Mozambique, but this will certainly happen if we are fomenting destabilisation in that country.

"If we push Southern Africa into a vortex of war, there will be no possibility of a peaceful internal solution in the RSA. Destabilisation is the antithesis of domestic reform," Mr Hulley said.

1  
AKG:s  
26/2/83

# 'Destabilization' charges: What are South Africa's objectives?

CAPE TIMES 25/2/83 (1) ~~2/83~~

FOR quite some time now the issue of destabilization has figured prominently in debates about South African policy, but in our internal political discussions it was strangely absent. At least since 1981 reports about South Africa's "destabilizing" actions throughout the sub-continent have appeared regularly in major Western newspapers like the New York Times.

Western diplomats and other observers have become increasingly concerned that this might be a matter of deliberate policy on South Africa's part. The governments of the frontline states had less doubt about this and protested against such "destabilizing" acts in no uncertain terms. But in South Africa itself the Cape Times was more or less alone in speaking out strongly on this vital matter.

## Vague replies

It is thus a significant development that, at long last, the matter was raised and discussed by prominent spokesmen of all the main parties during the no-confidence debate in Parliament. Unfortunately it cannot be said that it was dealt with at all adequately. Not only were the government's replies to detailed questions about such matters as South Africa's involvement in the abortive coup in the Seychelles disturbingly vague and evasive, but no clear and coherent statements regarding basic policy objectives were forthcoming either.

The Prime Minister asserted that we naturally preferred to have prosperous and stable countries around us, and that it was not in South Africa's interest to interfere in their affairs via mercenary agents or other destabilizing means. If rather general, this seemed a categorical enough assurance about the aims of government policy.

But then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the course of the same debate, appeared to en-

dorse an official American report claiming that South Africa provided the bulk of support for a disruptive guerilla movement in Mozambique. And subsequently the Minister of Defence went on record that, if necessary, South Africa would be prepared to

aware of its economic and military might relative to these neighbours, and what the unfortunate consequences of that might be for them. And it is not averse to saying this quite bluntly.

"If we had really wanted to destabilize, we could bring the whole

official South African involvement in the Seychelles incident and elsewhere, this is a most disturbing thought indeed, call it what you will.

Even more disturbing is the underlying thinking, or lack of it, regarding the relation between military objectives and political consequences. Not so long ago Mr P W Botha General Malan and other senior military spokesmen went out of their way to stress that a counter-insurgency war cannot be won by military means alone; internal political reform to win the hearts and minds of the majority of the local population was an essential complement to the build-up of even the most powerful and sophisticated military apparatus.

## By military means?

Somehow we do not seem to hear so much of that particular theme any more in the public statements of our military leaders. Instead Mr P W Botha himself said, in the course of the no-confidence debate, that we should salute "a defence force which under difficult circumstances has been the second since the Second World War to deal effectively with terrorists across the border". Can it be that Mr Botha and his generals now think, unlike some years ago, that the war on our borders can be won by military means alone?

In this regard the Israeli example may be highly significant. There is a striking correspondence between the vigorous Israeli policy of hot pursuits and pre-emptive strikes and the similar South African practice in recent years. The relative impunity with which the Israeli strike forces have been able to carry

## POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE



By ANDRÉ DU TOIT, associate professor of political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch

support such movements as the MNR in Mozambique and Unita in Angola. As the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Slabbert, asked in summing up the debate: What is going on here?

To some extent the confusion may be merely a verbal matter. What one party calls "destabilizing" interference may from a different perspective appear as the quite normal and legitimate protection of your own interests. Thus the government vigorously denies any suggestion that it is involved in the deliberate "destabilization" of neighbouring states. But it is very well

works to a standstill overnight," said Mr P W Botha in the course of the debate. "If the government had wished to take over or overthrow the Seychelles," declared the Minister of Defence, General Malan, in the same debate, "it could have used the best Defence Force in Africa to dispose of this small task in a jiffy."

Such "candid" statements at the highest level leave the distinct impression that the government might also be prepared to consider somewhat less extreme economic and military means to secure its own ends in its dealings with neighbouring states — even though it would not describe this as aimed at their "destabilization". Given the many unresolved questions regarding the actual extent of



Mr Botha... a categorical assurance

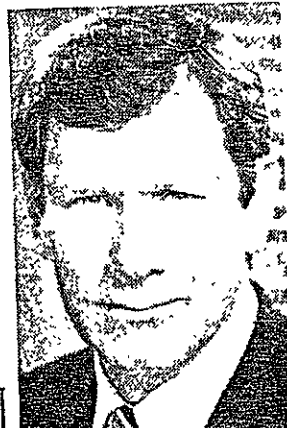
cial model of government policy it would seem that behind the scenes some rethinking of the relation between military and political objectives in more assertive terms may be taking place. Thus Mr P W Botha stressed the great "importance" of South Africa in the African context, and then quoted the following from a British writer:

"The white man will just have to pick up his burden again. Could we invent colonialism?"

Mr Botha went on to say that he personally did not agree with such sentiments. Yet in a recent paper on the process of change in South Africa viewed in an African and international context, delivered in London and other West European capitals, Prof S J Terreblanche, an Afrikaner academic with excellent access to the inner circles of the cabinet, made a strikingly similar suggestion: "Western Europe (and the rest of the Western world) will have to recognize Africa in one way or another, sooner than most people realize. For this reason, people in the Western world must get rid of their hang-ups about the so-called ugliness of colonialism."

## Basic question

Obviously these suggestions cannot be taken in any literal sense. But that makes the basic question even more urgent: Just what are the aims and objectives of South Africa's initiatives and interventions in the sub-continent? In this connection it is perhaps a pity that Dr Slabbert attempted to separate the issue of deliberate "destabilization" from "ordinary" defence



clear and coherent statements regarding basic policy objectives were forthcoming either.

The Prime Minister asserted that we naturally preferred to have prosperous and stable countries around us, and that it was not in South Africa's interest to interfere in their affairs via mercenary agents or other destabilizing means. If rather general, this seemed a categorical enough assurance about the aims of government policy.

But then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the course of the same debate, appeared to en-

support such movements as the MNR in Mozambique and Unita in Angola. As the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Slabbert, asked in summing up the debate: What is going on here?

To some extent the confusion may be merely a verbal matter. What one party calls "destabilizing" interference may from a different perspective appear as the quite normal and legitimate protection of your own interests. Thus the government vigorously denies any suggestion that it is involved in the deliberate "destabilization" of neighbouring states. But it is very well

works to a standstill overnight," said Mr P W Botha in the course of the debate. "If the government had wished to take over or overthrow the Seychelles," declared the Minister of Defence, General Malan, in the same debate, "it could have used the best Defence Force in Africa to dispose of this small task in a jiffy."

Such "candid" statements at the highest level leave the distinct impression that the government might also be prepared to consider somewhat less extreme economic and military means to secure its own ends in its dealings with neighbouring states — even though it would not describe this as aimed at their "destabilization". Given the many unresolved questions regarding the actual extent of

be won by military means alone?

In this regard the Israeli example may be highly significant. There is a striking correspondence between the vigorous Israeli policy of hot pursuits and pre-emptive strikes and the similar South African practice in recent years. The relative impunity with which the Israeli strike forces have been able to carry

blanche, an Afrikaans academic with excellent access to the inner circles of the cabinet, made a strikingly similar suggestion: "Western Europe (and the rest of the Western world) will have to recognize Africa in one way or another, sooner than most people realize. For this reason, people in the Western world must get rid of their hang-ups about the so-called ugliness of colonialism."

### Basic question

Obviously these suggestions cannot be taken in any literal sense. But that makes the basic question even more urgent: Just what are the aims and objectives of South Africa's initiatives and interventions in the sub-continent? In this connection it is perhaps a pity that Dr Slabbert attempted to separate the issue of deliberate "destabilization" from "ordinary" defence policy. He repeatedly stressed that "by destabilization I do not mean combating terrorism, hot-pursuit or pre-emptive strikes".

### 'Patriotic' issues

Clearly the reason for this, as for the rather surprising failure to discuss the Maseru raid, is to avoid becoming involved in controversial "patriotic" issues in the context of white politics. But in the end these issues cannot be separated; there is no clear dividing line between merely military hot pursuits or pre-emptive strikes and "destabilizing" actions by other means.

The destabilization issue cannot be resolved by merely semantic moves; it involves the most basic objectives of the use of military and economic might in the region and at home. Let us hope that debate about these objectives is about to begin in earnest.



Dr Slabbert... asked what was going on

off such feats as the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, the annexation of the Golan heights and the intervention in Lebanon are unlikely to have passed unnoticed by our own generals.

Rather than waiting defensively as the sitting target for a "total onslaught" on its national existence, Israel has moved decisively to take whatever initiatives might be necessary, and as a result it has emerged as a major power capable of dictating its own terms in the region. (The political costs and consequences, both internal and abroad, of these famous military feats are, of course, another story.)

Though defence against the "total onslaught" remains the offi-

### letters

# Part of Saan trial in camera

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG -- Part of the trial of South African Associated Newspapers (Saan) and three of its senior employees will be held in camera when it resumes in the Johannesburg Regional Court this morning.

The three men, Mr Rex Gibson, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, and journalist Mr Eugene Hugo, are facing charges over certain reports on the alleged involvement of the National Intelligence Service in the Seychelles coup attempt last year.

They have been charged under the Protection of Information Act and alternatively under the Official Secrets Act.

## 'Security'

The charge sheet says a report written by Mr Hugo in April and published in the two newspapers was unlawful, and the information in the report was wrongfully and unlawfully printed, published and distributed to the public because it involved the security of South Africa.

It is further alleged that the accused wrongfully published information in a document while they should have known its publication would have prejudiced the security or interests of the Republic.

The International Press Institute, an organization of 2 000 editors and publishers in more than 60 countries, has protested against the trial.

A L. "dis enjo by 1 then year had proc hear T) Stee Eie: told as I had 194, Woo H) dist pier 194 duri 1982 bou: kno: rem M plea pho: telli hou: be l be gate M own in take fer" ing Nap R80



a jam-masked University of Cape Town student makes her way up the stairs during the first event of the 1983 Rag Olympics yesterday. Hundreds of competitors race to retrieve tomato slices from bowls filled with jam. Picture: Ivor Markman

# y stunt lures students

daunting task. The sight of syrup and jam-filled bowls of tomato slices at the bottom of the first flight of steps could hardly have excited even the hungriest of them.

Eager, no doubt, to provide the athletes with a balanced lunch, the organizers offered desert — biscuits in bowls of flour — at the bottom of the steps.

Members of the various teams faced up to the challenge of gob-

bling the offered delicacies without using their hands.

An hilarious but messy session of races followed. Hairdos were ruined and identities were obscured as participants plunged their faces into the jam-bowls. Tomato-slices in mouths they then raced down the steps and repeated the same procedure in the flour-filled biscuit bowls.

White-faced, they sped back up the steps,

swallowing a drink on the way, and were relieved by their team mates. Two over-hasty athletes slipped and fell, much to the crowd's amusement, but no-one was hurt.

For the record: the men's section was won by the Scangym team, while Fuller A won the women's race. A team named "A Touch of Grass" was disqualified in the men's final for "dropping the biscuit".

# r arrested in cafe

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY Crime Reporter

Acker praised Warrant-Officer Benzien for thinking of the cafe as a likely place for a robber to hide.

"It was luck he found the man there, but it was good work to go there in the first place," he said.

Sunday's robbery.

Mr Peter Stevens, a City businessman, was loading goods into his car, which was parked in a side street, when he saw two men approaching him.

He carried on loading his car till a man said: "Don't turn around." He was robbed of R50.

Detectives were called immediately and after re-

# Brutus the crow vanishes

BRUTUS, the Wetton crow which had the tip of its beak bitten off by a Maltese poodle, has disappeared.

Mrs Eve Mitchell, who owns Brutus, said yesterday that she was anxious to find the crow, last seen in Canal Road, Wetton, on Saturday night, as it was unable to fend for itself.

# American on arms charges

Staff Reporter

AN AMERICAN citizen accused of illegally supplying and dealing in firearms, possessing an unlicensed firearm and defeating the ends of justice, was granted R3 000 bail in the Magistrate's Court yesterday.

and rob-City seen his

Offi-the and to a Sun-

S w p a g o

# Malan 'contradicted' PW over coup attempt'

ARGUS 3/3/83 ①

not considered to have a direct bearing on the coup, and thus to have been unauthorised."

There had been no other expenses in connection with the abortive coup and no other amounts had been made available to anyone.

General Malan previously told Mr Myburgh that as a result of the arms embargo the SADF could not divulge information about the origin and value of weapons in its possession.

**Unanswered**

On February 1 the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, told the Assembly a departmental inquiry had confirmed that no State funds were used in connection with the attempted coup.

Mr Myburgh said today that apart from this contradiction several questions remained unanswered.

These concerned the cost of the equipment, including arms and ammunition used in the attempt, and their source.

**Motion**

"If it is correct that the equipment used in the coup attempt was manufactured behind the Iron Curtain, what assurance do we have that other captured war material is being safeguarded or destroyed and not made available to non-South African forces in neighbouring states?" asked Mr Myburgh.

The matter could be raised in Parliament again tomorrow

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had contradicted the Prime Minister on the question of State money being involved in the Seychelles coup attempt, Mr Phillip Myburgh, MP, said today.

The Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman on defence said this week that the South African Defence Force had incurred expenses amounting to R908,70.

Mr Malan was replying to a question from Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Jeppe and the Conservative Party's main spokesman on defence.

**Delivery**

The sum represented salaries and transport costs involved in the delivery of weapons to Colonel Mike Hoare, the coup leader. The weapons issue was disclosed at his trial.

General Malan said salaries of members of the SADF relating to the time taken to deliver weapons and ammunition amounted to R233 and R675,70.

He added: "As the issue and delivery of the weapons and ammunition were duly approved by an authorised officer, and the use thereof in the coup on November 25 1981 was not foreseen at the time of approval and delivery, the costs are

By Tos Wentzel  
Political  
Correspondent



For 2/3/83

# The awesome cost of creating just one job

By Andre Spier

What are the costs of creating a job?

The Chamber of Mines announced a few years ago that the mining industry planned to create 100 000 new jobs between 1980 and 1985. It put an investment figure of R12 000 million to it.

This amounted to R120 000 to create a single job in mining at 1980 price levels.

Apart from the fact that the present recession will have made cuts in this programme, inflation and mechanisation will have raised the cost for one mining job to R200 000 by 1985.

Mining will, for two reasons, not make a large dent in future black unemployment figures:

● A considerable per-

centage of black miners is still recruited from neighbouring countries.

● Recent research in Anglo American's Gold Division among black stope leaders has shown that the miners dislike their work, consider it dangerous, show signs of alienation and do not wish their children to be miners.

These findings, together with the trend within the Southern African Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to keep their people at home for political reasons, could develop into a real threat to this vital industry.

The creation of jobs in other advanced sectors of industry is not much less costly than in the mining industry.

The cement industry

used to calculate R400 000 for one job. The cost of creating just one job in power generation, a growth industry, may well be in excess of R500 000 — and as much as R2 million a job if one talks of the nuclear power industry.

The price tag for each

job in so called labour-intensive industries, such as textiles, will not be lower than R10 000 and is rising because of increasing mechanisation.

If we put the costs of an average industrial job at a modest R50 000, then the accommodation of just 2 million job seekers

in the next two decades — that's just a quarter of the total number of jobs we have to find — would require new investment of R100 000 million.

In this context one must recall the fact that 1 000 large corporations in the United States did not create a single new job in seven years.

There is at present little evidence that our industrial sector will perform differently. There will be new industries established, but existing industries will either show "jobless growth" or shrink their present labour component.

The solution to our present black jobs crisis will therefore not come from the white core economy. In this context it

seems irresponsible to blame the influx laws for the jobs crisis.

An unchecked flow of unskilled millions to the cities would most likely create appalling slum conditions similar to those in Mexico City, Lagos and Calcutta.

We would like to take the argument one step further. We would like to offer the suggestion that it is not the primary task of industry to create jobs.

It could be argued that its primary task is to remain competitive in international markets. And if this requires automation, then this is the road industry must, and undoubtedly will, take.

Increasingly the creation of wealth, the princi-

ple engine of the free market, becomes uncoupled from human labour.

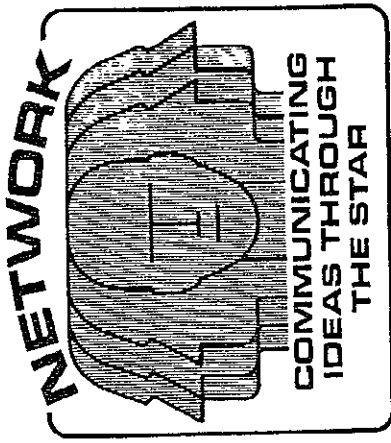
## IN A NUTSHELL

To sum up our five articles on the facts and theories of the unemployment crisis:

● Roughly 300 million people are presently unemployed in the world and at least that number is underemployed (unable to earn a living wage).

● The odd 30 million who are unemployed in the rich countries still enjoy some measure of protection through social security and charity. But there are now doubts as to how long this protection can last.

● The hundreds of millions in the Third World



But, under the present circumstances and under the present economic system, there is very little likelihood that 1 000 million jobs will be created in the next 18 years — and that is what will be required if we are to have full global employment.

● The danger of the collapse of the international monetary system under the burden of internal and external debts is still very real. Perhaps a return to a fractional gold standard could check it.

● Next article: Strategies for a way out.

# Editors CAPL TOLB 5/5/83 guilty of 'secrets' breach

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A magistrate yesterday described two editors as impressive and a journalist as responsible as he found them guilty under the Official Secrets Act.

Delivering sentence behind closed doors, Mr J van Dam, the president of the Johannesburg Regional Court, also said he was satisfied that the journalists' offences were committed without malice.

Rex Gibson, the editor of the Rand Daily Mail, was found guilty on two counts under the Act and fined R500 (or five months), suspended for five years.

Tertius Myburgh, the editor of the Sunday Times, was fined R300 (or three months), suspended for five years, on one count.

Journalist Eugene Hugo was found guilty of three counts and fined R800 (or eight months), also suspended for five years.

South African Associated Newspapers (Saan), the company that owns the two papers, was found guilty on three counts and fined R2 000, half of which was suspended for five years.

The trial related to the publication of reports dealing with alleged National Intelligence Service activities in the Seychelles.

# Unrest will foster suspicion <sup>7/3/83</sup> prof

By Joao Santa Rita

Guerilla activity in South Africa's neighbouring countries will lead Western nations to a hostile position against Pretoria, Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal's Economic Research Unit has said.

Speaking recently at the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg on the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, Professor Maasdorp said SADCC countries would take an increasingly hard line against Pretoria wherever projects which they funded were the targets of guerilla attacks which they saw as supported by Pretoria.

The major SADCC countries are supported by Western nations and international aid agencies. Several neighbouring African countries have in the past accused South Africa of support-

Strikes by resistance movements in neighbouring states and continuing allegations of support for them by South Africa, will result in mounting suspicion and hostility from Western supporters of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference a leading Natal academic has warned.

ing guerilla groups in their territories.

Transport was the top priority in the SADCC programmes to reduce dependence on South Africa, and Mozambique had been given the key strategic role in that sector, Professor Maasdorp said.

"Mozambique National Resistance attacks illustrate the fragile nature of transport links through Mozambique and have threatened several large SADCC projects," he said.

At the recent SADCC meeting in Maseru the Commissioner of the Eu-

ropean Economic Community, Mr Edgard Pisani, had taken a hard line position against South Africa after referring to the destruction of EEC projects, he added.

"Although not confident about the possibility of imposing sanctions, he (Mr Pisani) did not rule out the fact that the growing tide of public opinion in the EEC could lead to a policy of disinvestment in South Africa being followed."

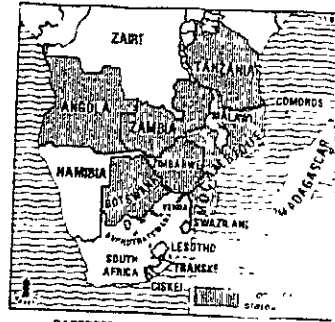
But problems within the SADCC could not be blamed only on external factors. Of the internal

problems inefficiency was probably the most important, he said.

"It has been said that the guerilla activities of the MNR probably cause fewer problems than the continued poor management of ports and railways in Mozambique," Professor Maasdorp said.

The SADCC countries would continue to be heavily dependent on South Africa for their transport requirements for many years.

"Recent estimates put the proportion of Zimbabwean trade being handled by South African



CARPRESS International Press Agency  
Copyright 1983. All Rights Reserved. 139 1000 Brasilia  
2-02218 10 45

ports at 70 percent. Official forecasts show 60 percent being via South Africa in 1985/86 and even when the Mozambican projects have been implemented an estimated 30 percent will still be handled by South Africa.

Mutual suspicion among the SADC countries was another problem referred to by Professor Maasdorp. Zimbabwe had the most developed industrial sector of all nine member-countries and there were fears that Harare could use this advantage to reassert its regional pretensions.

"This attitude of Zimbabwe has caused some concern among the other member-states. It has been said that Botswana is not keen to escape from the South African frying pan only to land in the Zimbabwean fire," he said.

Top Lesotho officials had expressed similar fears, Professor Maasdorp added.

8/13/83

# Superpowers can't ignore Indian talks

The Nonaligned Movement, one of the loosest but most important groupings of states in the world, is meeting in New Delhi. Derek Ingram examines the movement's value and influence on world affairs since it was founded in 1961.

If ever a group of nations hung together by a thread, it is the 97 whose leaders are meeting in New Delhi under the chairmanship of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The thread is non-alignment.

This is their seventh conference in 22 years and it's a wonder that the Nonaligned Movement is still alive and meeting again.

It's fitting that the venue should be India, though even this happened by default since the talks were to have been held in Baghdad last year.

Non-alignment is very much an Indian concept and it was Mrs Gandhi's father — Jawaharlal Nehru — who, together with President Sukarno of Indonesia, initiated the first meeting in Bandung in 1955.

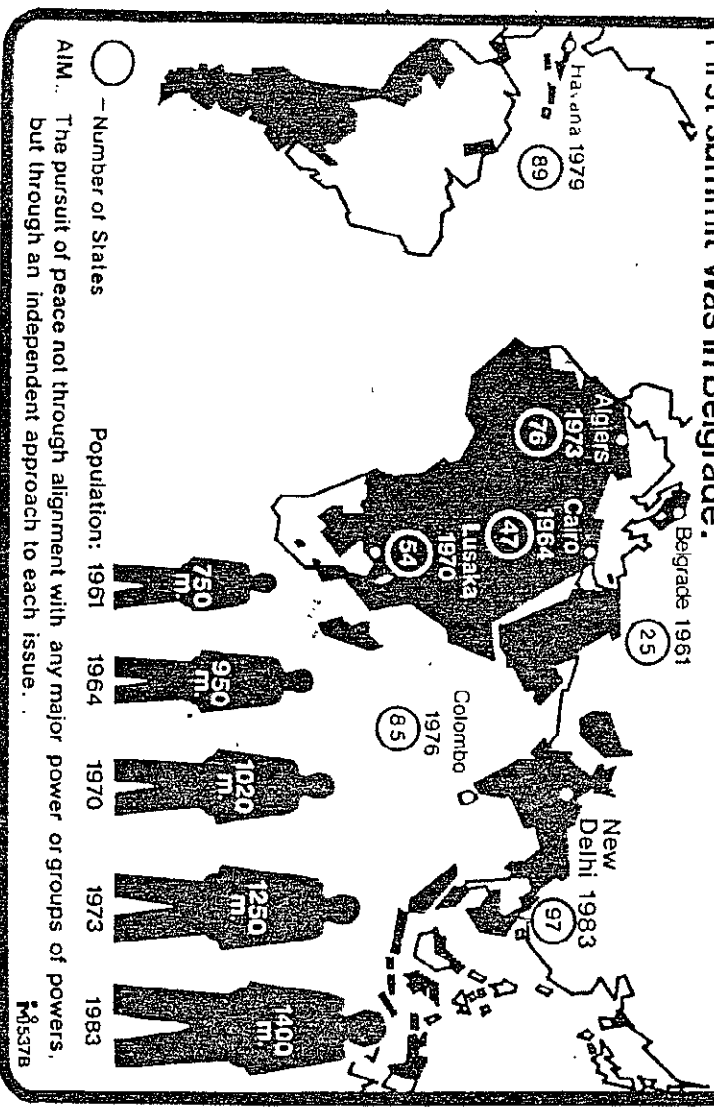
If it can be said that Mrs Gandhi's long rule in India has not always followed the precepts laid down by her father as far as Indian domestic policy is concerned, it should also be recognised that in foreign policy India has hardly wavered ever since independence in its non-alignment.

The Indians have in turn frustrated and angered the Americans and British on the one hand, and the Russians on the other... but that is non-alignment — the pursuit of a third role, a refusal to line up with West or East, but rather to judge situations objectively outside the arch of confrontation that dictates so many actions of the superpowers and their allies.

Non-alignment also sometimes involves a state playing one superpower off against another in its own interest — and

## ABC of the NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

Nonaligned Movement was born at Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Indonesia, 1955. 28 nations attended. First summit was in Belgrade.



national interest of the country concerned."

After nearly 30 years, has non-alignment served any useful purpose or has it just proved a ragbag of protest that has sown confusion and angered the big powers?

taking place; that the name of the game is power and that it's foolish to believe that the attitudes of what are mostly small and weak states really affect decisions in Washington and Moscow.

The fundamental weakness

To Westerners Mrs Gandhi has been equivocal on Afghanistan. But she has been quite firm in saying that "foreign troops" should get out and there is reason to believe that what she's said to the Russians in private has not been much to

dergo a foreign policy test, many of them wouldn't pass. The glaring example is Cuba, which by any standards leans more heavily towards the Soviet Union than towards the West, but countries like Zaire and the Philippines and many in Latin America lean far in the Western direction.

The case of Cuba in particular — and the fact that the movement held its last meeting in Havana and accepted President Castro as its chairman — has played into the hands of those in the West who make the facile argument that non-alignment is just an extension of communism.

The conference in Delhi will be seen by many as simply another platform for letting off steam against America, but this will be largely because it will be those sentiments that are picked out of the long speeches made there.

Non-aligned summits are not the most exciting of events. They are too formal — the leaders walk to the rostrum, deliver their prepared texts and then adjourn. There is no give-and-take debate across the floor and the meetings are huge, cumbersome affairs.

The private talking and bilateral meetings outside the conference hall are much more important. As with most conferences, the successful work is done in the corridors, over meals and in the hotel suites.

If we really ask whether it's all worthwhile, perhaps the answer lies in considering what might have happened after decolonisation if each country had aligned itself with one or

...ence in 72 years and it's a won-  
der that the Nonaligned Move-  
ment is still alive and meaning-  
ful again.

It's fitting that the venue should be India, though even this happened by default since the talks were to have been held in Baghdad last year.

Non-alignment is very much an Indian concept and it was Mrs Gandhi's father — Jawahar Lal Nehru — who, together with President Sukarno of Indonesia, initiated the first meeting in Bandung in 1955.

If it can be said that Mrs Gandhi's long rule in India has not always followed by her father's concepts laid down by her father as far as Indian domestic policy is concerned, it should also be recognised that in foreign policy India has hardly wavered ever since independence in its non-alignment.

The Indians have in turn frustrated and angered the Americans and British on the one hand, and the Russians on the other... but that is non-alignment — the pursuit of a third role, a refusal to line up with West or East, but rather to judge situations objectively outside the arena of confrontation that dictates so many actions of the superpowers and their allies.

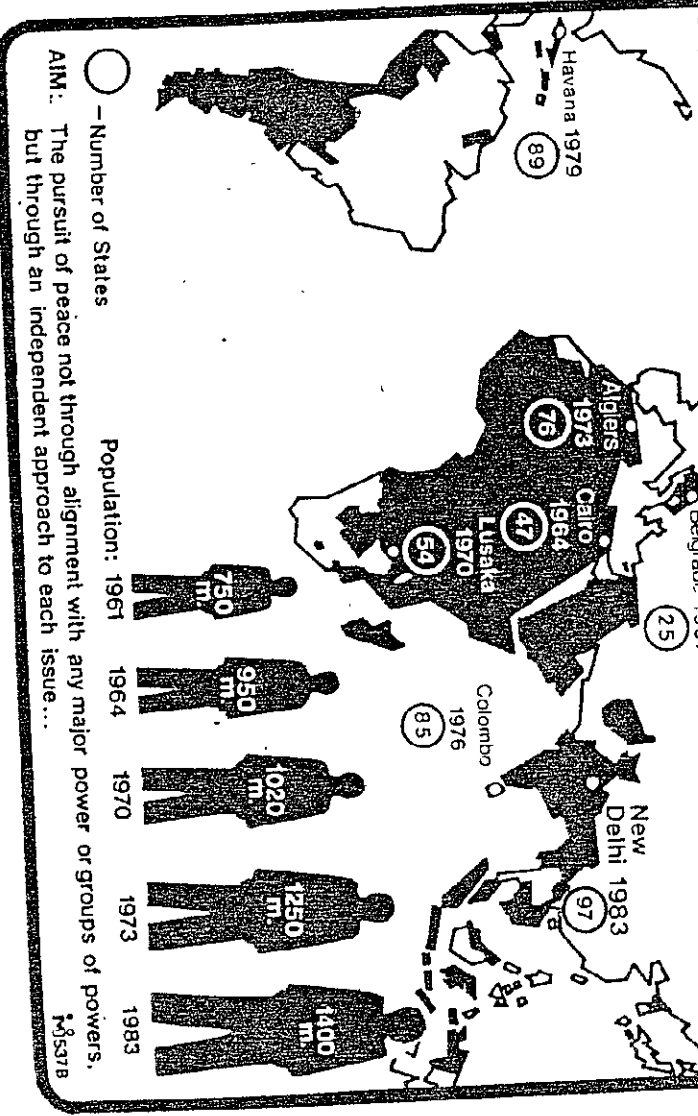
Non-alignment also sometimes involves a state playing one superpower off against another in its own interest — and that's often good politics, irritating as it may prove to be.

Nehru wrote in 1954 that foreign policy should be idealistic and realistic. He explained: "If it is not idealistic, it becomes one of sheer opportunism. If it is not realistic then it is likely to be adventurist and wholly ineffective."

However he added: "In the final analysis, all foreign policy concerns itself chiefly with the

## Non-aligned Movement was born at Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Indonesia, 1955. 28 nations attended.

### First summit was in Belgrade.



national interest of the country concerned."

After nearly 30 years, has non-alignment served any useful purpose or has it just proved a ragbag of protest that has sown confusion and angered the big powers?

We'll never know, but it's perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the existence of this third group of nations — loose and incoherent though it may be — has saved the world from nuclear war.

The majority in the West — and no doubt in Russia too, if one could persuade them to talk frankly — would say that only the nuclear deterrent has prevented the ultimate clash

taking place: that the name of the game is power and that it's foolish to believe that the attitudes of what are mostly small and weak states really affect decisions in Washington and Moscow.

The fundamental weakness of the Nonaligned Movement is that many of its members are not truly non-aligned. India is a major exception — it would be difficult to fault Delhi over the years, sometimes tilting towards Moscow, sometimes towards Washington.

India starts with a bias towards the West — the historical pull of 300 years of British rule is still extraordinarily strong.

To Westerners Mrs Gandhi has been equivocal on Afghan-  
 istan. But she has been quite firm in saying that "foreign troops" should get out and there is reason to believe that what she's said to the Russians in private has not been much to their liking. The Russians plainly treat India most carefully, seeing it as a friend but not an ally. Washington does the same.

After all, India may yet play a pivotal role in any negotiations that might take place to reach some compromise on Afghanistan and lead to the end of the fighting there.

If members of the Non-aligned Movement had to un-

The ease of China's partition — and the fact that the movement held its last meeting in Havana and accepted President Castro as its chairman has played into the hands of those in the West who make the facile argument that non-alignment is just an extension of communism.

The conference in Delhi will be seen by many as simply another platform for letting off steam against America, but this will be largely because it will be those sentiments that are picked out of the long speeches made there.

Non-aligned summits are not the most exciting of events. They are too formal — the leaders walk to the rostrum, deliver their prepared texts and then adjourn. There is no give-and-take debate across the floor and the meetings are huge, cumbersome affairs.

The private talking and bilateral meetings outside the conference hall are much more important. As with most conferences, the successful work is done in the corridors, over meals and in the hotel suites.

If we really ask whether it's all worthwhile, perhaps the answer lies in considering what might have happened after demobilisation if each country had aligned itself with one or other of the two superpowers.

We would certainly have had a desperately polarised world with little chance of any of the smaller states exerting pressure to curb the excesses of the big powers. For however little they are prepared to admit it, both the US and the USSR have to pay a great deal of attention to the leaders meeting in New Delhi.

They cannot afford not to

Star

1

# die as iolence ares i Assam

w DELHI — Fresh violence  
ed in India's north-eastern  
te of Assam as heavily  
ed police began escorting  
ees back to their devastat-  
illages, officials said yester-

even people were hacked to  
th in two villages in upper  
am on Sunday and seven  
re wounded when police  
ed fire to quell rioting on  
outskirts of Gauhati yester-

ne disturbances broke the  
m of the past few days after  
nth-long ethnic clashes in  
ch about 2 700 people died  
d about 230 000 were left  
eless

## MASSACRE

a new massacre was disco-  
ed on an island in the Brah-  
putra River in which 193  
ple were reported killed but  
vivors put the death toll at  
e than 500.

sixteen island villages were  
royed in the two-day attack  
Assamese on Bangladesh im-  
igrants.

A night curfew was in force in  
any areas and troops and  
ra-military forces were pa-  
lling the streets.

Homes were being searched  
guns and ammunition and  
veral people suspected of  
ing behind the disturbances  
re arrested.

Many of the 2 000 refugees in  
relief camp in Nellie, where  
out 1 000 Muslim immigrants  
re butchered last month by  
besmen, had returned to re-  
ild their villages.

The Nellie massacre was the  
ist since India's Hindu-Mus-  
riots in 1947.

## RAMPAGING

Hordes of rampaging tribes-  
en scythed through about 20  
ages in the Nellie area, set-  
g fire to thatched huts.

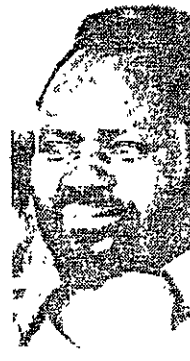
Officials said the government  
ad provided help for the  
rooted immigrant villagers to  
esetle and security had been  
ghtened.

The anti-immigrant violence  
out of a campaign by mili-

# Gandhi takes a swipe at 'notorious' SA



Gandhi



Machel



Castro

Own Correspondent

NEW DELHI — Mrs Indira Gandhi has taken  
over as chairman of the Non-aligned Movement,  
with a strong attack on "neo-colonialism" and  
"the wish to dominate" by South Africa, which she  
called "the notorious outlaw".

She also spoke of an "unrepentant" Israel, set-  
ting an uncompromising note for the summit  
taking place here under an unprecedented blanket  
of security.

Mrs Gandhi warned that "humankind is bal-  
anced on the brink of the collapse of the world  
economic system and annihilation through nucle-  
ar war".

She called for an international conference that  
was not weighted in favour of the north.

The outgoing chairman, Cuba's Dr Fidel Castro,  
accused President Reagan of issuing fresh orders  
to America's Central Intelligence Agency to kill  
him and other Cuban leaders.

Peace in several particular areas, as well as in  
general in a nuclear world, is one major theme of  
this summit.

The chairman of the PLO, Mr Yasser Arafat,  
launched a new idea in the context of the Middle  
East peace process, with a suggestion that the  
committee of seven set up at Fez should be-  
come a committee of the Non-aligned Movement,  
with Mrs Gandhi at its head.

It was President Castro's two-hour speech  
which made the strongest impression, with pow-  
erful statistics on the economics of the Third  
World, alleging exploitation by the multi-nation-  
als, the worsening of terms of trade and, above  
all, the link between the world's spending of  
R650 000 million on arms and the shortage of  
funds for development.

It was also reported that Mozambique's Presi-  
dent Samora Machel has taken his place at the  
summit after last week aligning his country  
squarely with the Kremlin-led communist bloc,  
during visits to the Soviet union and East Ger-  
many.

Mr Machel travelled to India via Moscow and  
East Berlin and in both capitals he held top-level  
talks which, western observers say, concentrated  
on the strengthening of ties between Mozambique  
and the Soviet bloc.

Mr Machel and Soviet Pre-  
mier Mr Yuri Andropov signed  
a statement saying the "mili-  
tary co-operation of the western  
powers" enabled South Africa to  
continue its apartheid policy  
and its "aggression" against  
other countries in Southern Afri-  
ca.

Western support, they said,  
also enabled South Africa to re-  
tain control over Namibia. They  
rejected western demands that  
Namibian independence be  
linked to a withdrawal of Cuban  
troops.

Much the same conclusions  
were reached between Mr Ma-  
chel and East German Commu-  
nist Party leader Mr Erich Hon-  
ecker.

# Cambridge still have boat race blues over Rankov

The Star Bureau

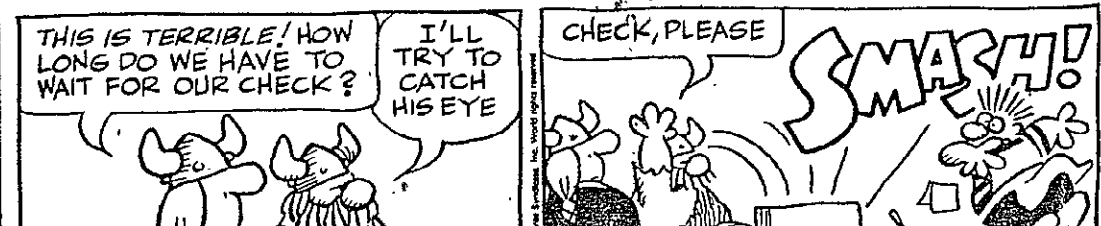
LONDON — In spite of issuing a four-page statement, Cambridge  
University is still undecided on whether or not to participate in the  
129th boat race against Oxford, scheduled for April 2.

The cause of Cambridge's threatened withdrawal is the inclusion  
in the Oxford crew for the sixth successive year of 28-year-old Boris  
Rankov, a Junior Fellow at St Hugh's College, who is taking his  
doctoral thesis in Roman archaeology.

Rankov was declared eligible to compete on the casting vote of  
the Oxford chairman at a joint closed boat race committee meeting  
last week.

Now, according to their statement issued yesterday, Cambridge  
is to exert pressure "at the highest level", presumably meaning  
the vice-chancellors and proctors from both universities.

# HÄGAR the Horrible ® By Dik Browne



# Toure keeps firm grip on the reins

Star 8/7/83  
①

It was a classic Catch-22, said the frustrated New York banker.

Guinea was applying for a loan, but President Ahmed Sekou Toure refused to release such basic data as Guinea's foreign exchange reserve figures, the amount of its external debt, debt-ratio payment amounts or the country's import-export figures from which the bank could make a judgment, the banker added.

"The (International Monetary Fund) has the figures but they're under a strict agreement not to release them unless Toure personally okays it," he said.

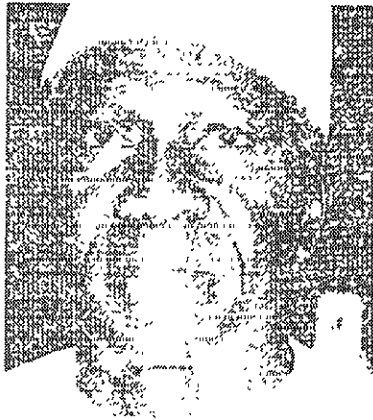
Toure's personal approval is the key to getting almost anything accomplished in Guinea. The government plods along because virtually every decision must pass for approval in front of "The Supreme Guide of the Revolution."

The 60-year-old son of a poor peasant family from the savanna interior town of Faranah, Toure's demeanour is deceptively gentle at first encounter. He exhibits a penchant for small talk and regularly invites businessmen and visiting journalists to join him for dinner.

Dining with him one late evening, a reporter found it difficult to reconcile Toure's concern for the sick family of a French woman with his history as a pre-independence trade union militant who, after taking office, executed five teachers in 1961 for daring to lead a strike, or with his violent repression of the slightest sign of anti-revolutionary sentiment.

But then, some of the hidden steeliness was revealed when Toure's mouth hardened while he expressed his deep disdain for Guineans who feel they must live with imported luxuries, such as air conditioners. As he spoke, he raised his

Major contradictions persist about the pronouncements and practices of the Guinean President, says Leon Dash of the Washington Post.



Toure... a deceptively gentle demeanour.

voice slightly to be heard above the steady hum of his own air conditioner.

Toure has studied Marx and Lenin but volunteered in an interview that he is not a marxist-leninist because he believes in God. "Our revolution means that we will make men and women equal, without a hierarchy," said Toure, a devout Muslim. "Our socialism has faith in God and man," he added.

After independence, Toure attacked and weakened caste and clan allegiances to try to replace them with a loyalty to him, the Democratic Party of Guinea and the State, in that order, Western diplomats said.

Simultaneously, Toure led a campaign that demystified the hold of

Muslim mystics on Guinea's three-quarters Muslim population, debunked the spiritual fetishes of traditional African religious adherents and brought the 5 percent Roman Catholic minority to heel. He even destroyed the independent trade union movement, once his power base.

Yet Toure overlooked one institution — the generations-old loose association of women market traders. When he banned all retail trade in 1977, they rose in an angry protest that forced him to back down. Toure has been retreating on his earlier economic positions ever since.

"Toure is a political animal with a large ego, more so than an economic politician," said one Western analyst. "He is more flexible on economic issues than on political ones."

Still, major contradictions persist about Toure's pronouncements and his practices. His revolution is based on the intellectual, cultural and moral uplifting of mankind. But if anyone takes a principled, dissenting stand on Toure's revolution, he risks prison, torture and death by starvation.

But as Toure has mellowed, the purges have been replaced by a blossoming personality cult. In November, Toure sat through a national festival featuring villagers' skits praising him.

# Flash floods of humanity

All over Africa, from the desert lands of Somalia to the tropical lushness of Zaire, down to the mountain-ringed kingdom of Lesotho, millions of people are on the run.

African destabilisation — triggered by hunger, economic hardship, tribal warfare, border disputes, drought, and world recession — takes many forms. There are:

- Political refugees fleeing border wars and tribal strife and seeking sanctuary in other African lands. Of the world's estimated 10-million refugees, half are huddled in Africa. Hardly an African country is without them.

- Farmers driven off their land every day because of the sharp drop in the world prices for basic commodities. Such people stream into the cities at a faster rate than on any other continent on the globe.

- While urbanisation in India and Pakistan increased annually by 3.3 percent and four percent, respectively, between 1970 and 1982, it jumped 6.8 percent in Nigeria, seven percent in Malawi, 7.2 percent in Zaire, and 8.3 percent in Mozambique.

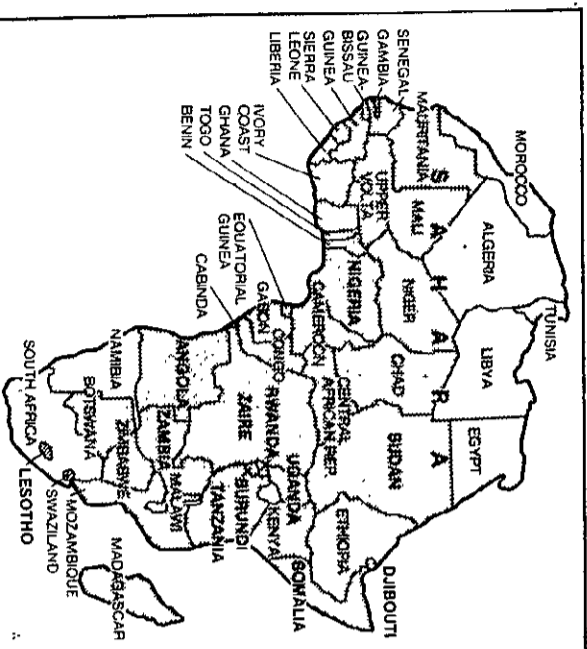
- Dispossessed peoples uprooted by years of unrelieved drought and other climatic calamities in such economically precarious regions as the arid Sahel in West Africa and the barren Horn of Africa in the north-east.

- Workers who left their own impoverished countries because they couldn't find jobs and who now find themselves suddenly expelled by host countries whose economies are too fragile to support them.

Sub-Saharan Africa, the broad band of 45 black African states that separate Arab North Africa from South Africa and Namibia, is in a state of crisis. Two-thirds of the 36 least-developed countries in the world lie in this region.

Some Africa-watchers take the longer view. They see sub-Saharan Africa, which racked up growth rates of between four and five percent between 1950 and 1975, temporarily caught in a downward economic cycle. They believe the region could bounce back when the world recession eases.

Nobody disputes that Africa's potential is enormous. It has vast resources. It has the largest amount of available ar-



## Africa's refugees

Nations hosting more than 10,000 refugees registered with the United Nations

Host country	No. of refugees	Origin of refugees
Burundi	234,000	Mostly Rwanda
Djibouti	32,000	Ethiopia
Lesotho	11,500	South Africa
Nigeria	100,000	Mostly Chad
Rwanda	18,000	Burundi
Somalia	700,000	Uganda
Sudan	570,000	Ethiopia
Tanzania	164,000	419,000 Ethiopia, 130,000 Uganda, 16,000 Chad, 5,000 Zaire
Uganda	113,000	Burundi, Rwanda
Zaire	325,000	80,000 Rwanda, 32,000 Zaire, 215,000 Angola
Zambia	56,000	75,000 Uganda, 11,000 Burundi, 22,000 Rwanda, 1,800 Zambia, 37,000 Angola, 5,700 Zaire, 4,800 Namibia

able land. The continent has also made rapid strides in turning out university graduates, bringing down infant mortality rates, boosting literacy, opening up roads, and expanding social services.

Equally, nobody disputes that much of sub-Saharan Africa is mired in trouble. "The deep-throated cries of 'uhuru' (freedom) that reverberated throughout Africa in the 1960s and brought political independence from white colonial rule are muted in the 1980s.

The realisation is setting in rapidly that economically much of the region is worse off than it was a decade ago.

Less than a handful of countries — Zimbabwe and Malawi are conspicuous examples — can feed themselves. Nigeria, once Africa's largest exporter

of food, is now the continent's largest importer of food. External factors have not helped. With world recession, the bottom has fallen out of most commodity prices. The problem is that so many African countries are dependent on only one, two, or three basic commodities.

Compounding the problem for all non-oil-producing countries are huge energy bills. Kenya, with a strong capitalist economy, spends up to 40 percent of its foreign exchange reserves on petroleum products.

Economic hardship knows no ideological bounds in Africa today. Ghana and Uganda, two African states that started out with extraordinary potential, have had shattering reverses. In the words of Dr. Nevin

Scrimsnow, director of the MIT/Harvard International Food and Nutrition Programme: "They blew it." There are some tentative signs, however, of Ugandan recovery.

Both countries, he says, could have made progress because of their intellectual elite and initial economic promise, "but it was the political situation that did them in."

Conversely, the economic successes of the Ivory Coast (black Africa's star performer) and Malawi, show to some extent how strong political leadership and consistent economic policies are a key to progress, although even the Ivory Coast has become a hostage to the world economic climate.

Yet so dire are Africa's manifold problems that strong political leadership will not in itself turn the situation around.

Most of the gains that are being made are being overtaken because there are so many more mouths to feed each year. While population growth rates are dipping in many countries around the world they are moving sharply up in Africa.

Thus, for Africa as a whole, a 1.7 percent annual growth in food production is being wiped out by a 2.9 percent increase in population.

Economic disappointments and setbacks bring, in turn, political disillusionment. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has been helpless to prevent the fragmenting of Africa. Established in 1963 to provide the continent with a strong political voice in world affairs, it enters its 20th year with its future in doubt.

Twice last year it came close to collapse because its moderates and radicals could not settle who would represent Chad, then in civil war, and Western Sahara, locked in a war between Morocco and Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas.

Like the Biafran war in the 1960s, both Chad and the Western Sahara serve as painful reminders of Africa's inability to adjust to largely artificial political boundaries, imposed by the colonial powers, that cut across natural ethnic and cultural lines.

The refugees streaming in all directions all over Africa are a sign of a continent in turmoil. Many countries are worse off now than they were a decade ago. But there is a growing awareness of a solution...

One in every two refugees in the world is African

Invariably, those states that bear the heaviest load of refugees, such as Ethiopia, Somalia, and the Sudan, are the ones least able to take on such an influx.

The UNHCR, the principal refugee relief organisation that

has successfully placed 700 000 refugees into settlement camps in Somalia, has allotted 127 million dollars for African refugees this year. The figure is marginally less than last year because of two notable UN successes:

## Migrant madness

NEW YORK — Every day, about 1 000 Afghans come out of their rugged highlands into Pakistan. About triple that number of Mexicans splash or scramble across the United States border. Young men from the dry savannah pour into Africa's port cities. Uncounted columns of Colombians file down forest paths into the Venezuelan oil country.

Countries are often unprepared for such flash floods of humanity. If they were a nation, the world's migrants would be one of the biggest — possibly equal to an Egypt or France.

There have been three great flows of migratory labour in recent years: from East Asia and North Africa into the Middle East oil empire, from Latin America into the US and from the West African interior to the fast-growing coastal strip.

## Bidding Africa adieu?

WASHINGTON — A top Reagan Administration official has painted a grim picture of Africa's economic crisis. Mr. Princeton Lyman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, spoke of a continent dominated by overwhelming external debt, economic stagnation and the disintegration of the infrastructure built up over the past 20 years.

"Throughout Africa, one finds today near bankruptcy. Reserves are gone, budgets are under such strain that basic services as well as international obligations are suffering shortfalls."

"We see the development efforts, started by donors and Africans alike, floundering... Not only are exports declining but the very fundamental early development of infrastructure is deteriorating."

● The closing down of refugee operations in Zimbabwe following the political settlement there.

● The repatriation of Chadians to their own country from surrounding states following the civil war there. About 65 000 have been repatriated through the UN's voluntary repatriation programme. Another 20 000 have gone on their own steam.

While South Africa has been vehemently attacked in the OAU for allegedly destabilising the rim of southern African states — conducting cross-border raids and apparently undercutting efforts of those states to resist South African economic hegemony of the area — the OAU is also taking a critical look at its own responsibilities.

Dr. Peter Onu, OAU assistant secretary-general, has said: "There is not a single region in Africa where there are no refugees. Why, then, should we acknowledge the fact that some of our communities have not yet done away with the vestiges of ethnic and tribal conflicts? Why can't we also acknowledge the existence of conflicts within and between countries inherited from colonialism and fanned by imperialism and neo-colonialism?"

"Lastly, why can't we deplore the reign of intolerance on some parts of the continent contrary to our tradition of brotherhood and the respect of our fellow human beings?"

The refugees streaming in all directions all over the African continent are a mirror of a society in turmoil. Some respected African spokesmen, among them Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim A. Salim, say the OAU has become too politicised and should focus instead on urgent economic matters. That awareness is spreading. In April 1980 the OAU held its first economic summit. What emerged was the so-called Lagos Plan of Action, which had as its highest priority attaining self-sufficiency in food.

If that goal is accepted, agriculture would again be accorded the importance in government planning that many food experts say is not only imperative to save Africa from hunger but also essential to a sound economy. — The Christian Science Monitor.



# SA's poor maize harvest will hit other states

10/3/83 By GERALD REILLY  
Pretoria Bureau

SOUTH Africa's disastrous mealie crop will intensify hunger and famine conditions in countries throughout drought-stricken Southern Africa, according to Pretoria sources.

South Africa is regarded as the granary of the region, but there will be no surplus to compensate for crop failures this year.

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are part of a customs union, and are regarded as segments of the South African domestic market. The independent states — Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana — are also part of the customs union.

But South African maize also finds its way to Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and even to Tanzania.

The crop this year, according to the National Maize Producers Organisation (Nampo), will be less than 7-million tons — barely enough to meet the domestic demand.

However, there is a carry-over from last season of 1 300 000 tons and it may be possible to scrape through without having to import maize.

It is understood that the Maize Board, which stopped all exports several months ago, is ready to import maize at prices about 40% above the local price of R154 a ton.

The general council of the SA Agricultural Union met in Pretoria yesterday in an atmosphere of crisis.

The council, which meets again today, is expected to recommend massive State financial aid for the industry.

It will call for the urgent financial rehabilitation of farmers broken by two consecutive years of drought.

Without this — and the aid has to be long-term and generous — hundreds of farmers will be ruined.

The SAAU's chief economist, Mr Johan Willemse, said the drought and the desperate plight of producers could have a serious long-term affect on food production.

The 1982/83 season's production loans from the Land Bank amounted to about R908-million.

And the carry-over of Land Bank debts from the 1981/82 season was about R370-million. Mr Willemse said

13/3/83 S. Times D. [Signature]

# Africa rediscovers unity in New Delhi



Indira Gandhi — appeal for peace

## ROME

### Judicial uproar

ITALY'S judiciary was in disarray yesterday after all but two members of the 32-strong Magistrates' Council learned they were under investigation for suspected embezzlement of public funds. The council is a watchdog over the Italian judiciary.

UNDER the benign influence of Mrs Indira Gandhi, Africa rediscovered unity at the non-aligned summit in New Delhi and decided to put its solidarity to a crucial test in three months' time

The New Delhi conference gave Africa a forum to speak to the rest of the world on international issues, an opportunity that the Organisation of African Unity has denied it for a year

Bitter divisions on African affairs which have brought the OAU to the brink of collapse hardly surfaced as Africa joined the rest of the Third World in declaring its position on economic and political matters

Blanketed by the non-aligned movement's goal of consensus politics, Africa even agreed to agree on a declaration on the Western Sahara, the continent's biggest political dispute.

## NEW DELHI

It also agreed to put unity to the test in Ethiopia in June by trying once again to hold its twice abandoned 19th summit

Delegates said there was general agreement that a third collapse of the OAU, Africa's sole forum for political co-operation, would be final.

### Agreement

The decision to shift the ill-starred 19th summit from Libya, where it failed twice, to OAU headquarters in Ethiopia on June 6-11 was taken by a 12-nation committee chaired by Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi, the current OAU chairman

Delegates said the degree of consensus that emerged in New Delhi had encouraged the OAU to try to concentrate on areas of agreement, and not just on internal disputes.

But they admitted there were signs that the Western Sahara dispute and the row over Chad still presented stumbling blocks to the final working of the OAU

The non-aligned movement referred the Western Sahara dispute back to the 18th OAU summit in Nairobi, which set up a committee to arrange a ceasefire and referendum in the former Spanish colony

The dispute over Chad was short-circuited when Indian authorities refused to admit a delegation representing the ousted government of Goukouni Oueddei because of passport and health certificate irregularities

Delegates said they would spend the next three months drumming up support for the Addis meeting and try to bury differences.

"It's Addis or bust" said a West African delegate

Andrew Hill

AFRICA

ARGUS 14/3/83 (1)

# This man is worth watching

President Diouf's victory at the Senegal polls has put his country in the spotlight. HENRY REUTHERS reports from Nairobi

PRESIDENT ABDOU DIOUF's overwhelming win in Senegal's presidential and parliamentary elections has led to his being recategorised by Africa-watchers.

From being the man who stood in the shadow of the country's poet-president, Leopold Senghor, he has suddenly become moderate Africa's "man to watch" — a pillar of sanity to balance the Idi Amins, the Bokassas and the Gaddafis.

## A pillar

"Pillar" is appropriate. He is lean, slim, and 2.2 metres tall. In the days before Senghor's 1980 retirement, it was said that Diouf made up in height what he lacked in charisma. He was never a rabble-rousing speaker, never a shout-down of the opposition.

He was an intelligent, legally-trained technocrat to whom Senghor gave all the difficult and dirty jobs, such as dealing with economic crises, the handling of the country's powerful Muslim brotherhoods and the detention and routing of Libyan-backed subversionists.

## Reforms

When Senghor finally bowed out, Diouf stepped out of his shadow, in January, 1981, and immediately put in hand all those internal reforms which, as Prime Minister, he would have like to effect but probably hadn't dared to.

Under the slogan "Change within the system", President Diouf quietly dismantled corrupt and inefficient government institutions, required rich officials to explain their sudden wealth and jailed those who failed to do so.

## Official cars

He decreed the localisation of Senegal's commercial sector.

He underlined the socialism of his Socialist Party by confining the use by Cabinet Ministers of government cars to government business, and by cutting official allowances.

But those who saw Diouf as a mechanism for moving yet another moderate African state into Afri-

ca's Soviet-influenced "pink" zone were quickly proved wrong

One of his earliest acts as President was to lift Senghor's limit of four political parties. Ten more broke out in a kind of rash almost overnight, eight of them giving the line-up a heavy list to the left, with philosophies ranging from Marxism-Leninism to Trotskyism, or parading under the simple banners "pro-Chinese", "pro-Soviet Union" and, believe it or not, "pro-Albanian".

In such company, Diouf's victorious Socialists stand out as beacons of common sense conservatism with popular African overtones. Senegal after the elections remains in Africa's "moderate" camp which at the last count contained 23 nations, not including Kenya, which was neutral by virtue of President Daniel Arap Moi's chairmanship of the OAU.

## West ties

Diouf has strengthened his country's ties with both France and the United States. He has delighted Senegal's Muslim peasants by breaking up the giant, corrupt agricultural parastatal, OnCAD, allowing a partial reversion to private enterprise.

By taking some 85 percent of the presidential vote and relegating his chief rival, Gaddafi protege Abdoulaye Wade, to the ranks of the "also-rans" he has received a public mandate to act tougher in future with Muslim fanatics who want to see Senegal go the way of Iran.

## Free enterprise

And while he is still hopeful of persuading Arab oil states to finance the billion-dollar Senegal River Valley agricultural development scheme, he is slowly opening Senegal's door to foreign capital and free enterprise.

In the two years of his presidency, he has not put a foot wrong, a rare achievement among African statesmen. A man worth watching indeed.— Argus Africa News Service

# The Nine's progress

Since announcing their development alliance at the Maputo donors' meeting in November 1980, the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (Sadec) has shown "cautious optimism" about its future.

Sadec faces an unfavourable economic and political climate in the sub-continent, particularly given the tasks it has set itself. Yet the organisation's aims and approach have been praised for their "pragmatism," to quote a World Bank official speaking on behalf of donors at Sadec's Lesotho conference in January. There were 29 (mainly Western) governments and 23 international agencies represented in Maseru.

In a survey of Sadec presented to the SA Institute of International Affairs recently, this assessment was supported by Natal University professor, Gavin Maasdorp.

The importance of Sadec in focusing the attention of Western nations on southern Africa, suggests Maasdorp, cannot be overlooked. Political, military and other factors affecting regional development are spotlighted at its meetings.

So-called "destabilisation" by SA could lead to "changing foreign policies in due course," according to Maasdorp. "Donor countries will take an increasingly hard line against Pretoria wherever projects they have funded are the targets of guerrilla attacks which they see as being supported by Pretoria."

Maasdorp observed: "Unsettled political issues are a major obstacle to economic development and co-operation in southern Africa." EEC commissioner, Edgard Pisani, speaking about the destruction of EEC projects, said in Lesotho that the possibility of disinvestment from SA could not be ruled out.

Sadec's members were each assigned different "priority areas" for co-ordination in the 1980 Lusaka "Programme of Action." They are: Angola — energy conservation and security; Botswana — crop research and animal disease control; Lesotho — soil conservation and land use; Malawi — fisheries, forestry and wildlife; Mozambique — transport and communications, which is Sadec's backbone and has the only sectoral commission; Swaziland — manpower development; Tanzania — industrial development; Zambia — a development fund and mining; and Zimbabwe — food security.

To date, 133 transport and communications projects, estimated to cost

\$2 538m, have been submitted for funding. Some 35 projects are being implemented, three completed. Just over a quarter of the money has already been allocated, and about a fifth locally accounted for. A third of the amount is earmarked for road projects, 25% for railways, 22% ports, 10% civil aviation and about 10% for telecommunications.

According to Maasdorp, over 30 food and agriculture projects costing \$100m have been submitted for funding. Some have been completed. (In 1979 and 1980, the Sadec countries combined produced



**Seretse Khama ... first with the Sadec idea**

only about 72%-80% of their cereal needs.)

At Maseru, 66 industrial development projects were presented, and a figure of \$194m to cover 43 of them. Industrial projects cover salt, textiles, chemicals, pesticides, farm implements and tractor components.

Work on the energy sector is at an early stage. Three projects costing \$14m have been presented. Sadec's council of ministers has agreed in principle to form an energy commission.

The idea of a co-ordinated approach to regional development was first suggested by Botswana's founding president, Sir Seretse Khama. It was pursued by the five frontline states, which emerged as a political grouping in 1975, after Portugal's colonial exit and renewed efforts to solve the Rhodesian question.

By 1977-1978 the frontline states had commissioned background reports on the concept of Sadec. These were presented at a meeting of the economics ministers of the five states in Arusha, Tanzania, in July 1979. And a draft document of the aims and structure of Sadec was adopted.

Zimbabwe's membership was considered important given its geographical position in the transport network of southern Africa.

Although it has been said that inefficient management of Mozambique's railways and ports are more problematical than the guerrilla activities of the rebel Mozambique Resistance Movement, some observers point out that structural shortcomings, such as inadequate telecommunications between Sadec members and Mozambique, are the real problem. Sadec projects accordingly include the upgrading of such links — for instance, a microwave tower to facilitate communications between Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Sadec has, through Mozambique's President Samora Machel, acknowledged that economic links with SA will, in some cases, actually have to be strengthened until such time as its goals are realised. A complete disengagement from SA is, in any case, highly unlikely. For example, SA handles 70% of Zimbabwe's trade, Maasdorp points out. And official forecasts put the figure at 50% by 1986, declining to only 30% even after the Mozambique projects have been completed.

Sadec must be understood as a loosely-organised body which co-ordinates, then decentralises, the commissioning, planning, funding and execution of projects for members' collective benefit.

No formal economic integration (such as a free trade area or customs union) is contemplated.

The basic aim of reducing dependence on richer countries makes sense in terms of economic theory, Maasdorp points out.

At the least, the larger Sadec members, with potential for import-substituting industries, "would not want closer economic relationships with SA, particularly when it comes to economic integration arrangements such as free-trade areas or customs unions. This is because SA is already the most industrialised country on the sub-continent, and the well-known core-periphery (or polarisation) effect would mean it would be very difficult for the SADCC countries to industrialise."

23/3/83  
Spare ANC

6, Rene

asks SA

Mail Reporter

PRESIDENT Albert Rene of the Seychelles yesterday called on South Africa to commute the death sentences of six black ANC men waiting to be hanged.

Senior Seychellois Government sources said it could be an offer of return clemency for four white mercenaries sentenced to death in Victoria last July for their abortive coup attempt under Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare.

The President's office last night released to Sapa-  
Reuter the text of an urgent message sent yesterday to Mr Botha, asking for mercy for David Moise, Anthony Isotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, Marcu Motaung, Jerry Mosoloh and Simon Mogerane.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha last night refused to comment.

# Crocker under attack

The US policy of "constructive engagement" with SA is under pressure. It is being increasingly attacked in the American Congress and by academics. There also appears to be some "redefinition" of the policy by State Department sources.

Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, whose name is most identified with the policy, has taken to stressing that a "balanced strategy" is the central theme of US Africa policy.

Appearing before the US Senate subcommittee on Africa this month to explain the administration's requests for economic assistance to African countries, Crocker was, predictably, challenged on the fruits of constructive engagement.

In reply he defined "constructive engagement" as a *regional* policy, encompassing Zaire to the Cape of Good Hope. "We have launched a policy of constructive engagement with all the states of the region who wish the same with us," Crocker said.

"There are those who have chosen, wilfully in my view, to interpret constructive engagement as a policy of being 'nicer to South Africa.' That is a grotesque distortion of this policy. We are trying to have productive relations with everybody."

The administration had not protected the SA government from criticism on human rights, nor had it protected the Zimbabwean government on the same issues, he added. In an apparent response to accusations that the US connives at SA destabilisation practices, he asserted that impartiality applied to violence across borders — "there can be no double standard on sovereignty."

## Insecurity

This apparent shift in emphasis on Crocker's part possibly reflects some personal insecurity. There have been two apparent failures during his tenure — first the failure, so far, to achieve a Namibian settlement, and second failure to persuade SA not to exclude blacks from constitutional reform.

Asked by Senator Paul Tsongas to explain what *had* been accomplished in the two-year period, Crocker's response was that two years was only time enough to lay groundwork and not enough to accomplish objectives. This was a considerable back-down from the optimistic expectations of a Namibian settlement he expressed at the beginning of the Reagan administration's term.

But he reasserted that the basis established so far is the only credible possibility for a Namibian settlement. Crocker said the understanding is that while SA may not

have an inherent interest in a settlement as such, it presumably has an interest in a settlement which does not lead to the political suicide of the current government of SA.

The "security assistance request" to the Senate for southern Africa in 1984 includes \$155m for the Economic Support Fund

jective is to strengthen that country's border security and to provide a deterrent to destabilising forces in the region. Past unresponsiveness on the part of the US to Botswana's security concerns contributed to the formation of a limited military supply relationship with the Soviet Union



Crocker ... redefining US policy towards SA?

(ESF), \$24m for the Foreign Military Sales/Military Assistance Programme, and \$1,975m for International Military Assistance and Training. Crocker pointed out that the total requested for the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa came to about 14% of the total foreign assistance budget request.

Justifying assistance for various countries, Crocker said:

□ On Zaire — "We are aware that this committee indicated last year that it wished us not to expend ESF moneys in Zaire until a record of compliance with the IMF is established. We have reason to hope that the current effort being made by the Zaireian government to deal with some of the graver issues of mismanagement and lack of accountability that have proved damaging to its economy will in fact lead to an accord with the IMF in the 1983 financial year."

□ On Zimbabwe — "Recent widely reported events in Zimbabwe may lead some to question whether we should keep our commitment (there). I hope this committee will understand that it is critical that we remain engaged in Zimbabwe's future."

□ On Botswana — "In Botswana, our ob-

# Meeting dwells ① on ROOM 26/3/83 Angola ②

Mail Correspondent

LISBON. — The Foreign Ministers of Mozambique and Angola were among the speakers at the opening session yesterday of a three-day international conference of solidarity with the Frontline States held in a packed Lisbon theatre.

The three-hour public meeting dwelt on the crucial issues facing Southern Africa and the particular problems of the two former Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique, whose Marxist regimes are under constant harassment from guerrilla movements.

Demonstrators opposing the conference, which is largely supported by Soviet-linked organisations, paraded with banners decrying Moscow's involvement in Africa outside the theatre.

The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, in an interview published shortly before the opening session, accused South Africa of maintaining its "aggressiveness" against Angola and its support for the Unita rebels. "Despite this," the Minister added, "Swapo guerrillas have redoubled their actions inside Namibia and attracted stiff reaction from Pretoria."

A report from Angop, official Angolan news agency, published in Lisbon yesterday, warned South Africa that continued support for Unita could jeopardise progress in the bi-lateral talks between Angola and South Africa, which began in Cape Verde last December.

The two countries are due to meet at the same venue over the Easter weekend for a third round of talks.

Angop accused South Africa of using Unita as its "Trojan Horse" in the negotiations on ways of bringing peace to the region.

Earlier, the agency had warned that Angola might "revise its relations" with its main Western trading partners if they continued allowing Unita and other rebel groups to operate with impunity in those countries.

Angop said the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Portugal ignored Luanda's protests about rebel plotting in their countries. "Is it not just that Angola should reserve the right to revise its relations with countries which ignore the elementary rules of international co-existence?" the agency asked.

① 27/3/83

SUNDAY TIME

# Mancham tells

By RAY JOSEPH: London

**PLAYBOY** ex-President James Mancham, a key figure in both the Information scandal and the ill-starred Seychelles coup, intends applying for a visa to visit South Africa — to tell his side of the Information scandal.

He wants to come to South Africa to promote his soon-to-be published book "Paradise Raped", which devotes a tell-all chapter to his role in the Rhodie caper.

In the book, due for release in South Africa in May, Mr Mancham admits that former Secretary for Information, Eschel Rhodie, contributed about

R12 000 to his ruling Seychelles Democratic Party to "help settle an election overdraft".

Mr Mancham claims he was ensnared by Dr Rhodie and his boss, Dr Connie Mulder, who, he says, once gave him a Krugerrand.

He admits to receiving printing machines "worth several thousand British pounds" via Holland from Dr Rhodie for the printing of his party newspaper, the Seychelles Weekly.

The presses were supplied after Mr Mancham told Dr Rhodie the opposition Seychelles Party had been provided with a press and generous financial support by the government of Tanzania.

## Concerned

Dr Rhodie had told him that he was concerned at the campaign of vilification being conducted by the opposition newspaper against South Africa and Mr Mancham had said that, although he would not stop his paper from condemning apartheid, there were blatant violations of human rights in other African countries which, if exposed, could put SA's situation in better perspective.

In an earlier visit to Seychelles, Dr Rhodie had told him: "Look Mr Mancham, my department is in a position to provide some help if any means could be found to counteract the situation (of South Africa's bad Press)."

Mr Mancham, 43, one-time playboy President of the Seychelles before being deposed by opposition leader Albert Rene in a 1977 coup, lives in exile in London in a Thameside home in Putney.

The book's section on the Information scandal is likely to renew bitter memories of the incident which led to the resignation of the then State President John Vorster and the victory in the premiership race by Mr P W Botha over Dr Mulder.

Mr Mancham said he was considering an invitation by his London publishers to visit South Africa for 10 days in May to promote his book — but this would depend on the South Africans granting him a visa.

The book is a frank, often bitter, insight into the world of power politics and Britain, the United States and France stand accused of "expediency politics" and abandoning Mr Mancham "at the drop of a hat".

This week he told me: "I was naive... I must admit this. I have discovered the intrigue, duplicity, hypocrisy and dishonesty of international politics."

## Burdening

"The British pushed us into independence without a treaty of defence after first burdening us with an American tracking station and taking over several of our islands for defence purposes."

"I say that the British Government of the day, led by James Callaghan, sacrificed us on the altar of expediency. Rene raped the constitution to which the British were a signatory and yet a few months later he was being received by the British government."

He is even more bitter about his treatment at the



Mr James Mancham in London this week — "I no longer have any ambitions of power"

hands of the French. "They took the view that the language was more important than the geo-politics. To a certain element of the French government it was impossible to understand how one could be both pro-France and pro-Britain at the same time," Mr Mancham, who has been knighted by both governments lamented.

"No sooner had Rene kicked out his British advisers than the French sent in replacements for them."

In his book Mr Mancham shows much sympathy for South Africa's position in world politics today, but makes it clear that he abhors apartheid and holds no truck with the policy.

"I am obviously against apartheid, coming from a multiracial society, but I feel that South Africa should now realise that the policy is wrong and try and make a fresh start. I believe that South Africa should be given a chance."

But it is Mr Mancham's story of how he was ensnared by Dr Mulder and Dr Rhodie,

that makes the most fascinating reading.

While he was being interviewed by "To The Point International" — later revealed to have been South African Government funded — in Paris in 1975 the interviewer asked whether he would meet Dr Mulder.

He agreed and 10 minutes later he was shaking hands with Dr Mulder and Dr Rhodie, who were staying at the same Paris hotel as him. "I realise now that the whole thing was carefully planned," he said.

## Dialogue

During this meeting, when Mr Mancham told the two men he believed that only dialogue could help sort out South Africa's problems, there occurred an incident which he describes as a "tactless gesture".

"Dr Mulder stood up, put his right hand in his pocket and pulled out a Krugerrand. "This is gold, Mr Mancham, gold. Please accept this as a memento of our meeting and a reminder of

South Africa's principal export," said Dr Mulder.

"Resisting the impulse to hand it back, I accepted this rather tactless gesture in the interests of diplomacy."

He tells of a meeting in Seychelles between himself, Dr Rhodie, Mr Rene and Mr Les de Villiers, another person involved in the Info scandal, which was, when exposed, to be the beginning of revelations which were to end the careers of Mr Vorster, Dr Rhodie and Dr Mulder.

The party, with their families with them to make the visit look like a private holiday, were in Seychelles to discuss landing rights for SAA.

Dr Rhodie had two requests: the possibility of several South Africans being issued with Seychelles passports to enable them to travel in black African countries from which they were barred.

The second was a request by fertilizer tycoon, Louis Luyt, to register a jet in Seychelles so that he could promote business in black Africa. The first was turned down point blank, the second

he promised to look into.

Another chapter deals with the abortive November 1981 coup by Colonel Mike Hoare in Seychelles.

Mr Mancham admits that he met Hoare only once, in London.

"Once he started talking it immediately became clear that he was not the usual type of mercenary. He would only fight for a cause he believed in. Money was not the prime motivation."

## Respond

As our interview ended, Mr Mancham told me: "I no longer have any ambitions of power, but if I am called I will respond. My position has always been that I will give moral support to anyone trying to overthrow the Rene government."

He concluded sadly. "My dreams for the Seychelles was a place of smiles and laughter with, under each coconut tree, a young man with a guitar. That dream turned into a nightmare. The young men are under the trees all right, but with Russian guns."

# Playboy

## And now he wants to visit SA to give his side of the Info story

ES, March 27 1983 9

# Wall



823/4/14/82

①

By Sheryl Raine,  
Pretoria Bureau

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) needs about R100 million to finance its seven special operations this year, one of the most important of which concerns Africa.

Drought, added to war, has made Africa an ugly place for hundreds of thousands of displaced persons, many of whom are suffering from malnutrition.

Problems in Africa, including several regions in Southern Africa, are expected to remain at the top of the organisation's list of priorities for a long time, says the ICRC's latest bulletin.

In an appeal to donor governments and national societies, the ICRC has estimated that about R40 million is needed to cover activities in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Chad, Zimbabwe, Zaire and Somalia.

About R11 million of this money will be spent on food and medical and other aid, particularly for displaced persons. Ethiopia is one of the most critical areas.

In the first two months of this year the ICRC distributed more than 170 tons of food to more than 37 000 Ethiopians suffering from malnutrition.

The plight of these victims of armed conflict and crippling drought has deteriorated in recent weeks and, with winter and the dry season drawing near, their position this month could

# Africa stays Red Cross top priority

● Iran-Iraq where the number of victims and prisoners of war requiring protection in terms of the Geneva Convention rose dramatically last year.

Since the beginning of the Gulf War, the ICRC's Central Tracing Agency has registered 37 778 POWs, of whom 23 953 were registered last year.

The agency has organised the exchange of more than 700 000 family messages since September 1980, about 500 000 of which were passed last year.

● Afghanistan, where the ICRC has been involved in caring for victims of war who have sought refuge in neighbouring Pakistan.

● El Salvador, where the armed confrontation between government forces and guerrillas has intensified.

In the latter part of 1982 about 80 000 people benefited from regular basic food distributions and the programme for the first half of this year has been devised for 89 000 people.

The ICRC has cared for displaced persons in this region since 1980 and continues to visit detainees and to trace missing or displaced persons.

● Poland, where vulnerable civilian groups are still experiencing difficulty in obtaining essential food and medicines.

Most of the ICRC's food supplies are destined for Polish children suffering from undernourishment and illnesses such as tuberculosis.

● Prisoners of war, detainees and sick, wounded and vulnerable civilians generally.

● Thailand-Kampuchea where more than 200 000 people, caught between various opposing parties on the border of the two countries, live in extremely precarious conditions.

In this area, apart from medical aid, one of the Red Cross's most important functions is to continue tracing and mailing services for thousands of Vietnamese refugees throughout Asia.

The planned withdrawal of some relief agencies from this region will mean that the ICRC will depend even more heavily on the support of donors to continue a regular relief programme.

become what the ICRC refers to as "grave".

This year, in conjunction with the Ethiopian Red Cross, the ICRC hopes to develop a joint relief programme to help at least 50 000 people in the regions of Tigre Gondar, Eritrea, Hararge, Bale and Sidamo.

But Africa is not the ICRC's only crisis point.

There are others including: ● Lebanon, where armed clashes, civil war and international conflict have kept a permanent delegation of the ICRC stationed in Beirut and other locations since 1975.

By DON MARHSALL  
Pretoria Bureau

A NEW tropical holiday playground is to be developed in the Comores using South African financial and technical assistance as a forerunner to Pretoria establishing diplomatic ties with the Indian Ocean islands' government in Moroni.

The islands are of considerable strategic importance to South Africa — politically, economically, and from the point of view of defence.

In order to foster better relations with the government of Mr. Ahmed Abdallah, South Africa is prepared to:

- Open a direct air link between Jan Smuts and the Comores capital;
- Organise an agricultural development scheme using South African farming experts;

# SA set for diplomatic links with Comores

COM 16/4/83

- Launch a crash housing aid scheme in the islands;
- Organise a R23-million loan from the Industrial Development Corporation to enable the islands' tourist industry to get off the ground.

There is also talk of South Africa sending experts to help the Comores people establish their own fishing industry.

South African Government officials have worked carefully during the past eight years to develop closer ties

with the Comorian people. Mr. Ahmed Abdallah was reinstated as leader in a coup in 1978 after having been deposed in 1976 by a Leftwing group.

France and South Africa have been blamed for the coup, but this has been denied in Pretoria.

Relations between South Africa and the Comores Islands Republic have since developed excellently.

A Government source yesterday praised Mr. Abdallah's

government for what he called "being the first" of several African countries to have the courage to advertise their links with South Africa.

"We have similar relations with several other African countries and at least some of them are expected to follow the Comores' example in the near future," the Pretoria source said.

Visits last year by more than 50 000 businessmen from black Africa was evidence of South Africa's grow-

ing ties with Africa, the source said.

Mr. Abdallah, through his Muslim faith, has strong connections with the Middle East, notably Kuwait and Oman, and this in itself would be sufficient to stir Pretoria's interest.

Developments in the Indian Ocean islands will have important ramifications for the security of both the Indian Ocean region and Southern Africa.

# The 'regional bully' of Southern Africa

Argus Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA was applying a wide range of policies towards her neighbours, which in some cases included clandestine operations over the country's borders

This was the view of Mr Michael Spicer of the South African Institute of International Affairs, and Mr Joseph Lelyveld, South African correspondent of the New York Times, two of three speakers at an open meeting on destabilisation at Stellenbosch University last night.

## A DENIAL

The third speaker, Mr Chris Rencken, M P for Benoni and chairman of the National Party's Parliamentary study group on foreign affairs, denied that the Government was involved in any attempts to destabilise its neighbours

The meeting was organised by a student group, the Stellenbosch Aktuele Aangeleenteheids Kring (SAAK), and was attended by leading academics from the university and from the University of Cape Town.

"Our black neighbours regard us as something of a regional bully, a desperado, the chief perpetrator of the biggest evil of the twentieth century — racism. They see us as the dominant power of the region who is using that power to maintain the status quo," Mr Spicer said.

## HAWKS AND DOVES

There had been a rise of the military in South African decision-making and in the conduct of foreign policy as a result of the breakdown in the 1970s of the buffer areas around the country.

This had led to the emergence of hawks, who supported a policy of destabilisation, and doves who

felt the military option should only be used as a last resort. But the country still did not appear to be pursuing the same policy towards all her neighbours and it could be asked whether there was a single co-ordinated policy.

Rather, there appeared to be a mixture of policies, ranging from the Seychelles debacle and the sort of unauthorised operation which led to the shooting of three Defence Force soldiers inside Zimbabwe, to the recent raid on African National Congress operatives in Maseru.

Mr Spicer warned that escalating violence in Southern Africa invited increasing interference by the Soviet Union, which was "stirring the cauldron of our problems".

## NO SINGLE POLICY

Mr Lelyveld said he tended to lean towards the view that there was no single destabilisation policy by South Africa, "but that there is a wide range of policies, some of which involve clandestine operations across the border."

He had got the impression during an interview with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the South African Government's main concern was 'terrorist activity launched from neighbouring countries and the Government did not appear to be concerned about what form of government there was in neighbouring states.

"In the case of Mozambique, for instance, which has an unabashed Marxist government, the bottom line as far as the South African government is concerned appears to be that if Mozambique neutralised the ANC they could be as Marxist as they pleased."

Mr Lelyveld said that while he had no personal knowledge of the first major attack by the Mozambican dissidents on fuel depots in Beira, he had gained the impression from conversations with diplomats that this was when the Western powers first began to suspect South African involvement in the activities of dissident groups in Mozambique

The Beira raid had been an extremely sophisticated operation, with indications that some of those involved had arrived on the scene by sea and that frogmen may have been used

Mr Lelyveld said he found it interesting that the South African raid on Motola, near Maputo, in January, 1980, had happened only eight days after the inauguration of President Reagan and had happened within a few days of the announcement of a General Election in South Africa

He speculated that the South African Government may have been testing the new international climate by executing the raid

## LUDICROUS

Mr Rencken told the meeting that it was ludicrous to suggest that the South African Government had been involved in the Seychelles affair. He suggested, too, that destabilisation activities inside Zimbabwe might have been perpetrated by former Rhodesians embittered by what had happened in their country.

Mr Rencken said it was patently in South Africa's interests to play a stabilising role in Southern Africa and he rejected claims that the Government was behind acts of sabotage and terrorism in neighbouring countries.

Africa must be given food and billions to pay for it

27 APR 1983

# Hunger horror

LONDON — Africa, afflicted by drought and desertification, is close to its worst famine in modern times.

The impoverished continent must find more than R2 000 million in the coming year for grain imports to fend off starvation. An extra R400 000 in food aid will go to the poorest regions.

Experts warn that these imports will provide only a brief respite, given Africa's inability to feed itself.

A recent United Nations report called Africa "the only continent where Malthus's grim prediction that food production could not keep pace with population has, over the past decade, come true".

Grain stocks are at record levels in the affluent countries, especially the United States, but many African countries are technically bankrupt.

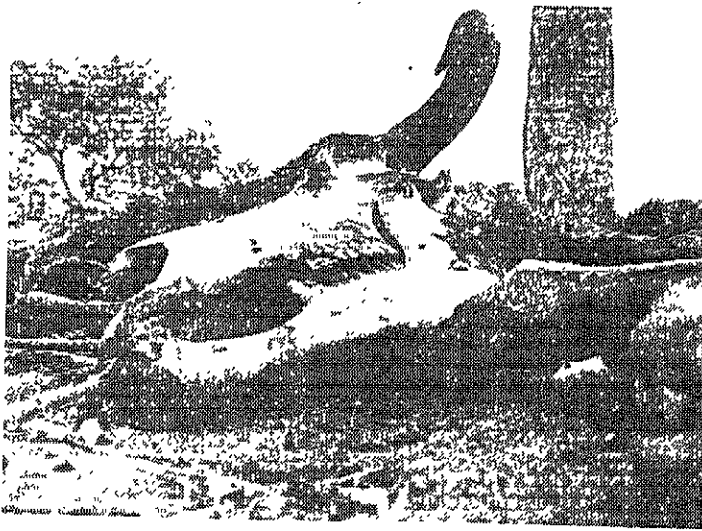
Unless food aid can be trebled or quadrupled in the next 18 months, a continent-wide famine is the prospect.

Africa's unhappy vindication of Malthus has been compounded by the "drought of the century".

In eight Southern African countries, maize crops have been meagre.

Zimbabwe and South Africa, normally exporters of maize to their northern neighbours, have run through their stocks. In

Malthus's grim prediction that food production will not be able to keep pace with population growth has, for Africa, come true in one decade. This year, because of the famine, untold millions face a hungry death.



Botswana large herds of cattle are being slaughtered for want of pasture.

In the heavily populated South African homelands wells have dried up, cattle are being fed with cactus and farmers are applying for emergency aid.

South Africa has cancelled export contracts for maize and expects to import two million tons from the US this year.

Food shortages are also severe in Mozambique and Zambia, with growing reports of

malnutrition among babies. At the best of times one in four children in the region dies before the age of four.

The food crisis in Southern Africa is being overshadowed by the famine affecting three million people in Ethiopia.

Relief supplies are being sent there from the European Economic Community, Canada and Russia, but some of the worst-affected areas are inaccessible because of fighting between government troops and rebels.

Ethiopia's predicament is essentially an extension of the "hunger band" stretching across Africa from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, along the southern margin of the advancing Sahara Desert.

That is where infant mortality figures are highest. It is estimated that more than 12 million children die every year in Africa, and the looming food crisis will add to that figure.

Several West African countries such as Mali, Upper Volta and Chad have chronic food problems and rising populations.

Propped up by food aid since the great famine of the early 1970s, they have abandoned any idea of being self-sufficient.

Last year black Africa imported 2.7 million tons of rice. Most of it went to West Africa. This year the shortfall will be 3.3 million tons.

Nigeria alone will need to import 600 000 tons costing nearly R150 million, despite its widening trade gap.

Africa's urban populations have grown used to eating bread in recent years, but the continent grows little wheat.

Africulturalists say the only way out for Africa is to rethink its food-growing policies, rely on indigenous crops, and turn its back on food aid as fast as possible.

But slowing down population growth is the most sensitive political issue. — The Observer, London.

## Post Focus

JOHANNESBURG — The news that Orlando Cristina, founder and second-in-command of the rebel Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MMR), has been shot dead in a farmhouse near Pretoria, will give fresh impetus to allegations that South Africa is supporting the rebel movement.

It will also revive African allegations that such support is part of a general policy of trying to destabilise neighbouring black states.

These accusations have been levelled at South Africa for about two years by the governments of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Angola — and even, at times, Zambia.

They contend South Africa is doing this in retaliation for their criticism of apartheid, and also to prevent the emergence of any stable black state in the region that could pose a challenge to the Republic.

South Africa has repeatedly denied that it is following any such policy of destabilisation, accusing its black neighbours in turn of fabricating the charges to divert attention from their own inability to control growing internal dissension.

However, both Prime Minister P W Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan gave a glimpse of the Government's attitude on the subject in February when — without admitting they were actually doing so — they told Parliament they would be prepared to

# MMR killing turns fresh focus on SA

2-Post  
26/4/83

— By —  
**ALLISTER SPARKS**

support rebel movements in any neighbouring state that harboured insurgents who operate against South Africa.

South Africa, of course, accuses Mozambique among other countries of harbouring insurgents of the African National Congress.

The African accusations gained some credibility when it was revealed that four soldiers killed inside Zimbabwe last August 18 were members of the South African Army who had crossed the border in a group and been engaged by a Zimbabwean Army patrol.

The Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said at the time the men had gone on an unauthorised mission to release a friend they thought was being detained in Zimbabwe.

Then a British newspaper, *The Observer*, revealed on February 20 a man who had been killed

while trying to sabotage a vital stretch of railway line in Mozambique was in fact an Ulsterman named Alan Gingles, who was serving in the SA Army.

Questioned about this in Parliament, Gen Malan confirmed that Gingles was in the South African Defence Force but refused to give any other information about him or how he died.

Mozambique has long claimed that Orlando Cristina was living underground in South Africa, and that he was training guerilla fighters and operating a rebel radio station from here.

Cristina was actually the founder of the Mozambique Resistance Movement. He was once private secretary to Jorge Jardim, the wealthy Mozambique colonial settler who funded black

units to fight against Frelimo during the 10-year war of independence.

After the Portuguese revolution in 1974 which precipitated independence for the Portuguese colonies, Cristina fled to Rhodesia with all Jardim's files on his special units. Using these files to canvass for recruits, Cristina worked with the chief of the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Agency, Ken Flower, to establish the Mozambique Resistance Movement in Rhodesia in 1976.

The Mozambique Government has claimed all along that after Zimbabwean independence in 1980, Cristina moved to South Africa with his guerillas and continued operating from there with South African assistance.

The Mozambique rebels have been expanding their operations in recent months, and are now active over a wide area north of the capital, Maputo, and in the vicinity of the port of

Beira.

They have made several sabotage attacks on the port and on the railroad to Zimbabwe. Beira is Zimbabwe's main outlet.

They have also sabotaged Zimbabwe's Feruka oil refinery in Mozambique and the oil pipeline to Harare.

These attacks have caused several acute petrol shortages in Zimbabwe, aggravated at one time by the simultaneous withdrawal by South Africa of locomotives that had been loaned to Zimbabwe before independence.

Who killed Cristina and why he was killed remain a mystery. The most widely-held theory is that it was because of a power struggle within the rebel movement.

Cristina himself always kept in the background, leaving the organisation to be led by an African. Its first leader was André Matade Matsangaiza. He was killed by the Mozambican army in October, 1979, and after that there was a bitter power struggle between two factions — one led by Alfonso Dhlakama, a former Frelimo officer, and the other by Lucato M'lhanga.

There was a shoot-out between the two in June, 1980, in which M'lhanga was killed. Cristina supported Dhlakama, who became the movement's leader — but the M'lhanga faction remained a rebel group within the rebel movement. It could have been this group that was responsible for Cristina's death last year.

# Central Africa opens new markets for SA entrepreneurs

27/4/83

EXPORTS and imports to and from central African states when shipped through South African ports arrive at their destination much faster than when shipped through other African ports.

"This presents many opportunities for the South African freighting industry, which could divert thousands of tons of freight from African ports to South African harbours," said Johan Rossouw, director of Intercept Carriers.

"What is needed, however, is greater co-operation between SATS and forwarding agents to negotiate favourable freight rates.

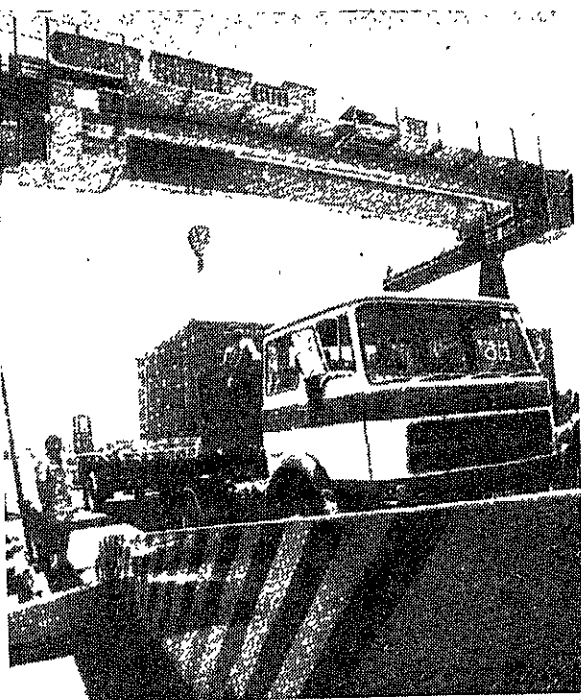
"Businesses in neighbouring states admit the transport system in South Africa has the necessary infrastructure and will operate effectively provided lower tariffs than available at present can be negotiated," said Mr Rossouw. "There is a ready market for the South African transport industry which waits to be tapped. What it requires is for forwarding agents to carefully study the needs of exporters and importers in African countries and then negotiate favourable rates with SATS.

"Already SATS is making concessions on certain consignments, but a less rigid tariff policy on its side would make considerable contributions to better utilisation of rolling stock and harbours.

"Each potential consignment should be taken on its merits rather than be rated according to the pages of a tariff book. By marketing our transport services on a competitive basis, following the principles of supply and demand, a great deal of import/export traffic can be attracted to our country," Rossouw said.

By setting up an integrated transit depot in Zeerust, offering freighting services to agents, importers and exporters, Intercept Carriers has made considerable inroads in the overborder freight traffic.

Taking 27 000 litres of diesel fuel to Malawi and returning with tea, in the same container, is an innovation in freighting being pioneered by Intercept on the central African route.



Tea packed in containers are loaded on railway trucks at Zeerust for export to Europe from Malawi.

It is made possible by a flexible tank fitted in a container which carries up to 21 000 litres of bulk liquids and folds up to only 2% of its volume when empty. This means that the container can be filled with "dry" goods on return journeys, substantially reducing overall freighting costs, particularly on long distances.

To spread the weight evenly over the surface of a truck, Intercept Carriers loads one container with 11 000 litres and the second with 16 000 litres to give a total payload of 27 000 litres, which is more or less similar to that of a rigid tank container.

The flexible tank concept adopted by the company was prompted by the diesel fuel shortage in central Africa. Searching for a solution to obtain adequate supplies at the lowest possible cost for its customers, Intercept started experimenting with the flexible tank system. It proved that with the benefit of a return load, it could offer better tariffs than hauliers using conventional bulk tankers.

During the past few weeks trucks have been transporting several thousand litres of diesel from Sasolburg to Malawi, returning with tea, coffee, tobacco and other commodities which are destined for markets throughout the world.

Future consignments will be handled in conjunction with SATS, which will rail containers supplied by Intercept Carriers from South African refineries to the company's transit station at Zeerust. From there the containers will be taken by road to various destinations in central Africa.

On a similar basis, the "trimpack" system for conveying fruit juice concentrates and edible oils to

Malawi is used. This system consists of a 1 000-litre capacity flexible tank fitted on a wooden pallet. It has been so designed that two of the packs stacked on top of each other exactly fit the height of a container. When empty, it folds back and occupies a minimum of space. The trimpack costs less than five 200-litre drums and can be re-used.

Mr Rossouw pointed out companies like his own were continuously on the lookout for methods to effect savings in the high transport costs of customers in the southern half of Africa.

"It has led to increased business for ourselves and we find we are making a contribution to South African exporters and to better utilisation of the Republic's transport infrastructure," he said.

He mentioned the example of a Malawian sugar company which switched its lime business to a South African supplier after Intercept Carriers did a feasibility study on central African transport costs. "We found that by rail-lime from Lime Acres to Lusaka and ferrying from there to Malawi a lower overall cost resulted. It didn't take long to convince our customer to switch suppliers as the lime from South Africa is of a much higher grade," said Mr Rossouw.

The company is currently negotiating a number of bulk freight contracts in the area which will have the effect of filling rail trucks presently running back virtually empty.

At the same time MD Greg Wilson is on an extensive trip to Europe and North America to promote the use of South African harbours for exports into central Africa via the company's Zeerust transit facilities.

# Africa crisis spells trouble, says Crocker

By Neil Lurssen, The Star ~~120~~ APR 1983

WASHINGTON — The Reagan Administration's chief Africa policy-maker, Dr Chester Crocker, warned today that Africa was suffering an unprecedented economic crisis which threatened US interests.

Unless the crisis was alleviated, African leaders would be increasingly attracted by authoritarian or repressive political strategies and the consequences would be destructive, he said.

While Africa did not have debt problems on the scale of Latin America, default by one or more major African countries would increase the strain on the international financial system.

And this could move the international banking system away from lending in the Third World altogether.

Dr Crocker said Africa's problems were often rooted in "inappropriate" economic policies after independence — which were sometimes based on an outright rejection of capitalism and the allure of state socialism.

"As so often happens, Africans are now learning that they have been deceived by illusions. But much damage, unfortunately, has been done," he said.

Dr Crocker said that many of the continent's problems could be traced to the colonial era when borders were drawn for the convenience of the colonial powers, often without reference to ethnic or geophysical considerations.

More than in the past, he said, the US was focusing its attention on Africa. Apart from ties of ancestry and culture, the US needed Africa's vital minerals and the continent was strategically situated.

On the Southern African question, Dr Crocker said the US was making a major effort to bring peace and security to the region because it wanted to avoid violence that could lead to confrontation.

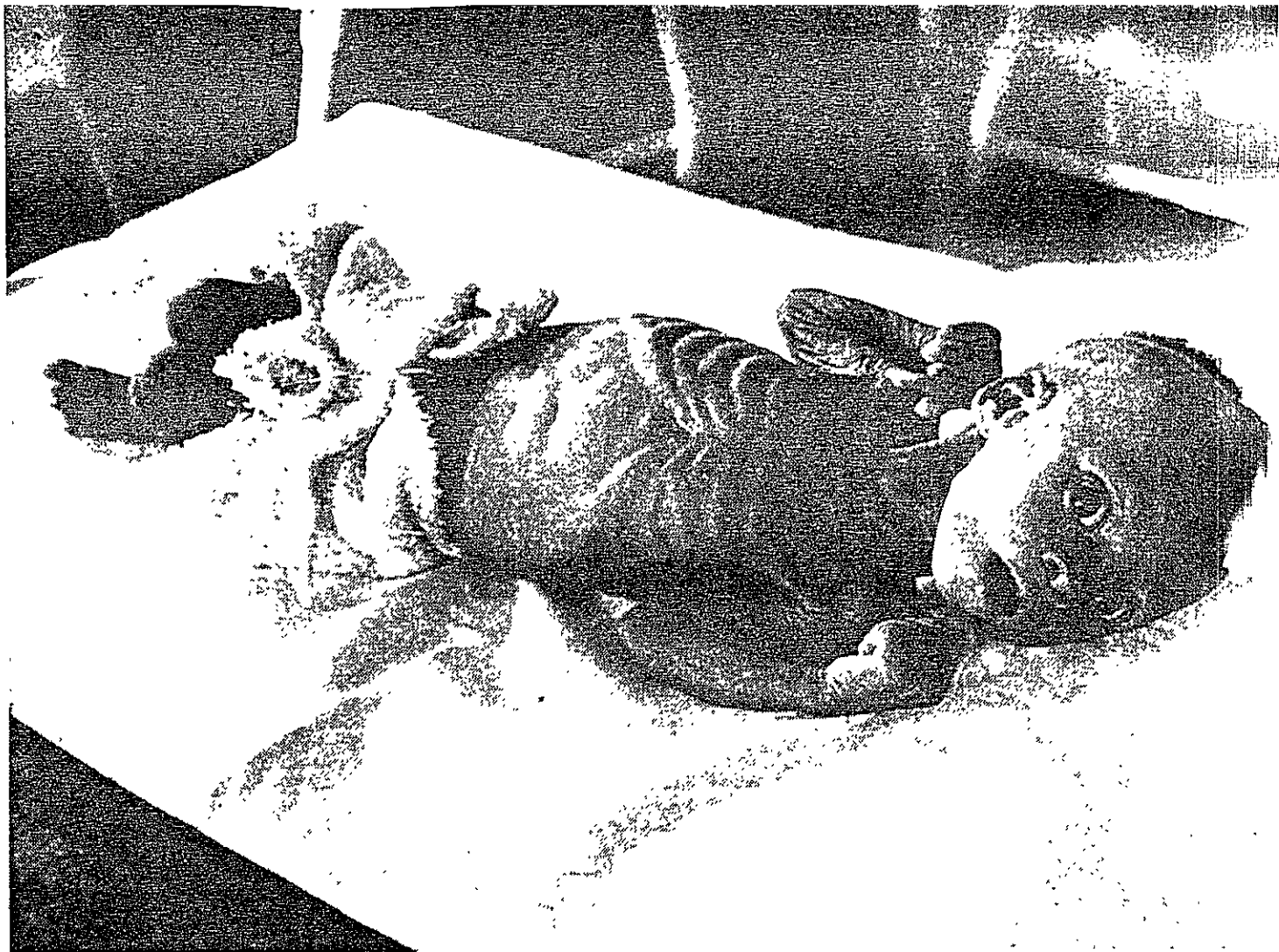
The region had most of Africa's mineral wealth, its most developed industrial structure, and almost two-thirds of its GNP.

"It is a region threatened with the prospect of heightened violence and polarisation that could lead to Great Power confrontation," he said.

The US had fashioned a major effort to avoid that possibility.

"We have launched a policy of constructive engagement with all the states of the region that have the same wish.

"A major policy objective is to provide an alternative to conflict, not only in Namibia but throughout the region."



A victim of kwashiorkor in the Northern Transvaal. The drought has been responsible for this disease

Subject..... ECOLOGY .....  
 (to be copied from the heading on the E

Paper No..... 1 .....  
 (to be copied from the heading on the E

# Starvation

*Cape Times June 1983*

# threatens

# a continent

**BARRY SHLACHTER**, an Associated Press reporter based in Nairobi, has compiled this report on the drought in Africa

**NOTE CAREFULLY**

1. Enter at the top of each page and in the block on this cover the number of question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets are used in an examination book (s) are used.

**Any dishonesty will render the candidate ineligible**

CONCERN is growing over the possibility of mass starvation in Africa as a drought affects wide swaths of the continent.

Things are so bad in Ethiopia that heavy rains have only added to the misery of crop-failure victims.

Cattle too emaciated for slaughter are being sold by Zimbabwean farmers to the leather and glue industries for R7,60.

Trees and pastureland are being suffocated by advancing Saharan sands in Mauritania, one of the countries worst hit by the drought of the 1970s and unable to cover its food needs even in the best of times.

Severe drought could lead to an al-

Zimbabwe's considerable maize reserves have so far prevented starvation. But authorities fear trouble spreading from drought-crippled farms could cause social damage and leave the country deeply in debt.

Harare has committed about R139-million to drought relief, a heavy burden in a country whose total gross national product is R4,89 million.

The "Sarmattan" — a dry seasonal wind blowing south from the Sahara Desert — has been unusually strong this year, whipping up brush and forest fires as well as contributing to an upsurge in respiratory diseases.

In South Africa, a R350-million emergency programme has been



Cattle too emaciated for slaughter are being sold by Zimbabwean farmers to the leather and glue industries for R7,60.

Trees and pastureland are being suffocated by advancing Saharan sands in Mauritania, one of the countries worst hit by the drought of the 1970s and unable to cover its food needs even in the best of times.

Severe drought could lead to an almost total loss of staple food crops in Mozambique's central and southern regions, affecting four million of the country's 10 million people, the United Nations disaster relief office said.

In Ethiopia, rains came too late for last year's crops — and this year arrived a month too early, catching tens of thousands of drought victims who were living out in the open near relief and food distribution centres.

"It is bad for the people suffering from the drought. They have no shelter," said Mr Hans Dall, chief representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital.

Some affected areas are practically inaccessible because roads are poor or don't exist, and the Ethiopian government has issued appeals for aircraft for food drops.

"No doubt there is death from starvation, especially among children," Mr Dall said. No comprehensive death toll has been released by the Ethiopian government or by international agencies. But authorities have asserted that 3,5 million Ethiopians are affected in some way by the drought.

Drought has stricken Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, Swaziland, parts of Mozambique and Zimbabwe for two consecutive years, damaging the main 1983 growing season in the Southern African region.

## Outlook bleak

In most of the Sahel, an arc of countries south of the Sahara Desert stretching from the Cape Verde Islands to Chad in Central Africa, rains have yet to begin. In Northern Africa, light scattered rains covered grain-growing areas of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia but did not make up for a generally dry April.

The outlook is bleak, said the FAO Director-General, Mr Edouard Saouma, who in early May appealed to donor countries to increase food shipments to the continent to meet an estimated 2,6-million-ton shortfall during 1983-84.

Zimbabwe, once a net exporter, will now have to import foreign maize to make up for drought-related shortages, he said.

Zimbabwean farmers, only recently the hope of black African countries to replace South Africa as the region's chief food supplier, haven't harvested full crops for two years. People sit down daily in the country's north to what is now a staple food — baked grass.

Since the rains stopped in 1981, 300 000 head of cattle have died from starvation and thirst. Scattered rains brought relief to some areas this year, but thousands of cattle continue to die every week.

"It's hell," said an exasperated Mr Gary Magadzire, president of the Zimbabwe National Farmers Union. "My only advice to black cattle-owners would be to sell now while they have something left."

million is through... den in a country whose total gross national product is R4,89 million.

The "Sarmattan" — a dry seasonal wind blowing south from the Sahara Desert — has been unusually long this year, whipping up brush and forest fires as well as contributing to an upsurge in respiratory diseases.

In South Africa, a R350-million emergency programme has been launched by the government to combat a drought which has brought reservoirs to their lowest levels in decades and ruined harvests on white farms that normally export food to a third of black Africa.

Unlike elsewhere in Africa, the threat of starvation is far less serious in South Africa because of ample grain storage facilities, irrigation systems and hospitals. But child deaths from kwashiorkor, a protein deficiency disease, have climbed sharply in the country's black homelands.

Associated Press reporter James Smith, who recently toured seven clinics, hospitals and missions in Lebowa, one of the worst-hit homelands, said children were believed dying in the hundreds from kwashiorkor.

"The scandal isn't that there are twice as many children with kwashiorkor, but that there are kids with kwashiorkor here at all," said Dr Peter Grant, acting superintendent of Lebowa's Jane Furse Hospital. "South Africa has such wealth and resources ..."

## 'Selling' water

The severe drought, which officials said was a phenomenon that occurred about once every two centuries, caught South Africa by surprise.

"We have never had a crisis like this ... we have never had a contingency committee," said Mr Ray Haslam, chairman of the Natal emergency water committee. Mr Haslam said Durban might run out of water by August.

Dr Stephen Knight, Superintendent of the Bethesda Hospital in northern Natal, says patients tell him drivers are trucking supposedly free water to Zulu villages and then charging for it, sometimes R10 for a 19 litre drum.

"Besides water, the people have no food. No crops have come in from the fields," said Mr Mike Mhlanga, an administrator at the hospital.

Incidents of typhoid have been reported in tribal areas of Transvaal and Natal, and farmers in Transvaal are having to kill off breed stock and allow only the young to live.

Wild game is suffering badly. A private reserve near the Kruger National Park had 35 000 animals in September, but after forced culling and starvation, the stock is down to 7 000.

At Londolozi, a private park also in Eastern Transvaal, rangers said they were shooting 100 or 200 impala every night to allow more threatened species to graze.

In middle-class white neighbourhoods of Johannesburg, authorities won't allow householders to empty and refill swimming pools because of the drought. They can only replace what is lost through evaporation.

And South African Breweries has disclosed it is trying out American technology that requires one-half the 10 litres of water previously needed to make a litre of beer. — Sapa-AP

# It all points to a keep-off pact

By JOHN BATTERSBY  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's current carrot-and-stick offensive to flush out the African National Congress from its neighbouring states could lead to the signing of non-aggression pacts with at least four states, according to informed sources.

According to the Foreign Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, he is already involved in an "on-going process" of negotiation with Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique to reach agreement not to use each other's territories as springboards for subversion.

Mr. Botha said a satisfactory "basis of understanding" had already been reached with Swaziland while Friday's talks with his Lesotho counterpart, Mr. E. R. Sekhonyana, held "good potential" for the implementation of a "clear and concrete" agreement on non-subversion

reached at the meeting.

Mr. Botha said that while he was not prepared at this stage to say when he would meet again with his counterparts in Botswana and Mozambique, satisfactory agreements in principle had been reached with both countries but he was waiting to hear from them how these could be implemented in practice.

A diplomatic source said that an agreement could extend to mutual inspection of each other's territories to ensure that hostile parties were not maintaining a presence there.

The agreement in principle reached between Mr. Botha and his Lesotho counterpart on Friday is likely to have far-reaching implications for the activities of the ANC in Lesotho and the Lesotho Liberation Army in

To Page 2

SA has had talks with four

From Page 1

South Africa

The diplomatic and military campaign to drive back the ANC from South Africa's borders follows last month's devastating bomb blasts in Pretoria and Bloemfontein and the snap South African Airforce strike into Maputo.

Today the Lesotho Minister of Finance, Mr. K. P. Rakheila, will have talks with the Minister of Finance, Mr. Owen 'Horwood in Cape Town.

Talks between the two Ministers are expected to centre on the customs union which South Africa is understood to have told Lesotho is outdated and will have to be reviewed in terms of the proposed Southern African constellation of states.

Lesotho has already felt the effects of delayed food deliveries following the recent security crackdown at Lesotho border posts.

If this was extended to fuel deliveries it could have a crippling effect on the small landlocked nation.

CAPE Times 6/6/83

# SA pact with neighbours likely

## Political Staff

SOUTH Africa's current carrot-and-stick offensive to flush out the African National Congress from its neighbouring States could lead to the signing of non-aggression pacts with at least four States, according to informed sources.

According to the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, he is already involved in an "ongoing process" of negotiation with Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique to reach agreement on the non-utilization of each of their territories as springboards for subversion.

## Understanding

Mr Botha said a satisfactory "basis of understanding" had already been reached with Swaziland, while Friday's talks with his Lesotho counterpart, Mr E R Sekhonyana, held "good potential" for the implementation of a "clear and concrete" agreement on non-subversion reached at the meeting.

The Foreign Minister said, however, that it would be difficult to reach an agreement while countries like Lesotho were demanding the social and economic

as well as the political liberation of South Africa and declaring that they were at war with the Republic.

Mr Botha said that while he was not prepared at this stage to say when he would meet again with his counterparts in Botswana and Mozambique, satisfactory agreements in principle had been reached with both countries.

He was waiting to hear from them as to how these could be implemented in practice.

While Mr Botha did not elaborate on what form the implementation of non-subversion agreements would take, a diplomatic source said that an agreement could extend to mutual inspection of each of their territories to ensure that hostile parties were not maintaining a presence there.

South Africa has apparently given assurances to its neighbouring States that in return for such action, it would pull back on its "destabilizing" tactics.

Mr Botha confirmed yesterday that representatives of the security forces and police of South Africa and Lesotho would have further talks as a matter of urgency this week to find a "practical formula"

for implementing Friday's agreement between the two countries to clamp down on insurgents operating from their territories.

Mr Botha said that while the current initiative was in line with the repeated undertaking by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that he was prepared to sign non-aggression treaties with neighbouring States, Mr Botha said he would prefer to call them non-subversion agreements.

The agreement in principle reached between Mr Pik Botha and his Lesotho counterpart on Friday is likely to have far-reaching implications for the activities of the ANC in Lesotho and the Lesotho Liberation Army in South Africa.

## Campaign

The diplomatic and military campaign to drive back the ANC from South Africa's borders follows last month's bomb blasts in Pretoria and Bloemfontein and the snap South African Air Force strike into Maputo.

However, it is clear that South Africa will also use economic muscle to achieve its objectives.

● Bid to heal relations, page 2



Laura Armstrong

'Mum ... I love you'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — "To the greatest mum in the world. I love you, Laura."

These were the words written on the back of a photograph that attractive Laura Armstrong of Blackheath, Johannesburg, gave her mother, Mrs Heather Armstrong.

Laura, who would have turned 21 in two weeks' time, died in yesterday's aircraft crash near Kuils River.

Her mother should also have been on board the aircraft but her employer had given her an air ticket to fly down before her son's wedding for a rest, because she had been ill.

Just after noon yesterday she greeted her former husband, Irvine, her mother-in-law Patricia, her brother-in-law, Gordon, and her daughter and family friends who had attended the wedding.

## Critical

Soon after, seven people were dead and two critically injured after the aircraft had plunged to the ground near Kuils River.

"I just cannot believe it," a shattered Mrs Armstrong said before flying back to Cape Town to be with her former husband who is in a serious condition.

♦♦♦♦ To page 2



## SEVEN were in twin-engine Kuils

The aircraft was carrying a group of seven people, including a group of friends from Johannesburg, who had attended a wedding at Fish Hoek.

Last night the toll stood at seven dead and seven injured. Laura Armstrong, 20, of Blackheath, Johannesburg, was the only one who was not married. She was the daughter of Mr and Mrs Grant and had two children, a boy and a girl.

The two who have been identified as being in the aircraft were Mr and Mrs Trautman.

The cause of the crash is still under investigation.

## FOLLOW UP

JOHANNESBURG. — The aircraft crashed near Kuils River, about 100 km from Johannesburg.

The accident was the worst in the history of South African airlines.

The names of the victims have not yet been released.

Meanwhile, the police are working to identify the bodies of the victims.

Aviation South Africa registered in the agency Service runway at Kuils River when it crashed.

## Nine held after demo

Staff Reporters

ONE ANTI-NUCLEAR demonstrator was tear-gassed by a Riot Control Squad policeman and nine others were arrested for allegedly contravening the Internal Security Act during a demonstration in Greenmarket Square in the City on Saturday morning.

The demonstration by about 50 Koeberg Alert members to draw attention to yesterday's World Environment Day included a mime consisting of a "funeral" and "die-in" of actors dressed as mutants.

A woman was sprayed with tear-smoke from an aerosol can after police had told her and others to disperse.

A witness said yesterday that the policeman had sprayed the tear-smoke from a distance of less than a metre.

Two middle-aged men who watched the incident said the teargassing was "totally uncalled for".

Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the nine had been released from custody on Saturday on bail of R100. They would appear in the Magistrate's Court today.

He confirmed that a policeman had sprayed a woman with tear-smoke.

● Picture, page 3

## Jobfinder

Read **JOBFINDER** with today's Cape Times. On Wednesday Midweek Homefinder will appear with the Cape Times



CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS FROM PAGE 15 TODAY

# SA's plan to drive out ANC

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — The chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, says he believes that a joint military and diplomatic strategy will drive out ANC guerillas from neighbouring countries.

General Viljoen made this prediction in the first interview which he has granted to a foreign journalist. He recently spoke to the New York Times correspondent Joseph Lelyveld.

General Viljoen is quoted by Mr Lelyveld as saying that a civil war in Zimbabwe is a certainty and that South African forces should have pressed on and "gone to Luanda" in the 1975 Angolan war.

The ANC "will be able to have single incidents, but they will not be able to sustain a high intensity of operations for a long time", he is quoted as saying. Once the ANC's military wing was shut out of the region, "they would just not be able to operate".

## Surprised by ANC

According to Mr Lelyveld, Viljoen said that if the ANC were denied bases in neighbouring territories they would only be able to infiltrate by air or sea. He said that those routes would make it almost impossible for them to infiltrate.

General Viljoen is said to have insisted on the accuracy of South Africa's claims regarding the recent air raid on a Maputo suburb. The Defence Force claimed to have hit an ANC transit house, killing at least 40, and neutralizing a missile site.

He said the South African Government had been surprised by the ANC's readiness to risk civilian casualties in the Pretoria bombing, for which the air raid had been a reprisal, writes Mr Lelyveld.

He said General Viljoen indicated that new security arrangements were in hand and that the armed forces would not present the same concentrated number of soldiers in such a position again. He said that very close to half of the Pretoria bomb casualties had military associations.

General Viljoen cited 80 attacks since 1981 and said the sabotage cam-



General Constand Viljoen

paign was causing a lot of damage. He said that he was scared that the Pretoria bombing might have been the work of non-South African professional terrorists because it was slightly too professional for the ANC. He said this supported South Africa's contention that the ANC had links with organizations like the PLO.

He called the 1975 Angolan war a disaster and said "we should have gone to Luanda" instead of pulling back.

General Viljoen said South Africa had a lot of sympathy for the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM), but that the Republic could never give them complete tactical support.

He said the MRM was now self-generating, but he strongly denied that Pretoria sought the military downfall of the Machel government.

He predicted a national reconciliation in Angola if the Cuban troops departed, but he said that civil war in Zimbabwe was "sure to come". He said that the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, would soon be completely Russian-orientated.



People mass at a Lesotho border post as a result of the South African customs' "go-slow" after the recent bombings

PRETORIA has made clear its determination to use all the power at its disposal to dissuade neighbouring black-ruled states from offering the African National Congress bases from which its insurgents can launch attacks in South Africa.

The most obvious means of achieving its aim is through military action, as manifested in strikes by South African troops in Matola, Mozambique, in January 1981, and in Maseru, Lesotho, in December 1982, and, of course, the raid by Impala jets on Maputo last month.

The alternative method is to use the vast economic leverage enjoyed by South Africa over its neighbours, as evidenced by the decision to reduce border traffic to and from Lesotho to a mere trickle in the wake of the Pretoria and Bloemfontein terror blasts.

The economic power which Pretoria can mobilise against its neighbours is formidable. Use of it may be more coercive than a military response which stops short of outright occupation.

It is perhaps significant that the drastic slow-down in traffic across the SA-Lesotho border late last month brought the Lesotho Foreign Minister, Mr E R Sekhonyana, scurrying to Johannesburg for face-to-face talks with the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, whereas the Maseru raid last December provoked defiant rhetoric from Lesotho.

The prospect of Pretoria increasingly using its economic muscle to achieve political ends makes it pertinent to delineate the extent to which neighbouring states are dependent on South Africa.

□ □ □

**SOUTHERN AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION:** The Customs Union was initially established in 1910 between South Africa and the then British Protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. It was re-negotiated in 1969 between South Africa and the independent BLS states.

The BLS states are entitled to a share of the revenue obtained by South Africa from tariffs imposed on goods brought into the territory covered by the agreement.

Their share of the revenue is calculated by means of a formula agreed on by the partners.

As the dominant partner South Africa occupies a pivotal position and it can use its power to delay payment to one or more of the BLS countries.

Delay can have devastating consequences, particularly for Lesotho whose government derives nearly two-thirds of its revenue from its share of the customs pool.

**LABOUR:** South Africa has traditionally employed labourers from neighbouring states, particularly Lesotho. In 1981 more than 300 000 foreign blacks were employed in South Africa, many of them as contract workers on the mines.

The importance of the South African labour market to neighbouring states is two-fold.

It helps reduce unemployment in the home territory and provides a vital source of revenue to nationals of that state and their dependents.

In his speech to the United Nations

# How SA can get tough

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

immediately after the Maseru raid, the then South African ambassador to the UN, Mr David Steward, said: "Most recent figures reveal that 141 000 Basotho are employed in South Africa, of which 110 000 work in the mining industry... The remittance of their wages makes up more than 40% of the Lesotho's gross national product."

The dependence of Lesotho's fellow neighbouring states on South Africa is less marked: South Africa provides work to nearly 30 000 Botswana nationals, 13 500 Swazi nationals and some 59 500 Mozambique nationals.

Theo Malan, senior research officer at the Africa Institute, estimates that about R315-million was remitted in 1981 by migrant workers in South Africa to neighbouring states.

**TRADE:** South Africa is the dominant trading power in the sub-continent and all of its neighbours are dependent to a greater or lesser degree on it.

The BLS countries obtain more than 90% of their imports from South Africa, much of it food, on which their survival depends in the most fundamental sense.

South Africa serves as a market for goods from Botswana and Swaziland. Only a minute quantity of Lesotho products are sold in South Africa. Her main export commodity is her labour force.

South Africa is Zimbabwe's main trading partner, supplying more than a quarter of its imports and buying more than a quarter of its exports.

South Africa is also important to Malawi and Zambia as a trading partner, being the single biggest supplier of goods to Malawi and the second biggest source of imports to Zambia (with whom trade leapt by 150% in 1980 after President Kaunda re-opened Zambia's border to Zimbabwe and hence to South Africa).

Rampant inflation and rising transport costs push black-ruled countries toward increasing trade with South Africa.

Its geographical proximity and its efficient railway service means it can deliver goods at lower cost and higher speed than its competitors either on the sub-continent or further afield.

**TRANSPORT:** South Africa, which possesses 75% of the Southern Africa's railways, a large proportion of its main highways and its most efficient ports, dominates the transport complex.

It is along South African-controlled railways and roads and through South African ports that a large share of imports and exports to and from the black-ruled states move.

Of the neighbouring countries only Zimbabwe has succeeded in reducing

dependence on South Africa's transport network to a marked degree. In 1980 South African ports handled nearly 90% of Zimbabwe's trade, but by March 1982 the proportion had fallen to 60% and it could drop to 30% if plans to improve and upgrade Mozambican ports are successful.

Zimbabwe's fellow black states, however, remain heavily dependent on South Africa's transport network and ports to handle their exports and imports.

□ □ □

IT IS true, of course, that the relationship between South Africa and its neighbours is one of inter-dependence and that South Africa would itself suffer in any sustained campaign of applying economic pressure to force its neighbours to close its doors to the ANC.

But South Africa, as the paramount economic power in Southern Africa, is far better equipped to absorb the damage.

Though South Africa appears to have all the trump cards, it cannot be sure of total victory in the use of economic power in the game of *machtspolitik* unfolding in the sub-continent.

Apart from moves by neighbouring states to lessen their dependence on South Africa through the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, there is always the risk of policies not achieving the intended result.

South Africa, it may be remembered, helped the Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, come to power by making maize available to him to distribute in Lesotho and by giving his party officials access to Basotho workers on South African mines.

But, in the end, Chief Jonathan did not grow into a pliable moderate. Instead he became a hostile and vociferous opponent of South African race policies.

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, it will be recalled, closed Rhodesia's border with Zambia in the firm belief that it would bring President Kaunda to his knees and cause him to expel Zimbabwean insurgents from Zambia.

It is a matter of history that Mr Smith miscalculated and that when he reopened his side of the border Zambia failed to reciprocate — and continued to offer sanctuary to Zimbabwean fighters.

As Professor Deon Geldenhuys, of Rand Afrikaans University, has noted of attempts to pressurise neighbouring states into particular stances: "The target state's government might become even more hostile, or intransigent under South African pressure. It might, in other words, react 'irrationally' — a by no means unknown phenomenon in international politics."

9/6/83  
RDM

# Boigny supports US on Namibia

The Star Bureau  
WASHINGTON — President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, one of the most influential leaders in black Africa, has renewed his support for dialogue between black Africa and South Africa.

President Houphouët-Boigny, who has been silent on the subject for several years, has also endorsed the United States effort to negotiate a settlement in Namibia.

The only alternative to peaceful settlement of the Namibia dispute, he said here, was a widening of conflict that would result in the occupation of African states by South Africa.

"If that happens African countries will then be coming to the United Nations to ask for the evacuation of their occupied countries rather than asking for the independence of Namibia.

"And the result will be tens or hundreds of condemnations by the UN and nothing else," he said.

Although the statement was not made in a formal forum, the Ivory Coast leader's support for the American initiative for a settlement in Namibia must have delighted the Reagan Administration at a time when there are signs of growing impatience in black Africa and the UN at the slow progress towards a settlement.

In an interview with the Washington Post, President Houphouët-Boigny said the whites in South Africa were afraid of sharing what they had with the country's black majority.

"They must make an effort," he said, "and we must continue to try to have a dialogue with them. And the United States must persist in its efforts, since



President Houphouët-Boigny ... contact with South Africa is crucial.

there can be no solution without the United States."

South Africa's neighbours have to avoid what the Arabs could not avoid with Israel.

"Given South Africa's military power we run the risk of the same scenario being repeated with its neighbours."

President Houphouët-Boigny was clearly pleased by the decision of the OAU last week to elect Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam as president instead of the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

He said Gaddafi could now be blocked in his efforts to overthrow African and Arab governments if the United States and other big powers supported the OAU.

## 125 in every 1 000 born in Britain are illegitimate

Adultery is still a wrecker of marriages despite the modern view that it is no longer sinful, says a UK sociologist. The divorce rate of 2,8 for every 1 000 people in Britain would seem to bear out the contention that being "civilised" about infidelity is only a veneer.

The Star Bureau  
LONDON — Illegitimacy and divorce rates in Britain are among the highest in the Common Market.

Figures published by the European Commission show that 125 of every 1 000 people born in Britain are illegitimate, with only France (126) and Denmark (357) higher.

lised about infidelity is only a veneer, says Dr Annette Lawson, who has interviewed 700 people about their personal experiences.

Adultery leads to feelings of confusion, distress and outrage, coupled with guilt about feeling jealous.

The emphasis today, Dr Lawson adds, is no longer on children or prop-



### A Perm First

The Perm is the first to give you a perm inside any beauty salon.

All you need is a Perm (The same quality all day, all night Perm for you).

### No Form Filling

There's no need to come straight to Quicash 24/7.

Cash withdrawal touch of a button.

The teller will give you your cash ever before.

### Automatic bill

Every time you will print out a bill for you to take.

### This service is

If you already have a Card there's no need for one. Just use the Perm.

And if you...

# Drought

W/E ARGUS 18/6/83

# dries up

# SA's lever

# of power

Weekend Argus Reporter

ONE of South Africa's most important levers of power in Africa — the largely hidden export of food to countries as far north as Nigeria and Zaire — has dried up in the drought and the political and strategic consequences could be enormous.

Many of the African countries have been forced into long-term contracts for the supply of food from other countries. Even if the drought were to break soon, South Africa would be unlikely to regain its lost influence and trade for years to come.

The total value of exports to Africa before the drought was some R1.52-billion a year, of which about 20 percent was made up of food. But annual trade with Africa is now down to about R890-million, although part of this decline has been caused by the recession in most of sub-Saharan Africa.

An official of the National Maize Producers' Organisation (Nampo) said today that all maize export contracts, including those with African countries, had been summarily cancelled because of the drought.

Normally, he said, South Africa exported between three and five million tons of maize a year, but now probably would have to import two-and-a-half million tons before next May just to satisfy domestic demand.

"Our exports to Africa have simply dried up and it will be years before we can recover our lost position. Many countries, including the United States, are stepping into our African markets and signing up long-term contracts.

"They operate on the basis of giving African countries long-term, low-interest loans which are tied to the purchase of maize and other agricultural products. In some cases the Americans seem to be subsidising their farmers by simply giving African countries grants with which to purchase US maize."

The spokesman estimated that by the end of August, maize farmers will have debts to co-operatives alone of about R1 000-million. "They face ruin. It's as serious as that. It is going to take the country a long time to get back to normal. And if farmers continue to leave the land or sell up at the present rate we will probably never get back to the point where we were exporting 5-million tons a year."

According to the American financial publication Business Week, South Africa is also importing wheat, oilseeds, soybeans and groundnuts — all products normally exported. And in a report it says the butter and meat exported to Zaire might also be affected by the drought.

This week the South African Sugar Association warned that because of the drought the country might not be able to meet its export quota of 850 000 tons granted in terms of the International Sugar Agreement.

Since international export quotas are granted on the basis of production, South Africa's share of the international market could be cut back proportionately for years to come.

This week a cutback came a step closer when the first sugar imports were offloaded at South African ports to make up a domestic shortfall.

Some African countries are reported to have signed long-term sugar agreements with Cuba, one of the largest communist producers, because their regular supplies have been cut by the drought.

# MOORCRAFT

...ON

## Sunday



IF IGNORANCE is bliss then sometimes our Government appears as the embodiment of the politics of joy. It waltzes on the edge of schizophrenia with both its friends in the West and its enemies in the Frontline states.

In fact the Frontliners are more allies than enemies even though Pretoria depicts them as the mainsprings of the total onslaught. Dire warnings are thundered about a conventional military Armageddon striding down from the north.

This misperception is caused by diagnosing the complaint as external South Africa's war festers from within, not without. The danger lies in secret internal military bases and from the ANC's ideological allies in the trades unions. Hence, the significance of Fanie Botha's union reforms.

They go hand-in-hand with attempts to co-opt the Indians and coloureds into the laager. The recent, unique deal with black miners is co-option of sorts a diversion like the political seduction of the Labour Party.

The link with the outside comes from the ANC's funneling of partisan power through the Frontline states, as happened with the incursion from Zimbabwe last week. The Frontliners feel morally obligated to support the ANC but fear the consequences of guerrilla bases (and so they will swear blind that guerrilla bases are just refugee camps). It is not only fear of the SADF sword, for both Frontliners and Pretoria have some common aims.

Both sides dread a major military escalation, and many black leaders fear the inevitable increased Russian penetration. They do not want to see a sub-continent in ruins.

Even if, miraculously, the Frontliners emerged unscathed, they do not want South Africa shattered, a vacant seat for the future powerful Azania is a theme of the Frontliners' economic association, SADCC. They cannot trade with (or scrounge from) an Azania in rubble.

Sure, some African leaders seem to suffer from erratic and unstable learning curves when it comes to applying the lessons of history. And, yes, some of these same leaders were prepared to roll the dice of disaster by backing a crazy Cuban plan to introduce regular communist bloc troops into Rhodesia in 1979. This would have

# Why doesn't Pretoria waltz with Frontliners?

①  
S. Express  
26/6/83

been matched by big dollops of SADF intervention and thus all-out war.

Since then some of them have taken a second and third look at the Russians, especially after experiencing their heavy-handed company first hand. And Afghanistan mattered.

The conservative Frontline states fret about further radicalisation and even within the ruling cliques of the radical states powerful elements feel the Russians and the Cubans must not overstay their welcome. More war will provide more opportunities for either the USSR or South Africa to manipulate dissidents into government-toppling destabilisation.

Thus the Frontliners serve as buffers to keep out overt Russian involvement (and a cautious Kremlin might prefer to use them as catspaws against the SADF).

The Frontliners have also prevailed upon the Russians to forego their veto power in Western and UN bids to cure

Namibia. Even the radical Frontliners have been anxious to secure direct American diplomacy and, unlike in the Middle East, to keep Russian meddling at arm's length.

Pretoria looks to the Israeli model and in this external context things look

good for South Africa, the ANC is much more feeble than the PLO, the Frontline states are much more frail than Israel's Arab neighbours: and the mailed fist of Russia is much further away.

Indeed, the conventional military threat is insignifi-

cant unless South Africa overplays its hand. No joint Frontline army will emerge for an African D-Day. The army-based states would collapse if their rag tag regiments left states such as Zambia fear the contagion of Mocambican or Angolan troops, there is no common ideology, training or economic infrastructure to warrant such a provocation to Pretoria.

Perhaps Pretoria's policy of schizophrenia may be for internal consumption. May be no top SADF or Nat leader really believes in the total onslaught. The present finely balanced strategy of military belligerence and economic temptation could work for a long time.

And more the weak Frontline states could come in mighty handy over Namibia. They were united over Rhodesia; the Commonwealth tie helped as did the stronger Patriotic Front and compliant Brits. Namibia is much harder. Some don't like Sam Nujoma; others sympathise with the Houdini Savimbi. The Frontline alliance has grown, and it could become more fractious if for example, a military government was installed in Tanzania or a Right-wing coup erupted in Lusaka.

For if the Cubans actually did leave Angola, that nightmare would force Pretoria to play upon all sorts of tactical disputes within the Frontline coalition (and in America) to stay in Namibia.

Otherwise Sam will get to Windhoek and Andries to Pretoria Heck, if it wasn't for them nice Frontline states, Namibia might just become one of them.

David ...

## TANTALUS

### Capitalists unite! With Mrs Thatcher in the lead, how can we ever be defeated?

ABOUT two decades ago the French writer Jean-Paul Sartre told an interviewer that no constructive idea could come from the Right; the future lay with the Left.

What would he have said if he had lived until today? The formation this week of the International Democratic Union — the conservative answer to the Socialist International — is but the latest show of vigour and

political currency of the day.

□ □ □

MR CHRIS Heunis accused elements of the English Press this week of trying to introduce "ethnicity" into the constitutional debate and to divide the whites on ethnic lines.

How odd! Has the National Party abandoned its belief that ethnic differences are insurmountable? Or is it just that some of



S. Times 26/6/83

# Coming home to face the music

## ISLAND CAPTIVES

### FREE IN FEBRUARY

Two South Africans, imprisoned on the remote island of Madagascar, will be freed in some months — but they will come home with a lot of explaining to do.

Diamond dealer Dave Marais, 36, and former SAA captain John Wight, 38, will be released on February 4 after serving a seven-year jail sentence.

They were detained in 1977 and accused of "illegal entry" when their chartered Cessna ran out of fuel and landed on a remote airstrip.

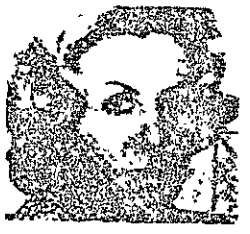
On their return the two are bound to be questioned by the South African Police for their part in helping a fugitive flee the country.

With them aboard the aircraft was American-born diamond dealer Eddie Lappeman, who skipped bail to avoid trial in South Africa.

Mr Lappeman, who was being investigated by the Commercial Branch of the SAP, faced charges of tax evasion involving R6-million.

His passport was confiscated and he was on bail of R10 000.

Mr Lappeman was suspected of being the key figure



Mrs DAWN MARAIS

in a tax-swindle syndicate, but a month before his trial he made his bid for freedom.

After the three men were sentenced to five years in jail by a Malagasy military court in 1978, a senior SAP officer in Johannesburg said the force would definitely want to "interview" Capt Wight and Mr Marais "when they return".

By NEIL HOOPER

Release of the South Africans was disclosed yesterday by Mr Nicolas de Rougemont, head of mission in South Africa of the International Red Cross.

Capt Wight's mother Mrs Brenda Wight was excited when told the news yesterday but said she did not want to become too worked up by it.

"It's too good to be true ... its fabulous ... only seven months."

"There's nothing that could be greater than that after seven years. But I don't want to get too worked up. We have had our hopes dashed too often in the past."

She added, however, that the date fitted in with a cryptic message in a letter from her son earlier this year.

"He said there were only 310 days to go — that would make the date about right," she said.

### Letters

Mrs Wight said she would pass on the good news to her daughter-in-law, Mrs Jean Wight, when she sees her today.

Mr Marais's father, Mr Dave Marais senior, former mayor of Johannesburg, MP and soccer administrator, said yesterday that he had been told about the release of his son in February, but did not want to comment for fear that anything he said could jeopardise the two South Af-



Alone for seven years ... Mrs Jean Wight

news to the rest of the family. "The last letter we received was a few months ago. John said they are being well looked after ... particularly recently," she added.

The three men were held for more than a year before they appeared in court and

### Arabs

THE historic split between Soviet-supported Syria and Mr Yasser Arafat's PLO yesterday with Damascus during the PLO

# ISLAND CAPTIVES FREE IN FEBRUARY

Two South Africans, imprisoned on the tropical island of Madagascar, will be freed in seven months — but they will come home with a lot of explaining to do.

Diamond dealer Dave Marais, 36, and former SAA captain John Wight, 38, will be released on February 4 after serving a seven-year jail sentence.

They were detained in 1977 and accused of "illegal entry" when their chartered Cessna ran out of fuel and landed on a remote airstrip.

On their return, the two are bound to be questioned by the South African Police for their part in helping a fugitive flee the country.

With them aboard the aircraft was American-born diamond dealer Eddie Lappeman, who skipped bail to avoid trial in South Africa.

Mr Lappeman, who was being investigated by the Commercial Branch of the SAP, faced charges of tax evasion involving R6-million.

His passport was confiscated and he was on bail of R10 000.

Mr Lappeman was suspected of being the key figure

By NEIL HOOPER

lease of the South Africans was disclosed yesterday by Mr Nicolas de Rougemont, head of mission in South Africa of the International Red Cross.

Capt Wight's mother, Mrs Brenda Wight, was excited when told the news yesterday, but said she did not want to become too worked up by it.

"It's too good to be true ... its fabulous ... only seven months.

"There's nothing that could be greater than that after seven years. But I don't want to get too worked up. We have had our hopes dashed too often in the past."

She added, however, that the date fitted in with a cryptic message in a letter from her son earlier this year.

"He said there were only 310 days to go — that would make the date about right," she said.

## Letters

Mrs Wight said she would pass on the good news to her daughter-in-law, Mrs Jean Wight, when she sees her today.

Mr Marais's father, Mr Dave Marais senior, former mayor of Johannesburg, MP and soccer administrator, said yesterday that he had been told about the release of his son in February, but did not want to comment for fear that anything he said could jeopardise the two South Africans' freedom.

Dave's wife, Dawn, and their four children, are also waiting anxiously for news of their husband and father.

The International Red Cross has monitored the detention of the two South Africans, and was able to carry verbal messages between the detained South Africans and their families.

Although contact was established, it was almost two years after their arrest that their families first received letters from the detained men.

Mrs Brenda Wight said yesterday that since then they had received a letter about every five months from her son.

As the writers were limited to one letter at a time, Mrs Wight had gone to her daughter-in-law, who had passed on



Mrs DAWN MARAIS

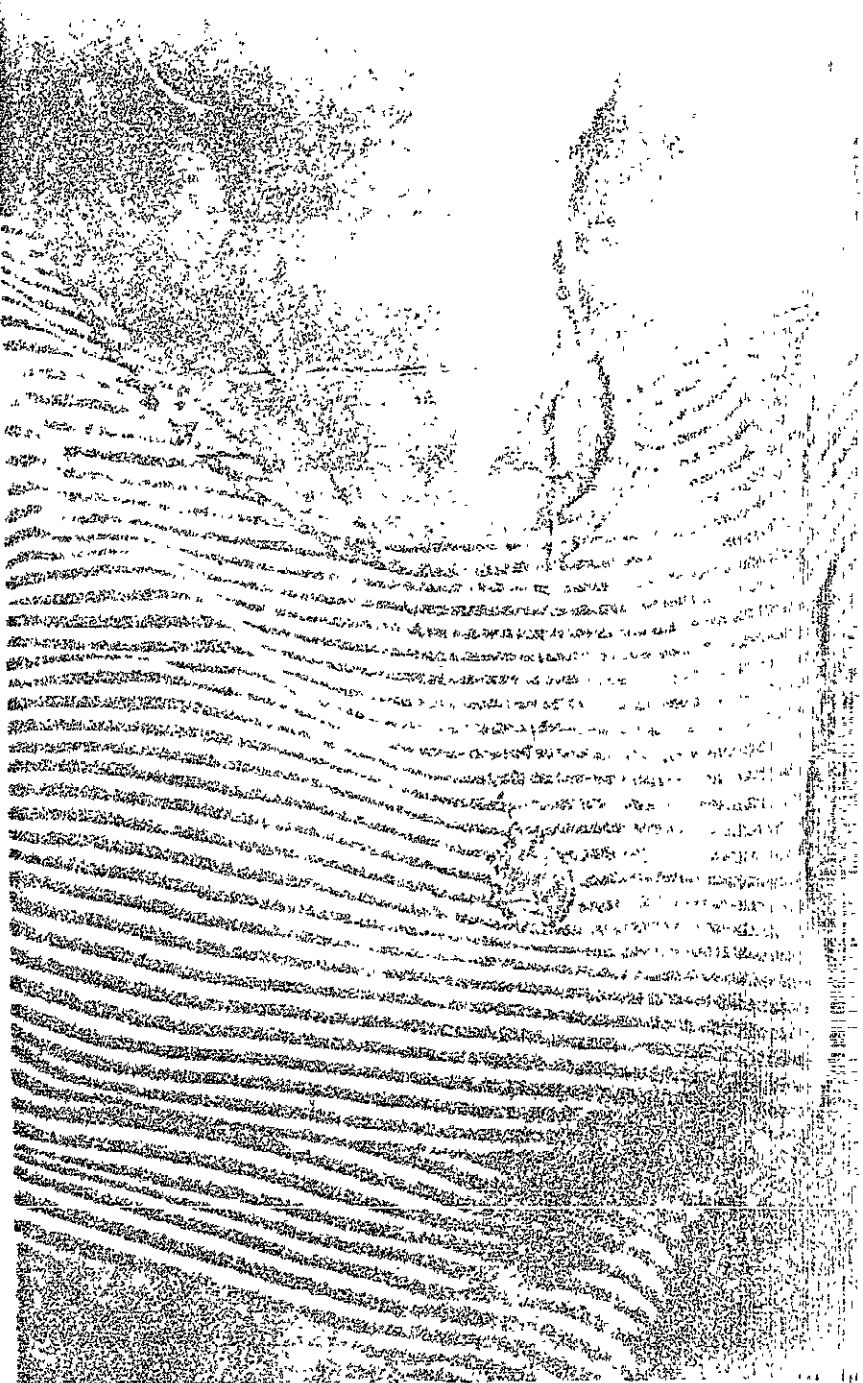
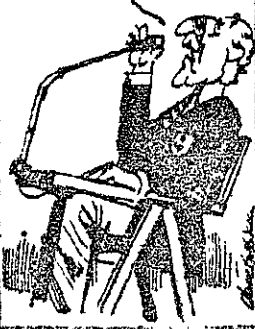
in a tax-swindle syndicate, but a month before his trial he made his bid for freedom.

After the three men were sentenced to five years in jail by a Malagasy military court in 1978, a senior SAP officer in Johannesburg said the force would definitely want to "interview" Capt Wight and Mr Marais "when they return".

News of the impending re-



MR. MENROE LEADS BY THREE OATHS AND A CURSE TO LOVE, FIRST SET...



Alone for seven years ... Mrs Jean Wight

Picture: JAMES SOULLIE

news to the rest of the family.

"The last letter we received was a few months ago. John said they are being well looked after ... particularly recently," she added.

The three men were held for more than a year before they appeared in court, and after a three-day secret trial in March 1978, were found guilty of "impairing the external security of the territory of the Malagasy Republic and violation of its national airspace".

Defence counsel for Dave

□ To Page 2

## Arabs in turmoil over

THE historic split between Soviet-supported Syria and Mr Yasser Arafat intensified yesterday with Damascus accusing the PLO leader of "falsehood and arrogance".

Mr Arafat was expelled from Syria on Friday after accusing Syria of giving military support to rebels in his Fatah guerrilla group.

The Syrian action has caused unprecedented turmoil in the Arab world.

The Damascus govern-

## Arafat

ment daily. Ushirts, and yesterday: "Arafat made remarks against Syria in Syria (the)".

"He told his aides to make similar statements and fire on a group opposed to police case to Syria troops." - Sapa Agency

© "Arafat's future is in line" World Watch magazine inside.

## Lost payroll: Security in

By GEORGE MAHABEER

A MASSIVE air and ground search has been launched for a security employee who disappeared at the same time as a R38 000 payroll.

Police using tracker dogs and helicopters are scouring a wide area on the outskirts of Maritzburg for Mr Morris Abrahamson, 45.

He has been missing since Friday. He was last seen leaving his home in White Road, Westgate, at 8.30am.

Major M C Stays, Maritzburg police Press liaison officer, said yesterday that Mr Abrahamson had the payroll with him when he disappeared.

He had collected the pay cheque for the Drakensberg Administrative Board's Imball brewery on Thursday and had cashed it the same day at Volkskas Bank in the city.

Mr Abrahamson had put the money into 110 packets for the brewery em-

# SA prefers <sup>stay</sup> negotiation to attack, <sup>(1)</sup> stresses PW

27/01/83  
By Clyde Johnson,  
Lowveld Bureau

South Africa knows where African National Congress camps in neighbouring countries are situated, but unless these are used as springboards for attacks against South Africa it would rather negotiate than counter-attack, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in Nelspruit.

Mr Botha was replying to questions at an open-air meeting on Friday at Nelspruit's amphitheatre, attended by cheering supporters who came from as far as Standerton.

"Not allowing their countries to be used as a springboard for terrorism is the only stipulation we make to our neighbours," he said.

Mr Botha added that some countries had already heeded this request.

He predicted that for as long as Maputo maintained ties with communism it had no future.

● The African National Congress has commemorated the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter by promising to step up anti-Government attacks in South Africa and strongly criticising the pending constitutional changes.

● In terms of the security laws, it is not possible to report on the aggressive content of the special message released from Lusaka to coincide with yesterday's anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

# Marxist Mauritius still leans to the West

① Mercury 30/6/83

**A YEAR after a Marxist-led coalition wiped out the pro-Western Mauritian Government in national elections, ideologies have been cast aside and new elections are being held with Mauritius as close as ever to the Western powers.**

Western nations' fears that the Marxist-led government elected on June 11 last year would return to power have evaporated. The architect of the election victory, a white militant who once fought alongside other student radicals in Paris in 1968, Mr Paul Berenger, is now accused of being a tool of the West and Mauritian capitalists. He accepted International Monetary Fund and World Bank conditions for further loans to meet balance of payments deficits.

Acceptance of these conditions, which required several austerity measures that raised food prices, triggered a split on March 22 between Mr Berenger's Mauritian Militant Movement and its smaller coalition partner, the Mauritian Socialist Party. The Prime Minister, Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, president of

Berenger's party, sided with the Socialists and was expelled from the MMM.

## New elections

A year after his coalition had won every seat from the pro-Western Labour Party, which had ruled since independence in 1968, Mr Aneerood announced new elections would be held on August 21.

A Western diplomat who declined to be named said: 'It's not as incredible as it seems. That election victory wasn't as decisive as it appeared. There were too many conflicting interests for the coalition to continue smoothly.'

Mr Berenger, 37, one of 10 000 whites on this 2 045 sq km resort and sugar cane growing island of one million people, will again lead the MMM as its secretary-general. He will also be its choice for prime minister, a job he had not sought before, believing a white could not win.

## Election pact

The MMM, a party that operates along communist lines with cells set up across the island, will contest all the island's seats.

Mr Jugnauth, a 53-year-old Hindu, will lead the new Mauritian Socialist Movement formed by defecting MMM members and the Socialist Party. It will field only 35 candidates in the 62 districts.

The Mauritian Socialist Movement has formed an

# West

## Sapa-AP Correspondent PORT LOUIS

election pact with its old enemies, the Labour Party and the smaller Right-wing and pro-South African Mauritian Social Democratic Party. These two will contest 27 seats.

Diplomats say this election may turn more on racial and ethnic lines than the last. The French-speaking, former British colony, is comprised of Hindu, Moslem, Creole, 'grand blancs' (whites) and Chinese people.

One main issue will be Mr Berenger's acceptance of strict loan conditions, but following the MMM's departure from the government Mr Jugnauth signed the loan agreements Mr Berenger had negotiated. Observers say he also realised the Soviet Union and Libya were not going to lend Mauritius the money it needed.

During its nine months in power the Jugnauth-Berenger government surprised Western critics with a number of actions. First, it followed through on a promise to pass legislation requiring elections every five years to prove its commitment to democracy.

## Revoked ban

Mr Jugnauth, who accused Mr Berenger of deviating from the truth paths of socialism, revoked a ban on the sale of food to the US Navy base at Diego Garcia and also lifted a ban on

Mauritian men working there.

Observers say the election may boil down to a popularity contest between Mr Jugnauth and Mr Berenger.

In municipal elections held late last year, the MMM won 116 of 126 city council seats.

# Enter the Bear, and the Dragon

## USSR just waiting to leap into Southern Africa as Mugabe

LONDON: Southern Africa is on the eve of the situation reached in the Middle East in the late 1950s when Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser introduced the Soviet Union as an ally of the Arabs to play a major strategic role in the region.

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, confirms that he discussed this possibility during his latest visit to Eastern Europe and indicated that he might soon visit Moscow to promote this idea.

Few African leaders have been more deeply hostile to Moscow in his time than the Zimbabwe leader, who defiantly nailed his own colours to the mast during the liberation struggle in Rhodesia by describing himself as "A marxist of Maoist thought".

His antipathy to Moscow was due, in large measure, to Soviet support for Joshua Nkomo's wing of the Patriotic Front and its insistence that he should abandon his friendship for China as a condition for receiving Soviet military supplies.

For Mugabe, therefore, to have reached the point of considering inviting the USSR as a strategic ally, marks yet another major change in the region's deteriorating security situation.

Another staunchly anti-Soviet leader in Southern Africa, Zambia's president Kenneth Kaunda, bit the bullet in the late 1970s when he signed an agreement with the USSR for military supplies and training because he felt it was the only way of relieving the heavy pressures on his country by the then superior Rhodesian military forces of Ian Smith's regime.

Botswana also followed his example by signing an agreement with Moscow for small-scale military supplies.

Therefore, if Zimbabwe were now to act on Mugabe's threat, five of the eight African states in the region would be directly linked by arms and/or defence agreements with Warsaw Pact countries.

The other two are Mozambique and Angola.

The only two not involved in such agreements are Malawi and Swaziland.

So far, the Frelimo Government of Mozambique has refused to ask for the implementation of all the articles in its treaty of friendship with the USSR because President Samora Machel does not favour intensifying super-power rivalry in Southern Africa.

There is also his wish to develop better trading relations with the West and his dependence on a measure of economic co-operation with South Africa.

At the same time, Angola has been working to diminish its heavy military dependence on the Warsaw Pact powers and to expand its own relations with the West by its determined co-operation with the Western initiative to reach a settlement over Namibia's independence.

And so, too, has Lesotho now established diplomatic links with Moscow — as well as with other communist countries.

Just how the Red presence will affect the tiny kingdom's relations with South Africa remains to be seen, but an effect there will certainly be.

In common with several other African states, Lesotho's flagging economy needs every assistance it can get. It cannot afford to refuse offers of aid.



Five Southern African leaders involved in the Red conspiracy. Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Mozambique's Samora Machel, Jonathan...



by COLIN LEGUM

All the African leaders in the region — including the chairman of the African Frontline states, President Julius Nyerere — have been in full agreement in the past that the problems of Southern Africa would be unnecessarily and dangerously complicated by introducing super-power rivalries directly into the region, as had happened in the Middle East.

However, two developments have begun to compel changes in their thinking: The rapidly growing and much heavier level of military violence in the region; and the prospects of a breakdown in the negotiations for Namibian independence.

An irresistible and, by now, perhaps irreversible momentum has been set up in the escalating use of violence by both the Pretoria regime and its challengers.

As the supporters of armed struggle, led by the African National Congress (ANC), become more proficient in their use of sophisticated weapons and tactics (demonstrated by the car-bomb attack against the South African Air Force HQ in Pretoria resulting in more than 100 casualties), the South African Defence Force will inevitably intensify its transborder attacks to strike at any and every suspected nest of guerrilla activities in the region.

Prime Minister PW Botha has repeatedly made it clear he will not be constrained by any notions about the sanctity of borders so long as his neighbours allow the ANC and other guerilla groups to maintain any kind of facilities on their territory which would enable them to infiltrate their trained cadres and weapons across the South African border.

Thus, the more effective the ANC becomes, the greater and more frequent will be the level of South African military attacks on its neighbours.

Only two ways are open to break this circle of escalating violence.

Unaffiliated  
Tucsa  
Tucsa  
Unaffiliated  
Unaffiliated  
Unaffiliated  
Tucsa

Registered  
East London Meat Trade Union  
Registered  
East London Liquor & Catering Trades Employees Union  
Registered  
Durban Rubber Industrial Union  
Registered  
Durban Municipal Employees Society  
Registered  
Durban Municipal Transport Employees Union  
Registered  
Durban Municipal Professional Staff Association  
Registered  
Durban Integrated Municipal Employees Society  
Registered

# The Bear, enter the and what then?

S. Tinkwa 3/7/83

## into Southern Africa as Mugabe prepares to woo Moscow

ached  
Abdel  
os to  
  
that  
stern  
note  
  
scow  
d his  
Rho-



Five Southern African leaders involved in the Red connection are (from left) Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Mozambique's Samora Machel, Angola's Jose dos Santos and Lesotho's Leabua Jonathan

oviet  
id its  
as a  
  
hier-  
rther  
  
Zam-  
1970s  
lies  
the  
Asian



by  
**COLIN LEGUM**

ment  
  
cat,  
tely  
fact  
  
and  
  
d to  
y of  
chiel  
bern  
  
with  
-ra-  
  
its  
to  
per-  
vei  
  
with  
  
ela-  
be  
  
tag-  
ford

All the African leaders in the region — including the chairman of the African Frontline states, President Julius Nyerere — have been in full agreement in the past that the problems of Southern Africa would be unnecessarily and dangerously complicated by introducing super-power rivalries directly into the region, as had happened in the Middle East.

However, two developments have begun to compel changes in their thinking. The rapidly growing and much heavier level of military violence in the region; and the prospects of a breakdown in the negotiations for Namibian independence.

An irresistible and, by now, perhaps irreversible momentum has been set up in the escalating use of violence by both the Pretoria regime and its challengers.

As the supporters of armed struggle, led by the African National Congress (ANC), become more proficient in their use of sophisticated weapons and tactics (demonstrated by the car-bomb attack against the South African Air Force HQ in Pretoria resulting in more than 100 casualties), the South African Defence Force will inevitably intensify its transborder attacks to strike at any and every suspected nest of guerrilla activities in the region.

Prime Minister PW Botha has repeatedly made it clear he will not be constrained by any notions about the sanctity of borders so long as his neighbours allow the ANC and other guerilla groups to maintain any kind of facilities on their territory which would enable them to infiltrate their trained cadres and weapons across the South African border.

Thus, the more effective the ANC becomes, the greater and more frequent will be the level of South African military attacks on its neighbours.

Only two ways are open to break this circle of escalating violence.

The one is for South Africa's neighbours to renounce all support for the ANC and others engaged in armed struggle, and the second is fundamental political change in South Africa of a nature that is likely to defuse the desire to engage in armed struggle.

This second condition is nowhere in sight. It is certainly not a short-term possibility

As for the first condition, there is no credible evidence to show that any of South Africa's neighbours is prepared to totally disavow their support for the supporters of armed struggle, even though they will (and have) imposed constraints on the ANC and PAC.

Therefore, the spiral of violence seems set to rise — with South Africa committed to using its superior military power to defend its internal security in the way its leaders understand it, and with South Africa's neighbours needing to look to external allies for support in strengthening their military capacity to withstand the attacks of their militarily powerful neighbour.

Since, for the present, none of the Western powers will provide the kind of support needed by South Africa's neighbours, and since the Chinese cannot match the Soviet's military delivery capacity, the only strategic ally available to them is the Soviet Union.

In its present mood of hostility to the West and with a growing interest in wishing to minimise the bad image created by its military aggression against Afghanistan, the Soviet Union seems likely to leap at an opportunity to accept what would be only a limited commitment in Southern Africa.

Therefore, reluctant though South Africa's neighbours are to make the momentous decision of inviting in the Russians — not least because it could affect their own domestic politics as well as upset their relations with the West — it seems a fore-gone conclusion that if the Namibian talks were finally to grind to a complete halt and if South Africa kept up its attacks on Angola and its support for Unita, the Soviet option would be taken up by most of the leaders in Southern Africa.

In this way, the South African Government would become the instrument for fulfilling its own worst nightmare: introducing the communist powers as a major force into Southern Africa, and as an ally of African nationalism.

- ..... East London Meat Trade Union.....
- ..... East London Liquor & Catering Trades Employees Union.....
- ..... Durban Rubber Industrial Union.....
- ..... Durban Municipal Employees Society.....
- ..... Durban Municipal Transport Employees Union.....
- ..... Durban Municipal Professional Staff Association.....
- ..... Durban Integrated Municipal Employees Society.....

**MILITARY MUSCLE ROLLS  
BACK THE BORDER THREAT**

PAGE 05/20/R3



● Dr Peter Vale ... outlined the new 'Botha Doctrine'.

**Botha's  
policy  
takes  
fight to ANC**

*Handwritten scribbles and a circled '1'.*

*3/7/83 S. Express*

By JEAN LE MAY Political Reporter

AN EXPERT in international affairs says that South Africa has developed a new regional policy to make it as difficult as possible for the African National Congress to operate from beyond its borders.

Dr Peter Vale, director of research of the SA Institute for International Affairs, outlined the new policy, which he described as the 'Botha doctrine', at a meeting in Johannesburg this week of the Witwatersrand branch of the institute at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He said the 'Botha doctrine' had developed in three stages. These were:

- A 'pre-Angola, 1975' phase.
- A search for a security policy, and
- The new policy, the aim of which is to seek and destroy the ANC wherever it is operating in Southern Africa — even beyond the borders of South Africa.

The 'pre-Angola' phase was marked by the vigorous use of Pretoria's economic muscle to achieve certain set security goals in the defence of its perimeter, said Dr Vale.

He defined the perimeter during the years of Mr John Vorster's premiership as Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

"These borders provided a form of security because South Africa, through a 'carrot-and-stick' diplomacy, established an economic fiefdom.

"Pretoria's goal was to keep the outer reaches secure: the phrase 'total onslaught' was not part of our political lexicon at that time.

"But this was changed by what took place in Angola in 1975, when South Africa was forced to withdraw its forces.

"It became obvious that South Africa could no longer call the shots, and was under pressure from a new and aggressive extra-regional competitor — the Soviet Union, which was bent on changing the regional complexion.

"There were few economic levers left and the perimeter was shrinking: South African control had waned — it was known it had lost the war in Angola."

Then came the new Marxist-inclined governments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and this growing instability was in turn reflected in the Soweto riots of 1976.

So South Africa, in its search for a new doctrine for the region, started with a massive military boost, involving a quantitative and qualitative change in its weapons system from 1976 to 1979.

"It seems to me that Pretoria has increased its arsenal 300% since Angola," said Dr Vale.

The next aspect of the policy was to seek a careful line between the need to show movement towards domestic reform and the need to put itself firmly on-side with what Pretoria saw as the main stream of international conservative thinking.

During the early Botha years, Pretoria came to see itself as an anti-Soviet agent in what it regards as a strategically important part of the world.

The anti-Soviet rhetoric of, at first, London, and subsequently of Washington and Bonn, were 'a welcome oasis' for South African planners, said Dr Vale.

But the extent of the Soviets as the main enemy was not clear and there was, at that stage, some confusion.

"While South Africa's capacity to control regional events was clear, the target was not. Was it the Soviets, the Cubans in Angola, or the governments of its neighbours, some of which were clearly ill-disposed towards South Africa?"

At this stage, said Dr Vale, the ascendancy of the military in many aspects of our national life became a reality.

"The Republic has developed a much more hawkish regional image under Mr P W Botha and General Magnus Malan than under Mr

Vorster and Mr Botha

"When international opinion began to speak out on the growing effects of regional destabilisation — which Pretoria has denied — the next step was the enunciation of the formal doctrine."

This emerged in February this year during the debate in Parliament on the Prime Minister's vote, said Dr Vale.

Offers of reconciliation with South Africa's neighbours were evidently falling on deaf ears, said the PM, and "if these gentlemen want their territories to become gathering places of ANC and Swapo terrorists, I say here today: 'We shall remove these nests for you ... Every country which offers shelter to anti-South African terrorists will have to deal with the security forces of South Africa ...'"

This was the strategy which needed to be called 'the Botha doctrine' said Dr Vale.

"Where previously South Africa was content to let the ANC come to it, it had now quite clearly taken the conflict to the ANC.

"In - real fashion, South Africa has re-established the perimeter defence. It has taken things back to where they were pre-1975/6. Dr Vale said.

ST APICULTURE 1955-1976

\* R \* \* WARI CTS  
AS ES  
ACES

# Russia begins to shine after nine years in Ethiopia

THE tiny tattered waifs who work as shoeshine boys wait outside the Hilton Hotel ready to pounce on foreigners — even those in sandals — for a chance to ply their trade.

Two years ago a snappy reply of "Nyet — speak no English" would send them scurrying down the road. Today, the same response draws a friendly smile and a brisk, pleading reply in Russian.

Soviet influence has crept into Ethiopia subtly over nine years. It now reaches from shoeshine boys to cabinet ministers.

"There are two things Ethiopia is not short of these days ... wars and Soviet influence," said a Western diplomat.

Presently, the two go hand in hand.

It has been nine years since the bloody socialist revolution swept away the remnants of Emperor Haile Selassie's 50-year-old feudal kingdom and pro-Western government in waves of the aptly named red and white terrors.

Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, a tough, United States-trained military man, is now firmly in control. And so are the Soviets, according to diplomats.

"There is little doubt that Soviet influence has increased dramatically in the past few years," a diplomat said.

Centrally planned economic policy, collective farming and strict methods of social control to limit dissent among the country's 35-million people are all based on Soviet models and supervised by Soviet personnel, according to diplomats.

The government's attitude toward Ethiopia's troublesome church — and the closing of more than 200 in the northern regions of a country — is Soviet inspired.

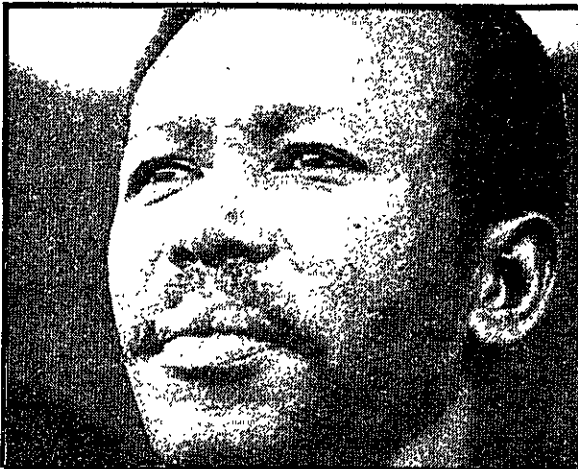
"Ethiopia is now playing hardball with the Soviets," one diplomat said.

After nine years of biding time and grimaces over the slow pace of the Ethiopian revolution, one bogged down in Ethiopia's pride and resistance to colonisation, Soviet attitudes have hardened.

"The new Soviet ambassador is a hardnosed fellow. The change was made so that the new ambassador could lean on Ethiopia a bit more," a Western diplomat said.

The leaning has so far proved successful. After a red-carpet visit to Moscow in October, Col Mariam agreed to abolish the provisional military administrative council now governing the country and create — by September 1984 — a Communist Workers' Party, one of the main policy aims of the Soviet Union in Ethiopia.

According to some diplomats, the military is not entirely trusted and control of the country by a civilian workers' party would allow the Soviets to exert even



COLONEL MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM ... now firmly in control

From CHARLES MITCHELL in Addis Ababa

more influence in the country.

Diplomats say last April's cabinet reshuffle showed hardline, pro-Soviet politicians making heavy gains at the expense of more moderate factions.

"The change was unique in Ethiopia, for two reasons: it was the first since the revolution without the losers being shot and also showed the Soviets were behind it.

"There are now more progressives at the top, which pleases them," a diplomat said.

Relations between the United States and its former client state, Ethiopia, closely follow those between the United States and the Soviet Union. Current relations are at their lowest ebb ever.

Col Mariam said at a Press conference that there was little chance of improving them.

"The prospect for improving relations between the United States and Ethiopia is rather than being an encouraging one is a discouraging one," Col Mariam said.

The United States now actively supports Ethiopia's bitter opponent in the Horn of Africa, Somalia. Most diplomats believe Ethiopia is a much better prize in the Horn than Somalia.

Ethiopia is strategically placed on the entrance to the Red Sea and is opposite southern Saudi Arabia and its rich oil fields. Somalia is across the Gulf of Aden from Yemen.

Ethiopia has never been colonised in a classical sense, escaping the European land grab of the last century. It is this resistance which borders almost on xenophobia that makes the burgeoning Soviet control in Ethiopia all the more exceptional.

The resistance to the Soviet Union, so evident two years ago, is hard to find.

"There is a resignation among the people now that the Soviets are here to stay. It is contrary to their nature and their spirit, but it is there," a diplomat said.

Col Mariam's policy of land reform — stripping land owners of their farms to give to landless peasants — has made him popular in rural areas.

To keep this popularity he has backed off the collectivisation drive slightly ... to the dislike of the Soviets. More than 90% of farm produce still comes from private lands.

But in exchange for the soft farm policy, Col Mariam has agreed to go full steam ahead on the formation of the workers' party.

Dissent is kept to a minimum by strict social controls. A system of kebeles — small urban party offices — keep a watch on intellectuals and students, who must register for everything from food to homes.

Ethiopia's economic dependence on the Soviet Union has further entrenched Moscow's ability to influence Ethiopia.

The country — the sixth poorest in the world, with a per capita income of less than R100 a year — owes the Soviets R2 800-million for weapons and the debt grows by the day.

The 4 000 Soviet advisers and 11 000 Cuban troops in the country help fight the growing secessionist movements in Tigre and Eritrea provinces and keep sabre-rattling Somalia at bay.

"As long as there is a problem in the north that needs a military solution, the Soviets will be here and in control," a diplomat said.

The secessionist guerrillas control huge chunks of land to the north of Addis Ababa and have been a constant problem for the past two decades. No end is in sight.

The Soviet MiG jets that scream over the mountains of Ethiopia, the Cuban troops in Addis Ababa for rest and recreation and the Soviet advisers that gather for coffee in a small cafe on the outskirts of town are a constant reminder of Soviet dominance in Ethiopia.

So are the shoeshine boys: — UPI.



## Five countries need emergency food aid

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

**BULAWAYO** — At least 10 million people in five Southern African countries will need emergency food aid if they are to survive the winter.

This figure, which does not include South Africa or the independent homelands, has been calculated by officials in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

And the feeling among relief workers is that it is, if anything, conservative.

One of the worst-hit countries is Zimbabwe where the drought has been described as the "biggest single national disaster of the century".

A merchant bank which carried out a nationwide survey said the hardships suffered during the war years would be "small in comparison to the suffering to come".

Agricultural officials estimate that several hundred thousand cattle will be lost, forcing many farmers out of business.

In a massive rescue operation, 270 000 cattle are being railed from Matabeleland to Mashonaland at an estimated cost of R60 million.

### Game rescue

A game rescue operation has been mounted in the south-east to save herds of sable antelopes and white rhinos.

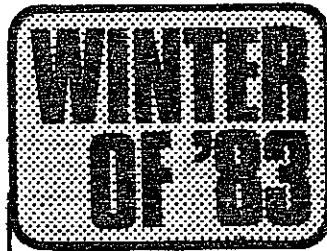
But in the parched game reserves of Hwange and Gona-re-Zhou, 6 000 elephants and several hundred hippos will have to be culled.

Estimates of the number of people, mainly subsistence farmers, who will have to be fed by the Government, vary from three to five million out of Zimbabwe's total population of 7,5 million.

The normally prolific maize harvest will be only 600 000 tons, 400 000 tons short of what is needed to feed the nation. But stockpiles from previous years

# Ten million Africans may starve this winter

*Starvation* (1) Star  
7/6/83



are expected to make up the shortfall.

Neighbouring Mozambique has no such surplus to cushion the tragedy in its rural areas.

At special briefings government Ministers have pleaded with Maputo-based diplomats for massive amounts of aid to save about four million people from starvation.

Mozambican officials say the drought is the worst in their country's history and, if the rains do not come in October, the country will be in "very serious trouble".

In Botswana about half the population of about one million are already receiving emergency food rations while thousands of cattle are being slaughtered before they die of starvation or thirst.

Food is being distributed to 430 000 villagers in Lesotho,

about a third of the kingdom's population.

Early this year the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, appealed to the international community for help.

But he was astute enough to wait until Taiwan had shipped 1 000 tons of white maize before establishing diplomatic relations with the rival Red Chinese.

### Food programme

The World Food Programme plans to distribute nearly 4 500 tons of emergency food to 108 000 Swazis over the next two months.

Taiwan bought nearly 1 000 tons of maize, worth more than R1 million, from South Africa as a gift for Swaziland.

Ironically, the worst drought in Namibia this century has begun to ease after unusually good rains in the central and eastern parts — but the southern and western parts are still suffering.

Elephants are being culled and zebras relocated in the drought-stricken Etosha Game Reserve.

The Namibian Red Cross is conducting a feeding scheme for schoolchildren in Kaokoland.

●See Page 3, World section.

# SA accused of wrecking power plants

MAPUTO — South Africa was attacking energy installations in neighbouring black states in an effort to increase their dependence on Pretoria, the Angolan Energy and Oil Minister, Mr Pedro van Dunem, said yesterday

Mr van Dunem, speaking at a meeting of Energy Ministers of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, said South African commandos or their surrogates had attacked energy installations in Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique.

He also said a study of the region's oil supplies had shown that the problem was more complex than originally believed. Member countries needed to increase their refining capacity, but would not be able to stop importing expensive refined petroleum.

Mr van Dunem urged the other Ministers to speed up the development of hydro-electric power, study the possible exploitation of coal reserves and increase re-forestation projects to replace rapidly depleting wood-fuel sources.

Several conference members, including Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho have accused South Africa of supporting guerillas seeking to topple their Governments because of their opposition to apartheid. — Associated Press.

was unlikely to meet Iranian demands for their extradition.

There is a suspicion that they may not be anti-Khomeini militants as they claim but a special Islamic suicide squad sent to assassinate Mr Rajavani, Tehran's number one enemy.

Mr Rajavani is leader of Iran's main opposition group, the Marxist "Mujahadin Khalq" movement. He is the brother-in-law of ousted president Bani Sadr, also in exile here.

Mr Rajavani is credited with attempts to assassinate Iran's religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini, who has sentenced him to death as a non-believer and traitor

The Ayatollah has frequently boasted that no man is safe from his justice, even abroad

The six-man Iranian commando repeatedly asked to speak to "our leader" Mr Rajavani, and in the 10 hours of negotiations at Orly Airport leading up to their surrender this was their only major request.

But Mr Rajavani said he did not recognise the men as members of his movement, and stayed in the control tower.

# Kidnapping girl 11

The Star's Foreign News Service ROME — The kidnapping daughter of a Vatican official have laid down a 200,000 dollar ransom to their demand for the release of a terrorist who tried to kill the Pope.

The kidnap victim is a 11-year-old girl who works as a palace usher in the Vatican city, where she lives.

Yesterday a Vatican spokesman revealed that a ransom call was received asking that a message be sent on to the Secretary of State.

The girl — 15-year-old Uela Orlandi — disappeared on June 22. She was last seen wearing jeans and sneakers, and was thought to have stopped in Rome city center, leaving the school where she studies the flute.

For days it was debated whether she was just another of

## HÄGAR the Horrible

HERE COMES OUR COMPANY. WILL YOU SERVE THE DIP?

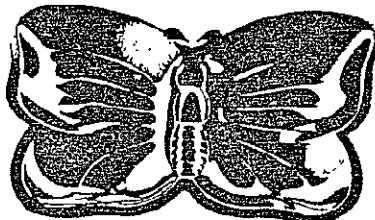


# DION

saves you more on

## Silver-plated Gifts

Only available at: City Store, Wynberg, Randburg, Boksburg, Florida, Vanderbijlpark



Silver-plated Butterfly Dishes

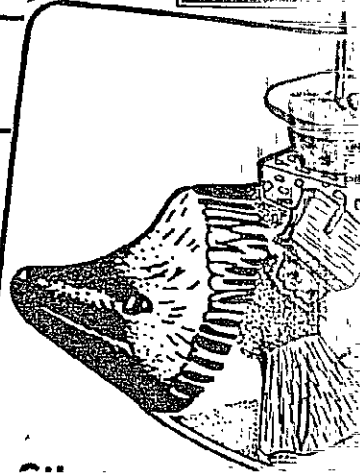
- Ideal for sweets
- In lovely gift box

5<sup>00</sup> Dion's Low Price

Double

## HARARE

HARARE, the capital of Zimbabwe, is situated on the banks of the Save River. It was founded in 1890 and was renamed Salisbury in 1935. A major shopping centre, it carries out a large amount of trade. "For no...



# Cape firm's gems search

Argus Africa News Service

MBABANE. — Commercial diamond mining is to start in Swaziland shortly.

A spokesman for the Department of Geological Survey and Mines has confirmed that an exclusive diamond mining licence has been granted to a South African firm, Trans-Hex, which is based in Cape Town.

The licence was granted by special order of the Head of State, Queen Regent Dzelive, according to the spokesman.

The Trans-Hex chairman, Mr F. Hoffman, confirmed that the licence was to mine for diamonds and other precious stones in a defined location.

Industrial diamonds are known to exist in areas south of the commercial centre, Manzini.

# Ten million are facing death from starvation

## Disaster is imminent in five Southern African countries

Argus Africa News Service

BULAWAYO. — At least 10 million people in five Southern African countries will need emergency food aid if they are to survive the winter.

This horrific figure, which does not include South Africa or the independent homelands, is calculated from estimates given by officials in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Relief workers believe it is, if anything, conservative.

The drought in Zimbabwe has been described as the "biggest single national disaster of the century". A bank which carried out a survey said the hardship suffered during the war years would be "small in comparison" with the misery to come.

Many farmers are expected to be forced out of business and agricultural officials estimate that several hundred thousand head of cattle will be lost.

In a big rescue operation, 270 000 cattle are being rallied from Matabeleland to Mashonaland at an estimated cost of R60-million.

In the parched game reserves of Hwange and Gona Re Zhou, 6 000 elephants and several hundred hippos will have to be culled.

Estimates of the number of people, mainly subsistence farmers, who will have to be fed by the Government vary from three to five million.

Neighbouring Mozambique has no maize surplus to cushion the blow in its rural areas.

At special briefings, Government Ministers have pleaded with Maputo-based diplomats for large amounts of urgent aid to save an estimated four million people from starving to death.



THE agony of drought-stricken western Zimbabwe ... bleached bones on stony soil amid trees stripped of all their lower leaves.

In Botswana, 44 percent of the population of about one million is already receiving emergency food rations.

### Slaughtered

Thousands of head of cattle are being slaughtered before they die of starvation or thirst.

Food is being distributed among 430 000 villagers in Lesotho, about a third of the kingdom's population.

The World Food Programme plans to distribute nearly 4 500 tons of emergency food among 108 000 hungry Swazis over the next two months.

ARGUS 8/1/85  
C. [Signature]

# Malagasy president takes to the bunker



① Staw  
9/7/83

ANTANANARIVO — The grounds of Madagascar's Presidential palace here are shared by trees and Soviet anti-aircraft guns, and a Presidential bunker is being built on the city's outskirts.

Before President Didier Ratsiraka ventures from his palace and heads for the airport, soldiers are reportedly ordered into place, one every 50 yards along the 10-mile drive.

The President, a Western diplomat said, is paranoid about security.

His predecessor was assassinated just a week after he took office.

Diplomats say the President, a committed socialist, believes South Africa will miss no opportunity to bring him down.

This, they say, is why the anti-aircraft guns are on the grounds of the palace.

They say this also is why he obtained Soviet-supplied MiG21s a few years ago, Soviet tanks and four MiG17s piloted by North Koreans.

The MiG17s, however, no longer fly.

A Presidential confidant said Mr Ratsiraka was not really worried about the South Africans but used the idea as a pretext to bring in the MiGs and tanks.

These provided the core of an arms deal with the Soviet Union reportedly valued at R300 million, a sum just R20 million less than Madagascar's export earn-

President Ratsiraka of Madagascar is paranoid about security. His predecessor was assassinated just a week after he took office. But Diplomats say the President, a committed socialist, faces a very real threat in the economic sector. Madagascar's economy has slid into decline, largely due to the President's policies.

ings for 1982, as calculated by Western economists.

But the confidant said the President was not so sure of his own people that he felt immune from assassination.

He trusted nobody.

In recent years the President's cause for alarm apparently has grown as Madagascar's economy has slid into decline.

President Ratsiraka, a former naval commander who was educated in France, rose to prominence as Foreign Minister in 1972 when Philibert Tsiranana, Madagascar's first President after independence in 1960, was swept aside on a popular wave of dissatisfaction, and power was handed over to General Gabriel Ramanantsoa.

The new regime, reacting to Mr Tsiranana's hatred of the communist world established ties with the Soviet Union, China and other communist countries.

Madagascar also withdrew from the group of countries whose currencies were tied to the French franc, and embarked

on a period of rapidly deteriorating relations with the United States and other Western countries.

In 1975 General Ramanantsoa handed over power to Colonel Richard Ratsimandrava, a radical who held office for only six days before being assassinated.

Mr Ratsiraka assumed power as President a few weeks later, advocating socialist policies.

In the view of Western economists, his policies contributed directly to Madagascar's economic decline.

The economists said peasants growing rice, the nation's staple food, were not rewarded sufficiently for their work and reverted to subsistence farming.

The development turned Madagascar from an exporter to an importer of rice.

Last year the island imported 350 000 tons of rice. Simultaneously, the President embarked on a policy called investment to the limits, pouring money into unproductive, but prestigious ventures.

The results include a tanning factory without hides, a fertiliser plant that does not produce the kind of fertiliser Madagascar needs and a battery plant that has fallen idle because there is not enough money to buy the raw materials.

Madagascar soon acquired a foreign debt whose repayments are the equivalent of two-thirds of all export receipts.

Mr Ratsiraka was forced to turn for financial help to former enemies in the West — the United States, France, Britain and West Germany.

Nevertheless, Mr Ratsiraka won re-election last year, getting what was officially announced as 80 percent of the vote.

Western diplomats said that without vote-rigging and other actions he might have received 60 percent or less, but enough to win re-election.

But the results were widely interpreted as being tinged with protest.

The results were most striking in the capital. Votes were divided evenly between the President and his only opponent, Mr Monja Jaona, an octogenarian Maoist.

No political activity is permitted outside a revolutionary front set up by the President.

But within the front there are seven political parties of various ideologies. — *The Observer*

Star 11/1/83 (1)

Nine heads of governments or their representatives meet in Maputo today for the fourth annual summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

The SADCC was founded in Lusaka in April 1980 to promote economic development and reduce members' dependence on South Africa's economy.

The members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi,

Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Today's summit will consider the first annual report of the SADCC executive secretary, Mr Arthur Blumeris, who was appointed at the Gaborone summit in July 1982, and the progress of the roughly 200 transport, communications, industrial, energy and agricultural projects drawn up so far.

Here are brief sketches of the nine heads.

**SAMORA MACHEL (50)**, President, Mozambique. Left high school to work as a male nurse in Lourenco Marques. Went into exile via South Africa to join the Frelimo rebels in 1963. Trained as a guerilla in Algeria; rose to command the Frelimo army fighting the Portuguese. Became president of Frelimo 1970 and of Mozambique at independence in 1975. Imposed strict socialist system at first but is now loosening the economy and relations with US are improving. Has considerable charisma. Type of government: marxist dictatorship.

**JULIUS NYERERE (61)**, President, Tanzania. Took an MA in economics at Edinburgh University. In 1954 he converted his teachers' union into the TANU party which won 70 of 71 seats in the 1960 elections. Prime Minister at independence in 1961 and elected president a year later. Revered as one of the first non-aligned African statesmen and a socialist who practises what he preaches. He draws an exceptionally low salary. But his policies have largely failed and Tanzania depends heavily on aid. Type of Government: one-party state.

**JOSE DOS SANTOS (40)**, President, Angola. Joined MPLA rebellion against Portuguese rule in 1961. Went into exile and took degree in petrol engineering in Moscow and course in military telecommunications. Fought in Angola from 1970 and became Foreign Minister on independence 1975. Succeeded Agostinho Neto as president 1979. Relies heavily on Cuban

# THE BIG NINE TALK IT OVER

troops but believed to be making peace feelers towards Unita. type of government: marxist dictatorship.

**ROBERT MUGABE (59)**, Prime Minister, Zimbabwe. Began work as teacher at birthplace Kutama, 70 km west of Harare. Took BA at Fort Hare 1950-51. Possibly the best educated African statesman, he has degrees in education, economics and Master of Laws from Unisa and London University. Entered politics 1960, was detained 1964-74, and rose to prominence as head of Zanu at Geneva conference 1976. Decisively won 1980 elections. Type of government: democratic, but only one British supervised election so far.

**KENNETH KAUNDA (59)**, President, Zambia. As a young headmaster he began organising people and became fulltime nationalist in 1950. Detained in 1958. He campaigned for the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Winning landslide victory in elections he became President at independence in 1964. As a leading moderate among the frontline statesmen, Kaunda met South African Premiers John Vorster at Victoria Falls in 1975 and P W Botha on the

Botswana-South Africa border in 1982. Type of government: one party state.

**LEABUA JONATHAN (68)**, Prime Minister, Lesotho. A chief by birth, like Dr Banda, he worked on South African mines. Rose in politics through colonial councils and won surprise victory in the elections before independence in 1966. As Prime Minister he first had to struggle against King Moshoeshoe II, who wanted to rule, and then against the opposition who apparently won the 1970 elections. Since seizing power in 1970 he has become increasingly hostile to South Africa. Has often promised elections. Type of government: civilian dictatorship.

**BHEKIMPI DLAMINI (about 45)**, Prime Minister, Swaziland. A prince and very distant relative of the late king, he was educated entirely in Swaziland save for two months in politics at a British university. Held variety of lowly Cabinet posts after independence in 1968 and was little known when appointed Premier in March. Strongly traditionalist, he often

speaks to diplomats in Siswati and is ardent supporter of the land deal with South Africa. Type of government: traditional monarchy with appointed Cabinet.

**HASTINGS BANDA (77)**, President, Malawi. Worked as a clerk on South African gold mines and spent savings on trip to US. Graduated doctor of medicine in US 1937 and continued at Edinburgh University. Returned to Nyasaland 1958 to take up leadership of nationalist struggle. Detained 1959-60. was Prime Minister at 1964 independence and became President 1966. Hosted South African premier John Vorster in Malawi 1970 and visited South Africa in 1971. Contacts with South Africa have made him unpopular in Africa. Type of government: authoritarian one-party state.

**QUETT MASIRE (57)**, President, Botswana. Educated at Tigerkloof, he worked as a reporter on the African Echo before helping to launch the Bechuanaland (now Botswana) Democratic Party in 1962. Played an important role in the pre-independence negotiations with the British, and Seretse Khama made him Vice President at independence in 1966. As Finance and Development Planning Minister he was largely responsible for the prudent economic policies of Khama's presidency. Became President in 1980. Type of government: democratic.

# The roll back of the Russian tide

THE ARGUS FOREIGN SERVICE looks at a forecast of a bleak future for the Western democracies.

A WARNING has been issued here that unless Russian expansionism is systematically "rolled back" soon the future for threatened western democracies will remain bleak.

A study by the former director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Mr Brian Crozier, shows that several countries stand in danger of falling victim to communist victories unless the process of expansionism is reversed.

In a major feature in The Times, Mr Crozier has listed the countries which have been added to the Soviet empire — or removed from the Western sphere — since "detente" began in the 1970s:

Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (Kampuchea), South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Grenada, Surinam and the Seychelles. Nor, says Mr Crozier, is this list complete.

## Stayed red

"Not once since Lenin set up the Comintern in 1919 to carry Soviet-style communism to all countries of the world, has any country dropped communism after coming under communist rule. China and Yugoslavia left the Soviet orbit, but stayed communist."

For this reason Mr Crozier is not as optimistic as Britain's Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher when she said that the "Future belongs to the free-democracies, and that is the march of history."

According to Mr Crozier it is not enough for the West to prevent yet another communist victory here and there, as the Americans are trying to do in El Salvador, and as they failed to do in Vietnam.

## Quiet revival

"For the process to be reversed, "lost" countries will have to be liberated," he says.

Mr Crozier believes in the concept of "roll back" — an expression which was used in the 1950s for getting the Russians out of Eastern Europe, but was dropped after the Hungarian invasion.

The roll back concept, although not the term, he says, is enjoying a



Mrs Thatcher — optimistic

quiet revival in Washington as witnessed by President Reagan's harassment of Fidel Castro's Cuba.

It is no longer taken for granted in Washington that any member of what Brezhnev called the "Socialist Commonwealth" is necessarily out of bounds for ever.

Mr Crozier writes: In the list (of fallen countries) four stand out as qualifying for low-risk or no-risk intervention: Angola (to be precise, the Cabinda enclave), the Seychelles, Grenada and Surinam.

## Only force

In all four the men in power have no legitimacy other than force. In all four there are groups of individuals seeking change and worthy of support.

The main difference between the Cabinda enclave and the other outposts of the Soviet empire is that this strip of land to the north of Angola proper is not a sovereign country but constitutionally a part of Angola.

Without Cabinda's oil the communist regime in Angola would be in even worse economic straits than it is already.

With Government forces and Cubans guarding the oil installations, most of the territory is controlled by a resistance movement called FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave).

The resistance does not just want a change of regime in Angola; it wants independence for Cabinda.

The Seychelles, with a population of 62 000, is a particularly tragic case. A coup in 1977 ousted the duly elected government of James Mancham, now in exile in London with some of his former colleagues. The islands are now rapidly being turned into the standard totalitarian "Paradise".

In Grenada, new air and naval installations can only be for Soviet use. Since a coup in 1979 the island has been a Cuban colony.

The former Dutch colony of Surinam, in northern South America had its coup in 1980 and is now firmly set on a "socialist" course.

## Own devices

If such outposts are left to their own devices it will be hard to take recent declarations of the Reagan administration seriously. If freedom cannot be brought to Grenada or the Seychelles, what hope for Poland, Afghanistan, or the Soviet Union itself?

In the past where the will existed the means have quite often been found to prevent the emergence of regimes that would be damaging to western interests, or even to remove undesirable rulers.

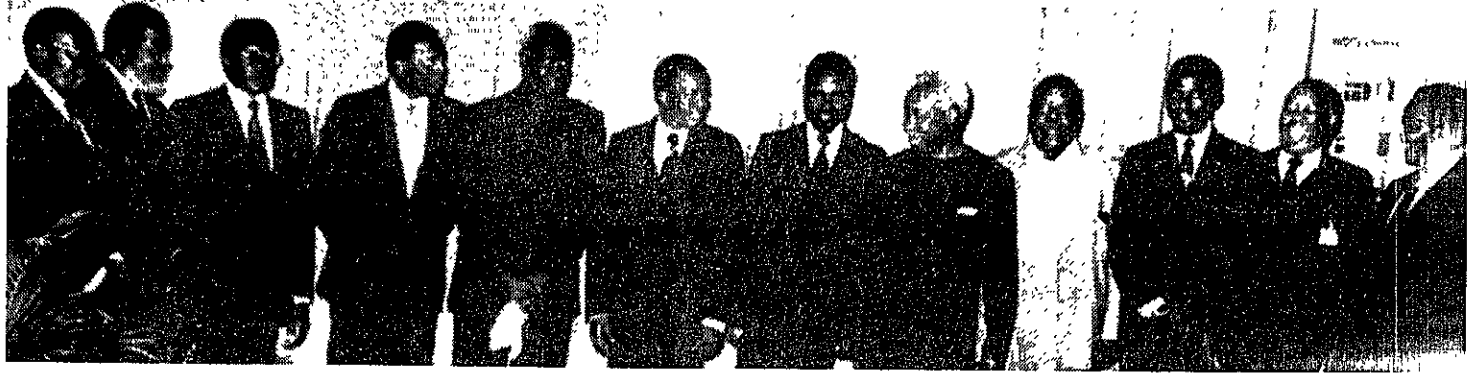
In 1954, for instance, American action removed a pro-communist president in Guatemala. The previous year effective action put the exiled Shah of Iran back on his throne. There was no such will in 1978, greatly to the detriment of the Iranian people and the West.

## Effective

In 1979 a highly effective French operation bloodlessly deposed the Central African tyrant, the Emperor Bokassa.

Nine years earlier an equally successful operation placed the enlightened Sultan Qaboos on his throne in strategically crucial Oman.

These examples clearly show what can be done where the will exists. Mrs Thatcher's ringing words could well be prophetic, but only if opportunities are not neglected.



Southern African leaders gather before the fourth annual Heads of State conference of the SADCC. From left are Malawian Finance Minister Mr LC Chaziya, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe, President dos Santos of Angola, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Quett

Masire of Botswana, President Samara Machel of Mozambique, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Lesotho Prime Minister Chief Jonathan Leabua, Swaziland Prime Minister Mr Dlamini, Botswana Finance Minister Mr P Mussi and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress.

## SA 'threat' dominates SADCC discussions

The Star's Foreign News Service

12/7/83

MAPUTO — South Africa dominated yesterday's meeting of Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) heads of state as never before.

The chairman, Botswana's President Quett Masire, told the group: "South Africa threatens our existence."

Observers believe the attendance of heads of government from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland,

Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia — indicates the strength of feeling on the issue. Only Malawi was represented at ministerial level.

The leaders concluded that the SADCC's success in reducing dependence on South Africa had provoked increasing aggression from Pretoria and an intensified "militarist and expansionist" SA policy.

Originally the SADCC refrained from attacking SA, but this is no longer the case.

UJGT

Argus 12/7/83

1

FOOD REPORT

# Africa faces famine: UN call for rescue ope

## The continent faces its worst disaster, reports the London Observer

LONDON — A slim but devastating Doomsday Book is about to drop on the desks of the world's aid-giving Governments. It describes what threatens to become the worst disaster ever to hit the much-pattered continent of Africa.

The report, by the Food and Agriculture Organisation, gives details of 18 African countries facing famine through drought, pestilence and war, and pleads for an immediate rescue operation.

It is the first report of its kind ever issued by the United Nations agency.

More than 120-million people live in the 18 countries, which urgently need more than four-million tons of grain if they are to fend off starvation. And the number of nations on the critical list is expected to grow as the crisis spreads through the continent.

Great patches of Africa are blighted by drought, in some countries the worst on record. War has interrupted harvests elsewhere and the cattle disease, rinderpest, is destroying herds in 14 countries.

The drought is at its worst in Southern Africa, which now faces its second successive year of bad

harvests. This year it is expected to yield only nine million tons of grain, half its normal crop, and five millions less even than last year's drought-affected harvest.

Kipling's "great, grey-green, greasy Limpopo river" which runs through the heart of the region, has been reduced to a meandering stream by the 18-month drought. It is possible to walk across the once-mighty river.

So little water is coming down the Limpopo and other rivers in southern Mozambique that the Indian Ocean is flowing inland, forcing its salt water far upstream and

making irrigation impossible.

The markets of Maputo, normally overflowing with food at this time of year, are now nearly bare. Outside the city people are reduced to eating roots and leaves from wild plants.

The people are heavily dependent on food aid from abroad to survive. But the aid promised so far will run out in October, and there will nothing to feed people until the next crop is due in in April.

Despite the crisis, the country has so far been offered less than Half as much aid as it had last year.

It is a similar story elsewhere in the region. Botswana has also had virtually no harvest this year, producing only 25 000 tons of maize, the region's staple food. Lesotho, Swaziland, SWA/Namibia and Zambia are also in crisis.

Only Zimbabwe is likely to grow enough food to feed itself, but with 80 percent of the country affected by drought, its harvest is only about half what it should be, and it will not be able to export food.

In North Africa, farmers are anxiously scanning the skies for the rains which are supposed to come at this time of the year but have not.

Last Mali, M all hit b ferling. F Ghana.

The Iv the Cent face too

Some Ethiopia there si need ge through

Tanze and so i



ARGUS 12/7/83

# Drought faces famine: UN call for rescue operation

The continent faces its worst disaster, reports the London Observer

The Argus Tuesday July 12 1983 11

More than 120-million people live in the 18 countries, which urgently need more than four-million tons of grain if they are to fend off starvation. And the number of nations on the critical list is expected to grow as the crisis spreads through the continent.

Great patches of Africa are blighted by drought, in some countries the worst on record. War has interrupted harvests elsewhere and the cattle disease, rinderpest is destroying herds in 14 countries.

The drought is at its worst in Southern Africa, which now faces its second successive year of bad

harvests. This year it is expected to yield only nine million tons of grain, half its normal crop, and five millions less even than last year's drought-affected harvest.

Kipling's "great, grey-green, greasy Limpopo river, which runs through the heart of the region, has been reduced to a meandering stream by the 18-month drought. It is possible to walk across the once-mighty river.

So little water is coming down the Limpopo and other rivers in southern Mozambique that the Indian Ocean is flowing inland, forcing its salt water far upstream and

making irrigation impossible.

The markets of Maputo, normally overflowing with food at this time of year, are now nearly bare. Outside the city people are reduced to eating roots and leaves from wild plants.

The people are heavily dependent on food aid from abroad to survive. But the aid promised so far will run out in October, and there will nothing to feed people until the next crop is due in April.

Despite the crisis, the country has so far been offered less than Half as much aid as it had last year.

It is a similar story elsewhere in the region. Botswana has also had virtually no harvest this year, producing only 25 000 tons of maize, the region's staple food. Lesotho, Swaziland, SWA/Namibia and Zambia are also in crisis.

Only Zimbabwe is likely to grow enough food to feed itself, but with 80 percent of the country affected by drought, its harvest is only about half what it should be, and it will not be able to export food.

In North Africa, farmers are anxiously scanning the skies for the rains which are supposed to come at this time of the year but have not.

Last year Cape Verde, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal were all hit by drought and are still suffering. People are also starving in Ghana.

The Ivory Coast, Benin, Togo and the Central African Republic also face food crises.

Somali rain has at last fallen in Ethiopia, but three million people there still face famine, and will need generous food aid to get them through the next six months.

Tanzania is also in difficulties and so is Somalia.

① Fm 15/7/83

the bantustanisation of its own country and in turning the rest of the region into its satellites."

Lesotho claims to be as strongly convinced of SA destabilisation. Lesotho's version of recent events involving SA, expressed privately to the FM at Maputo, paints an unusual picture of SA foreign policy which, Lesotho claims, is largely SADF-controlled.

Senior Lesotho sources claim that Pretoria's expressed aim of wiping out ANC bases in its raid on Maseru was a "pretext." SA's real intention, it is said, is "to get us to join the constellation of states, to recognise the bantustans, and to force us into selling them water (from the Highland scheme) at a cheaper rate."

The raid was an example of what Lesotho describes as SA's "ons sal jou wys" policy — designed to knock Lesotho for daring to pursue an independent course which is "the right of any sovereign State." The presence of ANC bases is not at issue because "there are no such bases in Lesotho and the South Africans know it."

The FM was also told that Lesotho would not sign a non-aggression pact with SA since "we have absolutely no aggressive intentions towards SA — how could a tiny state like Lesotho be any threat to a powerful neighbour like SA?" Pretoria, it is suggested, wants to dislodge the weakest links in the SADCC chain. These include Lesotho and Swaziland.

Angola's President Eduardo Dos Santos said that because the SADCC is the instrument that will enable members to break the region's dependence, mainly on SA, "our undertaking in this context is the chief target for attacks and aggression from the racist regime of SA and the armed bandits in its service."

Dos Santos spoke of the "systematic destruction of our economic infrastructures such as bridges, railway lines and cultivated areas. The well-being of our populations and the war that Pretoria is dragging us into require a permanent mobilisation of our human and financial resources that greatly undermines and damages our development programmes."

Pretoria's viewpoint is that neighbouring state brings their troubles on themselves. It also denies having a policy of destabilisation and points to the actions of insurgent movements in various southern African countries.

The acrimony at Maputo, with practically every head of state decrying the cost of conflict, indicates that the continuing violence in the sub-continent is hurting.

SADCC — 2

## The economic front

Despite what it calls the "damage done by SA economic destabilisation, the impact of the global economic crisis and the effects



Zimbabwe's Mugabe ... focus on agriculture

of drought on the economies of member states," the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) feels it is doing well.

This estimation of the nine-state economic development grouping is contained in SADCC's third annual progress report on the Lusaka Programme of Action — the blueprint drawn up three years ago. The report was presented at the SADCC heads of state summit in Maputo recently.

Finance pledged by international donors and mostly allocated to specific projects, far exceeds US\$1 000m. Most of the projects are at either the final study, design or implementation stage. Nearly 300 projects have so far been identified.

Each SADCC member-state co-ordinates one or more of the sectors of the programme. Thus Mozambique, whose ports are the potential alternative to SA harbours, is in charge of transport and communications (T&C). Total funds required for projects in this sector amount to US\$2 588m. Of this sum \$647m (25%) has been allocated or committed to various roads, railways, harbour and communications projects.

There are now 119 T&C projects of which five have been completed (including, as at May this year, rehabilitation of the Malawi-Nacala railway), 39 are being implemented and 44 have been submitted for finance. Seven are ready for submission and documents are being prepared for 24. Priority T&C projects include upgrading the Dar es Salaam port and the Tazara railway.

The drought has led to special emphasis on food security and agriculture which Zimbabwe's special responsibility. Agricultural

ture will be the main area of focus at the SADCC Lusaka conference later this year at which Zimbabwe is expected to present a short- to medium-term regional drought programme.

"Substantial progress" has been made in many areas towards operational projects in this sector, says the report. Nine regional food security studies have been or are being carried out. Ten agriculture projects which, "though national in character were considered to be of regional significance," have been approved. Seven are in Mozambique and include food storage facilities costing \$13m. The others are in Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Angola co-ordinates SADCC energy, security and conservation. Four energy projects, including rebuilding and extending fuel storage tanks at Beira, have been submitted. There are 13 main projects covering coal utilisation, electricity supply and alternative energy sources. A study is being made of coal export opportunities and, interestingly, "coal conversion" although no details of the latter are available. Other projects include rural electrification, studies and inter-connecting the Botswana-Zimbabwe HV grids. About \$8.5m has been spent in this sector.

SADCC industrial development is being overseen by Tanzania which is recruiting technical assistance. About 90 industry projects costing US\$1 530m have been presented. There are potential donors for 71 of these. The investment policies of member states are being collated for dissemination to potential investors.

A number of projects, still in early stages, have been started in the other sectors. One is manpower training. In the past year, SADCC has "broadened and deepened its range of contacts with international organisations and co-operating countries outside the region." Of particular significance is the UN resolution recognising SADCC as a regional organisation.

Substantial progress has been made in regional co-operation, says the report. "This has been true not merely at the level of programme articulation and presentation but also at that of implementation and operation."

"However, the fact must be faced that certain key sectors have obviously been relatively slow to move from initial formulations to concrete projects and operational programmes."

balanced budget  
set in

# Ian Paton's PW plan

Minister, for "the great harm that he did to my country and its peoples".

Dr Paton said he endorsed Woodmead School's belief that South Africa's problems would not be solved until different races learnt to accept, understand and appreciate each other as members of one nation

These were dreams "of a world that has never been attained" but it was often by dreaming for the unattainable that people achieved anything at all, he said

Dr Paton, who said he would have been prepared to pay the penalty of death for his vision of universal suffrage in a unitary society, told pupils that their vision of an undivided country would lead some of them to devote their whole lives to building a better and more just society.

"One reaches the point when if the Government says to you, 'You must stop being the kind of person you are or you are going to die' you must say ... 'I would rather die than become the kind of person you want me to be'."

# Hoare's men are still on Seychelles prison island



DOLINCHEK



ENGLAND



PUREN

By NORMAN CHANDLER  
THE Seychelles mercenaries are still prisoners of the government they tried to overthrow 19 months ago. Authorities there are not aware of a pardon said to have been granted by President Rene.

News of the pardon was published in Britain and broadcast in South Africa yesterday, but last night a spokesman for the Seychelles Department of Information told the Rand Daily Mail: "If there has been a presidential pardon, we certainly haven't been told. The mercenaries are still here ..."

He added: "Under a general amnesty last month, all women prisoners and 31 male prisoners were released. A number of other men are having their sentences reviewed, but the mercenaries are not among those being considered for a pardon."

"President Rene said then that he wanted to give everybody a second chance ... but he did not specify the mercenaries as being among these people." He said a statement might be issued later today.

The spokesman was reacting to a story in a London Sunday newspaper that Britons among the six mercenaries had been pardoned under the general amnesty.

The mercenaries are Bernard Carey and Roger England (both British), and Martin Dolinchek, Jerry Puren, Aubrey Brooks and Robert Sims, all from South Africa.

They were sentenced to death after a show trial in the Seychelles capital, Mahe, following an attempted coup mounted in November 1981

by Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare. Hoare and the remainder of his band seized an Air India Boeing and had it flown to Durban, where they were arrested by the South African Police.

Thirty-four were released from South African prisons last November. Another six had their appeals against their sentences refused. Hoare himself was sentenced to 20 years although he will serve only ten.

A source in the Seychelles Department of Defence — which looks after the welfare of the mercenaries on the Platte prison island — was incredulous when told about the London report that they had been pardoned.

"They are certainly here. I am 100% sure of that. I would have known otherwise," he said.

The Seychelles spokesman confirmed that journalists from London's Mail on Sunday newspaper had been to the islands on Tuesday.

"If there has been a presidential pardon it is not official," he said.

"But we certainly do not know the source of their report that the mercenaries had been pardoned. This is the first we have heard of it."

The Mail on Sunday quoted a Seychelles Government spokesman as saying: "The mercenaries are being treated in the same way as local criminals. We are confident this country is stable and there is no further reason for keeping them."

They were guarded by one man and allowed to swim, fish and grow fruit and vegetables, the report said.



Jennifer Gill, 19, (left) and Nancy Riach, 17, all from Johannesburg. Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

## British open to Watson

SOUTHPORT. — Defending champion Tom Watson snatched a dramatic one stroke-victory with a birdie on the 16th hole yesterday to win the R510 000 British Open Golf Championship for the fifth time in nine years.

Watson retained his crown

ports and miners ca, and enera Bassa scheme is Africa. what is

SOUTHPORT

BRITISH OPEN GOLF CHAMPIONSHIP

ARGUS 19/7/83 ①

# Urgent need for food aid — experts

## ● Five countries in Southern Africa are listed in shock report

### Argus Foreign Service

ROME. — Five Southern African nations are cited in a shock report drawn up by a "task force" of famine fighters as being urgently in need of external food aid.

It warns, for instance, that Swaziland's rural population is now in a state of "economic distress".

The special task force on the problems of food-short Africa has just submitted its first situation report to the Rome-based Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), a United Nations agency.

It urges that 600 000 tons of emergency food aid be sent to 14 of the 18 worst-hit African countries.

In its 18-page report, the task force estimates that about R60-million is needed to help protect livestock against diseases, to rehabilitate crop

production and for pre-emptive measures against future crises.

The Southern African countries named in the FAO report are Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Mozambique.

They "require external food assistance for relief programmes and to cover overall supply deficits resulting from the second consecutive year of drought".

Some of the reasons for countries' problems are extraordinary. In Ethiopia's case, for instance, the experts blame "military operations in various regions" which "disrupted agricultural and food supply activities as well as ongoing settlement and agrarian reform operations".

Drought in Botswana has not hit only crops: There is now a lack of pasture and water for livestock, too — and "no improvement is expected until the next rainy season around November".

The report says R22,25-million should be spent to help farmers in 13 countries in the quest for recovery of food production.

Yet another R14,5-million should be earmarked for supplementary animal feed and crash vaccination campaigns, particularly against rinderpest.

It also calls for a further R23,4-million for preparedness and/or post-emergency measures in 10 African countries.

### Exceptional

The report, drawn up by the experts from the FAO and the World Food Programme (WFP), specifically highlights the plight of those 18 nations whose "exceptional needs are over and above the normal assistance provided from national and international sources".

They are: Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Senegal, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe's case, the "crop failures are most severe in normally food self-sufficient areas", the report adds.

In Zambia, the experts found that maize production was below average and there was a threat of rinderpest in border areas.



Mr M Rifkind



President Moi

### EXILES

## Curb dissidents in Britain, Moi urges Ministers

### Argus Africa News Service

NAIROBI. — President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya has urged Britain to curb the activities of African dissidents in London.

He made the appeal in discussions with Mr Timothy Raison, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development, and Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the Minister of State in charge of African affairs.

According to the official Kenya News Agency, President Moi did not refer specifically to the small number of Kenyans in exile in Britain after an unsuccessful coup attempt last year.

But the Kenya Government is known to be unhappy about their activities.

According to the agency, President Moi said democracy in Africa was younger than in Britain and added: "You should restrain these dissidents from Africa who choose to attack their home governments from your soil."

### DETENTIONS

## Two released by court rearrested

### Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Zimbabwean police have rearrested two men who were released by a court while being held in connection with the murder in Harare of Malawi's opposition leader, Dr Attati Mpakati.

The redetention of a local radio announcer, Mr Brighton Matewere, and an assistant hotel manager, Mr Greenson Muhango, was ordered by the Home Affairs Minister, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze.



Dr Ushewokunze

The Minister said the escape of a third suspect, a Mr Kanyama, was a "revindication" of the ministerial certificate barring the release of the three men.

A magistrate in Harare had refused to order that the three be held in custody.

He said the State had not produced sufficient evidence to justify their continued detention.

# Dolinchek tells of 'punishment' on island paradise

The Star's Foreign News Service

VICTORIA — When the six South African-based mercenaries are released from the Seychelles, they will go home with mixed feelings.

Death Row — for four of the six — has been a tropical island paradise where they were free to swim, fish, and loaf around in the sun, subject only to a 6 pm to 6 am curfew.

No wonder self-confessed South African intelligence agent Martin Dolinchek says laughingly: "We have enjoyed ourselves on a desert island for free, where many others would like to be but cannot afford it."

Initially they were in solitary confinement. But following a mutiny by 30 Seychelles soldiers in August last year, their situation changed "drastically".

At first they were placed in a communal cell, given "preferential food" and given the run of the army stockade. Two months later they were sent to the island of Platte, about 140 km from Mahe Island, where they enjoyed "complete free-

dom", subject only to a 6 pm to 6 am curfew.

"The food we had was better than the food given to the soldiers who were guarding us. We had the officers' food, or what was left over from the food prepared for them.

"We were not asked to do any physical work, we were swimming all day. Some of us — not myself because I did not like the reef — collected shells.

"We enjoyed ourselves on a desert island for free where many others would like to be but cannot afford it. It was, of course, not all enjoyment. We were living under stress.

A fenced garden was established for them by the army, but this served mainly to act as a sheltered spot where they could sit and "talk shop".

The garden was the "total sum of our physical work which was completely voluntary and did not amount to more than about 10 minutes a day, if that".

Dolinchek said his wife brought him a radio on her second visit and, when he ran out of batteries, the soldiers installed an extension cord from the lights so he could continue using it.

The soldiers did many things for the prisoners for which they might have been punished — had their officers found out.

"They built little boats for us for no payment. They helped us at every corner. Therefore I would say that people here are spontaneous and jolly .... They are just decent human beings."

His wife came to visit him twice and she was embarrassingly well-received.

Contemplating his possible release, Dolincheck said the prisoners were in a happy frame of mind: "We are happy for the happy conclusion of our punishment — if I may call it punishment," he said.

12/04

(1) 20/7/83

# I'll face music in SA on my release Dolinchek

By WIM VANVOLSEM  
Pretoria Bureau

MARTIN DOLINCHEK, self-confessed South African spy and former member of the National Intelligence Service, now serving a 20-year sentence on the Seychelles, has told Radio Seychelles that when he was released he would return to South Africa "to face the music".

In an interview on the prison island of Platte with a senior Seychelles radio journalist, Dolinchek said that if and when he was reprieved by President Albert Rene, he would like to return to South Africa.

"I want to go back. I realise that this would mean that I would face possible prosecution there.

"All I can say is I have not said anything here that any Opposition politician in South

Africa has not said." Dolinchek told the radioman

"Therefore I think I will not receive too harsh a punishment."

The former spy, arrested by Seychelles security forces for his involvement in the ill-fated coup attempt by a group of mercenaries under Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare in November 1981, told Radio Seychelles he was having "a nice time" on the island and did not have any complaints.

On his chances of a possible release, he said: "I leave all that in the hands of President Rene."

He said that many times he had the feeling that he would be released.

"But then at other times I am convinced that Seychelles will keep me for a longer period than I anticipated," he said.

Shortly after his arrest on the Seychelles, Dolinchek told a Press conference he was working for South Africa's National Intelligence Service.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, confirmed to Parliament later that Dolinchek had been in the employ of the NIS but that six weeks after the attempted coup he had failed to report for duty on December 17 after his annual leave and had been suspended for being AWOL in terms of Section 9 of Act 104 of 1978 which established the NIS

● An official spokesman for the Seychelles Government told the Mail last night that there was no statement or any indication whatsoever on a possible release of the six mercenaries still being held there for their part in the attempted coup.

U 707

CP

22/7/83

nds to supply warships and nu-

ritory as a transit point - Reuter.

itary rule.

# DION

## Big Savings on Toys

Compendium of Games

- Bilingual rules • 12 games, including Bingo, Snakes & Ladders, Riddley Winks, etc
- Fun for the whole family

**1.99** Dion's Low Price

Premtrikes

- Strong tubular steel frame
- Solid rubber tyres
- Plastic saddle, high handlebars

**9.88** Dion's Low Price

Pedigree Penny Puddles Dolls

- Feed her her bottle - she'll wet & cry
- Change her nappy - she stops crying
- Large 45 cm tall, open & shuts her eyes
- Includes patterns for extra nappies

**19.88** Dion's Low Price

Master Mind

- A game of cunning & logic
- Two can play
- Break the hidden code
- Multiplex game

**3.88** Dion's Low Price

Bag of 101 Marbles

- 100 glass marbles and 1 goon
- Includes carry bag

**1.29** Dion's Low Price

Nikkikraft Facemakers

- 5 pots of safe paint colours & cosmetic brush
- For children to paint their faces
- Easy to wash off

**3.39** Dion's Low Price

Lego Storage Bags

- Approximately 1 metre in diameter
- Storage bag, and play mat
- Helps to keep toys together

**18.99** Dion's Low Price

Snuggle Baby Angel Dolls

- It moves • It drinks
- It wags • The gift that is a pleasure to give

**32.88** Dion's Low Price

Colecto Pac-Man

- The authentic version of Pac-Man
- Play, sounds and scores like the arcade game
- 2 skill levels
- arcade joystick controls
- High visibility full colour quality packaging

**69.88** Dion's Low Price

Save Where South Africa Saves!

**DION** LOWEST PRICES

Prices Exclude GST

P2W 4730

DION8214

# Families overjoyed at release of men

From Page 1

And wives of some of the other men were overwhelmed at the news.

Mrs Carey, of Maritzburg, broke down with relief

"Oh, I'm so happy, I always cry when I'm happy," she said between sobs. "Is it really true? It's been such a long time."

Mrs Carey was the first to appeal to President Rene for clemency after the death sentence was passed on her son last July.

Mrs Diane Brookes, of Amanzimtoti, has been doing three jobs to support their two children while her husband has been in prison.

"I'm very, very relieved. It has been an awfully long time. Thank God he's coming home," she said.

She was sure their son, Roy (6), who hasn't seen his father for more than 18 months, would be overjoyed that he was returning

Mrs Ina Dolinchek was thrilled when told that her husband was coming home.

"That's beautiful," said the ecstatic high school teacher from her Nylstroom home

She said their youngest child, Ann (2), did not know her father, because she had not seen him since she was two months old.

The couple also have a nine-year-old son, Martin.

"Martin is definitely coming back to South Africa. We've got a lot of talking to do. I don't think he'll have any problems when he gets back," she said.

Mrs Julia Puren was "overwhelmed with joy".

She was almost overcome with emotion as she added: "The children are very, very happy too."

The couple have three children, aged 16, 19 and 20.

Mrs Puren said she had heard the news from Mrs Brookes and had not yet received official notification.

See Page 3, World section.

# Chad recruiting white mercenaries, says BBC

The Star Bureau

LONDON - The Chad Government has recruited white mercenaries to help in its war against rebel forces led by former President Goukouni Oueddei, the BBC reported here yesterday.

Despatches from the Chad capital of N'Djamena say that about 20 whites of various unspecified nationalities have now been deployed at Abeche, recaptured by government troops about a week ago.

A presidential aide is quoted as saying that the mercenaries would not do any fighting. They would repair military equipment until Chadians were trained by France.

About 12 French intelligence officers are also in Chad to give basic instruction in the use of equipment such as armoured cars and field equipment, the BBC reported.

# ▲ Missie han scare

Bernie Frax



Stu Wilson



Mark Show



Gary Whetton



M.L. 182

258

e  
t  
S

DOCS SU

# I freed the men out of mercy — Rene

① RDM  
23/7/87

By WIM VANVOLSEM  
Mail Man on the Spot

VICTORIA. — Seychelles President Albert Rene told the Mail at his home last night how he had invited the six mercenaries last Friday to his office in State House where he told them personally that they could all go home to their wives and children as they had been pardoned.

The six reacted with unbelief, joy and thankfulness before they were returned to the Victoria Central Police Station cells.

President Rene spoke about this just after the six men had been presented to the Press.

Martin Dolinck (South African), Bernard Carey (British), Robert Sims (South African), Jeremiah Puren (South African), Aubrey Brooks (Zimbabwe) and Roger England (British) will arrive at Jan Smuts Airport on board a British Airways flight from Hong Kong this morning as free men after they were officially deported from the Seychelles in the early hours of yesterday morning.

Last night an official Seychelles Government statement said the men had been pardoned under article 100 of the Seychelles Constitution, which confers on the head of state prerogatives of mercy on humanitarian grounds.

In a clear reference to South Africa, the

communique said that this action "was in sharp contrast to the practice in some countries where more often than not, national and international calls for clemency are simply ignored".

President Rene confirmed to the Mail last night that he had taken the action to pardon and release the men himself purely on humanitarian grounds.

"Right from the start it was certain in my mind that Carey, Brooks, Puren and England, who had been condemned to death, would not be brought before a firing squad.

"It is well known that I personally am against the death sentence," he said.

President Rene told the Mail that he had decided to meet the six about eight months ago, after he had received a letter from them asking for clemency.

"I thought it would be a fair thing to do to first speak personally to them before making a decision," the President said.

"So, I invited them to State House and had a chat with them about their motives for doing what they had done.

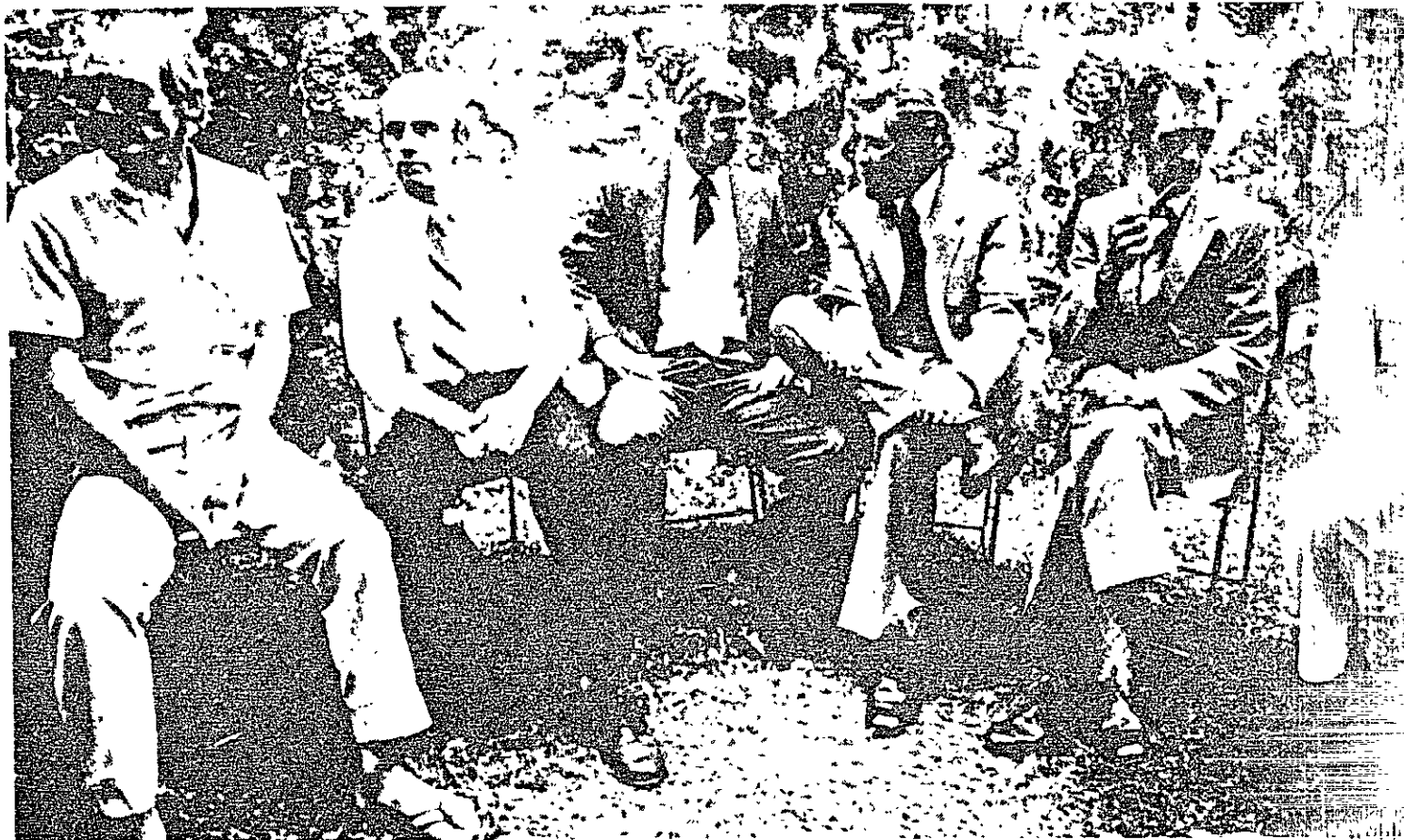
"I realised fairly quickly that these men realised that they had been misled about what Seychelles was all about," the President said.

● Pictures

See Page 4



# Flying home



STILL IN JAIL . . . the six Seychelles mercenaries shortly before their release and return to freedom after two years in trouble

## They plan a new life — and have

AS a glorious tropical sun rose over the Indian Ocean yesterday, I boarded a British Airways jumbo jet at Mahé Airport with six of the luckiest men in the world.

The pardoned Seychelles mercenaries boarded their British Airways "freedom flight" via the first-class door and filed through to the economy class.

As soon as the plane was in the air, the men took off their jackets and ordered the long-awaited cold beer

**By WIM VANVOLSEM, who flew home with the mercenaries**

Soon the six soldiers of fortune relaxed and spoke to the Sunday Times during their flight about their worries, plans and hopes for the future.

All agreed about one thing, that they were extremely lucky that President Albert Rene of the Seychelles was one of the greatest guys around.

Without exception they all stressed the admiration they shared for the island President as well as the fact that they now knew Sey-

chelles was not what was believed almost two years ago.

The first pre-occupation of pipe-smoking Bobby Sims, finance man of the coup attempt in November, 1981, is to do anything possible to have his brother-in-law, mercenary leader Mike Hoare, freed as well.

He told me that he had to try to get his car-sale business started again and that he would return to horse-racing.

"I have always been a gambling

man and will become one again," he said. He had missed the Durban July twice while in captivity.

"I had to sell 14 of my business undertakings to recover my legal costs."

He said he was in financial difficulties and would have to concentrate very hard on getting started again.

Former NIS man Martin Dollinckek told me that he did not have any immediate plans.

## Roger got his sweetheart — AND brown ale

A WHITE-FACED young woman stood alone while excitement mounted seconds before the Seychelles captives were due to file out of Jan Smuts Airport customs hall.

Mias Allison Steel, Briton Roger England's childhood sweetheart, had been told that the man she had not seen for nearly two years would not be allowed back on to South African soil but would be put straight on the next flight to the UK.

"Please let me at least see him,"

**By CAS St LEGER**

the diminutive, frail blonde pleaded with airport officials. But permission for the lovers to meet in the transit lounge was denied.

The best that could be promised was an arrangement by the Sunday Times for the couple to speak to each other by telephone.

"Well, that's better than nothing," said Allison, 24, tears brimming out

of her blue eyes, her child-like face numb with disbelief.

Allison and Roger both grew up in Tadworth, a tiny village in Surrey, England. They went to school together.

They have been very close — but not engaged — for the past five years.

A couple of years ago, Roger left Britain to settle in Johannesburg. Allison was to join him in South Africa soon after.

Twenty months ago, at the time of the Seychelles coup, Allison was on an aircraft, bound for South Africa — and her Roger.

There was no-one to meet her.

"Literally, as I was winging my way to South Africa, Roger was involved in the Seychelles thing," said soft-spoken Allison.

The determined young Englishwoman created a new life for herself in South Africa.

She got a job with a bank, a flat

# with the six



ers in tropical captivity



ON THE WAY . . . Barney Carey, Aubrey Brooks and Bobby Sims toast their freedom with ice-cold beer

## ive praise for a 'great humanitarian'

"I will see what happens. I am not a great planner. I will have to do all I can to support my family. I am capable of doing it. I have proven it in the past. I am quite confident," he said.

Dollinckek said he would like to continue in his old field, "but then preferably in the private sector".

He also said he would never join a venture like the Seychelles coup attempt again.

"It was like a copybook on how not to do something like this. It was a farce from A to Z," he said.

He claimed he was a great believer

in Prime Minister P W Botha's evolutionary change in South Africa.

"I learnt during my stay in the Seychelles that there are divergent political systems and opinions in the world which are not always to be copied everywhere."

Dollinckek said he joined the mercenary expedition purely for ideological reasons.

"Since the debacle I have realised that the system in Seychelles as it is under President Rene is the best at the moment," he said.

Former Katanga mercenary, 58-year-old Jerry Puren, spoke about

the several meetings he had had with President Rene while in detention.

"When he invited us to his office it was as informal as one could wish when received by a head of State.

"He explained our situation to us and then made a suggestion that convinced me that this man is a great humanitarian; he invited us to make use of his own telephone on his desk to call our wives and family and to put them at ease."

"Your families shouldn't suffer. Don't worry, one day I'll send you home," the President told the men.

"It was then that I was convinced that he was a genuine man with genuine aspirations for his people.

"I have grown to learn the Seychellois as people full of sympathy and understanding, not at all vindictive," said Puren.

"I just wanted to fight for financial gain. I did not care who it was for or against."

Roger England will spend a few days with friends in South Africa before deciding where to move.

British-born Barney Carey was the only one of the six who said that he would continue as a mercenary and would be looking out again for new assignments.

"I haven't heard very much from my wife Sandra. During all those 20 months in jail on the Seychelles I received only eight letters from her."

"The last I heard from her was through a letter dated January 1. I'm afraid something is wrong. I really don't know what I am going to," he told me.

● Tucked away in Mrs Ina Dollinckek's handbag was an airline ticket — to the Seychelles.

"I won't believe my husband is coming back until I see him," she said.

"And if he doesn't come today, I'm flying to the Seychelles tonight."

## le — in transit drama at Jan Smuts

time of was on Africa

her. gng my was in ng," said

English-for her- k, a flat

west of the city and made friends. Alison only learnt of Roger's role in the coup attempt through newspaper reports.

While other wives were flown out to the Seychelles to see their loved ones before the court case, Alison — as a mere girlfriend — was ignored.

Again, unlike the wives, Alison received no notification that her lover was coming back to her.

She learnt of Roger's pending release from newspaper reports.

Then she was told that she and Roger were not to meet.

With downcast eyes, she waited with a happy crowd outside the customs hall.

Then, when all hope had gone, a fatherly airport policeman put his arm around her shoulders and ushered her into Roger's arms.

"Oh, fantastic!" wept Alison, her pale face contrasting with Roger's sunburn.

Roger had been granted special permission to stay in South Africa for 14 days.

Arm tightly around Alison, and grinning widely at the news that friends had bought him a supply of Newcastle Brown Ale to warm his homecoming, he said: "I've got no money. I've got no plans. But I've plenty of friends."

"The first two weeks were hell; the last nine months were a holiday," he said.

# luckiest men i



HOME AGAIN ... Jeremy Puren and his wife Julia



HOME AGAIN ... Roger England with his girlfriend Allison Steel

## Mercenary planning second 'honeymoon'

### From Page 1

want to go there as a real friend."

Like the other reprieved mercenaries, Brooks was full of praise for the Seychelles President: "I'm writing to him this week for his autographed portrait so that I can always keep it in my home as a constant reminder of the quality of forgiveness."

"He spared our lives as a humanitarian, not a politician. He is truly a great man."

Arms around her husband, Di spoke of the long months of loneliness and emptiness.

"I've had very little social life in the last 20 months and have often felt the pangs of envy every time my friends at work went out to have their hair done because their

**Pictures:**  
HERMANN PAINCZYK,  
JUHAN KUUS and  
RAYMOND PRESTON

husbands were taking them out.

"It has been lonely, but I sunk my teeth into my work and tried to keep my chin up."

When her husband was imprisoned after the aborted coup, Di had to go to work to keep her family together, and worked at two jobs — as an estate agent and a secretary.

Di recalled the horror of hearing her husband being sentenced to death during the trial last July.

"I just sat there and I knew that I couldn't cry. I was the only wife there and to all those men I represented their

wives, families and home.

"I couldn't let them down — so I held back the tears while my heart stood still."

Although Brooks is thankful for the mercy shown to him, and pledges to be the first man to volunteer as a soldier to defend the Seychelles President whom he had once planned to overthrow, he is still unrepentant about his activities as a mercenary.

"I'm an adventurer and it's unfair to ask me whether I would ever become involved in this type of work again."

Zimbabwean-born Brooks, 39, a former Rhodesian Selous Scout and member of the mounted Grey Scouts Unit, defends the role of mercenaries.

"I have no regrets for the

job of work I went to do ... only the heartache I caused my family and friends in the process."

Brooks says that he is and always has been a committed Christian who is totally anti-communist. The only thing that has changed is that he now no longer believes in capital punishment.

"I need not tell you how I feel about terrorism, but being a man facing the gallows you start looking at the death sentence in an entirely different light."

"I would like to see the death sentence abolished because I believe anyone should be given the chance to make amends for what he has done."

He said he had joined the coup mission because he was

an idealist and was in financial trouble at the time. He had been promised R20 000 for only two weeks work.

"This is the happiest day of my life, but it would be even better if all the others were out of prison. They don't deserve to be inside now with common criminals."

Brooks admits that he is not revealing everything he knows about the plans that went into the bungled coup because he wants to withhold some information for a book he intends writing.

Brooks says the first nine months of his imprisonment — in solitary confinement — was awful, but things changed markedly after another coup attempt in which he and his fellow-prisoners had refused to take part.

327

# in the world



**HOME AGAIN . . .** tears and smiles as Martin Dolinchek is reunited with his wife Julia and their children Martin and Anne. The attempted coup was a farce, he says. He'd never join such a venture again

feel  
,  
finan-  
He  
20 000  
ink  
day of  
even  
were  
't de-  
with  
he is  
he  
that  
coup  
book  
i nine  
ment  
ent —  
ings  
an-  
which  
mors  
-t



# Dogs of war unchained and jubilant

Postal delay is far more interesting to islanders

By Henry Reuter, The Star's Foreign News Service

VICTORIA — The departure on Saturday morning for Johannesburg of the six mercenaries held since taking part in the November 1981 abortive coup attempt caused hardly a ripple in this tranquil island paradise. It was reported in the government newspaper, but the main headline went to a news story about the arrival of a shipment of sea mail for the 92 islands which had taken two and a half years to make its 1 700 km journey from Mombasa, Kenya.

"I am shocked. There still remains a lot to be done in setting up connections between African postal authorities," Mr Desire Rabendrasena, special adviser to the secretary general of the Panafrikan Postal Union, who happened to be in Mahe on business, was reported as saying.

Nobody seemed to be talking much about the mercenaries. "They were an embarrassment to the government. They had to be let off. We Seychellois are not a violent people. Hanging or shooting them is just not in our nature", said one official.

This sentiment, echoed by people at all levels of what must be the world's most class-conscious socialist society, contrasted strangely with events in the aftermath of the coup bid, when screaming party mobs paraded with banners demanding: "Kill them!"

Hoteliers here are hoping that President Albert Rene's act of clemency will re-establish the Seychelles in South African eyes as a friendly, peaceable place for family holidays.

For, while the government radio and television services continually slam apartheid — even the disc jockeys have a go at it between pop records — prosperous South Africans with money to spend are more welcome here than ever.

With hotel bed occupancy running at less than 40 percent following the cancellations of British Airways and Lufthansa flights to the islands, every visitor is looked upon as a strand in their financial lifeline. Statements by some of the deported mercenaries that they would like to return for holidays have been received with mild enthusiasm.

By Brendan Nicholson, The Star's Foreign News Service

Freshly pardoned mercenary Mr Bernard Carey flew out from under the shadow of a Seychelles gallow on Saturday, tore the tab off a can of beer and immediately set about finding another war.

"Who is recruiting at the moment?" he asked, as the British Airways jumbo jet climbed away from the islands where he had been a Death Row prisoner for his part in Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's abortive coup attempt in November 1981.

"Do you know if there is anything going in Chad?"

Mr Carey admitted taking part in six mercenary contracts over the years.

In a fittingly bizarre end to an astonishing episode, the mercenaries flew to a heroes' welcome at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, on Saturday.

They travelled on temporary Seychelles passports after being pardoned by President Albert Rene.

The travel documents were provided by the Victoria authorities after the men's papers were lost.

"Actually," quipped Mr

Carey, "we think they just wanted them for their coup museum."

There was a carnival atmosphere aboard the aircraft as it carried home six of the luckiest men in the world.

Treated like folk heroes as word spread among the passengers that they were aboard, the mercenaries strolled around knocking back beers as fast as the cabin crew could cool them off.

Among them was a former South African National Intelligence Service agent Mr Martin Dolinchek, anxiously waiting to meet his wife Ina and the two-



Roger England with his temporary Seychelles passport. He and the other mercenaries flew home on passports issued by the island government.



Agent Martin Dolinchek welcomed by wife, Ina.

## Dolinchek remains a loner

By Brendan Nicholson

Even in the jubilation of the flight to freedom, former National Intelligence Service agent Mr Martin Dolinchek was a man apart from his fellow mercenaries.

He flew home first class, courtesy of a Johannesburg newspaper which paid the balance of his fare. The others drank together further back. The only "professional" mer-

enary among the six, Mr Bernard Carey, was scathing about the former NIS man. He said Mr Dolinchek had told his Seychelles interrogators that he was a man apart from his fellow mercenaries.

year-old daughter Ann (whom he last saw as a three-month-old baby).

Two of the other mercenaries, Mr Aubrey Brooks, former Selous Scout, and Mr Roger England, a one-time British paratrooper and member of the Rhodesian SAS, showed a surprising interest in getting into action again.

Both said, however, that they might join a regular army unit and would not become involved in another less predictable mercenary operation.

There were highly emotional scenes at Jan Smuts as the men were met by members of their

## Puren plans to get back into politics

By Brendan Nicholson, The Star's Foreign News Service

Mr Jerry Puren, former National Provincial Council election candidate turned mercenary, wants to get back into politics.

Reprieved from the gallows by Seychelles President Albert Rene, Mr Puren (52) said on his flight home he would speak to the New Republic Party leader, Mr Vause Raw, to see if "I am still in his good books. Now at least my detractors must know I am not a Communist."

Mr Puren said he would have to examine political changes in South Africa before deciding which party to support.

Now that the right wing of the National Party had gone, what was left resembled the old United Party. "What Jan ne Smuts stood for."

"Jannie's vision for South Africa has not died," he said. "It can still come to fruition."

Mr Puren said he and the other five mercenaries believed their enforced stay in Seychelles had certainly not been wasted.

"We all gained very much spiritually and learned a lot about our fellow man."

He said Seychelles had changed dramatically for the better since President Rene took over in a Tanzanian-supported coup several years ago.

He said the President had told the mercenaries he took power by force because the use of force was necessary to "turn it into a real casino."

families.

Several had flown up from Durban to welcome them.

The men described how they were taken to meet President Rene at State House nearly a year ago, shortly before they were to be tried for treason.

Mr Brooks described how Mr Rene walked into a room and said affably: "So you're the ones who have come to kill me."

"We froze," Mr Brooks said. "Then Rene told us to relax and said, 'You are not going to die.'"

Mr Rene said that even if they were sentenced to death,

their lives would be spared.

Mr Carey, whom the United Nations and other investigators considered simply a fairly harmless adventurer, revealed that he was in fact third in command of the mercenary forces.

He said he had managed to keep this fact from his interrogators after his capture, despite beatings that landed him in hospital with broken ribs and severe bruising.

Mr Brooks's family had also been frantic that word would reach the Seychelles of his Selous Scout background.

Mr Carey missed the escape

of the main mercenary force because he went to look for Mr Brooks who had been wounded.

Most of the men also praised Colonel Hoare who, they said, had avoided a bloodbath by successfully extracting the bulk of his force on a hijacked Air India jet.

They were not resentful about being left behind and said that had the whole force stayed, most of its members might have been killed eventually.

Mr Dolinchek, however, said he believed Hoare was extremely lucky that the Air India jet arrived.



A tearful Jerry Puren embraces his wife, Julia.



Reunited... an ecstatic Aubrey Brooks back in the family fold. He and wife, Di, repeated their wedding vows in front of son, Roy (6).

## 'Only Rene fit for presidency'

By Joao Santa Rita

The six mercenaries released by the Seychelles Government had only words of praise for President Albert Rene when they arrived in Johannesburg on Saturday.

"He is a super chap," said Mr Roger England, one of the men pardoned by President Rene, the man of the mercenaries intended to overthrow in their aborted invasion of November 1981.

Mr Jeremy Puren said President Rene had talked to them several times during their captivity. "He was more concerned about the situation of

our families here than about the implications of our actions in his country," said Mr Puren.

"Once he allowed me to phone my wife from his office."

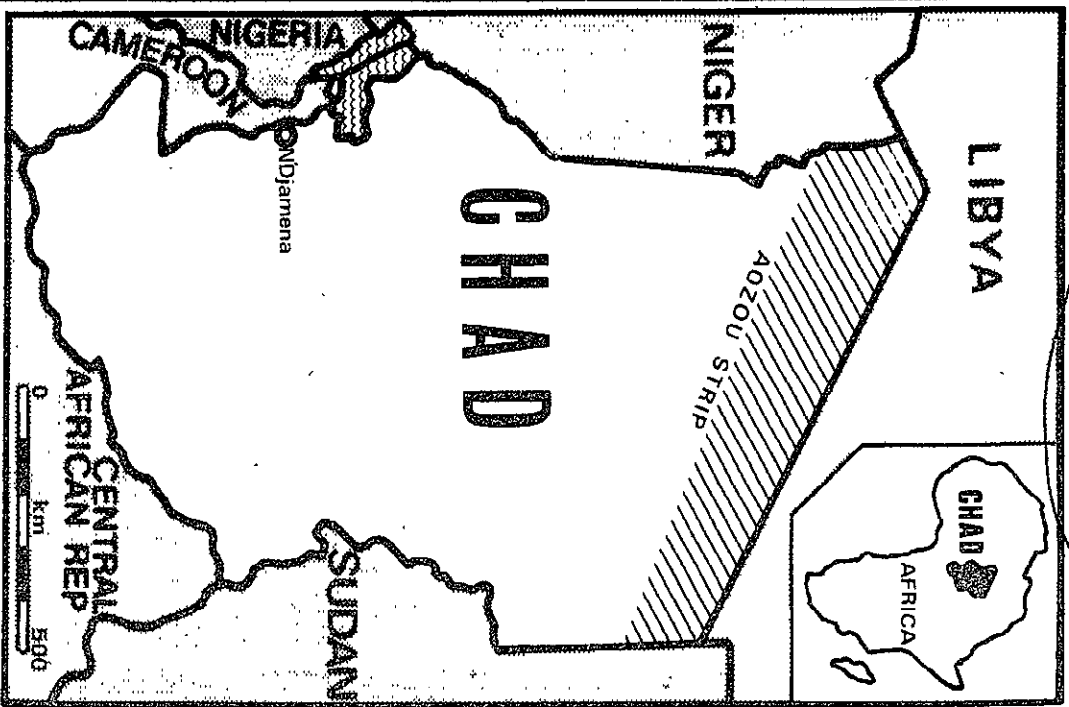
Mr Puren said there was only one man fit for the presidency of the Seychelles. "There can only be one president and that is Albert Rene," he added.

Mr Puren, an ex-Congo fighter, said his Seychelles adventure was the last one.

Mr England said he had never believed the death sentences would be carried out to the death penalty.



Englishman Bernard Carey, already a veteran of six mercenary contracts, opens a can and asks: "Who's recruiting?"



Graphic: Liz Warder  
Source: Star Foreign Service

# CHAD

## HOW WAR CAME TO ONE OF THE WORLD'S POOREST STATES

He who holds Chad holds Africa," the French used to say because of Chad's pivotal position between their West African and Equatorial African empires.

The saying is less true today, but if the Libyan-backed forces in the current civil war triumph (as they did in 1980/81), it would expose the heart of Africa to Libyan penetration.

For this reason France, the US and numerous African states are worried by the recent victories of the pro-Libyan forces marching on the capital N'Djamena (formerly Fort Lamy).

The essence of Chad politics is the intense rivalry among its many factions.

The civil war has raged for 18 years, with alliances changing frequently and Libya (since 1971) backing whichever side will advance its interests.

The primary split is between the North (Muslim), completely undeveloped but with most of the arms and guerrillas) and the South (Christian,

more developed and with slightly more people).

From 1965 to 1979 the war was broadly a rebellion by the Muslim northerners against Presidents Francois Tombalbaye (1960-75) and Felix Maloum (1975-79) of the Christian South.

In 1979 it was agreed that northerner Goukouni Oueddei should become president, with a southerner as vice-president, and northerner Hissein Habre, who led the strongest guerrilla army, as defence minister.

The government quickly fell and in early 1980 the two northerners, Oueddei and Habre, declared war on each other. France withdrew its

garrison and President Oueddei made a pact with Libya's Colonel Gaddafi.

With 8 000 Libyan troops and many tanks, Oueddei pushed Habre to Chad's Sudanese border by late 1980.

However, Oueddei promised his victory by agreeing in January 1981 to merge Chad with Libya. The move was strongly opposed by France and many African states and made Oueddei unpopular among his own people.

Under heavy French and Organisation of African Unity pressure, Oueddei sent the Libyans home in late 1981 and received 5 000 OAU "peace-

keeping" troops.

As soon as the Libyans had left, Habre advanced and with Egyptian-Sudanese backing conquered N'Djamena in June 1982 (the OAU forces kept neutral).

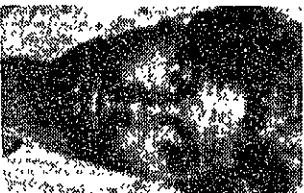
The current fighting began early this year when Oueddei's forces, with Libyan support, advanced from the north. Libya annexed the mineral-rich Aozou strip in 1973 and continues to hold it).

The war has helped to keep Chad one of the world's poorest states.

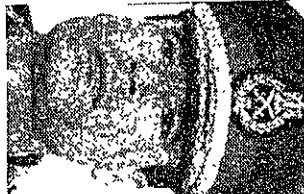
It has no railways and few tarred roads, and about half the Gross Domestic Product comes from subsistence agriculture (cotton and livestock).

Yet there are promising reports of large oil deposits as well as uranium, gold and other minerals.

To end the fighting, writes Bernard Lanne, a French specialist on Chad, will require wide-ranging concessions from both north and south and a complete change of attitudes.



Habre



Gaddafi



Oueddei

# Portrait of a pardoning president

Carl Tink  
27/7/83  
①

FRANCE ALBERT RENÉ was almost inconspicuous among the guests. White slacks, a modern design, open necked, coloured shirt, medium built, rather on the short side with a face and eyes betraying some north-western French ancestry.

There was an unpretentious pine tree in the airy lounge, a few garlands betrayed a festive air. In the background Madame Geva scurried around, making sure everybody had a bite to eat, bringing on cups of tea or cool drink herself.

The occasion was a Christmas party at State House, Victoria, which I attended with my wife as guests of the President of Seychelles together with a group of orphans from the islands a few years ago.

## Bloodless coup

President René had taken power only a couple of months before by deposing playboy head of state James Mancham in a bloodless coup. The Christmas party wasn't a whooping affair for a selected few as used to be the case before at State House.

It was a down-to-earth gathering, the presidential couple casually wandering about, chatting and joking with anyone around them, the president smoking his favourite little cigars, the paradise islands' first lady playing games with little children.

It was Albert René's own idea of "getting together with the people". It fitted in with what he had been preaching even before he took power. Unpretentious, quietly spoken, a believer in Christian ideals, at the same time a convinced socialist in his own way, leader of a tiny island nation of about 70 000 souls, Creoles from mixed origin, mostly ex-slaves with no great ambitions in life.

The French and the English fought a few farcical battles over the idyllic coral isles a century or two ago, more as inbetween "keep fit" exercises during their great colonial battles than anything else. The Dutch came around to take a sniff and disappeared as soon as they had arrived. Nobody was ever really interested in this subdued happy nation, until stiff upper lip colonial masters were gradually replaced by a new wave of more peaceful invaders: Continental Europe's Deutschmark-laden, sun hungry, young jet set.

## Independence

The Britons wanted to get rid of Seychelles; they turned down a request from its people for it to become a crown colony. Independence was declared in 1976, with a last gift from the former Empire rulers: a spanking new jet airport, which would allow the defeated enemy from World War II to come and soak up the sun and make tourism a word to be spelt with a capital T on the unspoiled islands.

James Mancham, a rich Chinese Creole, became chief minister under British rule and later the first president. His flamboyant lifestyle became a legend not only on the Seychelles but as far afield as the top nightspots in London, New York, Paris and Geneva.

As prime minister he appointed the opposition Seychelles United People's Party leader Albert René, who had some — to the president — embarrassingly weird ideas such as wanting to join the Organization of African Unity and opting for a socialist form of government to get all the people a share of the country's income.

A few months before he took power, President René wrote in the SPUP's mouthpiece, The People: "We must change what needs to be changed — and retain what is good. The play is on stage and every Seychellois must play his part. There can be no excuse for indecision, there can be no reason for inaction, and there can be no regret for failure. Each can blame himself if he misses the boat."

It is not known if President Mancham took any notice of the words of his prime minister, but when the president flew off to London for a Commonwealth conference, President René went into action and took over in a bloodless coup.

## Forgiveness

His own personal vision on forgiveness surprised observers not very much later; he declared that ex-president Mancham could return to Seychelles, that his personal fortune would not be touched, but that he had to stay out of politics.

Six years later, President René still shows the same compassion, if not even more. His simple and unpretentious way of life is still the same.

Without much ado he announced that the mercenaries who had tried to topple — and probably liquidate — him could go home, that they were forgiven and he wished them all the best, inviting them back for a holiday on his tropical isles if they so wished.

The six hardened "dogs of war" now speak highly of him as a "great humanitarian".

His lifestyle does not seem to have changed either. Nor his ideas and humility. Mancham's Rolls Royce is still under canvas.

Last week I was in Seychelles again. Although I realized that protocol required 48 hours to be able to reach the president, I remembered that simple Christmas party some



President René

years ago and rang up his private residence.

It was Mrs Geva René who answered the phone. She did remember me and after a little chat, inquiring how we were keeping and if everything was alright with us, she called her husband to the phone. He also was relaxed, as quietly spoken as ever.

## Mercenaries

When the jailed mercenaries were still fearing the worst, he invited them to his office and gestured to the phone on his desk: "Your wives and families must be put at ease. Feel free to call them and tell them they should have nothing to fear," he told them.

Mrs René told me: "I don't meddle in politics really. All I can say is that I feel so happy for these men's wives and children that they can be together again."

President René is on record as saying that he wants the Seychelles people to unite to strive for unity and to dedicate themselves to "the cause of justice and truth in the search for the true spirit of Christianity, peace, love and brotherhood."

His main objective is to install some pride and discipline into his people who never really had any incentive to work too hard in an enchanting climate with ever-blue seas, blinding white beaches and waving coconut palms.

The 48-year-old former barrister seems to be succeeding. There is a definite new spirit of discipline among the ever smiling islanders and the enthusiasm among the youth to "get somewhere and put right what is wrong, is remarkable."

Albert René has a daughter from his first wife, Karen Handley, whom he married in 1956. In 1975 he married Geva Adam, the present first lady, with whom he has a son.

Born in Seychelles, he was educated at St Maurice in Switzerland, St Mary's College in Southampton and finally read law at King's College, University of London. A fluent English and French speaker, he was called to the Bar in 1957.

When not involved in political business, the president relaxes in his garden or goes fishing in those ever rich waters of the Indian Ocean.



# Albert Rene, the man and the pragmatist

FRANCE Albert Rene was almost inconspicuous among the guests. White slacks, a coloured, modern design open-necked shirt, medium-built, rather on the short side with a face and eyes betraying some northwestern French ancestry.

There was an unpretentious pine tree in the airy lounge, a few garlands betrayed a festive air. In the background Madame Geva scurried around, making sure everybody had a bite to eat, bringing on cups of tea or cool drink herself.

The occasion was a Christmas party a few years ago at State House, Victoria, which I attended with my wife as guests of the President of Seychelles together with a group of orphans from the islands.

President Rene had taken power only a couple of months before by deposing playboy head of state James Mancham in a bloodless coup. The Christmas party wasn't a whooping affair for a selected few — as used to be the case before at State House.

It was a down-to-earth gathering, the presidential couple casually wandering about, chatting and joking with anyone around them, the President smoking his favourite little cigars, the paradise islands' first lady playing games with little children.

It was Albert Rene's own idea of "getting together with the people". It fitted in with what he had been preaching even since before he took power.

Unpretentious, quiet spoken, a believer in Christian ideals, at the same time a convinced socialist in his own way, leader of a tiny island nation of about 70 000 people, Creoles from mixed origin, mostly ex-slaves with no great ambitions in life.

Independence from Britain was declared in 1976, with a last gift from the former rulers: a spanking new jet airport, which would allow Continental Europe's Deutschmark-laden young jet-set to come and soak up the sun and make tourism on the unspoilt islands a word to be spelt with a capital "T".

But for the last 10 years tourism could just as well have been spelt with a capital "R" for rand ... as more and more well-to-do South Africans discovered the islands' charms.

This factor has remained and might perhaps also have had something to do with President Rene's "humanitarian gesture" last week.

James Mancham, a rich

Last week an unprecedented incident took place in Africa, and probably in the world: a head of state pardoned and released six very professional and experienced hired killers who were out to get rid of him, and invited them back for a holiday whenever they wished, despite the fact that four of them had been sentenced to death and two others to long-term jail sentences by his courts. So far the six luckiest men in the world have been more in the limelight than the man who pardoned them. Who is this man, Rene? WIM VANVOLSEM reports.



ALBERT RENE ... Justice and brotherhood.

Chinese Creole, became the first Chief Minister under British rule and later President when independence was granted. His flamboyant lifestyle became a legend not only on the Seychelles but as far afield as the top night-spots in London, New York, Paris and Geneva.

He appointed the opposition Seychelles United People's Party leader Albert Rene as his Prime Minister, who had some — to the President — embarrassingly weird ideas such as wanting to join the Organisation of African Unity and opting for a socialist form of Government.

A few months before he took power, President Rene wrote in the SPU's mouth-piece, The People: "We must change what needs to be changed — and retain what is good. The play is on stage and every Seychellois must play his part. There can be no excuse for indecision, there can

be no reason for inaction, and there can be no regret for failure. Each can blame himself if he misses the boat."

It is not known if President Mancham took any notice of the words of his Prime Minister, but when the President flew off to London for a Commonwealth conference, Rene took power.

His own personal vision on forgiveness surprised observers not very much later: former President Mancham could return to Seychelles, his personal fortune would not be touched, but he had to stay out of politics.

Six years later, Rene still shows the same compassion.

Without much ado he announced that the mercenaries who had tried to topple — and probably kill — him could go home, that they were forgiven and he wished them all of the best, inviting them back for a holiday on his tropical

isles if they so wished.

The six hardened "dogs of war" now speak highly of him as a "great humanitarian".

But being a pragmatist, rather than ideologist, President Rene must also have had a hard look at his country's main source of income, the tourist industry, before making his decision.

Tourism has remained the number one industry in the Seychelles, where apart from some light plastic and steel assembling industries, a brewery and fishing, there is nothing else to provide decent employment to a hitherto fairly unsophisticated workforce.

After he had taken power, international confidence in the tiny ocean republic plummeted for a while, with immediate repercussions for the tourist industry.

South Africans are wary about spending holidays in a Leftist country. South African Airways dropped Seychelles as a stop-over on its Hong Kong route.

When Mike Hoare's men bungled their coup attempt, suspicion became even worse ... and the islanders started feeling the squeeze.

Now, President Rene wants the South Africans back ... and desperately.

Last week during an interview he admitted as much and said that his government was actively looking into establishing a tourist office in Johannesburg.

Despite his six years in power, the President's lifestyle does not seem to have changed much. Mr Mancham's official Rolls-Royce is still under canvas, for example and President Rene refuses to use it as he considers it "too pompous".

Last week I was in Seychelles again. Although I realised that protocol required 48 hours to be able to reach the President, I remembered that simple Christmas party some years ago and rang up his private residence.

It was Mrs Geva Rene who answered the phone. She did remember me and after a little chat, enquiring how we were keeping and if everything was all right with us, she called her husband to the phone. He also was relaxed, as quiet spoken as ever.

When the jailed mercenaries were still fearing the worst, he invited them to his office and gestured to the phone on his desk: "Your wives and families must be put at ease. Feel free to call them and tell them they should have nothing to fear," he told them.

Mrs Rene told me: "I don't meddle in politics really. All I can say is that I feel so happy for these men's wives and children that they can be together again."

President Rene is on record as saying that he wants the Seychelles people to unite to strive for unity and to dedicate themselves to "the cause of justice and truth in the search for the true spirit of Christianity, peace, love and brotherhood".

As far as South Africa is concerned he remains vehemently anti-apartheid, but he concedes that it is not up to him to prescribe to other countries what to do about their internal problems. He stresses that South Africans — and their rands — are more than welcome on the Seychelles.

Internally his main objective is to install some pride and discipline into his people.

The 48-year-old former barrister seems to be succeeding. There is a definite new spirit of discipline among the ever smiling islanders and enthusiasm among the youth to get somewhere and put right what's wrong, is remarkable.

# SA-based newsmen barred by Zimbabwe

The Star Bureau

HARARE — The Zimbabwe Government has slapped a ban on all foreign correspondents based in South Africa intending to visit Zimbabwe.

The tough action has been taken in terms of the agreement reached by Frontline states' Information Ministers who met at the weekend to draw up an information offensive strategy.

Official sources here have made it clear that Zimbabwe intends to waste no time implementing the agreement which they stress was a regional decision aimed at countering Pretoria's efforts to influence media coverage of the black states in the region.

Action is also being taken to restrict the operations of South African news-gathering organisations in Zimbabwe.

Officials are working on the basis that the bureaux of the Argus Group and Saan now operating in Zimbabwe will be limited to one man each.

The information strategy is aimed at establishing a Frontline states voice which will disclose their views.

Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana and Tanzania had delegates at the meeting which was also attended by a Nigerian representative.

The ban on correspondents based in South Africa is also an attempt to force the international news organisations to station their representatives in the Frontline states.

It is argued that correspondents based in South Africa who periodically visit the Frontline states present a distorted picture because they tend to see the situation through South African "racially inspired eyes".

The decision to ban South Africa-based correspondents "in principle" has been interpreted here as a restriction in gener-

al which will allow exceptions in certain circumstances.

Associated Press reports that an association of journalists representing Western news media decided yesterday to send a delegation to Zimbabwe to protest against the ban.

The Foreign Correspondents Association of Southern Africa, based in Johannesburg and representing 53 news organisations from Japan, Taiwan and 10 Western countries, said its representatives would fly to Zimbabwe immediately.

The association said it deplored any restriction on the free flow of news, and that its delegation would seek meetings with officials of the Zimbabwean Government and diplomats from the other Frontline states.

## UK TV crew first victims

HARARE — A three-man British television team was ordered to leave Zimbabwe yesterday.

This comes after a decision by six black African nations to ban South African-based journalists from reporting in their countries.

The team, led by British Broadcasting Corporation television correspondent Phil Hayton, had arrived in Zimbabwe from South Africa on Friday.

They are the first victims of a

A number of Western news organisations have full-time representatives or part-time reporters both in South Africa and in neighbouring countries.

Others have based reporters in South Africa because of good communications and interest in South African racial problems, and these reporters cover parts of black Africa too.

The Star Bureau in Washington reports that the United States has expressed regret at the restrictions.

A spokesman for the State Department, questioned about the action, told reporters:

"While this is a decision each country must make for itself, our own view is that no attempts should be made to restrict freedom of the Press."

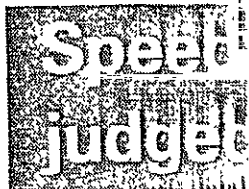
ban, announced by Information Ministers of six Frontline nations after a two-day conference in the Zimbabwe town of Kadoma.

The conference was called to offset what they called "South Africa's carefully orchestrated propaganda aggression" against black states in the region.

The countries represented at the conference were Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — Associated Press



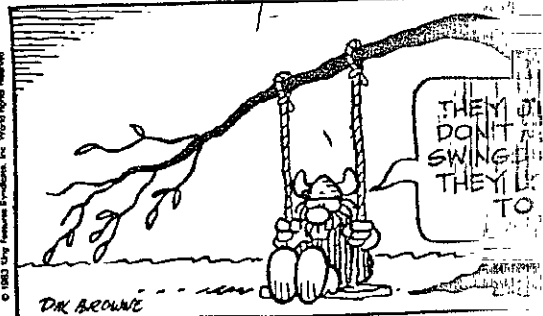
Martina Navratilova speeding. "But she's in jail."



NORFOLK (Virginia) — Martina Navratilova, tennis champion and the world ranked women's tennis player, was fined R22 yesterday for speeding and abusing police officer last June.

Navratilova is expected to appear in court. She did not appear in court, lawyer, Mr. Andreotti entered a guilty plea to the speeding charge but a

### HÄGAR the Horrible



# DION

has 'em all . . .

Kitchenware

at guaranteed lowest prices

### Accused: I walk

The Star Bureau

HARARE — Two members of an allegedly South African-backed dissident group appeared in the High Court here yesterday. They are charged with murder after the death of a policeman in a shootout in Zimbabwe's south-eastern lowveld in December.

Mr Zwelibanzi Nzima (21) and Mr Bensen Dube (20) pleaded not guilty to

Imported Cake Cutter

# Frontline States ban newsmen

CAPE TOWN  
2/8/83

From ANDRE VILJOEN

**HARARE.** — Foreign correspondents based in South Africa and those who sent reports to South Africa were banned yesterday from working in the six "frontline" States and Nigeria.

The ban was final and immediate, a Zimbabwean Government spokesman said here yesterday afternoon.

The tough decision will affect major Western newspapers and radio and television networks, as well as two South African newspaper groups with correspondents in Zimbabwe.

It was reached jointly by Information Ministers from the frontline states and Nigeria at a weekend meeting called to plan counter-measures against "South African propaganda and information aggression".

## One representative

The Zimbabwean Government spokesman said the South African newspaper groups would be allowed to retain one representative

each in Zimbabwe and that they would not necessarily be allowed to replace them when they left the country.

It had also been decided that any correspondent banned from working in one frontline state would be deemed banned in all.

No applications for exemptions would be considered, he said.

## 'Pretoria bias'

In a communique released after the two-day meeting in Zimbabwe at the weekend, the ministers "noted that South Africa is used as the main information centre about the region by international agencies and other media".

"This has resulted in a distorted view and misrepresentation of our region and tends to give credence and

credibility to Pretoria's biased view of reality in Southern Africa."

Another significant resolution was the decision "to assist and co-ordinate with the liberation movements in the struggle against apartheid and colonialism by providing them with greater access to radio and television networks, news agencies, other media and to training facilities".

The three nationalist movements — Swapo, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress — were represented at the Kadoma meeting.

The communique did not deal specifically with the other aspect of the meeting — "information aggression".

## Broadcasts

In an interview at the weekend, the Zimbabwean Minister of Information, Post and Telecommunications, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, said South Africa was increasing its output of broadcasts to population groups in frontline states such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola.

"We regard this type of information aggres-

sion as very serious, because it can create confusion in the minds of our people, and more importantly, because this type of aggression usually precedes military and political aggression," he said.

● An association of journalists representing Western news media decided yesterday to send a delegation to Zimbabwe to protest against the ban on South African-based journalists, Sapa reports.

The Foreign Correspondents' Association of Southern Africa, based in Johannesburg and representing 53 news organizations from Japan, Taiwan and 10 Western countries, said it deplored "any restriction" on the free flow of news.

● Sapa-Reuters reported that a South African-based BBC television team was asked yesterday to leave Zimbabwe.

## Matabeleland

BBC TV's Southern African correspondent, Philip Hayton, said he and his cameraman, Francois Marais, and sound recordist Maurice Odello had been asked to leave the country as soon as possible.

# Rene pardons coup citizen

VICTORIA — President Albert Rene of the Seychelles yesterday pardoned the only Seychelles citizen detained in the abortive mercenary attempt to overthrow him in 1981.

A government spokesman said Mr Jean Dingwall, a businessman in his 30s, was to be released under the security laws.

On July 22 Mr Rene pardoned six foreign mercenaries — four of them under sentence of death — who had been convicted for their part in the coup attempt.

Mr Dingwall was arrested shortly after a group of about 50 mercenaries, most of them South Africans, arrived on a Royal Swazi Air flight posing as members of a beer-drinking club.

In an interview with Seychelles Radio Mr Dingwall said he had visited South Africa before the coup attempt and had talks with the mercenary leader, Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, and exiled opposition leader Gerard Horeau. — Reuter.

# International aid fades away and Tanzania sends its bill

By Henry Reuter,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

Six years after the Tanzanian-backed coup which took President Albert Rene to power and turned the Seychelles into a one-party socialist state, the President faces a cash crisis which is profoundly affecting his policies and bringing greater balance to his former left-wing alliances.

The international aid spree which saw the launching of a welfare state, education, health and social security schemes, higher minimum wages for all and State intervention in commerce, is over.

Tourism has dropped almost 50 percent in three years. A grandiose fishing expansion scheme to replace tourism as the main money-earner has flopped.

Tanzania has begun presenting bills for the cost of keeping its troops in the island to maintain the Rene Government in power and the 92-island republic's inability to meet its own unprecedented and rapidly growing defence budget is reflected in rumours of continuing military unrest.

Until Tanzanian shock troops and Mr Rene's revolutionaries ousted the government of James Mancham, which had come to power on a "we back Britain" platform, defence was entrusted to a handful of policemen.

Today the Seychelles has an 800-strong army and a greatly strengthened police force to protect its 65 000 people.

In addition, Tanzania has been charging R60 000 a month for its own military services,

# Cash shortage forces Rene to tourism — and the West

one of which was a major role in putting down the abortive mercenary coup plot mounted from South Africa in November 1981.

When Tanzania began submitting bills Mr Rene moved fast to stop incuring them.

In recent months the Tanzanian force in Mahé has been cut from 300 to 120. In their place Mr Rene has begun installing "free" troops from communist Northern Korea.

The North Koreans began arriving on May 1. They are now camped on a rocky promontory near the international airport. There are 60 of them.

They wear Seychelles army uniform and are integrated with the Seychelles army down to company level, communicating through interpreters.

Their work is mainly to man and advise on anti-aircraft guns.

Mr Rene was offered Cuban or Russians. At

least North Korea is officially non-aligned.

There have been other signs of Mr Rene's desire to balance his earlier top-sided allegiances.

For example, although the Seychelles allows all naval powers 12 ship-visits to Port Victoria a year, the British and US fleets have stayed away

since 1980. This is because ships' captains are called on to complete a form declaring whether or not their vessels are carrying nuclear weapons.

Both Britain and the US have refused to reveal this.

Last June a new form was introduced to make

their ships' visits possible.

While stressing the Seychelles' opposition to nuclear armaments it does not call on captains to make any declarations.

Then there is the "golball". In 1981 the US lease on its golfball-shaped Mahe satellite tracking station which is exactly halfway round the world from Cape Canaveral was renewed for 10 years with either party having an option to break it in 1986.

Further, in recent months pro-US articles have begun to appear regularly alongside communist propaganda in the Seychelles Government's newspaper, The Nation.

But more significant to the Seychelles people was a government decision, announced recently, to appoint an American Catholic priest to head the controversial national youth service.

The priest has been charged by the church with increasing religious teaching at the expense of political indoctrination lessons.

When Mr Rene launched the service with threats that any boy or girl who did not join it on leaving primary school would have no future in the socialist Seychelles, there was a riot and a mass march on State House.

In future, say government officials, the NYS will concentrate more on providing straight education.

Nevertheless, it is not so much a wind of change blowing in the Seychelles as a gusty breeze.

The 50-strong Soviet Embassy staff still includes two advisers to the Seychelles Defence Ministry and the Soviet Union has made a rare departure from its arms-aid only policy in Africa by giving the islands R3 million worth of cement and heavy machinery for road building.

"Mr Rene woos the Soviets in the belief that they will help him in



President Albert Rene of the Seychelles

time of trouble. "And it is a fact that whenever his regime has considered itself endangered a Soviet warship has appeared in the harbour," said one diplomat.

Most observers are convinced, however, that while Mr Rene remains a popular leader, particularly with the poorer people, his government will face a greater threat from within if it cannot find the cash to continue delivering the welfare state goodies to which they have become accustomed.

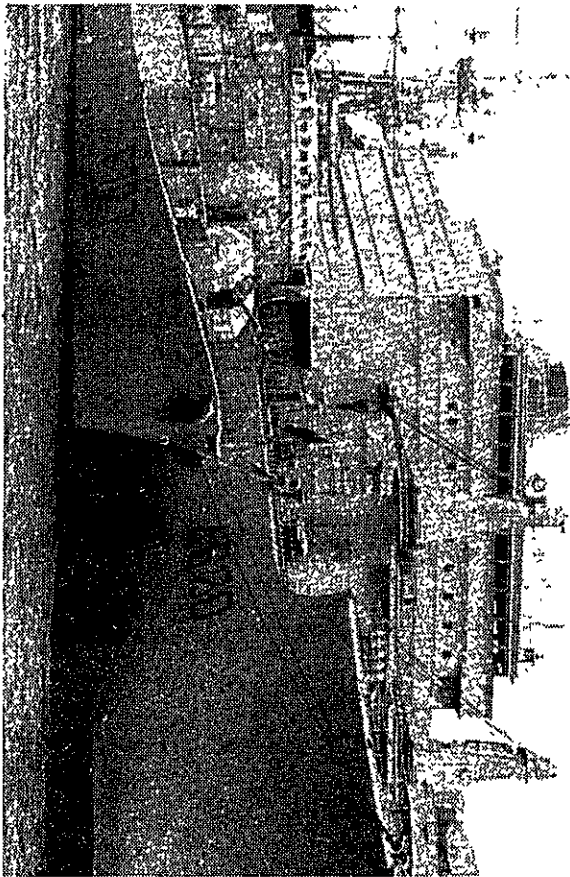
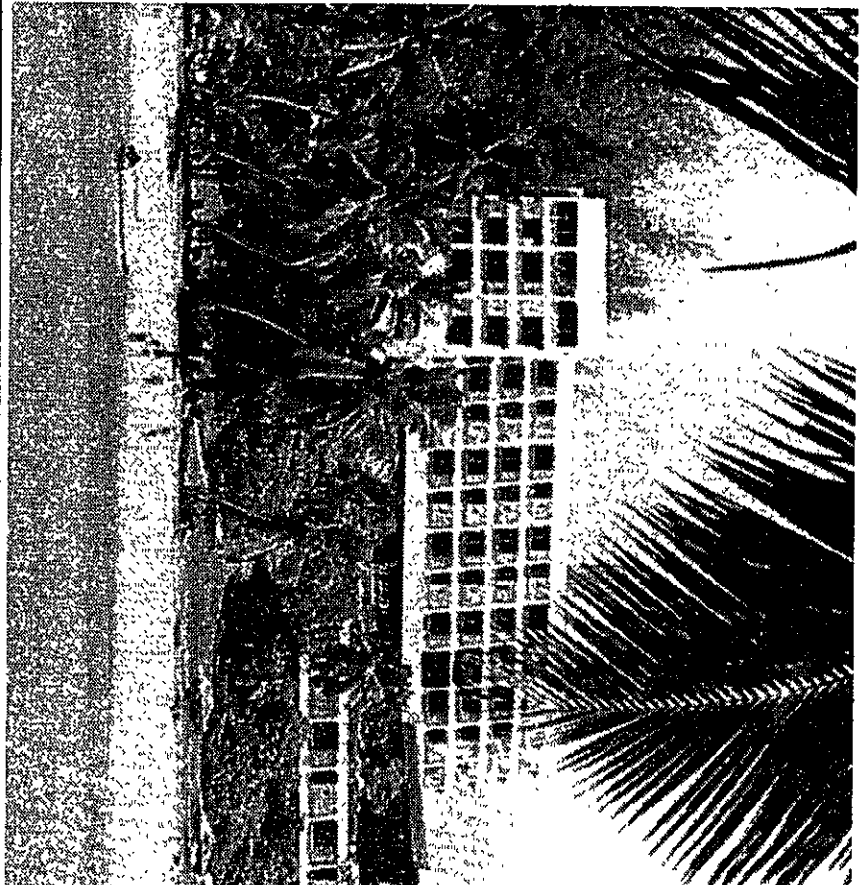
The largest and only steady international aid giver to the islands is Britain, which provides to attract South Africans

about R5 million a year in various forms, including scholarships.

Finally accepting that his country's future can lie only in tourism, Mr Rene has launched a comprehensive drive to ginger up its falling revenues.

His government is making no apologies to the OAU for going all out to attract South Africans. "People are people. Politics are politics. All South Africans are welcome here," says Finance and Industry Secretary Guy Morel — a cri de coeur with more than a hint of desperation.

● TOMORROW: Plans to attract South Africans



LEFT: One of the Seychelles hotels which have been hit by the fall-off in the tourist trade.

ABOVE: Warships in harbour in the Seychelles. President Rene has relaxed restrictions which were preventing visits by Western warships and he is struggling to rebuild the tourist industry, even at the risk.

# Gentlemen of Africa' could counter Gaddafi

By Brendan Nicholson, The Star's Foreign News Service

No Western nation is better equipped to stop Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's advance into Africa than France, with its highly trained rapid intervention forces established to counter just such a threat.

The plea by 10 heads of Francophone states for President Francois Mitterrand to save Chad — "if necessary by force" — follows decades of close military co-operation between Paris and its former colonies.

In December last year thousands of French paratroops and members of the standing rapid intervention force descended on Senegal to help repulse a foreign "invasion" during a massive exercise that symbolised the continuing role of France as a well-come "gendarme of Africa".

That exercise could have been tailor-made to prepare for operations in Chad.

It was a major test of the ability of self-contained French forces to fly in within hours to protect the interests of Paris or its protégés.

If President Mitterrand does deploy troops in Chad it will be the 11th time French troops have been involved in major intervention in Africa since they were sent to Gabon in 1964.

They have already pitched up three times in Chad, that huge expanse of desert which France once considered the key to the security of its African empire.

Of all "foreign" powers, only Cuba has more troops in Africa than France, which has at least 13 000 military personnel scattered around the continent.

Large concentrations are based in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Djibouti, the Central African Republic and Zaïre.

Other African countries are believed to be helped out by France — either with arms supplies or troops in training or maintenance roles.

The prospect of French military intervention in Africa does not appear to have diminished since the socialist President Mitterrand came to power.

The intervention force, which flew into Zaïre's Shaba province to repulse two Katangese invasions from Angola, has been retained and is being strengthened.

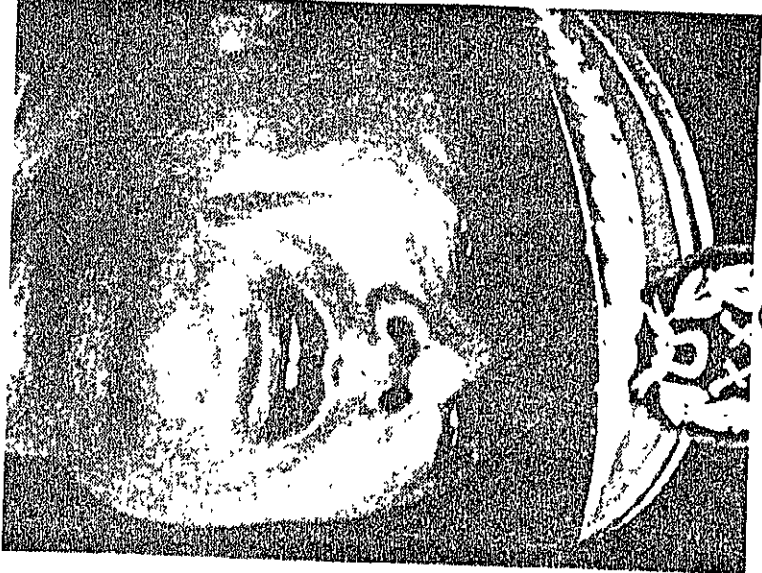
Regular French military exercises with troops from countries such as Togo, the Ivory Coast and Zaïre have cleared the way for co-operation on the ground which will ease the French force's logistical problems.

The combined call for help from Francophone Africa may enable President Mitterrand to ride out the inevitable storm of condemnation that such "neo-colonialist" intervention will inevitably draw.

The necessary troops are already based in the neighbouring Central African Republic and in Djibouti and these can be quickly supported by units flown in from France.

# Libya fans war flames

By Michael Evans



Colonel Gaddafi... his country is an armed camp with more jet fighters than he has pilots to fly them. His hit squads roam the world murdering opponents.

LONDON — President Reagan calls Libya's Colonel Gaddafi World Enemy Number One Vice-President Bush says he is "an egomaniac who would trigger World War Three just to make the headlines."

"A bull mentally retarded, psychiatrically sick, a disease to his country and the world," is how shocked Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci described him following a lengthy interview.

He has turned Libya, his North African country of three million, into an armed camp where even the schools are called military academies — and all the children wear army uniforms as they learn to read and write.

He sends hit squads around the world to assassinate his enemies, and he uses all the power of his country's huge oil wealth to push forward grandiose plans to build himself an atom bomb by 1988.

And now the 41-year-old despot is close to a shooting war with the United States. Squatting on his billions of petro-dollars the moody dictator is a one-man time bomb looking for a place to explode.

Unless President Reagan can head off Colonel Gaddafi the explosion could happen, at almost any moment, in Chad.

Lying on Libya's southern border Chad is vast, empty and dirt poor.

**"A bull, mentally retarded, a disease to his country and the world" is one vivid description of the fanatic who seeks Chad's uranium for atom bombs.**

But it does have something Colonel Gaddafi wants desperately and will take almost any risk for — uranium.

Without it his megalomaniac dreams of becoming the swaggering Caesar of a nuclear power dissolve into mere wishful thinking.

He is backing, with all the considerable military might at his disposal, a rebellion against Chad's President Hassenne Habre.

He has sent his huge Soviet-built air force — there are so many fighters jammed wing-to-wing on Libya's airfields that he doesn't have enough pilots to fly them all — bombing and strafing deep into Chad.

But now President Reagan has stepped in. He has ordered the US Air Force's high-tech radar planes known as AWACS into Chad airspace to observe and report on all the mad colonel is doing there.

And he has given instructions that if the AWACS find themselves fired on, their es-

cort fighters should hit back.

Ever since the colonel ousted Libya's King Idris in the bloody coup 13 years ago, he has tried to impress on the world's leaders that he is a force to be reckoned with.

His murderous posturing would matter less in a global context were it not for the deep Soviet involvement in Libya.

Some Libya-watchers have suggested that the Soviet Union is trying to build up a stockpile of weapons and equipment there for their own use in some future conflict.

Colonel Gaddafi is an empire builder on his own account and until Libya's oil runs out, and the dollar with it, he likes to think he is no one else's stooge.

Why he is after Chad's uranium becomes clear from the huge atomic plant now being built 20 km from Tripoli.

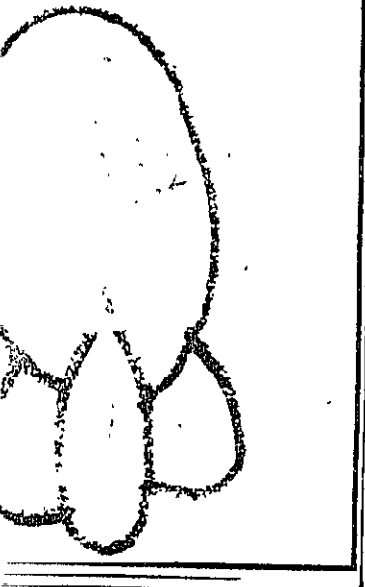
Western intelligence agents have been watching its development with alarm.

Said one: "With a guaranteed source of uranium and the technology already available Gaddafi could be in the nuclear business within the next five years."

He already has the delivery systems for nuclear bombs — MiG-25 Foxbat aircraft and SS12 "Scalboard" missiles — all supplied by the Russians.

Small wonder that President Reagan jumps like a scalded-cat whenever the mad colonel ventures forth from his borders. — London Daily Express News Service.

# On September 19th Soviet



S. Post  
13/8/83

# Neighbours get Sam-8s as part of Soviet arms buildup

PRETORIA — The Soviet Union has deployed Sam-8s, one of its newer surface-to-air missiles, in Angola and Mozambique and Palestine Liberation Organisation operatives have arrived in neighbouring states.

This was disclosed today by the chairman of Armscor, Commandant Pieter Marais, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Mr Marais told reporters the presence of Sam-8s in Angola and Mozambique was confirmed three weeks ago through information received from "people in those countries".

The Sam-8 is a descendant of the Sam-6, which proved effective against Israel's American and French-made assault jets in the 1973 Middle East war.

The missile climbs as fast as any airplane below the speed of sound. Carted by an all-terrain vehicle, it has never been fired in combat, according to handbooks issued to Nato infantry and armoured forces.

Cmdt Marais, speaking to journalists visiting an Armscor facility, said Soviet personnel were in Angola and Mozambique to operate the missiles.

There are two Sam-8 sites in Angola and one in Mozambique, Cmdt Marais said.

The missiles fly at altitudes from treetops to 10 000m, with a range of 20km, and use heat-seeking and radar devices to find targets.

Speaking at Bronkhorstspruit today, Gen Malan, said terrorism against South Africa had entered a new era with the PLO terrorists being sent to neighbouring states.

He claimed that in the past five years Moscow had

● To page 2

# Missiles part of arms buildup

13/8/83

From page 1

E. Post

spent R10 billion on arms for Angola, R40 million on arms for Zimbabwe, R350 million for Mozambique and R800 million for Tanzania.

Gen Malan said the Soviets had spent R4,2 billion to keep military personnel in Angola and the other so-called frontline states. "These figures must be seen against South Africa's total Defence Budget of R3,1 billion last year.

"Since 1977, there had been an increase of 300% in the armed forces in these countries which brought the total to about 300 000 men who were under arms. The numbers of tanks and planes had tripled and 20% of the total of about 600 planes were Mig 17's, Mig 19's and Mig 21's. It is in

these countries that the onslaught against South Africa is planned. They house ANC terrorists," he said.

Pleading with South Africans to take note of the extent of the threat he said those who ignored it were "legitimate prey of those that wish to impose foreign and barbaric ideologies on our land and its people".

South Africa's farming community should take note that terrorism was not only an urban problem. "It could spread to the rural areas and we must be on our guard.

"We must have no illusions. The onslaught against South Africa is going to increase in future. On a psychological, economic, political and military front the Marxist onslaught will increase." — Sapa-AP



# Nazi tactics charged in Mauritian elections

Mauritius is in the throes of a general election, and excitement peaks in hysteria. HENRY REUTER of The Star's Foreign News Service reports.

PORT LOUIS — Allegations of Nazi-type thuggery and the misuse of government machinery to influence the August 21 Mauritian elections are being bandied about by rival parties as the election campaigns reach their hysterical peaks. The "Nazi" label has been pegged on to the youth wing of Paul Berenger's MMM (Mauritian Militant Movement) which has been accused of beating up political opponents and organising heckling to wreck their meetings.

## Crowds hear SA link is necessary

the alliance and not towards the MMM.

On the far right of the Mauritian political scene Sir Gaetan Duval's Social Democratic Party, also a member of the alliance, is drawing large crowds to election meetings.

There the party leaders expound their policy of closer links with South Africa as the way to wealth, more jobs and long-term political stability.

Sir Gaetan's South African-oriented view of the island's future is not echoed by other parties in the alliance.

Neither is his opposition to nationalisation of the sugar industry and other moves towards socialism.

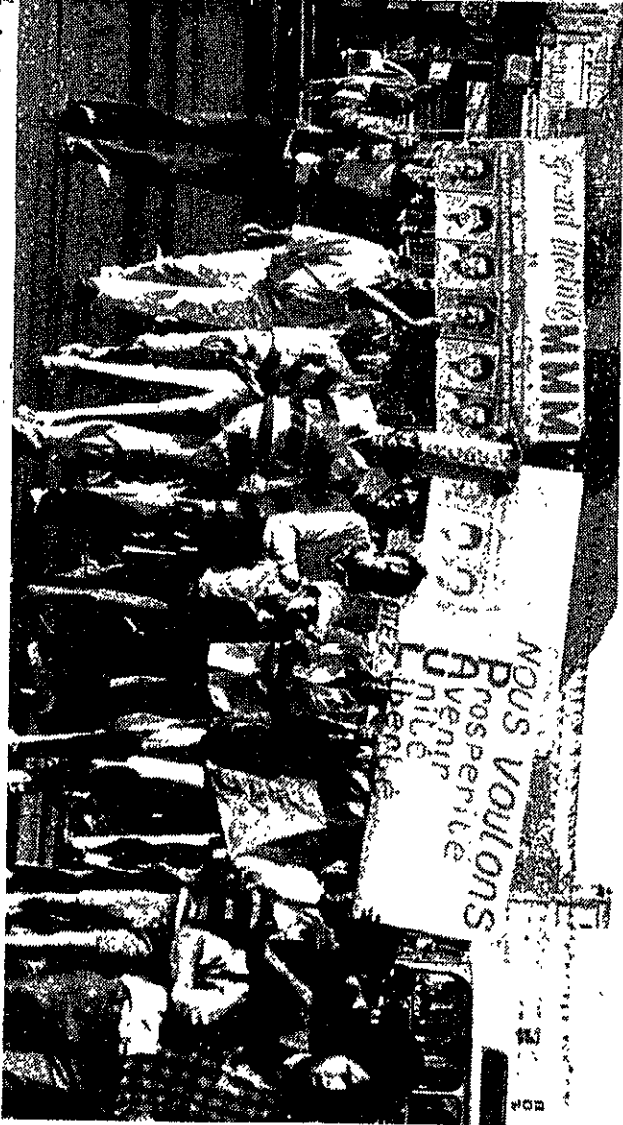
This has given rise to widespread doubts whether the alliance can hold together if it is successful.

Mauritians will vote in 62 constituencies on August 21. Two are on the remote island of Rodrigues. In last year's general elections the MMM and its supporters took all 60 of the main island seats.

This month's election was precipitated by a split in the MMM party resulting in a walk-out from the Government by Mr Berenger and 11 other Ministers and the formation by the Prime Minister of his own MSM party.

All contesting parties have come out in favour of Mauritius becoming a republic, thus ousting Britain's Queen Elizabeth from her role as Mauritian Head of State.

The charismatic Mr Berenger, driving force behind the MMM, who claims his opponents are running a "fix Berenger" campaign and are receiving unfair media coverage.



Enthusiastic Mauritian Militant Movement supporters on the march through the capital city of Port Louis. The MMM's youth wing has been accused of using Nazi-type thuggery — beating up political opponents and organising hecklers to wreck opponents' meetings.

other than led with representative and thorough democracy are participative industrial participative organisation. World have legislative models of worker within their established systems in the case of workers' process of terminated, have been by organisations. In the case of women, late have been identified by the paper. It will be the balance of the managers, other pursued these.



ANC for Frontline summit

Mail Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress yesterday confirmed that it had been asked to send representatives to the Frontline heads of state summit being held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The ANC traditionally attends the summits and has missed only a few.

President Kaunda confirmed in an interview with the Washington Post about two weeks ago that the summit would discuss how and whether the ANC would continue to operate in the area, following the signing of a non-aggression pact by South Africa and Mozambique.

An ANC spokesman said his organisation was still working to find alternative countries for members who have to leave Mozambique.

"We are not being given an alternative because these are sovereign states who have signed an agreement and they are implementing it," he said.

He said there had been no communication from Mozambique indicating an evacuation.

Carol Cooper.

The first part of the paper examines the scope of South Africa's Unemployment Insurance Fund in terms of people covered, the nature and duration of benefits, and compares this with unemployment funds in a number of other, mainly Western, countries. It argues that in comparison to many of the above, the South African Fund is extremely restrictive, offering cover to a limited number of people only.

In addition it differs from these other funds because rather than attempt to maintain the unemployed at a standard of living as close as possible to that enjoyed previously, it merely, at best, prevents undue hardship. The second part of the paper looks at the inefficiencies in the administration of the fund — in particular employers' abuses and departmental mismanagement. This is exacerbated by workers' ignorance of their rights.

The above problems mean that the already severe and gr...

ment in South Africa. inadequate to deal with

# Neighbours' reliance on SA will become greater

19/8/83  
Pretoria Bureau

LESOTHO'S growing entanglement with the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries is a striking example of the length certain countries are prepared to go to to counter-balance South Africa's pre-eminence in Southern Africa.

This was said by Dr Flip Smit, vice-president of the Human Sciences Research Council and chairman of the Africa Institute of South Africa, at the annual meeting of the institute in Pretoria this week.

Dr Smit said more than ever before the latest heads of state meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) in Maputo last month was marked by verbal salvos against South Africa.

"The chairman of SADCC, President Masisire of Botswana, said that South Africa was making orderly development increasingly difficult for its neighbours," said Dr Smit. "Others expressed similar viewpoints."

Dr Smit said. "At the same time, these very countries rely to a greater or lesser extent on South Africa for vital imports and technical services, transport routes for their external trade, tourists and employment for their citizens."

Dr Smit said that despite their public stance, the leaders of neighbouring countries knew full well that economic collapse in

South Africa would have disastrous consequences for their own countries

Dr Smit delivered a lecture on the role of the university in South Africa

He said in his address that the present situation in South Africa could not be regarded as stable, "but in what direction do they expect relations to develop, towards growing confrontation or towards more constructive relationships?"

"As regards South Africa, the latter course would clearly be to its benefit too. Unemployment, poverty, famine and social disruption in nearby countries inevitably affects South Africa detrimentally.

"While it is understandable that these neighbours harbour suspicions and misgivings against a country that towers over the region economically and militarily, it may perhaps be asked to what extent they are seriously pondering the question how they envisage their inter-relationship with South Africa over a long run?"

"To the extent that the South African Development Bank begins to make its influence felt in greater South Africa, it seems likely that economic and other relations with the rest of the regions will shift more clearly into focus. This could then prepare the path towards better interaction with neighbouring countries," he said

UN sponsors new African investment

Mall Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Nine southern African countries will meet in Lusaka in October to offer investment opportunities worth more than R900-million to foreign investors, a United Nations Industrial Development Organisation spokesman said in Lusaka yesterday.

The investment promotion meeting, sponsored by Unido, would enable Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe to offer investment opportunities to as many as 200 industrialists, bankers and financiers from Europe, North America and Asia, he said.

All nine countries are members of the Southern

Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, which seeks to reduce its economic dependence on South Africa and foster development among its member states.

The meeting from October 17 to 21, would provide the chance for African project sponsors to meet potential foreign investors to discuss possible collaboration.

This included joint ventures, industrial financing, acquisition of technology, access to foreign markets and training.

About 100 project profiles will be presented. The projects will include agriculture, textiles, leather products, mineral processing, electronic equipment and pharmaceuticals.

① Jan 26/8/83

# Swing to right scuttles 'socialist front' plans

By Henry Reuter,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

NAIROBI — Plans for a "socialist front" in the south-west Indian Ocean have been abandoned because of changing political and economic attitudes in Mauritius, the Seychelles, Madagascar, Reunion and the Comores.

The plans were conceived in the heady aftermath of the Tanzania-backed Seychelles coup which brought President Albert Rene to power.

Attempts to launch the front were made in 1978 at a meeting — backed and organised by the Soviet Union — in Mahe, Seychelles.

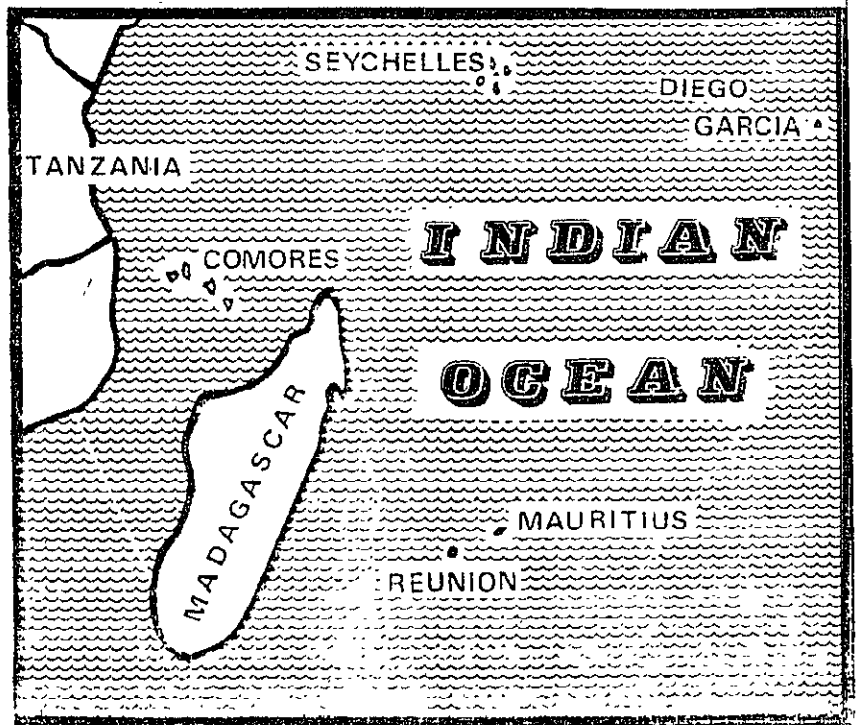
It was attended by socialist leaders representing African liberation movements, Tanzania, Libya, South Yemen, Polisario and the Maltese Communist Party.

The meeting demanded the dismantling of the US base on Diego Garcia, the ousting of French troops from Reunion, the expulsion of French forces from the island of Mayotte and the break-up of the South Atlantic Pact.

But the five-member permanent committee set up to pursue these objectives has convened no further meetings.

"We must now assume that it has just faded away," said one Seychelles official.

The Comores, one of the five states appointed to the permanent committee, did not attend any of the meetings.



The political and economic attitudes of five island states have wrecked attempts to form a "socialist front" partly inspired by the Soviet Union.

Attempts are now being made to persuade the Comores and Reunion to join an alternative body — the Indian Ocean Commission — formed this year by Madagascar, Mauritius and the Seychelles.

This organisation's objectives place greater emphasis on economic rather than political co-operation.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and EEC cash and technical aid are being sought by the commission for co-operative projects.

These include improving trade and communications between the is-

lands, policing fishing grounds, which are being heavily poached by Soviet and Korean vessels, and carrying out a massive oil search.

The search for oil is already under way, following scientific indications that a vast oil lake once existed under the Indian Ocean off the Madagascar coast, and has moved towards the Seychelles.

Governments of the commission's three member states appear not to attach the same value they once did to the demands of the aborted "socialist front".

The Seychelles has recently taken measures to make it possible for the

US navy to resume calling at Port Victoria.

Most Mauritian leaders have declared themselves in favour of resumed supplies of provisions and labour to the Diego Garcia base.

And Madagascar's attitudes have in the past two years shown a remarkable swing to the right.

In three of the four Comores islands — those which opted for independence — there is continuing political unrest and a growing conviction among the people that they would have done better to have emulated the fourth island, Mayotte, and remained under French rule.

## Socialists swept from power in torn Mauritius



■ BERENGER ...  
lost his seat



■ JUGNAUTH ...  
minority position

# Berenger out in the cold — once again ...

By COLIN LEGUM

LONDON: Just a year after winning a landslide victory in Mauritius, the radical socialists of that Indian Ocean island have suffered a crushing defeat in new elections precipitated by angry quarrels in their own ranks.

The charismatic young socialist leader Paul Berenger — the architect of last year's election victory — has failed to retain his own seat. His Militant Mauritius Movement (MMM) won only 19 seats in the new parliament as against the 41 gained by an alliance of three parties who will form the new government.

However, the policies of these parties are so disparate and the leadership quarrels among them so sharp that there seems little prospect of their forming a stable government. This is a serious matter for the one million Mauritians whose sugar-based economy has been severely disrupted by the world economic recession and a series of devastating hurricanes.

In last year's elections he had succeeded in winning all the seats in parliament, crushingly defeating the Labour Party government of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. It promised to carry through radical changes to transform the economic and social structures of the island.

But it soon ran up against hard economic realities as well as against the entrenched communalism of a population composed mainly of Hindus but with strong minorities of Muslims, French Aatholias and Creoles. The Hindus, who are of Indian origin, are themselves sharply divided by caste.

Mr Berenger, who became finance minister, surprised his critics who feared him as a hard-line Marxist by a remarkable display of pragmatism.

Although he had previously strongly criticised the Ramgoolam government for having accepted the tough terms demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans to see the country through its economic crisis, he quickly accepted its terms and stoutly defended its decision even against his own ministerial colleagues.

Even more surprisingly, he made concessions to the island's French-dominated "sugar barons" which won him the plaudits of the business community.

But the repercussions of Mr Berenger's pragmatic political decisions divided his own party as well as causing a rift between it and its coalition partner in government, the Mauritius Socialist Party (PSM) led by Harris Boodhoo.

Following a cabinet crisis in March, Mr Berenger resigned and was followed by 11 of the 16 MMM ministers. This left the Prime Minister, Anerood Jugnauth, with only five ministers of whom only two were from the MMM and the other three from his coalition partner, Mr Boodhoo's PSM.

Mr Berenger won the overwhelming endorsement of the MMM, leaving the prime minister in a hopeless minority position,

which compelled him to go to the country. He formed a new party, the Movement of Socialist Militants (MSM) which included Mr Boodhoo's PSM. He then entered into an electoral alliance with two of his opposition political movements, the Labour Party and the extreme right wing Social Democratic Party (PMSD), led by the French-speaking Creole leader, Sir Gaetan Duval.

The political strategist behind this electoral alliance was 83-year-old former prime minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. He did not stand for election but entrusted the Labour Party's leadership to Sir Satcam Boodhoo, a veteran political leader whose own political ambitions are matched only by those of the flamboyant Mr Duval who is the champion of the island's business community.

One of the earlier successes of the MMM had been to break the traditional mould of communal politics. Its left-wing economic policies had appealed to Hindus, Muslims and Creoles.

No less important was its success in gathering support among the poorer Hindu rural population as well as of the urban working-class.

Mr Jugnauth's new MSM is composed very largely of Hindus, so that communal politics have once again come to play a major role in the country's political life. While the new alliance won virtually all the rural seats, the MMM retained its hold over the urban working-class. This division between the rural and urban communities will inevitably sharpen the political and economic divisions between the two sectors.

The appeal to Hindu communalism was a major factor in the latest election campaign. Mr Berenger, himself of French origin, was labelled by his opponents as being anti-Hindu, and although this is a false charge, it proved damaging. Mr Boodhoo went so far as to describe him as "an upstart white". Mr Jugnauth described him as being a dictator who had sought to impose his own policies on the rest of the cabinet.

These political challenges facing the island would be formidable even without the acute economic crisis which holds the island in thrall.

The new government will have to contend not only with his opposition, but also with its own predictable internal problems: due to the disparate nature of its three coalition partners.

However, even in defeat, Mr Berenger remains a political force to be reckoned with. As leader of the opposition he commands almost one-third of the members of parliament and he can count on the solid support from the powerful trade union movement.

# Machel turning towards 'African pragmatism' now

Natural catastrophes, dissidents and a move towards socialism have caused development and food problems for Mozambique in the eight years since independence. Now a new policy of pragmatism seems to be afoot . . . .



President Samora Machel . . . moving to re-establish better links with the West.

MAPUTO — Eight years after winning independence from Portugal, Mozambique is still committed to Marxism, and the Soviet Union is its principal ally.

But President Samora Machel is diluting the Marxism with what he calls African pragmatism.

The change is taking place primarily on the economic front, in the hope that a more capitalistic approach to farming will provide more food.

There is a desperate need for food, as well as other forms of aid, and Mr Machel is delighted that full diplomatic relations have been restored with the United States.

An ambassador is due to arrive from Washington next month, filling a post vacant since March, 1981, when six US diplomats were accused of spying and expelled.

Mr Machel's willingness to restore relations with the West is also reflected in his decision to welcome back Portuguese citizens who wish to resettle in Mozambique. Most of the 250 000 Portuguese in the country left at the time of independence on June 25, 1975.

There has been much mismanagement, and the economy is in trouble, a situation not helped by the process of converting capitalism to socialism. Besides these problems, the country has never really been at peace since independence, and an anti-Machel

movement is causing turmoil in many parts of the country.

Mozambique has also been hit by natural catastrophes of one kind or another every year. There have been massive floods, and disastrous droughts.

The anti-government rebels, members of the Mozambique National Resistance, have made strict security measures necessary.

In Maputo, which has more than 850 000 people, there is a daily struggle to get enough to eat. Essentials are rationed, and people have to queue.

At the official rate, the dollar is traded at the rate of one to 38 Meticals (the local unit), but on the black market the dollar is worth up to 1 600 Meticals.

Transport and housing are also problems.

Some Western critics contend that by blindly following Marxist principles possibly more suitable to a developed country, Mr Machel has contributed to the bleakness of life.

There are more than 1 000 East Bloc advisers — Russians, East Germans and Cubans — sent to help Mr Machel resolve his problems. The Russians have shipped in trucks, buses and cars, but many have broken down because of rough roads and lack of maintenance.

Mr Machel has acknowledged that mistakes have been made and has called for a partial return to capitalistic methods. — Los Angeles Times.

# Mauritius takes a softer line on SA

31/8/83  
By David Thomas,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

PORT LOUIS (Mauritius) — Although the new Government of Mauritius will take a softer line on South Africa, its Foreign Minister-designate, the right-wing Sir Gaetan Duval, has ruled out any possibility of diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

The colourful playboy barrister, who has been quoted in a newspaper as admitting that he is bisexual, said his appointment would not stop him from vicing South Africa privately, as he has done frequently in the past.

His appointment as Minister of External Affairs in the four-party alliance Government of Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth follows Sir Gaetan's stunning political comeback.

Sir Gaetan's Creole-dominated Social Democratic Party (PMSD) was eclipsed in last year's general election, which brought to power the now defunct socialist coalition.

Independent political observers and most of the island's newspapers had written him off as a colourful eccentric whose political career was washed up.

On the day after last week's general election the leading morning newspaper L'Express published a front-page picture of Sir Gaetan in the bushes with his back to the camera in an unmistakable posture.

The caption read: "Looking for his cock" — a pun on his party's election symbol, the rooster.

## RESULTS

But the laughter faded as the results came in, giving him and his two running-mates a 2 000-vote lead over their major rivals in the mid-land constituency of Curepipe, which was contested by 14 candidates.

Sir Gaetan's individual tally gave him 55 percent of the vote.

Although his party won only three of the 14 seats it contested, Sir Gaetan is given credit for mobilising the Creole vote in the rural areas, which helped the alliance parties to victory.

The alliance of Mr Jugnauth's Militant Socialist Party, former Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's Labour Party and Sir Gaetan's party won 42 of the 62 elected seats.

Mauritius's new Government will vote against apartheid in the United Nations, but will not get involved in issues that do not concern Mauritius.



Sir Gaetan Duval . . . an astonishing comeback in the politics of Mauritius after he had been written off as a has-been.

With the two seats of the Rodrigues People's Party, who after the election left their traditional allies in the opposition to join the new Government, and four assigned "best loser" seats, the new Government has 48 seats in Parliament.

The opposition Mauritius Militant Movement of Mr Paul Berenger, who lost his seat, won 19 seats.

The MMM was assigned three best loser seats, one of which went to Mr Berenger.

Mr Berenger had been the driving force behind the MMM-dominated socialist coalition's overwhelming election victory in June last year.

But because Mr Berenger is a white Mauritian he did not become Prime Minister. He accepted the Finance portfolio.

Sir Gaetan attributes the overturn of the previous election result to the islanders' desire to "get back to their traditional leaders".

In an interview here, after he had been named Foreign Minister-designate, Sir Gaetan said the voting showed a return to ethnic divisions, which had been overcome in last year's election.

The island's 500 000 voters, he said, had been "sort of like naughty children who had been doing

things they should not have done".

Now that the wandering children have returned to their folds Sir Gaetan is convinced that the Hindu-dominated alliance Government can stick together, despite the ethnic and ideological differences of the four parties.

He concedes that there are differences between him and his socialist-leaning allies, but is confident of stability "if we are prepared to make concessions".

## LANGUAGE

He "would take pains to use moderate language in order to minimise our differences, and I expect everybody will act alike".

On principle, his Government would vote against apartheid in the United Nations because of the proximity of South Africa.

But it would not get involved in international issues that did not concern Mauritius.

His Government would allow the the naval vessels of the super-powers to call at Port Louis because this generated income for the island, Sir Gaetan said.

On relations with the Eastern bloc, he said: "I'm not going to snub anyone." But he said relations with the West would be especially privileged.



# Regional power plays rekindled in Tunisia

Regional power plays and regionalism are playing a larger role in determining the future of the North African country of Tunisia. His wife and ousted politicians are waiting in the wings as aging President Habib Bourguiba continues his unbroken 27-year rule.

## Africa faces 'unimaginable' degradation

WASHINGTON — A World Bank study says that despite billions of dollars in recent international aid to Africa, the region faces a deepening crisis that is largely the result of domestic policies set by African nations themselves.

The 31-page report, distributed to the bank's 146 member nations, expresses deep concern about the economic plight of Africa and urges major changes in the way in which nations aid Africa.

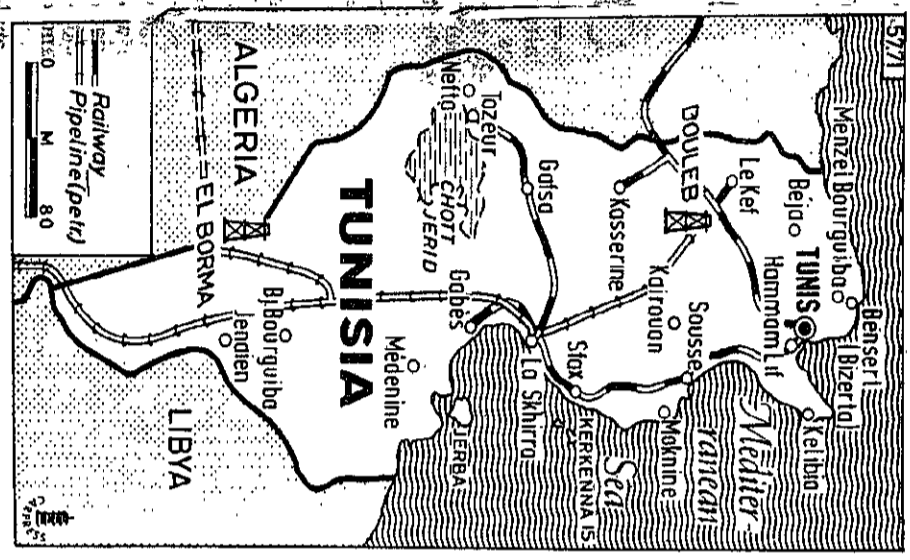
At the same time the report says that new directions of policy within Africa are crucial and implies that the priorities of many African nations to build industries, steel mills and international airports has proved disastrous. African nations, the report says, should develop coherent agriculture and food programmes to keep pace with their rapidly growing populations.

Within 25 years, unless food production in Africa increases dramatically, the region faces unimaginable poverty.

Economic conditions would be characterized by a degradation of the very essence of human dignity, the report says, quoting a recent study by the Economic Commission for Africa.

The World Bank report, which is expected to be discussed at the bank's annual meeting starting on September 24 in Washington, says: The immediate and continuing economic crisis in Africa is overwhelmingly a production crisis. It is a crisis which has arisen from the widespread adoption of prices and incomes which have provided inappropriate production incentives.

A senior World Bank official, commenting on the report, said that, although African agriculture had been hurt by drought and declines in prices for such commodities as tea, coffee and sugar, African nations must bear the major blame for their severe food problems.



TUNIS — President Habib Bourguiba's advancing age is rekindling regionalism in Tunisia and political pressure groups are jockeying for position in the eventual succession stakes.

Mr Bourguiba, who turned 80 last month, moved the centre of political power from Tunis, the capital, to the central agricultural region of the Sahel.

The president, who has ruled since independence from France in 1956, was born at Monastir, a small town some 200 km south of Tunis.

He has tended to favour the half-urban, half-rural farming population of the Sahel with an economy based on olive, oil and tourism, according to political sources here.

The more intellectual, trading bourgeoisie of Tunis resents the loss of its dominant position in political life although there has never been any question of challenging the position of the president, whose popularity and historical achievements put him above the fray.

But there is still ample room for manoeuvres in attempts to influence the "grand old man."

The political power play in the country of six million people revolves around the president, his wife and the prime minister.

Mr Bourguiba himself once said: "It won't be easy to replace a man like me. I built up a nation around me, around my person."

Aware of the difficulties any successor would face in establishing his authority, Mr Bourguiba decided when he was proclaimed life-president in 1974 that the prime minister would automatically succeed him on his death until the end of the legislature.

The "hair shirt" is Mohamed Mzali, also born at Monastir, who has been prime minister since 1980.

Mr Mzali, a former professor, has been slowly and quietly building up his power base in the president's shadow.

A recent Government reshuffle greatly consolidated his grip on power.

But Mr Mzali has to watch over the third side of the triangle — Wassila Bourguiba, the 70-year-old wife of the president and leader of the so-called Tunis Clique.

Mr Bourguiba divorced his first wife, a French war widow, and in 1963 married Wassila ben Ammar, a long-time friend.

Although she has no special functions under the constitution, Mrs Bourguiba plays a vital role in politics.

An election would also give her more room for action than the present system by which the prime minister would succeed automatically.

"Her latent opposition to Mzali does not arise from ideological differences. They are simply in

competition for political clientele," a political analyst said.

Mrs Bourguiba has no presidential ambitions but likes to be considered the "kingmaker" behind the throne, the analyst also said.

Her influential position explains why her return to Tunisia after a six-month absence abroad was greeted here as the major event in political life for the last few months.

However, since her return, which coincided with the celebration of the president's 80th birthday on August 3, she has been markedly cautious, apparently assessing the

new situation created by last June's Government reshuffle.

The reshuffle involved the sacking of two powerful figures who had opposed Mr Mzali at different times.

One was Tahar Belkhouja, Information Minister and former Interior Minister, who is considered Wassila Bourguiba's protégé.

The other was Mansour Moalla, who was Minister of Planning and Finance and represented the area of Sfax, the country's economic capital in the south of Tunisia.

The frustrations of the political powers are not commented upon by the analyst.

Some analysts say it adds spice to an otherwise all too quiescent political life in Tunisia under the same ruler for 27 years.

Others say it creates an unhealthy climate and the delicate balancing act prevents any meaningful reform. — Reuters

The official said that Ghana and Nigeria were two of the worst cases of agricultural priorities gone awry.

In the last 10 years the World Bank has provided more than 182,000 million US dollars in aid to Africa.

One portion of the bank's report says that, at a time when the willingness of African governments to rethink and revise their programmes was increasing, it would be a tragedy if bank donors failed to help more.

The report urged coordination of aid, which the US and other Western nations have long sought, for example, that Kenya had 700 million US dollars in aid cannot be disbursed because each donor has so many requirements and does not have the administrative framework to handle the requirements.

The World Bank official said that there is a need for donors to discipline in terms of their selection of projects so that only high-priority projects are financed.

Africa does not need expensive international airports, the official said. It doesn't need new highways, it needs highway maintenance. — New York Times News Service.

## Shadowy soldier of fortune has survived coups and vicious wars

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

ACCRA — One of the most powerful men in Ghana is a shadowy mercenary soldier who has survived so many wars, coup attempts and vicious power struggles that he has been credited with a supernatural ability to render himself invisible to his enemies.

To those determined to stamp out the national "industry" of corruption, Captain Kojo Tsikata has assumed the mantle of an austere Robin Hood and a feared public watchdog — although with a certain amount of blood on his jaws.

He is widely believed to have masterminded the assassinations of several prominent political rivals and encouraged the execution of others tried by various special tribunals.

As a socialist soldier of fortune he is credited in Ghana with playing a key role in the victory of President Agostinho Neto's MPLA in the 1976 Angolan civil war by negotiating the arrival of Cuban troops.

Captain Tsikata is a frequent visitor to Luanda and maintains contact with Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and President Fidel Castro of Cuba.

A close friend and confidant of head of State Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, he wielded an unspecified but clearly considerable authority for more than a year after Ghana's latest coup, despite having no official position in the revolutionary government other than that of "special adviser".

Then in a national television interview he announced that he was responsible for national security.

Apparently accountable to no one but Mr Rawlings, he has angered other members of the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) by ignoring them and discussing major national policy decisions with Mr Rawlings alone.

His supporters say he is the only man in Ghana in whom Mr Rawlings has complete faith.

Opposition to the captain even within the PNDC grew to the point where his supporters were involved in a shoot-out with rival troops in October last year.

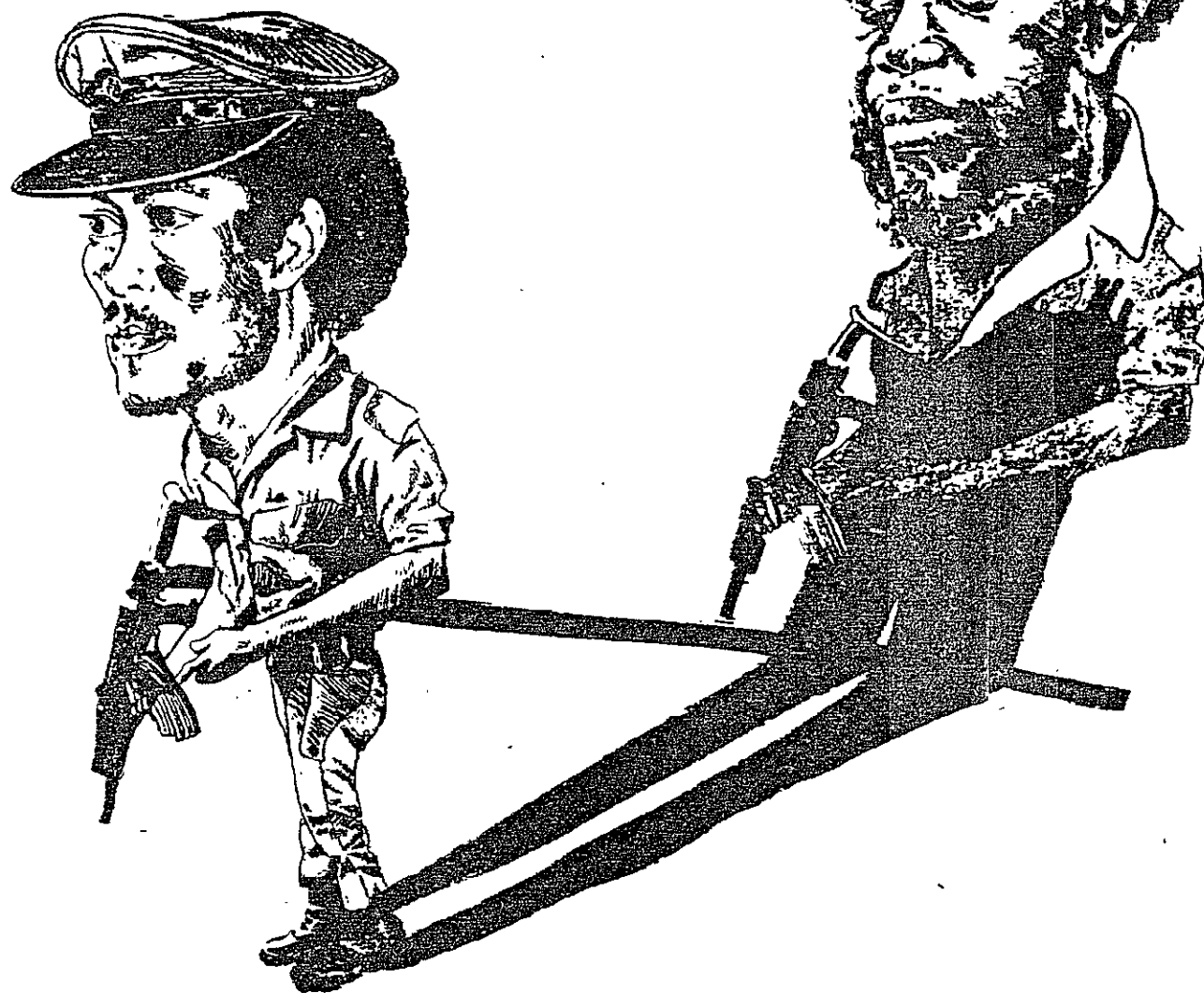
Now he has moved with Mr Rawlings to the heavily fortified castle in Accra where they are guarded by a loyal unit made up mainly of Captain Tsikata's Ewe tribesmen.

Over the years Captain Tsikata has been sentenced to death by a succession of Ghanaian governments only to be saved by a timely coup or sympathetic public opinion. He has also survived assassination attempts.

He now appears to have escaped retribution for the murders of three prominent judges, whose killings he allegedly masterminded after they opposed his plans to replace the courts with civil and military tribunals.

A judicial commission which investi-

Captain Kojo Tsikata is a close friend and confidant of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings of Ghana. His tremendous influence reportedly extends to masterminding the assassination of political rivals and to deep involvement in Angola's MPLA Government. Captain Tsikata has escaped so many wars and attempts on his life that he is believed to lead a charmed existence.



## Ghana's bloodied watchdog

gated the murders recommended that the captain be tried for the killings. One of the soldiers implicated said he thought he was acting under government orders because his instructions came from Captain Tsikata.

For the national security chief most of the embarrassing evidence was removed when that soldier and two other members of his unit were publicly executed by firing squad last month.

Sandhurst-trained Captain Tsikata's military career began in 1960 when he served as a junior officer with the Ghanaian contingent dispatched to the Congo — ostensibly as part of the United Nations intervention force.

He told a national television audience here recently that Ghana's then President Kwame Nkrumah consid-

ered the UN role as secondary to the contingent's main mission of supporting the socialist and pan-Africanist ideals of President Patrice Lumumba.

After Mr Lumumba's murder and the deaths of part of the Ghanaian force, Captain Tsikata is believed to have led his platoon in a series of "reprisal" raids on Belgian settlements.

His Congo activities caught the attention of the numerous African nationalists then based in Ghana and, he says, he then agreed to take command of the Angolan MPLA's military wing in its war against the Portuguese.

Soon after Captain Tsikata's departure for Angola his political idol, Mr Nkrumah, was deposed and Ghana's new rulers placed a substantial reward on the captain's head.

For four years the military government of Ghana kept a wary eye open for the exiled Captain Tsikata who was rumoured to be raising an army to place Mr Nkrumah back in power.

He returned from exile soon after Ghana's second military government, under General Acheampong, took power but was sentenced to death for plotting a coup.

But the captain was freed when General Acheampong was deposed by another group of officers. He flew back to Angola where he lived until Mr Rawlings first took power in 1979.

During Ghana's latest coup attempt, in June this year, the plotters under Corporal Hlalidu Gyiwas made it clear that they hated the captain.

over 21/9/83

# Black Africa faces critical food shortage

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The world-wide squeeze on aid to black Africa threatens to produce critical food shortages in the coming year

Although a record world wheat crop is forecast, only about a third of the 10.3 million tons of cereal Africa needs to import will come through aid.

Despite their increasing balance-of-payments difficulties, African countries will have to find around R1530 million to pay for the other 6.8 million tons.

The World Bank report published last week called the economic outlook in the region "grim and bleak".

The widespread drought in Southern and Central Africa has added to the predicament. The UN's World Food Pro-

gramme is now devoting 40 percent of its global food aid to sub-Saharan Africa.

The high levels of infant mortality and malnutrition in the continent are expected to increase further in 1983-84.

Latest forecasts by the International Wheat Council say Africa's need for wheat imports will rise in the year ahead from 4.2 to 4.6 million tons, with corresponding rises in the demand for rice and maize. The total increase is forecast at 1.2 million tons.

The world record wheat crop may provide some imports on concessional credit terms as countries such as Australia try to unload their surpluses

Yet the continent has no hope, for climatic reasons, of ever growing more than a tiny part of its wheat needs.

# Argentina 'about to build bomb'

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A Central Intelligence Agency report here says Argentina is about to divert a ton of processed uranium to build a nuclear bomb.

It said what was even more alarming was that Argentina was openly and legally building a range of nuclear installations not subject to international safeguards and inspections.

Earlier this year there were reports that Argentina would be ready to explode a nuclear device in October. Argentina denied it had a military nuclear programme.

The CIA report said there was a plan to divert treated uranium from a West German-built plant that carries out one of the processes for making nuclear fuel. That diversion could be buried as a book-keeping error.

Now there are calls for the United States to tighten conditions under which Argentina is supplied with heavy water.

Argentina is one of the most advanced nuclear energy producers which does not have "the bomb". It mines uranium from its own reserves.

# Britain to release secret war files

Dion City Store is one year old! We're celebrating with some of the greatest savings offers ever!

Don't miss Dion City Store's 1st Birthday! More savings, more fun events, more competitions, more prizes . . . than ever before!

S

## More Great 1st Competitions!

Prizes to be Won!

Prizes, the prizes will be:

- Gift Voucher
- Gift Voucher
- Gift Voucher

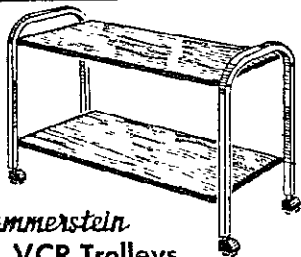
Saturday 24th September

- 08.30 am: Children's Fancy Dress Competition (0-10 years) 3rd Floor Toys Department
- 09.00 am: Rock-and-Roll Competition (any age) 3rd Floor Record Bar
- 10.00 am: Hairiest Legs Competition 5th Floor Furniture Department
- 10.30 am: Drink-A-Litre-Soda Competition 4th Floor Electrical Smalls Department



Viewing ● Contrast to perfect picture ● Aerial ● Accepts

85<sup>00</sup> Dion's Low Price



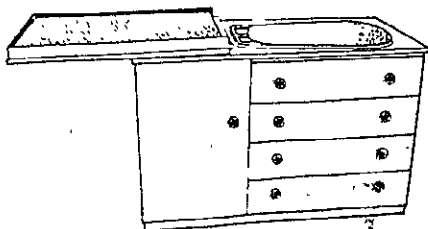
Hammerstein TV & VCR Trolleys

● Sturdy chrome construction ● Top shelf for TV and bottom for VCR ● Beautiful wood veneer finish ● Beading on top & bottom shelf

Were 44,88

2nd Floor

29<sup>00</sup> Dion's Low Price



Jane Baby Compactum with Bath

Luxe  
Dion's Low Price

The exploitation of the one-party system has become entrenched as the continent's problems mount

# No solution for Africa?

Argus (1)  
24/9/83

From RICHARD HALL  
of the Observer

LONDON. — At the end of this month, Mr Shehu Shagari will be

installed to serve a second term as president of Nigeria. It will prove that multi-party democracy is surviving — just surviving — in black Africa.

His own party won a convincing victory over five rivals — there were plenty of charges of ballot-rigging, and several score deaths in tribal and inter-party clashes, but the system survived.

By contrast, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya are preparing for elections in which the outcome is sure. They are the only presidential candidates and their parties must win, since no others are allowed by law.

## Underline

Even in Zimbabwe, after only three years of independence, the die is cast for a one-party regime. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has declared that to be his prime objective, and to underline the message several leading members of Mr Joshua Nkomo's beleaguered opposition party, Zapu, have been detained without trial.

Africa's addiction to one-party politics is nothing new. In the early sixties, the case for it was made on the grounds that educated manpower was scarce throughout the continent, so the "luxury" of inter-party strife could not be afforded.

There was also the argument that it "suit-

ed the African tradition" — although the new black elites were quick enough to adopt other ideas and ways of life that were equally foreign to their pre-colonial culture.

## Confide

It must also be said that the one-party system has not noticeably harnessed national enthusiasms in Africa. Rather, it has produced frustrations among the intelligentsia and encouraged army men to see themselves as the only true opposition. Corporals and colonels alike stand ready everywhere to don the mantle of "redemption" — and many have already done so.

In the oft-repeated phrase of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, "Africa is in a mess." Some expert observers, such as World Bank men, will confide that they think it is in an almost irretrievable mess.

When I took off recently from an economically prostrate country in West Africa, I found that I was sitting next to an economist from the African Development Bank, a sympathetic and intensely dedicated Scandinavian. As our plane climbed and I looked down at the shanty towns around the capital, I said: "What's the solution for that country?"

The economist thought for a moment before answering, then said: "There is no solution."

So it can hardly be claimed that the one-party system and the authoritarianism it has

bred have done the job for which the system was declared so fit. Africa, in its predicament, is taking a hard and soul-searching look at the last testament of Diallo Telli.

This document, recently published in Paris, reveals the death-cell thoughts of an outstanding Guinean lawyer and diplomat who for seven years was secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity.

Telli died in 1977 in Boiro prison, outside Conakry, the capital of Guinea, on the orders of President Sekou Toure. After leaving the OAU, Telli had become his country's minister of justice — he died from 19 days on the "black diet", a traditional punishment which consists of the complete denial of both food and water.

In his testament, Telli revealed his innermost thoughts on the effects of the one-party system throughout black Africa. It can be said that his position as first OAU secretary-general — and the most effective that organisation has ever known gave him an unparalleled authority.

He said: "The one-party system, which is in fashion across much of Africa, cannot be seen as the answer after nearly two decades of independence. In order to stay in power, a one-party system does not hesitate to sacrifice economic development, and the resulting social benefits, to building up armies

which absorb the bulk of national budgets."

He went on to lash out at the manner in which aid to African countries helps to uphold tyrants: "In both east and west, governments take huge amounts of money from their workers' labours to keep dictatorial systems aligned to them politically."

In Telli's judgment, international aid given behind a "conspiracy of silence" about political conditions in Africa worked against the interests of two groups of people — taxpayers in developed countries indirectly paying for "The benefit of ruthless dictators," and the African masses "who are being repressed — or even massacred — by tyrants who monopolise that aid for their own uses."

He argued: "In my opinion, the democratic governments of the rich countries and the international community should look again at their aid policies, and decide to give aid only to those African governments which allow democracy, the exercise of freedom — freedom for the populations the leaders are supposed to represent."

Telli went as far, while expressing his thoughts to a fellow prisoner, who wrote them down and hid them, as to denounce the "sacrosanct principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state." He had come to decide that the African predicament was too desperate for such niceties.

3/19/83  
**Reagan to woo  
Cape Verde chief  
away from Reds**

WASHINGTON—President Reagan will meet the President of Cape Verde today as part of U S efforts to woo former Portuguese African colonies away from their Soviet ties, according to a U S official.

The former colonies include Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and a number of small islands off Africa's west coast, including the Cape Verde islands led by President Aristides Pereira.

In addition to meeting Mr Reagan, Mr Pereira will be guest of honour at a lunch given by the Vice-President, Mr George Bush.

Cape Verde, with a population of almost 300 000, won full independence from Portugal in 1975, and a U S official said the president's visit was being given so much attention for strong political

reasons. 'It has been a very active part of our diplomacy over the past several years to try to rebuild bridges and ties and try to find ways to bring Portuguese ex-colonies back out of the binding engagements they entered into with the Soviet Union and the East Bloc in the years immediately following their independence,' he said.

The U S view is Moscow helped the former colonies to rebel and win their independence from Portugal in the 1970s and then established aid and trade relations to move them into the Soviet orbit.

The former Portuguese colonies 'all occupy in some manner important strategic points along the edge of the African continent,' he added. — (Sapa-Reuters)

# Development conference as counter to SA

LONDON. — As the financial chaos grows among the world's big lenders, and disagreement boils between the US and the IMF, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference pursues its role more doggedly as the main enemy of white domination in the Republic of South Africa.

It recently held its fourth full conference at Maputo, where in 1980 it originally drew donors from around the world to make a preliminary, if shaky, pledge of a billion dollars to help build up a rival economy to South Africa's. After three years' experience of pledgers' reluctance to pay up in full, the nine members, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, are still hard at it putting pressure on the distant donors to part with more money and help in their projects.

The high hopes with which the Conference was begun have shown no visible signs of flagging, even among those who one might have expected to demonstrate a decline of spirit.

## Happy to record

There was a full turn out of members, including Swaziland and Malawi, although one

African newspaper did note that Malawi's head of state, Dr Hastings Banda, did not attend. But the same newspaper was happy to record that "South Africa's inept militarism has managed to drive Malawi towards the front-line states".

One sign of the Republic's military clumsiness was the launching of attacks out of Malawi by the Mozambique National Resistance into the neighbouring Mozambique Zambia Province.

Malawi is particularly keen to establish an operating railway link with the deep-water Mozambique port of Nacala. The sum of 190 million dollars is required to build the line from Malawi to Nacala and work has already begun on this.

Finance for the whole project is to be shared between several donor countries among which are France, contributing 45 million, Canada (12 million) and Portugal (27 million)

## First priority

There appears to be no waiting to start work until the full sum of the money promised is already in the coffers of the SADCC, but the philosophy seems to be press ahead and keep the pressure up on the contributors.

From



Anthony Delius

The first priority among the projects shared among the nine states is given to improving regional transport and communications.

This is intended to break out of the stranglehold which South African railways exercises over the whole region. Another pressing project is to develop communications between Mozambique and Tanzania. These two countries are arguably the two most poverty-stricken parts of the whole SADCC development region.

Tanzania is trying to stave off bankruptcy with IMF aid, after Nyerere proudly refused the conditions of help earlier offered from that quarter. The two countries want to get the shipping and port facilities to trade in textiles with each other and thus free themselves from dependence for such manufactured goods on places further off.

## Fertilizer plants

The SADCC at Maputo produced a progress report showing that about 650 million dollars had already been allocated to projects which were intended to boost the economies of various members and reduce their dependence on the economy of South Africa.

## Potential backers

have been found for some 74 projects involving heavy investment in synthetic textiles, fertilizer plants and paper mills. Investors come from as far apart as Canada and India, bringing in not only money but expertise as well.

The SADCC has an energetic and experienced secretariat located at Gaborone, capital of Botswana. The head of the secretariat is a Mr Arthur Blumeris who worked on African aid and economic development for some time in the Economic Commission for Africa at Addis Ababa, and had experience in dealing with the EEC, in Brussels.

He has been at work in Botswana organizing the office work of the SADCC with a small staff for about a year now.

## Depression

The majority of the SADCC are members of the Commonwealth and Angola and Mozambique were the mainstay of the former Portuguese empire, thus giving their members a pull for aid and finance on both the EEC and the Commonwealth.

Canada and Australia will be particularly eager to join in Commonwealth contributions, as will Nigeria and India. But all these countries are much affected by the world-wide depression at the present moment and for some time ahead.

In a way the confusion on the world's money-markets is something of an opportunity at the present moment. It provides encouragement to go shopping for promises in the future to help on the understanding that the money is not going to be required to be produced immediately, or at least not all the money.



Dr Banda ... he did not attend

The pledgers can make their goodwill gestures without being fully aware of the pressure that the SADCC will inexorably put upon them later. And it gives the leader of the group, Robert Mugabe, the chance of canvassing help, aid, assistance widely about the world and showing his independence of American and British help

## No new members

It also allows the SADCC to be pretty choosy about who it has among its members. For instance Zaire has been trying to get into the Conference for some time, but had to hear from the meeting, spoken by Mobutu's least favourite fellow-leader, "that at this stage no new members should be admitted." The speaker was Eduardo Dos Santos, President of Angola. The hope among those listening must have been that by the time the stage for admitting new members did arise the present President of Zaire will have vanished from the scene, or have been forced into retirement at least



The nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Well-armed gangsters and smugglers from Zaire as well as badly paid soldiers from its own army have turned Zambia's economic powerhouse, the Copperbelt, into a dangerous place to stay, work or travel. Now the army has been sent in to clean up and crack down.

## Zaire-based gangs keep Copperbelt near state of siege

By Brendan Nicholson,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

NDOLA — The Zambian troops deployed against the gangs of Zaire-based bandits terrorising the Copperbelt will find it extremely difficult to pin down their highly elusive "enemy".

Unless the soldiers are permitted to mount hot pursuit raids into neighbouring Zaire, which is unlikely, they will be unable to do more than discourage the criminal element in the short term.

The troops were sent to the Copperbelt to help police combat a wave of holdups and ambushes by well-armed gangs which slip to and fro across the nearby border with impunity.

The violent crime which has been a feature of Copperbelt life for years has left residents of towns as big as Kitwe in a state of near siege after nightfall.

Their homes are invariably surrounded by high walls topped with broken glass, gates are chained and locked and at least one guard is on duty round the clock.

Some residents have fitted their doors with heavy steel backing plates capable of stopping a 9mm pistol bullet.

Unfortunately the bolder bandits simply obtained military-style uniforms, or stole them from the police, and set up roadblocks of their own complete with barrels and poles.

Some drivers did not realise they had fallen foul of the bandits until they were left stripped to their underpants on the roadside as their transport hurtled off into the bush.

A party of golfers was left similarly clothed at the 13 hole of Kitwe golf-course by a party of gunmen who stole almost everything they had, including their clubs.

For years the attacks were generally blamed on soldiers from neighbouring Zaire who often go for months without being paid or resupplied by the central government in Kinshasa.

That theory took a knock when bandits ambushed a motorist one dark night near Ndola only to find he was an off-duty police officer.

He shot one of his "Zairois" attackers dead and the next day the newspapers carried pictures of the gunman's family, all Zambians, grieving around his body.

Then a High Court judge sentencing three Zambian policemen to hang for armed robbery commented: "No wonder there are so many crimes in this province, most of them are committed by policemen."

There is little doubt that some of the attacks carried out by camouflage-clad men with submachine-guns are the work of Zairois, but unemployment and high prices have created an aggressive pool of homegrown Zambian criminals as well.

When Prime Minister Nalumino Munda visited the Copperbelt to examine its problems he was told corruption was rampant among the police assigned to stamp out illicit emerald

mining and dealing.

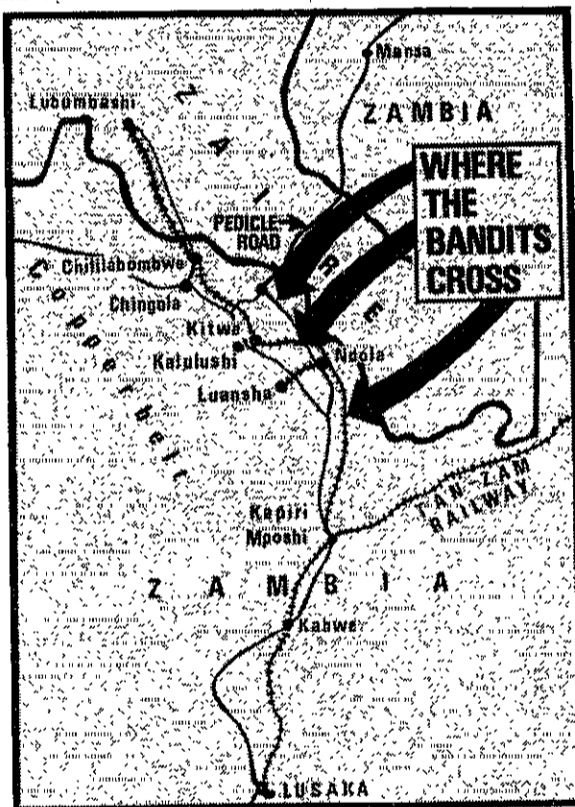
Local chiefs pointed out a group of illegal miners operating only 30 m from a police post.

A judicial commission which investigated Zambia's illegal emerald "industry" said in its report that some criminal mining operations were more efficient than those of the parastatal companies working within the law.

The illegal miners come from as far afield as Senegal and their operations are so big that some can afford to use bulldozers to clear away the overburden.

Zambian newspapers regularly carry reports of unidentified bodies being found after a collapse at an over-ambitious illegal digging.

Copperbelt residents complain that the foreigners are so well established



Zambia's economic powerhouse, the Copperbelt, is being terrorised by armed gangsters.

that they have set up shanty "townships" where French is the main language.

The gangsters are invariably well armed. Often a policeman with an ageing Lee Enfield has found himself confronted by gunmen wielding AK-47 assault rifles bought during the Rhodesian war from guerillas of Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zambia-based Zipra Forces.

Others were acquired on the black market after being found in abandoned arms caches.

Crime control problems are compounded by the extremely peculiar international boundary inherited from the colonial powers.

The border bisects communities of similar historical background which tend to ignore the complications of modern politics. The issue is further confused by the Pedicle, a "peninsula" of Zaire territory which juts far into Zambia.

Zambians crossing from the Copperbelt to northern Zambia are entitled to use the international Pedicle Road linking Mufulira and Mansa and it was on this highway that one of the brutal incidents which sparked the Zambian troop deployment took place.

A Zambian government driver with a vehicle full of medical supplies was forced to stop at a roadblock.

The gunmen manning it told him and his passengers to run for their lives and then shot them down with automatic rifles.

## Professor hits at black Africa's 'radical elites'

By Jean Hey

South Africa serves as a lightning conductor to deflect from the West the extreme frustrations of black Africa, said the head of the University of the Witwatersrand's department of international relations, Professor D T Kunert.

Presenting his inaugural address, entitled "South Africa: the loss of innocence", Professor Kunert last night strongly criticised the "radical elites" of Africa.

These leaders, he said, were likely to keep alive hatred for the West in an attempt to hide their failure to tackle the pressing social and political problems of their countries.

Many of the ideologies of Africa — including those of statesmen such as President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and "Red Uncle Toms" — were based on resentment and rationalised envy of the West, said Professor Kunert.

"The policies they devise are not primarily to alleviate the misery of ordinary Africans but rather to take revenge on the Occidental world," he said.

The "ideological elites of sub-Saharan Africa" had also created the myth that before the arrival of the white man black Africans were free and peaceful "noble savages".

Research had shown that conflict and war

were part of life to the African, he said.

Commenting on the politics adopted by independent African states, Professor Kunert said it was ironical that they seemed to have a "fateful attraction" for aspects of European ideologies such as fascism and Marxism, which had destroyed the old order in Europe.

"Totalitarian orders are sustained by conflict. The imaginary foe provides their sustenance.

"They are 'governments of war' and destabilisation."

Professor Kunert attacked Marxism as an unrealistic doctrine that purported to redeem mankind from social antagonism and conflict and bring unity to mankind.

He also believed most social scientists oversimplified international politics and fantasised a world "where conflict will be converted into voluntary free labour".

The "myth of unity" denied the fundamental fact that the political world was divided, he said.

Peace in this world was precariously balanced and wars were all too frequent.

State conduct was a balance between the "power impulse" and "moral responsibility".

In international relations complex problems were rarely, if ever, solved, the professor said.



# SA food supplies 'are opening doors'

*General JEDM 19/10/63*

CAPE TOWN. — The strategic value of South Africa's agriculture was increasing and opening doors in countries which constantly criticised the Republic's policies, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said last night.

Opening the annual congress of the South African Agricultural Union in Cape Town, Mr Wentzel said South Africa was the only country in Africa that was able to provide almost all of its own food requirements and was one of the few major exporters of food in the world.

"The farmer must be kept on the farm to ensure the country has enough food, and he must be able to farm profitably," Mr Wentzel said.

There were great challenges ahead because the high rate of inflation and the fluctuating climatic conditions, with their effect on production, had made farming a high risk industry in recent years.

Although the Government was doing, and would continue to do, everything possible to combat the drought conditions, farmers would also have to make sacrifices to absorb part of the problems, he said.

In this regard, capital expenditure would have to be curtailed and restricted to only the absolutely necessary, particularly in the current consolidation period of South African agriculture.

Mr Wentzel said a healthy agricultural industry and a happy and satisfied rural population were vitally important

for South Africa. No regional development plan could succeed without this.

An important pre-requisite for a healthy agricultural industry was the availability of local infrastructure, and the vital role the agricultural sector could play regarding decentralisation and regional development was obvious.

Returning to Government aid for farmers, Mr Wentzel said this was not intended to compensate for their losses, but to enable farmers to survive financially until their situations improved.

The drought had hit hard, but the one lesson it had taught should never be forgotten.

"We will have to look at our farming methods very closely. Our motto must be to farm with nature and not against it," Mr Wentzel said. — Sapa.

# Saw more than half the leaders of black Africa

## Political Staff

South Africa's diplomatic contacts are far more extensive than is generally known, Mr Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, indicated last night.

Mr Botha said he had met "more than half" the leaders of black Africa, either here or on hush-hush trips to the north.

This follows the disclosure recently by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that he too travelled abroad secretly from time to time, or welcomed foreign leaders to South Africa "in a quiet and secret way".

Mr Pik Botha's further admission of undercover diplomacy came at a public meeting in Middelburg, where there will be a provincial by-election on the same day as the referendum next week.

The Foreign Minister also told of a secret trip he made to Iran in 1978, when the late Shah was still in power and supplying South Africa with most of its oil.

Mr Botha asked him if he would continue sending oil to South Africa.

The Shah said: "I must be very honest with you — if the UN imposes sanctions I will, frankly, have to comply."

Mr Botha said he was telling the story now because members of the Conservative Party objected to the possibility of Muslims in the proposed three-chamber Parliament, whereas they were "happy to ride around in cars powered by Muslim petrol".

The Foreign Minister clearly made a hit with his 1 500-strong audience last night, demonstrating again that he is a top-ranking orator and one of the National Party's best salesmen.

Middelburg has strong right-wing tendencies — the CP office is across the street from the town hall where Mr Botha spoke — but hostile interjections were noticeably absent as he called for a "yes" in the referendum.

The UN, the Kremlin and the OAU all condemned the proposed constitution, he said, because they saw the potential in it for South African stability.

Conservative Western leaders such as President Ronald Reagan and Mrs Margaret Thatcher would interpret a "no" as a rejection of evolution.

● As a sop to undecided voters in Middelburg who might be swayed by the right wing, the NP has put up posters in the town reading: "Separate development is OUR policy."

(Report by A I Meyerowitz, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

# Pik reveals more 'secret meetings'

(1) Star 25/10/83

# Island envoys seek closer SA ties

By WIM VANVOLSEM

A HIGH-POWERED Mauritian delegation is due to arrive in South Africa tomorrow in what appears to be the first move towards renewed closer ties between the countries.

Reliable sources said Mauritius is seeking to enter into a customs union with the Republic on the same basis as the present arrangement with the BSL states (Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho).

When the moderate three-party alliance of the Prime Minister, Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, defeated Mr Paul Berenger's Mauritian Militant Movement in a general election earlier this year, it said it would seek closer economic co-operation with South Africa "out of necessity".

The official delegation is scheduled to stay in South Africa for just over a week. Delegates are Mr Herve Duval, the Minister of Labour and brother of the the deputy Prime Minister; Mr Tofany, Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Labour; Mr Vanchard, personal adviser to the Deputy Prime Minister and former Solicitor-General; and Mr Nicol Francois, former Minister for Rodrigues, the small island dependency of Mauritius.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Democratic Party leader, Sir Gaetan Duval, was supposed to head the delegation but is unable to make the visit because of pressure of work.

The visit is aimed at promoting mutual trade between the two countries and encouraging South African businessmen to invest in the Indian Ocean island.

The four-man delegation expects to meet Government officials and Cabinet Ministers.

It is understood that Mauritius would like to see a healthier trade balance between the two countries.

A semi-official spokesman said Mauritius was interested in South African businessmen setting up factories on the island, where half-manufactured South African goods could be finished off for export world-wide.

Mauritius would also like South Africa to help with fully-qualified technicians on a contract-basis, as well as negotiate maize and coal imports from the Republic, he said.

Mauritius' present main source of income is sugar — deeply depressed on present world markets — and tourism, mainly from South Africa.

Tanzania orders urgent  
probe following news report



# SA in secret black Africa oil deal

1  
S. Tribune  
13/11/83

Foreign Service

LONDON: Tanzania has been secretly trading in oil with South Africa, despite the country's total ban on economic links with the apartheid regime, reports the British Sunday newspaper, the Observer.

The newspaper said last night that it had established that the multi-million dollar trade had involved Tanzania in exporting residual fuel oil to South Africa over a four-year period, and more recently in importing refined oil from the same source.

The newspaper said it had also discovered that two senior Tanzanian officials, the Energy Minister, Mr. Al Moor Kassum, and the head of the State Oil corporation, Sylvester Bnarongo, were apparently to be paid substantial commission payments by the oil company involved in the trade.

In view of the newspaper's findings, President Julius Nyerere has ordered an urgent inquiry.

He has always maintained a particularly tough stand against apartheid.

He has also fought any signs of corruption in Tanzania.

The Tanzanian Government issued a statement yesterday admitting some of the Observer's main findings, that the UK-registered tanker Ardmore had delivered 30 00 tons of South African oil on October 13.

It gathered that the shipment of this consignment "under misleading documents is a matter of grave concern".

The South African oil deals were arranged by a Swiss-based company called Marcotrade, which is part of Gulf International Holdings of Lichtenburg (not to be confused with the major US oil company Gulf).

It is controlled by the Gokal family of Pakistan.

Mr Abbas Gokal, who holds a British passport, founded Marcotrade in 1974.

Mr Mustafa Gokal, his brother, is a director of the sister company, Gulf Shipping, and also recently served as Pakistan's Minister of Shipping.

The Observer says however that it does not suggest that the Gokal family was aware of the details of the Tanzanian deals.

Two months ago Marcotrade negotiated a "package deal" to supply Tanzania's entire oil requirements.

In terms of the Petroleum Products Act the Tribune last night approached the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr PTC du Plessis for permission to report the claims.

Mr du Plessis said "I am not conceding any of the facts but you may publish because the report is so far from reality and totally untrue."

"By making South Africa the target of suspicion, they are trying to divert attention from the inefficiency and corruption of their own country."

# Soviet setback in Southern Africa

Cape Times 16/11/83 (1)

THE apparent decline in the influence of the Soviet Union is an encouraging sign for Southern Africa as a whole.

The victory of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe — whatever the negative repercussions that event caused in South Africa — was a considerable setback for the Soviet Union, which has been unable to make any headway at all with the Zimbabwe government since independence.

Since then, Zimbabwe has maintained warm political relations with China, the Soviet Union's arch-enemy, and has depended for economic assistance on the US and other Western countries.

## Commitment

Western commitment to Zimbabwe, in order to promote its development and to keep it out of the Soviet camp, is therefore very strong. In spite of recent actions and statements of the Zimbabwe government, which have aroused controversy in the US and Britain, this commitment is likely to continue, because the Western countries see it as in their interests.

The South African government, which values its links with the West, particularly the US, cannot avoid taking into account Western interests in Zimbabwe, whatever it may feel politically about Mr Mugabe's government.

When one moves to the western side of the sub-continent, one finds the only country in the region, namely Angola, where the Soviet Union still has strong links and influence. This influence is due mainly not to the MPLA's ideological commitment to Marxism, but to dependence on the Soviet Union for weapons and military training. The MPLA government also depends on Moscow's ally, Cuba, for troops to protect it against Unita and against what it perceives as the South African threat. The spreading civil war (in which Unita appears to be making decided gains), together with South African military activity against Swapo in the

This is the second of two extracts from a survey of South Africa's relations with its neighbours by Professor JOHN BARRATT, director-general of the South African Institute of International Affairs. The first appeared yesterday.

south, has furthermore contributed to the continuing deterioration of the economy in a country which was considered potentially one of the richest in Africa.

## Since 1977

The future of Angola cannot any longer be considered separately from that of SWA/Namibia, because the two issues have become closely linked. Negotiations conducted by the five Western states have been going on since 1977, with the aim of independence for Namibia on the basis of a plan approved by the UN Security Council. Agreement has nearly been achieved on several occasions, but at the moment there is very little hope of agreement within the foreseeable future. In fact, this Western initiative on Namibia is widely thought to have run its course, as it is difficult to see how the momentum can be revived.

At some stage there will no doubt have to be new negotiations, probably in a different form, taking into account the changed circumstances. But one must at the same time acknowledge that the Western Five's efforts, with those of South Africa and the frontline states, did achieve a great deal in the process of negotiations, even if they did not reach their goal. Those efforts will surely not have been wasted, when the time comes for the parties to sit down around the table again.

There are various reasons for the current deadlock, including South African reluctance — for domestic, political and wider security reasons — to allow a UN-monitored election which Swapo would probably win, and also the South African perception of a security threat by Soviet-backed forces in the region, which it is felt would be aggravated if



The writer

South Africa were to lose control of Namibia. The problem on which attention is focused now is the Angolan civil war and the presence of the Cuban forces, numbering over 20 000.

In effect, if there is to be a settlement of the Namibian conflict, it will be necessary to have a settlement also of the Angolan war, including the withdrawal of the Cubans, all at about the same time. How that simultaneous combination of agreements can be achieved, to the reasonable satisfaction of all parties involved, is very difficult to envisage. Furthermore, at present neither the South African government nor Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of Unita, can have a very strong incentive, when they are enjoying considerable military success.

The danger in this situation, of course, is that the Soviet Union may, perhaps reluctantly, be forced to increase its commitment to Angola, which will cause a further escalation in the conflict. While it is unlikely that the Soviet Union any longer sets a high priority on Angola — and it must be aware of the risks of getting sucked further into a no-win situation — it

probably cannot afford to be seen to be letting down the MPLA government. The same applies to the Cubans, although from all reports they are very reluctant to get involved in any of the actual fighting on the ground against Unita.

On the other hand, the war is becoming increasingly costly to the Angolan government, which has to pay for Soviet and Cuban assistance. In fact, Angola has built up a huge debt to the Russians. The irony is that the main source of revenue, from which Russia and Cuba are paid, is the oil which is produced by an American company.

## US policy

The Angolans clearly appreciate that the only hope of future meaningful assistance with economic development lies with Western governments and private corporations, but that that will not be forthcoming while the war continues. As has been shown elsewhere, the Russians are unable to provide the desperately needed economic aid; their influence depends on the provision of weapons and therefore on the continuation of the conflict. In these circumstances American policy is designed to end the war and get the Cubans out. Then there is reason hope that the Russian grip will loosen, because they will have nothing further meaningful to offer.

For South Africa, too, the costs of the civil war in Angola and the on-going low-level war against Swapo will increase, the longer these conflicts continue and the Namibian issue remains unsettled. The costs will be felt not only directly in material terms, but also in the damage to our international relations, particularly with Western countries.

Within Namibia itself there are growing political and economic problems which, apart from their tragic effects on the people of the territory, add to the burden

on South Africa. A dangerous vacuum has developed in the internal political scene, which aggravates the doubts and lack of confidence about the economic future. The only hope is that the current efforts by some parties to form a credible unified political alliance will bear fruit.

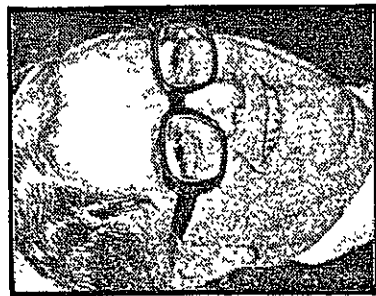
So it must increasingly be in the real interests of both the Angolan and the South African governments to reach agreement on a compromise settlement in this part of Southern Africa. But there is this sort of "chicken and egg" situation, where there must either be an Angolan settlement first to make an agreement on Namibia possible, or, as the Angolans are demanding, an agreement on South African withdrawal from Namibia and Southern Angola first. Some new and wise initiative will be needed to resolve this dilemma, but it is unrealistic to expect that this will occur soon.

If one now shifts one's

focus from these larger neighbouring countries to look very briefly at the smaller and closer neighbours — Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland — one finds similar political and economic problems on a small scale. Their prospects of political stability are affected either by internal strains or by the wider conflicts of the region, or by both. They are also a clear demonstration of the paradox of the region — which applies to all countries mentioned, except Angola — namely political alignment against the South African government and at the same time economic weakness and dependence on South Africa, a dependence which shows no signs at all of being reduced.

This creates a continuing and cruel dilemma for them, which we in South Africa should try to understand, rather than exploit. It is not surprising that they attempt to assert their independence of South Africa by alignment with other states in SADCC and sometimes also by critical rhetoric, as in the case of Lesotho.

# Africa's only hope is cross-border talks



**SIR GEOFFREY HOWE**  
... advice for Africa

**SOUTH AFRICANS** had to realise that destabilisation of their neighbours risked precipitating a situation in which the Russians and their surrogates would become a more powerful factor in the Southern African equation.

This was the tough warning from the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, on the eve of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in New Delhi next week.

Sir Geoffrey described apartheid as "morally abhorrent" and "incompatible with economic dynamics".

Addressing a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society on Monday, Sir Geoffrey warned that, unless the trend towards greater violence and destabilisation was halted, there would be no winners in the sub-continent.

The British Foreign Minister:

## From JOHN BATTERSBY in London

- Urged South Africa to withdraw its troops from Southern Angola;
- Gave notice that he and Mrs Margaret Thatcher would reaffirm the British Government's commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement banning sports contacts with South Africa;
- Ruled out any military collaboration with South Africa or any British help for South Africa's nuclear programme;
- Ruled out British support for economic sanctions against South Africa;
- Committed Britain to a course of contact and dialogue with South Africa with a view to promoting peaceful evolutionary change;
- Expressed the hope that the recent referendum on Constitutional reform would facilitate progress towards Constitutional arrangements "acceptable to the people of South Africa as a whole";

● Noted that only part of the population had been consulted and that the new Constitution had been seriously criticised by the majority of South Africans because it made no provision for them;

● Said he had been encouraged by internal economic forces in South Africa which had already brought about a degree of change and he had no intention of interfering with them through economic sanctions.

In his sharp condemnation of destabilisation and violence in the sub-continent Sir Geoffrey had a message for both sides:

"The black guerrillas should understand

support for or toleration of the work of organisations using violence in the name of politics.

"These concepts must be recognised and acted upon on both sides of South Africa's borders.

"If they are not, the slide to military confrontation, to violence and instability, from which there can be no real winners will continue."

He said it was imperative that South Africa and the black states talked to each other and committed the British Government to supporting and encouraging such cross-border contact.

"But this cannot be the sole responsibility of the West. The first steps have to be taken by Africans — white Africans and black Africans," he said.

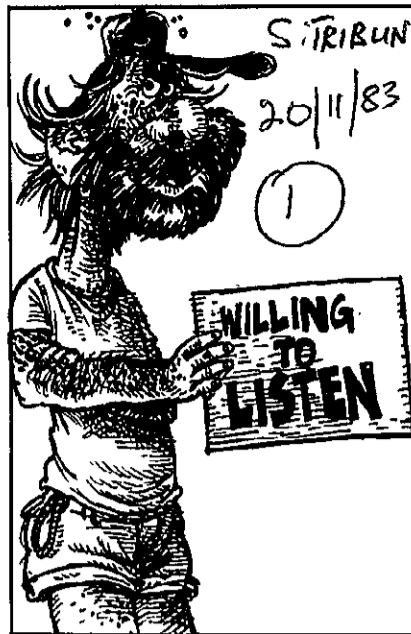
that attacks on South Africa merely strengthen intransigence. They will make the whites even more fearful of making concessions.

"And the South Africans, for their part, have to see that destabilisation of their neighbours risks precipitating the situation they fear most — making the Russians and their surrogates a more powerful factor in the equation."

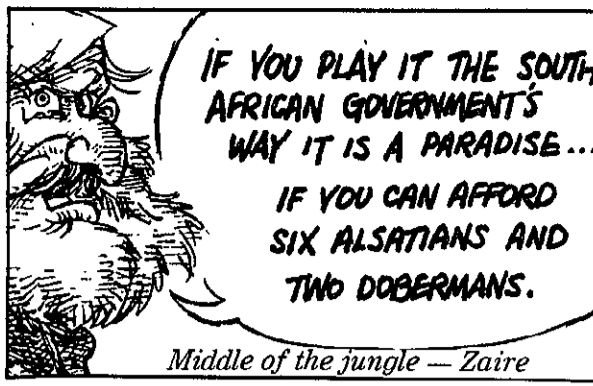
He said a peaceful future for Southern Africa required the recognition of the responsibilities of statehood and of the meaning of sovereignty.

"Those concepts are incompatible with

# FROM THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN ...



The third in a series by globe-trotting Canadian cartoonist Anthony Jenkins



IF YOU PLAY IT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S WAY IT IS A PARADISE...  
IF YOU CAN AFFORD SIX ALSATIANS AND TWO DOBERMANS.

Middle of the jungle — Zaire



I DON'T BLAME THE ANC. I DON'T! THEY'VE TALKED AND TALKED AND TALKED AND TALKED 'TILL THEY WERE BLACK IN THE FACE...

Berea, Johannesburg, SA

## HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



P W Botha



Hastings Banda



Sir Seretse Khama

# The mote in your brother's eye

### South Africa's record

FROM January to August this year, 306 people are known to have been detained, mainly in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act (essentially Section 6 of the old Terrorism Act). When one adds in the unknown numbers detained under similar legislation in the homelands, the number is obviously far greater. At least 114 of those detained incommunicado in terms of this legislation, have since been released without being charged. Since the inception of the Terrorism Act 1967, 4 094 people were detained under its Section 6. Of the 310 people detained under various security legislation between January and November, 1982, only 67 were charged. Another 144 were released and one died in detention.



King Sobhuza II



Leabua Jonathan

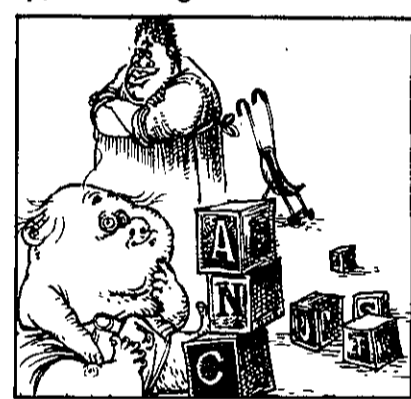


Robert Mugabe

□ Hitching lifts in South Africa, the conversation eventually turns political. It may be wise to make your position clear from the start



□ JOHANNESBURG GARBAGE MAN: Gunslinger from the neck up, trash-slinger otherwise



□ It seems incredible that in country where blacks are granted no political responsibility they are as a matter of course vested with the responsibility of rearing the nation's young as nurses and nannies



By Jasper Mortimer  
Foreign Service

## The influence of the first president's personality

PRIME MINISTER P W Botha recently rebuffed US criticism of South Africa by asking if Washington could say which of the Frontline States had "a free Press, a free political process and respect for private property rights?"

A recent ranking of countries by their human rights record placed South Africa on par with Cuba and now a leading American political scientist, Richard Weisfelder, of Toledo University, has published a paper on human rights in the Frontline States.

The paper begins with the New Testament quote: *And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?*

The paper is called *Human Rights under Majority Rule in Southern Africa: The Mote in thy Brother's Eye*.

Here is a summary of its findings: "In a broad African, Third World or global context", says Mr Weisfelder, "states like Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe have (human rights) records which are surprisingly good."

"Given their special problems and endemic insurgencies, Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique have serious human rights problems but have avoided repressive extremes."

"Malawi has an unenviable history of repression and absolutism."

Tribune Foreign Service

IN examining why some African states have better human rights' records than others, the personality of the first president and his definition of acceptable behaviour is of critical importance, says Toledo University political scientist Richard Weisfelder.

In a paper called *Human Rights under Majority Rule in Southern Africa*, Mr Weisfelder runs through the personalities and powerbases of seven African leaders:

Botswana's fine record owes much to its first president, Sir Seretse Khama, a man who combined an impeccable education with traditional legitimacy and the capacity for independent action — as shown by his controversial marriage to an English woman. This combination enabled him "to build commit-

"Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia have human rights records considerably more tarnished than those of the majority of South Africa's neighbours."

**B**OTSWANA: "Due process of law is the norm. Preventive detention is unknown. All ethnic groups and races have access to government. The only free speech prosecuted has been racial slurs. Four free elections have occurred, (and) the opposition survives."

Among the reasons for Botswana's remarkable record are the high standards set by the first president, Sir Seretse Khama, whose authority was unquestioned, and that "unlike the Basotho, the Botswana people have not been highly politicised. Nor has a well-organised, ideologically-different party threatened to wrest power from the incumbent government"

**L**ESOTHO: Has a reputation for "endemic political instability under a government willing to use all necessary means to remain in power".

Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan "ignored defeat at the polls" in 1970 and has since ruled by decree and Draconian legislation.

However, Mr Weisfelder emphasises that repression has an "ad hoc character", occurring when the government is threatened by events such as the 1974 uprising or the Lesotho Liberation Army attacks since 1979.

The government's inability to snuff out the LLA "encourages more desperate reactions" such as the killing of opposition personalities by the secret Koeoko squad in 1981.

(To be fair to Maseru, the Tribune Foreign Service received Mr Weisfelder's paper from the Lesotho Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

ment to new political institutions and to insist on high standards of accountability".

Swaziland's King Sobhuza II embodied traditional authority and values, but this made it difficult for him to accommodate new social forces. Where human rights were violated in Swaziland, it was in reaction to these forces.

Lesotho's poor record derives largely from the narrowness of Leabua Jonathan's powerbase. As the representative of conservative Catholics and junior chiefs, Jonathan has not been able to "transcend sectional infighting and to harness strong national identity".

Dr Banda's superficial roots in Malawi (he spent 40 years abroad before returning in 1958) help to explain why "centralised coercion became his preferred technique of dealing with challenges to his authority".

**S**WAZILAND: Though King Sobhuza II suspended the constitution, banned opposition parties and detained critics in 1973, the derogation of human rights in Swaziland has been minimal by any comparative standard. "Violent deaths, torture or even sweeping detention of dissidents have not occurred".

The Swazi hierarchy has a low tolerance for dissent. The election of a mere three opposition MPs in 1972 was seen as "an illegitimate contest for power", Mr Weisfelder quotes the academic Absalom Vilikazi.

**M**ALAWI: "Malawi is very much a personalist regime dominated by the whims and idiosyncracies of its president."

It functions as a police state. Dr Banda believes only autocratic power can provide tranquility. He suspended the consti-

tution's civil rights provisions in 1968 and saw no reason to heed court decisions that contradicted his orders.

Not only did he refuse to allow foreign organisations to investigate allegations of human rights' abuses "but he also threatened reprisals against detainees adopted by Amnesty International".

Detentions have been fewer, however, since about 2 000 detainees were freed in 1977.

Dr Banda has not used his authority to legitimise institutions and succession procedures of future leaders will have few means of holding power besides the repressive tools they inherit.

**Z**IMBABWE: Writing before the reports of Fifth Brigade atrocities in Matabeleland, Mr Weisfelder says Mr Mugabe has behaved "with remarkable restraint" in

In Zimbabwe, Mr Weisfelder implies that Mr Mugabe's civil rights record is linked to his powerbase being limited to the Shona people. Neither his stunning electoral victory nor his reconciliation policy can "fully compensate" for this ethnically-bounded support.

The most serious human rights abuses in Mozambique and Angola were prompted by "the breakdown of civil order more than centrally directed policies", Mr Weisfelder says. What distinguishes the authority of their presidents is that whereas Samora Machel became undisputed leader of Frelimo and Mozambique, Angola was split by competing leaders with none able to claim a decisive electoral or military triumph.

The early death of Agostinho Neto made it less likely that his successor, Jose dos Santos, would have the strength to resolve Angola's civil war.

the face of grave problems.

He criticises the Press for focussing on short-lived outbursts of violence and on "rhetorical ministerial pronouncements made for political effect".

Much publicity was given to the trial of former minister Edgar Tekere, charged with murdering a white farmer. Less attention was given to the fact that this key Zanu leader was subject to an independent judiciary. (Mr Weisfelder might say the same about the current Air Force officers' trial).

**A**NGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE: As one-party, revolutionary, Marxist governments which took power without elections, Angola and Mozambique have restricted human rights "to a considerable degree".

The two states have violated free speech and free association through control of the Press, trade unions and youth

groups. They have detained people and mistreated prisoners. Military tribunals in Mozambique operate outside the judicial process.

But the two states have not been guilty of mass terror, wide-spread brutality and recurrent atrocities.

**S**OUTH AFRICA: South Africa is the "most flagrant human rights offender" in Southern Africa.

Mr Weisfelder does not discuss South Africa's internal policies, but finds that the "destabilisation" of neighbours contributes to their "political decay and inability to meet basic needs".

"Having probably helped to limit human rights (in the frontline states), the Botha regime uses these (states)' restrictions to castigate the foibles of majority rule and to justify its own repressive system."

# Nigeria plans African peace force to replace Cubans in Angola

CAPE TOWN 21/4/83

LONDON. — In the middle of this week the Commonwealth meets in New Delhi much concerned to restore its importance in the world. Nigeria, too, will be there intending to demonstrate its importance in the Commonwealth.

The organization undoubtedly feels that it was brushed aside, as Britain, the home of the Commonwealth, was brushed aside, by the American decision to invade the island of Grenada. In any resurgence of the Commonwealth the Nigerians are determined to play their part and make the voice of Africa heard and respected.

## Give the lead

The success of the Nigerian elections, as a major exercise in democracy in the world, will undoubtedly raise the Nigerian influence in the Commonwealth. President Shehu Shagari will appear there as a man who has strengthened his popular position, strongly backed by a smaller and more competent cabinet, and on the way to crushing incompetence, corruption and hesitancy at home. He is again determined to give Africa the lead it has lacked for the past two or three years.

In that vacuum a spectre of desiccation and drought has hung over the continent from

north to south. Nigeria proposes to do her bit, at least, in the recovery of the land and agriculture by expanding the green revolution at home which her financial muddle recently curtailed. Perhaps she will even be able to provide some help in feeding the 22 African nations on whose behalf the UN is now appealing to the world for food



Pres Shehu Shagari ... to take initiative

— but with 90 million mouths of her own to feed, Nigeria won't be able to do much.

There is, however, one problem to whose solution the Nigerians propose to make a major contribution. That is Namibia. President Shehu is well aware that Namibia represents both a world and African failure. For the past nine months it has almost seemed that everybody from the United Nations to the remnants of the Turnhalle party has given up in despair and allowed South Africa the victory of a stalemate. Anybody wishing to give a lead to the states of Africa cannot allow the present "no-go" position over the future of South West Africa to continue.

The Swapo fighters have continued to attack with hit-and-run sorties and advances either in Ovamboland or in briefly maintained excursions into lower Namibia. In spite of South

African military claims that Swapo has been wiped out as a military force it continues to be, at least, a military nuisance with reserves that may build up again. Sam Nujoma may not be the most brilliant leader any liberation group ever had, but he has a dogged quality. He manages to keep the African leaders supporting and supplying him, and he has faithful friends around the world like the United Nations Namibian Support Group.

Perhaps the fact that the Namibian question has become one of the most enduring causes in world politics owes its existence there to an equally dogged man, the Rev Michael Scott. Michael Scott has recently died and now lies buried in Golders Green cemetery, London, and perhaps his last thoughts were about the struggle for the liberation of South West Africa which he continued to promote in exile from his base in the Africa Bureau.

The South African government will be able to take no comfort from his departure from the scene, for by now there is no likelihood that the world's recurring preoccupation with Namibia will ever go away for long, any more than will the world's disapproval of apartheid. Nor does the new activity among the smaller Namibian political parties look

like convincing the international community of real change.

Now the Nigerians intend to raise the whole issue again at the Commonwealth meeting. What's more Nigeria does not intend to allow the matter of the presence of the 30 000 or so Cubans in Angola to fog the question of the presence of even more South African troops in North Namibia and Southern Angola. President Shehu intends to offer the Angolans a force drawn from African nations if Cuba is willing to withdraw its troops or the Angolans ask them to leave. The Nigerian president admits that while South Africans come and go as they please in Southern Angola, the Angolans have every right to seek protection. He doesn't see why Africa should not provide it.

If the Commonwealth is going to be asked to provide a peace-keeping force to guard the island of Grenada against further American and Cuban intervention there, President Shehu doesn't see why the Africans of the Commonwealth should not be asked to provide a peace-keeping force for the Angolans against South African intervention there supported by the Americans.

The Nigerians are presently much out of pocket due to mismanaging their oil sales, but



From Anthony Delius

are quite happy to provide their share of troops to an African force — and as Nigeria is by far the biggest African nation it will no doubt provide the biggest share of the Angolan force.

The Nigerians also feel that Africans are not so helpless that they have to turn to the island of Cuba for help in protecting disordered parts of their own continent. This they feel is a disgrace, whether it happens in Angola or in Ethiopia, and replacing a Cuban force in Angola with an African one can only be a step in the right direction.

The Nigerians have already had some practice in joining an African force to protect the Chadian people from that Cuban admirer, President Gaddafi, and his Libyan Foreign Legion. It is true that the Nigerians didn't accomplish much in Chad, but practice there may make more perfect in Angola.

... ..



# Tanzania denies SA oil dealing

22/11/83  
DAR ES SALAAM — A categorical denial of a British magazine report that Tanzania has been dealing in oil with South Africa over the past four years was issued here at the weekend by the Tanzanian Government.

In a lengthy statement in which it examines point by point allegations in the November 13 issue of Britain's Observer Newspaper that two-way trade has been going on, the government says that any oil deals between Tanzania and South Africa were done without the government's knowledge, against its express instructions and policy and through the use of misleading documents.

Declaring that further action in the matter would be taken soon, the government statement said the reportedly Swiss-based company Marco Trade was one of five companies which tendered for a contract to supply Tanzania with Iranian crude oil and refined products and to export residual fuel oil from the Dar es Salaam refinery.

Having won the contract, Marco Trade shipped Iranian crude into Tanzania and shipped residual oil out to Singapore, Aden, Italy and India.

Replying to allegations that South African oil products were shipped to Tanzania, the statement said that when the tanker Ardmore delivered oil products to Dar es Salaam on October 13 this year, discrepancies in its documents cast doubts on the cargo's stated origin.

It had not come from BP Singapore as declared. BP Singapore had denied shipping it. It was found that the tanker's previous ports of call were Lagos and Cape Town.

# Drought in Africa tightens its grip

James Smith reports from Molimo Nthuse in Lesotho.

The woman strapped her baby to her back and balanced a cardboard box on her head.

The packets of oats, dried milk and vegetable oil from the monthly clinic -- labelled as US foreign aid -- would last about two weeks, she said.

Then she would help build roads, part of Lesotho's food-for-work programme, in return for two packets of corn meal and six cans of fish donated by other countries. That would carry her until she returned to the clinic again.

'Without this we would just die,' the woman said through a Sotho interpreter as she prepared for the day-long trek back to her mountain village. 'We have nothing. We don't even try now to plant anything. It's no use.'

A 'significant proportion' of 150 million people in 22 African countries are facing similar 'catastrophic' food shortages after two years of withering drought, says the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation in Rome.

In parts of southern and western Africa, human suffering is said to be at its worst since the 1973-74 famine below the Sahara desert, which killed several hundred thousand people.

The FAO is seeking an extra 700 000 tons of emergency food donations and 76 million dollars in other aid. The United States doubled its emergency pledge this month to 50 million dollars after the FAO said pledges amounted to just 25 per cent of the needs.

## Grim

Statistics in Lesotho suggest how grim the situation is: production of maize, sorghum and other cereals is down from an annual average of 200 000 tons to 53 000 tons - a loss of close on R40 million. There have been up to 58 000 livestock deaths - a loss of about R12 million. Total direct losses in agriculture are about 30 percent of the gross domestic product.

More than half of Lesotho's 1.2 million people are considered in need of emergency food aid because of drought. The country is seeking 22 000 tons of food supplies from overseas donors to survive until the next harvest in April and May.

The country attributed 100 deaths to the drought in a report six months ago.

## Elsewhere across the continent:

South Africa, the breadbasket of the southern region (which includes Lesotho), produced about 4 million tons of maize this year, less than half the normal output, forcing the country to import for the first time in years.

## Zimbabwe

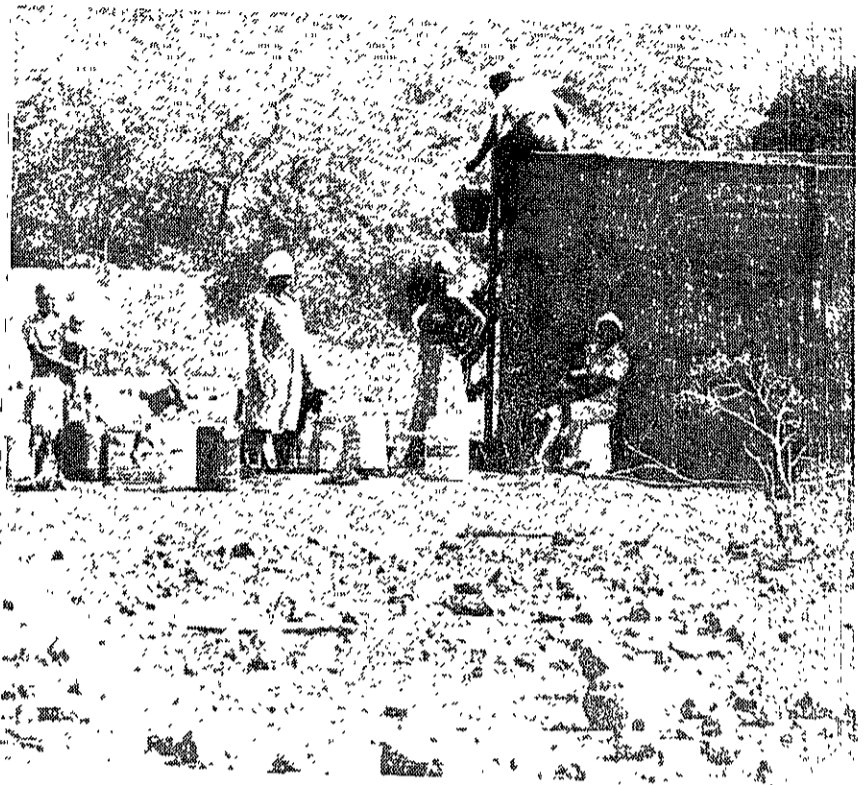
In Zimbabwe, the government says half a million head of cattle will die from lack of grazing and water, a figure similar to that predicted in neighbouring Botswana.

Zimbabwe is in danger of becoming a net food importer for the first time, and some 400 000 families will not grow enough to feed themselves. The maize crop is down from the bumper 3 million tons in 1980 to 600 000 tons.

'The position in the (African) communal lands is catastrophic,' said Eddie Cross, head of the meat slaughtering commission. 'I don't think that's too harsh a word.'

## Mozambique

Mozambique and Angola, both former Portuguese colonies, are contending with guerilla movements that have compounded the drought problems. Food shipments to the needy often are delayed or unable to get through dangerous areas, increasing the hardships of the rural areas.



In southern Mozambique, 'reliable reports suggest dozens have died per day in recent weeks,' states the official news agency AIM.

Although recent rains have raised spirits in the country, the government has estimated the country would need 250 000 tons of grain before the harvest in April.

## Zambia

In Zambia, hungry peasants have resorted to eating grass and roots - some of them poisonous. The *Times of Zambia* reported that seven people died last week after eating poisonous roots.

## The Sahel

In West Africa, unusually harsh dry winds have fanned bush fires in tropical coastal countries. Ghana and the Ivory Coast say lack of rainfall and the resulting vulnerability to fires have sliced production of coffee, their principal export.

Rinderpest, a crippling

cattle disease, has afflicted drought-weakened herds in several countries. Cassava crops have suffered outbreaks of insect pests.

The semi-arid Sahelian countries of Chad, Niger, Mali, Upper Volta, Senegal, Gambia and Mauritania are ravaged by the rain shortfall.

The cereal deficit in the Sahel region this year is estimated at 1 million tons. Officials say, however, that the drought is less severe than that of the early 1970s, and that few deaths have been reported so far.

## Lake Chad

Lake Chad is at its lowest level in more than 150 years. UN environment programme director Mostafa Tolba told the General Assembly in New York last month: 'As a re-

sult of this drought, lake and river water has been severely depleted, animal and plant life destroyed.'

Because of drought, civil unrest and other problems affecting 34 countries, Tolba said, 'Projected famine is likely to be the worst ever in these countries, with millions of people affected.'

## Corruption

Diplomats and aid workers say the difficulties are compounded in some countries by inefficiency and corruption in the distribution of emergency aid.

They say Lesotho is relatively free of these problems, encouraging donor agencies to help. Further, the government opposes handouts to villagers, fearing that they will become dependent on aid, and prefers that

they clear fields or build roads in return for food.

Lesotho has not yet hit bottom, but conditions are worsening.

At the Mophatos Mantsase mission near Mafiteng, the Rev Patrick Maekane said the drought-related diseases of kwashiorkor (protein deficiency) gastro-enteritis and tuberculosis have risen among the 400 children who attend the mission's monthly clinic.

His assistant, Adelaide Nkeli, said: 'Dozens of children have kwashiorkor. Half of them are hopeless cases.'

Chief Masuphe Seiso, brother of King Moshoeshoe II, said, 'Now we are still able to share the little we have. But when even that runs out, what will we do then?' (Sapa-AP)

# Tanzania is beginning to swing away from ruinous socialism

Indications that Tanzania's socialist economy has begun to move to the right — through sheer economic necessity — are emerging almost daily here, as a powerful group of moderate technocrats in President Nyerere's new 1983 government slowly gain ascendancy over the party zealots.

Led by Prime Minister Edward Sokoine, the Government has, since its appointment by President Nyerere last February, brought a new pragmatism to policy and is engaged in a massive clean-up of government departments, parastatals and bureaucratic debris accumulated over the past two decades.

Reforms in agriculture, from which 94 percent of Tanzanians get their living, are affecting all sectors of society. Bumbling, top-heavy State marketing organizations have been told to get rid of their dead wood and run themselves on commercial lines, or be wound up.

Attempts have been made to produce a foreign investment policy with a place and incentives for local and foreign private investment. Plans for huge, Soviet-style collectives have given way to family farms and small village enterprises. Western economists say all this has not come before time, that measures being implemented under a "national economic survival programme" are too late, do not go far enough and will take years to bring a noticeable upswing in the continually declining living standards of what is already one of the world's poorest nations.

In a country where the average

President Nyerere has accepted a more pragmatic way of running his country's economy, reports HENRY REUTER of The Star's Foreign News Service from Dar es Salaam.

monthly pay is R58 and the annual inflation rate exceeds 30 percent, wages have been static for the past two years, the gross domestic product fell by 3.4 percent and exports dropped by 14 percent last year.

Although it is reputed to have received more foreign aid per capita than any other country in Africa, Tanzania's international debt now exceeds R2.5 billion and its short-term debts total another R400 million.

IMF-World Bank aid appropriations made two years ago are now coming to an end. More monetary injections from this source may be delayed because of default in scheduled repayments.

Some cynics maintain that from its present state, the only place Tanzania can go is up.

A key factor in whatever upward movement is now taking place is a report by an agriculture commission chaired by former economic adviser to the President, Professor Simon Mbilinyi.

His report was completed a year ago, and made all the right recommendations — higher producer prices, efficient marketing arrangements, incentives for work, acceptance of several major world bank recommendations etc.

Its publication was delayed, modified, but finally accepted by party politicians. Its tenor is a far cry from

the socialist spirit in which millions were forcibly removed from their family farmssteads a few years ago into agricultural collectives, which were abysmal failures.

Making a virtue of necessity the document provides for large farms to be sold to private enterprises willing to bring in the cash to develop them, and suggests that such enterprises may even be allowed to retain overseas a percentage of proceeds from sales of export crops.

Such concessions are also being given on a piecemeal basis to industrial investors. The agreed retention of 12 percent of export sales revenues is becoming common.

President Nyerere's masterstroke

in February was to make Professor Mbilinyi principal Secretary for Agriculture, charged with implementing his commissions recommendations. This he is doing.

Deepening national poverty is frequently given as the reason why President Nyerere is no longer, to Tanzanians, the idol he once was, although he is still popular.

It is believed that the increasingly popular Mr Sokoine is being prepared for the national presidency when President Nyerere carries out his declared intention to retire in 1985.

Today, there is a quiet but very real struggle going on between the Government and the party for the real power in Tanzania. To the party men, led by former Prime Minister Rashidi Kawawa, socialism is sacred.

But within the Government there are many practical men who seek a better life for the people, now.

SA police arrest 5 foreigners over Seychelles plot

# René's private eye foils coup plan

By NORMAN CHANDLER, EMIELLA JAROSCHEK  
CHRIS OLCKERS and WIM VANVOLSEM

SEYCHELLES President Albert René infiltrated a British private investigator into South Africa to successfully foil an attempted coup against his government.

It was revealed last night that five men — three Britons and two Frenchmen — have been arrested by the South African Police in connection with the plot. They are being deported, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said last night. One Briton is a Zimbabwean citizen.

The arrests took place over the past ten days as a result of evidence handed to the police by Mr Kenneth Williamson, a 36-year-old private investigator who lives in Sussex, England.

Sources told the Rand Daily Mail last night that Mr Williamson had been specifically briefed

## TV to focus on golf at Sun City

By J MANUEL CORREIA  
TV Correspondent

CRICKET lovers will lose out this weekend on TV because the spotlight will be almost entirely on the Sun City Million Dollar Golf Challenge.

In "Sport '83", which begins at 1.30 today, there will be regular crossings to Sun City for live coverage of the exciting event.

After midnight there will be a special wrap-up on the day's play.

The service opens at 2pm

An SABC spokesman explained yesterday that for logistical reasons it had been impossible to provide cricket coverage today as well.

"We have only a limited number of Outside Broadcast (OB) units for TV1. OB units have to be used for TV2 and TV3 coverage as well. Because of the golf at Sun City, which is one of the most important events of the year, we even had to bring up an OB unit from Durban.

"We also have to bear in mind that the City of

by President René to obtain information about a suspected recruitment of mercenaries. He is understood to have met up with mercenaries living in South Africa, and infiltrated the group.

He then reported his findings to a South African undercover agent who in turn informed the police.

Mr Williamson left South Africa on a British Airways flight last night, bound for Nairobi. It is believed he may be enroute to the Seychelles to report to President René.

The undercover agent's name is known to the Rand Daily Mail. His wife told the Mail last night that her husband was "expected home on Saturday."

The couple live in the exclusive Lone Hill area of Sandton.

Mr Williamson stayed at



Special  
squad for  
turkeys

London Bureau

LONDON. — Police are launching Christmas poultry patrols to combat a spate of turkeys and chicken rustling in country areas of the Midlands of England.

Detectives in Worcestershire and Shropshire are worried by the increasing number of raids on farms and are setting up patrols in rural districts.

A spokesman for West Mercia police said: "We also want farmers to help by tightening up their own security."

LONE  
can't  
Botha  
South  
face  
late  
ed Na  
tem  
count  
At  
Lond  
the U  
new  
again  
"The  
along  
South  
ternal  
"With  
South  
Nator  
not re  
inova  
mean  
MA  
PORT  
Port i  
surgeo  
hip wi  
Provin  
denly  
fered  
It is  
wornat  
before  
in the  
It was  
quied  
Ack  
wornat  
spir  
progre  
It is  
doctor  
in the  
medal  
ing on  
there

MS  
and  
Be-  
ly,  
im-  
lar,  
an  
  
in  
pif  
un-  
ise  
or-  
ed  
s." 13"  
I V  
GI  
ic

The undercover agent's name is known to the Rand Daily Mail. His wife told the Mail last night that her husband was "expected home on Saturday".

The couple live in the exclusive Lone Hill area of Sandton.

Mr Williamson stayed at the Kyalami Ranch Hotel, outside Johannesburg, from November 26 to 28 before mysteriously disappearing.

In a statement, Mr Le Grange said the five men "have been detained for questioning by the South African Security Police".

The statement added: "The police are investigating an alleged attempted recruitment of persons presently resident in South Africa as mercenaries to assist in the planning and implementation of a coup d'etat against the Government of the Seychelles."

According to police information, the plan was instigated by people in Britain representing an organisation known as the Movement Pour la Resistance.

"It has been decided to immediately deport those foreigners who do not have residence permits," the police statement said.

The Minister added that the Government was "not prepared to allow any such developments to take place within this country".

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the governments of Zimbabwe and Britain had been informed of the pending deportations.

The spokesman added that the Seychelles Government would be fully informed about the alleged plan.

A Zimbabwean government spokesman said he had heard of the arrest of "Zimbabweans", but he was sure they must be "Rhodesians".

He was not aware of any attempt to deport alleged coup plotters to Zimbabwe.

The Mail was informed that a coup plot was afoot by early August, but that plans crashed when the necessary finances did not come through from allegedly London-based backers.

A source said: "In the first week of August, things were in the planning stage, but then it all fell through because the money wasn't right."

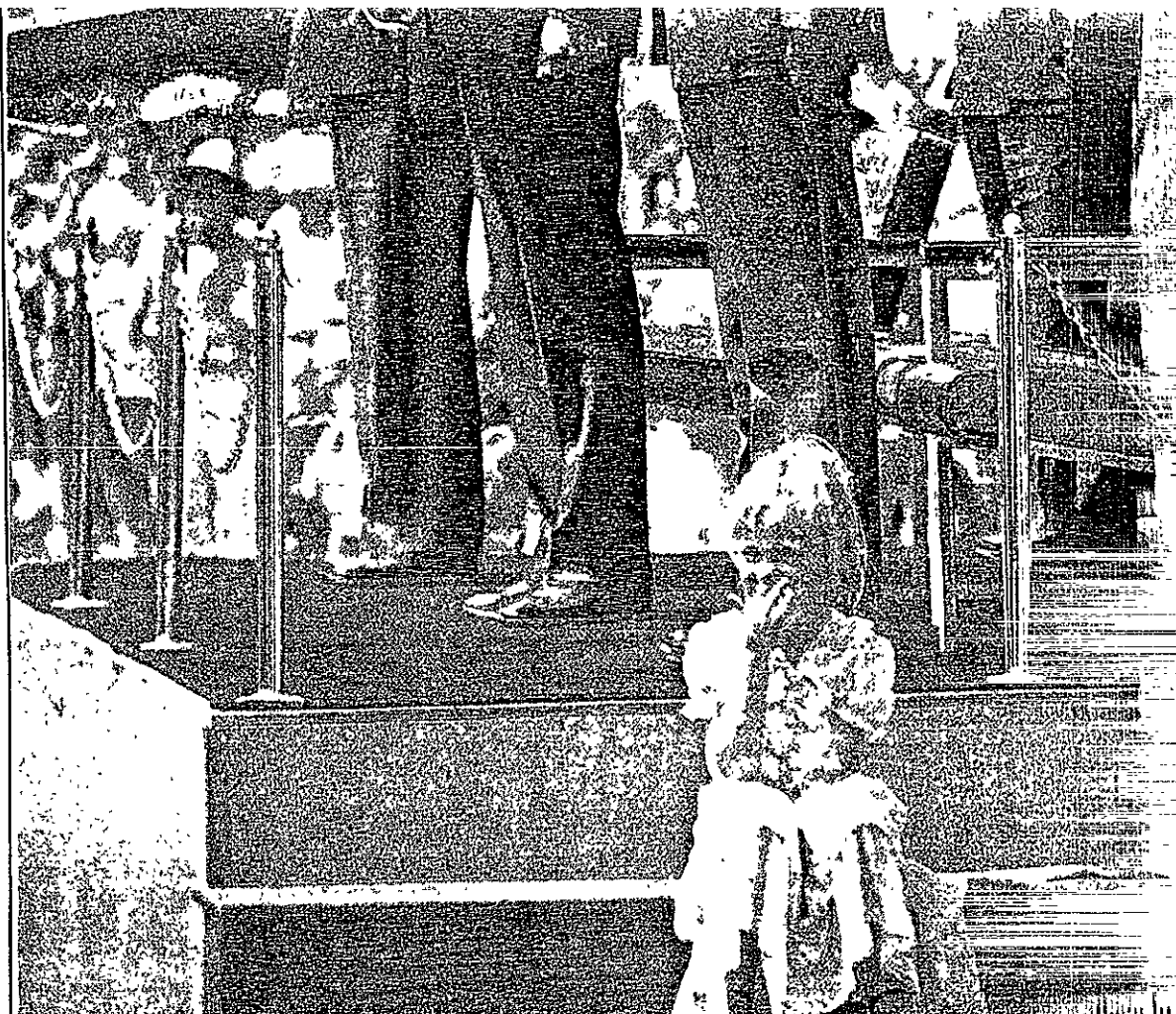
"When I heard something was in the wind again, it was only two weeks since those six men who had been held on the Seychelles since the 1981 coup attempt were returned to South Africa."

Referring to the organisers of the earlier attempt, the source said: "They're at it again — when one plot fails they move straight into the next."

The Seychelles Government reacted unofficially with "great surprise".

No official statement was expected before this morning, the Mail was told.

President Rene was attending a dinner party and could not be contacted.



A little girl takes the salute sitting down ... at yesterday's big passing out parade at the police college in Pretoria West. At the back, from left, the Police Commissioner, General Johann Coetzee, the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, and the college's officer commanding, Brigadier Eric Reynecke.

Picture: JILL EDWARDS

# Voters divided on eve of Soweto council elections

By HARRY MASHABELA and MAURITZ MOOLMAN

GREATER Soweto seems completely divided on whether or not to participate in the local authority elections in Soweto, Diepmeadow and Dobsonville today.

The elections are strongly opposed by organisations such as the United Democratic Front, Azanian People's Organisation and the Soweto Committee of 10. They view the elections as further consolidation of the Government's grand apartheid strategy.

On the other hand, more than 100 candidates from various political groups, such as the Sofasonke Party, Mansingani Party and Makgotla, as well as a number of independents are urging the people to vote.

They believe the "new deal" offers them an opportunity to improve the living conditions of blacks in urban areas.

Results in elections on the East and West Rand during the last week indicated that most residents were opposed to the new town councils. An average of 20% of eligible voters turned out to vote.

There are about 366 000 voters on the roll in the Greater Soweto area. In the community council elections in 1978, only 6% voted in Soweto, 16% in Diepmeadow and 15% in Dobsonville.

The Committee of 10, the United Democratic Front and Azapo, who have launched a series of meetings urging people not to vote, yesterday repeated their opposition to participation in the elections.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the So-

weto Committee of 10, repeated his call for an all-out boycott. He appealed to residents to reject apartheid in all its forms by abstaining.

Candidates in the three townships are contesting 40 wards.

Three of the 30 wards in Soweto are unopposed, two of the seven are unopposed in Dobsonville, and six of the 14 in Diepmeadow.

The "mayor" of Dobsonville, Mr Isaac Mashao, is unopposed, but the "mayor" of Soweto and leader of the All Nations Party, Mr David Thebahall, faces opposition from Mr C S Lengene of the Sofasonke Party in Ward 19. Mr Joseph Mahuhushi, the "mayor" of Diepmeadow, is facing Mr Petrus Mathebula in Ward 5.

Soweto business tycoon and leader of the Sofasonke Party, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, is opposed in Ward 7 by Mr A Kumalo, an independent, while another businessman, Mr David Pooe, a director of Afrimet and a garage owner, has three opponents in Ward 2. No special arrangements have been made by police for the elections, but they will be ready if anything untoward happens, Major Nothmiel Mazibuko said yesterday.

Police patrols would go ahead as normal — despite claims in other townships that old people had been intimidated into going to the polls.

Maj Mazibuko said a number of reports of intimidation were received at the start of the election campaign, but complaints had since decreased.

● See Page 8

Rand  
**DAILY MAIL**  
**TRIANGLE**  
FURNISHES  
**21**  
Soweto half marathon  
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1983

Mall Reporter

LONG lines of spectators cheer about 2 000 runners tomorrow morning as they speed through the streets of Soweto in the Rand Mail-Triangle Soweto half marathon race aimed at raising funds for the host Soweto Harts Athletics Club. Harts are convinced there is adequate talent within their ranks to produce hundreds of classical athletes. But they lack funds.

Hence every runner's entry-fee, as well as the money spent on refreshments, T-shirts at stalls, will be the Harts' dream.

If you have not entered your entry with a cheque or postal order payable to SAAN, or cash, at Orlando Stadium at 6am See you at the starting line at 8am.

● See Back Page

**Big to assassinate President Rene alleged by minister**

# SEYCHELLES HIT SQUAD CLAIM

w/e  
Argus  
3/12/83  
①

**DURBAN.** — The Seychelles Army Chief of Staff and Minister of Information, Mr James Michel, believes an international assassination squad was recruited to eliminate President Albert René and trigger a new coup attempt in the Seychelles.

This follows disclosures by South Africa that five men — believed to be three Zimbabweans and two Britons — had been held in an investigation into South African links in a coup attempt in the Seychelles.

The Zimbabweans are still being detained, but the Britons — one of whom is private detective Mr Kenneth Williamson — have been deported.

South Africa has denied a report that a former high-ranking officer in the Defence Force is one of the five men who were detained by Security Police in their investigation into the plot.

### Brigadier

It is, however, reliably understood that a former brigadier in the Rhodesian Army is among those detained for questioning and that another of those held, also a Zimbabwean, was at one stage a commandant in the South African Army for a short period.

Colonel Leon Mellet, Press officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said today: "I can tell you categorically that no member of the SADF is among those detained in connection with the investigation."

Announcing the arrest of five "mercenaries" allegedly recruited for a coup attempt, Mr le Grange said in Johannesburg last night:

"The Government takes a serious view of the operations planned by particular individuals and is not prepared to allow any such developments to take place within this country."

In an exclusive interview, Mr Michel welcomed what he called "this new approach by the South African Government" in the face of what the Seychelles was expecting to be a new onslaught on its security.

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

He said his government would welcome "full disclosure" of all information surrounding the arrest of the mercenaries in South Africa as soon as possible.

The Minister said the Seychelles Government was aware of mercenary recruitment in South Africa and elsewhere by the London-based Mouvement Pour La Resistance (MPR).

But he denied that details of this recruitment had been exposed by any private investigator hired by President René.

"I am unaware of any such investigator operating on behalf of the President," said Mr Michel.

This follows claims that Mr Williamson, a 36-year old British private investigator, had been specifically briefed by President René to obtain information about the suspected recruitment of mercenaries.

But the plot has been disowned by almost all parties in the Seychelles who might be involved, reports the Argus Foreign Service from London.

This weekend Mr James Mancham, the jovial and colourful former Seychelles President, was the latest personality to deny knowledge of the coup plot.

### "News to me"

Mr Mancham returned from a lecture engagement in Jersey to say: "This is all news to me."

And while South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was telling a Press conference in London that his Government had told Mr Albert René's Marxist government of the arrests, the Seychelles Consul-General, Mr Robert Delpech, and President René's personal secretary, Mr James Thomas, were maintaining the extraordinary events were news to them too.

Weekend Argus Correspondent

## Seychelles hit squad claimed

w/e Argus 3/12/83  
①  
(Contd from Page 1)

The MPR, based in the United Kingdom and investigated by the South African Police over the past few months, is believed to have plotted the coup and recruited the men.

The three Zimbabweans — two of whom are former senior officers in the Special Air Services battalion of the Rhodesian Defence Force — might be released soon because they have not contravened any law.

Although the case dossier is to be referred to the Attorney-General, legal sources have confirmed that the Defence Act does not prevent civilians being recruited for mercenary tasks intended to be carried out in a foreign country.

# New coup plan: 5 held

*CAPE Times 3/12/83*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Seychelles President Albert Rene infiltrated a British private investigator into South Africa to foil an attempted coup against his government.

It was disclosed last night that five men had been arrested by the South African Police in connection with the plot. The men — three Britons and two Frenchmen — were being deported, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said.

The arrests took place over the past 10 days after Mr Kenneth Williamson, a 36-year-old private investigator who lives in Sussex, England, handed evidence to the police.

## Undercover agent

Sources said last night that Mr Williamson had been briefed by President Rene to obtain information about the suspected recruitment of mercenaries. He is understood to have met up with mercenaries living in South Africa, and to have infiltrated the group.

He then reported his findings to a South African undercover agent who in turn informed the police.

Mr Williamson left South Africa on a British Airways flight last night, bound for Nairobi. It is believed he may be on the way to the Seychelles to report to President Rene.

Mr Williamson stayed

at the Kyalami Ranch outside Johannesburg from November 26 to 28 before disappearing.

In a statement, Mr Le Grange said: "The police are investigating an alleged attempted recruitment of persons presently resident in South Africa as mercenaries to assist in the planning and implementation of a coup d'etat against the Government of the Seychelles."

According to police information, the plan was instigated by people living in Britain representing an organization known as the Movement Pour la Resistance.

"Five persons, of whom some are British and Zimbabwean citizens, have been detained and are being held for questioning in this investigation."

The minister added that the government took a serious view of the alleged plan and was "not prepared to allow any such developments to take place within this country".

A new Seychelles coup plot revealed

# Five mercenaries recruited for a second coup attempt in the Seychelles have been arrested in South Africa.

By Mike Cohen,  
Crime Reporter

This disclosure was made last night by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and comes just two years after the November 1981 abortive attempt on the island.

The arrests took place over the past few days as police investigations reached a head. Police had been working on the case for more than two months.

A secret organisation, based in the United Kingdom, is understood to have plotted the coup and to have recruited the men. The organisation, which has been investigated by the South African Police over the past few months, operates under the name Movement Pour la Resistance (MPR). Its headquarters is understood to be in Britain.

According to a statement released by the Minister, the SAP was investigating the "alleged" recruitment of people presently resident in South Africa as "mercenaries" to assist in the "planning and implementation of a coup d'etat against the government of the Seychelles".

The statement read: "According to information this plan was instigated by people currently resident in the United Kingdom on behalf of an organisation known as the MPR.

"Five people — of whom some are British and some Zimbabwean citizens — have been detained and are being held for questioning in this investigation," said the Minister.

"It has been decided to immediately deport those foreigners who do not have South African residence permits."

It is understood the two British subjects have already been placed on a plane and sent home. The fate of the Zimbabweans has not yet been decided.

The Minister, expressing the official government viewpoint, said: "The Government takes a serious view of the operations planned by particular individuals and is not prepared to allow any such developments to take place within this country."

① R-4 3/12/83





Kenneth Williamson

*D/E Argus*  
**Deported  
private  
detective  
silent**

*3/12/83*  
**Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service**

LONDON. — A Briton allegedly involved in a plot to overthrow the Seychelles Government flew into London today — but failed to clear up the mystery surrounding the foiled coup plot.

Mr Kenneth Williamson, 36, a private detective from Sussex, arrived at Heathrow Airport aboard a British Airways flight from Johannesburg.

Stern-faced and looking tense, Mr Williamson was tight-lipped about his involvement.

**'Shattered'**

He was one of five men arrested in South Africa in connection with the alleged plot to overthrow President Albert René.

"I'm not saying anything — for one I'm shattered and secondly I don't want to comment until I've been in touch with the authorities here.

"I'm going to spend the weekend at home having a good long rest. If you had spent the last five days in the cooler, you'd probably do the same," he said.

It is believed that Mr Williamson infiltrated the plotters on behalf of the Seychelles Government and helped to expose the attempted coup.

**Security**

But the Seychelles Consul-General in London, Mr Robert Delpech, also denied knowledge of Mr Williamson being hired by the Seychelles Government.

"Frankly speaking, I don't know anything. The first I heard about it was when I read of it," he said.

But Mr Delpech added: "Even if one knew about it, one would find it very difficult to confirm or deny these sorts of thing because they are security matters.

"I could not say either way if these reports are true or false and it would be very rash of me to make any statement without knowing this," he said.

①

3/12/83

# Rene's private eye deported as coup plot uncovered

By MIKE CADMAN

THE British private investigator who unearthed the latest plot to overthrow the Seychelles Government was deported from South Africa on Friday night.

It is believed that another man was deported on Thursday.

South African police detained five men, including British private investigator Mr Kenneth Williamson, for questioning in connection with the plot during the past 10 days.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said in a statement this week

three Britons and two Frenchmen had been arrested and were to be deported.

One of the Britons is a Zimbabwean resident, while the others are Zimbabweans with British citizenship.

On Friday night, Mr Williamson, 36, was escorted on to a British Airways flight to London by three airport security officers.

He arrived in London yesterday morning.

Reliable sources say one of the detained men is a former Rhodesian Army brigadier, while another of the

Zimbabweans was allegedly a commandant in the South African Army for a short period.

The Press officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Colonel Leon Melet, said yesterday no members of the South African Defence Force were among those detained.

In a statement released on Friday, Mr le Grange said: "The South African Police are investigating an alleged attempted recruitment of persons presently resident in South Africa as mercenaries to assist in the planning and implementation of a coup d'etat against the government of the Seychelles."

Mr le Grange said South Africa "was not prepared to allow such developments to take place in this country". The arrests were allegedly a result of information passed to the police by Mr Williamson.

Mr Williamson was specially briefed for his task by the Seychelles President, Mr Albert Rene, and had reportedly been recommended to Mr Rene by a Northern Ireland security adviser, Mr Ian Withers.

Mr Withers, 40, an electronic bugging expert, was responsible for infiltrating the Seychelles resistance movement in October 1982 when an invasion was planned from a room in the Carlton Towers Hotel in London.

This is the latest of several plots to overthrow the Seychelles Government.



● Kenneth Williamson, right, pictured on his arrival in London yesterday.

In 1981 a group of mercenaries led by Colonel Mike Hoare staged an abortive coup. Most escaped by hijacking an air India airliner and ordering the pilot to fly to Durban.

They were later tried in South Africa and sentenced to various prison terms. Some have since been released, while others, including Col Hoare, are still in prison.

The Seychelles Government recently released the five mercenaries captured in the coup attempt.

In November last year, Durban-based recruiters attempted to raise another mercenary force to overthrow the Rene government. A Durban-based mercenary, Mr Mike Asher, died in a mystery explosion on the islands in October last year.

# TOP SECRET TOPO SECRET

## Seychelles Army chief tells of plan for fly-in assassination tea

By Eugene Hugo,  
Roy Cokayne  
and Eddy Andries

SEYCHELLES President Albert Rene was to be assassinated by a team of killers flown to the tropical island paradise for the task, the Sunday Tribune was told this week.

Mr James Michel, Seychelles Army Chief of Staff and Minister of Information, made this claim in an interview with the Tribune.

At the same time a British private detective, who allegedly penetrated mercenary circles in South Africa on behalf of the Seychelles Government, arrived back in Britain and refused to comment on first reports that he had been instrumental in foiling another coup attempt.

Mr Kenneth Williamson, 36, a private detective from Sussex, arrived at Heathrow airport from Johannesburg and refused to confirm or deny his alleged role in scuppering the plot.

South African authorities have also announced that three Zimbabweans — two of whom are former senior officers in the Special Air Services Battalion of the former Rhodesian Army — are being held for their alleged involvement in a Seychelles coup plot and two Britons have been deported from South Africa after their initial arrest in connection with the alleged plan to topple the Seychelles Government.

But in spite of the arrests, it is virtually certain there can be no legal action against the men — so far unidentified — even though a dossier has been referred to the Transvaal Attorney General, Mr J Nothling.

Legal sources yesterday confirmed there was nothing to prevent civilians being recruited here for mercenary tasks to be carried out in a foreign country.

It is understood enabling legislation is being considered to prevent the activities of groups planning hostile action against foreign states from South Africa.

This week's events followed three previous attempts to overthrow President Rene.

According to Mr Michel these included:

- The abortive coup launched by former Congo mercenary Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare in November 1981;
- A subsequent plot which was foiled in London after the room of members of the Movement Pour la Resistance (the Seychelles resistance



■ Alleged spy  
Ken Williamson

movement) was bugged on behalf of the Seychelles Government;

- A bomb plot in which a South African was blown up with his own explosives on a Seychelles beach.

Police Minister Louis le Grange has disclosed that attempts were made in South Africa to recruit in mercenary force for a Seychelles coup and said such activities would not be tolerated.

In his interview with the Tribune, Mr Michel also welcomed what he termed "this new approach by the South African Government" in the face of what the Seychelles was expecting to be a new onslaught on its security.

Five men were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act over the last two weeks and

investigations are continuing into their activities.

Police information suggests that the latest coup plans were instigated by members in Britain of the MPR, formerly run from Durban by a Mr Gerard Hoareau, who was a close confidant of former Seychelles President James Mancham.

Mr Hoareau could not be reached in London yesterday but Mr Mancham denied any knowledge of the coup plot.

"This is all news to me," he said.

Man in the middle of the murk, investigator Williamson, arrived at London's Heathrow looking stern-faced and tense. He refused to comment on his alleged role as the informant who alerted President Rene to the latest dangers facing his island republic.

He was met by his wife, Diana, and referred all inquiries to a Mr Ian Withers, a security adviser based in Belfast who is believed to have recommended Mr Williamson to the Seychelles Government.

Mr Withers was unavailable for comment.

All Seychelles Government sources denied any official link with Mr Williamson.

*(Handwritten scribble)*

*S. T. Johnson*

*4/12/83*

# Rene: I knew of the plot <sup>1</sup>

*CAPE TIMES 5/12/83*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The President of the Seychelles, Mr Albert Rene, said in an interview yesterday that he had been aware all the time of a plot against him in South Africa.

He said he was surprised to hear that only five people had been arrested in connection with the alleged recruitment of mercenaries, as he claimed to have information that actual training of "many people" had already been in progress for weeks, "if not months".

Speaking from his private residence, the president said he was also surprised that the "famous" South African security police had not acted.

"I can tell you that the SA Government knew what was going on and that they knew very well that we knew as well," President Rene said.

## Allegedly infiltrated the plotters

He said he did not know Mr Kenneth Williamson, the man who allegedly infiltrated the plotters in South Africa under instructions of Belfast investigator Mr Ian Withers.

Asked whether Mr Withers was acting under his instructions, all President Rene was prepared to say was that he had known Mr Withers for quite a number of years.

President Rene said he had information that training of mercenaries to invade the Seychelles and oust him and his government was taking place at a training camp about 50km from Johannesburg.

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, reacted to President Rene's claims last night.

He asked why, if the Seychelles president knew of the alleged plans being made for the coup, did he not inform the South African authorities.

"It seems President Rene is very well-informed — if so, why didn't he let us know?"

'Military' tourist led to camp near Jo'burg

# Spy network uncovered island coup

①  
Star  
5/12/83

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The latest Seychelles coup attempt was discovered by President Albert Rene's Government last month when one of the plotters made a reconnaissance trip to the tiny island, says the London Sunday Times.

The newspaper says three Britons and two Frenchmen were arrested at a "training camp" near Johannesburg after one of the plotters, disguised as a tourist, visited the island.

But, at 1.9 metres tall and walking with a distinct military bearing, he immediately aroused suspicion on one of the island beaches.

Seychelles Government agents, including Mr Kenneth Williamson who arrived in London on Saturday from South Africa after being in detention for a week, followed him back to South Africa and kept him and his fellow mercenaries under surveillance.

This led to the discovery of a secret training camp 20 km outside Johannesburg where British mercenaries — ex-members of the Rhodesian Special Air Services — were rehearsing for an attack on President Rene's residence.

Two of Mr Rene's agents, Mr Williamson, a Londoner, and Mr Paul Armussen, a South African, were seen watching the mercenaries by South African police who arrested them and five of the plotters, holding all incommunicado for a week, the newspaper says.

Mr Williamson works for a British security

company.

The latest anti-Rene plot was organised by the same three exiled Seychellois rebels — Mr Paul Chow, Mr Eddie Camille and Mr Gerard Hoareau — who were behind the 1981 coup attempt and yet another plot, organised from London last year.

The exiles, who live in Britain, represent the Mouvement Pour la Resistance. But Mr Paul Chow denied the rebel movement had any involvement in the affair. So also did former Seychelles President, Mr James Mancham, who lives in Putney, South London.

In fact, says the newspaper, the three exiled leaders have been plotting for the past few weeks. Mr Rene, who employs private investigators around the world to keep track of his enemies, successfully infiltrated the coup attempt.

He learned that the movement planned to kill him and his Ministers in the hope that the Seychelles would become destabilised like Grenada. The rebels would then ask for outside military help to ensure their own takeover.

On Saturday, President Rene said he was delighted that the latest plot had been foiled before the mercenaries could reach the islands.

Mr Williamson has been silent since his return to London on Saturday.

"I'm not saying anything. I don't want to comment until I've been in touch with the authorities here. I'm going to spend the weekend at home having a good long rest. If you had spent the last

five days in the cooler you would probably do the same," he said.

Mr Williamson was met at the airport by his wife, Diana.

He referred all inquiries about the plot to Mr Ian Withers, a security adviser based in Belfast, who is believed to have recommended Mr Williamson to the Seychelles Government.

But Mr Withers was not available for comment and a spokesman at his office said he was not expected back until next week.

Seychelles consul-general in London Mr Robert Delpech denied any knowledge of Mr Williamson being hired by the Seychelles Government.

"Frankly, I don't know anything. The first I heard about it was when I read about it," he said.

But he added: "Even if one knew about it, one would find it very difficult to confirm or deny these things because they are security matters.

"I could not say whether these reports are true or false and it would be very rash of me to make any statement without knowing this," he said.

A spokesman for the British Foreign Office said there was "absolutely nothing" he could say at the moment.

"We are aware of the reports about the arrest of Britons but we haven't yet heard from our embassy in South Africa," he said.

The spokesman said they were not sure yet if any Britons were, in fact, being held in South Africa in connection with the coup plot and he did not think they would hear from the embassy until later this week.



Seychelles Government agent Mr Kenneth Williamson arriving at London's Heathrow Airport on Saturday after being held in detention in South Africa for a week.

ARGUS 5/12/83

# An incomprehensible error of judgment

CLIFF SCOTT of the Argus Foreign Service reports from London on the effects of the South African Foreign Minister's sideswipe at the British Government at a most inopportune time

WHILE Mr Pik Botha was sniping irritably at the British Government from Lisbon last week the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, was doing her best in Delhi to blunt the Commonwealth's attack on South Africa.

It was an incomprehensible error of judgment by Mr Botha.

There can be little doubt that when he attributed to the Portuguese Government "a better understanding of African issues than many so-called conservative governments" he was including the British Government in the sideswipe, as well as West Germany. He certainly was not talking about the Reagan administration, which is the only other truly conservative government which cuts any ice in Southern Africa just now.

## Makes no sense

It might have been opportune to flatter Lisbon's leaders. After all, if they can be persuaded to use their good offices to bring about better understanding between Pretoria, Luanda and Maputo it would be a major political advance. It could help to create a climate in which the Namibia-Cuban linkage impasse

can be broken. The entire Western world, and many of the non-aligned states, would breathe a great sigh of relief.

But it makes no sense at all to insult known allies in public — however disappointingly lukewarm their support may be — in the search for new friends.

Back in Delhi, the Commonwealth leaders, dominated by the Third World were baying, for South Africa's blood. They called for outright rejection and condemnation of the new Constitution. They demanded unconditional and immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

## Groundwork

Mrs Thatcher, perhaps understanding the realities of the Southern Africa situation better than Mr Botha gives her credit for (she is noted for doing her homework thoroughly), steadfastly rejected the condemnation of the new constitution. She insisted that time was needed to see how things turned out.

And she insisted that the words "immediate and unconditional" should be deleted from the communiqué's reference to

South African troop withdrawals from Angola.

Mr Botha and his Cabinet colleagues are certainly displeased about the British Government's refusal to accept the linkage concept. But rather than get involved in casual Brit-bashing, they would serve South Africa better by recognising that the British leader is prepared to go out on a limb for them, and to bear the abuse of less-temperate Commonwealth leaders in matters of principle and commonsense.

## Understandably irked

Mr Botha's remark at his Lisbon Press conference is even more gratuitous because he must have known about the determined groundwork British officials did before the Commonwealth heads of government conference to take some of the heat off South Africa.

This groundwork was done at a meeting of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa. At that meeting, as my colleague John d'Oliveira reported authoritatively and exclusively last week, African Commonwealth countries called for drastic action against South Africa in Delhi, including an oil boycott.

This was resolutely opposed by the British official at the meeting, Mr C W Squire, who plays a key role in formulating British policy towards the Republic.

D'Oliveira reported that Mr Squire went even further. He told Commonwealth officials Britain would not consider any further sanctions against South Africa at the present time.

It is understandable that Mr Botha has been irked by the British stance on linkage in the Namibia negotiations, and has also certainly been offended by the recent outspoken rejection of apartheid by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

But his thin-skinned public response cannot serve South Africa's best interests. The fact is that the "so-called conservative Government" in London recognises the realities of Southern Africa, and is fighting to win time for South Africa to solve her problems peacefully.

The British Government remains to that extent a friend of South Africa. It is politically unrealistic to expect friends to agree with everything that stands for.

# Businessmen

Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The five men arrested in South Africa for allegedly plotting another coup attempt in the Seychelles were planning to carry out a four-year-old "contract" to topple the island government.

An investigation by The Star has revealed that the latest bid to take over the islands was part of a scheme by an international consortium aimed at establishing a non-

ey-spinning 'playboy paradise' to establish luxury hotel and casino complexes.

Top officers of the now-defunct Special Air Service, Rhodesia's elite strike force, were first offered the "contract" to take over the islands in a commando-style raid late in 1979.

The consortium behind the coup plans, said to be made up of businessmen from the United States and the Middle East with the backing of exiled Seychelles leaders, planned

the SAS, the commandos said they needed time to do a full reconnaissance of the islands," said one source.

The SAS decided to disband after Zimbabwe's independence in April 1980 and many of its men and officers moved to South Africa.

"Apparently some recon trips to the Seychelles were carried out," said one former Rhodesian officer. As planning went ahead slowly

# 'planned coup to turn Seychelles into playboy paradise'

for the SAS coup, veteran mercenary leader Colonel Mike Hoare apparently heard of the plans. Colonel Hoare's coup attempt ended in a fiasco. He and his men were caught at Mahe Airport trying to smuggle their arms into the country in kitbags.

"It appears that the latest coup plan is a renewal of the original contract offered to the SAS men," sources said.

1/2/83

# Latest coup plot linked to 4-year island 'contract'

1 Star 5/12/83

By Andrew Walker and Mike Cohen

The five men arrested in South Africa for allegedly plotting another coup attempt in the Seychelles were planning to carry out a four-year-old "contract" to topple the island Government.

An investigation by The Star has uncovered an amazing tale of intrigue, revealing that the latest bid to take over the islands was part of a scheme developed by an international consortium which aimed to establish a money-spinning "playboys' paradise" in the Seychelles.

Top officers of the now defunct Special Air Service, Rhodesia's elite air borne strike force, were first offered the "contract" to stage a takeover of the islands in a commando-style raid late in 1979.

## Luxury hotels

The consortium behind the coup plans, said to be made up of businessmen from the United States and the Middle East with the backing of exiled Seychelles leaders who fled the islands when President Albert Rene took over in 1977, had planned to establish luxury hotel and casino complexes on the island.

The country would be run by the business consortium, with a "political figure-head government" being established.

Ex-SAS men and a former Rhodesian intelligence officer told The Star that the consortium aimed to develop fully the islands' tourism potential.

The "contract" for toppling of President Rene's socialist Government was first put out in late 1979, and was offered to some top officers in the SAS as independence loomed in Rhodesia.

## Holiday complex

The men were asked to stage a coup on the islands. In return they would either be paid in cash, or would get shares in the holiday complex.

"The offer was accepted in principle, but the commandos said they needed time to do a full reconnaissance of the islands and the opposition which an invading force would face, and a comprehensive study of the equipment and arms needed," said one source.

The SAS decided to disband after Zimbabwe's independence in April 1980, and many of its men and officers moved to South Africa.

"Apparently some reconnaissance of the Seychelles were carried out," said one former Rhodesian officer who was later asked, but refused, to take part in Colonel Mike Hoare's abortive coup attempt in November 1981.

As the SAS coup bid started to take shape, veteran mercenary leader Colonel Hoare apparently heard of the plans and approached the political figureheads who were waiting to be put into power by the international consortium.

"Hoare offered a shoe-string operation. He said he could stage the coup quickly, and for half the price. He was given the go-ahead," said the sources.

"It appears the latest coup plan was a renewal of the original contract offered to the SAS men," sources told The Star.

It has been established that the five men arrested in South Africa for allegedly plotting a new coup were led by a former senior officer in the SAS, who has lived in South Africa for about two years.

## Two deported

Two of the men arrested have already been deported to Britain, and the other three are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The section allows for a 14-day period of detention.

It is understood that the men will be released without charges being brought against them.

The five men were arrested in Johannesburg and Durban as a result of evidence gathered and handed to the police by Mr Kenneth Williamson, a private investigator who lives in England.

● See Page 11, World Section.



By WIM VANVOLSELEN

THE President of the Seychelles, Mr Albert Rene, yesterday said he had been constantly aware of what was being plotted against him in South Africa.

In an interview with the Rand Daily Mail he said he was surprised to hear that only five people had been arrested in connection with the alleged recruitment of mercenaries.

He claimed to have information that actual training of "many people" had already been in progress for weeks "if not months".

Speaking from his private resi-

# SA Govt knew what was going on —

dence, the President said he was also surprised that the "famous" Security Police had not taken any action and apparently did not know what was going on until tipped off by a private investigator.

"I can tell you that the South African Government knew what was going on and that they knew very well that we knew as well," he said. He said he did not know Mr Kenneth Williamson, the man who had

allegedly infiltrated the plotters in South Africa under instructions from Belfast investigator Mr Ian Withers.

Asked whether Mr Withers was acting under his instructions, all President Rene was prepared to say was that he had known Mr Withers for quite a number of years. The President claimed that apart from the five men arrested, a woman in South Africa was also "very much involved" but declined to name her. He said the Security Police would know about her.

He said that so far he had received no official communication from Pretoria on the arrests. The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, last night asked why President Rene had not informed the South African authorities if he knew of the alleged plans for the coup.

## Only 10,7% vote for Soweto's first town council

# Elections unseat

# Soweto's 'mayor'

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE "Mayor" of Soweto, Mr David Thebehali, and his deputy, Mr T J Makhaya, were both defeated in the first elections for a Soweto town council under the Black Local Authorities Act at the weekend.

The defeat of Mr Thebehali and Mr Makhaya by candidates of the Josafonke Party aside, the central feature of the election was the low roll of barely more than 10%.



# No US-Israeli military pact, says Israeli

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
JERUSALEM. — Israel and the United States did not sign a military co-operation during Prime Minister, Mr Yitzhak Sha-

co-operation had not been discussed. Speaking after yesterday's Cabinet meeting, during which Mr Shamir and Defence Minister Mr Moshe

He said that so far he had received no official communication from Pretoria on the arrests. The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, last night asked why President Rene had not informed the South African authorities if he knew of the alleged plans for the coup.

He said that if President Rene's government "meant well" with South Africa, it was to be expected

By RODNEY HARTMAN

HENRY FOTHERINGHAM, the man who emerged from the backwash of South African provincial cricket last season to become the country's most consistent batsman, is the only new cap in the Springbok team to play Lawrence Rowe's West Indies XI at the Wanderers stadium on Wednesday.

The 30-year-old opening batsman is one of seven Transvaal players in a 12-man squad for the day/night international starting at 2 pm.

"It's fantastic news," said a stunned "others" who was told of his selection while watching the Million Dollar Golf Challenge at Sun City yesterday.

Western Province captain Peter Kirsten has been re-appointed to lead a team that includes two other provincial skippers in Natal's Mike Procter and Transvaal's Clive Rice.

TH  
Jin  
Ing  
Ca)  
Ric  
Mit  
Mi  
(W)  
nin  
per

# DA Govt knew what was going on — Rene

12/87

...the President said he was surprised that the 'famous' Security Police had not taken any action and apparently did not know it was going on until tipped off by private investigator.

He can tell you that the South African Government knew what was going on and that they knew very well we knew as well," he said. He said he did not know Mr Ken-Williamson, the man who had

allegedly infiltrated the plotters in South Africa under instructions from Belfast investigator Mr Ian Withers. Asked whether Mr Withers was acting under his instructions, all President Rene was prepared to say was that he had known Mr Withers for quite a number of years. The President claimed that apart from the five men arrested, a woman in South Africa was also "very

"South Africans are involved. And from past experience we know that they are covered," he said. "I find that very strange," he said. "The activities to my knowledge have been going on for weeks, if not months. Whether the South African authorities knew about it or not is an interesting question," he said while laughing. Throughout the interview the President was sarcastic about the role of the Security Police.

He said that so far he had received no official communication from Pretoria on the arrests. The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, last night asked why President Rene had not informed the South African authorities if he knew of the alleged plans for the coup. He said that if President Rene's government "meant well" with South Africa, it was to be expected

that he would have informed South Africa of what was taking place. "It seems President Rene is very well informed," said the Minister. "If so, why didn't he let us know?" "We have no knowledge at all of the facts he is alleging. If we had, we would have acted earlier." The Minister said he was entirely satisfied that the South African Police had acted immediately once they knew the situation.

## Vote for Soweto's first town council

# itions unseat

# eto's 'mayor'

**By RODNEY HARTMAN**  
HENRY FOTHERINGHAM, the man who emerged from the backwaters of South African provincial cricket last season to become the country's most consistent batsman, is the only new cap in the Springbok team to play Lawrence Rowe's West Indies XI at the Wanderers stadium on Wednesday.

## 'Fothers' makes the Bok team

The 30-year-old opening batsman is one of seven Transvaal players in a 12-man squad for the day/night international starting at 2 pm.

**THE SPRINGBOK TEAM:**  
Jimmy Cook (Tvl), Henry Fotheringham (Tvl), Peter Kirsten (Wp), Graeme Pollock (Tvl), Clive Rice (Tvl), Kenny McEwan (Wp), Mike Procter (Natal), Adrian Kulper (Wp), Alan Kourie (Tvl), Ray Jennings (Tvl), Garth le Roux (Wp), Rupert Hanley (Tvl).

See Back Page



# No US-Israeli military pact, says Israeli Govt

**By ROY ISACOWITZ**  
JERUSALEM. — Israel and the United States did not sign a military co-operation pact during Prime Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir's visit to Washington.

co-operation had not been discussed. Speaking after yesterday's Cabinet meeting, during which Mr Shamir and Defence Minister Mr Moshe Arens had given details of

ian envoy in London said yesterday that the reported US-Israeli military co-ordination in Lebanon was a "fact" and defended the shooting down of two American war planes over Liba-

Speaking after a four-hour meeting with French Defence Minister, Mr Charles Hernu, Mr Weinberger said: "Some 28 planes have participated in an air-strike early yesterday against Syrian bat-

## Woman a key in Seychelles probe

# SA business behind coup plot tip-off

① RDM  
7/12/83

By NORMAN CHANDLER

**DURBAN.**— South African business interests — using a woman as a vital part of the operation — tipped off Seychelles President Mr Albert Rene that a renewed coup attempt was being made against his Government.

Investigations by the Rand Daily Mail have produced exclusive information that businessmen in Durban and in the Seychelles "ratted" on the coup plotters.

They took the action because of a fear of a complete ban by the Seychelles on trade with South Africa in the event of another failed coup d'etat and "for the sake of stability".

As a result of the information, President Rene successfully infiltrated a British private investigator — Mr Kenneth Williamson, 36 — into South Africa, and into the inner circle of the plotters.

He worked closely with a local private investigator who lives in Sandton, and said to be a former member of the Security Police.

They had been hired by Mr Ian Withers, a British security adviser to President Rene.

The plot came apart at the seams on November 28 when, in a swoop on homes and offices in Durban and Johannesburg, the Security Police — acting on information from the same business interests — arrested five men. Two have now been deported to Britain, while the other three were released this week without being charged.

The two private detectives were also taken into custody "for their own protection". Both have refused to discuss the matter.

Mr Williamson left South Africa last Friday night.

President Rene was, the Mail understands, told personally of the bid by a well-known Durban businessman a month ago. The businessman was last night described by sources as "very close to President Rene ... a very good friend indeed".

Last night the businessman refused outright to confirm or deny his role in smashing the coup before it got off the ground.

He is close to the Seychelles Government and has worked hand-in-glove with them in building up trade following the abortive Mike Hoare coup bid of November 1981.

The woman, meanwhile, told Seychellois refugees living here that a new attempt to overthrow the Government was in the offing, but did not say that she would also be informing on the plotters.

It is, said refugees yesterday, "becoming clear that she was telling us what was going on but only in the hope that she could pick up more information".

She did not tell the refugees the names of the people involved, "but there was a certain amount of euphoria that things were about to happen", according to Seychellois interviewed by the Mail yesterday.

The woman could not be contacted last night.

She was yesterday described as being "tall, attractive and dark-haired" with extensive business interests — the name of her company is known to the Mail — in the Indian Ocean area.

# Woman 'coup-buster' tells of tip-off

By NORMAN CHANDLER

DURBAN. — The beautiful businesswoman involved in tipping off the Seychelles president, Mr Albert Rene, about a coup plot being hatched in South Africa yesterday refused to be identified.

The dark-haired woman, aged about 25, said: "Would you wish to be named under such circumstances?"

"What took place was important for everyone — the Seychelles, South Africa, business, tourists ... too many people have, in the past, been playing around with too many lives and, when this was discovered, there was no question as to what had to be done."

The woman — who runs her own import and export business and, she says, "has a small share of the Indian

Ocean market" — was extremely nervous.

The Rand Daily Mail interview was kept to a virtual "yes-no" exchange.

She was tracked to her office in a quiet part of Durban after a tip-off about her alleged involvement in the plot smashed by the South African Security Police on November 28.

In the swoop, five men were arrested in Johannesburg and Durban, and two private detectives were taken into custody "for their own protection". The five held included top former officers in the Special Air Services Battalion of the now defunct Rhodesian Defence Force, a former officer in 5 Recce Commando, based in Durban, and two Frenchmen.

They were arrested after the two detectives — Mr

Kenneth Williamson, of Sussex, England, and Mr Paul Asmussen, of Sandton, near Johannesburg — were brought into the drama by President Rene's security adviser, Mr Ian Withers, of Belfast, Northern Ireland.

The President called in Mr Withers after business interests in South Africa advised him of the plot.

Mr Williamson, at President Rene's request, infiltrated into South Africa and the organisation planning the new bid.

Mr Williamson confirmed the plot to President Rene and then told the South African Police, who acted "immediately", sources said.

The Mail yesterday confirmed with the woman that she had been to the Seychelles "in recent weeks".

It was also confirmed that the President first knew of the coup bid in mid-October, four weeks before the arrests. The President was personally told after talks in Durban between what sources called "interested parties".

It was decided to disguise the visit by the woman to Victoria, the Seychelles capital, as a business trip.

Meanwhile, the Mail's political correspondent, CHRIS FREIMOND, reports that a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday the Government's attitude towards the allegedly plotters was unchanged.

On Tuesday, the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, said the alleged plotters could lose

their South African residence permits

Last week Mr Le Grange said the people involved who did not have residence permits would be deported immediately.

The Minister's spokesman said yesterday this had been done in the case of Mr Williamson.

It was not clear if all the other men arrested believed to be two Frenchmen and three Zimbabweans with British passports — have residence permits and, if not, whether they have been or will be deported.

It was also not clear how many of the alleged plotters had been released and how many were still in custody — or if any more had been arrested. Gen Coetzee said investigations were continuing.

# Seychelles 'coup' five named

Star 8/12/83

## most are former SAS men

Crime Reporter

The names of the five people arrested by the South African Police in connection with the alleged plot to stage a coup in the Seychelles have been released.

The five men are: Mr Garth John Mark Barrett, former Commanding Officer of the Special Air Service (SAS) in Rhodesia; Mr George Arthur Lloyd, formerly attached to the Rhodesian Army; Mr John Davis Nolan, a former member of the British SAS; Mr Keith Cloete, former member of the Rhodesian SAS; and Mr Keith Williamson, a British private detective.

The police said in Pretoria today that the coup was initiated and planned in Britain and Europe but was to be carried out from within South Africa.

It said it had been investigating the al-

leged conspiracy for many months and that claims that the private detective assisted the police were not true neither were those that a Durban woman had helped them. Some of the five were arrested a week before Mr Williamson came to South Africa.

Police are now investigating whether the recruiting of mercenaries contravened the Defence Act.

Mr Williamson was deported to Britain on December 2. The others, who have South African residents' permits, have also been released from custody.

Full dockets on the affair are being prepared and are to be forwarded to the Attorney-General for his decision.

Police have also denied reports that a secret SA base was being used for training for the operation.

# WHAT'S LEFT OF THE 'COUP' COMBAT CAMP

By DAVID CAPEL

**PRESIDENT** Albert Rene of the Seychelles has claimed in an exclusive interview with the Rand Daily Mail that a "training camp" 50km from Johannesburg was used by mercenaries planning to overthrow his government.

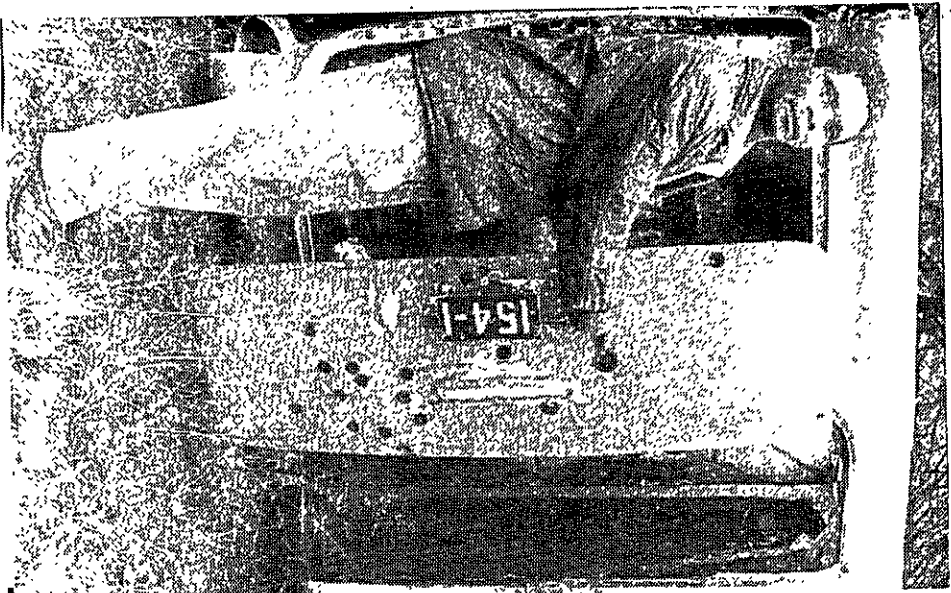
This week the Rand Daily Mail visited a training camp which it had investigated after the 1981 coup attempt. At that time there had been strong speculation that it had been used to train the mercenaries involved in the abortive coup attempt led by Colonel Mike Hoare.

Now the camp — hidden in a valley near Broederström — is derelict. It appears to have been abandoned.

Although President Rene did not elaborate at the weekend, it is believed he was referring to this same camp.

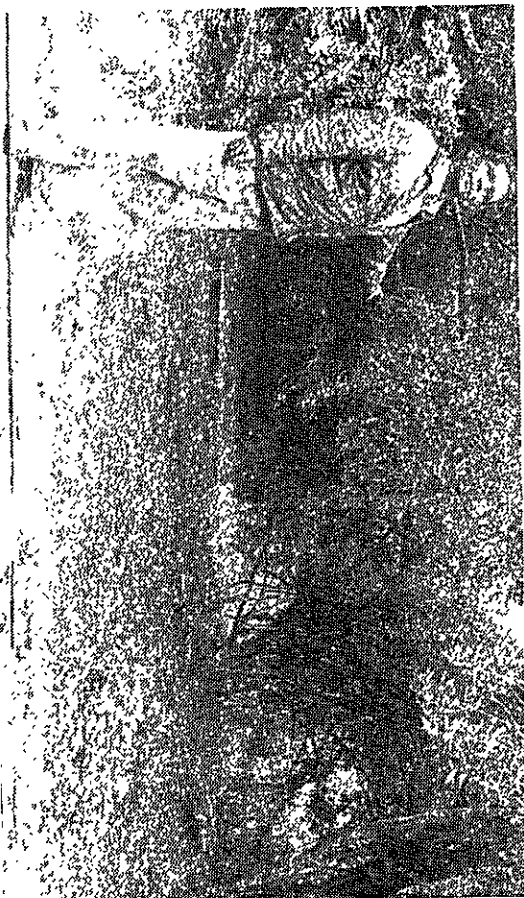
In 1981 the Mail found the camp tucked away in a tranquil valley under the Magaliesberg. Among other things, a combat school hidden at the foot of a shale quarry and screened by a belt of tangled trees and undergrowth was found at the site.

Tell-tale items found at the scene included castings from shotgun shells, empty ammunition packets, 9mm parabolic cartridges, a pile of metre-long staves, blackboards easels and a hut structure pointing to chalk and



A quarry worker points to the bullet holes left in a derelict car at a training camp in Broederström.

Pictures: PAUL VALESICO



Once a tent stood in this clearing . . . now the area is part of a derelict training camp, thought to be have been used for the 1981 Seychelles coup attempt.

talk" strategy lectures.

The secluded camp is 500m off the road and well hidden from prying eyes. Quarry workers said the camp was only used at weekends with between six and a dozen cars arriving on Saturday mornings and leaving on Sunday afternoons.

The Mail team found the camp only after being guided there by a quarry worker. Otherwise it could be found only by accident.

Now this recent visit to the camp revealed only its derelict remains. Only a few bul-

let-riddled scrap cars gave any hint of the deadly activity that once took place there.

A quarry worker said he had last seen men at the camp about a year ago. He pointed to an overgrown clearing in the bush where a tent and abandoned huts once stood. The men used these, he said, in their training.

He said the men who used to make use of the camp had warned locals to stay away from it at weekends as it was dangerous.

A newspaper report in May 1981 highlighted the

school's activities — training South Africans on "how to survive urban terrorism".

The report said scores of wealthy South Africans were undergoing a tough and deadly training course at the camp on how to survive urban terrorism.

It said candidates were screened secretly by a Government department before being accepted for the "do or die" course.

It said the camp was run by a crack squad of professional soldiers. They also trained recruits in psycholo-

# Probe of coup plan continues

OWN Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The South African Police are preparing a dossier on the latest alleged attempt to stage a coup in the Seychelles, which it will submit to the Attorney-General, a police spokesman said in a statement released yesterday.

The spokesman, Major Vic Haynes, also said a British private detective, Mr Kenneth Williamson, upset an SAP investigation into the alleged conspiracy.

Police had been investigating the issue for several months, and Mr Williamson had nothing

to do with the fact that the attempted coup was frustrated, Major Haynes said.

## Names

He released the names of those held during the police investigation.

They are:

Mr Garth John Mark Barrett, a South African citizen and former commander of the Rhodesian SAS.

Mr George Arthur Lloyd, a South African citizen who was attached to the Rhodesian defence force for a period.

Mr John Dennis Nolan, a British citizen

and former member of the British SAS.

Mr Keith Cloete, an immigrant from Zimbabwe and former member of the Rhodesian SAS.

Mr Kenneth Williamson, a British citizen and private detective.

Mr Williamson was deported to the UK on December 2 and the others have all been released since. Their visas, where applicable, will be reconsidered after the Attorney-General's decision.

Major Haynes said police wanted to ascertain why a conspiracy planned in the UK and Europe had to be perpetrated from South Africa, and to what extent foreign states were involved.

## Mercenaries

Police also wanted to establish if the Defence Act had been contravened by the recruitment of mercenaries, and also to positively identify all those involved.

They also wanted to establish who the financiers and initiators of the alleged conspiracy were.

Some of the objectives outlined above could not be fully achieved, due to the "meddling" of Mr Williamson.

Police decided to release this information to inform the public of the true state of affairs.

Major Haynes said that reports that a training camp in South Africa had been used during the alleged planning of the coup were wrong.

# SAP gives 'plotters' names

Pretoria Bureau  
**A POLICE spokesman said yesterday that the "meddling" of a British private detective, Mr Kenneth Williamson, had upset a South African Police investigation into the latest alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government of the Seychelles.**

The SAP are preparing a dossier on the alleged plot which it will submit to the Attorney-General, a police spokesman said in a statement released in Pretoria yesterday. Police had been investigating the issue for several months, and Mr Williamson had nothing to do with the fact that the alleged coup

had been frustrated, said the police spokesman, Major Vic Haynes.  
 He released the names of those held during the police investigation.

- They were:
- Mr Garth John Mark Barrett, a South African citizen and former commander of the Rhodesian Special Air Services.
- Mr George Arthur Lloyd, an SA citizen who was attached to the Rhodesian Defence Force for a period.
- Mr John Dennis Nolan, a British citizen and former member of the British SAS.
- Mr Keith Cloete, an immigrant from Zimbabwe and former member of the Rhodesian SAS.

- Mr Kenneth Williamson, a British citizen and private detective.

Mr Williamson was deported to the UK on December 2 and the others have all since been released. Their visas, where applicable, will be reconsidered following the Attorney-General's decision.

Some of the men had been detained a week before Mr Williamson's arrival, Major Haynes said.

He said that a Durban woman did not give the police any help or information.

The police also wanted to know why an conspiracy planned in Britain and Europe had to be perpetrated from South Africa, and to what extent foreign states were involved.

Police also wanted to establish if the Defence Act had been contravened by the recruitment of mercenaries, and to positively identify all those involved.

They also wanted to establish who the financiers and initiators of the alleged conspiracy were.

Some of the objectives outlined above could not be fully achieved, because of Mr Williamson's "meddling".

Police decided to release this information to inform the public of the true state of affairs.

Major Haynes said that reports that a training camp in SA had been used during the alleged planning of the coup were wrong.



# SA spies helped tourist plot

SOME OF South Africa's top spies were behind the investigations which exposed the men behind the latest Seychelles coup plot.

Since the South African government announced last Friday that five men had been detained for questioning in connection with a plot to overthrow the Seychelles government it has emerged that:

● Former security policeman and security police spy, Mr Paul Asmussen, played a major role in the investigation.

● Mr Gerard Ludi, the only South African spy known to have infiltrated the Communist Party, hires Mr Asmussen from time to time.

● Mr Ludi runs a security company and Mr Asmussen was working for him when he reported the Seychelles affair to the security police.

● Mr Asmussen has close ties with South African 'superspy' Major Craig Williamson who is the godfather to Mr Asmussen's children.

● Mr Asmussen, who as the treasurer of the Security



● Mr Kenneth Williamson ... deported from SA



● Mr Paul Asmussen ... played a major role



● Major Craig Williamson ... 'superspy'

## UK men tried to foil inquiry by security police

By Mike Cadman and Liz van den Nieuwenhof

Forces Support Committee, (which was formed in May last year and supports the security police) consults regularly with Major Williamson on security matters.

Mr Asmussen also has links with former spy Mr Karl Edwards who, with Major Williamson, infiltrated

tion with the alleged plot to overthrow the Seychelles government of Mr Albert René.

The men, who have since been released, are Mr Garth Barrett, a former commanding officer of the Special Air Services (SAS) battalion in Rhodesia, Mr Keith Cloete, also a former member of the SAS, Mr George Lloyd, who served in the Rhodesian Army, Mr John Nolan, who served in the British SAS and Mr Kenneth Williamson, a British private detective.

Mr Kenneth Williamson was deported last Friday night.

A police statement released this week said that Mr Williamson's "maddening" in the investigation into the coup plot prevented the security police investigation from achieving all its aims.

A docket has been handed to the Attorney-General Mr J.E. Nothing who will decide if any of the men are to be charged.

Mr Ludi said that about a year ago Mr Asmussen, who had worked for his company on a freelance basis, had been approached by Mr Ian Withers — a private detec-

live based in Belfast — in connection with surveillance on people with Seychelles connections.

Mr Withers is known as an expert in electronic bugging and allegedly bugged a hotel room where Seychellois exiles who form the Mouvement pour la Résistance (MPR) were plotting the overthrow of Mr René's government last year. The information Mr Withers allegedly obtained crushed the plot.

He is also believed to keep close tabs on the MPR which supports former president Mr James Mancham and has consistently plotted to overthrow President René's government.

### Suspicions

"When Mr Withers first made contact with us it was supposedly in connection with keeping tabs on some group for an American couple with financial interests in the Seychelles," Mr Ludi said.

Mr Ludi said Mr Asmussen became suspicious about the motives of Mr Withers and Mr Williamson and spoke to the security police. Mr Ludi said that Mr Asmussen had asked for a clarification of the men's motives after he had become suspi-

cious. "We had a round-table conference with the security police and they were quite happy if we continued with the case. They also engaged us to investigate certain aspects, mostly those of an international nature.

"For quite some time it was rather quiet and Mr Withers occasionally contacted Mr Asmussen but usually the information conveyed was irrelevant."

Mr Ludi said that a few months ago rumours were picked up that a new coup was being fanned and that "SAS flyers were being recruited."

"When we consulted the security police we swopped notes because they had already investigated it for some time."

Mr Withers contacted Mr Asmussen again with a request to investigate the background of a certain man.

"This man had apparently been to the Seychelles and snooped around in a very clumsy manner ... it's a real clown story."

But when "the matter was looked into" it was discovered that the man had already been detained by the police.

"Mr Withers' information was so late ... we also got quite freaked out because we could not ascertain who his so-called American client was."

"It is totally bona fide to check someone for a commercial business but if it is done for a foreign govern-

ment it boils down to espionage ... I wasn't happy with Mr Withers' explanation — it was far too glib. The more we pressed him for details on the American company, the more evasive he became."

At that stage it was discovered that all the men behind the attempted coup had already been arrested.

"Mr Withers phoned to try and get more information but we said nothing because at that stage he owed us a lot of money. "We said we would not send further reports unless we were paid."

### Informed

Mr Withers then informed them that he would send Mr Kenneth Williamson out to South Africa.

"He arrived two weeks ago and we fetched him from the airport and took him to the Kyalami Ranch outside Johannesburg," said Mr Ludi.

It was disclosed by Mr Williamson, a former bricklayer and now private detective, that he worked for the Seychelles government.

XXXX We smelt a rat because Mr Williamson and Mr Withers were into dirty stuff like body snatching ... the very last people the Seychelles government would employ"

Mr Ludi said that they wanted no part of it if another government was involved and said that the security police would be keen to liaise in the matter and to receive information on the proposed coup.

But Mr Williamson refused to meet with the authorities.

"I think he represented himself and wanted to gain personal mileage. He wanted the planned coup to be allowed to go on until the men landed in the Seychelles, thereby creating a massive furore ... and another embarrassment for the SA government."

Mr Ludi said that Mr Williamson was picked up by the security police on the Monday morning.

"I think they had monitored him from the moment he arrived here and he was very lucky that they let him go ... what he tried to get away with here could have landed him in jail," he said.

XXXX

# Winter says Withers was BOSS <sup>Star</sup> agent

The Star Bureau 13/12/83

LONDON — Mr Ian Withers, the London-based private detective who was alleged Seychelles plotter Mr Kenneth Williamson's "controller", is said to have worked once for BOSS.

This is one of the allegations made by an ex-agent of South Africa's former Bureau for State Security, Gordon Winter.

He names Mr Withers as having once worked for South African intelligence "in some capacity".

Mr Winter admits he has no definite proof but says he is quite sure.

He says his own "handler", Piet Schoeman, said: "We have to help Ian because he's a good friend of ours."

The "help" Mr Withers allegedly needed is said to have followed an expose by the London Sunday Times citing Mr Withers as the man behind spying on the Anti-Apartheid Movement and Amnesty International.

Mr Withers was also alleged to have bugged the hearings of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid in London in 1968, and to have planned to plant drugs and pornographic pictures in the suitcase of a senior Amnesty official.

Mr Withers himself, whose name was given by Mr Kenneth Williamson as a contact for information in the Seychelles affair, is well known to British newspapers, the police, governments and the courts.

His brushes with the law have been many and various and include spying on gamblers for rival casinos, snatching children on behalf of a disputing parent and using electronic equipment to gain information.

Mr Withers flatly refuses to divulge his part in the developments.

But he did confirm that Mr Williamson was "a franchisee" of his organisation.

Speculation in London diplomatic circles is that the coup attempt was planned by Mr Paul Chow, Mr Eddie Camille and Mr Gerard Hoareau.

Mr Chow has denied any involvement, as has former Seychelles president James Mancham.

A top-level Seychelles Government official, speaking from the islands, said it was common knowledge that the triumvirate was behind the plot.

Mr Withers has told the now defunct Evening News his agents could sniff out most things.

Successive governments have been alarmed at some of the activities of Mr Withers and his brother Stuart.

MORE AND MORE IN AFRICA NOW, IT'S . . .

# 'Bye Comrade, hello Cowboy

W/K ARGU 17/12/83  
①

ON a continent where the talk used to be of increasing Soviet influence, a young Zimbabwean has dropped the nickname Comrade Nikita and now is called Cowboy.

In Mozambique, officials tell of their shock on discovering that clerks of the Soviet airline, Aeroflot, were charging inflated prices for the tickets they issued so as to transfer more foreign currency to Moscow.

In Guinea, officials recall with laughter that, as part of aid efforts, the Soviet Union

**Soviet influence in Africa seems to be fading. Nations are warming to the West as development replaces arms as a priority, reports MICHAEL KAUFMAN of The New York Times.**

once sent them snowploughs to serve as tractors without any apparent realisation that drivers would bake in sealed cabs designed for Siberian conditions.

## Dominant influence

These are but a few indications of how the perception of the Soviet Union has changed in parts of Africa.

Five years ago, in the aftermath of the seemingly successful Soviet involvement in Angola and Ethiopia, it was commonplace for African diplomats and Western officials to say that Moscow's influence was dominant in much of this continent and that its sway was increasing.

But these days, it is commonplace to hear that, among the activist and assertive powers in Africa, the Soviet Union is generally ranked below South Africa, France and Libya, as is the United States.

"Considering their investment," a European diplomat said in Zaire, "you would have to say that Moscow has done simply terribly in Africa."

Soviet technicians helped build Egypt's Aswan Dam, but 50 000 of them "were thrown out" in 1972, noted the diplomat. Soviet advisers were also expelled from Sudan and Somalia, he said. And in Uganda, Idi Amin, whom Moscow had armed, was deposed.

The diplomat, who has served almost two



Samora Machel . . . pragmatic view.

decades in Africa, said that formerly pro-Soviet countries as Guinea and Congo were turning toward the West, at least in the area of economic development.

And, he said, there had been recent signs that even Angola and Mozambique, both closely allied to Moscow, were pulling back from doctrinaire Marxism in their search for development capital.

Diplomats and area specialists cite many reasons for the apparent sag in Soviet influence. Some say that the world recession, with its severe burden on poor, commodity-exporting African countries, has made it increasingly clear to these nations how heavily they rely on Western aid and on such institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Some Africans have written that the fighting in Angola and the instability in Ethiopia, dragging on despite Soviet commitment, have lessened perceptions that Moscow is invincible.

## Aloof and racist

In Angola, a perception of invincibility prevailed after a movement supported by Cuban troops and Soviet advisers won out over guerilla forces backed by the United States and South Africa in the civil war of the mid-1970s. Similarly, Soviet advisers and Cuban troops helped the Ethiopian Government defeat a challenge by Somali rebels and Somali forces in 1978.

But Soviet experts are now viewed critically by some Africans.

The Somalis, for example, say those they have encountered are aloof and given to racism. Cubans and Chinese are said to work and mix well with Africans.

Over the years, Moscow has concentrated on supporting liberation movements and supplying arms to friendly governments. Now, as almost all African countries have achieved independence, the need for development assistance and food shipments is supplanting requests for arms.

Five years ago, diplomats contend, Moscow's influence seemed paramount in African countries, dominating much of the east coast and long stretches of the west coast. From Mozambique to Djibouti, only the relatively short Kenyan coast lay out of the Russians' potential control.

In the west they seemed to be strong in Angola, and it appeared, if South-West Africa were to gain its independence as Namibia, they could be expected to have a favoured status there, since they were aiding the SWAPO guerilla group.

Once Rhodesia passed from white rule to black rule as Zimbabwe, it was suggested, a Soviet arc of influence would encircle and isolate South Africa. But this has not happened.

Instead, even though placards of Marx, Lenin and Engels still dominate Revolution Square in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia there are indications from there and from Mozambique as well that it may be time for better, even normal relations with the West.

# Mauritius casts a cautious glimpse at SA

By Peter Mann

MAURITIUS is struggling with such a massive unemployment problem that Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth is looking to South Africa as a potential labour market.

Although diplomatic ties have been ruled out, both countries are showing renewed interest in increasing two-way trade and in building up investment potential on the tiny Indian

Ocean island.

Statements from Mr Jugnauth and Foreign Affairs Minister P W Botha this week seemed to indicate that the establishment of closer, albeit still unofficial, links between Mauritius and South Africa are a possibility.

Yesterday Mr Botha said officials and even members of the Government of Mauritius had been visiting South Africa — on official business,

and not as tourists.

"We would welcome more two-way trade," Mr Botha said.

However, he was reluctant to comment on developments affecting any future political relations.

In a wide-ranging interview in Port Louis, Mr Jugnauth related some of the economic problems which have beset his country and spoke of the role he hoped South Africa could play in helping over-

come them.

But this did not prevent him from slamming South Africa's internal policies.

Apart from wanting to export labour in the same way that millions of migrants from neighbouring South Africa to work, he is also looking to increasing exports to correct Mauritius' teetering balance of trade deficit.

Mr Jugnauth made it clear he would welcome

any extension of trade, labour and investment ties — but was not interested in talking politics with South Africa.

He said South African tourists were welcome in Mauritius; even Prime Minister P W Botha could visit — but only as a tourist.

Saying that he abhorred some of South Africa's internal policies, he added: "We hope the day will come when the South African regime realises that it would be in its own interests to start treating blacks as human beings."

"We believe that evolution of the masses of blacks in South Africa must become a reality one day... it's only a question of time. That's why I think there should be dialogue and friendship."

Replying to Mr Jugnauth's comments in an interview yesterday, Mr P W Botha said sound interna-

tional relations meant governments should refrain from criticising one another's internal policies.

"When it comes to the internal affairs of African countries in general we find lots of aspects objectionable."

"There are also aspects of the internal administration of Mauritius with which we do not agree," Mr Botha said.

See Page 25.

18/12/83

tribune

THE VIEW FROM MAURITIUS: Photos: The Sunday Tribune Interviews Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth

# Let's be friendly? But when will the Nats learn about apartheid?

## 'WE'VE GOT NOTHING AGAINST SOUTH AFRICANS. THE ONLY HITCH IS THE PRESENT REGIME'

SOUTH African tourists are so welcome in Mauritius that even Prime Minister P W Botha can hold-day there if he wants to.

This, in spite of the fact that Mauritius "abhors and condemns" apartheid, believes in "real democracy and human rights" and hopes "the day will come when the South African regime realises it is in its own long-term interests to treat the blacks of South Africa as human beings".

So says the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Mr Anerood Jugnauth, in an interview with the Sunday Tribune.

Mr Jugnauth won power for the second time in an August general election, called after his 14-month-old Government which won all the seats in June 1982 general election, split. Eleven of Mr Jugnauth's Cabinet elected to follow Mr Paul Berenger, of the Mauritius Militant Movement, the dominant party in the socialist coalition.

Eventually Mr Jugnauth was left without an overall majority in Parliament and was forced back to the polls. This time he forged a more centrist, pragmatic alliance with the Labour Party of a former Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgobam, and the Social Democratic Party (PMSD) of Sir Gaetan Duval.

It was an alliance which worked — winning 42 of the 62 elected seats. The opposition MMM won only 19, Mr Berenger lost his seat and was only elected on the basis of Mauritius' complicated "best loser" system.

With the seats it won on the best loser system and with the two-seat defection to it of the Rodrigues People's Party, the Government now holds 48 seats to the opposition's 22.

The emphasis of the new Government is on pragmatism, putting the people back to work, and dealing with incipient economic problems.

Among the points made by Mr Jugnauth in the hour-long interview were:

□ South Africans are welcome as individuals, but not as national representatives, because Mauritius has no diplomatic ties with Pretoria.

□ South African businessmen are welcome to invest in Mauritius which is desperate to put its 75 000 registered unemployed back to work.

□ Mauritius would like to export labour to South Africa, in the same way that millions from the front-line states work in this country.

□ Mauritius wishes to increase its exports to South Africa, to correct its balance of trade deficit.



□ We have got nothing against the South African people. The only hitch is the present regime. We do not agree with its racial policies. We abhor and condemn apartheid, and I'm sure in that we have the support of the whole of the civilised and Christian world... we hope the day will come when the SA regime will realise it is in their own long-term interests to treat the blacks as human beings

— **Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius (left)**

### QUOTE

Common Market countries as one of Mauritius' major trading partners.

Were relations with South Africa a sensitive issue in Mauritius' domestic politics?

"Yes, the opposition, you know, always takes a very ideological stand on this. But the opposition of today was the government for a short period. Of course, they have been speaking a lot of rubbish in opposition.

"When they had power they had to face the hard realities of life. For nine months they had to tone down their stand completely.

### Rubbish

"Now they have been thrown back into opposition they are again coming with that sort of rubbish — as if they have forgotten their short-lived spell in government. They have become more ideological now. Of course, I don't pay any heed to them."

"Look, all the population of Mauritius condemns apartheid. But because of our pragmatic approach they support us."

Mr Jugnauth said the National Party's "reforms" were "eyewash". He said: "Human rights South Africa alongside the

are an indivisible thing. You can't give them on a complex basis. It is either good for all human beings or not good for any of them."

The country was struggling with an unemployment rate which has increased dramatically over the past three years. Now almost one in three economically active Mauritians is without a job.

Mr Jugnauth first makes the point that it is a world-wide problem caused by the recession and protectionist policies followed by developed countries.

"The Third World and especially small countries like ours have been hit the hardest. We have a problem which is acute. We are trying to solve it by finding more openings in other countries for our unemployed."

"A certain number of our people have started going to the Gulf countries, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. I am very hopeful that as soon as work starts on the reconstruction of Lebanon, an important number of our people will be redirected to that country; we have already established contacts there.

"We also have some employment opportunities in the African states; Zimbabwe has got an important number of our teachers — graduates who were unemployed here.

"In Mauritius itself we are diversifying our agriculture, where some jobs could be created and the diversification will also help save our foreign exchange. We want to produce as much as we can locally and cut down on imports.

"But certainly most of the jobs will be created in the industrial sector. That is why we have started an aggressive industrial program in the Far East.

### Problems

"Our delegation is hardly back and we have already had visits from potential investors. I am certain that by the middle of next year our economy will be given a push and a new dynamism. I am certain we will solve our problems."

"I have been to Hong Kong. What has been done there is a real wonder. I don't see why it can't be done in Mauritius; we have more potential.

"Our policy is one of conservative, disciplined financial management within the bounds imposed on us by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank ceiling of 1.2

"Here he will be free to go anywhere and mix with anybody."

"We are colour blind," Mr Jugnauth said.

### By PETER MANN, Political Correspondent

"We sincerely look forward to that time so there can be real and better co-operation between our countries.

"By tradition we have a lot of commercial transactions, but these are done purely by the private sector. What we are concerned with and want to encourage is to find ways of getting more exports to South Africa — to better balance our trade.

"We also have many tourists from South Africa; Africans are welcome as individuals and SAA both fitly between our countries. Therefore we have economic ties that are deeply rooted. On the other hand



we export only about 40 million rupees (about R4 million) to South Africa a year.

"Mauritius being a free and democratic country we have not put any restrictions on trade as far as the private sector is concerned. What we are concerned with and want to encourage is to find ways of getting more exports to South Africa — to better balance our trade.

"South Africans as individuals are welcome as tourists. We do not put any barriers in their way. For that matter, as far as we are concerned, Mauri-

But Mr Jugnauth also termed the National Party's constitutional reform "eyewash". He called on Pretoria to stop its policy of "aggression to destabilise the front-line states" and said South Africa was "utterly in bad faith" in Namibia.

And he said Mauritius was under a moral obligation to bodies like the OAU and the United Nations to look for alternative markets to South Africa.

He sketched his policy on South Africa: "We have got nothing against the South African people. We want to be friendly. The only hitch is the present regime. We do not agree with its racial policies.

"We abhor and condemn apartheid, and I'm sure in that we have the support of the whole of the civilised and Christian world. We believe in real democracy and human rights and we hope the day will come when the South African regime will realise it is in their own long-term interests to treat the blacks as human beings.

"We believe that evolution of the masses of blacks in South Africa will become a reality some day, somehow. It's only a question of time.

"That is why I personally think there should be dialogue; there should be discussions with the people in friendship, so that after, and during, the process there can be harmony and peace in South Africa.

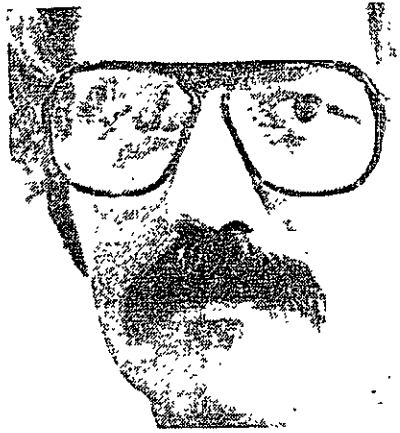
"South Africa should also refrain from aggression in order to destabilise the front-line states. There is also the immediate problem of Namibia where we consider that the present regime has been utterly in bad faith and that the sooner Namibia is given its freedom an independence the better it will be for all the international community.

"We belong to the most important international organisations — the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Commonwealth.

"We have subscribed to most of the resolutions adopted by them and aimed at the present South African policies. We stand by them in principle and our policy towards South Africa is therefore determined by these principles.

"Of course we have no diplomatic relations or any official dealings with the South African regime. We mean to follow those principles until things change for the better in South Africa.

# A BREAKS



# NTO

New trading links from Cape to Cairo

Dr Peter Vale ... 'SA sophisticated'

1 (39) S. Express

# LACK AFRICA

18/12/83  
By JEAN DE MAY  
Political Correspondent

re come  
e next  
vcott  
eakers

By SAM MIRWIS  
DONWALD PRESSLY

A boycott-breaking cricket team led in South Africa. England women's cricket team flown yesterday for a six-match tour of the country. The women squad, including several test stars, flew out of London under a veil of secrecy — but they have the approval of their national association. They were met when captain Pamela Groves and players — disguised as the 'Unitarians' — entered the arrivals hall at Jan Smuts airport on the first tour of South Africa by an international women's cricket team in 1983 — was on. They were met by the team to the West Indies which had recently because former captain Rachel Hayhoe-Flint had played in South Africa. "I'm delighted to be here," said Miss Groves. Asked about international sports in South Africa, she said: "We're interested in cricket and to make friends." The Springbok Pam Walls, secretary of the Women's Cricket Association, said the English team would provide a stimulus for women's cricket. The women will play six matches in the Natal and a two-day Test against the West Indies at Marks Park, Johannesburg, on Friday 5 and 6. They will also play in the inter-provincial tournament in Johannesburg from December 28 to January 3. They flew to Cape Town yesterday for the first match against a combined men's and women's team at the Stellenbosch ground in Stellenbosch.



The manager of the rebel British women's cricket team Pam Crain with the captain Pam Groves on their arrival at Jan Smuts airport yesterday

SOUTH African big business is poised to sweep through the front door of black African and oil-rich Middle East markets in terms of a new foreign trade blueprint drawn up by the government of Mauritius.

South African businessmen can now establish companies on the Indian Ocean island — and nothing will prevent them from tendering for projects in the Middle East or black Africa.

The scheme is part of a new export services zone (ESZ), and works through Mauritian-registered companies which may — subject to Mauritian approval — be wholly foreign-owned.

A source close to the Mauritian government said the spin-off would be in off shore operations in countries normally closed to South Africans.

This means that wholly-owned South African companies registered on the island will be able to undertake business projects in other countries normally closed to them.

Moreover, the Mauritian government had undertaken not to disclose the shareholders of such companies, the source said.

"There would be nothing to stop a company with 100% South African shareholding from tendering for projects in the Middle East or black Africa — and even obtaining finance from the Development Bank of Africa, which is largely funded by the oil states," the source said.

Mauritius in turn would benefit through the provision of jobs for the increasing number of educated people who are unemployed.

The new scheme comes at a time of increasing South African diplomatic and business involvement on Mauritius and the Comores islands.

In Johannesburg this week, Dr Peter Vale, director of research of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said considerable success had been

To Page 2

# New SA trade routes open to Africa

 From Page 1

achieved by low-profile diplomacy which emphasised the weaknesses of the islands, on the one hand, and South Africa's comparative strength on the other.

A document issued by the Mauritian Ministry of Industry and Co-operatives describes the scope of businesses that can be undertaken. They include accountancy, law, medicine, international marketing, engineering, electronic programming, computer services, civil engineering and construction.

Mr. Raymond Montocchio, director of the Mauritius Chamber of Commerce and Industries in Port Louis, told the Sunday Express he foresaw no problems with the repatriation of investment capital, profits and dividends, which would be dealt with on an ad hoc basis.

Several South African-owned companies, he said, were already established in the Mauritian export processing zone, which offers substantial tax benefits.

In terms of this scheme, half-completed South African-made products are sent to Mauritius, where they are assembled and then exported world-wide under 'Made in Mauritius' labels.

Mauritius also has access to the European Common Market through its participation in the Lomé Convention, and EEC imports of sugar at a fixed price are largely responsible for keeping the Mauritian economy afloat.

The latest Mauritian move follows the recent visit by a trade delegation to South Africa.

A spokesman for the delegation said Mauritius was pressing for preferential tariff treatment similar to that enjoyed by the BLS states (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland).

A diplomatic source confirmed that South Africa had been actively working at cementing relations not only with Mauritius but with other Indian Ocean islands including the Comores and Sri Lanka.

Diplomatic activity has been shored up by considerable development aid from South Africa, including fishing and agricultural schemes in the Comores, assisted by South African expertise.

In addition the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) is working on a housing scheme and a "health project" for the Comores.

A spokesman for the CSIR confirmed the Comores projects were "under contract", adding: "This is a sensitive area and we have been asked not to say anything about it."

Other projects include massive investment in Mauritius hotels by the Kerzner group, and South African interests are involved in a R100-million resort project in the Comores.

Dr. Vale said South African diplomatic activity in the Indian Ocean islands was "highly sophisticated".

"The islands have up to now not enjoyed a high priority in South Africa's foreign policy, but Pretoria's response to the changing situation in the Indian Ocean has been to alert the Western powers to the dangers inherent in the British withdrawal east of Suez."

# Black states seek massive drought aid

2014

(1)

21/12/83

**HARARE.** — Black states in Southern Africa are to seek R366-million in emergency aid to help alleviate the enormous human and financial suffering the drought has caused in their countries.

Regional officials estimate the drought cost six nations — Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe — at least R1 200-million in 1982-83, a burden they said could take years to overcome.

About 4 500 000 people are suffering in Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe alone, and hundreds of thousands of head of cattle are dying.

As a result, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the main regional development organisation, has drawn up an appeal for R366-million in emergency aid from the world community, the officials said.

It will be presented to the annual meeting of the SADCC

and its aid donor countries and agencies in Zambia in February. Fifty countries and aid organisations attended the last donor talks in Lesotho last January.

Nine states formed the SADCC in 1980 to assist their development and reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. The February conference will be dominated by the drought, one of the worst in living memory.

SADCC officials, who have been working on the crisis for months, said the drought had created an abnormal demand for food aid as well as rehabilitation help for farmers to restore production when conditions improve.

The officials said considerable amounts of aid had already reached the area, but more was required both for immediate needs and long-term recovery programmes.

Of the six devastated SADCC nations, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe need most help, according to SADCC research.

● **Mozambique:** 1 800 000 people are seriously jeopardised in stricken southern and central regions. There has been an almost total loss of cereals in the south with high livestock mortality. Food and other aid worth R71 200 000 will be requested.

● **Zimbabwe:** Two million people are suffering severely. The predicted final cattle death toll is 450 000, about 30% of peasant herds.

Financial disaster faces most farmers with cattle and crop losses of R439-million — about 20% of the gross national product in 1981.

The total cost of the second successive year of drought to Zimbabwe is put at R585-million for 1982-83 and the country seeks R146-million in aid.

● **Lesotho:** Almost 750 000 of the 1 200 000 inhabitants need emergency food aid. It wants R82 300 000 in aid.

At least 100 people were known to have starved to death in Lesotho in the first five months of this year. — Sapa-Reuter.



S. Post  
23/12/83  
Black 'summit'  
overshadowed (1)  
by fears of SA

By FRANCIS MDLONGWA in Harare

FOURTEEN African states have made bold plans for economic co-operation, but a two-day meeting of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) has been overshadowed by fears of South Africa's military and economic might.

The meeting this week of the grouping of Eastern and Southern African states took what the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, called a step forward to "turn our dreams into reality".

Undaunted by the collapse in 1977 of the East African Community (ECA), the 14-nation grouping, formed two years ago to promote trade among members, agreed on concrete steps to ease restrictions.

However, one speaker after another accused Pretoria of sabotaging the economies of its black neighbours and emphasised the urgent need to foster self-sufficiency and promote economic growth.

Two PTA members, Zambia and Zimbabwe, are "frontline" states, which accuse South Africa of destabilising their countries to ensure continued economic domination of the region.

The four other frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania — are expected to join before the next meeting in Burundi in a year's time.

Other PTA members are Burundi, the Comoro Is-

lands, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Rwanda, Malawi, Mauritius, Somalia, Swaziland and Uganda.

The meeting agreed, as the ECA did before its collapse, to set up a common list of commodities to be traded among members, to simplify customs regulations and to use the Zimbabwe Reserve Bank as a clearing house to handle payments for imports in national currencies.

The members also decided to establish an Eastern and Southern African trade and development bank, to budget for the PTA's 1984 activities and to adopt a work programme for the next 12 months.

Despite the high hopes, the two-day meeting made it clear that a lot remained to be done.

Both Mr Mugabe and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda stressed a need to recruit competent, qualified staff to run the organisation's affairs.

There was also a question of commitment, Mr Mugabe said in his closing address. "I have spoken of the need for us to help ourselves, which includes our ability to prove to others, via the success of the PTA, that we are in fact worthy of help and support," he said.

Ugandan President Milton Obote said it was important to learn from the mistakes of the ECA. — Sapa-Reuter



# Africa survived '83 miracle enough?

## AFRICA VIEW

BY BRENDAN NICHOLSON



AFRICA drifted through 1983 weak from the effects of drought, bleeding from the wounds of several wars, and swaying between East and West in its desperate search for economic miracles.

To the north events were dominated by Libya's Colonel Muammar El Gaddafi whose tanks rumbled into Chad and sent shock waves through a dozen West and Central African capitals.

In the south the nations of the sub-continent found themselves caught up increasingly in the conflict between the South African security forces and the guerillas of the African National Congress and Swapo.

SADF cross-border raids continued and claims of South African destabilisation grew with five of its neighbours involved in conflicts ranging in intensity from insurgency to full-scale war.

Allegations varied from claims that South Africa was deliberately keeping its neighbours off balance to preserve its economic and military superiority, through to suggestions that Pretoria intended simply making the ANC an unpopular bed-fellow by lashing out at anyone who supported it.

Although in previous years there had been repeated claims of South African aircraft supporting cross-border military operations, the game of tit-for-tat warfare took a further grim turn after May's Pretoria bomb blast when South African Air Force jets strafed targets in the Maputo industrial suburb of Matola killing five Mozambican civilians and one ANC member.

After eight years of civil war Angola, one of the continent's most fertile and mineral-rich states, ended 1983 as an economic ruin burdened by, but dependent on, an expensive army of at least 25 000 Cubans.

Luanda claims Mr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels are in control only of Angola's south-eastern corner, where he is confident of tribal support, and says he can only hope to capture towns if SADF artillery or aircraft flatten them first.

Pretoria denies it is helping Savimbi and says any military operations in Angola are directed against the Swapo guerillas based there.

In December, Scottish journalist Mr Fred Bridgland emerged from the Angolan bush to declare that at their current rate of progress Savimbi's men would control all of rural Angola by the end of 1984 leaving the cities under siege.

In Namibia 1983 saw Swapo launch its strongest offensive yet but its attempt to infiltrate an estimated 1 600 guerillas was smothered by well-prepared security forces.

The political front saw the demise of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which had ruled since 1978 and a return to direct South African administration.

The year brought the activities of the five-nation Western Contact Group to a virtual halt and December saw France refuse to attend further meetings and declare itself "resolutely" behind the government of Angola.

The main block to progress towards independence appeared to be the insistence by Washington and Pretoria on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola prior to a Namibian settlement.

Allegations of security force brutality towards Namibian civilians culminated in a series of court cases, one of which saw a former "Koevoet" policeman condemned to death.



Gaddafi.

Throughout 1983 the anti-Frelimo insurgents of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) continued to carry out attacks which the government of President Samora Machel said were planned and supported by Pretoria.

Pretoria's denials that it had anything to do with the MNR suffered a jolt in January, 1983, when the American State Department issued a statement saying the movement received the bulk of its support from South Africa.

MNR attacks continued despite a Mozambican military offensive which overran several guerilla camps in the centre and south of the country.

By the year's end several thousand villagers had starved to death in drought-stricken areas where MNR attacks delayed relief operations.

Mozambique was one of several states which appeared to rethink its political direction when it became clear their Russian allies could not provide the aid necessary to shore up their sagging economies.

Eight years after his sweeping nationalisations marked him as a hardline communist, Machel made a highly-successful tour of Europe which was widely reported in the Mozambican media and which was seen as the start of a swing away from the Soviet bloc towards the West.

The Mozambican government, however, denied that anything had changed. The West had simply accepted Mozambique's non-alignment, it said.

The Soviet Union found little to be cheerful about elsewhere. Mauritius swung briefly to the left and then back to centre again in two democratic elections.

The Seychelles, with 90 percent of its economy dependent on tourism, relaxed its revolutionary rhetoric and confounded the prophets of doom who had predicted it would provide Russia with naval and missile bases.

Realignment in the opposite direction took place in Lesotho which spurned its old friends Nationalist China and South Korea and established relations with Red China and North Korea.

The Lesotho Liberation Army continued its campaign to oust Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan and the Maseru government, too,

claimed Pretoria supported the insurgents.

The combined threats of further South African raids and tough border controls imposed by Pretoria forced Lesotho to expel well over 100 South African exiles.

Pretoria's economic pressure and its demonstrated willingness to stage Israel-style retaliatory raids appeared to have the effect, at least in the short term, of forcing Mozambique and Swaziland to try to restrain the ANC from launching military operations from their territory.

A further blow to the ANC was the quiet "coup" carried out in Swaziland by a clique of conservative politicians who deposed the Queen Regent named before his death by King Sobhuza and her replacement with a more "suitable" head of state through whom they appear to be ruling.

Hopes of a possible improvement of relations between Mozambique and South Africa followed the ministerial meeting between delegations from Pretoria and Maputo in Swaziland this month.

World attention focused on Zimbabwe's western province of Matabeleland as dissidents loyal to Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu waged a campaign against the government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe which responded by sending in the North Korean-trained 5 Brigade of the National Army to restore order.

As reports emerged of atrocities carried out by both sides, thousands of refugees fled across the border into neighbouring Botswana.

A series of "hot pursuit" forays by the Zimbabwean Army strained relations with Harare's Frontline State ally and led ultimately to the death of a Zimbabwean soldier in a clash this month.

Despite the start of rains in some areas millions in Southern and North Africa still face the threat of starvation after years of drought.

French influence in Africa increased after a deputation of Francophone heads of state persuaded President Francois Mitterrand to send troops to block Gaddafi's invasion of Chad.

The intervention by French paratroops and aircraft stopped the southward Libyan advance but left the country effectively partitioned with Gaddafi controlling the northern half.

Gaddafi featured again in Upper Volta where he is believed to have backed the year's only successful coup in Africa (by Captain Thomas Sankara against the conservative Major Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo).

In the volatile Horn of Africa Ethiopia received increased economic aid from the West while continuing to rely on Soviet military assistance in its war against Eritrean secessionists.

Ethiopia continued to support rebel guerillas in neighbouring Somalia where the United States backed the government of President Mohammed Siad Barre.

Israel's relations with Africa improved with ties officially restored with Liberia and Zaire.

The prize for the luckiest break of 1983 must be shared by five of Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's mercenaries who flew out from under the shadows of a Seychelles gallows after being pardoned by President Albert Rene. □ — *The Star's Foreign News Service.*

PAULO is just a boy, but in his 15 brief years he has become one of Africa's five million sad stories.

He is a refugee. For 15 months he has lived in a tented camp on a hill in northern Rwanda with more than 20 000 people who fled, as he did, from homes in neighbouring Uganda.

There are five million people like Paulo in Africa — victims of war or drought or political upheaval. Of the world's 10-million refugees, half lost their homes in Africa.

Such figures are small consolation for Paulo, a bright, healthy person. He does not understand why he could not live in Uganda but was confined to a wind-blown hillside in a country he had never seen before. He sought refuge here in October, 1982.

His story is not unique, but diplomats in Rwanda and other neighbouring states are concerned that what happened to him might be a taste of what lies in store elsewhere in Africa.

They suspect that Paulo and his family and their neighbours in the neat rows of tents that criss-cross the hillside were made to flee because they were prosperous farmers and someone else wanted their land, their livestock and their homesteads.

"There is a suspicion that economic reasons were behind all this," said a senior diplomat with posts in several African capitals behind him.

Others point to the mass expulsion from Nigeria earlier this year of almost two million migrants from other West

# Paulo, 15, is one of Africa's 5m homeless

From ANDREW HILL  
in KIBONDO (Rwanda)

African states as a new kind of displacement.

They were guest workers and their expulsion coincided with a sharp downturn in the economy of black Africa's richest and most populous state.

Traditionally, drought and war have caused the biggest movements of people in this continent of 150-million.

Somalia, for example, once claimed to have the biggest refugee population in the world — 1 300 000 people who fled the 1978/79 war between Ethiopia and Somalia.

There is still dispute over why Paulo and his kind fled Uganda in October a year ago. But what is fairly sure, according to UN officials, is that few, if any, will be allowed to go back.

The refugees at Kibondo are of ethnic Rwandan origin and settled in Uganda for various reasons over the past 60 years.

Some settled there when it was part of Rwanda, then a German colony. The territory was ceded to Belgium in the First World War and parts of the country where the Ban-

yaRwandans — as they are known — had established themselves were given to the British colony of Uganda in a re-drawing of borders.

Others trekked across the frontier to escape blood-letting between Rwanda's majority Hutu tribe and its minority Tutsi grouping. A similar outbreak of violence had convulsed Burundi, south of Rwanda, in which 200 000 people died.

They settled and prospered in the fertile lands of south-west Uganda, raising cattle and crops and children.

Suddenly, in 1982, an exodus of 100 000 Banyarwandans started from western Uganda. Those involved said they had been harassed by youth members of the ruling Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC). Homes were burned and cattle stolen, eyewitnesses said.

The Ugandan Government, which has had more than its fair share of bad publicity, denied any wrong-doing. The Banyarwandans fled in panic because of investigations into cattle theft in the area, it said.

Under the auspices of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the two governments have done a screening exercise to find out who is Ugandan and who is not.

Meanwhile the government of Rwanda, which has one of the highest population densities in the world, has re-settled several thousand refugees — who had been cattle herders — in the south of the country where there is land for the livestock.

But farmers, and those without cattle, are in Kibondo, waiting, day after day, to find out what will happen to them.

They live in a state of suspended animation. There is nothing to do. They have no land to grow food. They are confined to a hillside.

Foreign doctors working here say that boredom is such that the refugees turn up at the dispensary complaining of imagined maladies because there is nothing else to do.

Paulo runs a feeding programme for malnourished children, but finds that most of his charges are real Rwandans from areas near the camp. The refugees are well fed and healthy.

"They are in much better shape than the Rwandans. It is

becoming embarrassing," confided a doctor.

Everyone is waiting for the result of the screening but few diplomats believe more than a handful will go to Uganda.

There is no question of the refugees being given land, they say. The camp skirts the Akagera Game Park, one of the loveliest in Africa, and a hunting reserve, but those two bits of land bring in foreign exchange through tourists.

There is a small school which, ironically, teaches the really small children Kinyarwanda, the language of this country.

Paulo does not go. He speaks five languages which, in many ways, tell his particular sad story.

He speaks Kinyarwanda. He is fluent in English, the official language of Uganda. He has Swahili, a common tongue in East Africa. He has mastered Kinyankole, the language of the Ugandans who lived in the areas of Uganda where his parents settled.

And he speaks Luganda, the language of the Buganda tribe around the Ugandan capital of Kampala. "Uganda is my motherland. I have never lived in Rwanda. All I want to do is go home and go to school. There is nothing to do here," he says. — Sapa-Reuter.

DIPLOMATICALLY this has been a difficult year for South Africa, chiefly because of cross-border operations. "Destabilisation" has replaced apartheid as a dirty word, complained Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

SA is now seen as playing the masterful role of a white supremacist country bullying its poor black neighbours.

The world drifted towards nuclear holocaust, and SA's apartheid continued to make headlines — especially the interminable removals.

Critics described them as "internal destabilisation" of domestic blacks. A new study claims that a staggering 4 500 000 people have been uprooted in forced Nationalist removals.

SA has become "the rogue elephant" of Southern Africa, according to Simon Jenkins, of the Economist.

It has abandoned sweet persuasion in favour of naked, brutal aggression towards its neighbours, he wrote. The new dominance of "soldiers over civilians has brought realpolitik into foreign policy."

Towering over its neighbours, SA "is ready to use offence to assert its new status as a subcontinental superpower."

Warning that SA will not allow surrounding territories to be used as springboards for sabotage, SA sent troops against SWAPO into Angola, and gave logistical and political support to Unita.

The SAAF bombed an ANC offices in Maputo and helped the MNR (The Mozambican National Resistance movement. Its chief, Christina Orlando was murdered on a farm, outside Pretoria.)

SA agents allegedly operated in Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland and assassinated two ANC officials in Swaziland. SA repeatedly warned its neighbours not to provide military sanctuary for the ANC. All emphatically deny doing so.

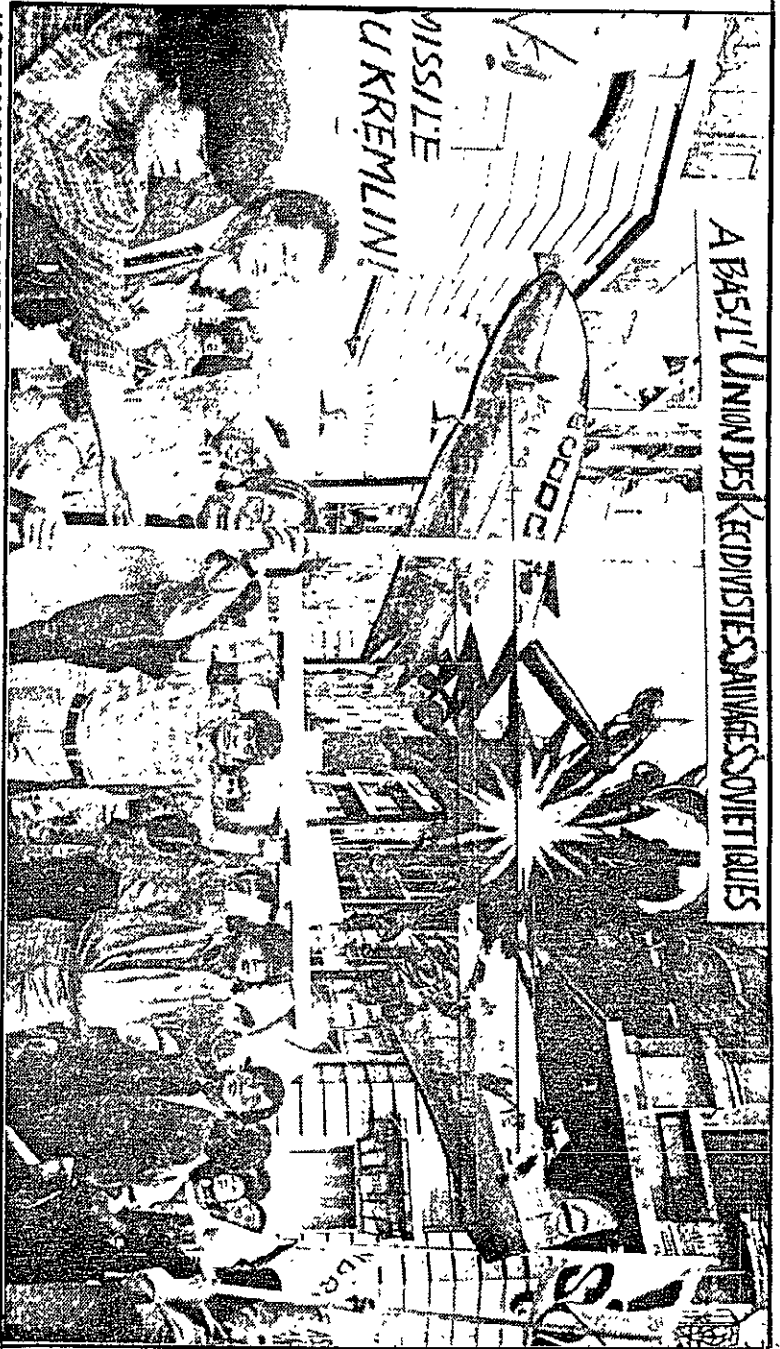
SA applied military, economic and political pressure to its neighbours, especially Lesotho. Swaziland and landlocked Lesotho have asked the ANC to leave.

"Destabilisation" is causing growing concern in the West because it could plunge the region into ruin.

The West adopted a "wait and see" attitude to the New Dispensation. Missivings were voiced about black exclusion from citizenship, vote and power.

In 11 anti-apartheid resolutions, the UN attacked white SA racism and destabilisation and issued a call for sanctions. Germany may introduce visas for South African visitors — as does Holland.

SA held sudden end-of-year talks with Mozambique, following President Samora Machel's visit to the UK (where he was knighted). But the talks were accompanied by a SA military operation against SWAPO in South Angola, where three towns were alleg-



KOREAN DEMONSTRATORS... In Paris carry a mock-up of the mid-air explosion of the Korean Airlines Boeing 747 by Soviet warplanes.

# SA's difficult diplomatic year

CHARLES BLOMBERG concludes his view of the last year with this third article.

Muzorewa was arrested for questioning in Harare on grounds that he was involved in a SA-Israeli plot. Zimbabwe radio has begun to refer to "the hated Jews".

President Mangope and President Sebe visited Israel which is training 18 Ciskeian helicopter pilots.

out dissidents. Nkomo went into a temporary British exile after threats to his life and safety. He wrote his autobiography before returning.

It was a bad year for dictators. On the 50th anniversary of Hitler's accession...

Many believed that Reagan was drifting into "second Vietnam" in the Caribbean and Mediterranean.

In Central America, the US saw the hidden hand of Dr Castro in minuscule Grenada — the size of Johannesburg and Soweto put together. Reagan sent in the Marines to restore law and order.

He also sent round the US fleet to warn Nicaragua.

The CIA is deeply involved in anti-insurgency in Latin America, having revived as a worldwide operational force under William Casey, its new director.

30/12/83

CBM

Mozambique, following President Samora Machel's visit to the UK (where he was knighted). But the talks were accompanied by a SA military operation against SWAPO in South Angola, where three towns were allegedly bombed. Five SA troops were killed.

SA got a new ambassador to the UN, which is now spending R75-million a year on anti-apartheid research and activity. There are 15 committees and 200 research units working full time on anti-apartheid propaganda, according to SA diplomatic sources.

The UN has focussed on Israel's friendly relations with SA (and the banuistans). Israel has begun to restore her relations with black Africa.

After visiting Jerusalem, however, Bishop

Saistracht did not refer to "the hated Jews".

President Mangoch and President Sebe visited Israel which is training 18 Ciskeian helicopter pilots and has opened a R2-million factory in Ciskei. Sebe claims de facto Israeli recognition for the Ciskei — but Jerusalem denies this.

Zimbabwe moved closer to a single-party state and attracted adverse publicity by releasing men freed by a court, including ZAPU war heroes.

The recession, drought and "destabilisation" took its toll.

The Fifth Brigade carried out a vigorous "clean up" of Matabeland in a bid to wipe

British exile after threats to his life and safety. He wrote his autobiography before returning.

It was a bad year for dictators. On the 50th anniversary of Hitler's accession to power, 60 of his diaries suddenly turned up. They were forgeries — and the "investigative reporter" who "discovered" them is the prime suspect.

The Butcher of Lyon, Klaus Barbie, 69, extradited from Bolivia, faces trial for the deaths of 7 000 Jews and French resistance heroes.

Protests in the streets threw three of the world's worst dictators on the defensive: General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq (Pakistan), General Pinochet (Chile), and President Marcos (Philippines). Fallen tyrant General Leopoldo Galtieri (Argentina) faces a death sentence. So do organisers of the odious "death squads" which kidnapped and killed thousands of political dissidents. Civilians forced three military juntas to step down — in Argentina, Turkey and Uruguay (which will have elections in 1984).

Argentina's new civilian government caused ecstasy in Buenos Aires by annulling a bizarre law passed by the military by granting themselves an amnesty for involvement in the faceless death squads which "disappeared" people. The entire junta which ruled from 1976-83 may go on trial for crimes which carry the death penalty.

General Arak Sahron was stripped of his Defence portfolio after being judicially criticised over the Phalangist massacre of 800 Palestinians in a camp under Israeli jurisdiction. President Shehu Shagari (Nigeria), President Kenneth Khandu (Kenya) and President Daniel Moi (Kenya) were re-elected.

Professor André Brink complained that SA was becoming more and more militarised — but on-off speculation of a military take-over was quashed by Defence writer William Steenkamp, who said the army leadership were strict constitutionalists and that the army was not politically homogeneous.

Spain, Portugal and Italy (formerly conservative, once fascist) got socialist governments, as did France. Margaret Thatcher won with a landslide victory. Michael Foot resigned as Labour Party leader. Kohl took over in Germany. Newcastle-on-Tyne declared itself an "anti-apartheid zone" and London is thinking of doing so.

The Nobel Peace prize went to Lech Wasilesa of Solidarity, who warned dissident Poles not to emigrate to South Africa.

Central America and Middle East were zones where local Right-Left conflicts became dangerously internationalised.

The CIA is deeply involved in anti-insurgency in Latin America, having revived as a worldwide operational force under William Casey, its new director.

And Reagan is sending medium-range Cruise and Pershing missiles to Western Europe, awakening nightmare fears of escalation into nuclear war.

The biggest anti-nuclear movement since the cold war of the Fifties has arisen in Europe. Protesters denounce Reagan for making them targets. Women at US base Greenham Common, England, have vowed that they will die to stop missiles.

Soviet fighters shot down a Korean Jumbo K1007 which strayed over a top secret missile testing range and nuclear base. Ironically, the US banned aeroflot for two weeks. No black box has been recovered, leaving key questions unanswered.

The US did not protest when Unifa shot down a Boeing 737 passenger aircraft in Angola.

Lebanon was carved up. Syria and Israel occupied the zones next to their borders, and the leftist Druze took over the central Chouf, leaving only a small heartland around Beirut to the Christians.

Kamikaze Islamic bombers killed nearly 300 American French and Israeli soldiers. Fratricidal conflict broke out in the PLO. The Iran-Iraq war entered its fourth year, as an oil slick, the size of Belgium, threatened to pollute the entire Persian Gulf.

President Yuri Andropov was said to be dying.

Two great surrealists died, the film maker Luis Bunuel and artist Joan Miró. So did Tennessee Williams, Buckmaster Fuller, Gloria Swanson, and Jimmy Carter's mother. Ailing author Arthur Koestler committed suicide. Israel's Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, retired.

Prince Andrew and former porn princess Koo cooed it (or did they?). A spate of sadistic sex crimes against little children shocked Britain. A new wave of Beatlemania swept the world, as fans bought thousands of old bricks from their original Abbey Road recording studio. Two topless ladies gave a boxing exhibition in Durban.

A Japanese robot flayed a man to death. The homely Cabbage Patch doll, complete with adoption certificate, captured US hearts. A Welshman and his fiancée won the world's record for sleeping on a bed of 500 highly sharpened nails.

But two lovers on top of a grand piano in an empty Las Vegas night club were crushed suddenly to rise to the roof. The man was killed. His friend, a topless dancer, said she was so drunk she could not recall getting onto the piano in the first place.

# Island may free jailed S Africans soon

By NEIL HOOPER

FAMILIES of two South Africans jailed in Madagascar will know within a fortnight whether the men are to be freed in six weeks.

Diamond dealer Dave Marais, 36, and former SAA captain John Wight, 38, were detained six years ago after their light aircraft ran out of fuel and made an emergency landing on a remote Madagascar airstrip.

Their Cessna aircraft had ostensibly been on a flight from Swaziland to Reunion Island.

The International Red Cross confirmed this week that it had received information that the two men would be released on February 4, although this was denied by the Madagascar Government when revealed by the Sunday Times six months ago.

## Urgency

The head of the IRC mission in South Africa, Mr Andre Collomb, said this week he had asked the head of their Nairobi mission to travel to Madagascar for official talks about the release of the two men.

He had asked that it be treated as a matter of urgency and that the official date of release should be known within two weeks. This week Dave Marais's mother, Mrs Edie Marais, said she had heard nothing further about the pending release.

If they are freed early in February, they are bound to be questioned by the South African Police for their part in helping a fugitive flee the country.

With them on the ill-fated flight in 1977 was American-born diamond dealer Eddie Lappeman, who skipped bail to avoid trial in South Africa.

At the time, Mr Lappeman, who was being investigated by the commercial branch of the SAP, faced charges of tax evasion involving R6-million.

## Escape

His passport was confiscated and he was on bail of R10 000.

A Madagascar military court sentenced the three men in 1978 to five years in jail. In August that year Dave Marais and John Wight dug their way out of Tananarive's Antanimora Prison and walked 124km to the coast, only to be recaptured there.

Mr Lappeman, who did not take part in the escape, was freed without explanation in the second half of 1980 and is believed to be living in the United States.

In 1981, Marais and Wight successfully appealed against their original convictions and the five-year sentences were set aside — but were then both sentenced to a further two years' imprisonment for escaping from prison.

The court found that the charges of spying had been trumped up for political expediency after a plot by islanders to overthrow the government was uncovered.

# Industrial projects could lure money to black states

The Star Bureau

HARARE — Delegates who attended the two-day industrial projects workshop of the independent black states of Southern Africa here this week were optimistic that the businesslike meetings would result in real investment in the region.

This was not the view only of the political leaders and the officials who organised the workshop, but of industrialists and bankers from Western Europe, Australia and India who took part in detailed discussions.

The scene for this week's meeting was set a year ago when about 88 industrial projects were first identified as potential areas of foreign investment.

Tanzania's youthful-looking Minister of Industry, Mr Basil Mramba, who heads the ministerial committee responsible for

industrial development in the SADCC region, said he was completely satisfied with the progress so far.

"It is not like lighting a cigarette, when striking a match is all you need to do," he said. Given the need to collect a mass of information about the viability of projects, I am convinced we could not have done better."

The meetings in Harare resulted in further pledges amounting to R375 million, bringing the total committed so far to about R600 million — half of the foreign component sum required if all 88 projects were to be implemented.

They include expansion of salt works in Mozambique and Tanzania, knitting and power loom projects in Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Swaziland, wool scouring and spinning projects in Lesotho and Botswana, a textile chemical unit in Tanzania,

tractor assembly plants, a steel and billet casting factory in Zimbabwe for farm implements, fertiliser plants in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and pulp and paper plants in Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Projects for study include salt works in Angola, the expansion of the petro-chemical complex there and upgrading and expansion of the textiles, pesticides, cement and chemical plants in several of the countries.

A British industrial delegate said afterwards that one of the most encouraging aspects was the attitude that the projected industrial development was based on sound commercial principles.

"The age of philanthropy in business is over," he said, "and those investors who have pledged to come into the region are doing so on the grounds that

they will get a reasonable return."

Mr Mramba told reporters after the workshop that in compiling the list of SADCC industrial projects, no conflict of interests had arisen among the nine nations of the region.

"The demand is so great," he said. "There is room for everyone and so much to be done. When a population of nearly 60 million has to be clothed and fed, the only problem arises in meeting the demand."

Tied in with the development of industries in the region is the need to foster ties of trade among the countries and to improve transport and communications.

These are matters which will certainly come up at the donors' conference to be held in Lusaka at the end of this month.

# Industrial projects could lure money to black states

The Star Bureau

HARARE — Delegates who attended the two-day industrial projects workshop of the independent black states of Southern Africa here this week were optimistic that the businesslike meetings would result in real investment in the region.

This was not the view only of the political leaders and the officials who organised the workshop, but of industrialists and bankers from Western Europe, Australia and India who took part in detailed discussions.

The scene for this week's meeting was set a year ago when about 88 industrial projects were first identified as potential areas of foreign investment.

Tanzania's youthful-looking Minister of Industry, Mr Basil Mramba, who heads the ministerial committee responsible for

industrial development in the SADCC region, said he was completely satisfied with the progress so far.

"It is not like lighting a cigarette, when striking a match is all you need to do," he said. Given the need to collect a mass of information about the viability of projects, I am convinced we could not have done better."

The meetings in Harare resulted in further pledges amounting to R375 million, bringing the total committed so far to about R600 million — half of the foreign component sum required if all 88 projects were to be implemented.

They include expansion of salt works in Mozambique and Tanzania, knitting and power loom projects in Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Swaziland, wool scouring and spinning projects in Lesotho and Botswana, a textile chemical unit in Tanzania,

tractor assembly plants, a steel and billet casting factory in Zimbabwe for farm implements, fertiliser plants in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and pulp and paper plants in Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Projects for study include salt works in Angola, the expansion of the petro-chemical complex there and upgrading and expansion of the textiles, pesticides, cement and chemical plants in several of the countries.

A British industrial delegate said afterwards that one of the most encouraging aspects was the attitude that the projected industrial development was based on sound commercial principles.

"The age of philanthropy in business is over," he said, "and those investors who have pledged to come into the region are doing so on the grounds that

they will get a reasonable return."

Mr Mramba told reporters after the workshop that in compiling the list of SADCC industrial projects, no conflict of interests had arisen among the nine nations of the region.

"The demand is so great," he said. "There is room for everyone and so much to be done. When a population of nearly 60 million has to be clothed and fed, the only problem arises in meeting the demand."

Tied in with the development of industries in the region is the need to foster ties of trade among the countries and to improve transport and communications.

These are matters which will certainly come up at the donors' conference to be held in Lusaka at the end of this month.



ARGUS 16/1/84 (1)

# IMF sees Ghana as a model of recovery

CAMERON DUODU reports on the growing confidence of the international financial community in the Government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings

WESTERN donor countries and international lending agencies have put together an aid package that promises to give Ghana the big push towards economic recovery it so desperately needs.

At a consultative meeting in Paris recently — attended by representatives of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United States, Canada, Britain, West Germany, France and Japan — \$150-million was pledged to finance the first year of a three-year programme Ghana has drawn up.

The main aim is rehabilitation of the infrastructure in a way that will enable export earnings to be expanded. If the West continues to support the programme, it is expected that aid to Ghana will total \$700-million by the end of the three-year period.

Western support of this magnitude is a triumph for the Government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, which has laboured under the suspicion of being anti-Western since it came to power at the end of 1981.

The Americans in particular viewed Ghana's newly established close relations with Libya

unfavourably, and there have been acrimonious exchanges between the two countries over the past two years, with Ghana living in fear of a CIA-supported mercenary invasion.

## "Significant change"

Britain and other Western countries did not share the American suspicions, and it was partly their patient diplomacy that enabled relations to reach a stage at which the Americans could attend the Paris meeting in good faith.

Ghana's Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, Dr Kwesi Botchwey, told me that he had observed "a significant change" in the American attitude to Ghana.

He said: "The American position at the conference was very positive."

Although they had not been able to put exact figures on assistance they intended to give Ghana, he was hopeful they would provide "substantial resources in the form of food and balance of payments support" in the coming year.

Canada promises to make \$10-million Canadian dollars available for the purchase of

food and agricultural needs, and donated between four and five million dollars in emergency food aid. Canada will also give \$2-million to help Ghana's offshore oil exploration programme.

Ghana at present spends about 60 percent of export earnings on oil imports.

## Britain's pledge

Britain pledged about \$12-million to finance the importation of 17 000 tons of food, spare parts and equipment, and a technical assistance programme. In addition, Britain's Export Credits Guarantee Department is supporting a \$22-million loan by Standard Chartered Bank to finance essential imports.

The reason for the international financial community going all out to help Ghana is not difficult to find. The country's economy has been in a mess for most of the past decade.

Real output declined at the rate of 2 percent a year between 1979 and 1981. Last year, it recorded a further decline of 7 percent. At the same time, inflation has been in the three-fig-

ure range, peaking at 116 percent in 1981.

These harsh economic conditions have led to serious unrest. In May, all three universities were closed after students went on the rampage, demanding that the Rawlings Government should step down.

## Admiration

In June there was a serious coup attempt during which the radio station was, for almost two hours, in the hands of rebels. Workers have become demoralised by their falling purchasing power, with almost everything essential for a decent life either in short supply or unobtainable except on the flourishing black market.

It became clear at the Paris meeting that the IMF and the World Bank have observed with admiration the determination of the Rawlings Government to push through the reforms, despite the unpopularity they have brought in their wake.

They now see Ghana as a model that can be used to bend other sub-Saharan countries to the pursuit of what the IMF considers to be "realistic budgetary policies."

© London Observer Service

# Food crisis in 24 African countries

ARGUS 19/1/84 (1)

Argus Foreign Service

NAIROBI. — Twenty-four African countries are facing a food crisis and need an extra 1.6-million tons of cereals in urgent food aid to avert mass starvation, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation has reported.

In a report, released yesterday, the organisation said the crisis was so imminent that 700 000 tons of cereals should be delivered before the end of March.

The organisation's Special Task Force on Africa also said the 24 countries in western, eastern and southern Africa needed about R100-million for agricultural aid to meet their immediate needs.

## 150-m people

In a Press release director-general Mr Edouard Saouma was quoted as saying that this crisis, which could affect 150-million people, "threatens to assume

even more dramatic proportions than that which ravaged the Sahelian countries in 1973 and 1974".

He said further aid was required "particularly by Mozambique and Zambia in southern Africa, by most of the affected countries in west Africa and by Ethiopia and Somalia in eastern Africa".

"The urgent delivery of pledged assistance is required in particular by Lesotho, Mozambique and Tanzania."

## Urgent need

The report said 1.75 million tons of food aid had already been pledged to the countries concerned, but that an additional 1.6 million tons of cereals were urgently needed.

The 24 affected countries are: Angola, Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Sao Toma and Principe, Senegal, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Upper Volta, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The report says the crisis is due to a sharp decline in cereal production by the affected countries and in some cases to food shortages stemming from drought, livestock diseases, pests and other causes, including civil strife.

# Food crisis in 24 African countries

ARGUS 19/1/84 ①

Argus Foreign Service

**NAIROBI** — Twenty-four African countries are facing a food crisis and need an extra 1.6-million tons of cereals in urgent food aid to avert mass starvation, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation has reported.

In a report, released yesterday, the organisation said the crisis was so imminent that 700,000 tons of cereals should be delivered before the end of March.

The organisation's Special Task Force on Africa also said the 24 countries in western, eastern and southern Africa needed about R100-million for agricultural aid to meet their immediate needs.

## 150-m people

In a Press release director-general Mr Edouard Saouma was quoted as saying that this crisis, which could affect 150-million people, threatens to assume

even more dramatic proportions than that which ravaged the Sahelian countries in 1973 and 1974.

He said further aid was required "particularly by Mozambique and Zambia in southern Africa, by most of the affected countries in west Africa and by Ethiopia and Somalia in eastern Africa."

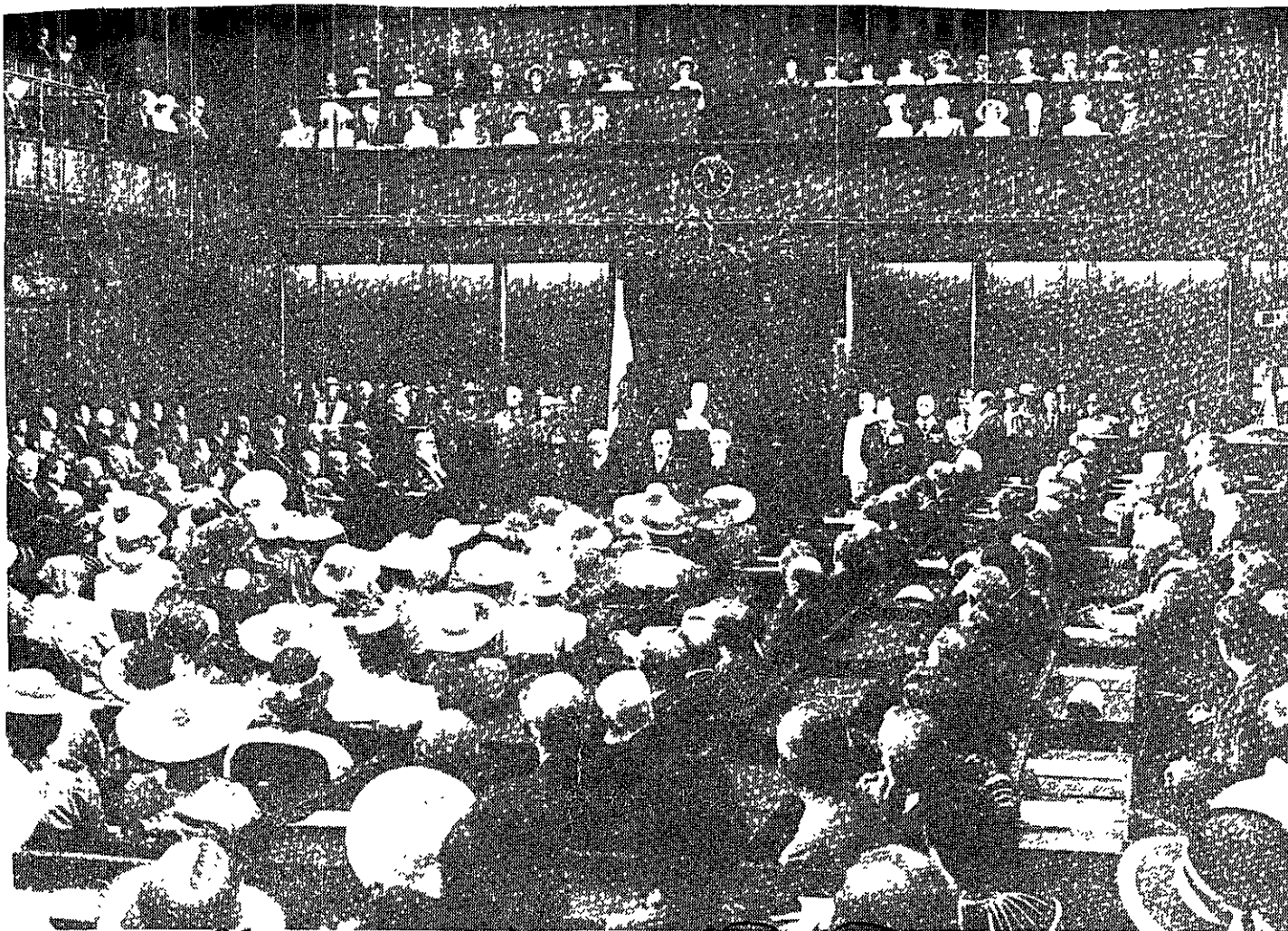
"The urgent delivery of pledged assistance is required in particular by Lesotho, Mozambique and Tanzania."

## Urgent need

The report said 1.75-million tons of food aid had already been pledged to the countries concerned, but that an additional 1.6 million tons of cereals were urgently needed.

The 24 affected countries are: Angola, Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Sao Tomé and Principe, Senegal, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Upper Volta, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The report says the crisis is due to a sharp decline in cereal production by the affected countries and in some cases to food shortages stemming from drought, livestock diseases, pests and other causes, including civil strife.



*Argus*, 27/1/84 (1) ~~27/1/84~~ ~~27/1/84~~

Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

The State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, opens what is expected to be the last session of the all-white Parliament. Under the Government's tricameral parliamentary scheme the State President will also be replaced by an executive president.

## 'New deal to be implemented with least delay'

Political Correspondent

THE Government was determined to implement the new constitutional dispensation with as little delay as possible, the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, said today.

In his opening address, he said 1983 would go down as a year of great significance.

The electorate showed in the November referendum it preferred consensus politics and acknowledged the need for sound inter-group relations.

Constitutional development was not limited to white, coloured and Indian people.

The Government's goal was to maintain security and stability, and promote the welfare of all. Each person individually, and as a member of his group, should be able to participate in decision-making affecting his interests.

### SELF-DETERMINATION

The claim of any people or group to self-determination, the maintenance of standards and survival should be safeguarded.

Considerable progress had already been made. A Cabinet committee, in consultation with the leaders of the national and independent states as well as other communities, was investigating social, economic and constitutional matters.

The recession was tending to bottom-out and the prospects for an economic recovery were enhanced by the US economic revival.

The Government would welcome an abatement in high interest rates, although it recognised its role in fighting inflation.

### WEAKENING GOLD PRICE

In the past two years the SA economy had had to adjust to the world recession, the weakening gold price and the worst drought in decades.

Then the gold price dropped by about 100 dollars an ounce in February 1983, and substantially increased drought assistance became necessary. Fiscal and monetary restraint had to be pursued.

Interest rates rose and the value of the rand, particularly in relation to a strong dollar, declined.

The balance of payments on current account improved dramatically — it showed a surplus in the last quarter of 1982 and throughout 1983 — while inflation fell to about 10 percent.

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's recent crackdown on conspirators said to be plotting the downfall of the socialist government of the Seychelles looked like an epilogue ending Pretoria's limited involvement in Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare's failed coup bid in 1981.

In reality it signalled the start of a two-pronged diplomatic initiative which the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, hopes will have important international implications.

One prong of the initiative embodies an active attempt to improve relations with President Albert Rene's regime. If this were to materialise it could give South Africa a stake in the development of this strategic and potentially rich group of islands in the Indian Ocean.

The other initiative embodies the aim of achieving tighter British-curb on the activities of political exile organisations operating there. Specifically, Mr Botha's objective is to have the British ban, or at least limit, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), both of which in his

# Crackdown seen as part

## of Pik's new diplomatic drive

view are working to subvert South Africa.

The significance of the arrest of five men in South Africa on November 2 last year has come to light only because diplomats of the three countries concerned — South Africa, Seychelles and Britain — have provided details of two key meetings which Mr Botha had in London on December 2. One of the meetings was secret.

Mr Botha's secret meeting at South Africa House was with Mr Robert Delpech, Acting High Commissioner for the Seychelles. The publicly announced meeting was with the

Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Immediately after the two sessions facts of the arrests were made known. Two South Africans, a Zimbabwean and a British subject had been arrested on November 28 on charges of plotting the overthrow of the Rene Government. A Briton was detained, then deported, accused of spying on behalf of the Seychelles Government.

In his meeting with Mr Delpech, Mr Botha pointed out that:

● The Briton alleged to be a spy was not prosecuted, merely

expelled, to avoid embarrassing the Seychelles Government.

● South Africa would do everything possible to prevent the entry of Seychellois dissidents or sympathisers and from them using the country as a base for subverting the Seychelles Government.

● South Africa did not accept the ideology of the Seychelles and the recognised the rulers of the Seychelles did not accept the ideology of the Republic.

Nevertheless both needed to accept the realities to live together as near-neighbours. Cooperation between the two governments therefore was necessary and information ought to

be exchanged in the interests of better relations.

In his talk with Sir Geoffrey, Mr Botha spoke of the arrests and their significance.

He added that South Africa would like to avoid involvement in future problems with the Seychelles. Known Seychellois dissidents could be kept out of the country but Britons could enter South Africa freely and those who might be agents could not easily be identified.

Accordingly it was up to the British authorities to do whatever was possible to ensure that the activities of dissident groups were controlled. It was plain to Mr Botha that

this was part of a wider problem. London had become a haven for political exile many nations, South Africa included, and it was here that planning of subversion was continuing. He urged Britain to do something to countries which were the gets of attack.

It was in this context that Botha called on Sir Geoffrey to curtail, if not ban, the operations of the ANC. It was in the same context that he complained about the activities of the AAM. Sir Geoffrey's response the accounts of insiders, predictably routine. Bri

Parliament starts on Friday. It will, in all probability, be the last all-white Parliament in this country's history. The Star's Political Correspondent, PETER SULLIVAN, analyses the significance of the coming session.

# P W: prime mover of exciting change in SA politics



# HURLEY SA in Namib

25/1/84

By Carina le Grange  
Religion Reporter

Catholic Archbishop  
Hurley last night questioned  
South African involvement

114 1

on conspirators said  
vernment of the Sey-  
ria's limited involve-  
up bid in 1981.

# Crackdown seen as part of Piki's new diplomatic drive

working to subvert  
Foreign Secretary, Sir Geof-  
frey Howe.

Immediately after the two  
sessions facts of the arrests  
were made known. Two South  
Africans, a Zimbabwean and a  
British subject had been arrest-  
ed on November 28 on charges  
of plotting the overthrow of the  
Rene Government. A Briton  
was detained, then deported,  
accused of spying on behalf of  
the Seychelles Government.

In his meeting with Mr. Del-  
pech, Mr Botha pointed out  
that:  
● The Briton alleged to be a  
spy was not prosecuted, merely

expelled, to avoid embarrass-  
ing the Seychelles Government.

● South Africa would do every-  
thing possible to prevent the  
entry of Seychellois dissidents  
or sympathisers and from them  
using the country as a base for  
subverting the Seychelles Gov-  
ernment.

● South Africa did not accept  
the ideology of the Seychelles  
and the recognised the rulers of  
the Seychelles did not accept  
the ideology of the Republic.  
Nevertheless both needed to  
accept the realities to live to-  
gether as near-neighbours. Co-  
operation between the two gov-  
ernments therefore was neces-  
sary and information ought to

be exchanged in the interests of  
better relations.

In his talk with Sir Geoffrey,  
Mr Botha spoke of the arrests  
and their significance.

He added that South Africa  
would like to avoid involve-  
ment in future problems with  
the Seychelles. Known Seychel-  
lois dissidents could be kept out  
of the country but Britons  
could enter South Africa freely  
and those who might be agents  
could not easily be identified.  
Accordingly it was up to the  
British authorities to do what-  
ever was possible to ensure  
that the activities of dissident  
groups were controlled.  
It was plain to Mr Botha that

this was part of a  
wider prob-  
lem. London had  
become a  
haven for political  
exiles of  
many nations. South  
Africa in-  
cluded, and it was  
here that the  
planning of subvers  
ion against  
was continuing. He  
urged Brit-  
ain to do some-  
thing to assist  
countries which  
were the tar-  
gets of attack.

It was in this con-  
text that Mr.  
Botha called on Sir  
Geoffrey to  
curtail, if not ban,  
the opera-  
tions of the ANC. It  
was in the  
same context that  
he com-  
plained about the  
activities of the  
vices of the AAM.  
Sir Geoffrey's re-  
sponse, by  
the accounts of insi-  
der, was  
predictably rou-  
tine. Britain,

traditionally, was a free and  
open country.  
It had long been a haven for  
those who genuinely sought  
asylum or who had been exiled.  
Those who lived there, exiles  
included, were free to engage  
in political activity provided  
they respected the law of the  
land. If they transgressed that  
law they would of course have  
to face the consequences.

At the Commonwealth sum-  
mit conference in New Delhi  
last year concern surfaced dur-  
ing the debate on the Grenada  
affair. A main worry preoccu-  
pying smaller member-nations  
was how best to defend them-  
selves from the plots and con-  
spiracies of dissidents, often  
working from London where  
mercenaries are available for  
hire. No solution was produced.  
The subject has become one  
of on-going study within the  
Commonwealth secretariat.  
And whether it is South Africa  
or the Seychelles which might  
consider itself the target of po-  
tential, attack, a lot more is  
likely to be heard of this.

It will, in all  
the Parliament  
Mr's Political  
IVAN, analy-  
g session.

## MOVER

## change

## SS

re 30 new Bills ex-



# HURLEY SA involvement in Namibia/Angola questions

25/1/84  
By Carina le Graige  
Religion Report  
Catholic Archbishop Denis  
Hurley last night questioned  
South African involvement in

28 50221  
National Forum as "important  
political events to which the  
church cannot remain indiffer-  
ent"  
With regard to the UDF, the



Argus. 27/1/84 (1) ~~229~~ ~~284~~

Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

The State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, opens what is expected to be the last session of the all-white Parliament. Under the Government's tricameral parliamentary scheme the State President will also be replaced by an executive president.

# New deal to be implemented with least delay'

Political Correspondent

THE Government was determined to implement the new constitutional dispensation with as little delay as possible, the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, said today.

In his opening address, he said 1983 would go down as a year of great significance.

The electorate showed in the November referendum it preferred consensus politics and acknowledged the need for sound inter-group relations.

Constitutional development was not limited to white, coloured and Indian people.

The Government's goal was to maintain security and stability and promote the welfare of all. Each person individually, and as a member of his group, should be able to participate in decision-making affecting his interests.

## SELF-DETERMINATION

The claim of any people or group to self-determination, the maintenance of standards and survival should be safeguarded.

Considerable progress had already been made. A Cabinet committee, in consultation with the leaders of the national and independent states as well as other communities, was investigating social, economic and constitutional matters.

The recession was tending to bottom-out and the prospects for an economic recovery were enhanced by the US economic revival.

The Government would welcome an abatement in high interest rates, although it recognised its role in fighting inflation.

## WEAKENING GOLD PRICE

In the past two years the SA economy had had to adjust to the world recession, the weakening gold price and the worst drought in decades.

Then the gold price dropped by about 100 dollars an ounce in February 1983, and substantially increased drought assistance became necessary. Fiscal and monetary restraint had to be pursued.

Interest rates rose and the value of the rand, particularly in relation to a strong dollar, declined.

The balance of payments on current account improved dramatically — it showed a surplus in the last quarter of 1982 and throughout 1983 — while inflation fell to about 10 percent.



Mr Marais Viljoen

# President warns of Red arms

CAPE TOWN 27/1/84

~~Red~~ ~~arms~~ (1) Argus

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, today warned of a build-up of military infrastructure in the frontline states which gave Russia strategic mobility and increased the possibility of a conventional threat against South Africa.

build-up

Opening the fourth session of the seventh Parliament of the Republic of South Africa in Cape Town, Mr Viljoen said the past year had been characterised by increasing unrest and violence in many parts of the world.

"We enter the new year amidst increasing threats to international peace and security. South Africa goes to meet the future resolved and determined to maintain stability.

"There is irrefutable evidence that the Soviet Union is engaged in stock-piling arms in some of our neighbouring countries.

### Expansionist

"The obvious purpose of this is to create a climate of instability which will aid the Soviet Union in promoting its regional expansionist aims.

"Public statements by terrorist leaders and acts of sabotage provide conclusive proof of the objectives of South Africa's enemies — the destruction of law and order and of our democratic way of life in South Africa.

"We dare not relax our vigilance or be lulled into a false sense of security.

### Be prepared

"We must be prepared at all times, as indeed our security forces are, to safeguard the integrity of our borders and to maintain law and order in our country."

Unrest in certain parts of Southern Africa also increased as a result of the inability of certain governments to maintain development and stability in their countries.

He rejected allegations that South Africa undertook actions aimed at destabilising its neighbours.

Such accusations were spread in an effort to hide the critical conditions in countries unable to maintain development and stability.

### Co-operation

South Africa was willing to co-operate with all the countries of Southern Africa on the basis of internationally accepted principles and practices.

The Angolan Government openly allowed Swapo to use its territory as a springboard for the most shocking deeds of terror against the population of South West Africa.

The standpoint of the South African Government was clear: The people of South West must decide for themselves, without any form of intimidation from outside, on their own constitutional future.

This was made extremely difficult by the terror campaign conducted by Swapo, aided and abetted by Cuban forces.

● More pictures, Pages 12 and 13.



①

The prospect of another year of drought hangs like a sw

By David Thomas,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

Southern Africa is facing the grim prospect of another year of a drought which could become the most disastrous in living memory.

Already there have been authoritative reports that the region's breadbasket, South Africa and Zimbabwe, faces another maize crop failure if the rains do not arrive soon.

And in Lusaka a routine annual meeting of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) has been turned into a drought crisis summit.

The drought has cost the six black Southern African states most affected an estimated R1 200 million and emergency aid is being sought from the international community.

A third successive season of drought could have disastrous consequences in a region which has been declared drought-stricken despite the widespread rain which fell in December.

Villain of the present sizzling dry spell which is spreading gloom among farmers is the tropical cyclone Domitia which moved in from the middle of the Indian Ocean earlier this month and is hanging over the Mozambique Channel causing havoc to the weather pattern in most of the Southern Africa hinterland.

# Third year of crisis faces the regional breadbasket

The killer drought has cost the six black Southern African states most affected an estimated R1 200 million. A US senator, horrified at what he saw on a recent tour of the worst-hit areas, called on Congress to increase emergency food aid by about R250 million.

The drought is not confined to Southern Africa. Much of sub-Saharan Africa is reported to be critically dry, adding to the continent's economic woes.

US Senator John Dansforth said on his return to Washington last week that he was so horrified by what he saw on his tour of the worst affected famine areas of Africa that he has called on Congress to increase emergency food aid to the area

immediately by about R250 million.

His report, which included slides of the starving women and children of Mozambique, so shocked President Ronald Reagan that he ordered his staff to find new ways of providing emergency aid to the Marxist-ruled country.

Mozambique officials have estimated that at least 40 000 people have died in the rural areas

because of the drought. Unofficial estimates put the figure closer to 100 000.

Senator Dansforth's report said that about 300 000 Mozambicans were in immediate peril.

South Africa and Zimbabwe, although also badly hit by the drought, were not listed because they had enough food reserves and other resources to prevent serious famine.

But this assessment was based on the preceeding two seasons of drought and did not take into account another dry year.

The president of the SWA Agricultural Union, Mr Johnny Kirsten, says farmers in the western regions fringing the Namib Desert are in a worse position than they were this time last year.

About a third of the sheep farms in the karakul regions of Maltahohe and Bethanien are either deserted or operated only at weekends, their owners being forced to work in the towns to supplement their incomes.

As far as the Windhoek district is concerned the exceptionally good rains of December have made way for a heat wave this January, sinking optimism that this season would see the end of the territory's drought, now entering its seventh successive year.

# The prospect of another year of drought hangs like a sw

By David Thomas,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

Southern Africa is facing the grim prospect of another year of a drought which could become the most disastrous in living memory.

Already there have been authoritative reports that the region's breadbasket, South Africa and Zimbabwe, faces another maize crop failure if the rains do not arrive soon.

And in Lusaka a routine annual meeting of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) has been turned into a drought crisis summit.

The drought has cost the six black Southern African states most affected an estimated R1 200 million and emergency aid is being sought from the international community.

A third successive season of drought could have disastrous consequences in a region which has been declared drought-stricken despite the widespread rain which fell in December.

Villain of the present sizzling dry spell which is spreading gloom among farmers is the tropical cyclone Domoina which moved in from the middle of the Indian Ocean earlier this month and is hanging over the Mozambique Channel causing havoc to the weather pattern in most of the Southern Africa hinterland.

## Third year of crisis faces the regional breadbasket

**The killer drought has cost the six black Southern African states most affected an estimated R1 200 million. A US senator, horrified at what he saw on a recent tour of the worst-hit areas, called on Congress to increase emergency food aid by about R250 million.**

The drought is not confined to Southern Africa. Much of sub-Saharan Africa is reported to be critically dry, adding to the continent's economic woes.

US Senator John Dansforth said on his return to Washington last week that he was so horrified by what he saw on his tour of the worst affected famine areas of Africa that he has called on Congress to increase emergency food aid to the area

immediately by about R250 million.

His report, which included slides of the starving women and children of Mozambique, so shocked President Ronald Reagan that he ordered his staff to find new ways of providing emergency aid to the Marxist-ruled country.

Mozambique officials have estimated that at least 40 000 people have died in the rural areas

because of the drought. Unofficial estimates put the figure closer to 100 000.

Senator Dansforth's report said that about 300 000 Mozambicans were in immediate peril.

South Africa and Zimbabwe, although also badly hit by the drought, were not listed because they had enough food reserves and other resources to prevent serious famine.

But this assessment was based on the preceding two seasons of drought and did not take into account another dry year.

The president of the SWA Agricultural Union, Mr Johnny Kirsten, says farmers in the western regions fringing the Namib Desert are in a worse position than they were this time last year.

About a third of the sheep farms in the karakul regions of Maltahohe and Bethanien are either deserted or operated only at weekends, their owners being forced to work in the towns to supplement their incomes.

As far as the Windhoek district is concerned the exceptionally good rains of December have made way for a heat wave this January, sinking optimism that this season would see the end of the territory's drought, now entering its seventh successive year.

# Huddleston checks Frontline attitudes

By John D'Oliveira,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The release of Nelson Mandela and other black leaders followed by negotiations on the future are said to be the most dramatic actions the South African Government could take to prove to the Frontline states that it was moving in the right direction.

This point was made by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston yesterday after a three-week African tour that took him to Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania as a government guest.

Archbishop Huddleston made the trip as president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) to determine whether the movement accurately reflected the states' view. He was accompanied by Mr Abdul Minny, honorary secretary of the AAM.

In Zambia and Tanzania his hosts were the

Archbishop Huddleston has been visiting Southern African governments and leading personalities as leader of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The Western powers' inactive attitude to apartheid is seen by him as hypocritical.

Frontline states and its destabilisation campaign in Southern Africa. "I found complete unanimity on these issues. The leaders I spoke to were all agreed that aggression and destabilisation formed the basis of South African foreign policy in the area.

In all the countries he met prominent personalities.

Archbishop Huddleston said his discussions centred on "the South African Government's aggression against the



Archbishop Huddleston... assurance rejected.



President Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda... agreed their aggression and destabilisation formed the basis of South African foreign policy in their areas.



President Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda... agreed their aggression and destabilisation formed the basis of South African foreign policy in their areas.

Archbishop Huddleston said he was absolutely satisfied that in its negotiations with South Africa, the Maputo Government would not sell the South African resistance movements down the river.

The Frontline states were absolutely united in the belief that the Reagan Administration's "so-called policy of constructive engagement" with South Africa had given South Africa the green light to press ahead with a policy of aggression, subversion and destabilisation.

"What I want to hammer home as a result of this visit is my view that the West is entirely hypocritical when it condemns apartheid and its consequences because it has no intention whatsoever of taking any effective action against it."

He believed the threat to world peace in Southern Africa could become even greater than the threat posed by the situation in the Middle East.

## US weapons still to be proved

WASHINGTON — A Pentagon plan to defend Western Europe with an array of sophisticated weapons designed to avoid nuclear war is fac-

Tests of sophisticated weaponry developed by the United States to avoid nuclear warfare have proved unsuccessful. The ammunition has been designed

to hit multiple targets in a moving array remains to be demonstrated (and) four attempts at multiple target engagement have been unsuccessful."

**\$ GOLD \$**  
Now at a  
**Dramatic**  
**LOW PRICE!**

**ROBO**

**Disc**

**ANOTHER**

**LOW**

**NO**

**SM**

# SADCC talks to focus on famine

By ANDRE VILJOEN  
Mail Africa Bureau

HARARE. — Nine Southern African nations meet in Lusaka, Zambia, this week for talks which will be dominated by the spectre of famine.

The nations composing the four-year-old Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) will ask sponsors for R216-million to help offset the immediate effects of the drought which has already killed thousands of people and seems to be entering its third consecutive year.

"Food reserves in the Southern African sub-region have fallen to dangerous levels and widespread famine is immi-

nent unless short-term measures are taken urgently to stave off the adverse effects of drought," the SADCC executive secretary, Mr Arthur Blumeris, said last week.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) this month named eight of the SADCC countries — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — as facing "emergency conditions" because of the drought and said Mozambique, Tanzania and Lesotho needed "urgent food aid". Malawi was the only SADCC country not in drought trouble.

According to reports, thousands of

Mozambicans have died of starvation. About 30 000 hungry Mozambicans have entered Zimbabwe in search of food.

Even Zimbabwe is expected to run out of the staple maize before the next mid-year harvest and faces massive crop failure unless it rains within the next 10 days.

According to an SADCC pre-conference publication, the 1982/1983 drought year alone cost member countries more than R900-million.

The losses occurred at a time of international recession and with member countries "labouring under high national debts and critical shortages of foreign currency. None can handle this new financial disaster on their own", it said.

# SADCC talks to focus on famine

By ANDRE VILJOEN  
Mail Africa Bureau

HARARE — Nine Southern African nations meet in Lusaka, Zambia, this week for talks which will be dominated by the spectre of famine.

The nations composing the four-year-old Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) will ask sponsors for R216-million to help offset the immediate effects of the drought which has already killed thousands of people and seems to be entering its third consecutive year.

"Food reserves in the Southern African sub-region have fallen to dangerous levels and widespread famine is immi-

nent unless short-term measures are taken urgently to stave off the adverse effects of drought," the SADCC executive secretary, Mr Arthur Blumeris, said last week.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) this month named eight of the SADCC countries — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — as facing "emergency conditions" because of the drought and said Mozambique, Tanzania and Lesotho needed "urgent food aid". Malawi was the only SADCC country not in drought trouble.

According to reports, thousands of

Mozambicans have died of starvation. About 30 000 hungry Mozambicans have entered Zimbabwe in search of food.

Even Zimbabwe is expected to run out of the staple maize before the next mid-year harvest and faces massive crop failure unless it rains within the next 10 days.

According to an SADCC pre-conference publication, the 1982/1983 drought year alone cost member countries more than R900-million.

The losses occurred at a time of international recession and with member countries "labouring under high national debts and critical shortages of foreign currency. None can handle this new financial disaster on their own"; it said.

# Huddleston checks Frontline attitudes

By John D'Oliveira,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The release of Nelson Mandela and other black leaders followed by negotiations on the future are said to be the most dramatic actions the South African Government could take to prove to the Frontline states that it was moving in the right direction.

This point was made by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston yesterday after a three-week African tour that took him to Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania as a government guest.

Archbishop Huddleston made the trip as president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) to determine whether the movement accurately reflected the states' view. He was accompanied by Mr Abdul Minty, honorary secretary of the AAM.

In Zambia and Tanzania his hosts were the

Archbishop Huddleston has been visiting Southern African governments and leading personalities as leader of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The Western powers' inactive attitude to apartheid is seen by him as hypocritical.

countries' presidents. In Zimbabwe he had discussions with President Canaan Banana, Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In Botswana and Mozambique he spoke to a number of Cabinet Ministers.

In all the countries he met prominent personalities.

Archbishop Huddleston said his discussions centred on "the South African Government's aggression against the

Frontline states and its destabilisation campaign in Southern Africa.

## US weapons still to be proved

WASHINGTON — A Pentagon plan to defend Western Europe with an array of sophisticated weapons designed to avoid nuclear war is fac-

Tests of sophisticated weaponry developed by the United States to avoid nuclear warfare have proved unsuccessful. The ammunition has been designed

to hit multiple targets in a moving array remains to be demonstrated (and) four attempts at multiple target engagement have been unsuccessful." The unclassified report



Archbishop Huddleston... assurance rejected.



President Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda... agreed that aggression and destabilisation formed the basis of South African foreign policy in their areas.



South Africa was clearly set on becoming a great regional power, dominating by force the southern half of Africa. The Eastern bloc could not afford to allow this and there was a danger of massive escalation in the area.

ever of taking any effective action against it." He believed the threat to world peace in Southern Africa could become even greater than the threat posed by the situation in the Middle East.

South Africa was clearly set on becoming a great regional power, dominating by force the southern half of Africa. The Eastern bloc could not afford to allow this and there was a danger of massive escalation in the area.

were absolutely united in the belief that the Reagan Administration's "so-called policy of constructive engagement" with South Africa had given South Africa the green light to press ahead with a policy of aggression, subversion and destabilisation.

"What I want to hammer home as a result of this visit is my view that the West is entirely hypocritical when it condemns apartheid and its consequences because it has no intention whatsoever of taking any effective action against it."

Archbishop Huddleston said his discussions centred on "the South African Government's aggression against the Frontline states and its destabilisation campaign in Southern Africa." "I found complete unanimity on these issues. The leaders I spoke to were all agreed that aggression and destabilisation formed the basis of South African foreign policy in the area. "They totally discounted the South African Foreign Minister's denials." The leaders were also agreed that apartheid was the core of the problem and that there could be no peace in Southern Africa and no stability on its borders until apartheid was ended. Nowhere was this sentiment more forcefully expressed than in Mozambique on the day that the South African delegation arrived. Archbishop Huddleston said he was absolutely satisfied that in its negotiations with South Africa, the Maputo Government would not sell the South African resistance movements down the river. The Frontline states

South Africa had not yet taken a single positive step in the right direction. The Frontline states agreed with him that South Africa had not yet taken a single positive step in the right direction.

Disc

ANOTHER

LOW

NO

SM

LOW PRICE!!

Now at a

GOLD

DRAMATIC

LOW PRICE!!

R50

# SA 'increases suffering of neighbours'

*CPK Times 3/7/84*

From ANDRE VILJOEN  
LUSAKA. — The economic development of Southern Africa was integrally linked with the destruction of "the forces of apartheid", the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Mr Shridath Ramphal, said here yesterday.

He was addressing more than 400 delegates to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) donors' conference which was officially opened yesterday by the President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

## 'Outrages'

The nine-nation SADCC grouping is asking representatives of about 67 northern-hemisphere countries and agencies for \$452-million for drought relief and development projects.

In an impassioned speech, Mr Ramphal accused South Africa of "a new militarism that seeks to bludgeon an entire region into submission".

Pretoria's "outrages" had "quadrupled the region's quota of human suffering" and so it should not be surprised if its announced mili-

tary disengagement from southern Angola was regarded with scepticism by the international community.

Addressing donors, he said: "We deceive ourselves that assistance to SADCC countries contributes to the alleviation of human suffering among member States if we at the same time tolerate South Africa's policies, which constantly enlarge their suffering."

"We will not truly help development unless we help the developing countries of this region to vanquish the forces of apartheid."

## 'Ransom'

Earlier, Dr Kaunda had said South Africa had attained nuclear capability, which it was using "to heighten tension and hold the independent black States in the sub-region to ransom".

At closed meetings yesterday afternoon, SADCC representatives presented reports supporting their requests for drought aid. A total of \$50-million was being sought for emergency food aid and the rest was wanted for irrigation, grain storage and other longer-term anti-drought measures.

# SA 'increases suffering of neighbours'

CAC 7165 3/1/84  
①  
②

From ANDRE VILJOEN

LUSAKA. — The economic development of Southern Africa was integrally linked with the destruction of "the forces of apartheid", the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Mr Shridath Ramphal, said here yesterday.

He was addressing more than 400 delegates to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) donors' conference which was officially opened yesterday by the President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

## 'Outrages'

The nine-nation SADCC grouping is asking representatives of about 67 northern-hemisphere countries and agencies for \$452-million for drought relief and development projects.

In an impassioned speech, Mr Ramphal accused South Africa of "a new militarism that seeks to bludgeon an entire region into submission".

Pretoria's "outrages" had "quadrupled the region's quota of human suffering" and so it should not be surprised if its announced mili-

tary disengagement from southern Angola was regarded with scepticism by the international community.

Addressing donors, he said: "We deceive ourselves that assistance to SADCC countries contributes to the alleviation of human suffering among member States if we at the same time tolerate South Africa's policies, which constantly enlarge their suffering."

"We will not truly help development unless we help the developing countries of this region to vanquish the forces of apartheid."

## 'Ransom'

Earlier, Dr Kaunda had said South Africa had attained nuclear capability, which it was using "to heighten tension and hold the independent black States in the sub-region to ransom".

At closed meetings yesterday afternoon, SADCC representatives presented reports supporting their requests for drought aid. A total of \$50-million was being sought for emergency food aid and the rest was wanted for irrigation, grain storage and other longer-term anti-drought measures.



# SA 'took part in SADC meeting'

CAPE TOWN 3/28/84  
UCT

By BARRY STREK

A SOUTH AFRICAN Government representative attended a meeting of the anti-constellation Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADC) in Malawi, a United States academic, Mr Robert Jaster, said in Cape Town this week.

He said "a South African representative took part in a SADC meeting in Malawi, where South Africa is involved in, assisting with SADC reforestation plans for which Malawi has been assigned primary regional responsibility".

Yet, he said at the University of

Cape Town's Summer School, while South Africa was co-operating on this level, it also appeared to be deliberately sabotaging the SADC programme.

In this way, South Africa, like Russia, seemed to view the SADC as a programme which would work against its national interests in the area by weakening its economic leverage over the member States.

"Thus the Mozambique National Resistance Movement, a guerilla group which appears to be financed, armed and supervised by South Africa, has sought out sabotage targets in Mozambique which are particularly impor-

tant to the economy of the region," Mr Jaster said this apparently conflicting stand reflected a "split image" of South Africa's national identity among the country's leadership.

One image the leaders saw was South Africa as an outpost of European Christian civilization, aspiring to what they saw as its natural role as defender of Nato's far southern flank.

"In this role, it is seen as a part of the modern industrial West and a natural ally of the West against what the leaders see as the encroachment of barbarism, radicalism, incompetence, and irresponsibility in the rest of

Africa — a situation which is seen as facilitating alleged Soviet plans to wrest Southern Africa and its riches away from the capitalist West."

The other self-image was that South Africa was an integral part of Africa — "a nation which, by virtue of its superior technical and education skills and general cultural level should be the leading regional power, respected and sought after for its counsel and assistance; a state which can help its less fortunate neighbours toward economic advancement, and which deserves to be recognized by the rest of the world as the region's leading power," Mr Jaster said.



## Summer School

Final travel plans are holding up release

# Madagascar set to free jailed SA pair

① RDM 3/2/84

By WIM VANVOLSEM and GEOFFREY ALLEN

**SOUTH AFRICANS** Dave Marais and John Wight who have been in prison on Madagascar for seven years after, it is alleged, they helped a Johannesburg diamond dealer Mr Eddie Lappeman flee a R6-million tax fraud charge in this country, will be released on February 10, according to the Director-General of Justice on the island.

Yesterday he confirmed that the men would be released on that date. He added that the only reason for the delay was the problem of where the men would fly to on their release.

The men complete their sentences tomorrow.

The trio were originally arrested and jailed on charges of spying, but were cleared four years later of that charge.

Mr Lappeman was released, but Wight and Marais were sent to jail for a further two years for attempting to escape.

In Johannesburg yesterday the families of both men were sceptical and said they would believe the release when they saw it.

American-born Mr Lappeman, a third generation diamond dealer in South Africa, was charged with fraud involving R23-million in gems.

He was released from his Madagascar prison cell in December 1980 and is in good health, according to his Washington lawyer.

Yesterday Mrs Brenda Wight, mother of pilot John Wight, said: "We've been let down too often to hope whether it's this date or that ... I couldn't think of anything I would like more than John's return, but I still feel in limbo about it."

Mr Dave Marais, Snr, a former MP and soccer administrator, said: "We've heard nothing at all officially and I'm not going to take any notice until someone official tells us the details."

Neither of the wives, Mrs Dawn Marais and Mrs Jean Wight, could be contacted.

Wight piloted the plane which was to fly Lappeman to freedom, while, according to diamond dealing sources, Marais went along for the ride.

Confirmation of the release date came first from the personal assistant to the President, Mr Didier Ratsiraka, who said the men were to be released but

referred the Mail to the Ministry of Justice for details.

If the men return to South Africa, they face possible interrogation by both the SA Police and the Department of Customs, both of whom have open files on Lappeman.

Police sources said they would be interested in speaking to the men.

In 1976 Mr Lappeman jumped bail after being charged with a R6-million tax fraud on the sale of diamonds worth R23-million.

The trio was arrested after their Cessna 402 plane, piloted by John Wight, was forced to land on Madagascar because of a fuel shortage.

Since their arrest there have been several attempts to rescue the South Africans from the island.

All have failed, including one which involved modifying a plane to take additional fuel tanks.

The men were originally charged with spying, but in 1981 a Madagascar court found the charges had been trumped up as a matter of political expediency, but the judge found Marais and Wight guilty of attempting to escape and returned them to prison for two years and fined them R3 418 as well.

① ROM 3/2/84

By ANDRE VILJOEN  
Mail Africa Bureau

# SA seeking to 'bludgeon region into submission'

LUSAKA. — The economic development of Southern Africa was integrally linked with the destruction of "the forces of apartheid" in South Africa, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Mr Shridath Ramphal, said in Lusaka yesterday.

He was addressing more than 400 delegates of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) donors' conference which was officially opened by the President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, yesterday.

The nine-nation SADCC grouping is asking representatives of about 67 Northern Hemisphere countries and agencies for about R500-million for drought relief and development projects.

In an impassioned speech, Mr Ramphal accused South Africa of "a new militarism that seeks to bludgeon an entire region into submission".

Pretoria's "outrages" had

"quadrupled the region's quota of human suffering" and so it should not be surprised if its announced military disengagement from southern Angola was regarded with scepticism by the world.

Addressing donors, he said: "We deceive ourselves that assistance to SADCC countries contributes to the alleviation of human suffering among member states if we

at the same time tolerate South Africa's policies which constantly enlarge their suffering.

"We will not truly help development unless we help the developing countries of this region to vanquish the forces of apartheid."

Speaking to the SADCC Ministers and officials, he said: "We will not help you to produce more food, to devel-

op your energy resources or to industrialise as you must, while we allow you to be destabilised, destroyed and above all degraded by an apartheid system that we help to make inviolable by policies of supine acquiescence."

Earlier Dr Kaunda said South Africa had attained nuclear capability which it used "to heighten tension and hold the independent black states in the sub-region to ransom".

South Africa was also conducting "permanent psychological warfare", he said.

*CME Times 4/2/84*

# Aid pours in for SADCC drought

From ANDRE VILJOEN

LUSAKA. — Australia announced yesterday that it would grant emergency food aid worth \$17-million to four drought-ravaged countries in Southern Africa.

Tanzania would receive \$9-million and the rest would be divided between Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia, the Australian delegation at the Southern African Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) donors' conference announced.

The nine-nation SADCC, in whose region tens of thousands of people and cattle have died of starvation in the past year, had appealed to northern-hemisphere donors for drought aid worth \$267-million, of which \$50-million was for emergency food.

Canadian delegates at the conference told journalists Canada had given more than \$10-million worth of food aid to the SADCC in recent months. Earlier this week the United States announced a proposal to grant \$10-million worth of immediate food aid to drought-stricken countries in Africa, and another \$500-million over the next five years.

ANC  
rejects  
SADCC  
stance

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — A rift has opened up between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South Africa Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) over a statement issued by the SADCC that it "welcomes signs of a less aggressive stance" by South Africa.

The ANC's director of information, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in an interview with the French news agency AFP, said his organization rejected "such compromise positions".

Mr Mbeki said there could be no detente with apartheid in South Africa — only a struggle.

Mr Mbeki also expressed his surprise that the ANC had not been invited to attend the SADCC's annual meeting in Lusaka.

Mr Mbeki, I understand, was informed by the SADCC that a decision had been taken in 1982 to invite liberation movements only to SADCC summits and not to review conferences like the one held last week.

The SADCC statement was issued after the announcement by the South African Prime

♦♦♦♦  
To page 2



From page 1

Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the SADF was "disengaging" its forces from Angola.

The SADCC statement added, however, that the organization "recognized that continued international pressure on South Africa was needed to bring these signs (of a less aggressive stance) to fruition and to bring about a process of peaceful change in the region."

The SADCC meeting was attended by its nine members — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Angola, Lesotho, Botswana, Tanzania and Swaziland. Discussions centred mainly on drought conditions in Southern Africa.

The SADCC was formed to try to lessen the influence of South Africa on its black neighbours, and as a counter to Pretoria's proposed constellation of states.

For an organization like the SADCC to detect signs of change in South Africa is a significant development.

This is highly unwelcome news for exile organizations like the ANC which insist that apartheid is not reformable and must be abolished. If the rift that has opened between the SADCC and the ANC were to widen, the ANC would be placed in a very difficult situation, because it relies on the SADCC states to provide it with passage and facilities for its guerilla fighters.

There has been speculation in the press here this weekend that a conflict of interests might be arising between the ANC and South Africa's black neighbours.

● Mr Mbeki is a banned person and may not be quoted but the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, authorised the use of this report.

Malan: (O)

SA safe  
if Africa  
prosper's  
10/2/84

D. DISPATCH

ROUXVILLE — South Africans could not feel safe in the Republic while its neighbours suffered from hunger, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

South Africa was one of only 10 countries in the world able to export food, but food production in the rest of Africa was dwindling by between one and 10 per cent annually, he said at the opening of the Rouxville agricultural show.

It was no wonder that 150 million people in Africa were suffering from hunger if this was considered with the fact that the population was increasing, General Malan said.

Experience had shown the food production of a country which had once been self-sufficient declined when marxist concepts were applied to agriculture and the country was governed by Soviet ideologies at the cost of economic realities.

"We cannot feel safe in South Africa if our neighbouring countries are suffering from hunger," he said, adding that the South African farmer was the first line of defence in this respect.

South Africa had always believed that full stomachs in neighbouring states contributed to social and political stability there, and the country was still in the fortunate position of being able to export grain to these countries.

— SAPA

LONDON — A rift has opened up between the African National Congress and the Southern Africa Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) over a statement issued by the SADCC that it "welcomes signs of a less aggressive stance by South Africa."

According to French press reports the ANC has accused the SADCC of compromising its position with regard to Southern Africa.

The ANC is also apparently upset that it had not been invited to attend the SADCC's annual meeting, which was held in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

The SADCC statement was issued after the announcement by the South African Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, that the SADF was "disengaging" its forces from Angola.

The SADCC statement added, though, that the organisation "recognised that continued international pressure on South Africa was needed

# ANC rift with black states

D. Dispatch  
7/2/84

to bring these signs (of a less aggressive stance) to fruition and to bring about a process of peaceful change in the region."

The SADCC meeting was attended by its nine members — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Angola, Lesotho, Botswana, Tanzania and Swaziland. Discussions centred mainly on drought conditions in Southern Africa.

There was speculation in the press here at the weekend that a conflict of interests might be arising between the ANC and South Africa's black neighbours, with some of the latter possibly preferring negotiated settlements to

armed struggles to the bitter end.

Meanwhile Andre Viljoen reports from Harare that the ANC and the Mozambican Government are expected to hold talks this week on their future relations following the opening of security and economic talks between South Africa and Mozambique.

● Two Johannesburg newspapers reported this morning that the banned communist and ANC leader Joe Slovo had been expelled from Mozambique.

Beeld, in a report from London, said Slovo's expulsion was part of President Machel's way of "normalising" relations with South Africa.

# BLACK AFRICA'S

812/84

SOWETAN  
Correspondent

# NEW LINE ON SA

## ANC, Swapo not invited to crucial meeting

LUSAKA — The latest United States diplomatic initiatives in southern Africa appear to have led to strains between South Africa's black nationalist exiles and the black-governed nations of the region.

Diplomats said the strains became apparent at the two-day annual meeting of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, a group of nine nations that are working to become economically independent from South Africa.

The meeting brought high-level delegations from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mal-

awi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, plus 67 delegations from Western donor nations and aid agencies.

No representatives from the region's two major guerilla organisations, the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation, were involved in the meeting. Although the donors pledged about 350 mil-

lion dollars less than the regional group had requested to combat the effects of a severe drought, many Western diplomats said they considered the meeting a success because its communique included a statement conciliatory toward South Africa.

The communique welcomed "signs of a less aggressive stance from South Africa" and said the parties "reco-

nised that continued international pressure on South Africa was essential to bring these signs to fruition and bring about a process of peaceful change in the region."

The phrase "a less aggressive stance" apparently alluded to South Africa's recent announcement of a military disengagement from Angola and to the continuing talks be-

tween South Africa and Mozambique.

But the ANC strongly disagreed with the communique's conciliatory stand towards South Africa.

The ANC also expressed surprise that it and Swapo had not been invited to the annual meeting. It was noted that representatives of the two groups had attended previous meet-

ings.

South Africa's announcement that it was withdrawing its troops from Angola followed talks between American and Angolan officials in the Cape Verde Islands and a trip to South Africa, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique by Chester Crocker, American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The South African move was seen as a first step towards a settlement of the 17-year-old bush war waged by Swapo over SWA/Namibia.

Representatives of Angola and Mozambique said privately that they had sought to encourage moderation at the Lusaka conference



**PRESIDENT REAGAN:** Constructive engagement.

to support the diplomatic activity which could bring peace to their countries, which have internal rebellions.

Even a Zimbabwean official at the conference said signs were hopeful that the new regional negotiations could progress to a settlement of the SWA/Namibian conflict.

"It could mean great things, peace and stability for the whole region," he said.



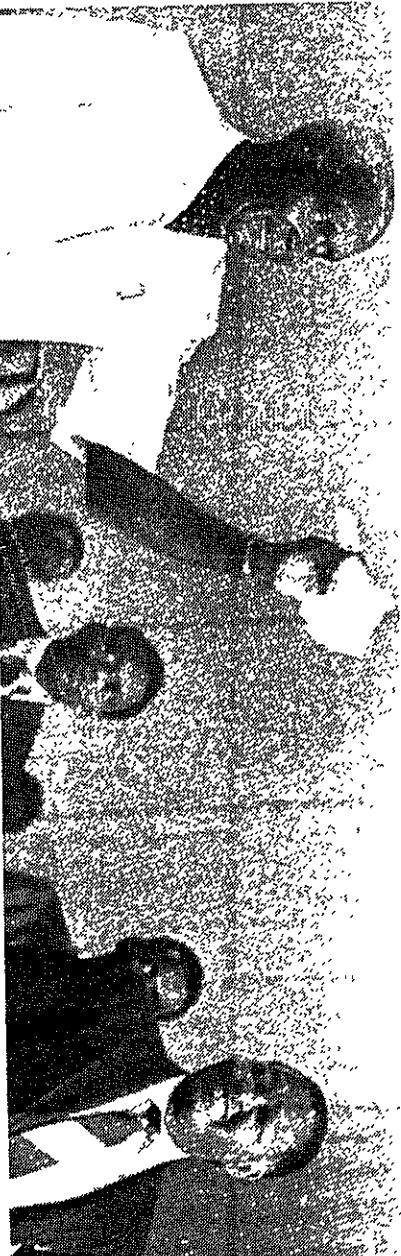
# There's a growing feeling that this time

## SA does mean business

*Star*

*9/2/84*

The Pretoria-Maputo talks and the Angolan troops disengagement negotiations are just part of an international diplomatic offensive designed to change apartheid by peaceful rather than by violent means, writes Brendan Nicholson of The Star's Foreign News Service.



President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, trade-mark white handkerchief in hand, leads delegates to the recent SADCC conference in Lusaka in the singing of "Tlende Pamodzi" (Forward in Unity). At the extreme right is the conference chairman, Mr Peter Mmusi, Vice-President of Botswana.

As long ago as 1919, at least 700 ANC members were arrested after a protest march.

Delegations were sent over the years to plead with the British Government for a better deal, but little changed. The military struggle was launched only in 1961 after Pretoria rejected an ANC proposal for a national convention of all South African races.

ANC sources, who are not subject to any banning orders, said the ANC's campaign against apartheid would take place in three stages. The first was the "mobilisation of the masses", the second was the build-up of an underground "machine" capable of receiving and hiding personnel from outside the country and the third was the armed struggle.

This programme was well enough advanced to enable the movement to survive the loss of external facilities, he said.

As the American peace initiative rolls quietly on the ANC is, however, anxiously examining its position and future tactics.

Oponents of the Southern African "detente" say they feel the movement is being left in the lurch or used as a pawn along with the Mozambique National Resistance and Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

They say that if any Southern African country does stand solidly by the ANC it is likely to be Zimbabwe which has already privately indicated that it does not like the way the organisation is being pushed around.

Observers in Lusaka say much depends now on how South Africa responds. Fresh military activity or a lack of any real improvement in the lot of South Africa's black people would destroy the progress made so far, they said.

Alternatively, a gesture from South Africa, such as a move clearing the way for Namibian independence, would strengthen regional and international support for peaceful, rather than violent, change.

There is a growing feeling in Lusaka that this time South Africa does mean business.

The South African Government, the African National Congress and the Republic's neighbours are facing crucial decisions which will profoundly affect the whole region's future.

Far from being "dead", the United States peace initiative on the sub-continent has created an opportunity which could win a vital breathing space for Pretoria.

The initiative has won the support of several Frontline states which have conceded that to eliminate apartheid by force would be a protracted and bloody process that would eventually overwhelm the whole region.

The nine nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which met in Lusaka last week demonstrated their support for the peace initiative by excluding the ANC and Swapo from their donors' conference at the last minute.

Even Mozambique, traditionally one of the ANC's staunchest allies, caught the organisation by surprise with the extent of its rapprochement with Pretoria.

The ANC fears that it will be asked to pull out of Maputo all its personnel, except for the equivalent of a diplomatic mission.

Over the past six months a combination of South African military and economic pressure has forced Swaziland, Lesotho, and now Mozambique, to cut their support for the ANC down to a "political, diplomatic and moral" level.

Hundreds of ANC personnel have been asked by their host governments to move away from South Africa's borders to get them out of the range of SADF attacks and to lessen their ability to infiltrate.

A Frontline source, who is a senior government official and not in any way associated with the ANC, said efforts were being made to persuade the ANC to "open a new front" by resuming the peaceful pressure tactics it used in the days before it launched its armed struggle in the early 1960s after being banned.

The ANC's immediate response was to reject the more conciliatory

tactics encouraged by the SADCC countries in Lusaka when they noted "signs of a less aggressive approach from South Africa".

The Frontline source said South Africa's neighbours could not afford to give military or logistical assistance to the ANC until the movement's military operations inside the Republic were increased.

"If three bombs go off in South Africa and it emerges that the people who set each one came from a neighbouring country then it is certain that Pretoria will retaliate against that country. But if 200 bombs go off, Pretoria will be forced to look inwards for the attackers."

Efforts would be made to persuade the ANC to launch a fresh, non-military "offensive" on several new fronts, the source said.

A senior businessman is in a

very good position to help if he can ensure that black staff are promoted on merit and paid fair wages."

Trade unions should be encouraged in their efforts to overcome bad working conditions and efforts to amend unjust laws should be supported.

The official pointed to the result of a scientific survey carried out in Soweto by The Star which indicated that, if Soweto residents could vote for a parliament now, they would place the ANC in power.

The ANC believes it has enough support inside South Africa to fight on without direct support from outside.

ANC sympathisers in the Frontline states describe the Freedom Charter, adopted by the movement in 1955, as a "civilised and non-inflammatory document."

They said the ban on publication of ANC statements within South

Africa had wrongly created the impression that the organisation was a "bunch of bomb-throwing communists."

The Frontline sources said the ANC was an old well-established organisation and would not be destroyed by the limiting of its external activities. Historically, they said, the movement had suffered considerably more violence than it had handed out.

The ANC was formed in 1912 to oppose, by peaceful means, the exploitation of black labour, the appropriation of black-owned land and the pass laws which turned many innocent workers into criminals.

"If set out simply to defend the rights of a vast, landless and poverty-stricken labour force but its protest marches and meetings were frequently broken up by the authorities with considerable violence and loss of life," the sources said.

Freedom fighters will train in Soweto—Kaunda

# 'SA can't make buffer, with dependent states'

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda believes South Africa intends to create a "cordon sanitaire" of dependent states on its borders, but he is certain it will fail.

"I have no doubt at all that is their goal, but on the other hand I have no doubt at all they won't achieve it," he said in an interview yesterday.

Commenting on recent talks between South African officials and two of Zambia's neighbours, Angola and Mozambique, Mr Kaunda said the Pretoria Government was acting from a dangerous position of power to force nearby nations to negotiate.

"If you make people talk to you as a matter of strength it is not any different to occupation — making people succumb to

you because you are powerful," he said.

South Africa held talks last month on economic and security matters with officials of the Marxist Mozambique Government which has accused Pretoria of backing rebels fighting for its downfall.

Economically beleaguered Angola has talked to South African officials about fighting spilling across its southern border from the Namibian conflict.

"If South Africans think their policy is succeeding because we are talking to them, then they are very much mistaken. Much will depend on how they act to the Angolans and Mozambicans," Mr Kaunda said.

Zambia, together with Mozambique and Angola, belongs to the six-nation Frontline group of Southern African states.

Mr Kaunda said a glimmer of hope had been provided by Pretoria's announcement last week that it was disengaging its troops on the Angolan border as a first step towards independence for Namibia.

But he said the Frontline states remained cautious about the move.

"You never know what the South Africans will do — this evening or tomorrow morning," he said.

President Kaunda was speaking a week after a visit to Zambia by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, as part of a Namibia peace mission to Southern Africa.

Dr Crocker passed on assurances to South Africa from the Angolan Government and the Angola-based South West Africa Peoples' Organisation

(Swapo) that they would not exploit South Africa's military stand-down.

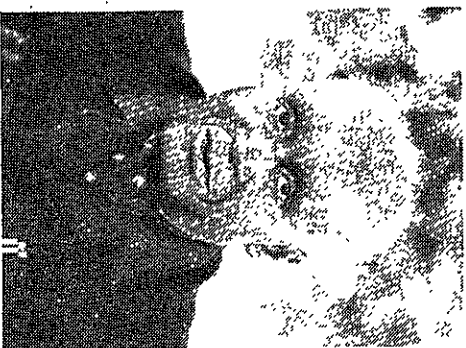
The Zambian leader said he had been briefed by Dr Crocker on the US peace initiative but declined to give details.

Turning to South Africa's domestic policy, Mr Kaunda attacked the West for propping up the system of apartheid.

"The West continues to support apartheid economically, politically, diplomatically. They support South Africa to the hilt," he said.

Neighbouring black states would be prepared to suffer economic hardship in the cause of serious sanctions against the Pretoria Government aimed at ending white privilege without bloodshed, he declared.

But he said internal opposi-



President Kaunda ... count the millions of young blacks.

tion was mounting in South Africa and he predicted a more violent transformation of its society.

"I foresee the time coming when freedom fighters will be trained in Soweto and places like that," he said.

"Just count how many millions of young black people you have in South Africa.

"Today they may be fighting themselves in gangs but tomorrow those gangs will become political. Then the day of reckoning will have arrived." — Reuter.

# 'No doubt' of SA aid to resistance fighters

By HUGH ROBERTON, Staff Writer

THERE was no doubt that the South African Government had assisted Unita over the years and on occasion perhaps directly attacked Angolan military and economic targets.

This was part of a deliberate policy of destabilisation, according to the professor of political science at the Rand Afrikaans University, Professor Deon Geldenhuys.

He was speaking at the golden jubilee conference of the South African Institute of International Affairs in Cape Town yesterday.

He said that it was also widely believed that the Mozambique rebel movement, MNR, had also been backed by the South African Government and that there had been indications of South African complicity in sabotage raids in Zimbabwe.

## Promote profound changes

The purpose of the destabilisation strategy, he said, was not necessarily to topple the governments of those countries but to "promote or force profound political changes in the target state."

There was little doubt that the rapprochement between South Africa and Angola and Mozambique in recent weeks had been influenced by South Africa's use of military and economic pressure, though American peace initiatives and a crippling drought had also played a role.

Perceived threats from surrounding countries were the principal factor behind South Africa's decision to resort to an offensive regional strategy, commonly labelled as "destabilisation" by its critics, Professor Geldenhuys said.

"The extension of a hawkish strategy from Angola to some of South Africa's other neighbours is based on the premise that the ANC poses an immediate threat to the Republic's security and calls for tough counter-measures," Professor Geldenhuys said.

"In terms of the hawkish strategy, diplomatic means are either insufficient or inappropriate in dealing with surrounding states threatening South Africa's security. Diplomacy has to be reinforced or even replaced by economic and military muscle."

There had been charges of destabilisation and denials, Professor Geldenhuys said.

"There can be little doubt, however, that Angola has had to pay a heavy price for its continued support for Swapo.

"South Africa's use of economic pressure against Lesotho over an ANC presence there is well-known.

"Similar pressures may well have been applied against Mozambique. And then there is the Mozambique resistance movement, the MNR, widely believed to be backed by South Africa."

There could be no doubt about South Africa's sympathies for the MNR, Professor Geldenhuys said. And South Africa's recent role in helping to secure the release of 12 Soviet prisoners held by the MNR "proved that it was not without influence over the rebel movement."

## "Very aggressive" policy

● South Africa's "very aggressive" policy towards neighbouring states was forcing member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to transfer funds originally earmarked for SADCC projects to security projects instead, the Director of Zimbabwe's Institute for International Affairs, Mr B V Mancama, said at the conference yesterday.

He said that the hawkish South African policy was one of the primary reasons why progress in the SADCC had been slower than expected.

The SADCC was established by the "front line" states as a means of reducing their economic dependence on powerful outside economies, among them South Africa's.

Mr Mancama said the SADCC looked forward to eventual South African membership of the organisation once the country had brought about the necessary changes to its domestic policies and said it was hard to understand why there appeared to be apprehension in South Africa about the SADCC.

"South Africa is, and will remain, the most powerful economic entity in the region and it will be a while yet before development in the SADCC group offers a serious challenge to this position.

"There is little doubt that economic development and progress in the region would greatly benefit from South Africa's contribution if she were to join the SADCC."

The means of economic pressure ranged from the manipulation of exports to "target" states, to cutting back on the importation of labour. Military pressure could likewise take various forms, ranging from sabotage of strategic or symbolic targets and material support for a rebel movement in a target state.

# SADCC's task 'slowed by SA policies'

9/16-1984  
8/3/84  
①

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA'S aggressive posture towards certain countries within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was retarding the organization's progress as member countries were having to relegate SADCC responsibilities in favour of security aspects.

This was said last night by the president of the Zimbabwe Institute of International Affairs, Mr B V Mancama, in a paper delivered on the final day of the two-day golden jubilee conference of the SA Institute of International Affairs in Cape Town.

This threat had arisen during South African attempts at trying to find solutions to its internal political problems and those of SWA/Namibia.

In addition, funds and effort directed toward achieving political stability and security in Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique could also be at the expense of the SADCC's overall progress.

Another problem besetting the fledgling organization, which aimed to reduce frontline states' economic dependence on South Africa, was the equitable distribution of benefits.

For all these problems, Mr Mancama pointed out, the SADCC had achieved a great deal since its inception. In addition, momentum had been added through the interest of Western economies. But this had an attendant element of suspicion that the organization might be a "Trojan Horse" for Western economic and political interests.

## 'Opposed to SA's internal policies'

The SADCC was bound together in its collective opposition to the internal policies of South Africa and this country could not expect political co-operation as long as it maintained its present political system, he said. However, this was not to deny that economic co-operation may be possible.

Commenting on the paper, another Zimbabwean delegate, Mr Eddie Cross, said South Africa had destroyed the internal economies of Angola and Mozambique and had the capacity to severely affect the Zimbabwean economy. Essentially, he added, the "bald eagle remains a bad guy" (a reference to the influence on the sub-continent of the policies of the South African Government under Mr P W Botha).

He reiterated that until South Africa had its house in order, it would not be welcomed as a member of the SADCC. He also did not see any great significance in the present Southern African peace initiatives. "Sadly, they are agreements between dissenting adults. The willingness for change is not present."

# Militancy gives way to moderation

Cape Times 8/3/84

By DEON GELDENHUYS, an associate professor of political science at the Rand Afrikaans University

THERE has been considerable controversy over both the means and ends of the hawkish strategy that South Africa has pursued over the last few years.

The charges of the aggrieved states — notably Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe — against South Africa have been met with denials and counter-charges.

There can be little doubt that Angola has had to pay a heavy price for its continued support for Swapo: South Africa has over the years undoubtedly given Unita some measure of support and has on occasion perhaps directly attacked Angolan military and economic targets.

As regards the ANC's hosts, they too have felt South Africa's wrath.

South Africa's use of economic pressure against Lesotho over an ANC presence there, is well known. Similar pressure may well have been applied against Mozambique. And then there is the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (Renamo or MNR) which is widely believed to be backed by South Africa; of the latter's sympathy for Renamo, there is no doubt.

## Rebel movement

The Lesotho government, too, has to contend with a rebel movement, the Lesotho Liberation Army. Lesotho believes the movement enjoys South African support.

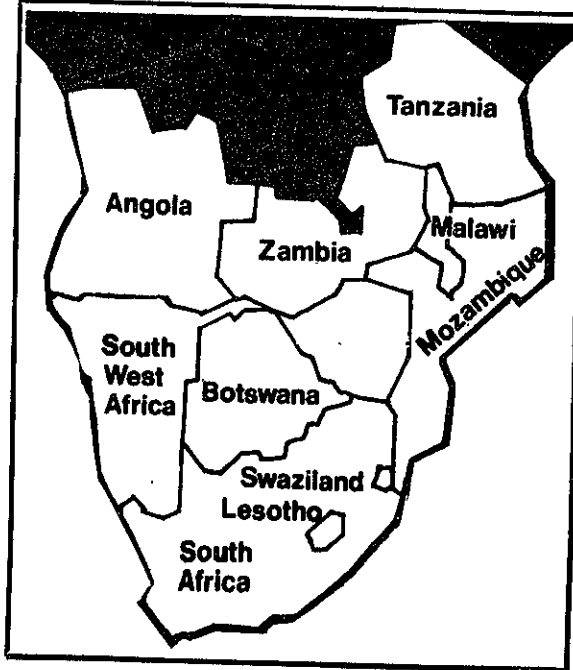
In the case of Zimbabwe, there have been indications of South African complicity in sabotage raids and allegations of economic pressure. The disaffection in Matabeleland has also been blamed on South Africa by Harare, but this charge has a ring of unreality in view of the depth of the Nkomo-Mugabe divide.

If South Africa has then engaged in hawkish actions against neighbouring states, some of these operations may in effect if not also in intention, have produced or aggravated domestic instability in the target states.

## Puppet regimes

Whether South Africa's hawkish strategy consists of a "master plan" for destabilization in its ultimate form — removing regimes in power — is, however, an entirely different matter. (Such a contention sounds somewhat like a Southern African version of Moscow's "master plan for world domination".)

Notwithstanding its power in the regional context, it is highly doubtful whether South



Africa possesses the resources to dislodge several surrounding governments and sustain perhaps unpopular (puppet) successor regimes in the face of determined resistance.

South Africa's long experience of African wars — in Angola, Rhodesia and Namibia — has probably made it keenly aware of the tremendous military, economic and diplomatic costs it would incur if its forces were to take on the role of "white Cubans" in Southern Africa.

Even if one accepts that there is no master plan, this is not to say that Pretoria has not toyed with the idea of getting one or two neighbouring governments replaced by movements sympathetic to South Africa.

As regards the lesser form of destabilization — forcing changes in the target state's policy towards the destabilizer — this could in part be seen as a reactive strategy on Pretoria's part.

Since South Africa sees most of the surrounding black states as committed to destabilizing the Republic — through their support for the ANC, among other things — any South African resort to destabilization would merely be a reaction in kind: meeting destabilization with destabilization.

Alternatively, destabilization could be a preemptive strategy: "Let we (South Africa) destabilize them lest they really destabilize us."

Rather than continue the debate on destabilization, it would at this juncture be more useful to consider the results of South Africa's hawkish strategy.

The year 1984 has al-

ready seen some remarkable developments in South Africa's relations with its neighbours.

The course of events has taken many observers by surprise because it does not fit into the familiar pattern of relations and does not conform with the conventional apocalyptic scenarios for the region either...

On the face of it, South Africa's neighbours appear to be heeding its demands that they deny ANC insurgents sanctuary. The question now is whether these responses are related to South Africa's

hawkish strategy? In the cases of Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho, there can be little doubt that they have been influenced by South Africa's use of military and/or economic pressure.

Perhaps there was some "demonstration effect" as far as Swaziland, Zimbabwe and even Botswana are concerned, but this is likely to have been a secondary consideration in their positions on the ANC.

Even if South African punitive measures were the principal factor explaining the recent shifts in policy on the part of the first three countries, other considerations must also have weighed with them. Most important among these is American mediation.

There are indications that the United States has also played a role in easing tensions between South Africa and Zimbabwe. Second, Portugal has emerged on the scene as an influential force for reconciliation between South Africa and Mozambique. Third, nature has helped to concentrate political minds in Maputo. With a crippling drought — and then disastrous floods — on top of all its economic problems, Mozambique was made acutely aware of the need for improved economic ties with South Africa.

Lesotho may well be influenced by similar considerations. As regards Angola, it too has pressing economic reasons for wanting peace with South Africa.

To sum up, it can be said that South Africa's hawkish strategy, reinforced by a number of extraneous factors, has paved the way for a new round of South African diplomacy in Southern Africa. Militancy seems to have given way to moderation.

## Imponderables

However, to speak of a new era in South Africa's regional relations would be highly premature at this stage. There are numerous imponderables that may yet upset the new climate of moderation. Among these are Soviet and Cuban influence over the MPLA; Unita in Angola, Renamo in Mozambique and the ANC in South Africa.

These "rebel" or "liberation movements" certainly do not relish the prospect of improved relations between South Africa and its neighbours and they might deliberately or inadvertently jeopardize the process of interstate rapprochement.

The protracted international negotiations over a Namibian settlement serves as a further reminder of the difficulties in resolving a regional conflict.

[This is an extract from a paper given by Professor Geldenhuys at the golden jubilee conference of the SA Institute of International Affairs.]

IT WAS no coincidence that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) came into being shortly after the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, called for a constellation of Southern African states in 1979.

The inaugural meetings of Foreign Ministers and heads of state were quite clear on this. They saw the objective of the South African proposals as being to tie the countries of the region into an irreversible dependence on South Africa. This was clearly totally unacceptable to the countries concerned.

However, it is wrong to believe that SADCC was brought into being simply as a counter to the South African proposal. SADCC was on the drawing boards several years before Mr Botha brought his proposals to the fore.

From the very beginning, SADCC heads of state have made it quite clear that they envisage that eventually both Namibia and South Africa will be able to join the grouping, once their political status arising from necessary political changes are acceptable to other countries of the region.

The countries involved in the SADCC are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

**Common**

A simple study of the geographical location and spread of these countries will quickly show that they share a common regional identity and infrastructure. All countries of the region are closely connected both by history and recent development.

Even on the present basis, the SADCC group of states are a major economic force. The combined region covers an area of 5-million square kilometres and has a population of approximately 65-million.

The region has a combined gross domestic product of approximately US\$22 000-million (R26 500-million).

The combined foreign trade of the countries, including both imports and exports, reached R14 500-million in 1982. The entire area is rich in raw materials and energy. In fact, it may not be generally known that the SADCC region as a whole is a net exporter of energy and will remain so till the end of the century.

**Significant**

Within the region, there are proven resources of oil, coal, uranium as well as substantial reserves of iron ore, copper, nickel, cobalt, chrome, lead and zinc. The region is a significant producer of both gold and diamonds and has some of the most significant unexploited agricultural potential in Africa.

The hydro-electric power potential of the countries involved is enormous and on top of this, the region already has a powerful and increasingly sophisticated infrastructure of railways, roads and harbours.

Clearly, once the initial problems of management policy and politics have been overcome, the region has the potential to become an economic force — even more so, when the countries of Namibia, South Africa and perhaps Zaire, are eventually invited to join the grouping. At that stage, it is not difficult to envisage that the SADCC group of countries will become one of the major economic groupings in the world.

Although the arrangements of SADCC are only four years old, the grouping can already point to a number of major achievements. All countries in the grouping have now established their own SADCC secretariats and are well on the way to developing an integrated plan of action for their individual portfolio of responsibility.

In particular, the Transport and Communications Commission in Maputo has been extremely active and a

How the African states banded together to fend for themselves

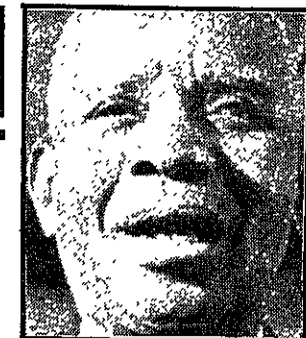
# THE CLUB SA CAN'T JOIN



IN  
Founder member Julius Nyerere of Tanzania



IN  
Founder member Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia



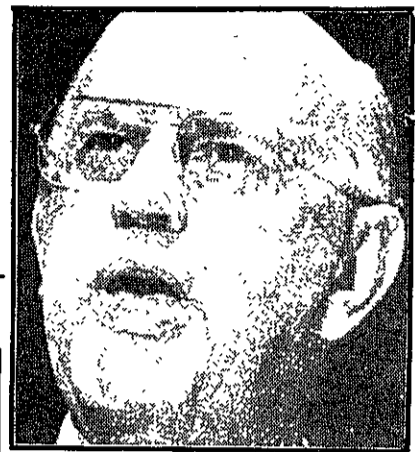
IN  
Founder member Hastings Banda of Malawi



IN  
Founder member Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe



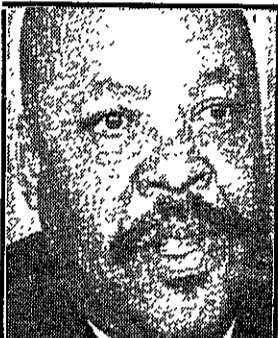
IN  
Founder member Samora Machel of Mozambique



OUT  
Non-member P W Botha of South Africa



IN  
Founder member Eduardo dos Santos of Angola



IN  
Founder member Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho

Lusaka, April 1, 1980. The heads of state of nine Southern African countries meet to create the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), designed to reduce economic dependence on others, particularly on South Africa. Four years later, its success and the support it has received have come as something of a surprise even to those who conceived the idea

By B V MANCAMA, president, Zimbabwe Institute of International Affairs

major programme of development is under way which affects all countries in the region and which will have long-term economic effects.

The food security programme of Zimbabwe has been completed and adopted by Ministers and is now in the process of being implemented.

The energy programme is in an advanced stage of study and will be placed before councils of Ministers in the not too distant future.

Tanzania has completed its initial study of industrial development needs and a programme was recently placed before potential investors in Harare.

**Encouraging**

The reaction of donors and investors to this group programme has been extremely encouraging. Altogether, projects calling for the investment of R4 100-million have been identified and described. The main areas within which these projects have been put forward are:

- Roads: R753-million.
- Rail projects: R713-million.
- Ports and harbours: RR447-million
- Airports: R226-million.
- Communications: R145-million.
- Industrial development: R1 836-million.

While the main thrust of the transport and communications projects has been to improve the infrastructure of the region, the primary focus of development as far as ports and harbours are concerned are the Mozambique ports. These are regarded as being crucial to the economic well-being of the landlocked countries.

In industrial development, the emphasis has been on

improving the utilisation of existing capacity, as well as identifying bottlenecks and shortages in capacity in fields where local raw materials exist which can be processed.

On a less grand scale, but perhaps equally important, a number of minor projects of regional importance have taken root. These include the excellent work being undertaken in Botswana on foot-and-mouth control and on the problem of agricultural development in semi-arid regions.

The veterinary school at the University of Zimbabwe will shortly be producing its first graduates. In addition, efforts in the field of forestry conservation, research and agricultural development are all making significant progress.

However, this is not to say that there have not been difficulties. Clearly, within the group there are many divergent views. There is continuing fear that the SADCC group will be dominated by Zimbabwe. In the future, when South Africa joins the grouping, it will in turn face this problem.

There have been the problems related to the continued destruction of infrastructure by South African-backed rebel movements in Mozambique and Angola. The low intensity conflict in these countries has disrupted development and resulted in retarded progress.

In fact SADCC will have to withstand a number of strains and stresses from within and without before it is pronounced safe, secure and in good health.

These problems relate to political relationships in the region between member and non-member states; the efficiency with which various

member responsibilities are carried out; the need to demonstrate to every participant that benefits are being equitably shared; and the ability as well as the rate at which the necessary funds are attracted from donor countries.

Political relationships will, by and large, determine the pace at which progress is made by SADCC. Where there are internal political/security problems such as in Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique, for instance, the need will always be there to give priority to resolving such issues.

Funds and effort will be directed at achieving political stability and security and this could be at the expense of SADCC's overall progress.

**Aggressive**

The one immediate threat to SADCC emanates from South Africa as it tries to find solutions to its internal political problems and to Namibia. South Africa has adopted a very aggressive posture towards a number of countries within SADCC. This has forced these countries to give priority to their security needs thus relegating their SADCC responsibility further down the list of priorities.

The problem of efficiency in carrying out various responsibilities will have a bearing on the success to be notched by SADCC. The one area which has proved problematical is the transport and communications network.

While it is true that in the majority of cases, the causes of this problem are to be found in the lack of planning by former colonial masters, the reality on the ground today is one of very serious concern as the most obvious import/export routes are virtually non-functional. Besides, the delays make these

routes too costly at the best of times.

Just as the desire for collective security and economic development led to the creation of the EEC after the Second World War, it is the collective opposition of the frontline states in the SADCC group to the political system in South Africa which provides the basis of cohesion within the region.

Until there is significant change in South Africa, it is likely that this element in the SADCC situation will continue to exist. This will ensure that the countries of the region press home their efforts to harmonise and co-ordinate their development efforts.

In a strange way, therefore, South Africa is contributing effectively, in a political sense, to the success of

the grouping.

There is no reason why South Africa should be fearful of such success. She is, and will remain, the most powerful economic entity within the region and it will be a while yet before development in the SADCC group offers a serious challenge to this position.

**Stability**

On the contrary, South Africa stands to gain from the stability, development and prosperity of its SADCC neighbours.

SADCC provides a ready and powerful market for the South African manufacturers, finance houses and others able to identify opportunities in this grouping. There is technical know-how in South Africa which the

SADCC countries are keen to acquire.

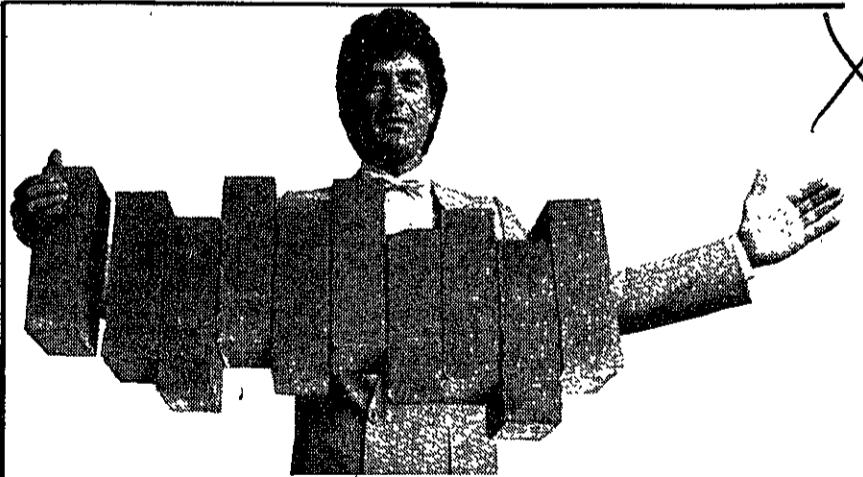
One thing South Africa cannot expect is political co-operation so long as it maintains its present internal political system. However, that is not to deny that economic co-operation may not be possible.

There is little doubt that economic development and progress in the region would greatly benefit from South Africa's contribution if she were able to join the SADCC group.

It is to be hoped that sooner, rather than later, the people of South Africa will present the world with a political dispensation which will make it possible for this tremendously wealthy country to be openly acceptable to the community of nations.

Then, such will be the opportunities for the country to grasp and pursue that the effects will be felt, not only beyond the borders of South Africa, but also beyond those of the SADCC countries and afar.

This Southern African region, and no doubt the continent of Africa in the process, will become the most exciting phenomenon experienced in recent times.



**HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT MAISH. HE'S A BRICKLAYER.**

Call the boss and let Maish work magic for you. Sheer magic with bricks. Fully guaranteed. Maintenance free. From as little as R20 per month.



FOR A FREE DESIGN CONSULTATION CALL THE BOSS JOHANNESBURG (011) 766-3065 VEREENIGING (016) 22-4228 PRETORIA (012) 73-3429

**BOSS PAVING**

BROWDE GAVIN 83814

● Extracts from a speech to the Golden Jubilee Conference of the SA Institute of International Affairs in Cape Town this week

# Kaunda's front-line summit offer

N. Murray 13/3/84

①  
**JOHANNESBURG**—President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia says he would be willing to host a summit in Lusaka between the South African Prime Minister and the heads of government of all front-line states.

The offer was made in a wide-ranging discussion with Hugh Murray, publisher of the quarterly magazine, Leadership S A, in Lusaka.

President Kaunda said in the interview he had no doubts at all about the value of such a summit.

Prime Minister Botha would then come to know not only the thinking of those leaders he has met, such as myself and the prime ministers of Lesotho and Swaziland, but the thoughts of President Masire, President Nyerere, President dos Santos, and Prime Minister Mugabe, who he has not.

'And I am sure that the impact on him will be more than if he met one person at a time.

'That the time has come for this meeting, I am quite sure,' President Kaunda said.

Mr Murray said he and the chairman of Leadership S A's editorial board, Rob Abrahamson, had taken the unprecedented step of releasing

## Mercury Correspondent

the news ahead of publication because of its immediate relevance.

Asked about arrangements for a summit, President Kaunda said it would be necessary for the heads of the front-line states to initiate the invitation.

'That means the heads must discuss this in their own countries and decide about it.'

## **Suspicious**

The President's special assistant, Mr Milimo Punabantu, who was present at the interview, told Leadership S A it would be of great assistance if a request for such a meeting came from the South African side.

Mr Botha and President Samora Machel of Mozambique will meet at Komatipoort on Friday for the signing of a non-aggression pact.

President Kaunda said: 'It cuts across the problems of suspicions and so

on when discussions are held.

'What I am saying is that a meeting of this type would be good — really very good indeed. But we must look at how this could be done. That must be examined very carefully.'

Asked whether he would host the meeting, he replied: 'Certainly I would. I would be quite happy.'

President Kaunda warned, however, that South Africa should beware of thinking that because of the current round of meetings in southern Africa all was suddenly well.

'In this climate the cardinal point might be forgotten. The problem is not Mozambique. It is not Zambia. It is not Angola, or even Swapo.

'The problem is the philosophy of apartheid.'

The two-hour interview will appear in the issue of Leadership S A, scheduled for publication later this month.

# Kaunda offers to host talks

(1) 3/85  
CARE Times 13/3/85

**Own Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — The President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, says he is willing to host a summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the heads of all the frontline states, in Lusaka.

The offer was made in a wide-ranging discussion with Mr Hugh Murray, publisher of the prestige quarterly magazine, Leadership SA, in Lusaka on Wednesday last week.

President Kaunda told Leadership SA that he has "no doubts at all about the value of such a summit.

"Prime Minister Botha would then come to know not only the thinking of those

leaders he has met, such as myself and the Prime Ministers of Lesotho and Swaziland, but the thoughts of President Masire, President Nyerere, President Dos Santos, and Prime Minister Mugabe, who he has not.

## 'Impact'

"And I am sure that the impact on him will be more than if he met with one person at a time.

"That the time has come for this meeting, I am quite sure," President Kaunda said.

Mr Murray said that he and the chairman of Leadership SA's editorial board, Mr Rob Abrahamsen, had taken the unprecedented step of releasing the news

ahead of publication because of its immediate relevance. The pre-publication has also been cleared with President Kaunda's office.

Asked about arrangements for the meeting, President Kaunda said it would be necessary for the heads of the frontline states to initiate the invitation.

"That means the heads must discuss this in their own caucus and decide how to go about it."

## Assistance

The President's special assistant, Mr Milimo Punabantu, who was present at the interview, told Leadership SA it would be of great assistance if a request for such a meeting were motivated from the South African side.

This news comes on the eve of the historic signing by Mr Botha and President Machel of Mozambique of a non-aggression pact. The treaty is to be signed at Komatipoort on Friday.

Questioned further on the merits of a summit, President Kaunda told Mr Murray it would have certain advantages.

"It cuts across the problems of suspicions and so on when discussions are held... what I am saying is that a meeting of this type would be good — really, very good indeed. But we must look at how this could be done. That must be examined very carefully."

## Host

Asked whether he would host the meeting, he replied: "Certainly I would. I would be quite happy."

President Kaunda warned however of the danger of euphoria in the current political climate.

South Africa should beware of thinking that because of the current round of meetings in Southern Africa all was suddenly well.

"In this climate the cardinal point might be forgotten. The problem is not Mozambique, it is not Zambia, it is not Angola, or even Swapo.

"The problem is the philosophy of apartheid."

● The full two-hour interview will appear in the autumn issue of Leadership SA, scheduled for publication later this month.



RDM 157484

# Famine in Africa alarms the UN

J T NGUYEN  
in New York

THE United Nations has launched a worldwide appeal to save Africa from famine that Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar warned has reached crisis proportions.

The United Nations chief embarked earlier last month on a three-week tour of eight West African countries worst hit by the drought, to highlight the gravity of the situation.

He also dispatched Jean Ripert, Director-General for the United Nations International Economic Cooperation and Development, to world capitals in quest of material contributions to alleviate food and medicine shortage.

In a major speech at the Institute of International Affairs in Lagos, Nigeria, Dr Perez de Cuellar said 5-million children would die this year and another 5-million would be crippled by malnutrition and disease.

"I wish to express my utmost preoccupation with this situation which is, without any doubt, a full-fledged emergency, requiring the attention and action of the international community," he said.

A United Nations news release said the prolonged

droughts in the last two years.

Dr Perez de Cuellar sent a team of the United Nations Disaster Relief Organisation to Mozambique earlier this month, to assess the effects of the drought that killed nearly 10 000 people in the past two years. At least 750 000 Mozambicans are in need of urgent relief.

During a visit last week to the African Bank for Development in the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan, Dr Perez de Cuellar said he was seeking support from all countries.

In his visit to Lome, Togo, Dr Perez de Cuellar said donations so far could not meet the demands and he will take "Further steps to increase the awareness of the international community after completing my tour of West Africa."

The Reagan Administration is considering asking Congress for R625-million worth in food and agricultural assistance to African countries willing to transform their low prices policy in agriculture to competitive free-market systems over the next five years.

The low prices policy in poor countries discourages farmers to cultivate their lands.

The United States has given R95-million in emergency food aid to Upper Volta, Mali and other countries hit by the drought and is considering another R90-million for this year.

"The message is that when people are hungry America responds," Secretary of State George Shultz said in announcing the R625-million package last week. — UPI.

drought — which extends from the west African coast to the Horn — was so severe that in regions like the Borno province in Nigeria, the process of desertification has begun

The rainfall level in Borno was the lowest in a century, the release said.

Last year's drought has caused great damage to crops, water collection, livestock and forests in countries like Benin, Ghana and the Ivory Coast, it said.

Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia and Namibia have had back-to-back

RDM 157284  
Famine in Africa alarms the UN

THE United Nations has launched a worldwide appeal to save Africa from famine that Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar warned has reached crisis proportions.

The United Nations chief embarked earlier last month on a three-week tour of eight West African countries worst hit by the drought, to highlight the gravity of the situation.

He also dispatched Jean Ripert, Director-General for the United Nations International Economic Cooperation and Development, to world capitals in quest of material contributions to alleviate food and medicine shortage.

In a major speech at the Institute of International Affairs in Lagos, Nigeria, Dr Perez de Cuellar said 5-million children would die this year and another 5-million would be crippled by malnutrition and disease.

"I wish to express my utmost preoccupation with this situation which is, without any doubt, a full-fledged emergency, requiring the attention and action of the international community," he said.

A United Nations news release said the prolonged

# Famine in Africa alarms the UN

J T NGUYEN  
in New York

drought — which extends from the west African coast to the Horn — was so severe that in regions like the Borno province in Nigeria, the process of desertification has begun.

The rainfall level in Borno was the lowest in a century, the release said.

Last year's drought has caused great damage to crops, water collection, livestock and forests in countries like Benin, Ghana and the Ivory Coast, it said.

Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia and Namibia have had back-to-back

droughts in the last two years.

Dr Perez de Cuellar sent a team of the United Nations Disaster Relief Organisation to Mozambique earlier this month, to assess the effects of the drought that killed nearly 10 000 people in the past two years. At least 750 000 Mozambicans are in need of urgent relief.

During a visit last week to the African Bank for Development in the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan, Dr Perez de Cuellar said he was seeking support from all countries.

In his visit to Lome, Togo, Dr Perez de Cuellar said donations so far could not meet the demands and he will take "Further steps to increase the awareness of the international community after completing my tour of West Africa."

The Reagan Administration is considering asking Congress for R625-million worth in food and agricultural assistance to African countries willing to transform their low prices policy in agriculture to competitive free-market systems over the next five years.

The low prices policy in poor countries discourages farmers to cultivate their lands.

The United States has given R95-million in emergency food aid to Upper Volta, Mali and other countries hit by the drought and is considering another R90-million for this year.

"The message is that when people are hungry America responds," Secretary of State George Shultz said in announcing the R625-million package last week. — UPI.

Cape Times 17/3/80 (1)

# Lusaka Manifesto: Let us talk rather than kill

AS the drive towards peace in Southern African continues, the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 remains on the table as a key document, setting out black Africa's terms for lasting peace in the region.

At the time of its drafting, the manifesto was addressed to the white-ruled nations of the south, which then included Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola as well as South Africa.

The manifesto was largely the work of President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, with some help from President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

What is asked of the whites of Southern Africa in the manifesto is a commitment to the principles of human equality and self-determination.

"We believe that all the peoples who have made their homes in the countries of Southern Africa are Africans, regardless of the colour of their skins," the manifesto says.

Following are some

key passages of the Lusaka Manifesto, which was issued to remove "widespread misapprehension of our attitudes and purposes":

None of us would claim that within our own states we have achieved that perfect social, economic and political organization which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for all our people and establish individual security against avoidable hardship or miscarriage of justice.

On the contrary, we acknowledge that within our own states the struggle towards human brotherhood and unchallenged human dignity is only beginning.

It is on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human dignity, not on the basis of achieved perfection, that we take our stand of hostility towards the colonialism and racial discrimination which is being practised in Southern Africa...

If the commitment to these principles existed

among the states holding power in Southern Africa, any disagreement we might have about the rate of implementation, or about isolated acts of policy, would be matters affecting only our individual relationships with the states concerned. If these commitments existed, our states would not be justified in the expressed and active hostility towards the regimes of Southern Africa such as we have proclaimed and continue to propagate...

Our objectives in Southern Africa stem from our commitment to this principle of human equality. We are not hostile to the administrations of these states because they are manned and controlled by white people.

We are hostile to them because they are systems of minority control which exist as a result of, and in pursuance of, doctrines of human inequality. What we are working for is the right of self-determination for the people of those territories. We are working for a rule in those countries which is based on the will of all the people, and an acceptance of the equality of every citizen.

Our stand towards Southern Africa involves thus, a rejection of racialism, not a reversal of the existing racial domination.

"As an aftermath of the present policies it is likely that different groups within these societies will be self-conscious and fearful. The initial political and economic organization may well take account of these fears and this group self-conscious-

ness.

But how this is to be done must be a matter exclusively for the peoples of the country concerned, working together. No other nation will have a right to interfere in such affairs. All that the rest of the world has a right to demand is just what we are now asserting — that the arrangements within any state which wishes to be accepted into the community of nations must be based on an acceptance of the principles of human dignity and equality...

We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill.

We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated in 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 the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle, even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change.

But while peaceful progress is blocked by the actions of those at present in power in the states of Southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors...

Dealing specifically with the Republic of South Africa, the manifesto says:

The Republic is itself an independent sovereign state and a member

of the United Nations. It is more highly developed and richer than any other nation in Africa. On every legal basis its internal affairs are a matter exclusively for the people of South Africa.

Yet the purpose of law is people and we assert that the actions of the South African government are such that the rest of the world has a responsibility to take some action in defence of humanity.

There is one thing about South African oppression which distinguishes it from other repressive regimes. The apartheid policy adopted by the government, and supported to a greater or lesser extent by almost all its white citizens, is based on a rejection of man's humanity.

Even if international law is held to exclude active assistance to the South African opponents of apartheid, it does not demand that the comfort and support of human and commercial intercourse should be given to a government which rejects the manhood of most of humanity. South Africa should be excluded from the United Nations' agencies and even from the United Nations itself. It should be ostracized by the world community. It should be isolated from world trade patterns and left to be self-sufficient if it can.

The South African government cannot be allowed both to reject the very concept of mankind's unity, and to benefit by the strength given through friendly international relations.

# Pact may be end of 'armed struggle'

From  
**JOHN BATTERSBY**

LONDON. — The pact between President Samora Machel and Mr P W Botha could mark the beginning of the end of the "armed struggle" in Southern Africa — and in South Africa itself.

The rapprochement will certainly precipitate a dramatic change in the nature of the liberation movements. The pact is an important first step towards the demilitarization of these movements and could change the course of events where, even months ago, violence appeared to be escalating.

While the ANC and Swapo clearly have been unnerved by both the content and speed of recent events, it is not yet clear what the long-term effects on them will be.

But observers agree that if Pretoria achieves its objective of cutting off vital ANC infiltration routes through Mozambique and secures a compliant government in Windhoek, which would exclude ANC activity within its borders, the ANC would have to go back to the drawing board.

Apart from the physical damage caused by ANC-inspired acts of sabotage in South Africa, the armed struggle has served a vital publicity role for the ANC. Without this platform within the country the ANC would face the prospect of becoming increasingly forgotten by the black community in South Africa.

Playing a key role in the initiatives is President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

In recent weeks President Kaunda has made a remarkable contribution to the atmosphere of co-operation by offering to promote South African membership of the OAU in return for a Namibian settlement.

President Kaunda has also sounded an early warning to Swapo not to provide the ANC with bases in Namibia after independence but to leave the fight against apartheid to the OAU.

This was followed by an offer to host a meeting between Mr Botha and leaders of the Frontline states to acquaint Mr Botha with African thinking on developments in the sub-continent. With new allies in President Kaunda and President Samora Machel, Pretoria has made an astounding breakthrough.

The commander-in-chief of the Mozambique army, General Sebastiao Mabote, recently told a French newspaper that, unlike Zapu and Zanu in former Rhodesia, the ANC was waging what amounted to a civil-rights campaign and not an armed struggle for national liberation, because South Africa was a sovereign republic recognized by the United Nations.

If the accord holds and proves to be effective in curtailing infiltration into South Africa, the ANC will no longer be able to offer black South Africans the hope of liberation



President Kaunda

from outside — thereby greatly increasing the pressures for liberation from within.

But after a quarter of a century in exile, the ANC would find difficulty gaining control of increasingly autonomous trade unions and of the newly formed United Democratic Front, which shares its objectives.

With the internalization and formalization of reform, Pretoria's philosophy of promoting regional and African solutions to the sub-continent's problems would gain international currency.

The respect which the ANC commands within South Africa will not be easily wished away, but without the lever of the armed struggle, an exiled ANC leadership clearly would be readier to talk compromise with a conciliatory Pretoria.

If Pretoria succeeds in convincing the leaders of the Frontline states that it is in their interests to co-operate and negotiate, the ANC will find itself having to collaborate with the government if has

fought for 25 years — or be overtaken by history.

In the case of Swapo and Angola, however, Pretoria has a much bigger problem.

Observers here believe that the initiative by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to seek African backing for an all-Africa initiative to solve the problem, could have been at worst a blunder, or at best premature.

Clearly timed to capitalize on the euphoria generated by the accord with Mozambique, Mr Botha's proposed conference to link a Namibian settlement with the composition of the Luanda government could backfire and reunite Swapo and the MPLA government, whose paths have been diverging as the cease-fire initiative is consolidated.

The president of Angola, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, has rejected the offer and the leader of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, has made it clear that he would not accept the presence of Unita or the tabling of the internal situation in Angola as a legitimate item on the agenda.

Both Whitehall and Washington have reaffirmed their commitment to Resolution 435 without criticizing Pretoria's new initiative.

If Pretoria could get states such as Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana to back an African initiative to achieve peace in the region and broaden the issue of Namibian independence to include the

accommodation of Unita by the MPLA government or a trade-off of Unita for Swapo, Swapo could be rendered toothless.

Already facing total economic dependence on South Africa if it came to power at independence elections, Swapo would lose its international forum if the UN plan was given an African flavour.

In short, a compliant and economically dependent Swapo government in Windhoek would be far less troublesome than a Soviet/Cuban-backed Swapo launching attacks from Angolan soil.

At the same time there are signs that, while still paying lip service to the UN plan for independence (Resolution 435), the United States would be prepared to gradually throw its weight behind a new Pretoria-led initiative, provided it did not depart substantially from Resolution 435.

The West, however, is sure to withhold its support from such a plan until the Frontline states are prepared to back it.

Even six months ago the prospect of African support for such an initiative would have been unthinkable. But with the dramatic events of the past two months there is no room for cynicism.

If Pretoria is prepared to trade-off its support for Unita for Angola's isolation of Swapo the plan could still see the light of day. That would be Pretoria's first prize.

# SA looks to Afri

S. Luma  
18/3/84

SOUTH AFRICA has embarked on a dramatic Africa initiative which could profoundly shift its foreign-policy orientation away from Europe and the United States towards the African continent.

By **BRIAN POTTINGER**



material prices.

Such a new alliance would be a de facto realisation of the long-held dream of Mr P W Botha's government — an economic constellation of Southern African states

The thrust of the approach has been implicit during the whole of the recent peace initiative and was more clearly outlined by Foreign Minister Pik Botha in a television interview two weeks ago.

But its clearest exposition came on Friday when Prime Minister P W Botha told assembled Mozambican and South African dignitaries at the signing of the Nkomati Accord that the path was open to an economic alliance to negotiate better prices on world markets for southern African minerals and raw materials.

At the same time the Prime Minister laid heavy

emphasis on South Africa's "Africaness" and harked back to the Afrikaner's own struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

In a speech which struck a strong responsive chord in his part-Mozambican audience he said the responsibility existed to give the sub-continent a chance to live and grow without the interference of outsiders.

"As Africans we take pride in our identity and in our traditions in this part of the world. Instead of dividing our energies and resources let us pool them, for it is in our combined economic strength that the promise of a more prosperous region will be realised."

He also pointed out neither South Africa nor Mozambique had a hand in drawing the political map; it was done by others who served the interests of colonial powers and who spared little thought for the inhabitants of the region.

Mozambique President Samora Machel — while admitting differences of opinion on questions of domestic policies — echoed almost precisely the same views.

He referred to the bitter legacy of European colonialism in Africa and described the people of the continent as "survivors" who had always struggled to eradicate foreign domination and exploitation.

And in a powerful re-affirmation of the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 he repeated that white South Africans were indeed Africans.

In South African diplomatic circles the heavy emphasis on the security arrangements between the powers, as reflected in the non-aggression and good-neighbourliness agreement, underlies a longer-term end, the creation of the conditions for a southern African economic community capable of advancing the interests of developing nations

But establishment of such a community still faces major problems. Chief among these is the existing imbalance in levels of development between South Africa and its neighbours — something which could lead to greater and not lesser economic dependency for the weaker members.

President Machel was careful to warn that his country rejected any system which would make it economically dependent on an

## Botha's dream a step closer

other country and referred to the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) which had been created to ensure great economic independence the member states.

A second problem related to South Africa's own ambivalent position — one committed firmly First World and the other clearly Third World. The advancing of the interests of one against the other could create its own contradictions.

## For Mozambique mum, it spelt escape from hunger

FOR a Mozambique mother of five who had witnessed the signing of the Nkomati Accord, the pact meant much, much more than the culmination of skilful diplomacy.

It meant an escape from hunger.

With the help of a 10-year-old interpreter, using a halting combination of Portuguese and English, she said:

"My children are hungry — there is no food here. Maybe now the tourists will come back and we can eat again."

Our conversation was the culmination of an amazing day.

In one week, the South African Defence Force had turned the dusty, dry bowl of the valley on the border between Mozambique and the Republic into an instant green patch of paradise, with potted plants, shrubs, exotic palms and damp moss everywhere.

Up on the railway tracks stood the smart White Train coach in which the all-important first meeting between the two leaders was to take place.

Not more than 100m away were the grubby buildings and the overgrown tracks of a station just inside Mozambique territory.

It was here that hundreds of the country's peasants gathered to view the ceremony.

To the beat of leather-covered bongo drums, ululating women danced the marimba.

Young children sang, watched over by a protective school teacher and armed Mozambique guards.

The ceremonial was over, inscribed gold pens had been exchanged by the statesmen at the centre of it all and the national anthems had been played and saluted.

Even cynical, seen-it-all-before Press people seemed moved as the two leaders shook hands.

### Moved

A Mozambique reporter turned to me and said: "This means a lot to both our countries. For us it means food, improved trade and a boost in tourism.

"For you it means peace and an ally in Southern Africa. Everyone — black, white, communist or capitalist — likes to feel secure."

It was hot, over 30 degrees.

But five blonde little South African girls, freshly dressed in pastel dresses, and five dark-eyed Mozambican boys in white shorts, shirts and hats, dashed forward energetically to present flowers to President Machel and Prime Minister Botha.

Mr Botha seemed deeply moved as he patted the little black child who presented

him with a red lily attached to a long green fern.

Mrs Machel bent over and kissed the children who marched up to thrust a basket of carnations into her hands. Mrs Botha beamed.

At lunch, the champagne was as warm as the wine, but no one seemed to notice.

A member of the Mozambique Press corps said as he tucked into his meal: "I haven't tasted prawns for the past 10 years.

"Let's hope this is the beginning of a return to our old way of life — where worrying about where your next meal comes from was not a major issue."

That seemed to sum it all up exactly.

As the dignitaries drifted off, President Machel and his wife, Graca, strode across the border to greet the waiting crowds.

He walked among them, shaking hands and patting heads as his people sang songs of praise.

Then he climbed into a dusty, mud-spattered burgundy Rolls-Royce and disappeared.

Almost immediately, the young soldiers who had put everything together started dismantling it all again.

Mr Botha had said in his speech he would like to build a monument there ...

Charmain Naidoo

## Trac

From Page 1

South African fishing from Mozambique waters in 1975 came as a hard knock local companies.

The possible re-opening of Mozambique fishing has been the best news local companies for many years, and a much-needed boost to the industry.

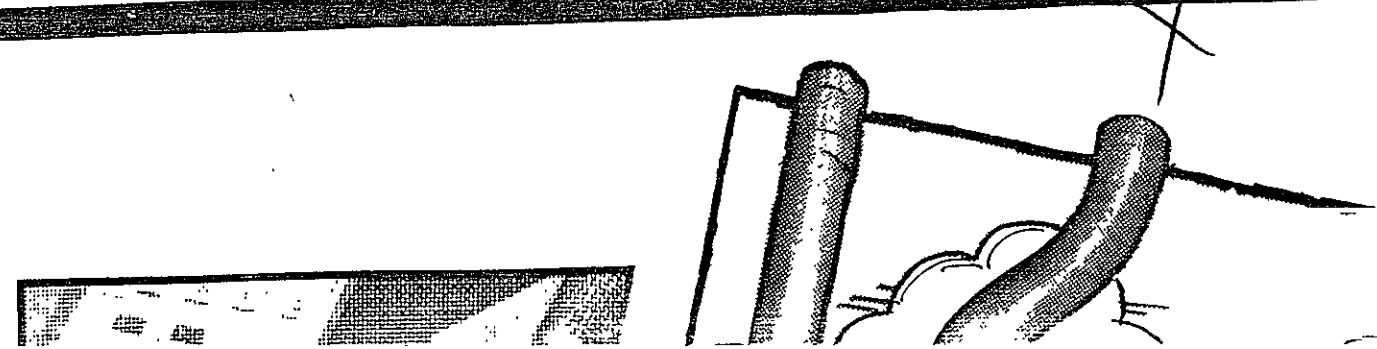
On the diplomatic front, the Nkomati Accord has led to a miraculous easing of the once knife-edge relations between the two countries.

Although full diplomatic relations between the countries is not on the horizon — neither side feels the sure for it — the new relations between the countries has been improved.

Recently the South African trade representative in Mozambique — a member of the Department of Trade and Tourism — was replaced by a member of the Department of Foreign Affairs thus bringing relations between the states to a par with relations between Pretoria and Johannesburg.

It was the first improvement in official relations since ties were severed in 1975.

And, on Thursday



# Looks to Africa

By BRIAN POTTINGER



emphasis on South Africa's "Africaness" and harked back to the Afrikaner's own struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

In a speech which struck a strong responsive chord in his part-Mozambican audience he said the responsibility existed to give the sub-continent a chance to live and grow without the interference of outsiders.

"As Africans we take pride in our identity and in our traditions in this part of the world. Instead of dividing our energies and resources let us pool them, for it is in our combined economic strength that the promise of a more prosperous region will be realised."

He also pointed out neither South Africa nor Mozambique had a hand in drawing the political map; it was done by others who served the interests of colonial powers and who spared little thought for the inhabitants of the region.

Mozambique President Samora Machel — while admitting differences of opinion on questions of domestic policies — echoed almost precisely the same views.

He referred to the bitter legacy of European colonialism in Africa and described the people of the continent as "survivors" who had always struggled to eradicate foreign domination and exploitation.

And in a powerful re-affirmation of the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 he repeated that white South Africans were indeed Africans.

In South African diplomatic circles the heavy emphasis on the security arrangements between the powers, as reflected in the non-aggression and good-neighbourliness agreement, underlies a longer-term end, the creation of the conditions for a southern African economic community capable of advancing the interests of developing nations.

But establishment of such a community still faces major problems. Chief among these is the existing imbalance in levels of development between South Africa and its neighbours — something which could lead to greater and not lesser economic dependency for the weaker members.

President Machel was careful to warn that his country rejected any system which would make it economically dependent on another

## Botha's dream a step closer

other country and referred to the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) which had been created to ensure greater economic independence of the member states.

A second problem relates to South Africa's own ambivalent position — one component firmly First World and the other clearly Third World. The advancing of the interests of one against the other could create its own contradictions.

A third lies in the traditionally close historic, economic, diplomatic and political ties with Western countries. Dramatic moves to create a regional economic front to challenge Western interests could put some strain on those ties — and already there are some signs in Western capitals of concern at the "Africans alone" theme which is slowly emerging.

And a fourth lies in the problem of the black independent homelands. Although the Government would clearly want them to be part of the economic constellation to parallel the existing moves towards a political confederation, such participation in a regional economic community would pose grave and embarrassing problems for the other participants.

A further complicating factor is the constraints tough economic times would place on South Africa's ability to give development aid.

## Mozambique mum, it scape from hunger

To the beat of leather-covered bongo drums, ululating women danced the marimba. Young children sang, watched over by a protective school teacher and armed Mozambique guards.

The ceremonial was over, inscribed gold pens had been exchanged by the statesmen at the centre of it all and the national anthems had been played and saluted.

Even cynical, seen-it-all-before Press people seemed moved as the two leaders shook hands.

him with a red lily attached to a long green fern.

Mrs Machel bent over and kissed the children who marched up to thrust a basket of carnations into her hands. Mrs Botha beamed.

At lunch, the champagne was as warm as the wine, but no one seemed to notice.

A member of the Mozambique Press corps said as he tucked into his meal: "I haven't tasted prawns for the past 10 years."

"Let's hope this is the beginning of a return to our old way of life — where worrying about where your next meal comes from was not a major issue."

That seemed to sum it all up exactly.

As the dignitaries drifted off, President Machel and his wife, Graca, strode across the border to greet the waiting crowds.

He walked among them, shaking hands and patting heads as his people sang songs of praise.

Then he climbed into a dusty, mud-spattered burgundy Rolls-Royce and disappeared.

Almost immediately, the young soldiers who had put everything together started dismantling it all again.

Mr Botha had said in his speech he would like to build a monument there ...

Charmain Naidoo

## Trade and

From Page 1

South African fishing vessels from Mozambique waters in 1975 came as a hard knock to local companies.

The possible re-opening of Mozambique fishing waters has been the best news for local companies for many years, and a much-needed boost to the industry.

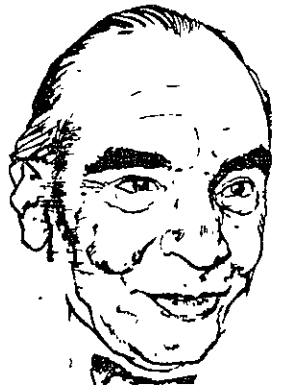
On the diplomatic front the Nkomati Accord has already led to a miraculous easing of the once knife-edge relations between the two countries.

Although full diplomatic relations between the two countries is not on the cards — neither side feels the pressure for it — the status of relations between the two countries has been discreetly upped.

Recent the South African trade representative in Mozambique — a member of the Department of Industries, Trade and Tourism — was replaced by a serving member of the Department of Foreign Affairs thus bringing relations between the two states to a par with those between Pretoria and Harare.

It was the first improvement in official diplomatic relations since ties were severed in 1975.

And, on Thursday night, a



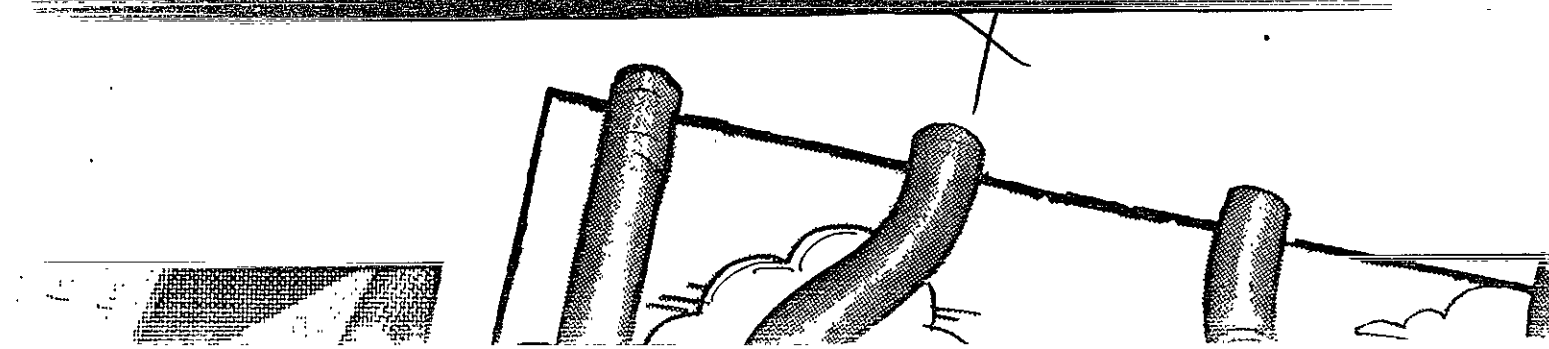
Mr Harry Oppenheimer

bitter bone of contention between South Africa and Mozambique — the radio broadcasts of the rebel MNR forces — were suspended.

Under the terms of the Nkomati Accord both parties undertake not to allow clandestine radio stations to broadcast subversive propaganda to the other's country.

Although no timetable has been set for the implementation of the proposed Joint Security Commission envisaged in the accord, both Mozambican and South African sources said on Friday it would be as soon as possible.

With the trilateral talks on the giant Cahora Bassa hy-



WHEN the full story of pax Capricornia comes to be told, it will be interesting to see what contribution the drought in Southern Africa made to the signing of the peace accords between South Africa and its black neighbours (assuming that the Mozambique Accord will be followed by more written accords).

Admittedly, South Africa's black neighbours went through a long softening-up period before the drought ... the legacy of colonial neglect, the exodus of white skills, the world recession, the liberation wars, and their aftermath of internal feuding, and the military and economic destabilisation by South Africa.

But the drought, in a sense, was the coup de grace. The whole of Southern Africa was affected by it.

Mozambique, of course, suffered particularly grievously ... 10 000 people were reported to have died from famine last year and a further 2 000 this year.

According to a United Nations estimate, 750 000 Mozambicans are in need of "urgent relief."

South Africa itself has been ravaged by the drought. It expects only a 3.5-million tonnes maize crop this year and will have to import about 4-million tonnes at a cost of between R800-million and R1 100-million.

Maize exports have been one of the levers South Africa has used in its relations with its black neighbours, and although it is not able to use this lever now (except to transport imported grain), the urgent food needs of its neighbours remains a major factor in the "peace" equation.

In a recent issue, the British financial magazine the Economist said: "This will be dust and begging bowl year in Southern Africa".

Pointing out that South Africa's neighbours would have to import food this year "to survive," it added: "Most of them do not have the money to pay for it."

The Economist's calculation is that it will cost at least R180-million to provide the food that Southern Africa can neither grow nor afford to import; the only black country that is able to pay for some of its food imports is Botswana.

The irony is that while about 450-million will go hungry in the world this year, there is a food surplus in the advanced Western countries ... Western Europe and North America are, in fact, awash with food.

The European Economic Community's (EEC) "food mountains" are indeed mountainous: 900 000 tons of butter, 9-million tons of grain, 4-million tons of sugar and almost 500 000 tons of beef ... all surplus.

Huge quantities of surplus fruit

PDM 3/3/84 ①

# Africa starves as Europe groans with surplus food

## STANLEY UYS in London

and vegetables, too, have been dumped across Western Europe.

On one occasion, France's Breton farmers smashed 3-million eggs to make a point.

The EEC began to export food in the 70s, when the first surpluses appeared, and European farmers felt encouraged then to produce as much food as possible in the belief that their governments would buy the produce.

The "intervention system" was devised — at great cost to the taxpayer — as a safety net to ensure that farmers received (if necessary) substantially more than the world price for their produce.

Now there is a crisis in the EEC over its Common Agriculture Policy and a crisis particularly in relations between Britain and its EEC partners.

I have no intention of delving into these troubled waters here, but the row that is rocking the EEC is something to behold.

The other nine members of the EEC have turned against Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and accused her of pushing her luck too far.

The front page of Der Spiegel shows her as a rampant lion with flaming mane, while a poll conducted by a French newspaper claims that 49% of French people want Britain to leave the EEC.

Paradoxically, this is what many Britishers want as well: according to a poll taken here this week, 55% of them want Britain to pull out of the EEC.

Both the Third World and the advanced countries have problems with their agriculture; therefore — but of a different kind — if the Third World cannot produce enough, the advanced countries produce too much.

But to return to food surpluses ...

The United States is as much in the surplus business as the EEC.

It has a mind-boggling surplus of dairy products, which the Reagan Administration obligingly buys and puts into cold storage.

Last year the Federal stockpile of

surplus dairy products was 7 700 000kg.

Farmers in the United States have been encouraged to give up farming.

No fewer than 82-million acres have been taken out of production in recent times.

Under the Payment-In-Kind (PIK) scheme, farmers are paid in commodities if they reduce their own planting.

In the past 50 years, the number of farmers in the United States has decreased by two-thirds to 2.4-million ... one-third of whom account for 90% of total receipts.

The immense resources of the United States agriculture are still sufficient, though, to create surpluses.

There would not be 450-million hungry people in the world if more people could afford to buy the surpluses.

And this is the problem ... the demand for food is there, but not the cash to pay for it.

The blacks of Southern Africa would dearly like to get their hands today on the huge stocks of dairy products — milk powder, butter and cheese — which are stored in caves under Kansas City.

They would also like to get their hands on the grain in the choked elevators at Enid, a town in Oklahoma, which hold probably the equivalent of one-tenth of Britain's entire grain production.

Some of the surplus of United States and Western Europe food production will be distributed to famine-stricken countries, as said.

But aid is not a long-term answer. A basic need of the 120 food importing countries is to improve their agriculture ... and this means rethinking the mistaken policies which have been partly to blame for the decline in agriculture.

In the impoverished condition of much of African agriculture is to be found one of the reasons for the pax Capricornia.

Until Southern Africa is better able to feed itself, it cannot even begin to shed its economic dependence on South Africa.

HOPE OF WIDER PEACE TALKS AFTER RIVER-BANK PACT

# Africa awaits SA's next move

BY JEAN LE MAY  
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress has had the ground cut from under its feet by the Nkomati Accord signed between Mozambique and South Africa this week.

The presence of diplomats from other African countries at Nkomati on Friday means that the frontline states have virtually dumped the ANC in terms of providing military bases.

Moreover the South African abandonment of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR) — tacit in the agreement — also means that South African pre-occupation with its internal security could now switch to the greater implications of Namibia.

South Africa's next move after Nkomati is seen as crucially important in the sensitive realignment of Southern African relationships now taking place.

African countries are waiting for a clear

signal from South Africa that Namibia will get independence in terms of United Nations Resolution 435 and that South Africa intends implementing it wholeheartedly and without delays or prevarication.

This was confirmed by African diplomats who were at Nkomati as guests of the Mozambican government.

Mr Cox Sikumba, Zambian Ambassador to Mozambique and Swaziland, who is stationed in Maputo, spoke to me during the ceremony on Friday when the Nkomati Accord was signed by Prime Minister Mr P W Botha of South Africa and President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The Nkomati accord was a "most important" first step towards new relationships being forged on the sub-continent, he said.

The really crucial events were not, however, those taking place at Nkomati, but those on the other side of the sub-continent in Namibia.

While President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia would continue to do all in his power to bring the countries of Southern Africa together, the real issue was how South Africa responded.

## 'Broker'

"The next move is up to South Africa. My country is urging, encouraging, acting as broker for peace and friendship, but the African countries can do nothing unless South Africa responds positively," Mr Sikumba said.

He confirmed that the black African countries were waiting for a clear commitment on the part of South Africa to Namibian independence in terms of UN Resolution 435.

Mr Sikumba said he and other representatives from Zambia were "keeping a low profile" at Nkomati because they were guests of President Machel and not of the South African government.

Asked whether this was a way of showing tacit diplomatic support for the new relationship between Mozambique and South Africa, he said: "I can only say that my government is aware that I am in South Africa today."

Notable absentees from the Nkomati gathering were the leaders of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — an omission which, it was rumoured, was insisted on by President Machel.

Now the focus switches to the west coast — in Namibia



Walking hand in hand, Mrs Graca Machel and Mrs Elize Botha step down from the White Train. Picture: DOUG LEE.

## That was a bush bash from which the hippos slunk

Political Correspondent

A BUSH bash to end all bashes took place on the scooped-out bank of the Komati River on the Mozambique border when Prime Minister Mr P W Botha and President Samora Machel met on Friday to sign the much-heralded Nkomati pact.

While the two leaders, seated under a fragile wooden pavilion, signed the accord documents they were watched closely by television viewers but not, unhappily, by those present, since South African security men did their best to shield the event from the public gaze.

There had been quite a build-up, with the South African army working flat out to construct a tent town suitable for the reception of VIPs. Even lavatories were air-conditioned.

A fortnight ago, bullets could have greeted anyone who put a foot in this area. On Friday, all was sweetness and light. Even the hippos had vanished, underwater if not underground.

To this scene hundreds of South African and foreign journalists were transported, from a dawn start in a desperately uncomfortable troop transporter to an airstrip close to the border, then into buses and a train and, eventually, to the banks of the Komati.

Symbolic of the new accord, notices within the tent town were in Afrikaans,



President Samora Machel signed to cheers.

English and Portuguese. Guests took to the grandstands — South Africans one side, Mozambicans the other.

Since the majority of South Africans present were white, while the Mozambicans were mostly black, there was an uneasy air that apartheid still ruled.

## Accord

But this was, perhaps, indicative of the whole accord, which is after all an agreement between white South Africa and a country representative of black Africa.

Then the guards of honour arrived: first there came a South African contingent which performed its part with matchless precision, then a Mozambican contingent whose marching was, to put it mildly, a little ragged.

The troops stood at ease in the hot, hot sun for close on two hours. Some of them fainted, with Mozambicans and South Africans going

down like ninepins.

Meanwhile the two leaders met on the platform and then in the coaches of the White Train, where Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr P W Botha and General Jacinto Veloso, who had met a fortnight earlier in Cape Town, initialled the agreement.

There was some delay while Mr P W Botha and President Machel chatted; eventually their wives, Mrs Elize Botha, in a pink outfit and big pink hat, appeared at the door of the coach and helped Mrs Graca Machel — slim and pretty in a black and white dress — down the steps.

They walked hand in hand down the red carpet, followed by their husbands and their staffs. Mrs Machel and Mrs Botha took their seats in the VIP stand next to Prime Minister Prince Bhekimpfi of Swaziland, the two leaders took their places on the podium and the national anthems were played.

Then they signed, and there was great cheering and applause. Mr P W Botha, but for whom the Nkomati Accord would never have been signed, sat behind the Prime Minister on the podium looking thoughtful and exhausted.

The two leaders, walking at a fair clip, inspected the guard of honour, the national anthems were played again, flowers were presented, the balloons were released and everyone went to lunch.

## Favourable UK media coverage

LONDON — The signing of the South Africa-Mozambique non-aggression pact was headline news throughout Britain yesterday.

Among Fleet Street newspapers, The Guardian, The Times and International Herald Tribune gave the story lengthy page one coverage while both the BBC and ITV devoted extensive news time to what was described as "the remarkable" pact. ITV concluded

By MERVYN REES

that the "winds of change, it seemed, were now blowing backwards". Only the communist Morning Star newspaper condemned the event. It concentrated on the African National Congress rejection of the accord and said it would not lead to peace. Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Maputo that the Mozambican Press, too,

has hailed the signing of the pact.

The official Mozambican news agency, AIM, said it was a "triumph over the forces of violence and militarism" while the Maputo daily Noticias said: "We have not compromised the principles that guide our foreign policy."

AIM did, however, say: "Lasting peace is not something that can be achieved overnight. The agreement merely creates conditions for peace to be reached."



# Nordic hearings on SA destabilization

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — International hearings on South Africa's alleged destabilization of neighbouring states begin in Oslo, the Norwegian capital today.

The hearings, which have been five months in the planning, come only a week after the unexpected and far-reaching accord between South Africa and Mozambique — one of the main targets of alleged

South African destabilization.

The Nordic aid agencies operating in Southern Africa — Norad (Norway); Sida (Sweden) and Danida (Denmark) — will give first-hand evidence at the hearings of how their aid programmes in the region have been damaged by "South African destabilization and aggression".

The three-day hearings, which have aroused widespread international interest, will be opened by the

Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr S Stray, and will be heard by an international panel including a former Danish foreign minister, Mr Kjeld Olesen, and a writer on African affairs, Mr Basil Davidson.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, will deliver an address at the opening of the hearings today.

Statements will also be made by representatives of

the African National Congress and Swapo.

The hearings are seen as a prelude to a summit between the foreign ministers of the three Nordic countries and leaders of the frontline states in June.

Mozambique is among the eight countries which have sent diplomatic observers to the hearings. The others are Nigeria, Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana.

The 20-strong international panel will also hear

evidence from first-hand witnesses of destabilization in the frontline states and will see videos of alleged aggression by South African-backed guerrillas in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho.

The programme will include a session on the military and nuclear build-up in South Africa and a session on the oil embargo.

A full session will be held on the situation in SWA/Namibia, in which two Norwegian journalists

who spent six weeks in southern Angola early this year will give evidence.

The president of the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, will also speak, following his three-week tour of the frontline states earlier this year.

The panel will make a comprehensive statement at the end of the three-day hearings, which have been organized on behalf of the anti-apartheid movements in the Nordic states.

① Star 22/3/84

# Mauritius wants to be the Hong Kong of Indian Ocean

The Star's Foreign News Service

PORT LOUIS — Mauritius has finally taken the first steps towards realising its long-talked-about goal of becoming the Hong Kong and Singapore of the Indian Ocean.

The plan envisages the establishment of a new port which will become an offshore banking centre, duty free zone and a base for foreign ships flying flags of convenience.

The project has been taken over by the island's dynamic Deputy Prime Minister, Sir Gaetan Duval, who recently returned from an official tour of the Far East to investigate similar operations, including those at Hong Kong and Singapore.

Sir Gaetan said the envisaged offshore banking "will create an economic area outside Mauritius where we could provide services not subjected to the laws of the country".

The Government is seeking the advice of World Bank experts about setting up the project. Experts from the International Maritime Organisation are also being consulted about the registration of foreign ships which will fly the Mauritian flag.

The flamboyant Sir Gaetan, whose conservative Mauritius Social Democratic Party played a leading role in assuring the election triumph last August of Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth's multi-party alliance, said unidentified European sources had already pledged R50 million towards the project. The new port will be built off Mahebourg at the opposite end of the island to Port Louis which serves as Mauritius's only commercial harbour.

Main attraction of the scheme for the economically depressed island is the creation of an estimated 4 000 new jobs and the luring of much-needed foreign exchange to Mauritius.

# SA's R51m credit <sup>①</sup> to Mauritius <sup>29/3/84 S. Times</sup>

SOUTH AFRICA is about to make a diplomatic foray into the Indian Ocean area with a R51-million credit line to Mauritius, frontrunner in the exercise.

Foreign Affairs sources confirmed this week that a credit arrangement with the new Mauritian coalition government was under consideration and likely to be regarded "sympathetically".

The confirmation follows a statement last week by Mauritian officials that a loan was in the offing.

By BRIAN POTTINGER  
Political Correspondent

The request for the credit line came from Deputy Prime Minister Sir Gaetan Duval in a low-profile visit to South Africa late last year during which tourism and a range of other issues were discussed.

The credit would be for island development and would be a significant step towards normalising South African

foreign contacts in an area of often patchy relations.

Rapport between South Africa and the tiny island of Mauritius was re-established after last year's landslide win by a coalition group over the anti-South African Socialist MMM party of Paul Berenger.

The new coalition consists of the Creole-dominated Social Democratic Party, the Militant Socialist Party and the Labour Party.

Sir Gaetan Duval, a former Prime Minister and now Deputy Prime Minister, has been in the forefront of improving relations with South Africa.

The island has recently been earmarked by a number of South African companies as a possible springboard for greater economic penetration into black Africa.

RAM 28/3/84

# SA's fishermen set sights on Mozambique

Mall Correspondent

DURBAN. — When Mozambique's rich fishing grounds are opened to South African trawlers, an "armada" will steam to the area to make the most of the vast untapped resources of crayfish, langoustine and prawns, according to Durban fishermen.

"We are relying on the South African and Mozambique Governments to help us get the necessary permits to trawl in Mozambique waters," said Mr Aubrey Shooter, owner of Shooter's Trawlers.

The best shellfish spots, he said, were north of Beira and it was years since

fishing vessels had been in that area.

He was confident that permission would be granted for trawling rights off Mozambique.

Mr Shooter discounted possibilities that the area had been "fished out" by Soviet trawlers as the fishing grounds were "so lucrative" it was unlikely that Mozambique grounds would be depleted.

"We are only too willing to pay for fishing rights as long as there is a chance for us into the area," Mr Shooter said.

Should permission be granted, shellfish is expected to be much cheaper in South African restaurants than the pre-

sent inflated prices.

Meanwhile Mr Shooter said that his trawler, the R30 000 Morning Star, was still being held by Mozambique authorities since it was impounded in April last year.

"I'm going to try my best to get the vessel back and I am prepared to pay a fine, but not the R176 000 they have asked for.

"Since Mozambique has closed their fishing grounds to us, we have had to do our best to make ends meet.

"We all have bonds on our vessels and it is as much as we can do to make ends meet," Mr Shooter said.

Reviews 30/3/84

①

# African unity dream ends

Sekou Toure believed that Africa could overcome its tribal differences, reports the Argus Foreign Service, London

AN African dream has ended with the death of President Sekou Toure of Guinea after emergency heart surgery in Cleveland, Ohio.

President Toure, 62, with President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and his other close friend, Mr Tom Mboya of Kenya, based their political creeds on a common belief. This was that colonial Africa could safely move towards a secure and prosperous independence and could overcome tribal differences and achieve African unity.

In the 1950s they were still convinced that their dream could become reality. They were happy, relaxed, and talked about African socialism, not revolution. They also believed in democratic institutions.

Nkrumah and Mboya are long since dead, but Toure survived to carry on the dream. Known as the Elephant, he became the most radical and longest surviving of African leaders.

But Guinea did not become the pilot for a new, united, prosperous Africa, and Sekou Toure turned into a far from benevolent dictator.

He imprisoned and killed many of his early companions and only recently brought himself and his country out of isolation.

Russia obtained military bases in Guinea from which its aircraft were able to reconnoitre the central Atlantic, and during the Angolan civil war

Guinea was used as a staging post for Cuban troops on their way to Angola.

But Sekou Toure rejected charges that he was a mere tool of the Communists. In 1978 he sent the Russians packing and sought closer links with the West.

In many ways Toure's own life and his rule in Guinea mirrored the shattered aspirations of millions who believed that independence and African unity were the ultimate panacea.

One of seven children of illiterate Muslim peasants, he rose through pre-independence trade union movements and territorial governments to head the Parti Democratique De Guinee. It became the sole party after independence, and Toure became increasingly autocratic.

Opposition was ruthlessly crushed and about two million Guineans now live in exile. Human rights violations were common.

Mr Toure's death has thrown into doubt the May summit of African heads of state which he was to have hosted.

Officials of the Organisation of African Unity are now considering whether to cancel or postpone the meeting.

There had been speculation that the summit would have been postponed in any case because of delays in various construction projects connected with the meeting, according to African sources.

# Trade good, talk bad, when it comes to SA

S. Times 1/4/84

WHEN Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda recently hosted a conference of nine black-ruled African states pledged to loosen South Africa's economic stranglehold on the continent, eyebrows were raised among delegates over treats in store for them.

South African rock lobster was on the menu at the Makumbi Room of the luxury Intercontinental Hotel.

Wine from the Cape, at US \$40 a bottle, flowed at lunches and dinners as donors and delegates alike wrestled with ways of making black Africa economically independent.

Seventy-nine new limousines were bought by Kaunda's near-bankrupt government for \$1.9-million from a company in Pretoria.

And street hawkers were selling Cape apples outside hotels.

## Sloppy

South Africa's far-reaching trade tentacles touch virtually every black-governed country on the continent despite angry demands from its African clients for international economic sanctions against the powerful white-controlled republic.

Efforts to struggle free from the South African straitjacket are spurred by black Africa's fear that traditional heavy dependence on Pretoria will weaken their support for the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress which vow to topple the white minority government.

Yet South African trade — from apricots to air conditioners — continues to boom with even its most hostile critics like Zimbabwe and Kenya.

"South Africa's obnoxious racial policies constitute one of the few points of total agreement among African nations," says an official of the 51-member Organization of African Unity which seeks to erase all traces of white rule in Africa. "But it is also, privately, a point of agreement that South Africa is an invaluable source of cheap goods — food, vehicles, mining and agricultural machinery and that sort of thing."

By NORMAN ELLIS: Harare

In Malawi which is the only OAU member that has diplomatic ties with South Africa, six impoverished black states last month gathered in the capital of Lilongwe in a bid to untangle a myriad of regional transport woes. At the opening of the workshop Malawi disclosed that it had US \$114-million of cargo — a sixth of its total annual imports and exports — stranded at the Indian Ocean ports of Nacala and Beira in neighbouring Mozambique.

Sabotage of railroads linking Mozambique with neighbour states by guerrillas of the Mozambique National Resistance was partly to blame.

But so was the slow and sloppy handling of the region's freight at those ports, as well as antiquated facilities.

Yet Mozambique was entrusted by nine states, which included the six represented in Lilongwe with replacing South Africa as the main gateway for the area's trade.

## Powerhouse

But four years after the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was set up in the Zambian capital of Lusaka, trade and transport ties with South Africa are stronger than ever.

Of the nine SADCC members Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe grudgingly admit South Africa is the biggest single trading partner.

The blue and gold livery of state-owned South African Airways planes fly into all but two of the SADCC countries.

Three of South Africa's close neighbours are bound to Pretoria through a customs union.

South African charter aircraft, often flying at night, land at a host of black African capitals with businessmen, engineers and holds packed with anything from penicillin to power drills.

South African coasters, most flying foreign flags of convenience, routinely berth at African ports from the former French colony of Djibouti on the Horn of



KENNETH KAUNDA  
SA wines at dinner

East Africa to Dakar, Senegal, in the far west.

More than 140 000 young black men leave their homes in SADCC states each year, lured by the glitter of high wages on South Africa's gold mines that are remitted as millions of dollars to their home countries.

By official South African accounts, over a billion US dollars worth of South African exports reach supermarkets, country stores, farms, factories and mines in most of black-ruled Africa each year — double the amount of a decade ago. South African trade offi-

cially privately say that business with 46 black states — three quarters of it with the SADCC club — has doubled in five years, although actual details are kept pointedly vague for fear of jeopardising that business.

South Africa, a mere four percent of Africa's total land mass, remains an economic powerhouse in a region dotted with countries perennially on the brink of ruin through devastating drought, mismanagement, corruption and costly campaigns against armed rebels.

"The Republic", as it is simply known in Southern Africa, manufactures 40 percent of Africa's entire industrial wealth. Its efficient deepwater ports are the drawbridge to world markets for at least 75 percent of its black neighbours' trade.

A little South African business is furtively done under the counter with its main African foes, Angola and Tanzania. Double invoicing and fake certificates of origin are the keys to South Africa's trade with the rest of Africa.

## Beef, too

South African canned peas and corned beef share room on the shelves of supermarkets in the Zaire capital of Kinshasa with French truffles and Portuguese sardines.

Prime South African beef is on the menus of French-run restaurants beneath palm trees overlooking the Atlantic Ocean in the Gabon capital of Libreville.

South African parts keep Ghana's Ashanti goldfields going.

Witbank coal helps fire the furnaces of copper mines in Zaire and Zambia.

And South African consultants advise on the running of railroads and harbours in Mozambique.

Much of the copper wealth from Zaire and Zambia — which depend on the ore for the bulk of ex-

port income — is railed through landlocked Zimbabwe to South African ports.

Reason: Anti-government guerrillas of Jonas Savimbi's Unita army in Angola cut the main Benguela Railway along which most of the copper once flowed. And the Chinese-built Tazara Railway, linking Zambia with the Tanzanian harbours is so plagued with snarl-ups and looting it has robbed the Lusaka government of millions of dollars through late deliveries and is derisively labelled "Africa's great white elephant."

## Optimistic

Zambian President Kaunda, the white-haired elder statesman of SADCC and a long-time critic of South Africa, hosted the Lusaka conference that gave birth to the regional club on April 1 1980 and again opened the fourth meeting of donors last month.

But a mere fifth of the US \$500-million sought by the group to help loosen South Africa's grip on their economies was actually pledged. And a final communique issued against a backdrop of historic peace accords between Pretoria and its neighbours, Angola and Mozambique, was a faint echo of the angry denunciations against the Republic for its perceived policy of "destabilisation" of the sub-continent.

While a communique from delegates and donors "deplored" South African sabotage and military adventures against its neighbours, it also noted optimistically "there are some signs of a less aggressive stance by South Africa."

## Clue

Official Zambian statistics published just before the latest Lusaka meeting provided a clue to President Kaunda's own dependence on the white south. Of total imports of 918-million kwacha in 1982 (the latest recorded year) 150-million kwachas were from South Africa — up from 31-million kwacha only four years before.

Indeed, President Kaunda disclosed in December that Zambia had set up a state-controlled buying agency for South African goods in Johannesburg.

# SA's trade with Black Africa is booming

# The Secret of the Swazi pact is out

*This may be the most damaging move against the ANC yet by an African country, reports JEAN LE MAY*

THE most aggressive move ever made by a black African country against the African National Congress is embodied in the security pact signed by Swaziland with South Africa in 1982.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his Swazi counterpart, Mr R V Dhlamini, announced in Pretoria yesterday that a security agreement was signed by them in Swaziland on February 17, 1982, and has been in force since then.

In addition to straggling the ANC militarily, the agreement debars foreign military bases and foreign military units from both countries — a move obviously insisted on by South Africa to pre-empt the extension of a Soviet or Cuban presence into the region from Mozambique and Angola.

The agreement goes further in its anti-ANC stance than the non-aggression pact South Africa signed with Mozambique only a fortnight ago.

South Africa and Swaziland agreed to combat terrorism, insurgency and subversion "individually and collectively".

It was also announced yesterday that permanent trade representatives would be exchanged between the two countries.

Copies of the security agreement given to the Press were accompanied by a covering letter from King Sobhuza II of Swaziland to Mr Dhlamini authorising him to sign the "Letter of Understanding on Security Matters" proposed by the government of South Africa.



Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha and his Swazi counterpart, Mr R V Dhlamini, face the Press

The agreement says that Swaziland and South Africa: ● Undertake to combat terrorism, insurgency and subversion individually and collectively "and shall call upon each other wherever possible for such assistance and steps as may be deemed necessary". ● Will respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and will refrain from the unlawful threat or use of force and from any other act inconsistent with good neighbourliness.

● Will live in peace and develop and maintain friendly relations and will not allow any activities involving a threat or use of force against each other.

● Will not allow the installation or maintenance of foreign military bases or the presence of foreign military units except in the accordance with their right of self-defence in the case of armed attacks as provided in the Charter of the United Nations.

With the new agreement, another section in the new-look Southern African peace pattern has fallen into place.

The interlocking pieces of the pattern on the eastern side of the sub-continent now effectively debar the military arm of the African National Congress from using Mozambique and Swaziland as bases to infiltrate South Africa, with the only existing gap now in Lesotho. Relations between Lesotho and South Africa cooled in the past week when the Lesotho Information Minister, Mr Desmond Six-ishi, said his government had learned of secret talks in January between Mr Pik Botha and "Lesotho dissidents from an organisation called the Lesotho Democratic Alliance".

He alleged that Mr Botha had promised the LDA financial and military help to topple Chief Leabua Jonathan's government if the LDA did not win the coming general election in Lesotho.

In a strongly worded statement, Mr Botha said yesterday the allegations were based on "fabrications" of what had been said at a meeting in January with Mr Charles Molapo, the Lesotho Foreign Minister, and other Lesotho politicians.

Mr Botha disclosed that Lesotho's Chief Leabua Jonathan had received "de-cisive assistance from South Africa to help him win the first Lesotho general election — the only election he has ever won".

Chief Jonathan could not, therefore, object to South African friends and businessmen giving funds for the present election — particularly since Chief Jonathan received in his home ANC leaders who boasted about acts of violence against South Africa, he said.

Meanwhile Mr Botha announced earlier this week that the agreement entered into with Angola in February to establish a Joint Monitoring Commission to combat Swapo forces in Southern Angola was still in force as a satisfactory explanation had been received of Angola's earlier statement which appeared to support Swapo.

The peace initiatives extended to the economic sphere earlier this week with the announcement that South Africa, Swaziland and Mozambique would enter into an agreement to make effective use of the waters of the Limpopo and Komati rivers.

There were indications at the time that Zimbabwe might also enter into an agreement regarding the use of the Limpopo River.

# Swazi pact shadowed by rising tension

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The weekend announcement that South Africa and Swaziland were to establish diplomatic ties, and the confirmation — after months of speculation — that the two countries signed a formal peace pact more than two years ago, seem set to be overshadowed in the coming week by deteriorating relations between South Africa and two other immediate neighbours, Lesotho and Botswana.

The existence of the Swazi pact was confirmed at a Press conference in Pretoria on Saturday after talks between the South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his Swazi counterpart Mr Richard Dlamini.

It was also announced that diplomatic ties at the level of trade and labour missions would be finalised "as soon as practicable".

It is reliably understood that the pact had been kept secret at the insistence of the Swazi Government. The current internationally accepted climate of dialogue between South Africa and her black neighbours obviously makes it less embarrassing for Swaziland to now admit to the pact.

The treaty is basically the same as the Nkomati pact with Mozambique and prohibits the harbouring of dissidents planning or carrying out acts of violence against each other's territory.

For some time Swaziland has exhibited open hostility towards the African National Congress, including the detention and deportation of suspected ANC operatives, and the arrest of ANC guerrillas making their way from Mozambique via Swaziland to South Africa.

In contrast, relations with Lesotho are set

to slump even further this week following last week's allegations by Lesotho's Information Minister, Mr Desmond Sixishe, of a South African plot to overthrow the government of the Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan by military force.

The allegations were emphatically denied by Mr Pik Botha, who accused Chief Jonathan of seriously threatening the good relations between the Basotho people and South Africa.

Lesotho Government officials are due to disclose more details in Maseru today.

In the light of these developments, a peace pact between South Africa and Lesotho in the near future seems unlikely. Negotiations in that direction have been under way for some time, but it is reliably understood that Mr Botha has become impatient with Lesotho's apparent delaying tactics.

Relations with Botswana are also not particularly good, although there are indications that a "security agreement" with South Africa is on the way.

Government leaders in Botswana have been remarkably hostile towards the Nkomati Accord and accused South Africa of bullying Mozambique into signing the pact.

There have been recent allegations in Botswana that South Africa is exerting economic pressure to force the government in Gaborone into a peace treaty. The charges have been denied by Mr Botha.

The South African Government believes Botswana is incapable of controlling the activities of ANC operatives living in the country and allegedly planning acts of violence against South Africa.

There is increasing concern in South African Government circles that Botswana would be unable to prevent widespread crossings into the Western Transvaal of ANC guerrillas, following the blocking of their Mozambique infiltration route.



RBM 4/18/84

1

# Famine forces black neighbours into friends

THE pressure is on all South Africa's black neighbours to sign Nkomati-like accords... formidable pressure because they are all, gripped in the vice of drought and famine, either victims of the dependency syndrome or, as in the case of Angola, of military destabilisation.

## STANLEY UYS in London

Southern Africa has a desperate need for peace and stability, and if the price it has to pay is being drawn into South Africa's slipstream, it will pay the price in one coinage or another.

It is not only in Mozambique but in the whole of Southern Africa that the conditions for the furtherance of the Pax Pretoriana have become appropriate.

These neighbours are bridleing under the pressure — for example, Lesotho's Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Desmond Sixishe, this week, and President Quett Masire of Botswana earlier — but Pretoria has the muscle.

Pretoria prefers the accords should be written rather than unwritten, explicit rather than implicit.

The situation does not end there. Much of black Africa itself is in economic distress and is too preoccupied with its own problems to be able to do anything about relieving the dependency of its black brothers in Southern Africa on the

South African power house.

As a result, black Africa — with a few exceptions, such as Nigeria — is beginning to put the anti-apartheid crusade on the back burner.

There is nothing surprising about this. Black Africa's problem is immediate and horrendous: famine.

It was brought on by drought, which in West Africa has lasted 13 years now.

No fewer than 24 African countries now face critical food shortages, among those at the top being Ethiopia, Mauritania and Mozambique.

Since the beginning of last year, too, the European Economic Community (EEC) has granted emergency aid worth R100-million to Africa, and in April it earmarked R20-million for the hardest hit countries, among them being Ghana, Mauritania, Senegal, Chad, Niger, Mali, Zambia, Upper Volta, Sudan, Benin and Djibouti.

Black Africa starts with the handicap that it harbours 25 of the 33 least developed countries in the world.

Between 1961 and 1982, its per capita food production declined 20%. The United Nation's Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) estimates that in 15 years no fewer than 30 of the 51 countries in Africa will no longer be able to feed themselves.

At last week's food conference in Harare, the FAO's Director General warned that the combination of high birth rates and low food output was leading Africa headlong into disaster.

Some African countries have an explosive population growth of as much as 4% a year.

Even before the drought worsened, the annual rise in food production in Africa was only 1,3% and with the population growing all the time this year's total food

deficit is twice what it was 10 years ago.

Meanwhile, the Sahara Desert creeps south at a relentless seven to 11km a year.

Mauritania's largely nomadic society has lost half its livestock and some pessimists even say it has passed a point of no return.

In Senegal, the desolation in the interior is said to be appalling.

Africa has brought some of this distress upon itself by misguided agricultural policies.

In the post-independence reaction against colonialism, new governments brought in a proliferation of state enterprises and marketing boards, low official food prices and virtually free educational and health services which could not be financed adequately by underproductive economies.

Not only were food prices kept low to ensure the availability of food supplies to the population — a worthy sentiment — but farmers, and the private sector generally, were taxed to pay for burgeoning urban bureaucracies. This discouraged farming.

As the years have gone by, so everything has gone up — budget deficits, external debt, inflation — while investment has gone down.

Also, the trek of peasants to the towns has proceeded remorselessly. By the end of the century, it is estimated, some 45% of Africa's population will be living in impoverished urban conglomerations, compared with 30% now.

Now a great soul-searching is taking place in Africa over agricultural policies, and a consensus is emerging that urgent attention must be given to the reformulation of these policies and to increased food production.

Western economists have been prominent among the critics of Africa's food policies, but amid all the soul-searching there are still some reservations among African governments over whether these Western economists have got it right this time.

Recently, Zambia's former Foreign Minister, Mr Vernon Mwaanga, said wryly: "We've done everything the textbook experts have asked of us, and our problems have grown deeper and deeper".

Drought is not Africa's only immediate problem... refugees are another, the spill-over from civil wars and other conflicts.

There are now almost five million refugees on the continent. Impoverished Tanzania, for example, is host to 180 000 refugees... almost 1% of its population.

They come from Burundi, Zaire, Uganda and South Africa. Angola has 99 000 refugees, of whom 70 000 are Namibians and 9 000 South Africans (the rest are from Zaire).

Botswana has 4 200 (500 South Africans), Lesotho has 11 500 (mostly South Africans), Swaziland has 7 000 (almost all South Africans), Zambia has 103 000 (mostly Angolans, but including 3 000 South Africans), Zimbabwe has 60 000 Mozambicans while Zaire has 283 500 (mostly Angolans).

Further north the refugee problem is even worse. There are 700 000 Ethiopians in Somalia, while Sudan is host to 700 000 refugees, mostly Ethiopians but also Ugandans.

Pretoria, with some smugness, has been looking north, and seeing a stricken continent, but with the fall now of the gold price and of the rand, its own immediate future is not as rosy as it used to be.

Some officials in Pretoria were saying recently that what they wanted to do in Mozambique was to turn it into a kind of showpiece neo-colony (not their exact description, of course), as a demonstration to the rest of Africa that those who sup with Pretoria get the goodies.

Now Pretoria, too, has its problems, and there may not be much it can do about helping Mozambique or other potential accord partners.

The African blight has struck black and white alike.

# Build more houses, SADCC states urged

Mall Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Efforts to provide housing must be intensified, Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries have been told by the chairman of the Botswana Housing Corporation, Mr Peter Molosi.

Speaking in an interview in Lusaka, Mr Molosi said it was high time member states intensified efforts to build houses for the average person because housing is a basic human need.

"I feel, however, that the private sector should become more interested in mobilising resources in order to build more houses to alleviate the problem of accommodation," he said.

Mr Molosi, who is also Permanent Secretary in Botswana's Ministry of Housing, is accompanied on his visit by Mr Douglas Richardson, Botswana Housing Corporation general manager.

"We hope to compare notes to see what we are doing and what is being done here in the hope that cross fertilisation of ideas should make us plan ahead and achieve better results," he said.

And the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in Lusaka continued negotiations yesterday for the release of two detained South West African refugees after the apparent failure of their first attempt to be granted asylum in the United States.

The government-owned Zambia Daily Mail reported in a front page article yesterday that the US Embassy in Lusaka had rejected the first approach made last Friday by the UNHCR.

A spokesman for the embassy confirmed that the two men, Mr Mishake Muyongo, the former vice president of Swapo who is now president of the Caprivi National Union (Canu) and Mr Lemmy Matengu, a former Swapo member of the central committee, were escorted to the embassy by UNHCR rep-

resentative Mr Oystein Stanbrun, who made inquiries on their behalf.

"It was found that it would not be feasible to pursue their application for refugee status at this time," said a US Embassy spokesman.

Mr Stanbrun said, however, that the US Embassy reply could not be construed as a rejection because the US had merely deemed it "not feasible" to pursue the application at this time.

He said the UNHCR was awaiting an explanation from the Zambian government on why the two men were detained before making a statement.

"The situation is very simple — the two men are refugees and are recognised as such by the Zambian Government and are also under the mandate of the UNHCR," he said.

The Zambian Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Frederick Chomba, confirmed yesterday morning he had signed fresh deportation orders for the two refugees because of their political involvement.

ROM 14/4/84

# SA links with black Africa even stronger

FOUR years after the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference was formed to make black Africa economically independent of South Africa, trade and transport ties with Pretoria are even stronger.

South Africa's far-reaching trade links reach almost every black-governed country on the continent, despite angry demands for international economic sanctions against the white-controlled republic.

Seven of the nine conference members, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, grudgingly admit Pretoria is still their biggest single trading partner.

Only the Marxist MPLA regime in Angola and socialist Tanzania publicly declare they are economically independent of South Africa. Even there, observers say, a little business is certainly done under the counter.

South African trade — in goods ranging from apricots to air-conditioners — continue to boom with Marxist Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Kenya.

An official of the 51-member Organisation of African Unity said: "South Africa's obnoxious racial policies constitute one of the few points of total agreement among African nations.

"But it is also, privately, a point of agreement that South Africa is an invaluable source of cheap goods."

At a recent SADCC conference in Lusaka, hosted by President Kaunda of Zambia, observers said South African

rock lobster was on the menu for the delegates at the Intercontinental Hotel, and Drakenstein wine from Cape Province, at £28 a bottle, flowed at lunches and dinners.

Outside, street hawkers were selling Cape apples and some of the 79 Mercedes-Benz cars bought by Dr Kaunda's near-bankrupt government for £1.3m from a company, called Benz Union, in Pretoria, were on show.

Mozambique was entrusted by SADCC with the cost of replacing South Africa as the main gateway for the area's trade.

Sabotage of railroads by anti-government guerrillas of the Mozambique Resistance Movement, inefficient handling of freight and antiquated facilities, have meant that millions of pounds worth of cargo has been stranded at the Indian Ocean port of Nacala and Beira.

Malawi has cargo worth £80-million — one-sixth of its total annual imports and exports — stranded at the two ports.

State-owned South African Airways flies into all but two of the conference countries — Angola and Tanzania — and South African charter aircraft, often flying at night, are said to land at a host of black African capitals.

On board are businessmen, engineers and holds packed with anything from penicillin to power drills.

More than 140 000 young black men leave their homes in SADCC states each year to work on South Africa's gold mines. Wages are remitted as millions of pounds in foreign currency to their home countries.

ARGUS 17/4/82

# Frontline summit talks on the ANC

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — A summit conference of the frontline states will be held this month to discuss whether the ANC can continue its operations in Southern Africa. President Kaunda of Zambia has told an American journalist.

The conference has been prompted by the blocking of the ANC's insurgent entry routes into South Africa by the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, according to Glenn Frankel of the Washington Post.

Reporting from Lusaka, Frankel said ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo had been touring the frontline states seeking a summit conference to discuss whether and how the ANC could continue to operate in Southern Africa.

## CRISIS

In an interview last week, said Frankel, President Kaunda told him he expected such a conference, in which Swapo would also participate, before the end of the month.

Frankel said the ANC was facing its most serious crisis in a decade as it pondered how to continue an armed struggle against white rule in South Africa following its eviction from Mozambique.

## "DISAPPOINTMENT"

"Confronted with what they conceded was a potentially crippling setback," reported Frankel, "the congress leadership says it intends to continue using Mozambique territory as an infiltration route in defiance of the new pact."

In a communiqué to the Mozambican Government the ANC executive council expressed "deep disappointment" at the Nkomati Accord, which it described as "a wounding blow to the struggle of our people".

Frankel said some analysts had suggested the Nkomati pact may lead to a changing of the guard within the ANC, with the old-line leaders such as Tambo, who have been in exile for 20 years, giving way to younger and possibly more pragmatic leaders.

# 'SA holding talks with Comoros'

*Political Staff*  
*Stan 21/4/84*  
CAPE TOWN — Behind-the-scenes talks between the governments of South Africa and the Comoros Islands have been taking place for some time, it has been confirmed.

A senior Government source said here today that there were good rela-

tions with the Indian Ocean islands, just as there were with several other African states.

"There have been good contacts at various levels for some time," according to the source.

Comoros Government Ministers were in South Africa on an unpublicised visit two weeks ago.

RSM 25/8/84

# Farming talks in Mbabane

MBABANE. — Delegates from nearly 20 African countries began the first working session of a week-long conference of the Association of Faculties of Agriculture in Africa yesterday.

The conference was officially opened yesterday by Swaziland's Minister without Portfolio Mr Mhambi Mnisi.

Mr Mnisi said Africa was caught in a paradox where an abundance of natural resources like land, sunshine and water co-existed with an extremely low agricultural productivity.

The Swazis have a saying that "a man is his stomach". No man, nor nation, could be strong and productive on an empty stomach. Economic problems could be related to this fact.

Mr Mnisi warned that Africa as a continent could not assume her position among the strong nations of the world, nor could it rehabilitate its self-respect unless its nations were economically strong. — Sapa.

C  
fi  
w  
s  
q  
ti  
fc  
tl  
E  
  
t  
c  
v  
s  
c  
t  
t  
t  
t  
t

**24 HOURS LOOKS AT BUSINESS SAFARIS**

In the second of a two-part series, the 24 Hours team reviews the potential impact of the Nkomati Accord on South Africa and neighbouring Africa, and neighbouring South Africa, and what prospects there may be of economic activities spanning political divisions.

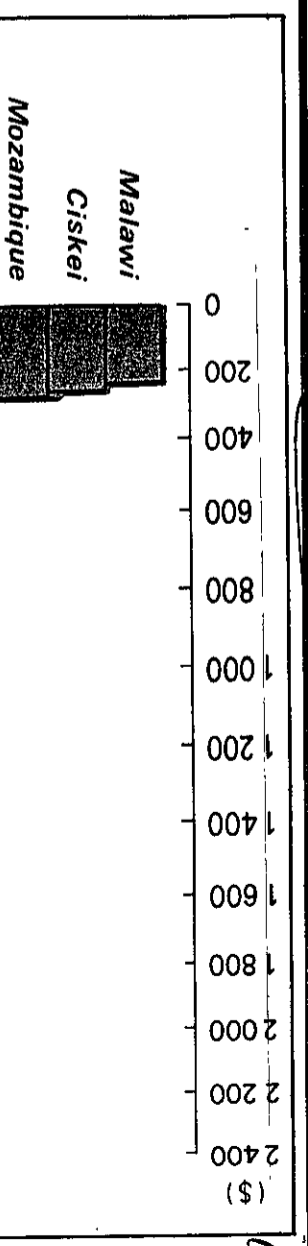
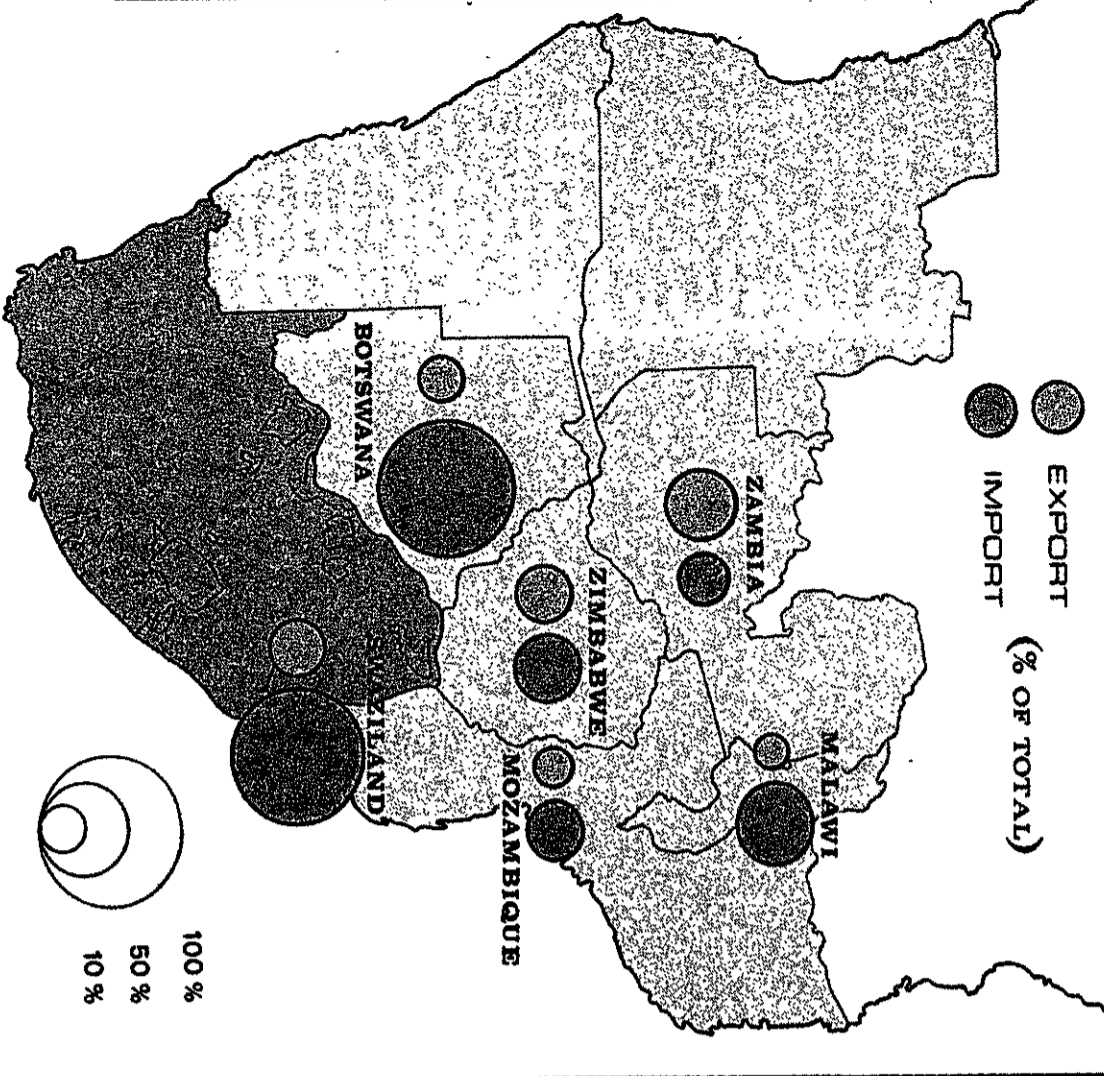
# New economic potential if peace moves succeed

By Raymond Parsons, Chief Executive, Association of Chambers of Commerce  
 Business has an enormous stake in the success or otherwise of recent political developments in Southern Africa.  
 Political leaders cannot ignore the affairs of business if they wish to create a better economic future for the region. Conversely, the private sector cannot ignore the changing political environment.

Developments could herald a new era of normalised economic relations with Mozambique as a start. Whether the potential will be tapped will depend on building up the confidence of South African businessmen, which may in turn require financial guarantees as well as other assurances about Mozambique's ability to pay.  
 Business confidence would be assisted if the South African authorities would consider steps such as:

- Sending a private sector mission to Maputo to evaluate the economic and business prospects on the spot and to formulate recommendations on how to encourage investment and trade.
- Appointing a senior consular representative in Maputo to assist businessmen and tourists visiting Mozambique.
- The private sector, for its part, could perhaps consider forming a bilateral South African-Mozambique Chamber of Economic Relations to facilitate business contacts and trade development.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA: Flow of exports and imports with South Africa



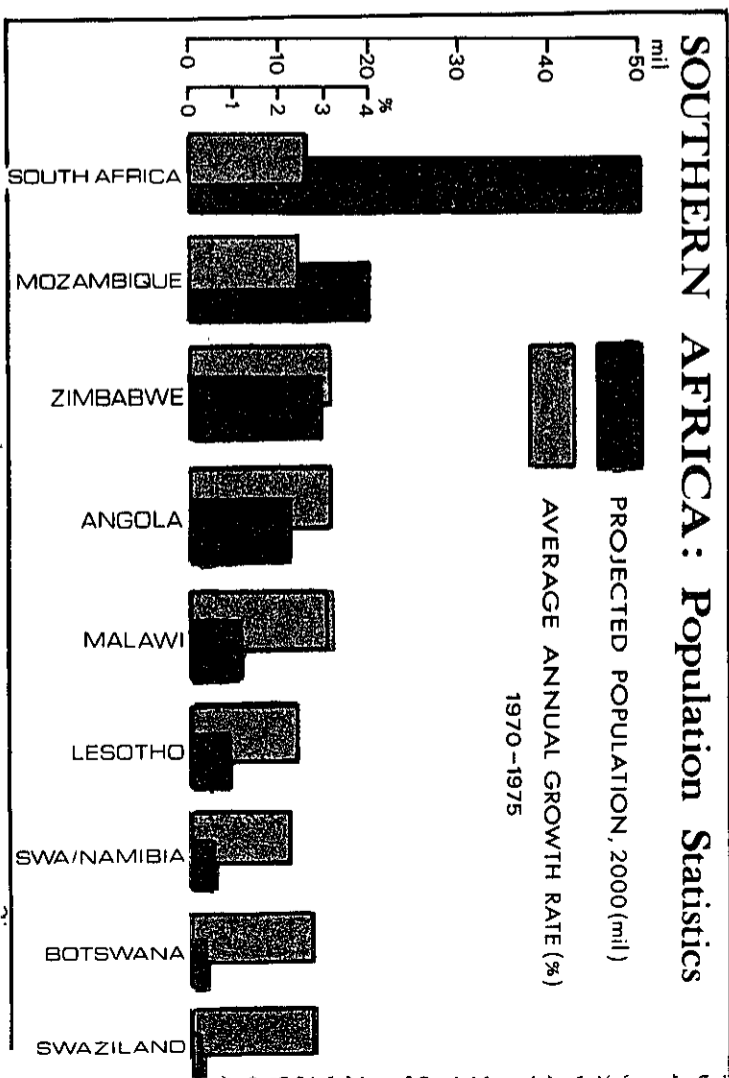
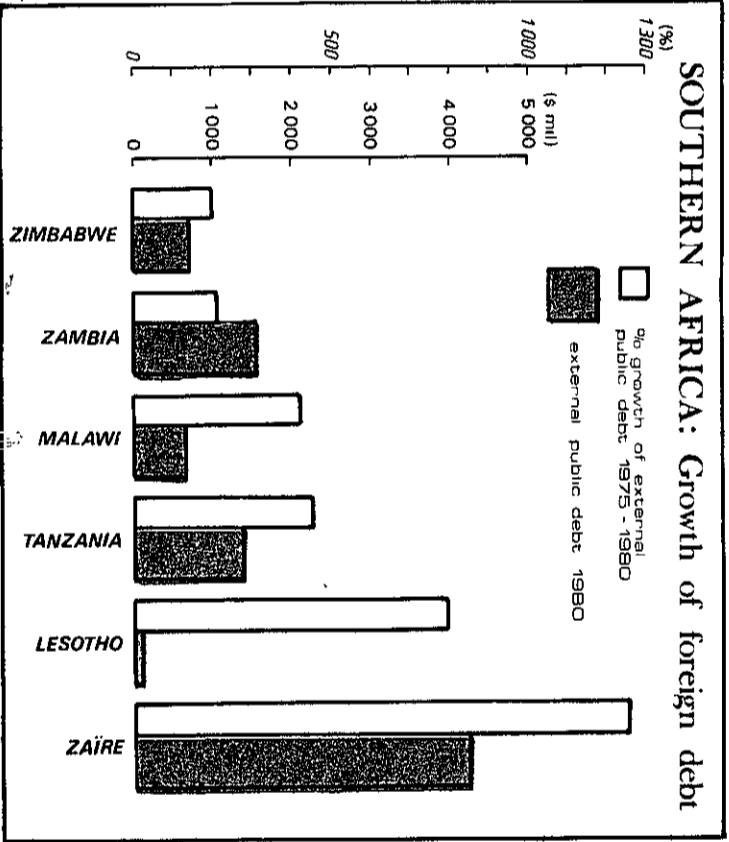
This bar chart shows the dramatic contrasts in the average personal incomes inside the neighbourhood states of Southern Africa.  
 Researchers at the Africa Institute, based in Pretoria, estimate that on a 1980 count South Africa was able to claim an overall Gross National Product of 66 960 million dollars, which amounted to no less than 14 times the national income of Zimbabwe.

A breakdown of per capita income, allowing for differences in population, shows the average for the region at 770 dollars a year. But the large gap between the haves and have-nots is underscored by a glance at the top and bottom of the table: South Africa is head and shoulders above the rest with an average income of 2 290 dollars while at the other end of the scale Malawi comes in at only 230 dollars.

Let us assume that peace and stability in Southern Africa become infectious and spread. If the latest peace moves gradually ripple through the region, what are some of the economic possibilities that open up?  
 A few:

- Improved economic prospects as a result of closer co-operation could create new business opportunities for private enterprise.
- Economic realities may be assigned a higher role than political rhetoric.
- The chances of economic sanctions being applied against South Africa would be considerably reduced.
- The credit rating of Southern Africa in world financial markets could be enhanced, thus improving both the flow of funds to the region as well as the terms on which such facilities would be made available.
- The Development Bank of South Africa could well come to play a pivotal role in the process, possibly in tandem with the World Bank.
- Once mutual trust is fully established, there could be the long-term prospect of reduced military demands on the South African economy.
- Success in creating Southern African stability could work inwards — by facilitating the processes of domestic reform in South Africa itself which have been started. At every level, political and economic objectives intersect.

There are many impediments. But if the risks are high, so are the stakes.



# Black Africa fails to loosen the shackles

The Star's Foreign News Service

NAIROBI — Division between the countries of Eastern and Southern Africa on how best to develop inter-state trade has led, in the past five years, to a series of alliances not always compatible.

When the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was formed in 1979 by nine black states — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — its over-

## Historical links with Zimbabwe keeping SA ahead

**The Star Bureau**  
HARARE — Despite increasing political rhetoric condemning apartheid and calling for a re-education in trade ties with Pretoria, South Africa remains Zimbabwe's major trading partner.

Four years after independence, with the almost complete failure of the SADCC organisation to break trade links with South Africa, trade across the Limpopo totals more than the combined trade with Zimbabwe's second and third biggest trading partners, Britain and the United States.

In 1981 for example South African imports were valued at about R300 million while the combined imports from the US and Britain totalled slightly more than R185 million.

Exports to South Africa from Zimbabwe in the same year amounted to R210 million and goods sent to the US and Britain totalled just R143 million.

riding objective was political — to lessen economic dependence on South Africa. Since then, the SADCC has become known more for its demands for external help than its development of internal trade. Botswana, where the SADCC is headquartered, continues to obtain 90 percent of its imports from South Africa and most of the nine countries continue to rely on South African export routes.

A Tanzanian-prepared strategy to cut South Africa's trade links with the rest of the continent shows no sign of getting off the ground and the developed world has still to respond to appeals by SADCC member nations for funds to launch industries to compete with those of South Africa.

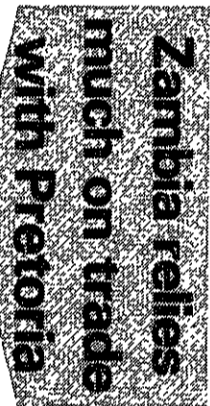
In nearly five years the conference countries have made little progress on one major problem — that of working out how to trade with each other when none has the hard currency necessary to pay for purchases.

While this problem remains unsolved, Tanzania, has been making a series of bilateral barter deals with its neighbours, a process limited by the fact that most of the partners are trying to export the same products and produce.

In December 1981, 18 nations committed themselves to participating in a preferential trade area (PTA) for Eastern and Southern Africa.

The 18 represented a grouping of 120 million people, compared with the 65 million of the SADCC states.

But, on the eve of the signing ceremony, Tanzania withdrew, stating that it needed more time to study the implications of its "existing intra-African agreements".



The Star's Foreign News Service

LUSAKA — The speed at which South Africa has become Zambia's leading trading partner seems to be matched only by the increasing intensity of the warnings over South Africa's internal policies being given by President Kenneth Kaunda's Government.

Analysts in Lusaka say it was two years ago that South Africa's trade with Zambia overtook that of its traditional supplier, the United Kingdom.

This followed the upturn in exports triggered by the end of the war in Zimbabwe, which was to set a pattern for the 1980s.

The last statistics available are for 1980, when South Africa's exports were worth R103 million or 16 percent of the total market — up from 11 percent the previous year.

This was slightly behind the UK's share, which has continued a downward trend while South Africa's is understood to have shot ahead.

But it is one-way traffic. Zambia's exports to South Africa are believed to be equivalent to roughly five percent of the value of all the transport equipment, machinery, mining tools, chemicals and food it buys from Pretoria.

**IDEOLOGICAL CHASM**  
If there is one thing which hurts Zambia more than that massive imbalance, it is the economic necessity of having to bridge an ideological chasm for the sake of expediency in its trading relationships.

Despite the recent rapprochement between South Africa and some of her neighbours, in which Zambia played a leading part, there has been no let-up in the denunciations of apartheid and its awesome consequences, as seen by President Kaunda.

In a recent interview, President Kaunda said he was certain that a future Swapo government in Namibia would be forced "to deal" with South Africa, as did Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

'To some extent Africa finds it has little choice but to trade with a country whose apartheid is anathema to blacks, but whose economic muscle cannot be ignored.'

By Michael Chester

A radical new breed of explorers is setting out into black Africa in the wake of recent peace initiatives in the troubled sub-continent — a pin-striped brigade of South African executives armed with brief cases packed with business proposals.

The trophies they intend to bring back are business contracts worth hundreds of millions of rands.

The map on the facing page sets out the primary territories being explored. It illustrates the strong import/export flows that already exist between South Africa and several key neighbours and which the new safari expeditions aim to expand.

The dimensions of the trade routes are usually muffled by governments as a safeguard against political embarrassment but they still account for more than R1 billion annually of total South African foreign trade.

Safro calculates that SA exports reach at least 40 black states on the continent, which would blush scarlet in the political arena if the details were set out in public. Pretoria protects them from political embarrassment by refusing to disclose the precise destination of exports.

### ECONOMIC WEB

Newsweek magazine reviewed the economic web in a recent issue and said: "Much of this business is done surreptitiously. Most of black Africa has called for United Nations sanctions against South Africa. But widespread use of double invoicing and the common practice of issuing fake certificates of origin give an on-the-surface appearance of anti-apartheid priority."

'The Nkomati Accord does not mean an automatic 'Open Sesame' to our exporters. The private sector still needs the answers to dozens of questions.'

### QUOTES

'A big advantage to South Africa is evidence of growing disillusionment with the strings attached to aid programmes from both East and West.'

'Planes from Cape Town and Johannesburg, often flying at night, routinely land at dozens of African capitals bringing with them a wide range of goods.'

# The new hunters out to get contracts

"Planes from Cape Town and Johannesburg, often flying at night, routinely land at dozens of African capitals, bringing in cargoes ranging from vegetables to air conditioners to pharmaceuticals."

"Cans of South African peas and corned beef line the shelves of supermarkets in Zaire's capital of Kinshasa, Cape apples are sold in Nairobi and South Africa can machinery helps keep Ghana's gold mines going."

The magazine quoted a Zambian trade official as saying: "It's just simple economics. We join in the demands for sanctions but the fact is that South Africa has everything we need."

The Christian Science Monitor said: "Figures for the whole continent show that South Africa's trade with black Africa more than doubled between 1978 and 1980."

Black Africa is still suspicious that South Africa is seeking economic domination. We need to assure neighbours that trade flows will benefit everyone if the correct directions are agreed."

The South African Foreign Trade Organisation's Africa area manager, Mrs Sally Gallagher, agreed that firms should beware of euphoria in assessing new trade potentials.

"The first objective should be the formulation of agreed economic aims where the benefits of co-operation are clearly spelled out."

"A big advantage to South Africa is evidence of growing disillusionment in many black African states with the strings attached to a battery of aid programmes from the east and west in recent years. Africa is littered with bold projects that turned out to be white elephants because the climate and realities of the continent had been overlooked."

"We need to convince them of the logic of closer trade links with South Africa. We have a good start through our ability to display how a strong economy has been developed in a real Africa context," Mrs Gallagher said.

"Now we have to prove our value as a neighbour able to share know-how and technology. Products designed specifically for Africa, sophistication in transport systems, and the geographic benefits of a trade partner near at hand to offer business services that are better than we are earning about the potential of mutual benefits in economic development of the entire region, new trade initiatives may stumble at the starting post."



# Decline in migrant labour income from SA

## Labour Reporter

Severe problems lie ahead for African countries dependent on income from migrant labour exported to South Africa.

Over the past decade the number of foreign black migrant workers in South Africa has dropped by half, and all the indications point to an even sharper reduction in coming years.

This is the prognosis of Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute, writing on the future of labour migration to South Africa in the journal "Africa Insight".

Apart from internal pressures to reduce the percentage of foreign migrant labour, the Southern African Labour Commission in 1983 voted to withdraw

migrant labour on a "phased basis". The S.A.L.C. comprises Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Lesotho is likely to suffer most from future cutbacks.

The International Labour Organisation has estimated that more than 200 000 Basotho are employed as migrant workers in South Africa — more than 10 times the number gainfully employed in the small landlocked and mountainous country.

By far the majority of Basotho are employed in mining and quarrying, traditionally the largest importers of foreign black labour.

However, since 1974 the demand for foreign labour has fallen rapidly.

In 1982, more than 100 000 of these workers were Basotho, with 51 000 from Mozambique and 18 000 from Botswana.

Dr Leistner gives four main reasons for the mining industry's falling demand:

- The threat of a cut-off in labour supplies by the countries concerned for political reasons. This occurred in Mozambique with the Machel take-over and establishment of Marxist rule. Malawi, once the largest pool of migrant mine labour, forbade further recruitment after a aircraft crash in April 1974.
- The rising gold price over recent

years which enabled the mines to raise wages and thus attract more South African workers to the mines.

● Deepening recession and growing unemployment which induces South African workers to seek work on the mines.

● The mining industry's desire to have a more stable and productive workforce which would favour local as opposed to foreign labour.

An estimate of the amount accruing to neighbouring countries from migrants earnings in South Africa was R550 million in 1982.

With the demand for foreign labour diminishing in South Africa, the future looks bleak for the thousands of workers who have little hope of employment at home.

**NKOMATI**

# The money side of the deal

Be careful. It is easy to ignore or underestimate the economic advantages that could flow from Nkomati. They are, in fact, considerable. And much that is politically salutary could follow. But to see in them the seeds of a transplanted EEC could be going too far. Something different is needed.

If Mozambique begins soon to foster the economic rejuvenation that a free market economy and closer trade links with SA is capable of bringing, the dissipation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference's fragile economic initiative is inevitable (see page 32).

For instance, Mozambique was to have played a key role in the co-ordination of transport in the SADCC region. It is a role that SA is much better placed to fulfil more efficiently. Closer trade ties between SA and Mozambique must lead to recognition of that fact.

There are clear advantages to all consumers in southern Africa if trade with SA is encouraged. Not only will the supply of basic consumables increase, but prices will be lower. Some southern African states have water and energy resources that could be developed and traded to mutual advantage with SA.

But, in essence, the economic interdependence of southern Africa and its potential for growth is known and recognised. Conflicting ideologies leading to widespread insurrection and open warfare in some regions have, up to now, made its exploitation impossible.

Nkomati stands a good chance of changing all that, aided by desperation brought about by drought and the preoccupation of the West with its own problems.

As the once copious flows of foreign aid have reduced, the political posturing of the past has been seen to provide hollow benefits. However, at least to some degree, the aid financing will have to be found elsewhere. The alternative would be stagnation and unprecedented deprivation.

Difficult though it may be to imagine now, Nkomati may lead ultimately to the provision of at least some of the money that southern Africa needs so desperately.

SA has a developed capital market and an extensive banking system capable of harnessing savings to productive purposes. Access to these financial markets through an enlarged rand currency area could provide some of the investment so badly needed in neighbouring states.

There is, in addition, a further dimension to the potential offered by a rand currency area along the lines of the old sterling area. If the currencies of neighbouring states were rand-backed, this would give these countries the access to capital markets that their individual poverty denies them.

As it is, Botswana has, to all intents and purposes, allowed the pula to become rand-backed. It is aware of the advantages of doing so. And, indeed, it would be surprising if international bankers, hungry for secure lenders, are not

already pushing other neighbouring states in that direction.

A nine-nation rand monetary area, consisting of Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, Mozambique, SA, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho, could carry considerable borrowing clout. It would be backed by SA's own impeccable borrowing reputation and economic muscle.

Some co-ordination of monetary and fiscal policies among participating members would be inevitable. That would mean currency alignments which, in turn, would probably win the International Monetary Fund's approval and enable it to provide increased resources to the area. At least it would also bolster the confidence of foreign investors.

Essential to the creation of such a currency bloc, however, would be greater freedom for the movement of resources across national boundaries. That would have to include the movement of human resources, which, in turn, would be as inimical to forced labour in Mozambique as it would be to the Group Areas Act here.

It would mean that the economic artificialities of some regional development schemes would have to come under close scrutiny. Resources would have to be allowed to flow to areas where they would be most efficiently put to use. Repugnant social policies in many of the potential member states would require modification.

Having said this, however, it would probably be going too far to see Nkomati as the first milestone on the road to a common market along the lines of the European one.

The EEC had its roots in the desire of Europeans after the Second World War to prevent the former Axis powers ever gaining control again of enormous manufacturing resources.

To do so, they were prepared to sacrifice some national sovereignty, first in the form of economic policy, but leading ultimately to greater political unity.

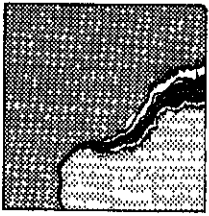
What exists in Europe today are the sad remnants of that grand scheme. And they are bogged down in a procedural logjam which requires a unanimity to free it that simply does not exist.

The grand visionaries of Europe in the Fifties harked back to the multi-nationalism of the Holy Roman Empire. Their vision of the EEC has proved to be wholly impracticable politically, and even its economic advantages are now being questioned. Mrs Thatcher is foremost among those doing so.

We in southern Africa need to have our feet firmly on the ground while also gazing at the stars. Much economic advantage could come from Nkomati. But national sovereignty so recently won in Africa will not easily be surrendered.

We must devise a way to accommodate these susceptibilities in an expanded trade and currency area.

# The new economic dimension



If the Nkomati agreement were no more than a non-aggression pact between two countries, the nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference

(SADCC) might have been able to ignore it. But because, if all goes well, Nkomati promises to develop a vitally important economic dimension, making it directly competitive with the SADCC, it has become the source of much soul-searching throughout the subcontinent.

Nowhere is this truer than in Zimbabwe, whose political leadership is currently experiencing a sense of exclusion and even of isolation. Harare and Maputo have been the closest of allies ever since Zimbabwe's independence four years ago. Robert Mugabe, the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, owes President Samora Machel's government an enormous debt for moral and material assistance during the independence war.

Furthermore, in 1980, Zimbabwe set out to emulate, at least partially, Mozambique's socialist style of government. Ac-

The attempts by nine African states to set up an economic bloc without SA have been thrown into the balance by the Nkomati Accord. The possibility now exists for the new partnership to generate the kind of growth that socialism cannot, and so create the basis for a realignment of the regional economies.

cordingly, the sight of Maputo being drawn into Pretoria's sphere of influence has come as a double blow, especially to the hardline political strategists in Harare committed to the early establishment of a one-party socialist state.

First, there is the spectre of Mozambique pursuing a more independent — as distinct from interdependent — economic strategy, focusing on closer economic ties with SA at the expense of Zimbabwe and Zambia, in particular.

Secondly, and in some respects more ominously for Mugabe, is the prospect of Mozambique turning its back on socialist rhetoric and economics and seeking economic salvation in closer links, not just

with SA, but with the free-market economies of the West.

Indeed, Mozambique is apparently close to signing a bilateral investment treaty with the US by joining the Opic club. Membership of Opic (the Overseas Private Investment Corporation) is, for most Third World countries, a necessary prerequisite for US private foreign investment. Opic offers insurance against the political risk involved in such investment, and few US companies are willing to throw in their lot with the Third World in the absence of such a bilateral treaty.

Most sub-Saharan African countries have signed on the dotted line with Opic, but Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe are conspicuous absentees, apparently for political reasons, since their governments have hitherto argued that to sign a bilateral investment treaty is to accept an infringement of national sovereignty.

## Development debate

But if Maputo does sign within the next two months as forecast, this will signal an important change of economic heart and one that could easily be followed by decisions to join the World Bank and IMF.

Those who see the debate over economic development in southern Africa not in racial or political terms, but rather as a conflict between the socialist and capitalist growth strategies, must hold thumbs in the hope that there will be a "demonstration effect" whereby private-sector capital, expertise and technology from Western economies and SA will not only flow into Mozambique, but be seen to have a markedly greater impact on output and living standards than nine years of socialist independence.

SADCC was established at the time of Zimbabwean independence four years ago with three main objectives in mind. Two of these objectives were essentially sane economic ones, while the third was based on medium-term political forecasts which, as Nkomati suggests, could turn out to be a serious miscalculation.

SADCC was seen as offering a vehicle whereby some of the small, politically independent, but economically non-viable, states could attract aid and investment inflows on the basis of rationalised and co-ordinated regional economic planning. This was, and still is, a good idea.

Secondly, it was argued, with considerable justification, that the so-called Frontline states making up SADCC — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — had all suffered to varying degrees from post-colonisation liberation wars and associated political and economic uncertainties. All could justifiably be re-



Mozambique's Machel ... turning his back on rhetoric?

garded as "special cases" meriting both additional and specific aid programmes designed to compensate for economic growth lost to war or economic sanctions.

Furthermore, some SADCC states like Tanzania and Mozambique qualified for special treatment as ultra-poor countries, while Zambia qualified as a state subject to undue foreign exchange problems associated with the copper mono-economy. It was also argued that the quality of economic management in several SADCC states had left a great deal to be desired. This, too, argued for a special effort on the part of aid donors.

The third justification was essentially political. The subcontinent included some 60m people in the nine countries heavily economically dependent on SA. This was seen as justification for a special programme aimed at "delinking" the SADCC nine from the regional superpower.

It was — and still is — a strategy based on the mistaken perception of a static economic and political environment in southern Africa.

#### Underlying weakness

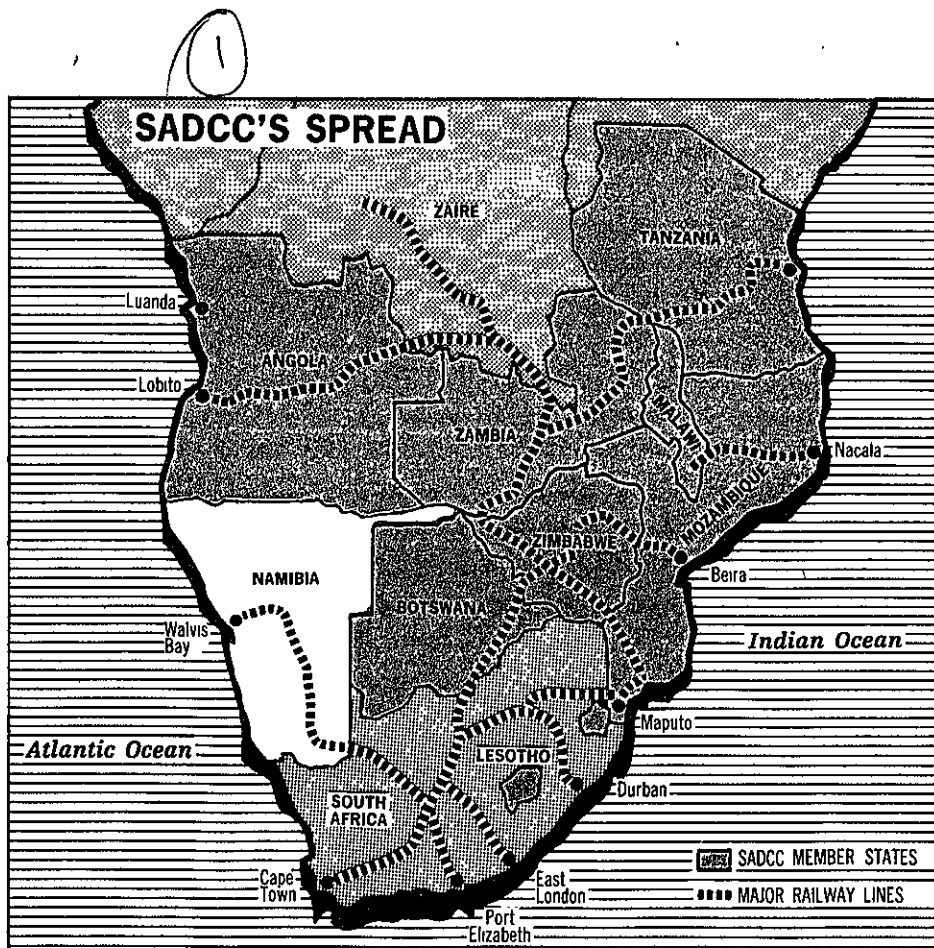
But it has taken less than four years to demonstrate — at Nkomati and in the associated economic agreements, such as last week's Lisbon agreement on electricity supply — the weakness underlying this argument. Mozambique, far from delinking from SA, is strengthening and broadening economic ties. In any event, the delinkage strategy could never succeed in the case of the smaller states like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, whose economic fortunes are so closely integrated with the giant SA economy.

Indeed, as recently as January, the Mozambique planning commission published a remarkably frank assessment of that country's economic ties with Pretoria, underscoring the fact that delinkage, if attainable at all, could only be an extremely lengthy, not to say economically inefficient, process.

It was also something of a mystery that the protagonists of southern African delinkage had failed to learn the lessons of the white elephant Tazara railway linking the Zambian copperbelt with the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salaam in an economically fruitless effort to reduce dependence on the southern African transport system. Just how fruitless an enterprise that was underlined by the subcontinent's near-total reliance this year on maize imported via SA.

In the longer run, SADCC was seen as fulfilling an increasingly important regional free-trade role. But this, too, makes little economic sense. All the countries in the region have a vested interest in developing their own manufacturing industries to generate jobs. There was bound to be duplication and rivalry between the states for pet projects.

Lurking in the background were the



World Bank planners, citing their own research studies as evidence that free-trade areas linking developing countries and based on high-cost domestic manufacturing industries are often counter-productive.

Zimbabwe, which has most to gain at Pretoria's expense from a free-trade area that discriminated against third-country imports, has, ironically, been forced to take action to limit certain imports from Botswana.

Three years of drought and the world re-

cession have between them combined to blow SADCC strategy off course. Zimbabwe was always pinpointed as the grain basket for the region, yet this year it will have to import half its food requirements.

At the Lusaka SADCC summit in February, SADCC ministers were bluntly told by the aid donors that a better managerial performance was expected from them. Britain pointed out that only a fraction of the £12m it had pledged had been utilised, while the EEC, which has set aside some \$400m for SADCC projects, lectured the ministers on the need to stick to a long-term strategy, warning that donor group meetings could not be held each year to help fund current problems, such as food, aid necessitated by the droughts.

#### Counterweight

The Nkomati Accord could have a positive influence, though some African leaders are clearly concerned that the Pretoria-Maputo agreement could spearhead a new SA drive for a Pretoria-manipulated "constellation of states" that would be both a political *cordon sanitaire* and an economic counterweight to SADCC.

For SADCC, the positive side includes the possibility that the withdrawal of SA support for the Mozambique National Resistance movement and an infusion of SA expertise into the transport and power-generation systems and the economy generally, could enable Mozambique to undertake, more effectively than in the past, its entrepot role for Malawi, Zambia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

### THE COST OF WAR

Regional instability and "economic warfare" waged by SA has cost Mozambique about \$4.2 billion since 1974, according to President Samora Machel.

Opening the 12th session of the People's Assembly in Maputo this week, he produced the following catalogue of economic depredation:

- The decline in SA cargo throughput in the port of Maputo from 5,6 Mt in 1974 to 1,1 Mt last year;
- The reduction of the number of Mozambicans working in SA from 140 000 in 1974 to about 40 000 in 1983; and
- The discontinuation of the preferential arrangement whereby a portion of Mozambique mineworkers' wages were paid in gold. Machel says this cost his country more than R3 billion between 1978 and 1982.

① Em 27/4/84

Several of the SADCC partners stand to benefit materially from cheaper access to the Mozambique ports and, in Zimbabwe's case, uninterrupted oil flows through the Beira-Feruka pipeline. But a stronger and economically healthier Mozambique might also prove to be a tougher bargaining partner in rail rate and pipeline negotiations.

Ultimately, the SADCC partners and their Western aid donors must decide whether they want the subcontinent to evolve along economically rational lines rather than on the assumption that, for the fore-

seeable future, southern Africa will be split into two opposing armed camps. In other words, Nkomati and any similar subsequent agreements could be complementary to, rather than competitive with, SADCC.

Equally, SA and those Western countries that wish to see southern Africa develop along free-market, capitalist lines, fuelled not by syndicated bank loans that are the primrose path to debt rescheduling, but by private foreign investment bringing with it technology and know-how as well as finance, are also faced with a choice. They can either capitalise on the opportunity af-

forded by Nkomati to show that the free-market economy, bolstered by foreign capital, can do more for the people, not only in Mozambique but elsewhere in the region, than state socialism; or they can sit back and enjoy the short-term benefits of the non-aggression pact alone.

This latter strategy would be overwhelmingly shortsighted, since there are now at least the glimmerings of an opportunity to win the economic war against poverty and underdevelopment by adopting a policy of constructive economic participation in neighbouring countries.

## SUGAR INDUSTRY

# Facing up to the crunch

② Sugar ②/86

All that is sugar is not sweet, as many a farmer from Natal will tell you. In fact, despite rains and a normal crop this year, the sugar industry is in for some rather bitter pills in the months ahead. Not least among them is a growing — although perhaps belated — recognition of the need to reassess its own cost efficiency.

Like all enterprises that have their destinies rooted in the soil, some of the problems sugar men face are beyond their immediate control. Typical are the drought, softening export markets and the rising cost of farm inputs.

But the sugar industry's problems could be more intractable than those, for in-

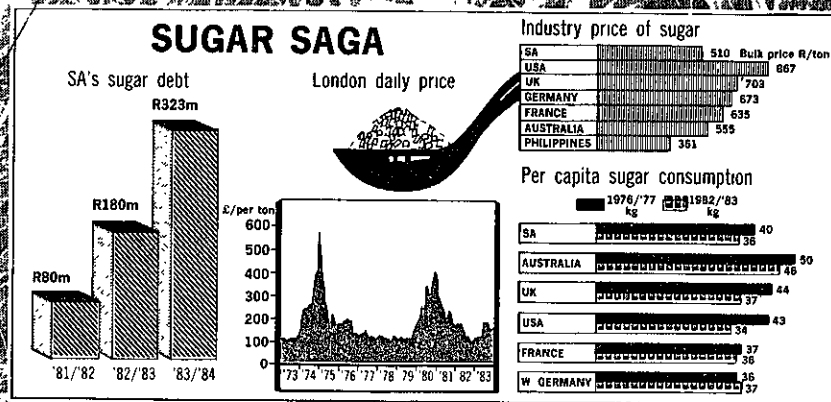
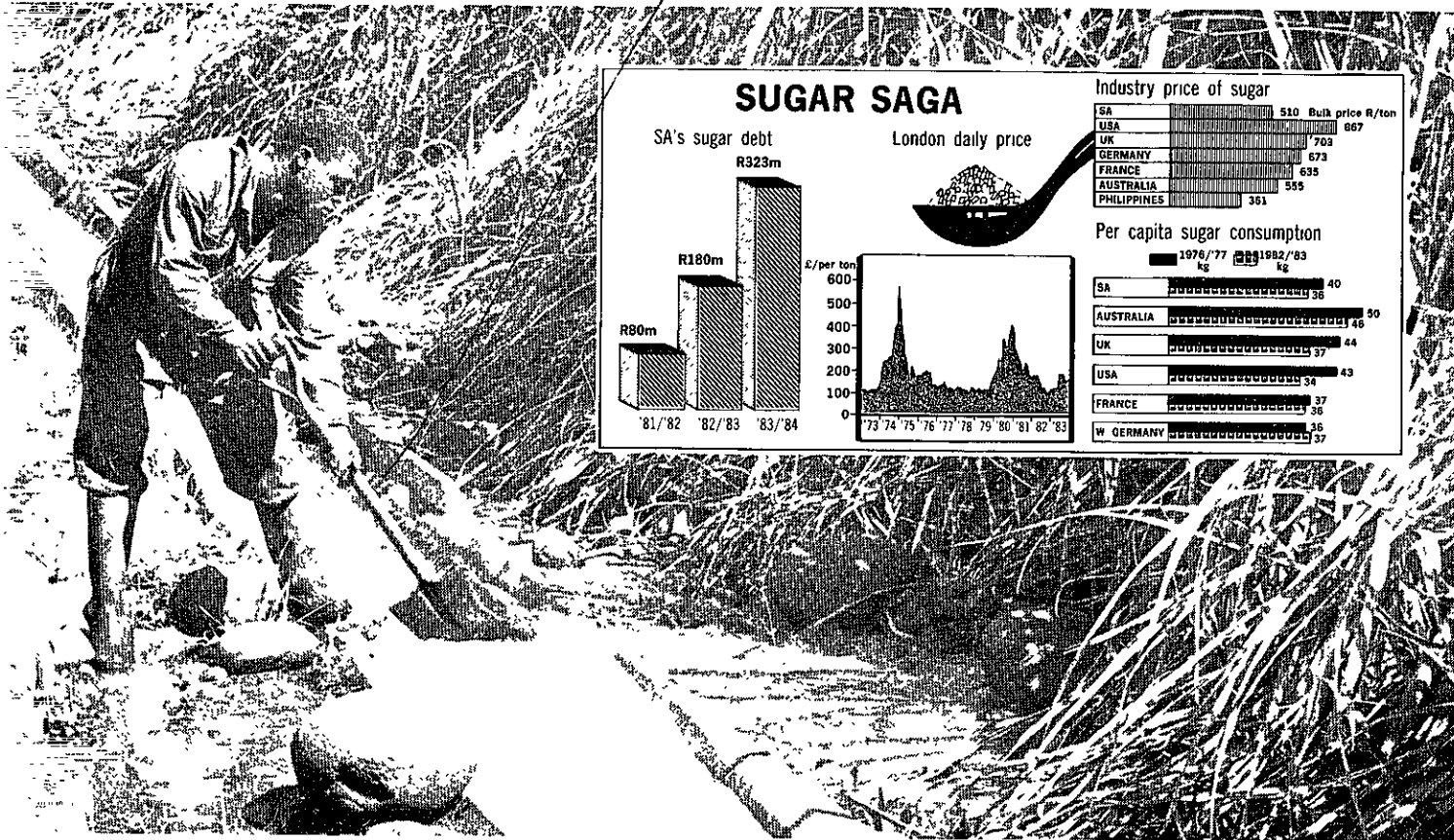
**The tough economic truth is at last getting through to the sugar industry. Good rains, a normal crop and easily available loans are not sufficient to pull it out of trouble. It will have to look also to its own backyard.**

stance, of the maize industry. Good rain over the Magaliesberg at the height of the growing season could rapidly restore vigour to SA's maize crop. Instead of importing maize and burdening the Treasury, SA would then be in a position to earn valuable

foreign exchange from maize exports, as it did before drought gripped the subcontinent.

The same, unfortunately, cannot be said for sugar. Good rains over the cane belt this season, while boosting crop expectations, have done little to improve prospects for the debt-ridden industry.

After two successive droughts and a sustained period of low world sugar prices, the industry has an accumulated debt of R323m. And with world prices hovering around £115/t and little immediate prospect of a price rally, the future looks decidedly bleak — even though, for the first time in a while, the industry is headed for a crop



FM 27/4/84

Several of the SADCC partners stand to benefit materially from cheaper access to the Mozambique ports and, in Zimbabwe's case, uninterrupted oil flows through the Beira-Feruka pipeline. But a stronger and economically healthier Mozambique might also prove to be a tougher bargaining partner in rail rate and pipeline negotiations.

Ultimately, the SADCC partners and their Western aid donors must decide whether they want the subcontinent to evolve along economically rational lines rather than on the assumption that, for the fore-

seeable future, southern Africa will be split into two opposing armed camps. In other words, Nkomati and any similar subsequent agreements could be complementary to, rather than competitive with, SADCC.

Equally, SA and those Western countries that wish to see southern Africa develop along free-market, capitalist lines, fuelled not by syndicated bank loans that are the primrose path to debt rescheduling, but by private foreign investment bringing with it technology and know-how as well as finance, are also faced with a choice. They can either capitalise on the opportunity af-

forded by Nkomati to show that the free-market economy, bolstered by foreign capital, can do more for the people, not only in Mozambique but elsewhere in the region, than state socialism; or they can sit back and enjoy the short-term benefits of the non-aggression pact alone.

This latter strategy would be overwhelmingly shortsighted, since there are now at least the glimmerings of an opportunity to win the economic war against poverty and underdevelopment by adopting a policy of constructive economic participation in neighbouring countries.

KOM 28/4/80  
PW has

# ① secret meetings in Africa

**Mail Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN. — There were strong indications in Cape Town yesterday that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the heads of certain independent black African states have been involved in a series of secret summit talks.

This emerged from inquiries yesterday after Mr Botha referred during the debate in Parliament on his Budget vote to talks he had had with African leaders in which they had indicated growing disillusionment with accepting Soviet aid. It appears that certain African heads of state have made secret visits to South Africa for talks with Mr Botha and that he in turn has made secret visits to some African countries. Senior sources close to the Government confirmed that Mr Botha had had talks with black leaders but would not go into detail.

It is understood too that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has made several trips alone to African states conveying special messages from the Prime Minister and that a large number of Ministers from black states have been to South Africa for talks.

Mr Botha said he had come to the conclusion after talks with other African leaders that they were becoming increasingly disillusioned with Soviet support.

They had also expressed concern about subversion and spying by embassies and interference in their internal affairs.

"What Africa is interested in is not aid programmes, but expertise and co-operation in the proper usage of water and land and training to help themselves, and co-operation in joint projects where possible."

# PM in 'secret African talks'

## Political Staff

THERE were strong indications in Cape Town yesterday that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the heads of certain independent African states have been involved in a series of secret summit talks.

This emerged from inquiries yesterday after Mr Botha referred virtually in passing during the debate in Parliament on his budget vote to talks he had had with African leaders in which they indicated growing disillusionment with accepting Soviet aid.

It appears that certain African heads of state have made secret visits to South Africa for talks with Mr Botha and that he in turn has made secret visits to some African countries.

## Mr Pik Botha

Senior sources close to the government confirmed that Mr Botha had had talks with African leaders but would not go into more detail.

It is understood too that the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has also made several trips alone to African states conveying special messages from the Prime Minister and that a large number of ministers from African states

have been to South Africa for talks.

Hints of the secret shuttling comes only a few weeks before the Prime Minister is scheduled to undertake what is expected to be a fairly comprehensive tour of Europe for meetings with various Western leaders.

While West Germany and Portugal are understood to have confirmed the visit, Mr Botha declined to say anything about what he described as the "reported" tour.

## Disillusioned

Mr Botha said he had come to the conclusion after talks with other African leaders that they were becoming increasingly disillusioned with Soviet support.

They had also expressed concern about subversion and spying by embassies and interference in their internal affairs.

Mr Botha said that he had also concluded that these countries were becoming disillusioned with aid programmes from other countries.

"What Africa is interested in is not aid programmes but expertise and co-operation in the proper usage of water and land and training to help themselves and co-operation in joint projects where possible."

South Africa's policy towards other countries was based on five basic principles.

"Different states with different socio-economic and political systems can live together in this world in peace and co-operate where necessary in a spirit of good neighbourliness in the pursuit of common interests," said Mr Botha.

"Each country has the right to order its affairs as it sees fit and interstate relations, particularly between neighbours, should not be disturbed by differences in internal policies.

"Neighbouring countries should refrain from allowing their territories to be used as springboards by subversive elements and terrorists and other powers to interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries.

"The cause of peaceful co-existence can be served by non-aggression pacts as well as economic co-operation where possible.

"Every country has the right to defend itself against attacks.

"With these goals in mind we signed the Nkomati Accord, we took part in the Lusaka discussions and signed a conditional ceasefire with the MPLA government in Angola."



ANC for Frontline summit

Mail Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress yesterday confirmed that it had been asked to send representatives to the Frontline heads of state summit being held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The ANC traditionally attends the summits and has missed only a few.

President Kaunda confirmed in an interview with the Washington Post about two weeks ago that the summit would discuss how and whether the ANC would continue to operate in the area, following the signing of a non-aggression pact by South Africa and Mozambique.

An ANC spokesman said his organisation was still working to find alternative countries for members who have to leave Mozambique.

"We are not being given an alternative because these are sovereign states who have signed an agreement and they are implementing it," he said.

He said there had been no communication from Mozambique indicating an evacuation.

Carol Cooper.

The first part of the paper examines the scope of South Africa's Unemployment Insurance Fund in terms of people covered, the nature and duration of benefits, and compares this with unemployment funds in a number of other, mainly Western, countries. It argues that in comparison to many of the above, the South African Fund is extremely restrictive, offering cover to a limited number of people only.

In addition it differs from these other funds because rather than attempt to maintain the unemployed at a standard of living as close as possible to that enjoyed previously, it merely, at best, prevents undue hardship. The second part of the paper looks at the inefficiencies in the administration of the fund — in particular employers' abuses and departmental mismanagement. This is exacerbated by workers' ignorance of their rights.

The above problems mean that the already severe and gr...

ment in South Africa.

inadequate to deal with

KAM 30/4/84 ①

# Frontline States meet

ARUSHA — Leaders of Southern Africa's six Frontline States yesterday opened a summit meeting in Tanzania expected to focus on the recent rapprochement between South Africa and its black neighbours.

The closed-door meeting, hosted by the Tanzanian President, Dr Julius Nyerere, is the first gathering of Front-line States since South Africa signed the non-aggression pact with Mozambique.

The summit was scheduled to start yesterday but was delayed because Presidents Samora Machel of Mozambique and Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola were attending a meeting of five-

Portuguese-speaking African states in Maputo.

Other leaders taking part in the Arusha summit are the Botswanan President Dr Quett Masire, the Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe.

The Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, and the leader of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo, are also expected to attend the meeting.

Much of the meeting is expected to be devoted to Mozambique's non-aggression pact and an agreement signed in February between South Africa and Angola on the withdrawal of Pretoria's forces from Southern Angola.

The accords, which Mr Machel described on Friday as being an important contribution to world peace, have angered some African heads of state, who see South Africa's

diplomatic moves as an attempt to divide Black Africa.

Meanwhile it is reported from Maputo that Mozambique and Angola won support at a summit of former Portuguese colonies in Africa for their recent accords with white-ruled South Africa.

In a declaration at the end of their meeting in Maputo on Saturday, the presidents of the Cape Verde Islands, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe supported the Angolan and Mozambican agreements with Pretoria.

The chairman of the alliance of Portuguese-speaking nations, Mr Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea Bissau, said the accords were an attempt peacefully to resolve conflict in southern Africa.

"Every state has the right to use all means at its disposal to bring about its objectives," he said. — Sapa-AP-  
Reuter and UPI.

i  
c  
6  
c  
h  
1

# Kaunda behind bid for SA summit with frontline states

AGUS 30/4/84 (1) (365)

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

PLANS are going ahead for a meeting between South Africa and the African frontline states after leaders of six states, meeting in Tanzania, last night approved the Nkomati Accord and the Lusaka Agreement.

The prime mover behind the attempts to hold a summit is President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

He has offered to host such a meeting.

It is understood that there was high-level contact between Dr Kaunda and South Africa recently.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has declined to comment on the communique issued after the meeting between the six African leaders, at Arusha, but Foreign Affairs officials today harked back to what he said recently about peace moves in Southern Africa.

## PATTERN EMERGING IN REGION

He said there was an emerging pattern in the region indicating realisation on the part of all leaders that conflict and war could not facilitate and bring about development, peace and stability.

Peace and stability had to be given a chance, regardless of ideological differences.

These Foreign Affairs circles feel it is a good thing that the frontline states met to approve of the agreements between South Africa, Mozam-

bique and Angola before a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), due soon.

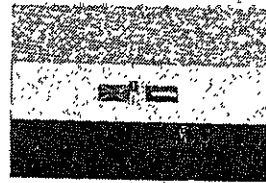
In the past, the organisation has tried to detract from its own problems by attacking South Africa, and the Arusha meeting's decision will make such attacks more difficult.

South Africa is clearly not prepared to gloat over this development, but is preparing instead to go ahead with quiet, behind-the-scenes diplomacy to see how further stability can be brought to Southern Africa.

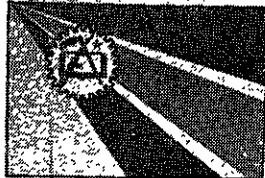
## LEADERS NAMED

Sapa-AP reports that the meeting brought together President Quett Masire of Botswana; President Samora Machel of Mozambique; President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola; President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania; the Zim-

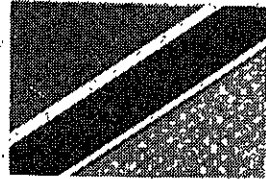
(Turn to Page 3, col 1)



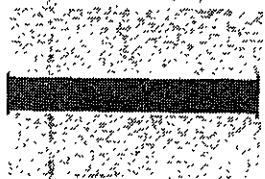
South Africa



Mozambique



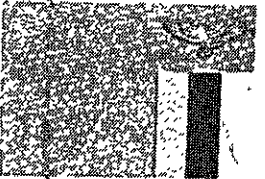
Tanzania



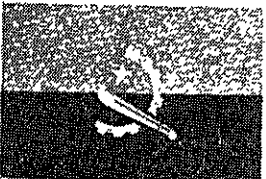
Botswana



Zimbabwe



Zambia



Angola

I  
S  
P

P.T.O.

# Maputo 'forced to sign accord'

Mall Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Mozambique had been "pushed into a tight corner and had no option" but to sign the Nkomati Accord, the Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday.

Speaking during an airborne Press conference in the early hours yesterday on his way to Lusaka from the Frontline summit in Arusha, Tanzania, he said the threat from South Africa had led to the signing of the accord between Mozambique and South Africa.

"Mozambique could not risk being overthrown by the rebel Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) as this could have turned the country into an extension of the bantustan home-

land which South Africa has created," he said.

"Mozambique has been going through a very difficult time. It has been hit by a number of droughts, floods and most recently by a terrible tornado — all these are natural calamities.

"In addition, South Africa, which is supported by very powerful forces, has been attacking Mozambique by proxy and sometimes directly," he said.

It was because of these hardships that Mozambique had decided to sign the non-aggression pact with its neighbour so that hostilities could come to an end and usher in a new era of peaceful co-existence.

President Kaunda said that under the

Nkomati Accord and a similar one signed by Swaziland and South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) could no longer reside in Mozambique or Swaziland and the two states had already asked the ANC to leave.

Asked whether the displaced ANC fighters would be given some time to find a suitable place where they could resettle before being expelled from Mozambique and Swaziland, the President said the ANC leaders were still discussing the matter with the two respective governments.

President Kaunda described the Arusha summit, which in its communiqué pledged that Frontline countries would continue to give shelter to the ANC, as "successful".

# Frontline states back SA pacts

Cape Times 1/5/84 (1)

ARUSHA. — Frontline African leaders who met yesterday charted a careful path between support for accords with South Africa by two frontline states and antipathy for South Africa, conference sources said yesterday.

A statement issued yesterday in this north Tanzanian town said the six leaders present approved the separate agreements reached this year by Angola and Mozambique with South Africa.

## Consensus

There was a strong feeling before the meeting that such a consensus might not be reached because some African leaders felt the agreements were a result of South African moves to divide Black African nations, the conference sources said.

No details were available on the closed-door meeting but there was no sign of any major clashes, they said.

While approving the non-aggression agreements between Pretoria and Luanda and Maputo, the leaders insisted in their final communique that "armed struggle" was the only solution if South Africa did not abolish apartheid by peaceful means.

Tanzanian Foreign Minister, Mr Benjamin Mkapa, said the meeting welcomed Angola's reaffirmed commitment to the Swapo struggle for SWA/Namibian independence.

## Swapo action

Under its agreement with South Africa, Angola is to prevent Swapo action from across its borders into SWA/Namibia.

A condition for this is a withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, a move which the six leaders said they hoped Pretoria would honour.

Their statement said Mozambique's commitment to the fight against apartheid and for majority rule in South Africa was appreciated.

It did not spell out how this commitment would make itself felt following the recent curb on the activities in Mozambique of the African National Congress (ANC).

## Leaders

Attending the summit were Angolan and Mozambican Presidents Eduardo dos Santos and Samora Machel, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, chairman of the frontline group, Zambian President Ken-

neth Kaunda, Botswana President Quett Masire and Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe.

Swapo head Mr Sam Nujoma and ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, were also present.

● The weekend summit meeting of frontline state leaders has been the subject of editorial comment in a number of African newspapers.

In the Ivory Coast, the official Fraternalite Matin newspaper said dialogue with South Africa was not only necessary but inevitable.

## Rebels

The Times of Zambia said last week the future of rebels opposed to South Africa would depend on the meeting of the six frontline states.

The Times, in an editorial before the summit, said the meeting could make or break both the ANC and Swapo.

"For the struggle to continue effectively, the freedom fighters must have rear bases. That support can only come from someone close to the battleground for it to be beneficial," the Times said. — Sapa-Reuter

# 'SA's root problem is apartheid'

INSIDE MAIL

Am 25/8/78

1

## FOCUS ON CONSEQUENCES OF THE NKOMATI ACCORD

EASTERN bloc sponsors of the banned African National Congress are trying to avert a split in the organisation as the squeeze by black Frontline States begins to hurt.

According to informed diplomatic sources in London, both East Germany and the Soviet Union — the main backers of the ANC and Swapo — are deeply concerned at recent developments in Southern Africa which have led to the growing isolation of the ANC and its 22-year-old armed struggle.

And as Frontline States cut back material and logistic support to the Southern African liberation organisations, the Soviets and East Germans are ready to fill the vacuum by stepping up support to both the ANC and Swapo.

The sources say that both Moscow and East Berlin have been surprised at the readiness of the Frontline States to support actively the Nkomati accord between South Africa and Mozambique and the cease-fire initiative with Angola in deed, if not entirely, in word.

Acknowledging the major diplomatic coup by Pretoria, Africa experts in the Eastern Bloc are understood to be recommending the stepping-up of military and material aid to the ANC in response to what they see as a developing crisis, which could be a major setback for the "armed struggle".

But the Soviets and East Germans are facing a major dilemma after recent developments in Southern Africa.

While wanting to step up their support for Swapo and the ANC they do not want to alienate the Frontline States — particularly the Marxist states of Mozambique and Angola — with which they still have good relations.

They are also concerned about what they believe to be a threatening split in the ANC between pragmatists, who feel the time has come to wind-down the armed

# Isolation drives a wedge between ANC, Eastern bloc

JOHN BATTERSBY in London

struggle in favour of stepping-up the diplomatic initiative, and hard-liners — including the South African Communist Party, which is loyal to Moscow.

The Eastern bloc observers believe such a split would weaken the ANC at a crucial time and would damage the Soviet cause in Southern Africa which they acknowledge has already suffered a serious setback.

The Soviets and East Germans are also discouraged at their lack of success in advising Frontline States not to enter into non-aggression pacts with Pretoria.

But while eastern diplomats acknowledge Pretoria's latest initiative as a temporary victory they believe it is caught in a vice in the long-term.

If the initiative does not succeed and the ANC is unable to maintain the armed struggle, Pretoria will come under increasing pressure to make fundamental changes inside the country, they argue.

At a one-day summit between the six Frontline States, the ANC and Swapo at Arusha in Tanzania at the weekend the liberation movements failed to win the material and logistic support they were looking for and came away only with the rhetoric re-affirming the frontlines' total commitment to the liberation struggle.

The Arusha communiqué combined its promises of moral and diplomatic support for the ANC with more closely working

inside South Africa working for fundamental reforms — such as trade unions and the United Democratic Front — and to prepare for what they regard as an inevitable and necessary evil — negotiations with Pretoria.

But it was not moral and political support that ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo and Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma were looking for.

Since the signing of the Nkomati accord — and subsequent Frontline backing for it — the ANC is facing increasing isolation in the sub-continent as fighters of its military wing — Umkhonto we Sizwe — are driven further north to seek a new United Nations-sanctioned refugee status in Tanzania.

Increasingly the southern part of Frontline States — Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique — are pursuing their newly-acquired vested interest in peace and stability in the region.

These developments have forced the ANC to reassess its strategy of armed struggle against Pretoria and has led to divisions in the organisation.

It is understood that ANC pragmatists believe the time is ripe for stepping up its activities inside South Africa and directing the energies of the external organisation more along diplomatic channels than waging an armed liberation struggle.

They believe it is in the ANC's interests to work more closely with groups

to cut ties with the ANC — particularly in countries where the ANC has diplomatic offices.

On Friday the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, called on the British Government to act against the ANC which has a major office in London.

While a clause in the Prevention of Terrorism Act — passed recently by the British Parliament — provides for the limited detention without-trial of suspected terrorists in Britain — other than the IRA — cabinet ministers have given assurances to concerned anti-apartheid groups that it is not intended to be used to curd the diplomatic operations of Swapo and the ANC in London.

This week the Australian opposition called on the Australian Government to end its support for the ANC which recently opened offices in that country.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has advised Swapo not to provide the ANC with bases if it comes to power in Namibia and other Frontline State leaders have made it clear that self-interest must supersede emotional and fraternal ties with the ANC.

East Germany has close relations with the ANC and Swapo which it regards as legitimate liberation movements.

While most of the ANC's military hardware comes from the Soviet Union, East Germany also provides some small arms as well as educational, medical and "humanitarian" aid.

The ANC and Swapo both have major offices in East Berlin employing the status of diplomatic missions.

There has been speculation in diplomatic circles that if the Frontline States squeeze forced the ANC to abandon its headquarters in Lusaka it could switch its international headquarters to the East German capital.

The only remaining alternative in Southern Africa would be the Tanzanian capital of Dar-es-Salaam where the Pan-African Congress maintains a nominal headquarters.

THE full text of the final communiqué issued after a one-day summit meeting of six African "Frontline" leaders at Arusha, northern Tanzania:

"The heads of state and government present were: President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of the People's Republic of Angola, President Quett Masire of the Republic of Botswana, President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique, President Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Also in attendance were: Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, and Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo of Namibia.

The leaders stood for one minute of silence in tribute to the late Edward Moringe Sokhabe, whose very valuable and practical contributions to the liberation struggle of southern Africa will be greatly missed by the Frontline States and the liberation movements.

The heads of state and government and the leaders of liberation movements reaffirmed their total and qualified commitment to the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia against colonialism and of the people of South Africa against apartheid.

"They reasserted their conviction and that of the Organisation of African Unity, that the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism is essential for the security of all the independent states of the continent and in particular of the Frontline States.

Further, they reiterated that the root cause of the problems in South Africa is apartheid itself.

Apartheid is the cause of Africa's hostility to the South African racist regime and of the existence of South African and Namibian refugees.

None of these things is caused by the Frontline or other states neighbouring South Africa.

Apartheid has been condemned in categorical terms by the United Nations and by the leaders of Europe, America, Australasia and Asia as well as by Africa. It cannot be made acceptable by the use of South Africa's military power and economic strength, nor by the use of mercenaries and traitors.

The heads of state and government and the leaders of the liberation movements discussed the understanding reached by the People's Republic of Angola and the Pretoria regime, and they hoped that South Africa will honour its commitment to withdraw its troops from Angola.

This withdrawal will constitute an opportunity for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978.

They welcomed Angola's reaffirmation of its continued commitment to the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo.

The heads of state and government expressed their support for the Angolan actions against the externally supported armed bandits who are causing death and misery to the Angolan people and destruction of the economic infrastructure.



Tanzania's Mr Nyerere.



Zambia's Mr Kaunda.

They expressed the hope that the South African Government will live up to the commitment to cease its acts aimed at the destabilisation of Mozambique through the use of armed bandits and gave their support to the Mozambican actions aimed at the total elimination of these vicious bandits.

They expressed appreciation of Mozambique's commitment to continued moral, political and diplomatic support for the ANC in the struggle against apartheid and for majority rule in South Africa.

The heads of state and government and the leaders of the liberation movements declared that the immediate objective for Namibia is and must be the rapid implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 435 of 1978, in order that Namibia may attain full and internationally recognised independence on the basis of self-determination by all people of that country.

For South Africa, the objective of the Frontline states and liberation movements is the abolition of apartheid by whatever means are necessary.

The leaders present again reiterated their strong preference for apartheid to be brought to an end through peaceful means.

This can be achieved only through a process agreed upon in free discussions between the present South African regime and genuine representatives of the people of South Africa who are represented in the present Government structure of that country.

Difficult as this step may be in the eyes of the present South African Government, there is no way to peace in Southern Africa except through discussions between the South African Government and the

The heads of state and government of the Frontline states and the leaders of the liberation movements condemned without reservation the open and the covert aggressive actions of South Africa directed at the de-stabilisation of African states and those aimed against refugees from Namibia and apartheid South Africa.

They also repeated their rejection of the apartheid system.

They appeal for concrete support to be given to the efforts of the Frontline States aimed at the consolidation of their independence and their fragile economies, as there are of direct relevance to their ability to play a constructive role in the search for peace and freedom in Southern Africa.

For the heads of state and government of the Frontline States and the leaders of the liberation movements repeat a truisim. Peace is incompatible with racism and with colonialism.

Neither military might nor deviant political machinations, whether directed against the peoples inside Namibia and South Africa or against the free states of Africa, can defeat the idea of freedom and racial equality.

The struggle will be long and hard. It will be carried on until final victory. — 'A luta continua.'



Mozambique's Mr Machel.



Angola's Mr Dos Santos.

They appeal to the international community for diplomatic and economic support and protection as they carry out these international responsibilities.

The heads of state and government of the Frontline States and the leaders of the liberation movements represented at the Arusha meeting, in reasserting their commitment to the struggle for freedom in Namibia and South Africa, also draw attention to the burden they are carrying on behalf of the world conscience and the international condemnation of colonialism and apartheid.

They therefore appeal for active participation in the struggle by all other nations, other organisations and institutions, and all people who accept the principles of human dignity and equality.

In particular, they appeal for political, moral, material and diplomatic support to be given to the liberation movements.

They appeal also for concrete support to be given to the efforts of the Frontline States aimed at the consolidation of their independence and their fragile economies, as there are of direct relevance to their ability to play a constructive role in the search for peace and freedom in Southern Africa.

For the heads of state and government of the Frontline States and the leaders of the liberation movements repeat a truisim. Peace is incompatible with racism and with colonialism.

Neither military might nor deviant political machinations, whether directed against the peoples inside Namibia and South Africa or against the free states of Africa, can defeat the idea of freedom and racial equality.

The struggle will be long and hard. It will be carried on until final victory. — 'A luta continua.'

Sapa-AP

ARGUS 2/5/84

# Hoare <sup>①</sup> may be ~~be~~ paroled soon

Argus Correspondent  
DURBAN. — Mike Hoare, sent to jail for hijacking an Air India Boeing jetliner during the unsuccessful Seychelles coup attempt in 1981, could be released on parole soon.

His parole would follow that of three of his righthand men during the coup bid who were freed on April 30.

A Prisons Department spokesman confirmed today that consideration was being given to Colonel Hoare's case.

Hoare, 65, who is sickly, was sentenced by Mr Justice James on July 29, 1982, to an effective 10 years' imprisonment.

## WIFE'S VISITS

He was recently transferred to the new Maritzburg Prison to enable his wife, Mrs Phyllis Hoare, more frequent visits to her husband.

Mr Tullio Moneta, 45, of Plot 143 Witkoppen, Sandton, Mr Pieter Doorewaard, 29, of Landdrost Street, Wingate Park, and Mr Peter Duffy of Durban were released on parole from prison on Monday.

They had been sentenced to an effective five years' jail at the same time as Hoare was sentenced.

The Prisons Department spokesman said Hoare's possible parole was receiving the attention of the Central Release Board.

"In accordance with policy the department does not comment on individual cases," he said.

Release was the result of a continuing process of consideration and the board considered all relevant factors, he said.

# Pax Pretoriana has brought black Africa to crossroads

The options facing the OAU are set out in this article that appeared in *The Economist*

A posthumous vote of thanks to Ahmed Sekou Touré.

In death last month Mr Sekou Touré, the late un-great president of Guinea, did more for the Organisation of African Unity than he had ever done for it in life, when he imprisoned as a plotter and then starved to death a fellow Guinean who had been the OAU's first secretary-general.

Mr Sekou Touré was to have been host to this year's summit of OAU heads of state in Conakry on May 25th, the 21st anniversary of the signing of the organisation's charter "to promote unity and solidarity among African states".

No longer. The upheaval associated with his passing and with the military coup in Guinea's capital a few days later, is likely to provide a pretext for the leaders of Africa's other black-and Arab-ruled nations to move the meeting to a new place and time.

The likeliest alternative site is Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital and permanent home of the OAU secretariat. The possible date is mid-summer or late in autumn, probably November — to avoid conflicts with Ramadan, Ethiopia's 10-year celebration of military rule and the opening of the United Nations Assembly in New York.

The OAU can use the extra time. A summit now would almost certainly fail, given the organisation's inability to resolve three problems — two old and familiar: the third, old with a baffling new twist.

The first of the problem is how to bring peace to Chad, where French and Libyan troops prop up government and anti-government forces.

The second is how to settle the quarrel over the western Sahara between Morocco and the Polisario guerrilla movement.

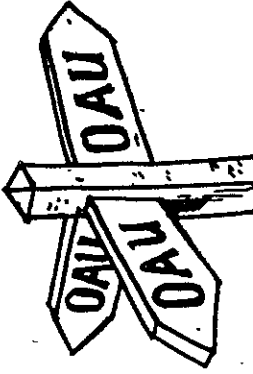
The old problem with the new

first, to go on as if nothing had happened, is the least sensible. A continued barrage of rhetoric against South Africa, by states geographically far removed from it, will embarrass not only Mozambique's President Machel and Angola's President dos Santos, but also Messrs Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia and Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who backed the decisions to deal.

The second possibility is to attempt to hoist South Africa with its own petard.

The OAU could try to manoeuvre South Africa into a corner where, to keep its promises to Angola and the United States, it must move forward on Namibian independence.

One way of doing that would be to offer an OAU force to replace the 25 000 Cuban troops who now protect Angola's government, thereby meeting South African's main



twist is what to do and say about white-ruled South Africa.

Condemnation of apartheid has long been almost the only item on the OAU's agenda for which unity has been real, not orchestrated.

South Africa's friendship pact with Mozambique in March and its ceasefire agreement with Angola in February will not remove the issue from this year's summit, whenever it is eventually held. But the heads of state cannot ignore these successes for South Africa's prime minister, Mr Botha.

They have three options. The

condition for a Namibia agreement.

It is true that OAU peacekeeping forces are expensive and usually unsuccessful, and South Africa might find another way of wriggling out of a deal. But the Cubans are now the main obstacle to the peace the OAU's front-line states are yearning for.

The third choice is to keep quiet and wait to see whether this year's agreements keep black Africans from dying before South Africa's guns. The OAU's council of ministers last month took this course, expressing "sympathy and deep understanding" to Mozambique and Angola, but refraining from total endorsement.

If the agreements break down, a return to the old script will be in order. But so long as they hold, the OAU's rear echelon may have to accept that it can for the moment do nothing about southern Africa.



1  
Rom 5/5/84 (1)

# Sweet taste after accord is beginning to turn sour

**IS THE** Nkomati Accord turning sour? If South African Prime Minister P W Botha had set off on his grand European tour on March 17 — the day after the signing of the Mozambique accord — he might have had a somewhat more enthusiastic reception than the one he will experience in June when the tour actually takes place.

The reason is that since that momentous day in March — when not only Mozambique but all the Frontline States acknowledged, publicly or privately, that henceforth the dream of becoming economically independent of South Africa was over — the accord has turned a little sour.

The first, euphoric phase of the accord is over and once again the reality is with us of just how difficult it is to get the lion to lie down with the lamb.

The paradox of Southern Africa is that, economically, it is the most natural thing in the world for developed South Africa to be integrated with its undeveloped neighbours, but that politically integration jars everyone's nerves.

The Nkomati Accord, and similar ones that might follow, have a solid economic foundation that could make them durable and productive but political interests run exactly counter to these natural economic lines. This is where the accord has begun to stumble.

South Africa-watchers in Western Europe are observing the developments in Southern Africa with intense interest. As they see it, Pretoria would be crazy to jeopardise the gains it has already made and the even more substantial gains that lie ahead in the future.

I have tried to identify these gains, as they are seen from London, and have come up with the following tabulations:

- The savings in lives and money by switching from destabilisation to negotiation.
- The potential for economic growth in the whole area and the furtherance of Pretoria's vision of a constellation of Southern African states, under a dominant South African economy.
- The enfeeblement of the Southern African Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which set out four years ago to make South Africa's black neighbours independent of South Africa.
- The "regionalisation" of Southern Africa's problems, with the prospect increasingly of excluding the UN, the OAU, and other foreign organisations and countries from the deliberations on Southern Africa's future.
- The stranding of the ANC and the identity crisis into which the organisation will be plunged in South Africa itself, leading to increasing internal tensions.
- The possible "pacification", at least temporarily, of the internal black struggle in South Africa as the ANC turns to legal forms of struggle, like trade unions, to realise its aims.

## STANLEY UYS in London



**MR ROBERT MUGABE**  
Forced to negotiate?

● The emergence in a dramatic form of a fundamental conflict of interests between the ANC, committed to armed struggle, and the Frontline States, urgently seeking peace and stability.

● The emergence of a further conflict of interests between the UN, OAU, and international anti-apartheid organisations and individuals, seeking South Africa's isolation, on the one side and on the other, the Frontline States moving towards the ending of isolation.

● The consequent, partial demotivation of the international anti-apartheid crusade, starting in Africa and spreading to the rest of the world.

● A significant improvement in South Africa's political credit rating among all the countries which favour evolutionary rather than revolutionary change in South Africa.

● A setback to the international sanctions campaign, because the more South Africa's black neighbours are drawn into South Africa's economic orbit, the more difficult it will be to confine the effect of sanctions within South Africa's borders.

● A blow both to communism (or African Socialism) and to Soviet influence in Africa, because in its hour of need the Marxist state of Mozambique was forced to turn to the West for succour.

● Finally, the consolidation of the relationship of "constructive engagement" with United States administration.

This, as many people in the UK see it, is a formidable scorecard, but everything depends on the fundamental aim of peace and stability being achieved in Southern Africa. Without peace and stability, all the accords, spoken and unspoken, will wither on the bough.

At the time of the Mozambique accord, it seemed as if all the other dominos would fall over as well. Certainly, every one of South Africa's black neighbours expressed not merely approval, but enthusiasm for

the enthusiasm, for the new peace and stability that appeared to be dawning in Southern Africa.

But it has not worked out that way. Not a day passes now without the Zimbabweans accusing South Africa — with precise if alleged detail — of destabilisation in Matabeleland. In Lesotho there is an unshakable fear that Pretoria is plotting, with the six funding members of the United Democratic Alliance, to seize power at the next elections. In Botswana there are ominous rumours of subversion in the army and of South African agents at work.

In Mozambique itself, the Mozambique resistance movement is as hard at work as ever while on the other side of the continent, Angola accuses South Africa of trying to push Unita into an Angolan "government of national reconciliation" and of stalling over Namibia to keep out Sam Nujoma.

Possibly, Pretoria has not reverted to the bad old days when destabilisations was an end in itself and is still responding to the advice the Crocker team gave it that, if destabilisation was a fact of life, it should be a means to an end — the end being negotiation and non-aggression treaties.

In that case, then Pretoria may get away with whatever it is up to, because however much Western governments deplore destabilisation, they differentiate between methods and results and they will not object if the results are accords like Nkomati.

But it is a dangerous game and Mr Botha has timed his Western European visit when the game is entering a particularly dangerous phase. Pretoria pulled it off once in Mozambique, but this is no assurance that it can pull it off twice, or three times, or four times, in some other country. There are limits beyond which a country cannot be pushed, without producing unexpected reactions.

The presumption must be made that if South Africa is engaged in the destabilisation of Matabeleland, the purpose is to force Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe to negotiate for a Mozambique-type accord and not to overthrow him and replace him with someone of their own liking.

The political legitimacy of a country's ruler is important: If Pretoria is to have new partners, they must at least have leadership legitimacy in their own countries, otherwise there can be no durable peace and stability.

If Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Namibia all still have to be licked more commandingly into line, this could take a long time and the chances of something going wrong would be high.

Does Mr Botha know what he is doing? He should have his answers ready, because he will be asked about these matters when he visits Western Europe in June.

# 'Stabilization': Is Zimbabwe next in line?

AS the last session of the Westminster parliamentary era debates the estimates of expenditure, the Botha administration is riding high.

A series of regional diplomatic coups has isolated the African National Congress, depriving them of secure contiguous bases for mounting guerilla warfare in South Africa.

The external-based threat to the country's security has been dealt a heavy blow, by all accounts, and it seems unlikely that the ANC will be able to sustain the current level of infiltration from abroad for much longer.

The days of sabotage and car-bomb terrorism in South African towns and cities, planned and mounted from across the borders, may well be numbered, or at least the frequency and intensity of the attacks may be greatly moderated.

On the domestic front a new constitution is about to come into effect. While it is generally acknowledged that the new three-chamber system is grossly inadequate, many people have a hunch that it will lead to further liberalization.

## Wait and see

Meanwhile, Mr Botha is sweeping all before him. The English financial establishment hails him as a star. Some English-speaking businessmen openly proclaim themselves as Botha supporters and are inclined to withdraw their support from the Opposition.

They would do better to wait and see.

As the external threat fades, so too does the "total onslaught" line of propaganda lose its potency. And it is no longer possible to divert attention from pressing domestic problems by blaming everything on communist aggression from outside.

The trouble is mainly internal and springs from an oppressive domestic policy which excludes blacks from the body politic and discriminates against people of colour.

Does the Botha administration really intend to do something about it? Hope that they are about to address the problem of black rights in courageous fashion is quickly dispelled when the apartheid bureaucracy, at Mr Botha's bidding, cracks down on the squatters who are streaming into the towns to find jobs.

In the House of Assembly this week Dr George Morrison, a deputy minister, left little doubt that Crossroads is to be demolished come what may — and quickly. The Prime Minister himself had earlier reaffirmed the government's determination to move all Peninsula blacks to Khayelitsha in

due course.

It is here that a contradiction in Mr Botha's policies threatens to wipe out the diplomatic advance he has made.

The Western world has a bad conscience about population removals. In a Europe which remembers the horrors endured by civilian populations in World War II, large-scale removals from one place to another arouse a sense of moral outrage — as does the bulldozing of squatter camps.

Mr P W Botha, riding the crest of a wave after Nkomati, has been invited to visit various European capitals. His advisers must surely have told him of the embarrassments and demonstrations which could spoil such a visit — if the newspapers are full of news reports from South Africa announcing the demolition of squatter camps in the rain and cold of a Cape winter.

Meanwhile, the last Westminster-style session and the prospect of coloured and Indian elections are attracting remarkably little interest in the country. The attention of the public is fastened on Mr Botha's Southern African diplomacy.

And Africa-watchers abroad are wondering who will be singled out next in Mr Botha's campaign to "stabilize" the sub-continent.

## Political Survey



Gerald Shaw

The obvious candidate seems to be Mr Robert Mugabe, who has been careful to prevent ANC activism in Zimbabwe but has received little thanks from Pretoria.

Zimbabwe now finds itself the odd man out — as the only frontline state which does not accept public ministerial encounters with South Africa.

Mr Mugabe has preferred to follow a low key, pragmatic policy of non-aggression and mutual co-operation between Zimbabwe and South Africa. He has declined to allow diplomatic relations or high profile ministerial contacts.

This is not good enough for the Botha administration, who are disinclined to give him the best of both worlds. If Zimbabwe wants South African co-operation, as Pretoria sees it, Mr Mugabe will have to stop treating South Africa like a pariah.

To remind Mr Mugabe of the political realities,

Zimbabwe is likely to be subjected to increasing doses of clandestine "stabilization". This, at least, is what leading figures in Harare believe, as Jonathan Steele reported this week in the Guardian.

The view from Harare, as reported in the Guardian under a headline "Pretoria's secret war against Zimbabwe" may be summarized as follows:

A radio station known as Radio Truth, based in South Africa, has been beaming anti-Mugabe propaganda into Matabeleland for almost a year. But the level of Pretoria-sponsored insurgency, when compared with South African support for Unita in

Angola and the MNR in Mozambique remains relatively low. The SA-sponsored anti-Mugabe rebels have been dubbed super-Zapu. Harare claims to have discovered traces of South African involvement in 48 incidents of violence last year and there have been several more this year, it is claimed, including ambushes of government troops, attacks on a bridge and a mine, "as well as the shooting of three white farmers, one of them a senator, together with his daughter and an English visitor staying with them," according to Steele.

These are extraordinary allegations. Can they possibly be true? In the nature of clandestine operations, convincing proof of South African involvement is unlikely to be readily available.

It is certainly straining credulity to assert that the South African taxpayer is unwittingly helping to finance an anti-Mugabe revolt in Matabeleland in which murderous acts of terrorism are the order of the day.

The allegations in the Guardian are pretty detailed, however, and it is unlikely that we have heard the last of this.

If a force of anti-Mugabe Rhodesians is

in fact undergoing training in camps in the Northern Transvaal, as alleged, the idea presumably is to keep Mr Mugabe in line, indicating that he will feel the full force of South African "stabilization" if he should incur the wrath of Pretoria.

The sub-continent may be pacified for a while by the use of force and the threat of further force. But this will not remove the need to subdue, again and again.

Why not try diplomacy with Mr Mugabe — instead of driving him steadily into the arms of the Soviets and their surrogates?

Instead of exploiting the historic distrust between Shona and Ndebele to keep Zimbabwe off balance, as South Africa is said to be doing, why not offer Mr Mugabe practical help?

You may pacify a sub-continent by humiliating its leaders and forcing them to do your will. It is not a pretty sight. And it is at best a temporary solution.

There can be no lasting peace in Southern Africa until the apartheid policies which infringe upon the dignity of people of colour everywhere have been abolished and a regional alliance can be negotiated on a basis of mutual trust and respect.

# THE WATERS OF THE NKOMATI HAVE BEEN LEFT MURKY . . .

THE waters of Nkomati have been left muddy and murky for black South Africa and agonising re-appraisal of tactics lay ahead.

This was the conclusion of an internal summit held recently by the National Forum Committee to ponder the implications for the black struggle after the signing of the non-aggression pact between South Africa and neighbouring Mozambique, designed to lessen regional tension.

The conclusion, the first collective response by black organisations, is in sharp contrast to the hysteria, optimism and general bravado generated among white South Africans by the agreement. However, it is in accord with the findings of an informal survey carried out among blacks which found they viewed South Africa as having used the big stick to bludgeon Mozambique into signing the accord, while the Marxist state was already on the ropes as a result of a succession of natural disasters and the threat posed by the SA-backed MNR.

The Forum was formed in Hammansburg, Pretoria, last year and claims the allegiance of more than 200 black community, sporting, cultural and political organisations. It seeks to bring these organisations together from time to time to discuss current events.

The Forum meets again in July in Johannesburg to map out strategies to derail the August Indian and coloured elections to the new tricameral parliament.

More than 100 delegates attended the summit at the Edendale Ecumenical Centre in Pietermaritzburg and it was clear the accord had left many ambivalent and uncomfortable. To them, the agreement between apartheid South Africa and Marxist Mozambique could well have been dubbed the Discord of Nkomati.

While there was general agreement that Machel was forced to sign or face being thrown out of office — a disastrous alternative — delegates felt he had gone too far in "placing his faith in the hands of the South African racist designs and American imperialism," a position statement of the Forum said after the summit.

Delegates were also riled by utterances of some of the Frontline presidents, notably Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, since the signing of the accord and the happenings in Swaziland, which one delegate contemptuously dismissed as nothing but another of South Africa's bantustans.

The summit had an ironic ring about it. Some of the prime movers in the Forum have only recently been released from Robben Island, having served long stretches of imprisonment for organising rallies to celebrate the coming into power of President Samora Machel, a terrorist leader in the eyes of white South Africa.

Now, 10 years later and out of jail, they were meeting again, not for a belated celebration, but to warn President Machel and his Frelimo party of the "dangerous" path they had just taken in signing the accord with South Africa.

The position statement expresses disquiet at the latest turn of events in Southern Africa.

While delegates understood why Frelimo had to sign the accord, and the statement made this quite clear, they derived

## NO

Why the deal they didn't want has left black South Africans pondering a tactical switch in the struggle for freedom ...

Report by BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI



no joy in recent statements by the central committee of the party that the South African struggle was a mere civil rights campaign.

Dr Neville Alexander, from the Cape Action League, in a detailed paper which formed the basis of discussion on the accord, recalled the words of President Machel while addressing a rally at Inhambane in March, 1982. Machel told the crowd the working people of his country had not only defeated Portuguese colonialism but had to fight and defeat the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

"Now we are called to war once more," he thundered, "this time, to liquidate the armed bandits who are the agents of the racist and minority regime in Pretoria, the agents of international imperialism... let the South Africans come themselves. We don't want the agent, we want his boss. Let's fight against the organ grinder, not the monkey."

Strong words indeed! But, as Dr Alexander told the summit, the South Africans did come.

"They went to a place called Nkomati where they signed the so-called Peace Accord, with the selfsame President Samora Machel. How are we to explain this sudden somersault, this breathtaking reversal?"

South African took a circuitous route to Nkomati via Matola, Maputo and a jam factory outside the Mozambican capital. What happened there is now a matter for the historians.

In the meanwhile Mozambique was ravaged by drought — the worst in years — and cyclones, and thousands died of famine. Estimates put the figure at 100 000 dead.

Dr Alexander said that coupled with economic and military sabotage by the MNR and Unita, backed by South Africa, the social fabric of both Mozambique and Angola has been brought close to the point of disintegration.

"The 'peace' was therefore one signed at gunpoint," he concluded.

Concern over the impact of the accord was illustrated by the gift of literature on *Worker Tenants*, a booklet produced by residents' associations in the Western Cape, calls it the "crushing of Mozambican independence under the jackboot of imperialism" and says Mozambique has blundered into a blind alley.

But *Solidarity*, newsletter of the Cape Action League, warns it would be too hasty to condemn the Frelimo Government as sell-outs and traitors.

It adds: "The African leopard also does not change its spots.

"Machel and the Frelimo Government want to hang on to the few important economic and political advances they have been able to make in Mozambique. They have to reconstruct the ruined economy, give their people a chance to live normal, healthy lives.

"They cannot do this if they are sucked into a long-term war against the giant South Africa, under the protective arm

of American constructive engagement, has bludgeoned its neighbours to the point where it calls the shots. In Namibia for instance, South Africa has intimidated it can bring about a regional conference to thrash out a Namibian solution on its own without the participation of the Americans and regardless of what happens to the intractable problem of the Cubans in Angola. This is the extent of South Africa's regional superiority and the Frontline States, if their recent utterances are anything to go by, have realised this.

The Organisation of African Unity, Dr Alexander said, had been reduced to observer status and was therefore ineffective. But Machel is not a hero-turned-villain yet.

The Forum acknowledged in its statement the Frelimo Government, despite the valiant struggle it fought against the Portuguese and its support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, was compelled to sign the accord "under extreme conditions."

It nevertheless warned Mozambique had chosen "this dangerous path" of placing their faith in the hands of South African designs and American imperialism.

"Against this background we wish strongly to remind the Frontline States and other signatories to the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 that the present destabilising efforts and accords in the region contradict even the moderate sentiments of that manifesto.

"We also wish to impress upon the

**QUOTE**  
We wish strongly to remind the Frontline States and other signatories to the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 that the present destabilising efforts and accords in the region contradict even the moderate sentiments of that manifesto.  
— National Forum Committee

Frontline States that the political developments in this country have reached a point where it is necessary for them to reassess their position and to take heed and not to dilute the aspirations and ideals of the oppressed and exploited masses."

Delegates said while it appeared a national convention was not possible in the short-term, it was nevertheless inevitable, and the Government, it was asserted, had already started preparing white opinion for such an eventuality.

The Forum rejects the idea of a national convention because it says power will always remain entrenched in the hands of "racist capitalists and their puppets."

The South African struggle is not, it says, a civil rights campaign as Frelimo has suggested. One commission rejected this suggestion "with contempt." It was a gross misrepresentation.

"We view the struggle for the liberation of our land as a single struggle waged by various liberation forces and we see the related events in Swaziland, Lesotho and other countries of Southern Africa as a temporary setback. We therefore consider the weakening of any one of these forces as a blow to the entire liberation movement."

It is now left to black people, in the light of the Nkomati Accord, to turn a weakness into a strength, as the struggle will undoubtedly turn on to the internal arena.

"More than ever before it is incumbent on us to promote practical and principled unity of all organisations of the oppressed people."

## GENERAL AFFAIRS

by Rodney Pryme

# Senegal has praise for SA peace bid

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

PARIS — Senegal's President Abdou Diouf has praised South Africa's bid for peace with Angola and Mozambique.

The moderate African leader was formerly Prime Minister under his predecessor Leopold Senghor — an active supporter of dialogue between black Africa and Pretoria.

In the Paris-based magazine *Africaste* he said: "I wish to express my understanding and sympathy for the efforts taken by the Luanda and Maputo governments to preserve their independence and national sovereignty.

"By doing so they are also contributing to the search for a peaceful and lasting solution to the serious situation prevailing in Southern Africa."

He added that peace would have to come about through the independence of Namibia and eradication of apartheid, and for this reason Senegal supported Swapo and the ANC.

# SECURITY DRIVE WITH LESOTHO AND BOTSWANA SPEEDS UP

By PATRICK LAURENCE

**SOUTH AFRICA'S** drive to forge security pacts with Lesotho and Botswana gained momentum yesterday as South African and Lesotho security officers met for talks in Bloemfontein and officials from South Africa and Botswana prepared for imminent talks.

Unlike Swaziland, which secretly signed a non-aggression agreement with South Africa in February 1982, Lesotho and Botswana have resisted overtures to sign a formal accord with South Africa although at the same time strongly signalling their policies of denying military bases to the African National Congress.

But South Africa's intensified pressure for formal agreements comes as the terms of the Southern African Customs Union are being re-negotiated.

All three BLS countries — Lesotho, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are known — are members of the union and are heavily dependent on it for revenue. Thus Lesotho and Botswana may not be able to refuse South African demands.

Nearly 40% of Botswana's, and more than 70% of Lesotho's, revenue comes from customs union payments.

The South African Minister of Finance Mr. Owen Horwood alluded to the re-negotiation of the customs union agreement in a recent speech in Parliament.

After saying the 1969 agreement between South

Over the next few days, SA diplomats, security officials and politicians will be faced with the most hectic round of negotiations with neighbouring States so far in the current regional peace initiative.

Discussions started yesterday with Botswana and will be held today at different venues with Swaziland and Mozambique. In a related round of key talks, parties involved in the South West Africa dispute meet today in Lusaka. And there indications that talks with Lesotho to arrange a security pact will be held within the next few days.

This is Southern Africa's week of diplomacy at a glance.

## ANGOLA

The work of the Joint Monitoring Commission established in terms of the Lusaka agreement earlier this year, has progressed well. The JMC is monitoring the military disengagement process in southern Angola and countering Swapo's activity in the area. Relations between South Africa and Angola have been described as good. Further meetings between political leaders of the two countries could occur soon.

## SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Talks got underway in Lusaka today between political parties — including Swapo — involved in the dispute. South Africa will be represented by the Administrator General, Dr. Willie van Niekerk. The meeting will be hosted by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. There are indications that the talks could lead to a significant breakthrough in the seemingly endless SWA dispute. There has even been talk of agreement to form a government of national unity.

## BOTSWANA

Talks are expected to be held shortly between officials of the two governments to thrash out details of a security arrangement which will prohibit the use of each other's territory for acts of aggression against the other.

Africa and the BLS countries had been outdated by the granting of de facto membership to South Africa's "independent homelands". Mr Horwood referred to the "disturbing influence of inflation" on calculations under which payments are made to the BLS countries.

"In brief, the agreement in its present form does not meet the needs of the eighties," he said.

An in-depth investigation had been ordered into all aspects of the agreement and an exchange of notes and discussions with the countries in question has taken

place", Mr Horwood added.

At present payments to the BLS countries are calculated according to their share of goods imported into the customs union, multiplied by an "enhancement factor" of 1.42.

South Africa's preparedness to use its position as the dominant partner in the

union to achieve wider socio-political objectives was seemingly foreshadowed in a speech by the Prime Minister Mr P W Botha at the launching of the South African-controlled Development Bank.

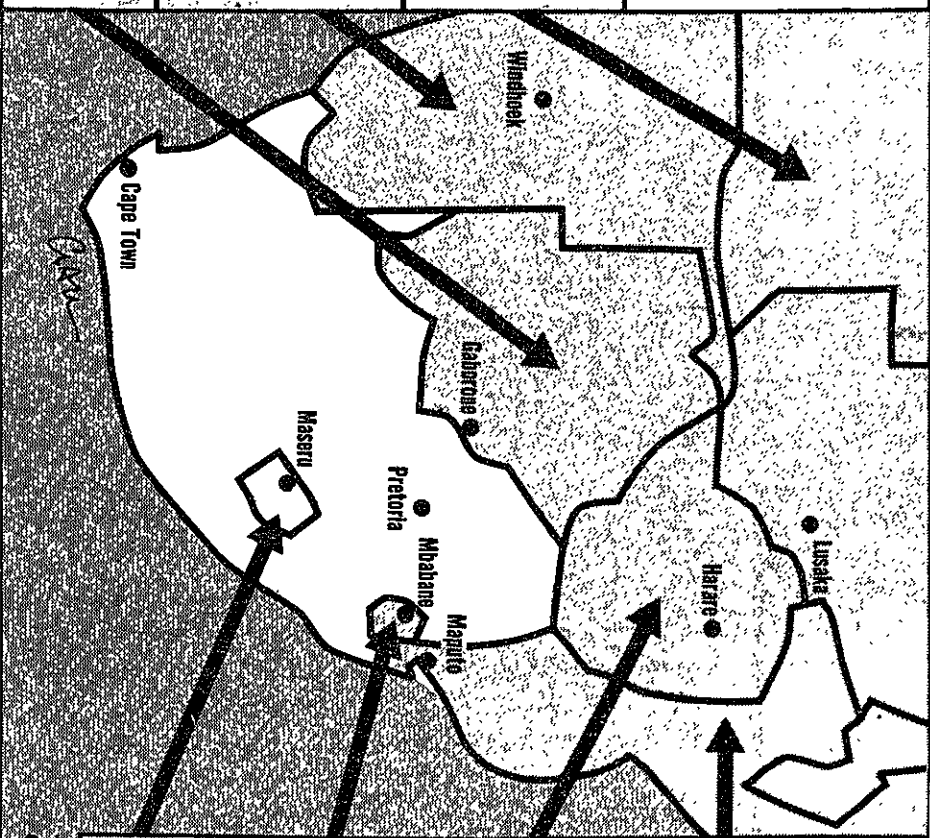
He said: "We see the customs union not in isolation as a revenue-sharing arrange-

ment, but as part of a comprehensive regional development strategy."

At the time, Mr Botha's speech was interpreted by some observers as a sign of his intention to use the customs union to draw the BLS countries into his proposed Constellation of States.

The signing of non-aggression pacts between South Africa and the BLS countries would be consistent with that aim.

A top-level Swaziland delegation under the Swazi Prime Minister Prince Bhekinkpi meets Mr P W Botha for talks in Cape Town today.



## MOZAMBIQUE

Talks will be held in Mopani today, between members of the Joint Security Commission set up in terms of the Nkomati Accord. The JSC comprises security and foreign affairs officials of the two countries and will monitor alleged contraventions of the accord. The JSC will also set up a security operation to guard the power lines from the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme to South Africa. The joint security operation to secure the line was agreed to in recently signed contracts for the resuming of power supply from Cahora Bassa to South Africa. Today's JSC meeting will discuss details of the operation.

## ZIMBABWE

Relations with South Africa were described this week by Mr Pk Botha as reasonably good. He said there was no need at this stage for a security pact because Zimbabwe had stated publicly that its territory may not be used for acts of aggression against SA.

## SWAZILAND

A delegation of Cabinet Minister's and other senior officials headed by the Prime Minister, Prince Bhekinkpi, arrived in Cape Town yesterday. They will hold talks on a wide range of subjects including security, with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pk Botha, today. South Africa signed a non-aggression pact with Swaziland more than two years ago, but its existence was only made public this year.

## LESOTHO

Talks were held this week between SA and Lesotho to discuss details of a security arrangement to stop cross-border insurgency.

SA: CHRIS FREEMOND  
SOUTH AFRICA: GAIL IRWIN

ARGUS 11/5/80

~~11/5/80~~ 1

# Why all this fuss? asks Buthelezi

TIM PATTEN, Argus Foreign Service, talks to the KwaZulu Chief Minister in London

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi says he cannot understand the storm of protest over Prime Minister P W Botha's visit to Britain next month.

Interviewed here the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said there seemed no justification for the outcry over Mr Botha's meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

"Without applauding it I can see no justification in saying that Mrs Thatcher should not meet him.

"After all, President Machel of Mozambique has met him and the OAU has accepted the Nkomati accord so there is no reason for her to refuse to meet him."

In talks with the Foreign Office Chief Buthelezi told Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the Under Secretary who deals with Southern Africa, that the Nkomati accord would strengthen rather than weaken opposition to apartheid.

He said the accord was



Chief Buthelezi

confirmation that "it is only the politically bankrupt" who can expect South Africa's neighbours to pay the "terrible price" for the failure of South Africa to bring about



Mr Malcolm Rifkind

radical change.

He told Mr Rifkind that the agreement with Mozambique would make black South Africans realise that their future was in their own hands.

The agreement, he said, was not a betrayal by black Africa of the South African struggle for 'liberation'. He said armed struggle had no prospect of succeeding in South Africa in the foreseeable future and was both "impractical and immoral".

On the issue of disinvestment he told Mr Rifkind that those who campaigned for economic withdrawal were pursuing the politics of unreality.

Disinvestment, he said, would damage South Africa's neighbouring states more than South Africa itself. Chief Buthelezi expressed similar views to Dr David Owen, the leader of the Social Democratic Party when they met earlier this week.

The Chief Minister met several MPs at the House of Commons yesterday after a strenuous itinerary of talks during his week-long stay in Britain. He returned to South Africa last night.

CAPL Timb R/S/84

# Swazi PM calls for regional meeting

By GLEN GARVEN

THE Swazi Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpi Dlamini, yesterday called for a round-table meeting of all countries in the region "for peace and stability to prevail".

Heading what is considered to be one of the most important delegations from a black African country to the Republic, Prince Bhekimpi was replying to Mr P W Botha's opening address of welcome at the start of talks at the Castle.

The two top-level delegations faced each other across a couple of polished tables in a City hotel in a brief photo session before discussions got under way.

## Delegations

With Mr Botha were cabinet ministers representing the sectors of foreign affairs, co-operation and development, transport, law and order, health and welfare, defence, industries, commerce and tourism, environment and fisheries, mineral and energy affairs and finance. The

Swazi delegation was made up of equally high-ranking members.

During the inaugural meeting between the two heads of state, the Prince said that he was aware of the discussions concerning the future of SWA/Namibia, and that he prayed the territory could become independent.

He reiterated the bond between South Africa and Swaziland, saying: "A neighbourly friend is more important than a friend who is far away."

## 'Cordial relations'

Although Swaziland was a member of the Organization of African Unity, and other groups opposed to white rule, it would not "blind us to our cordial relations with South Africa".

Mr Botha praised the late King Sobhuza II and Swaziland as an example of "moderation, stability and progress".

Both countries, he said, were determined to "change the stumbling blocks into stepping stones to peace".

# New round of regional talks

CAPE TIMES  
16/5/84  
①

By MICHAEL ACOTT  
Political Correspondent

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — The Swazi Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpi Dlamini, arrives in Cape Town today for two days of discussions which will include meetings with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Mr Botha himself will be at D F Malan Airport this afternoon to welcome Prince Dlamini and his entourage which includes 10 other cabinet ministers and three members of the Swazi royal council.

The government is arranging a red-carpet reception for the Swazi delegation with guards of honour and the playing of the two countries' national anthems.

## Arrests

The high-level visit follows recent discussions in Pretoria at which it was disclosed that Swaziland and South Africa signed a non-aggression pact two years ago.

This has resulted in the arrest of ANC guerrillas in Swaziland and the ejection of others from the country.

Rapid changes in the regional climate are illustrated by the fact that Swaziland is only one of four independent black neighbours with whom the government will be discussing security agreements in the near future.

The other three are Mozambique, the other country with which South Africa already has a non-aggression pact, Botswana, which seems about to sign a different peace pact,

and Lesotho, with which relations have recently been strained.

Announcements about the meetings, except that with Lesotho, were made yesterday by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, during the budget debate on his portfolio.

Mr Botha said Prince Dlamini would arrive today with his entourage. They would meet government members, including Mr P W Botha, and would have discussions on Friday on a variety of matters including security, land affairs, transport, power and water supplies and health.

Mr Botha praised the attitude adopted by the late King Sobhuza II, under whom the peace pact with Swaziland was reached.

He did not say whether the government's controversial proposal to give the Ingwavuma and Kangwane areas to Swaziland, now being investigated by the Rumpff Commission, would be broached this week.

Discussions with the Botswana government security forces also take place today, but Mr Botha did not say where.

He told Parliament that Botswana had not

been happy with South Africa's request for an Nkomati-type agreement.

"We are negotiating not for an agreement like Nkomati but for a satisfactory, practical arrangement which will allow our security forces to prevent violence being planned or executed either from South Africa or Botswana."

The third meeting is with Mozambique representatives to negotiate arrangements for a Joint Security Commission as envisaged in the Nkomati Accord.

## Complaints

The commission will not only deal with complaints about either country being used as a springboard for attacks on the other, but will be responsible for securing the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric plant and power lines both in South Africa and Mozambique.

Mr Botha said South African and Mozambican security forces would start negotiating that part of the agreement tomorrow.

A Lesotho delegation was in Cape Town yesterday for meetings with the Minister of Trade, Industries and Tourism, Dr Dawie de Villiers.



Concern over peace moves as ...

# Pik slips to Zambia for secret talks

ROM 22/5/84 ①

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, slipped secretly into Lusaka yesterday for talks with senior Angolan officials headed by the Interior Minister, Mr Kito Roderiquez.

Department of Foreign Affairs officials in Cape Town refused to comment on Zambian reports of the talks and appeared upset that they had become publicly known.

Mr Botha was reportedly accompanied by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

There was no clear indication last night why the meeting had been called, although it may be linked to formalising the continuation of the Joint Monitoring Commission as a communications link between the South African and Angolan governments.

Another possible reason for the trip is the growing concern that has become apparent recently in both South Africa and Angola because political successes in the trouble-torn region are not matching the rapid military de-escalation which has created expectations in many quarters of a speedy political settlement.

The JMC was formed earlier this year in terms of the Lusaka Agreement, which established a framework for military disengagement in southern Angola. The commission's task is to monitor military activity in the region and counter Swapo activity.

It was also not clear last night whether yesterday's talks were the same as those referred to by Mr Botha in Parliament earlier last month.

Mr Botha told Parliament then that he would personally propose to Angola at their next meeting that the existence of the JMC be prolonged.

Meanwhile, the London Bureau reports that the British Government has assured the Swapo founder, Mr Andimba (Herman) Toivo ja Toivo, that the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, will urge the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, to come to an early settlement in SWA based on UN Resolution 435.

According to informed sources the assurance was given to Mr Toivo during a meeting yesterday with British Foreign Office Minister, Mr Malcolm Rifkind.

Mr Botha is due to have a "working lunch" with Mrs Thatcher on June 2 during his European visit next month.

A terse Foreign Office statement confirmed that the meeting had taken place yesterday and that "prospects for a Namibian settlement" had been discussed.

# New trade group set for launching

U.S. Star  
1 Star 30/6/84

By Brendan Seery,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

**HARARE** — Heavily-armed soldiers and police have sealed off the main hotel here in preparation for the arrival this weekend of half a dozen heads of state.

They will be arriving for the start of operations of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for eastern and southern Africa.

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, will officiate at Sunday's launching ceremony. Among those expected to attend are presidents Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, Milton Obote of Uganda, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Siad Barre of Somalia.

The 14-nation grouping has weathered years of protracted negotiations, internal squabbling and lack of interest which have threatened to destroy the dream of pan-African trading "common markets", which was the keystone of the "Lagos plan of action."

The PTA for eastern and southern Africa will operate along similar lines to the Economic Community of Western

African States (ECOWAS) and the Central African Economic Community (CAEC).

The overall aim is to stimulate trade and development among member nations by relaxing customs barriers and transit formalities, and setting up a barter system of payments for imports which will help save foreign currency.

From July 1, when the PTA's protocols become effective, tariff reductions for a number of commodities on a common list will come into force. Duty reductions range from 70 percent for consumer goods important to development to 10 percent for luxury goods, 30 percent for food and 50 percent for agricultural raw materials.

Under the PTA treaty, only those goods produced by indigenous firms, where local equity participation is at least 51 percent, will be allowed to enter the system of reciprocal preferences.

This is to discourage the takeover of this sub-regional co-operation by transnational corporations and foreign investors.

Even a new monetary unit — the UAPTA — is to be introduced. The equivalent of the

Special Drawing Right of the International Monetary Fund, the UAPTA will be used to settle trade debts by countries within the grouping. A clearing house is operating in Harare.

There are fears, however, that the PTA will be dominated by Zimbabwe and Kenya, the two most powerful and industrialised nations in the group. The dominance of Kenya, which was far more developed than Tanzania and Uganda, tore asunder the short-lived East African Community.

Just as worrying for the future of the grouping is the possibility of national selfishness.

Zimbabwe, which holds the chair of the PTA, was reluctant to join in the beginning, concerned that it might have better trade options. Last year's PTA meeting in Harare almost saw the end of it through lack of interest.

But South African Bax Nomvete, who is the interim secretary-general of the PTA, has high hopes for it. "The PTA is much more than a trade pact. It is a mechanism for the promotion of economic development," he said.

RDM 217/84 (1)

# Talks on customs tariff cuts

By MIKE WILLIAMS  
Mail Africa Bureau

HARARE. — Five heads of state and government were on hand in Harare yesterday to preside over the launching of sweeping customs tariff reductions in the 14-member Preferential Trade Area (PTA) of East and Southern Africa;

The summit was chaired by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe. Also present were President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Milton Obote of Uganda, President Siad Barre of Somalia and President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya.

Ministerial delegations represented the 18-month-old trade group's other nine members — Malawi, Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mauritius, Rwanda and Swaziland.

The Zimbabwean Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr Richard Hove, who is chairman of the PTA Council of Ministers, said the tariff reductions ranged between 10



MR ROBERT MUGABE  
chaired the summit



MR DANIEL ARAP MOI  
also attended

and 70% and would mean revenue losses for some members.

But the sacrifices would be worthwhile if the reductions led to increases in inter-regional trade.

Western diplomatic sources in Harare said the trade group's progress so far had been reasonable, given the difficulties of coaxing so many disparate nations into changing their ways of doing business.

A milestone was reached in February when the Re-

serve Bank of Zimbabwe began operating as the clearing house for PTA trade transactions, hence allowing a certain amount of trade to be conducted in national currencies.

A PTA "currency" — the Uapta (for Unit of Account of the Preferential Trade Area) — is now quoted by the bank.

Proponents of the PTA say it could eventually become the largest common market in the world, but it still faces several fundamental problems.

An understaffed finance department at the PTA secretariat (based in Lusaka) created short-term payment problems through a "shabby" handling of accounts last year, and at least two member states are in danger of being suspended for non-payment of the initial membership contributions, Mr Hove said.

Several other members were understood to have paid only part of their obligations. In addition, six nations were still refusing to join the group.

Mr Hove said he had visited five of them — Madagascar, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania — in the past year without receiving any commitment to join. He planned to visit the sixth, the Seychelles, later this year.

"Nobody is saying the PTA as an organisation is not viable. They agreed it was important, but some said they had problems they wanted to iron out before they acceded to the treaty," Mr Hove said.

# Tambo, Pokela to attend SADCC meet

By ANTON HARBER

**GABORONE.** — Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the African National Congress, and Mr John Pokela, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, will be joining at least six presidents and prime ministers of Southern African states at the annual summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in Gaborone, Botswana this week.

Those expected tomorrow are President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Samora Machel of Mozambique, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, and Prince Bhekimpi Dhlamini of Swaziland.

They will be met at the airport tomorrow by President Quett Masire of Botswana, the chairman of SADCC.

The leaders of Angola and Malawi have indicated that they be sending representatives. The Lesotho leader Dr L Jonathan, will be attending.

Mr Lebang Mpotokwane, acting executive secretary of SADCC, said yesterday that the ANC, PAC and Swapo had been invited to attend as observers. Mr Tambo and Mr Pokela had indicated they would attend, but it was not certain who would represent Swapo.

Yesterday, SADCC officials were meeting in Gaborone to finalise the agenda for the top-level meetings later this week.

On Wednesday and Thursday, the SADCC council of ministers, made up of cabinet ministers from the member countries, will meet as a preliminary to the summit on Friday.

Observers will be keen to see how the heads of state react to the Nkomati accord (involving Mozambique, one of its members) how they evaluate its effect

on SADCC.

SADCC was formed in 1980 with the intention of promoting development in the member states and specifically to lessen their dependence on South Africa.

Today's meeting is the first of three meetings this month which could launch SADCC into a new phase of activity.

Ministers and senior officials representing seven countries from SADCC will gather in London later this month for a major development conference sponsored by the Commonwealth Institute.

Since SADCC was formed in 1979, the Commonwealth secretariat has played a key role in promoting SADCC development through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation.

The London conference could provide a much-needed boost for SADCC and renew investor interest in its developmental projects.

# Don't trust SA, Nyerere tells SADCC

RAM  
1/7/84

①

By ANTON HARBER  
Mail Reporter

**GABORONE.**— Dr Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, yesterday accused "some apartheid leaders" of attempting to further their plan to create a constellation of Southern African states.

Speaking at the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), Pres Nyerere said: "Let there be no mistake. There is no basis for co-operation between apartheid South Africa and the SADCC countries," he said.

Dr Nyerere, addressing about 4 000 people at the opening of the fifth annual summit of SADCC heads of state in Gaborone, was one of three Frontline leaders who fiercely attacked the South African Government.

At a Press conference later, Mr Nyerere added that the "totally unreliable" South Africans had never intended to implement the Nkomati Accord.

This was shown by the fact that South Africa had been infiltrating bandits while they were negotiating with Mozambique, he said.

Bandit activity in Mozambique now was a continuation of the action of the South Africans.

At the opening ceremony, Dr Nyerere said SADCC had to deal with economic difficulties while under "massive and concerted attack from South Africa" who was trying to control its neighbours.

South Africa was trying to divert SADCC member's attention from their long-term aims with threats and promises.

"It wants them (SADCC members) to aim at the mirage of quick prosperity through co-operation with apartheid South Africa," he said.

However, South Africa had been deliberately kept out of SADCC because co-operation "will lead to us becoming accomplices in, or victims of, apartheid".

Apartheid, he said, was incompatible with the "liberation aims" of SADCC.

"South Africa and its allies can force SADCC countries to certain arrangements, but they cannot change SADCC.

"We even hear whispers that Western private investment will come to SADCC through South Africa, although not directly," he said.

He condemned this move as "black-mail".

SADCC had made progress in the last year, but was slowed down by the economic climate and by acts of aggression by South Africa.

Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, said SADCC's task would be long and hard as long as apartheid continued to exist and to have the support of a large sector of the industrialised world.

"We cannot and should not tire in our condemnation of South Africa's inhuman policies and our call for the international community to withdraw its support from South Africa," he said.

Dr Quett Masire, President of Botswana and chairman of SADCC, said SADCC progress had to be assessed against a background of continued drought, bad terms of trade, high rates of interest and limited access to loans.

# SA under fire as SADCC wraps up

By Jasper Mortimer, The Star's  
Foreign News Service

GABORONE — The nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference summit ended here yesterday with Tanzania accusing South Africa of breaking the Nkomati Accord and with Botswana's President Quett Masire being re-elected chairman of this anti-apartheid economic bloc.

Zimbabwe's Minister of Youth, Sport and Culture, Mr Simba Makoni, was elected to the prestigious post of executive secretary.

President Masire's re-election to the chairmanship — which means that his vice-president, Mr Peter Mmusi, continues as chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers — caused surprise as it was laid down that post would rotate to a different head of government every three years.

"Botswana did not get it by default," said a SADCC official. "The heads of state wanted continuity and they wanted Botswana." The final communique also surprised in that it did not even mention South Africa.

But South Africa came under fire when Mozambique's President Samora Machel angrily attacked a Johannesburg black journalist who asked how the Nkomati Accord would affect SADCC's goal of reducing ties with South Africa. "I would like you to stop being proud of belonging to a particular tribe and become South Africans," said the Mozambique leader, stabbing the air with his finger.

"Our non-aggression agreement is for your South African brothers not to attack my country — that is the only thing, good neighbour lines."

While Mr Machel accused South Africa of infiltrating 20 000 armed 'bandits' into Mozambique before the signing of the Accord on March 16, he stopped short of suggesting Pretoria was continuing to support the rebels.

Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, however, followed Mr Machel by flatly accusing South Africa of supplying the Mozambique National Resistance.

"The South Africans are totally unreliable, said Mr Nyerere, "they are not carrying out their part of the agreement and they never intended to carry it out."

The progress report released said that in the transport and communications field — which has attracted most of the SADCC's attention — the organisation required funds totalling 2 934 million dollars for 138 projects. Of this it has secured 740 million dollars and completed 10 projects.

African National Congress President Oliver Tambo attended the summit as an observer and held a Press conference yesterday morning, but his remarks cannot be published in South Africa.

# IMF medicine eases West Africa ills

LAGOS. — West African states, except for black Africa's biggest economy, Nigeria, are generally swallowing the austerity pill prescribed by the International Monetary Fund to pull their economies out of deep recession.

Though most of them may not like the taste, they lack Nigeria's economic and political clout and so will be forced to follow the treatment, banking and economic sources say.

Many governments fear their economies will sink further into recession because of the deflationary impact of IMF measures but their need for loans to pay off debts will dictate reluctant implementation.

Most countries have therefore taken the IMF treatment of cutting public spending, reducing food subsidies and devaluation.

Such measures may have promoted more efficiency but have ensured little or negative growth for many countries in the region.

Only a sustained boom in the prices of commodities, on which the region depends for export earnings, can promote lasting economic growth, the sources added.

For many countries the present recession is the most serious since independence. Many have also been hit by inefficiency, corruption, depressed commodity prices and severe drought.

Nigeria is a case where misguided policies and corruption, together with dependence on one commodity — oil — can lead to economic decline. In 1980 it produced an average 2.1-million barrels a day of the crude on which it depends for 95% of foreign exchange.

It sold its oil at \$40 a barrel, industry boomed on unlimited imports and enough people left the land to end Nigeria's self-sufficiency in food.

Last year the average oil price had fallen to \$30 a barrel and output to 1.24-million barrels daily. Industry was strangled by lack of money for imports and over \$1bn was spent on food imports.

Last month the central bank reported Nigeria's 1983 gross domestic product fell 4.4% and oil revenue dropped almost 15%. Import controls narrowed the payments deficit but inflation was three times the 1982 level.

Since a coup on New Year's Eve, the military government has punctiliously paid medium- and long-term foreign debt instalments, settled trade debts with acceptably short delays and sharply reduced foreign exchange available for imports.

Bankers say a steep cut in first-half 1984 import spending has enabled Nigeria to add some \$300m to exchange reserves. Short-term trade debt, however, stands at \$5bn-\$7bn.

Negotiations with the IMF for a loan of about \$3bn are in cold storage because Nigeria refuses to devalue its naira. The loan was seen as a prerequisite for rescheduling short term trade debts and restoring banking confidence.

The Ivory Coast's ills stem from depressed export revenues from coffee and cocoa, drought and the impact on its debt of a rising dollar.

Government officials say the economic boom of the 1970s, fuelled by high commodity prices, turned into a crisis a decade later. External debt has risen to some \$6bn and, since 1980, the nation has pursued austere policies recommended by the IMF.

Banking sources expect no growth this year, while the IMF says real GDP dropped 8% between 1980 and 1983.

But diplomats and bankers in Abidjan feel firmer coffee and cocoa prices, good rains this year and sounder economic management will lead to recovery in 1985.

In Ghana, a chronic shortage of fuel and spare parts for machines and transport is causing industries to run at a fraction of capacity. Cocoa output and export earnings have slumped.

The budget last March, which brought a further cedi devaluation, reflected strict guidelines laid down by the IMF and World Bank.

Zaire, potentially one of the world's richest developing countries, has seen immense natural resources wasted by corruption and poor management. It has recently been hit by low prices for copper and cobalt which account for some 70% of export incomes.

Though economists label Zaire as a basket-case credit risk, Western creditor nations again stepped in last December to help its economy, partly to keep Zaire's strategic minerals within the Western camp.

Debt rescheduling by the Paris Club of creditor nations cleared the way for an IMF credit line worth more than \$350m.

Bankers in Kinshasa say Zaire is sticking rigidly to IMF requirements and inflation, which soared to 150% last year after a sharp devaluation, should fall to about 40% this year and 30% in 1985.

The bankers expect no Zairean growth in the next five years.

Currently one of West Africa's most buoyant economies is Cameroun, an important producer of oil, coffee, cocoa and timber. Finance Ministry sources predict real 1984 growth of between 6.2% and 7% against 6% last year.

Officials have avoided using oil alone to promote

investment and have directed adequate investment to agriculture. The resulting self-sufficiency in staple foods and a healthy economy has allowed the government to avoid IMF-backed austerity.

The country which may have the region's brightest future is Guinea, whose enormous natural wealth can now be exploited following the end of 26 years of austere socialist experiment last April.

The military government, which took over barely a week after the death of President Ahmed Sekou Toure, has pledged to allow exploitation of enormous reserves of bauxite and other minerals.

But economic analysts expect Guinea to show negative growth in 1983 and 1984 due to Sekou Toure's legacy. — Reuter.

*Most West African countries have swallowed the austerity pill prescribed by the IMF to cure their sick economies. Only Nigeria has had enough economic and political clout to refuse the treatment.*

REGIONAL AFFAIRS *FM 13/7/84*  
**SADCC's chances** ①

Is the existence of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) threatened by the signing of the Nkomati Accord? "No," says Professor Gavin Maasdorp, head of Natal University's economic research unit and a specialist in southern African affairs. Far from undermining the economic goals of member states by drawing SA closer to its neighbours, he argues, the agreement could help the SADCC.

But there are provisos. The key, he believes, lies in Mozambique's role in the SADCC transport network.

The organisation's transport links through Angola and Mozambique, plagued as they are by guerrilla attacks and staffing difficulties, are tenuous. Consequently, SADCC countries rely on SA to move their goods to and from the coast.

Maasdorp argues that if the accord promotes political stability by neutralising the operations of Mozambique insurgents, and if Mozambique comes to grips with its transport inefficiencies, then "the overseas trade of the landlocked states will be able to resume its traditional flows via east coast ports, thus eliminating a major aspect of dependence."

SA membership of SADCC, which some suggest has become more likely as a result of SA's improved relations with some neighbour states, seems unlikely.

The problem, Maasdorp believes, is that SADCC countries face being overshadowed by SA's economic muscle — unless they can wring concessions out of Pretoria such as the Zimbabwe/SA preferential trade agreement.

Says Maasdorp: "SADCC's relationship with SA must be summed up as follows: normal trade — yes; concessionary preferential trade — yes; but preferential trade on equal terms — no."

On the wider implications of the Nkomati Accord, Maasdorp says Mozambique's principal aspiration, that of attracting foreign investment, will not be achieved unless it can control the security situation and improve the efficiency of the public administration. Not an easy task.

No economic rescue can be expected from SA, he says. The accord has been signed at a low point in the business cycle and at a time when SA is being buffeted by world recession, a low gold price and crippling drought.

① *FM 13/7/84*  
Potential regional and international political gains for SA are equally dubious say: Maasdorp.

He concludes: "Internal dissension (in SA will remain unless a political dispensation is achieved by agreement with, not imposition on, the African people."



(1) Fm. 27/7/84

Mugabe called on the West to keep up the process of change in SA by redirecting its investment policies from the SA to the SADCC region. "Such policies," he said, "along with sufficient political pressure on the SA government, could have the effect of compelling SA to accept change and the genuine democratisation of the system in that country."

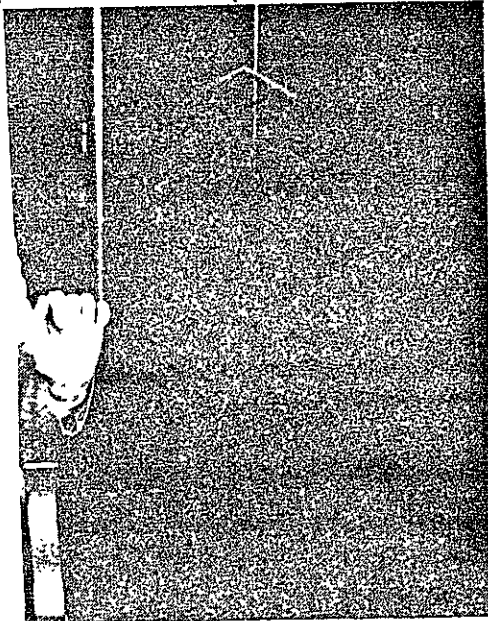
Most speakers at the conference, organised by the Commonwealth Institute, played down political issues and focused on the SADCC's role as a businesslike body concerned with regional integration within a framework of specific sectoral programmes.

Peter Mmusi, Vice-President of Botswana and chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers, gave a bird's-eye view of progress in the four years since the SADCC was established. More than 250 projects have been approved in the programme of action costing \$5 billion to implement, including nearly \$4 billion in foreign exchange. Of these, about half — involving half the finance needed — are either completed, being implemented, or under active negotiation.

The top initial priority had been transport and communications. The programme concentrated on the upgrading, rehabilitation and closing of gaps in regional road, rail and air pipeline links as well as on telecommunications. Most projects were included in systems terminating at the ports of Lobito, Maputo, Beira, Nacala and Dar-es-Salaam, which together linked all nine member states to each other as well as to the sea.

"The logical extension of this network to include a trans-Kalahari railway and access to Namibian ports awaits the end of SA's illegal occupation and the independence of Namibia," said Mmusi.

The title of the conference was "SADCC — Progress and Problems," and speakers like Mmusi and the Zimbabwean Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman, gave a candid account of the region's disastrous economic performance. Mmusi thought that, on a per capita basis, the SADCC countries were, on average, at least 10% poorer than they were in 1981. Norman estimated that if present trends continue, grain imports into the nine would rise from their present 1.8 Mt to a horrific 8 Mt by the end of the century.



acting the 'white' miner

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### SADCC's troubles

Fm 27/7/84

Leaders of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the nine-member grouping of black African states, had a firm answer last week to those who wondered whether recent events in southern Africa might have blown it off course.

Speaking at the end of a three-day conference in London, Botswana's Lebang Mpotokwane, the SADCC technocrat who chairs its standing committee, said the Nkomati and Lusaka accords between SA, Mozambique and Angola "do not and cannot alter the basic nature of the priorities of SADCC."

Expressions of determination, however, did little to hide the disastrous nature of the grouping's economic performance since its foundation in 1980

Mpotokwane emphasised that the SADCC was following a long-term, systematic strategy towards its goals of regional integration and the reduction of economic dependence on SA. Reduction of dependence was vital to the development of the SADCC economies. "This was true in 1980 before the rise of SA economic destabilisation and armed aggression," he said. "It will remain true even if the destabilisation and aggression are wound down, as we hope they will be. Indeed, the costs of that aggression and destabilisation underline how urgent it is for us to get on with reducing dependence."

In that perspective, he added, Nkomati and Lusaka could help speed up progress on certain key SADCC projects — if SA lived up to its promises.

Earlier, the question was asked whether the SADCC would still want to reduce its links with a SA ruled by Nelson Mandela. The answer was that, in that case, SA would be a welcome member of the organisation, and the role of the organisation would then be to promote balanced development in the region.

Opening the conference, Zimbabwe PM Robert Mugabe said he hoped Western governments would not be misled by P W Botha's recent European trip into thinking that SA was now ready to work for genuine peace and meaningful change in SA. He observed that the visit was seen as "a diplomatic triumph" for Botha's supporters. But tension in the region would only end with the dismantling of apartheid — an immoral system which "cannot be transformed into morality by virtue of a mere visit to European capitals by its arch apostles."



Mugabe ... against apartheid's 'apostles'

# African states face starvation as food production falls

— by —  
Jean Waite

Africa is the only continent in the world which now grows less food per person than it did 20 years ago leaving an estimated 150 million people — 25 percent of the population — hungry.

A new booklet "Hunger in Africa — The Human Dimension" produced by World Vision, the international hunger-relief organisation, reveals that 24 sub-Saharan African countries reviewed in a World Food Programme survey last year face the prospect of starvation and widespread suffering.

Africa's food production has not kept pace with a rapidly growing population. The continent has 500 million people — about 12 percent of the world's total. By the year 2000 that figure is expected to rise to more than 850 million.

Africa is the only continent where the annual population growth rate actually increased during the 1970s to about 2.7 percent. This rate is projected to increase through the 80s and level off at about three percent in the 1990s.

Africa averages some 15 persons per square km — less than the world average of almost 32 per square km. The density jumps to more than 53 when desert regions are excluded. It becomes even higher when the uninhabitable areas are excluded.

The life expectancy rate in sub-Saharan Africa falls behind the international average for other low and middle-income economies: 10 percent lower in 1960 rising to 18 percent in 1980. Infant mortality rates are now more than double those of low-income economies outside Africa.

Another significant aspect of Africa's population is its movement. Many people are moving into or near towns and cities or into refugee settlements or camps.

They constitute an immediate and future demand on food supplies; much of this need can be met only through external assistance.

Africa's rapidly growing and shifting population makes in-

# Too many mouths and not enough to eat . . .

creasing demands on production and distribution systems.

There are more mouths to feed and more food must be brought to where the people are. But urban migration is leaving proportionately fewer people to produce food.

Governments' response to this expanding population has varied from encouraging more growth — in Mauritania — to cautious family planning in Kenya.

More than 40 percent of Africa's people are under 15. Such a young population is largely unproductive, it also requires expensive government services such as health care and education.

The World Vision report analyses some of the reasons why Africa is falling behind in its efforts to feed itself.

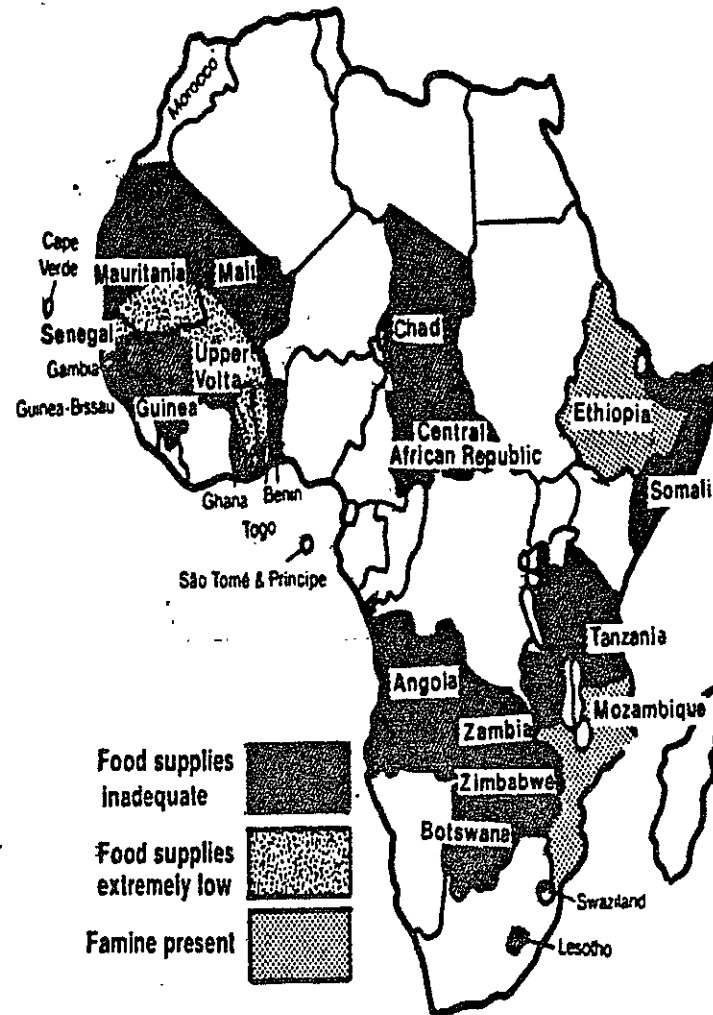
Drought is the scourge of the continent. Rainfall shortages and drought persist in two broad regions of Africa. One stretches 5 000 km across the continent from Senegal on the west to Somalia on the east.

The second covers virtually all of southern Africa south of a line from central Angola through central Tanzania. Both droughts are reducing already limited food production.

Nobody knows if these droughts will continue. A study of rainfall in sub-Saharan Africa by climatologist P J Lamb shows that the drought, which began in 1969, has continued strongly since.

He concludes that this exceptionally long drought is one of the remarkable meteorological happenings of the last 30 to 40 years.

The most optimistic meteorologist prediction gives a gradual improvement in rainfall in western Africa until early in the next century when another serious drought can be expected.



areas the primary water resource is rainfall which varies greatly in quantity and dependability. Some desert areas have virtually none, while central Africa and some coastal area of west Africa receive more than 2 000 mm a year.

Other significant water sources are natural (rivers and lakes) and man-made (reservoirs, wells). Africa has 23 percent of the world's land but only 12 percent of the river runoff.

Irrigation is not yet a significant water resource for most of Africa. Less than 10 percent of cultivated land is irrigated. But for such a water resource to be utilised the local people must be trained in the sophisticated techniques of irrigation.

But even were the land is more economically harvested, Africa lacks transportation networks for taking resources to farmers and harvests to mills and markets.

Fourteen African countries are landlocked; the bulk of their imports and exports move by road, rail or river. These 14 nations together have only 200 000 km of roads, one-third of which are in Zimbabwe. Less than 10 percent are tarred.

This lack of transportation encourages farmers to continue with substitute farming because of the difficulty in marketing their produce.

The World Vision report concludes that Africa has great potential for putting more land into crop production and increasing yields from its present land.

"For the potential to be developed will take major resources from both African and donor nations.

• Donations and copies of the booklet "Hunger in Africa" can be obtained from World Vision International on telephone 674-2043.

The most pessimistic sees a continuing decline in rainfall into the next century predicting that by the year 2030 rainfall would be 40 to 45 percent lower than in optimum years previously and the Sahara Desert will have advanced 100 km further south.

Except for a few areas in the east and south, Africa does not have good soil for crops. Deserts

are expanding and encroaching on arable land.

Deserts cover about 40 percent of Africa's land area. According to satellite pictures taken in 1983 the Sahara — largest desert in the world of some 4.8 million km — has advanced almost 200 km southwards as a result of the present drought.

The report highlights the critical need for water. In many

TIC lays blame on 'opportunists' for looting

Practical politics brings change; Prof

— by —  
Stuart Elifton

# Ghana condemns worker exodus to SA homelands

Star  
23/8/84  
①

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

ACCRA — Hundreds of Ghanaian workers are flocking to South Africa's homelands in search of jobs, acutely embarrassing the government of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings.

The Government-owned *Ghanaian Times* newspaper condemned the exodus following reports that hundreds of skilled and unskilled Ghanaian workers were entering South African homelands daily, particularly Transkei.

The red-faced Accra Government may soon "show its concern" by stamping all Ghanaian passports "valid for all countries except South Africa".

But according to observers in Accra, there is little else the government can do apart from condemning the latest exodus.

Ghana's workers make



Flight Lieutenant  
Jerry Rawlings.

up one of the largest migrant labour forces in world. But they have choked the labour markets of some countries, causing resentment and often resulting in expulsion.

Nigeria last year expelled about a million Ghanaian workers, and recently West Germany deported some 4,000.

With many traditional markets now closed, enterprising Ghanaians are increasingly turning to South African homelands, say reports.

A recent editorial in the *Ghanaian Times* head-lined "A Twist to

Exodus" called the migration to South Africa a smear on Ghana's image of a champion against apartheid.

"For what-ever reasons Ghanaians wish to join the exodus abroad, they are free to do so. But the trail to Transkei is quite intolerable," the State-owned newspaper said.

"Ghana cannot afford to be seen to have any association with the bantustan system in any way, because Ghana has got a reputation to maintain for her principled stand against apartheid.

"To use Ghanaian passports in any exodus to Transkei or the bantustans is to give respect to the apartheid policy and insult our national dignity."

The newspaper called on the government to bar Ghanaian passport holders from travelling to South Africa, but did not say how they were getting there.

# Arusha Socialist plan for SA is not specific

6/9/84

NAIROBI — Little progress had been made in preparing a strategy for the downfall of the South African Government by the end of the Socialist International two-day conference of African leaders in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday, sources said.

They said there had been no agreement on plans for specific commercial, sporting and other boycotts of South Africa.

In addition, calls by leaders of Frontline states, Swapo and the African National Congress for increased financial and other aid against South Africa, while supported fully, had resulted in no specific pledges.

After a closed session yesterday the conference reiterated its condemnations of apartheid, calling for Namibian independence and severance of the linkage between that and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The 80 delegates described apartheid as "a crime against humanity which must be fought on all fronts".

They also condemned South Africa for economic, political and military destabilisation of independent African states and the military occupation of southern Angola.

One of the most militant anti-South Africa speakers was the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr Olaf Palme, who spearheaded a behind-the-scenes bid for more specific boycott proposals.

Claiming that South Africa was a society in permanent violence, he said: "They must know that their system in the long run is doomed. Sooner or later the explosions will come."

● President Julius Nyerere called for an airlift to aid Lesotho which was "under economic blockade" by South Africa.

"South Africa is applying sanctions against Lesotho," he said, adding that it had blocked transit of helicopters to distribute food aid. — The Star's Foreign News Service, Sapa-Reuter.

# Arap Moi's example may be too late for Africa

CASE Times  
31/12/84

LONDON. — Between the latitudes of 23 deg north and 12 deg north there lies a block of catastrophe across Africa from the north Atlantic coast to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coasts.

It is in this area that starvation may fall upon the inhabitants of this continent, even worse than that which happened in the months of 1984. In Mauritania, Chad and Sudan droughts that have already happened may claim their victims in men, women and children, with as savage effect as the droughts across the areas of Tigray, Eritrea and Wollo in Ethiopia during this year. Millions more are going to die.

## Live under the shadow

Starvation on such a scale cannot but help disturb the world and the food-producing agencies of the world and cause concern and action across the globe.

Already the prospect of failing rains and harvests is prompting international planners to think in terms of worldwide consultations about the agricultural arrangements of Africa.


The United Nations and the nations of Europe face the prospect of preparing themselves to meet the drain on the world's nourishment for several years ahead.

The people of this continent are going to live under the shadow of these circumstances well on through the remaining decades of the 20th century.

It will be all very well claiming that Africa suffers from the misfortune of being a drought-haunted area, but there will always remain the tendency to regard the people and nations of Africa as in some ways responsible for the catastrophes that happen to them, as the world's poor relations.

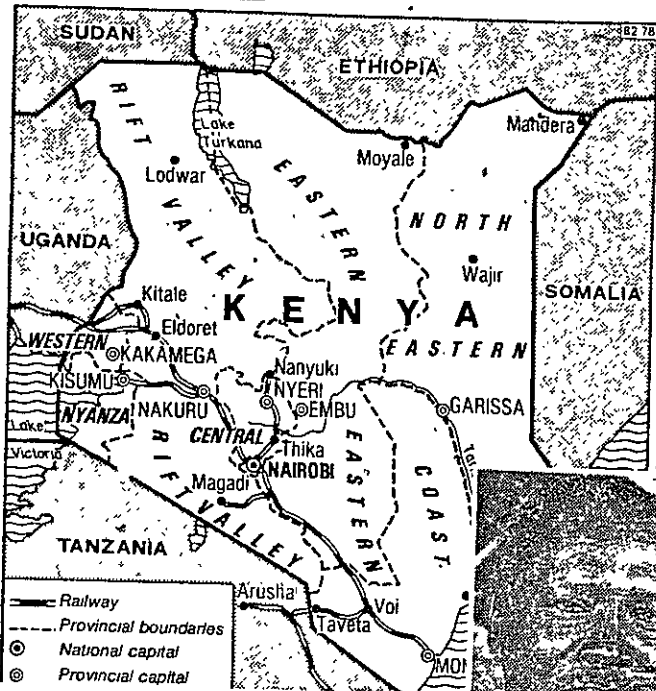
It will be all the more necessary for all the nations of this continent to co-operate with one another to the utmost to build up a kind of continental self-respect in the eyes of the world.

This was foreseen among the



## Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



President Daniel Arap Moi

planners of an independent Africa in the middle of this century.

In the eyes of these people it was regarded as essential that the various areas of Africa — North Africa, West Africa, Southern Africa, East Africa and Central or Equatorial Africa and so on — should combine their individual resources into regional strengths.

West Africa has made some progress towards integration, but the central pillar of strength and population, Nigeria, has destroyed itself by corruption.

East Africa destroyed itself by internecine jealousies.

Africa of the Nile — Egypt and Sudan — was just too big to handle and not enough interested in the rest of the continent.

The OAU always misjudged its strength, and so on.

Southern Africa began to develop the technical communications and the wealth and resources to make a foundation for a united Africa, but its first leaders were diseased with a fault of racial superiority.

Even when the blacks eventually developed inter-tribal organizations capable of creating one society from the Cape to the Zambezi, the white society proved too shortsighted to see the advantages of co-operating with them. In the end its strongest group deliberately broke up the society of Southern Africa.

In fact, Africa more than any other continent in the world, tends to break itself up into ever smaller parts. This is made worse by nationalist

European influences on Africa, which helped to divide the continent into too many colonies which eventually became independent nations and created the biggest block of nations in the so-called United Nations.

If one looks across the particular block of drought-tormented nations from Mauritania to Eritrea, one can see how it stretches from some of Africa's least viable nations still involved in struggle, to become smaller and even less viable, in fact, from Mauritania and west Sahara to Eritrea and Tigray.

In the middle is Chad, torn in a war between a dozen parties; at either end there is civil war. Only Kenya seems to have a leader with a unifying spirit in him.

## Recruiting the peasants

The Kenyan leader, President Daniel Arap Moi, was, indeed, appointed as vice-president originally because he belonged to one of the country's smaller tribes.

President Moi, a member of the Kalenjin tribe, had every reason to struggle against Kenya's tearing itself to pieces in a fight between rivals to establish the Kikuyu as top-dog in the country. It was only by keeping the Kikuyu together that he managed to survive.

What's more, when he managed to suppress the efforts of one of the most ambitious of the Kikuyu, the astute Mr Charles Njonjo, he forgave the man in the hope that he had learnt that fighting for tribal leadership would only destroy Kenya.

Now President Moi is courting the peasant farmers of Kenya who were the backbone of the nationalist Mau Mau. He is recruiting them to be the true basis of present government instead of the money-grubbing urban middle class of the country.

However, I don't believe that the example of one Moi in East Africa is going to succeed fast enough and far enough to spread across Africa in time.

# SA silent on offer of talks by Gabon

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

LONDON — President Bongo of Gabon has proposed talks with the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, according to reports.

But his precondition is that South Africa comes armed with workable proposals for achieving a "just and durable" peace in the area.

President Bongo's offer is considered genuine in London, especially as it first appeared in the Gabonese government mouthpiece, the *Le Soleil* newspaper.

The Star's political correspondent writes that there has been no formal comment from the Department of Foreign Affairs on the offer.

A spokesman said there could be a statement later if more details of President Bongo's views became available.

South Africa has said in the past that Government leaders would meet anybody — provided they did not try to interfere in South Africa's affairs.

# Reds build air base at Sao Tome

13/9/84

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Russians are building major naval and air bases on the strategic West African equatorial island state of Sao Tome and Principe.

Western intelligence sources say the bases will be used to support operations in Angola and to provide an alternative to the less stable Conakry in Guinea for Cape route and south Atlantic patrols.

The small airfield on the main 854 km<sup>2</sup> island of Sao Tome, which lies exactly across the Equator 360 km off the African mainland, is being enlarged.

It is claimed that the enlarged airfield will be capable of taking the biggest jet transports and a naval base is being established on the rugged "hot-house" main island, which has many natural bays.

A report in London this week said that there were believed to be 2 000 Russian and Cuban troops on the islands and 4 000 Angolans, presumably undergoing training.

The Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, which gained independence from Portugal on July 12, 1975, is firmly under the control of Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa's extreme left-wing regime.

Dr Da Costa's ruthless and economically struggling regime has survived several coup attempts and increased Soviet presence and investment could prove him with a much-needed safeguard.

His republic is the most radical of the former Portuguese colonies and one of his first acts after independence was to ban South African overflying of the islands, which have a total area of just 964 km<sup>2</sup> and population of about 85 000.

Earlier this year the island's government denied reports that a Russian base was being established and claimed that a new long-range radar station was for local defence purposes only.

In the past, Russia's permanent West African squadron was able to rely on using Conakry as a base and the large airfield there was used by both Bear and other maritime patrol aircraft and transport planes.

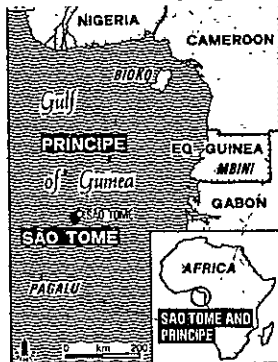
But now that the Russians have been denied base rights there, Luanda in Angola became the only alternative.

But with the stability of the pro-communist MPLA government there increasingly in doubt, Moscow was probably not prepared to make major capital investments in building up a base.

Sao Tome and Principe, being islands, would be much easier to isolate from counter-revolutionary forces which in Africa usually rely on support from neighbouring states.

Once the island's airfield is enlarged, it should be possible for the Russians to resume the long-range air patrol, they previously flew with Bear aircraft in the South Atlantic, which began their patrols from Cuba and then landed at Conakry to re-fuel before returning home.

These patrols were long a source of concern in Washington as the south Atlantic lies outside the Nato area and no Western naval and air forces are regularly deployed there.



# SADCC will loosen ties with SA — professor

① Star  
18/9/84



Professor Gavin  
Maasdorp.

By Jasper Mortimer,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

Agreements such as the Nkomati Accord do not necessarily conflict with the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference's goal of reducing its ties with South Africa, says Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal.

"Through political engagement with South Africa, SADCC countries may well be able to prod Pretoria more rapidly along the road to internal reform than if they continued in their efforts to isolate the country," adds the professor, who heads the university's economic research unit.

In a paper titled

"SADCC: A post-Nkomati evaluation", issued by the South African Institute of International Affairs, the professor reviews the nine-nation body and says that co-operation between it and SA is economically "desirable and necessary".

Founded in Lusaka in 1980, the SADCC is not "anti-South Africa" but rather anti-apartheid and against South Africa's dominance of their economies.

Although member-states talk to Pretoria, the SADCC as a whole has always refused Pretoria's overtures.

"The aims of the SADCC are natural when there is one large dominant country in a region," writes Professor Maasdorp.

transport field where SA has 75 percent of the sub-continent's railways and the most efficient ports.

The key to reducing this reliance lies with SADCC plans to improve Mozambique's roads, railways and ports which have suffered from inefficient management and sabotage by MNR rebels.

"If the Nkomati Accord leads to stability in Mozambique, and if this is accompanied by increased efficiency in the transport sector, the use of the South African transport network would decline and alternative trading patterns might be facilitated."

He is less optimistic about SADCC attempts to reduce their demand for South African goods, as

SA is a major supplier of all the SADCC states, except Tanzania. Even Angola does most of its African trade with SA.

However, the SADCC states do have the potential to achieve self-sufficiency in grain. In non-drought years, they produce 80 percent of their requirements.

While the potential to increase trade among members does exist, Professor Maasdorp is sceptical of any attempts to make the SADCC into a common market.

Under a free-trade system, the goods of Zimbabwe, the most industrialised SADCC state, would swamp the market at the expense of emerging industries in the other states, he said.

## BARGAINING

As all the member-states are relatively weak economically, "there is considerable merit in establishing a regional grouping to bargain with the rest of the world", he says.

The members (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) have more clout with donors collectively than individually. (Latest figures show that in the priority transport and communications sector, the SADCC has raised R750 million towards implementing 115 projects.)

The SADCC dependence is greatest in the



New York

South Africa warned the Security Council yesterday that it would withdraw its contribution towards peace in Southern Africa if the United Nations continued to try to "drive a wedge" between the country and black Africa.

Developments surrounding South Africa's threat — made by Ambassador Mr Kurt von Schirnding on behalf of Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha — included:

- Minutes after Mr von Schirnding berated the Security Council for holding a meeting on the internal situation in South Africa, a resolution of damning indictments of South Africa was adopted.
- Britain voted in favour — a reversal of its pattern of abstaining from such emotively worded resolutions. It was adopted 14-0 — with only the United States abstaining.

### Angry insults

- South Africa swapped angry insults with India and Ethiopia.
- Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu made an impassioned plea for the world to help bring about reform in South Africa.

The resolution, calling for immediate eradication of apartheid, was based on a similar one adopted by the General Assembly last month. It condemned "continued massacres of oppressed peoples" and the "wanton killing and maiming of defenceless demonstrators and workers on strike".

It demanded the dismantling of "Bantustan structures", an end to forced removals, lifting of all bans and restrictions, and the unimpeded return of all exiles.

Mr von Schirnding said: "I must warn that if the UN continues in its present course, South Africa will be forced to withdraw its contribution towards peace in Southern Africa. Frankly ... we have had enough. It is the states around us that will ultimately suffer, and it is this organisation which will have to bear the responsibility and accept the consequences."

### Human rights

Asked to comment further, Mr von Schirnding told The Star's Foreign News Service later that South Africa was no longer prepared to allow hypocrites at the UN to worsen conflict in Africa. He said the threat did not mean South Africa would withdraw from agreements such as the Nkomati Accord.

"If the UN continues in the way it has been, that is to destroy all possibilities of any sort of dialogue, and the Security Council keeps on interfering with our internal affairs, it is going to destroy the ability of the international community to bring the states of Africa together."

In his address, Mr von Schirnding poured scorn on states which had the temerity to criticise South Africa while they themselves did not even pay lip-service to human rights.

"It is ludicrous that my country should be roundly condemned by members of this organisation whose own people are indisputably worse off than South Africans of all colours."

He provoked a row when he attacked India and Ethiopia, whose representatives had earlier used harsh language to condemn South Africa and accuse it of terror policies.

# SA warning to UN: We may quit peace efforts

By Andrew Walker,  
The Star Bureau

Star (1)

### Taken aback

Mr von Schirnding accused India of having an abysmal record of racial discrimination, and said Ethiopia would do better to look after its own people than to make preposterous allegations about South Africa.

Both Indian envoy Mr Natarajan Krishnan and Ethiopian representative Mr Berhandu Dinka were visibly taken aback.


● Asked in Pretoria today to explain more exactly the implications of Mr von Schirnding's speech, Mr Pik Botha said elements within the UN were trying to move the Security Council in the direction of economic sanctions — and were doing this by attacking South Africa's peace initiatives.

"In effect," said Mr Botha, "Mr von Schirnding was warning South Africa's neighbours who might be tempted to go along with these moves to think twice — because it is they who would suffer most from economic sanctions against South Africa."

"It is incompatible for our neighbours to expect South Africa on the one hand to support economic development in their countries, and for them to support UN moves for sanctions against South Africa on the other."

● See pages 6 and 15, World section.

FM Oct. 1984

(1) 

# TRANSPORT War hits links

Political differences between SA and her neighbours continue to be the major impediment to economic prosperity in the region. This is underscored by a study by Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the Natal University economic research unit on transport policies and economic development in southern Africa.

Maasdorp found that while there was an urgent need to rationalise the transport systems of the sub-continent for economic reasons, the political obstacles make the task almost impossible.

Multilateral agreements on transport are difficult where the chief goal of neighbouring states is to lessen their dependence on SA's transport network.

Maasdorp notes that SA is the major conduit for goods in the region and is likely to remain so as long as localised wars carry on. Angola is an example.

The Tazara link to Dar-es-Salaam suffers from infrastructural and administrative problems. MNR rebels threaten the trade gateways of Mozambique. Initiatives like the signing of a pact with the MNR in Pretoria will bring few immediate improvements, he believes.

Maasdorp notes that in October last year, Zaire routed 57% of its imports and 45% of its exports through SA. For Zambia, the figures were 70% and 40%, for Malawi 60% and 50% and Zimbabwe 68% and 65% respectively. Compared with the total volume of traffic shipped by SATS the amounts are small — around 2,76% of SATS' business. Consequently, should the political problems of the region be solved and the ports opened, SATS would lose "only a small fraction of its present volume of traffic," Maasdorp says.

Given the depth of existing enmities, such a scenario, he feels, is unlikely. SA, he says, should thus aim for the next best solution: to conclude workable transport agreements with the countries within its customs union while co-operating more closely with other neighbours.

A final point he makes is worth recording. SA is not the natural outlet for much of the region's traffic. Thus, in the name of economic development, it should not stand in the way of success of other transport initiatives.

D. C. Times 27/10/84

# South Africa urged to co-operate with SADCC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa must seek and promote co-operation with the Southern African Development Conference (SADCC), the chairman of Federale Volksbeleggings said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at a conference on Investment in Bophuthatswana, Dr C Human said the Nkomati Accord was potentially one of the most successful cornerstones en route towards greater co-operation in Southern Africa.

The group of countries comprising the SADCC — Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland — had a population of nearly sixty million people with a gross national product of \$22 billion in 1980 compared to South Africa's \$67 billion, with an average GNP per capita of \$359 compared to South Africa's \$2 290, he said.

"It is estimated that the population within the SADCC will grow by 36 percent during the

present decade. Here are the people and the potential of a market."

Dr Human added that the concept of a constellation of Southern African states had a better chance of success if the SADCC could be brought in to the fold.

Although the scale is loaded against these countries as a result of their smaller economies, there are definitely reasons for South Africa to seek and promote co-operation with the SADCC, he said.

"Economic co-operation has been enhanced by the attitude of the IMF and the World Bank towards Mozambique and the most recent announcement of development aid to Mozambique to Western Germany.

"There are clear signs of a turnaround, of greater realism and a return to the realisation that Africa remains in essence more capitalistic than anything else. We in the southern corner of Africa will have to establish our aims in cogni-

sance of not only political direction within specific countries, but also of the time-frame of processes in Africa.

"The development of an acceptable social and political order is not only important for all the inhabitants of the RSA, but also for the sake of our ability to promote greater stability in Africa."

Dr Human said the greatest challenge facing Southern Africa was to develop the optimum use of its natural resources.

"Acceptance of a strategy for the development of agriculture, industry and mining within the current boundaries of the RSA and the independent black states, is still of cardinal importance.

"Political boundaries have been established which cut across an order which is being perceived as a single economic entity and which has developed as such."

□ □ □  
Bophuthatswana will continue to maintain an

economic incentive differential with South Africa as long as the region is in a development stage, its Finance Minister, Mr Leslie Young told the conference.

The investment incentives would be kept despite all talk of their disbandment because they are "thoroughly appropriate", he said.

In addition the lower company tax rate — 40 percent vs 50 percent — would also be maintained and as long as there was imperfect competition, the lack of GST would continue.

□ □ □

Mining still remains the biggest contributor to Bophuthatswana's national income although it has declined from 42 percent of GDP in 1977 to 36 percent in 1982.

The Secretary for Bophuthatswana's economic affairs, Mr BE Keikelame also told the conference that the contribution of manufacturing had increased to 12.7 percent (R89m) in 1982 from 8.4 percent (R21m) in 1977.

Brian Barrow

1  
**Marxist  
fat cats  
ignore  
African  
famine**

*C. Times  
2/11/84*

NOTHING has shown up the inhumanity of Marxism more deplorably than the tragedy of the famine in northern Ethiopia, where after 10 years of drought seven million people are dying of starvation.

Russia, the grandad of the Marxist military junta led by Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, has given the country nothing but guns and it is bitterly ironic that it is the leading countries of the West that are pouring in aid to prevent a human tragedy of immense proportions.

We all saw it on TV the other night. Another irony is that history is repeating itself. It was the bungling of famine relief operations by the feudal regime of the Emperor Haile Selassie that touched off the bloody revolution of 1974 which ended the autocratic rule of the aged Lion of Judah.

It reminds us that all absolute rulers are ruthless and merciless and in the front rank of them stands Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu himself. Apart from approving the import of 500 000 bottles of Scotch whisky he has done nothing to relieve the plight of his people.

**Reproach**

It was left to the Western diplomatic corps in Addis Ababa to remind him that as supreme leader of his 40 million people he had a responsibility to get off his bounteous backside and do something to prevent an African tragedy and stop an international scandal.

Taken aback by this reproach, Mengistu promised the use of all his country's transport resources to get relief supplies to the stricken northern regions.

At the same time a further 200 tons of whisky and 150 tons of Drambuie worth R1.5 million were being loaded into a Dutch ship on the Tees bound for Ethiopia. The junta was making sure that while millions of women and children were dying of hunger they would not only eat well in Addis but keep their whistles happily wet.

In a fit of pique Mengistu announced that he neither needed the Western diplomats nor the Western media to tell him what was going on in his own country.

**Ignored**

This puts him in an even worse light. The famine in the north has been spreading steadily for years and indeed the country's decade of drought has coincided almost exactly with Mengistu's decade of rule.

Mengistu, with his bottle of Scotch at his elbow, has simply ignored the situation, hoping that, like so many catastrophes in Africa, the emergency would simply die away. That six million of his people were dying away did not seem to bother him over much, probably because those suffering from hunger and thirst come from the troublesome tribes of the north.

Two months ago Mengistu, in a fit of callous vanity, spent something like R60 million on the founding of his Ethiopian Workers' Party to celebrate the 10th anniversary of his Marxist republic — apparently not caring that only a small part of that sum could have saved the lives of thousands of his people.

**Communications**

Also disturbing is what will happen to the millions of rands in Western aid once it reaches Addis Ababa. How will it be distributed and by whom? His regime is one of the most corrupt in Africa — which is saying something — but quite apart from

that there are other near-insurmountable problems.

Communications over the rugged terrain are appalling. For road transport to the stricken areas in the north there is only one highway under government control which runs from Addis Ababa to Asmara in Eritrea.

**Seaborne**

And what makes movement along the ground even more difficult is that the country has been plagued by a series of civil wars which have left behind thousands of armed bandits.

The main port for seaborne supplies is Assab on the Red Sea, but this is simply choked with ships of all kinds and after unloading, which is painfully slow, everything has to be transported 500 km across the country to link with the main north-south highway.

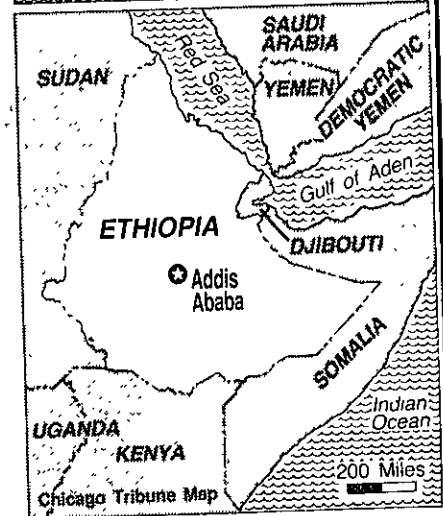
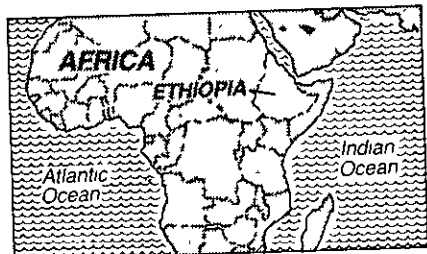
But what sticks in the gullet is that this year alone Mengistu has spent R120 million on prestige jet airliners and of course that R60 million celebrating the first 10 years of Marxist rule.

Furthermore Addis Ababa is full of government lackeys, officers and civil servants who are living it up with Scotch, cars, television sets, smart houses and holidays when what the country desperately needs is bread.

It is said that the only modest thing about Mengistu is that after having absolute power for 10 years he has not yet promoted himself to a rank higher than that of Lieutenant-Colonel.



Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu



# Mighty TV hits home with famine reports

10/11/84

By ROBIN HALLETT

historian and writer on world affairs who lives in England

IT HAS been a remarkable demonstration of the power of television.

The two items, inserted on successive evenings into BBC-TV's main news programme, lasted for no longer than five minutes each. They were reports sent back by a BBC correspondent from one of the worst-hit famine areas in Ethiopia.

There were those pictures that never fail to be heart-rending: small children with large heads, distended stomachs and matchstick legs, children in the last stages of starvation whose wide-eyed stares remain stamped hauntingly on the memory. And men and women dying in the dust, knees drawn up against thin chests. And the constant wailing of relatives carrying their dead — the corpses borne on litters and wrapped in grey cloth — to shallow graves.

Even more distressing was the sight of relief workers, with supplies of food running out, having to choose whom they would help and whom, by implication, they would condemn to death. The wall of a corral divided the two groups. The anguish of those who could not be given food was too shockingly painful properly to contemplate.

Many people have been recalling the prophecy made by the novelist CP Snow in 1974: "Perhaps in 10 years' time millions of people in the poor countries are going to starve to death before our very eyes. We shall see them doing so upon our television screens."

Yes, indeed, that is just what we have been doing — the camera focusing remorselessly on the last moments of a dying child.

The implication of Snow's remark was that in time people in the rich countries would learn to harden their hearts to such spectacles.

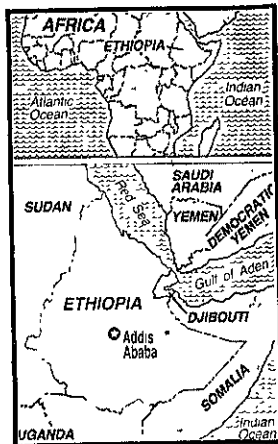
In fact that has not happened — yet. The Ethiopian famine has suddenly become a talking point, brought up regularly in news bulletins and in radio and TV discussion programmes. A group of grain farmers, with a bumper harvest in their granaries, have launched a generous scheme, Send a Ton to Africa.

The most flamboyant of newspaper tycoons, Mr Robert Maxwell, has let it be known in a blaze of publicity that he personally is flying to Addis Ababa, leading his paper, the Daily Mirror, "to the rescue".

Responding to an appeal from the heads of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, the government has agreed to put two RAF transport aircraft at the disposal of the Ethiopian authorities.

And thousands of "ordinary people" have been reaching for their cheque books to help Oxfam or War on Want.

But there is little cause for national self-satisfaction. Looking through the Observer, which made the Ethiopian famine both its headline report and the subject of its editorial, I counted no more than three advertisements from charities appealing for aid to Ethiopia. Their modest inserts were quite dwarfed by the whole, or half-page, advertisements from banks, building societies and insurance companies telling the not unprosperous readers of the Observer how they could find better interest rates and so make more money.



## Predicting a disaster

Nor, in spite of all the publicity, is the British aid particularly remarkable in volume. The latest report shows that "the Scandinavians have been the most generous in terms of cash, the Dutch and the Americans in terms of grain, and the West Germans in terms of people on the ground".

The Soviet Union, much criticized for the slowness of its response, has now announced that it will provide R1.4 million worth of lorries and other transport equipment.

To those who have long been familiar with the real state of affairs in Ethiopia — the aid workers on the ground — there must be both a certain relief and a deep exasperation at this sudden flurry of activity. Many of them have for months past been predicting a disaster in Ethiopia.

Particularly pointed have been the comments of Dr Charles Elliot, until very recently director of Christian Aid.

He has not hesitated to accuse the British and American governments of deliberately withholding food aid from Ethiopia for political reasons. In 1974 famine had been a major factor in bringing about the downfall of Emperor Haile Selassie.

## "Sheer bloody chaos"

Officials to whom Dr Elliot talked made no secret of their hope that another famine would have equally disastrous consequences for the Marxist-Leninist regime of Colonel Mengistu. Dr Elliot was equally scathing in his comments about the Russians and about the Ethiopian government, which he castigated for its inefficiency, its reluctance to admit to serious problems and its slowness in appealing for aid.

The areas worst hit by famine lie in Eritrea and Tigre, provinces ravaged by rebellion and guerilla war for more than a decade. Little wonder that another exasperated aid official should describe the situation in Ethiopia as "sheer bloody chaos".

In such a situation the problem of bringing food to the starving, hard enough in a land of notoriously poor communications, takes on an immensely difficult political dimension. For the wars that ravage Eritrea and Tigre have their roots deep in Ethiopia's turbulent past.

At the moment Ethiopia is receiving all the attention of the media but the well-informed know that many other African countries — especially, once again, the countries of the Sahel: Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso (Upper Volta), Niger and Chad — are also facing famine.

But the prospects for effective long-term international action look at the moment exceedingly dim.

Ten years ago the UN established the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) with the specific aim of helping poor farmers to grow more food.

IFAD has achieved considerable success but now its work is in jeopardy. Its funds come almost entirely from Opec countries, the US and Western Europe.

With oil prices falling, Opec is cutting back its contribution and the US is reported to have put pressure on her European allies not to fill the gap. A meeting held recently in Paris to discuss ways of raising the R1 000 million needed for the next three years is reported to have "ended in disaster". There is no money for new projects, the whole scheme is threatened with collapse.

## Record food stocks

The cynical calculations of the politicians become all the nastier when set against those pictures of the starving in Ethiopia.

Yet viewed in longer perspective one may see some grounds for hope. In the past the victims of famine could often never be helped because of poor communications and the absence of food stocks near at hand.

In 1984 world food stocks stand at record levels and the rich countries have the means to move food very quickly. But perhaps the most significant development of all is that now, through the medium of television, we who are comfortable and prosperous can gain some faint inkling of the horrendous nature of famine.

# Reds deny US claims

## of plans for Indian Ocean base

By Bob Tilley,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MUNICH — The Soviet Union has denied American newspaper reports that it plans to establish a military and naval base in the Seychelles.

The reports were "cock and bull" stories disguising the Americans' own "militaristic ambition" in the area, says *Izvestia*.

The newspaper said the reports claimed that the Soviet Union was repairing oil storage facilities dating from World War 2 and that it had given the Seychelles \$11 million of fuel.

A Soviet ship had also been seen in the Seychelles, apparently prospecting the sea-bed in search of deep water anchorages that could be used by naval vessels.

### 'RIDICULOUS'

"We will not confirm or refute the claims of the American periodicals," said *Izvestia*. "Yet it is simply ridiculous to see in them signs of growing Soviet military presence in the Indian Ocean."

"What looks really strange is their apparent reluctance to see what the United States itself does in the Indian Ocean zone."

The paper added: "Anyone who compares the invented and real facts will see clearly that the campaign about the alleged Soviet presence in the Seychelles is to distract the attention of the Indian Ocean countries from the quite real American military threat."

By Henry Reuter,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

NAIROBI — Thirty international newsmen, invited to the Seychelles during the weekend by its President, Mr. Albert Rene, heard him reiterate that he was not a communist dupe and that he would never allow the islands to become a communist base.

The newsmen were then invited to go out, talk to the people and be as "fair and frank" as he claimed he was being during his televised news conference.

When they flew out of the islands on Monday night it was with the impression that President Rene had not been at all "fair and frank" that he had attempted to hoodwink the Press and public on several issues, and that he was presiding over an increasingly repressive regime, under which many of his people live in fear.

### STATE SECURITY

Opponents of the government met the visitors at a series of clandestine meetings, necessitating the switching of cars and the posting of guards.

Parents told how their sons had mysteriously disappeared after becoming known as opponents of the Rene regime, of an island bristling with State security police and informers, of the comings and goings of Soviet warships and mysterious discharges of cargoes at night, and of how a recent anti-government demonstration was nipped in the bud by a swoop on suspected dissidents.

At his news conference the President declared he was not a communist and would never be a communist, and wanted to refute allegations made against him recently in the international Press.

These have suggested that East Germans, North Koreans, Cubans and Libyans are bolster-

# Seychelles President falls to refute Press reports of reign of terror

## Rene's regime is now more repressive

that Soviet ships offload missiles and other equipment at night.

He said nothing about a recent secret visit he made to Moscow during which 20 Soviet ships called at Port Victoria.

During the Press conference he also made light of the island's internal troubles.

Hotels and other property on the island had not been "nationalised", he said. They had been "acquired" in the public interest, in line with his plans for a virtual government take-over of the wholesale commercial sector.

It was true two people had recently disappeared from the island. One was a drug addict. The other was half-crazy.

He had received a 90 percent vote in the last presidential election and the vast majority of the people were with him. Only a handful had demonstrated against him on September 29.

But Felix Paul, the island's outspoken Roman Catholic cleric, said: "Albert Rene is the man who has wiped the smile off the face of the Seychelles people."

In the process of doing so Mr Rene has built up an army of 750, a 250-strong presidential guard unit, a police force of 800, including a dreaded police mobile unit which is believed responsible for all the disappear-

ances, a State security service called the SSS, and a people's militia.

The last is a kind of "dad's army" of elderly people who draw pensions in the form of national social security benefits and who therefore support the Government.

They are issued with guns without bullets and spend much of their time watching the homes of known dissidents.

Before the revolution which brought Mr Rene to power, the Seychelles was protected by a force of 12 policemen.

Scores of people spoke of increasing State repression.

### CRITICS DISAPPEAR

One elderly couple, whose son disappeared recently, told how a conscience-stricken soldier who had a hand in their son's disappearance had confessed to them that he was abducted, tied to a tree and questioned about opposition elements.

His ears, tongue and testicles were severed and he was then shot seven times and thrown into the sea.

Another man, a road worker who disappeared recently, is believed to have been mistaken for a known dissident he looked like.

Three of the President's critics disappeared after being



President Albert Rene... has wiped the smiles off people's faces.

summoned to a meeting at his house. The bodies of two of them were found later in their wrecked car at the bottom of a ravine.

The third lived to tell the tale, sought refuge in the US Embassy and is now in America.

On September 29 security police, tipped off about a planned anti-government demonstration, swooped and arrested 39 alleged ringleaders. They were released on bail 24 hours later and will appear in court in January.

A crowd of some 300 applauded them as they came out of jail.

Throughout the main island of Mahe there is a thriving traffic in recorded tapes. They contain messages of hope from the "Resistance" in London and everybody receiving them makes copies and passes them on.

Mr Rene's opponents claim 70 percent of the 65,000 Seychelles people are opposed to his government and its policies. Some diplomats put the figure

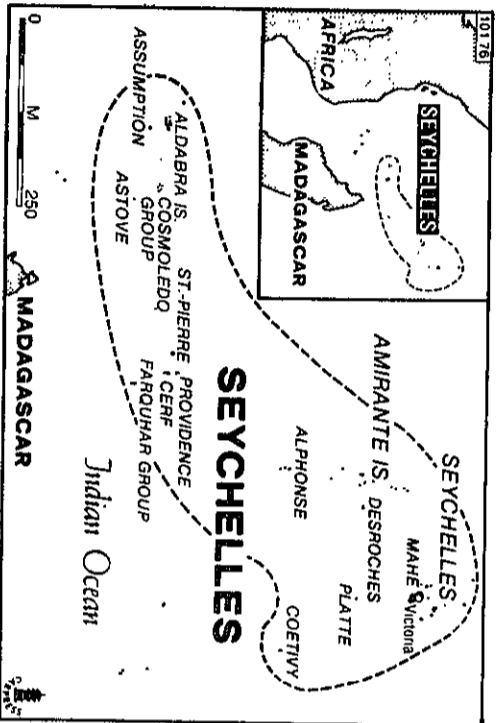
at 60 percent.

Asked at his news conference if there was any way of ousting his regime except revolution, Mr Rene said they could vote against his re-election as President. If they did so he would change his policies.

His opponents say they were scared into going to the presidential polls last June.

President Rene appeared on TV to tell them that in some countries people were jailed for not voting. Asked how Mr Rene obtained 90 percent of the voters' support, they point out that ballot boxes marked "Yes" or "No", containing identical voting cards, were kept in the central police station for more than 24 hours before the result was announced.

But overall there is a general acceptance that Mr Rene and his one-party government are now entrenched too deeply to be replaced by anything except an internal military uprising, a move which civilians concede is most unlikely.



ing his regime, that three radar stations installed by East Germans monitor the US Diego Garcia base and that Soviet warships working out of Aden refuel in the Seychelles.

On these last points, Western sources tend to believe him. The few Cubans on the island are of monitoring Diego Garcia, mainly agricultural instructors, the Libyans have a small embassy which they were reported to be vacating.

And while the Soviet Union has given the President 7,500 tons of diesel fuel, stored in old World War 2 tanks it has renounced on St Anne's Island, its ships are not known to be

calling there for refuelling.

On other issues Mr Rene's Press conference claims are being challenged.

While he claimed there were only 20 North Korean military instructors and 20 interpreters on the island, it is known there are another 70 to 80 manning missile and radar stations.

While he said all foreign navies are restricted to eight yearly visits to the capital, Port Victoria, he did not say that one "visit" by the Soviet Navy included a mother ship and all its auxiliary ships.

While he admitted receiving arms from the Soviet Union and said these were unloaded openly during the day, he did not say

# Many banks are closing their doors to Africa

GENEVA — Africa today is in the throes of an unprecedented crisis fuelled by the global recession.

All major economic sectors feel the pinch, resulting in sharp falls in output in industry, mining and agriculture, the International Labour Office (ILO) says in a survey released in Geneva.

Overall annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth in Africa dropped from an average of 4.6 percent in 1980 to minus 0.1 percent in 1983, the ILO's Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa (Jaspa) reports.

The collapse of commodity prices on world markets has had severe repercussions in countries still highly dependent on primary products for foreign exchange earnings.

The effects of recession in the industrialised world have clearly revealed the weaknesses inherent in the African economy, Jaspa says.

Despite falling prices and slackening demand, there has been no significant change in the traditional structure of exports dominated by 10 main primary products which constitute 75 percent of export earnings in Africa: cocoa, tea, coffee, tobacco, cotton, copper, iron,

bauxite, petroleum and gas.

Farmers tend to produce more for domestic consumption, which is rising, than for exports, which are declining.

Moreover, local prices in some cases have outstripped those offered on the world market. Hence, a gradual return to subsistence type agricultural production, Jaspa says.

The terms of trade for Africa as a whole plummeted from 102.6 in 1970 to 92.4 in 1983. However, the situation was even worse for the low-income countries where the corresponding fall was from 108.8 down to 81.3.

The middle income countries have become extremely vulnerable to the recession because of their heavy dependence on large inflows of external capital as a means of stabilising their economies.

This worked in the seventies when prices for raw materials were such that African countries were in quite a favourable position to repay their debts. But it's a different story today.

Many foreign banks have closed their doors to Africa. African states have adopted a mix of remedial measures aimed mainly at

debt financing, balance of payments problems and reduction in government expenditure and subsidies.

While it still remains to be seen how these classical antidotes will work out in the longer term, the more immediate question is how some of the belt-tightening steps taken may affect income distribution and the satisfaction of basic needs, to which gainful employment is the key.

Jaspa findings show that restrictions in the import of capital goods dictated by balance of payments deficits have led to an alarming decline in modern sector jobs in all countries surveyed.

The recession has worsened the income distribution situation between various income groups and the satisfaction of basic needs of the poor.

The recession has also made it impossible for governments to raise producer prices in spite of the high cost of production sustained by the farmers.

"In this crisis that pervades the African world, it is essential to be on guard against certain dangers," warns an ILO assistant director-general, Ehimane Kane, who is responsible for the organisation's activities in Africa.

"One risk is that of being hypnotised by only certain aspects of the crisis, in particular the problems of balance of payments and other monetary difficulties which would not sufficiently consider the repercussions in the other areas of economic and social development," he explains.

"Another risky course is questioning the social programmes which some regard as costly and sometimes presented as the major causes of the difficulties."

To strike the right balance between austerity and the social objectives of development is not only a question of economic acumen and political will, but also a matter of international solidarity.

There is, at present, a 30 percent gap between what African countries have planned to spend on development and what they are actually able to undertake due to dwindling aid.

This gap is widening because of cuts by a number of significant donor countries in their aid budgets, especially in funds channelled through multinational agencies. A reversal of this situation is crucial to Africa's recovery.

Star 5/12/84

**SOCIALIST IMAGE MATTERS**

# Gun-toting radicals at the helm

**IN** the ten years since Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was overthrown and a socialist revolution swept the country the Addis Ababa city fathers, mostly young radicals, who carry sub-machineguns, have been giving the city centre a socialist image.

This grand, sweeping view up Churchill Avenue to City Hall incorporates the most striking of changes. Before the revolution, both sides of Churchill Avenue were lined with brothels, illuminated with red, blue or white lights, according to their function. (Red for women only, blue for women and music and white for women, music and dancing).

As a first move, the socialist Government demolished the brothels and replaced them with a corrugated iron fence. When the brothels sprang up again behind the fences, these too were knocked down, and their occupants banished to the suburbs.

The magnificent City Hall, incidentally, was finished in the reign of the Emperor. It was discovered later that its architects had forgotten to include toilets.

Just beyond the bottom of Churchill Avenue more demolition has made space for this vast Revolution Square, overlooked by giant portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin where May Day and similar occasions are celebrated with mass march pasts and salute takings.

New statues celebrating worker's achievements and supplied by the Soviet Union have been erected in many parts of the city. But none is more important than Lenin, who frowns down over the city from a hillside site near Africa Hall.

Ethiopian cynics who have no fondness for Russians say the best thing about it is that it appears to be walking towards the airport.

Radicals say the statue catches the eye much more than the tatty, seemingly moth-eaten, live lions which used to sit on top of the broad walls surrounding the Emperor's palace.

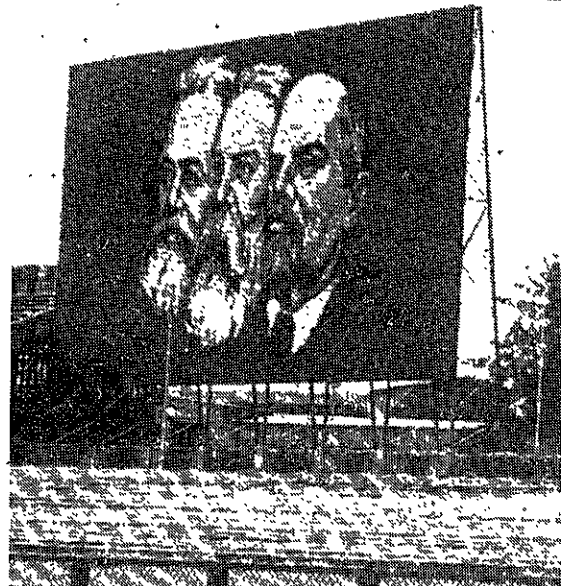
"Addis Ababa" means "the new flower". But, while the city centre has certainly blossomed out with a new look in the past few years, many who live there say it has lost its soul, and look back with nostalgia to the more colourful, bad old days of imperialism.



STATUE OF LENIN: Frowns down over the city from a hillside site near Africa Hall.



CHURCHILL AVENUE TO CITY HALL: Incorporates the most striking changes.



REVOLUTION SQUARE: Overlooked by giant portraits of Marx Engels and Lenin, where May Day and similar occasions are celebrated.

Join the swing to Bell's - your No. 1 choice

Before ye go

BELL'S SCOTLAND'S NUMBER ONE QUALITY SCOTCH WHISKY

**BELL'S** Old Scotch Whisky

100% SCOTCH WHISKIES DISTILLED BLENDED AND BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND CONTENTS 750ml

Ashur Bell & Sons Ltd DISTILLERS PERTH SCOTLAND ESTABLISHED 1825

**EXTRA SPECIAL**

PRODUCT OF SCOTLAND

The Scotch that gives a strong welcome.

**CAREER SUCCESS**

"The day I received my Diploma, I showed it to my boss..... and he increased my pay from the same day."

Mr. I.A. Chandery, (Student)

In only 3 or 4 months you could also possess a valuable Diploma and start earning promotion and high pay.

Make a success of your life NOW and send this coupon to our representative for a FREE Prospectus of Home Study Courses.

BOOKKEEPING & ACCOUNTS MODERN MANAGEMENT.  
 PROFICIENT CLERICAL DUTIES SUCCESSFUL SALESMANSHIP  
 PROFITABLE BUSINESS & TRADING PROFESSIONAL STOREKEEPING  
 FARMING FOR PROFIT GOOD ENGLISH

Your representatives are:  
 Mr. & Mrs. I. K. Blackburn, P.O. Box 992, Fourways, 2055, Sandton, TVL

Family Name Mr/Mrs/Ms  
 First Name(s)  
 Address

Age

**BRITISH CAREERS TRAINING COLLEGE**

ACCREDITED BY  
 COUNCIL FOR QUALIFICATIONS  
**CACC**

**B.C.T.C.**  
 P.O. Box 253, Jersey, Britain.

1125



CME 11/1/85

# Swazis will talk 'openly' to SA

MBABANE. — Swaziland would continue to pursue its policy of "good-neighbourliness" and would not bow to outside pressures to break ties with South Africa, the Swazi Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpi, said yesterday.

Officially opening the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) here, the Prime Minister said his country would continue to talk to South Africa "in the daylight and openly".

Prince Bhekimpi told more than 300 delegates representing the nine SADCC member states, as well as representatives of donor countries and organizations attending the conference, it was "no use pretending" Swaziland was not linked to South Africa and other states in the Southern African region.

● The SADCC has so far failed to reduce member states' economic dependence on South Africa, says a report by the SADCC secretariat.

## Small, weak

The report said the SADCC member states — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Swaziland — were small, weak and heavily influenced by external economic events and conditions.

One of SADCC's major founding purposes had been to reduce members' dependence on South Africa. "But in the adverse economic circumstances SADCC states have faced since 1980, that has proved virtually impossible."

All but Angola and Tanzania were still heavily dependent on Pretoria for trade and transport. — Sapa

Black Southern Africa's unique experiment to extricate itself from the economic influence of the white south is creating interest and excitement abroad.

This emerges from a substantial report by *The Economist's* Intelligence Unit which depicts the experiment as successfully melding the most marxist state with its most capitalist counterpart, confronted by a common enemy.

The movement, called the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, is four years old. Its nine members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Its objective is "permanent work and practical actions".

The report, compiled by Dr Joseph Hanlon who spent five years in Maputo, sees the SADC has having made important gains while seeking to make inroads into South Africa's domination of the area through its control of transport and communications. The SADC does not regard itself

# Southern Africa Venture

as a Southern African Common Market and its commitment to a decentralised approach originally earned it considerable circumspec-tion from the West.

But, says Dr Hanlon, its work as a "marriage broker" has been a success. Disparate activities are being kept stitched together in a variety of ways. More than R4 000 million has been pledged by investors and donors and there is keen competition to pay for some of its best projects.

Completed projects include:

- Upgrading of Botswana's road to Zambia.
- Building a satellite earth station in Swaziland.
- Building a railway yard on the Mozambique-Swaziland border.
- Work in Luanda port.
- Rehabilitating two open-wire telecommunications links (Bulawayo to Francistown and Harare to Lusaka).

## earns acclaim

While dependence on South Africa has not been reduced, the nine member-nations of the SADC can point to other significant successes by the organisation, with more on the way.

In addition to 10 already completed, the SADC has already selected 114 transport and communications projects costing a total of more than R6 000 million, of which half has already been raised.

Twenty-nine of these are already under way, Dr Hanlon reports, and progress has been rapid, considering the magnitude of some of the projects.

The SADC acknowledges that it has so far singularly failed to reduce dependence on South Africa, but its members accept this is likely

to be a long struggle.

For six of the nine countries, South Africa is still their biggest trading partner and there are indications that in some cases that trade is actually rising.

But, says Dr Hanlon, "much of the failure to reduce dependence is not due to SADC's shortcomings, but rather to South Africa's unexpectedly vociferous response to the SADC". Its failures, he says, must be judged against the SADC's obvious successes... and these are increasing almost daily. The Star's London Bureau.

Storewide Summer  
**sale**  
 FURTHER REDUCTIONS  
*Low prices*  
 CITY CAVENDISH SQ. PAROW, PAARL

# Capoe Timers

Funfinder Inside

FOUNDED 1876

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1985

★ 30c (2)

# 'Stop supplying killer chemical to

CALL TRAC 18/1/85

① ~~SP2~~

By DI MEEK  
 Environment Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA'S leading conservation societies yesterday called on Shell South Africa to stop supplying the killer chemical dieldrin to any country in Africa.

And the chairman of the oil company confirmed yesterday that dieldrin was formulated in Durban from basic imported chemicals before being exported to a number of African countries.

The call by the Wildlife Society and the Endangered Wildlife Trusts is the latest development in the scandal over Shell supplying Botswana with dieldrin, which is banned in most Western countries, including South Africa.

The recent disclosure by the African Wildlife magazine has also sparked off intense controversy in the international media. Dieldrin, a highly-toxic organochlorine compound, is considered far worse than DDT and one of the most dangerous environmental contaminants because of its long lasting properties.

Extremely toxic to all vertebrate animals, it dissolves in animal fat when digested and is retained by the body, becoming more and more concentrated as it passes up the food chain.

In a joint statement, Mr John Comrie Greig of the Wildlife Society and Dr John Ledger, director of the Endangered Wildlife Trust, said Shell must accept that DDT and dieldrin were dangerous global contaminants.

Dieldrin was being used on the Limpopo River in Botswana, which led into the Chobe, the Zambezi and ultimately the Indian Ocean.

"In supplying Botswana with dieldrin, Shell is also guilty of contaminating the South African environment, its wildlife and people," they claimed in the statement. They said an unpublished study by a Natal University student had shown high levels of dieldrin in fish and bird-life in the Umfoloti River area 18 km north of Durban, while the chemical recently had been discovered in tissues of birds reaching the Durban Museum. Cats living on Marion Island also showed high levels of the chemical.

Indications were that Natal farmers could be horde-hopping to purchase the chemical, used to combat tsetse-fly. A Shell spokesman yesterday declined to comment on the appeals to stop supplying dieldrin to African countries, where he said Shell had satisfied itself that it "had at all times acted within the laws of the Republic".

"In the importation of dieldrin into South Africa for this purpose, Shell had acted with the full knowledge of the Registrar of Fertilisers, Farm Feeds, Agricultural Remedies and Stock Remedies," he said dieldrin was manufactured in Holland by Shell



# Cape Times

Funfinder Inside

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1985

★ 30c (27c plus 3c GST)

CAT 7/14/85 18/6/85

① ~~105~~ 61

## ing killer chemical to Africa

far worse than dangerous wildlife. Trust said of the most dan- Shell must accept that DDT ommental conta- and dieldrin were dangerous ause of its long global contaminants. rtes. Dieldrin was being used on the Linyanti River in Botswana. It dissolves in the Zambezi and ultimately hen digested and by the body, be- and more con- it passes up the statement, Mr Greig of the e Greig and Dr John ley and Dr John ctor of the En-

study by a Natal University student had shown high levels of dieldrin in fish and bird-life in the Umfoloti River area 18 km north of Durban, while the chemical had also been discovered recently in Durban Museum. Cats living on Marion Island also showed high levels of the chemical. Indications were that Natal farmers could be border-hop- ping to purchase the chemi- cal, used to combat tsetse-fly. A Shell spokesman yester-

day declined to comment on the appeals to stop supplying dieldrin to African countries, but said Shell had satisfied itself that it "had at all times acted within the laws of the Republic".

"In the importation of dieldrin into South Africa for this purpose, Shell had acted with the full knowledge of the Registrar of Fertilisers, Farm Feeds, Agricultural Remedies and Stock Remedies." He said dieldrin was manufactured in Holland by Shell tries in Africa".

"Whenever we hold the stuff it is stored as toxic material and with the knowledge of the authorities."

Mr Wilson said that all- spondent in Durban reports that Mr John Wilson, chair- grade" and could have an af- feet on the environment, the authorities using the mate- rial did so "with due regard" and were "aware of what they were doing and the consequences".



**Stuttards Suits**  
 Once a year summer  
**FAMOUS NAME**  
**SUITS**  
 2 PIECE, SINGLE BREASTED SUITS IN GREY  
 BROWN AND NAVY. WERE R275.....  
 NOW R175.00.  
 CITY MENSWEAR CLAREMONT

## Police suspect survives 9 floor fall

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A 21-year-old man wanted by police for alleged fraud survived a fall from the ninth-floor balcony of a Hillbrow club yesterday morning by landing on the boot of a car.

Mr Dekker (no first name available) clutched a photograph of a male friend in his hand as he jumped from the top storey of the Summit Club in Clain Street.

Mr Dekker, whose picture appeared on Police File recently, was semi-conscious when he was rushed by ambulance to the Johannesburg Hospital at 11.30 am.

The incident occurred while the Hillbrow CID detectives were in his room investigating an alleged fraud, a police spokesman, Colonel Fred Bull said.

"While they were there he tried to tear up his De- Forge, Medical

RAM 22/1/85 (1)

# SADCC moves fail

By MIKE JENSEN

THE efforts of the Frontline states to reduce economic dependence on SA through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) have so far been a "singular failure".

According to a special report on the SADCC by the Economist magazine's Intelligence Unit, SADCC members knew it would be a long and slow struggle to reduce dependence, but progress in this direction has been even slower than expected.

For six of the nine countries of the union, SA is still their biggest trading partner and there are indications that this trade is actually rising, said the report.

However, much of the SADCC's failure was not due to its shortcomings, said the report, but rather to SA's unexpectedly vociferous response to the SADCC, which included various acts of economic destabilisation and armed aggression.

"One effect has been to bring economic chaos to Mozambique and Angola, cutting railways and restricting essential SADCC routes to the sea, making the reduction of transport dependence on SA impossible."

Nevertheless, in pure financial terms, the SADCC's fund raising for economic development projects had been a dramatic success.

More than \$1.1bn was firmly committed

and now being spent, another \$1.25bn was under serious negotiation and at least \$350m had been pledged but not allocated to specific projects.

The SADCC's 99 initial projects had grown to more than 250, requiring about \$4bn in foreign exchange and \$1bn in local costs.

But aside from the success in encouraging joint development projects, the SADCC was having to pursue a different approach in reducing dependence on SA.

"The SADCC states are no longer actively promoting sanctions against SA or disinvestment. They still support both of these, but... the SADCC states now accept that Western governments are not willing to support either sanctions or disinvestment."

Instead, the SADCC was now asking for two things: That new investment be made in SADCC countries and not SA, and that industrial and that commercial investments should not be allowed to enter through the back door of SA.

The SADCC wanted new industry and not branches or subsidiaries of SA firms.

The latter issue had been boiling through most of last year. As the chairman of the SADCC standing committee of officials, Mr Lebang Mpotokwane, said: "We do not accept our region being seen as appendages of SA. Enterprises, agencies or countries which seek to relate to us in this way cannot be seen by us to be co-operating."

# Trade with Africa increases dramatically

By Bill Levitt

Trade with African countries has increased substantially despite the drought, an international disinvestment campaign, and the economic crisis facing many states on the continent.

Government statistics show that total exports to Africa for 1984 have risen by 20 percent over the previous year to R954.1 million even though South Africa has cut back shipments of essential foodstuffs because of the drought.

Imports from the region have risen by 25 percent to R406 million over 1983.

Unfortunately, these figures have not been broken down by country so it is difficult to say with whom trade relations have improved.

Other figures indicate the severity of the drought. Exports of foodstuffs in 1984 declined by 23 percent over the previous year. Imports rose by 111 percent over the same period, mostly due to the maize imports and the weakened rand.

However, it means that African states are taking more manufactured goods and services which may, in the long run, be more beneficial to local industry.

Consultant Ms Sally Gallagher, head of Business Development Africa, says the trade figures represent the tip of the iceberg.

"Those are the official figures," she says. "There is still plenty of trade with the so-called hostile states that won't be reflected in the statistics."

The strong dollar has been an important ally in this case as African states have been

able to pay for imports in cheaper rand-based prices rather than dollar-based.

"In the process they are finding out that South Africa offers better service, shorter lead times and much cheaper transportation costs," Ms Gallagher said.

She also noted that African countries used to try to hide their dealings with the Republic and were usually embarrassed when caught trading. "Now it has become pretty standard," she said. "Practical economics outweighs ideological considerations."

Another bonus for South Africa lies in the fact that businessmen know Africa and will be able to advise practical ways of overcoming problems, implementing technologies and training people, she said.

Official exports to Africa peaked in 1980 to more than R1,000 million but had dropped steadily to R798 million in 1983.

Imports rose by about 12 percent a year from 1979 to 1981 and reached R318 million.

In 1982, imports rose four percent to R332.4 million and then declined slightly the following year to R326.5 million.

# SADCC's first four years

At the end of the month leaders of the nine Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) nations and scores of officials from (mainly Western) donor countries and agencies will meet in Mbabane.

It will be SADCC's fifth annual indaba at which up to \$200m in new projects may be launched along with a review of developments involving \$5 billion.

Hand in hand with these practical issues will walk SADCC's principal motivating factor — reducing dependence on the common enemy, SA. This was top of SADCC's four stated aims in the Lusaka Declaration of April 1980, when it was founded as "the economic side of the liberation coin." And, pre-empting the political rhetoric which can be anticipated in Swaziland (January 31-February 1), comes an attempt at a warts-and-all assessment of SADCC's first four years. The book, *SADCC: Progress, Projects and Prospects*, is published in London by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), and written by Dr Joseph Hanlon, an American who has lived in Maputo for several years — acting, *inter alia*, correspondent for the EIU, the BBC and *The Guardian* — and has tracked SADCC's progress since its birth.

## Political colours

Hanlon is not a disinterested observer. The author of "Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire," and currently writing a book on South African power in southern Africa, he flies his political colours prominently. "The dependence of the neighbouring states effectively supports apartheid, and SA constantly manipulates that dependence to reinforce ... (the) ties," he writes.

Conversely, Hanlon finds: "The SA economy needs the hinterland of southern Africa as a captive market." SADCC trade with SA, he says, is seven times higher than that between the nine member states. While few of Hanlon's statistics run beyond 1982, he gives SA exports to SADCC as \$2 billion with countering imports of \$300m to leave a visible surplus of \$1.7 billion.

This is partially offset by "invisibles" — migrant labour remittances, Maputo rail-harbour fees and customs union payments — of \$650m. Against that there is the \$100m paid to SA for rail-harbour usage to leave the Republic a net \$1.15 billion up on SADCC. SA, however, may not be quite as penetrative as these figures suggest because two-thirds of its SADCC business is with the customs union countries (Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland).

Most of the warts in the EIU report are to be found on white faces: the SA government or expatriate managers of SA linked firms operating within SADCC. And Han-

lon, relying on circumstantial evidence, claims SA (frustrated in the 1979 concept of a constellation of southern Africa states by Zimbabwe's independence) responded to the foundation of SADCC with military action.

He ties in MNR attacks ("SA commandos," according to him) on Beira harbour and rail-road bridges to Zimbabwe, in October 1981 with SADCC's annual conference in Blantyre in November.

Equally he links the SA raid into Maseru in December 1982 with the January 1983 conference in Lesotho. Thus SA "made it clear that SADCC was the target ..."

Then there is the familiar scapegoat of SA's "railway diplomacy." It is not all one-way traffic, however. The report picks out Zimbabwe's decision to build a big coal-fired power station on the Zambesi as a prime missed opportunity at regional development. Cheaper power could have been bought from Zambia and Mozambique. Even though the final decision was taken by the Harare government after a lot of counter-argument, Hanlon manages a swipe at Angola (shareholder/manager of Wankie Coal) and "conservative, and often expatriate technicians."

The report gives other examples of national needs, inhibiting SADCC regional ambitions and trade. Poor marketing and "an inferiority complex about SADCC products," the chronic shortage of foreign exchange and inward-looking protectionism; special arrangements with the SA customs union, such as Zimbabwe and Malawi enjoy; "mind boggling" trade paperwork.

The forex crisis, which is hobbling the uninspired preferential trade area for eastern and southern Africa (which came into operation in July 1984) is also giving SA exporters an advantage. "... various guarantee schemes ensure SA firms can give one year's credit, which can never be matched by a SADCC firm that is competitive in every other way."

Thus, says the Hanlon report: "SADCC has so far singularly failed to reduce dependence on SA." It has, however, had its successes. Financially over \$1.1 billion has been committed, \$1.25 billion under "serious" negotiation and another \$350m "pledged but not allocated." From an initial 99 projects identified by SADCC — as offering mutual benefits — now there are 250 requiring \$5 billion (of which \$1 billion is local currency costs).

The bulk are in transport and communications — 114 costing \$3.2 billion — the priority area of regional co-operation, although some are going more slowly than others. Improving Maputo's port facilities needs \$726m and only \$146m has been raised. National industrial projects, while smaller in extent, is "the area of greatest

SADCC success."

Foreign support has been found for all but two of 88 projects presented at Maseru two years ago with \$700 of the \$950m raised — and Hanlon says there are complaints about the lack of more bankable developments. SA firms are also involved in bidding for projects and their "offers ... will be accepted in several states if they are financially more advantageous, despite being politically disagreeable."

## Increasing credibility

An important, if less tangible achievement, has been SADCC's increasing credibility in co-ordinating presentation of potential projects to donors. For this credit is given to its low-key, decentralised step-by-step approach and absence of expensive trappings — SADCC costs each state only \$500 000 a year. Thus it has become a "palpable reality" in weaving a fabric of co-operation.

SADCC's most severe limitation is that "real power rests outside it" — in SA, foreign donors (the US and UK are still cool to the concept) and the International Monetary Fund, with its stress on free trade rather than balanced regional development. Foreign debt and low commodity prices complete a gloomy financial picture.

Reducing dependence on SA is a process which will take "decades rather than years." And even then, says Hanlon, "it is fantasy to think the SADCC states can ever totally de-link ... and no one in SADCC thinks otherwise." While the Nkomati Accord, and SA's tough behaviour in trying to pressure Lesotho and Botswana into similar deals, has strengthened SADCC's political will for co-operation, Hanlon does see it as "unquestionably ... the biggest single challenge to SADCC so far." It threatens the long-term goal, especially if new investment in Mozambique is dominated by SA-based firms and if trade with the Republic is increased.

Hanlon sees Nkomati as having "emphasised SADCC's relative weakness compared to SA, and that could discourage some investors and donors by showing how long and hard is the task that SADCC has set itself."

Nonetheless SADCC is young — as is the independence of its members — and cannot be ignored by outsiders dealing with southern Africa as a region, says Hanlon. He sums up thus: "Geography forces the SADCC states to co-operate: the shadow of apartheid prods them along. And, whatever the free trade rhetoric, the permanent lack of foreign exchange means there will have to be planned intra-SADCC trade. Thus SADCC will become a more unified market, whatever happens with SA and Nkomati style accords."

# 9 states slam SA 'destabilisation'

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

**MBABANE.** — South Africa's policies of "economic aggression and destabilisation" were yesterday identified as an obstacle to progress by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (Sadec) and its nine member states.

A report by the Sadec secretariat, released at the annual conference yesterday, acknowledged that South African "economic aggression" had abated last year.

But, the report added, last year's hope that South Africa would "cease attempts to destabilise the economies of its neighbours has remained unfulfilled".

Nor, the report said, had South Africa's agreements with Mozambique at Nkomati, and Angola at Lusaka, led to the return of peace.

"South African troops remain on the soil of Angola while South African proxies, formerly disavowed by South Africa in the Nkomati Agreement, continue to pursue a policy of economic destruction in Mozambique."

The report conceded, however, that a "reduction of direct South African aggression" has allowed progress in the programme to improve the ports of Lobito, Maputo and Beira and the approaching transport networks.

In an address to the conference the Secretary-General of the Organisation for

African Unity, Dr Peter Onu, said: "As you meet and plan your future today you will no doubt remember that there are serious threats posed to your very existence and survival by the apartheid regime of South Africa which is intensifying its destabilising manoeuvres."

The Sadec report contained an appeal to Sadec's international partners to use their "considerable economic and political leverage on South Africa" to bring an end to South Africa's purported economic aggression.

Sadec's international partners, who have provided most of the funds for development projects, include the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as Third World nations and smaller Western and communist states.

Established in 1980, Sadec's primary aim is to lessen the economic dependence of its nine member states — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — on South Africa.

About 30 new projects are in the process of being presented during Sadec's two-day conference at Mbabane. Most relate either to the energy or agricultural needs of the nine member countries.

Dr Onu focused on the agricultural problem when he said: "Severe drought and famine are ravaging most parts of the African continent . . . 34 African countries are affected by drought while 36 are dependent on food aid".



# Africans will be poorer, SADCC states told

ADM 2/2/85  
①

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

MBABANE. — As the more than 300 delegates to the annual general meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) ended their deliberation yesterday they were confronted with the stark diagnosis that the average African citizen might be worse off in 1995 than at independence.

The warning came from the vice-president of the World Bank, Mr E V K Jaycox, in a paper released at the conference yesterday.

"Today the average African citizen is worse off than in 1970 and by 1995 may be poorer than at the time of independence," Mr Jaycox said.

Sub-Saharan Africa, including most of the nine-member states of the SADCC, faced a crisis of declining per capita income which had been gathering momentum for nearly a generation, Mr Jaycox said.

The roots of the crisis were three-fold. They were:

- Rapid population increases which were outstripping economic growth;
- Low and declining efficiency of investments;
- A "hostile global economic situation" which

African governments had done little to counteract.

Urging African governments to devote more attention to reducing the rate of population increase, Mr Jaycox said: "The population rates have got to come down if progress against poverty is to be achieved."

Mr Jaycox, who unlike most speakers did not blame "South African economic aggression" for the region's economic ills, attributed a portion of the blame for declining investments to the African governments themselves.

They contributed to the problems by poor economic management as manifest by:

- Pricing and marketing policies which eroded incentive in agriculture;
- Policies which allowed public enterprises to grow, irrespective of whether they were well managed and whether they were making good use of scarce natural resources.

Mr Jaycox also criticised the donor countries and institutions which have provided the bulk of the funds for SADCC projects.

They had to share responsibility for the selections of projects which had "cost Africa dearly" rather than assisted the continent.

ONE Times 2/2/85 (1)

## World Bank aid to Africa 'small'

PARIS. — The World Bank's proposed special fund to help rebuild sub-Saharan Africa's economies, after a decade of famine and drought, was likely to be much smaller than planned, aid officials meeting here said.

The bank originally called for a \$2-billion (R3.9-billion) fund, but even the \$1-billion (R1.95-billion) target is unlikely to be reached after Britain, West Germany and Japan announced on Thursday that they would not contribute.

The United States has rejected the World Bank fund launched yesterday, preferring to put \$500-million (R980-million) into its own African fund.

France promised about \$165-million (R323-million) over the three years that the fund will operate, and Italy, the Netherlands, Nor-

way and Sweden offered more money than hoped.

Aid officials said countries not participating in the fund might contribute indirectly through co-financing arrangements, with Japan appearing the "least negative" on this proposal.

However, they said the bank might have to inject some of its own money to achieve the \$600-million (R1.18-billion) that its president, Mr Tom Clausen, has said he expected.

The fund is to help African countries boost investment, improve production techniques and rebuild neglected infrastructure.

The 23 countries attending the meeting at the World Bank's European headquarters here are mainly from Europe, North America and the Middle East, with one African representative, Algeria. — Sapa-Reuter

Mary 4/2/85

(1)

# World Bank's Africa Fund may be doomed

WASHINGTON—A world bank bid to raise at least \$1 000m in African aid appears unlikely to win support from the major Western powers, even though concern over the African drought has deepened, bank officials say.

Some 23 potential donor nations met in Paris last week to confront the issue, but so far, the bank has a mere \$250m promised from France and the Netherlands.

Other major donors — The U S, West Germany, Japan and Britain — have to date refused to participate, the officials said.

The negative response has come despite a personal appeal from World Bank president A W Clausen that appears to have been rejected by top U S allies after Washington refused to join.

The officials said the Paris meeting could be a critical test for the bank and its current leadership.

## Proposal

'Do donor nations want the bank to lead these initiatives, or are they looking for other vehicles?' one official asked.

The official was referring to growing criticism that Clausen's leadership has become ineffective and to repeated attacks on bank policy by the Reagan administration.

The proposal for a special world bank 'Africa Facility' came after efforts to boost the resources of the International Development Association, the bank's soft loan arm to the world's poorest nations, collapsed last year.

The bank, backed by many Western nations, had pressed for a \$12 000m three-year capital replenishment, citing the crisis in the poorest parts of the Third World, especially sub-Saharan Africa.

The IDA debacle came about after the refusal of the U S, increasingly irritated its aid to the world's poor countries is not reciprocated by friendly foreign policies, agreed to no more than nine billion dollars for IDA.

As a result the bank has invested a lot of its prestige in trying to persuade other Western countries to join an Africa fund, but one official said of the meeting: 'I want to be honest: the outlook for Paris is gloomy.'

Washington has refused

point blank to get involved in the Africa Facility, pointing instead to its own \$500m five-year programme of aid to the continent.

Similarly, West Germany, Japan and Britain have declined to offer firm commitments for the facility without the assurance of joint involvement.

But Ernest Stern, a senior vice-president of the bank in charge of lending, told reporters recently that some of the 23 donor countries would contribute eventually while others would reshuffle already allocated aid to the Facility.

## Loans

Proposals for an Africa Facility come as World Bank loans to the third World are actually falling because borrowers increasingly resist the stiff economic reforms demanded by the development agency as a condition for many of its loans.

Bank officials ruefully admit that money lent out this financial year could fall by as much as \$2 000m in the wake of reluctance by several Third World nations to take up loans, a problem that could plague the Africa Facility.

The officials said loans made from this fund would also be made in conjunction with economic reforms, but they expected African leaders to be more flexible than in the past.

'There seems to be a little more intellectual hon-

esty now and less rhetoric,' one official said. 'They really need help with policies: they're afraid to change because they're afraid of being overthrown.'

Underlining the urgency for more African aid and economic reforms, Stern pointed out that Africa owes some \$70 000m to foreign creditors.

And in some countries, servicing these foreign loans swallows up almost all the foreign exchange they earn from exports.

The African Facility would be similar to concessional loans already made by IDA, which are usually granted for 50 years without interest charges. — (Reuter)

SADCC

(1) FM 8/2/85  
**Asking more aid**

Meeting in Swaziland last week, the nine nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) said they were satisfied with progress towards economic independence.

There is hardship and political insecurity, but Pretoria is to blame, they said. That, at least, was the verdict given to the 41 donor countries and aid agencies that sent representatives to the Swaziland meeting.

Says Botswana's vice-president and chairman of the SADCC Ministers' Council, Peter Mmusi: "We sought and have received reaffirmation of the shared values and objectives on which SADCC is founded. The foundations are sound and the structure has been solidly built."

Mindful of the "concerned criticism" of certain SADCC operating procedures, as well as individual members' economic policies, however, Mmusi added: "There is still some carpentry to be done."

**No solutions**

Somewhat modestly Mmusi closed the conference by saying: "Conferences do not solve problems, they help to identify them. In that sense, the conference has been a success. We on the SADCC side will take away a clearer perception of the genuine concerns of our international partners."

It was clear that many problems had indeed been identified and that donors had called for changes — including structural changes within SADCC states. The SADCC for its part wants more money — euphemistically termed "an increased volume of external resources" to help it attain economic liberation.

Mmusi said there was much SADCC could be proud of in the past year, but was able to point to few completed projects. About a quarter of total funding for 114 projects, costing at over \$3 billion, had been secured or is under active negotiation.

Progress has been made on the Dar es Salaam port project, the subject of a special conference later this year.

It seems, however, that the SADCC's international partners have grown more supportive.

The EEC, for example, has improved its aid facilities to members of Lome Convention which includes eight SADCC members. Improved EEC assistance to SADCC itself is also planned although it is not clear as yet whether substantial "new" money will be donated.

Leading the aid revival is the group of Nordic states. They presented a (still secret) new initiative aimed at broader and more co-ordinated economic co-operation to which the SADCC which will formally respond in May.

Head of the Swedish mission, Gosta Edgren, tells the FM that the Nordic proposal to explore "region-to-region co-

operation" came originally from Finland. The Nordic states are disenchanted with the North-South dialogue and want to explore dialogue between groups of countries instead, says Edgren.

The Nordic contribution to SADCC members individually and to the organisation as a whole is around \$500m annually. However, Edgren says the new proposal does not involve "vast additional sums." Instead, the plan is in the form of an agenda for co-operation.

NEARLY five years ago the nine member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) took the first step on what they knew to be a long journey.

SADCC's objective was to maximise regional co-operation between its nine members — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — in order to reduce their dependence on South Africa and to improve the living standards of their peoples.

Last week SADCC held its annual conference in Swaziland, with the purpose, in part, of assessing its progress so far.

But on the eve of its fifth anniversary the picture in the critical field of agriculture, on which so much else hinges and on which 60% of the region's population depends for its livelihood, is

# SADCC's first steps on its long journey

NDM 7/2/85 (1)

**PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor**

not encouraging.

"In all countries of the region, agriculture, agricultural exports and import substitutions play a major part in the national economies," a report prepared for SADCC's annual conference noted.

"Yet agricultural production is declining in every country except Swaziland ... in per capita terms. Production gains have, in the past, been too often due to an expansion of area planted rather than to unit productivity increases.

"It is quite apparent that without major changes in agricultural production trends, the basic objectives of SADCC cannot be achieved. South Africa is the main source of supply of imported food for several SADCC countries."

In an address to the annual conference, Mr Peter Mmusi, Botswana's vice-president and chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers, said: "Over the past 25 years massive resources have been devoted to agricultural transformation. The dividends have been disappointing. The formula for a production revolution continues to elude us."

Mr Mmusi added: "Meanwhile hunger grows. There can be little doubt that agricultural transformation ... on a sustained basis is more difficult to achieve than any other form of development."

While the devastating drought of 1982-84 disrupted agriculture extensively, it is clear from both the report on agriculture and Mr Mmusi's address that the crisis has deep, underlying causes, of which Southern Africa's capricious rainfall is but one.

"SADCC recognises that serious mistakes have been made in the past by member states," the agricultural report said.

"The urban development bias is not only well docu-

mented but is also visibly apparent in the relative growth of urban centres throughout the region.

"Agriculture has often been neglected and agricultural policies have usually failed to embrace the long-term nature of agricultural production decisions and of appropriate technology generation and adoption."

Another sphere spotlighted at the annual conference was energy. For good reason: between a quarter and half of the region's foreign currency earnings are spent on the purchase of petroleum.

The use of foreign exchange earnings on the purchase of petroleum means, as an analysis presented at the conference noted, diminished foreign exchange investments in agricultural, health care and education.

More than 30 energy projects have been presented so far, about half of which have attracted funds from SADCC's "international partners" or, to be less coy about it, the donor nations and institutions situated for the most in the relatively wealthy and industrialised regions of the world.

But as an Angolan energy expert complained at the Mbabane conference: "We find that most of the international co-operation partners channel the bulk of their funding into feasibility and pre-feasibility studies rather than into genuine in-

vestments such as a basic and professional training, building construction and transfer of technology."

Adding to these sombre anxieties was the gloomy prognosis of Mr Edward Jaycox, vice-president of the World Bank: "Today the average African citizen is worse off than in 1970, and, by 1995, may be poorer than at the time of independence. There has been nearly a generation of declining per capita income in sub-Saharan Africa."

Unlike many delegates at the conference Mr Jaycox did not blame "South African economic aggression and destabilisation" for the ominous situation.

Instead he attributed a portion of the responsibility to the African governments (for their failure to tackle burgeoning population growth and to adjust economic policies to counter hostile global economic forces) and to the donor nations (for sometimes placing commercial self-interest above the real priorities of SADCC countries).

But to emphasise the problems confronting SADCC is not to deny it has made real progress in some areas (improved transport links between member states has been a major achievement.)

"Even the longest journey begins with the first step," SADCC's founders noted five years ago, citing a Chinese proverb. But, to continue the metaphor, there are still thousands of steps to be taken on the long and arduous path ahead before the end is reached.



# Money not only stumbling block in feeding Africa

CMC Times  
18/3/85

1

LONDON. — Muddle and good intentions follow one another so fast in African affairs that it is difficult to hold out much hope for the eventual success of the emergency meeting on feeding Africa.

The meeting was called by the United Nations and started a week ago in Geneva.

What has spurred the world body into activity is that 30 million people in 20 nations on the African continent are already starving or perilously near it.

All the nations on earth are gathered either to pledge more food mainly to people barely existing along the edge of the Sahara, or build up funds so that they will be able to feed themselves in the future.

## Cut off funds from starving Africans

But almost immediately contradictions arise.

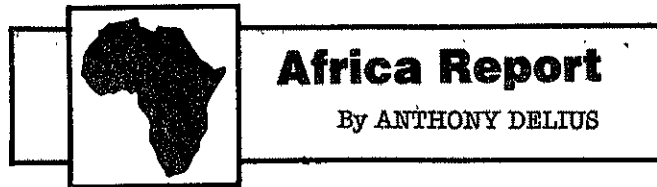
The American vice-President, Mr George Bush, had arrived in Geneva from such hungry countries as the Sudan, Niger, Mali, Mozambique and was moved to make a grand gesture offering to relieve half of Africa's present hunger from overflowing harvests of the United States.

He may or may not be aware that his president is taking a hard line with the hard-pressed farmers of the American middle west and refusing them aid to pay off their mortgages, a step which will also cut off funds from the starving Africans. There are also doubts among advisers on Africa on how to produce enough meat for the future.

Once again there is argument among the experts about what to do about the tsetse fly, whose presence menaces Angola, Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania and Mozambique.

The old plan of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization was to wipe out the sleeping-sickness-bearing fly from 10 million acres of pasture, spread from coast to coast. In this way, some experts say, the way will be opened to add 120 million cattle to the pantry of Africa.

The preparation of much African woodlands and forest



Ox racing in cattle-rich Botswana. Replacing game with cattle may damage the structure of the soil in Africa.

to support such a new weight of cattle, it is believed, can be done by saturating the huge area with great quantities of pesticides.

However, it is now suspected that replacing game with cattle will tend to damage the structure of the soil — cattle need more water than game and also break up the soil surface more drastically. Indeed buffalo will be less hard on the land than herds of Frieslands, Jerseys and Zebu.

By leaving the veld alone to be inhabited by tsetse-resistant game, the land and water will be kept in better shape than by changing it to become the pasture base for herds of meat-bearing cattle.

Also to be considered is the effect of spraying pesticides on rivers, lakes and ponds. The fish stocks, on which Africans live to a great degree, can be severely damaged and reduced. Again the cover of great plains can be destroyed or changed as the UN campaign-

tempts to destroy the great pests of Africa that it is putting money into a film called "The End of Eden".

There is renewed fear that the further spreading of cattle-culture in great parts of Africa will only result in desert, or in the increase of desert, along the edges of the Sahara and the Kalahari.

Africa is not a natural cattle-pasture which can be expanded into millions of acres for meat herds. There are economic barriers too. In cattle-rich Botswana it is now discovered that 80 percent of the animals in the territory are owned by only 19 percent of the population (11 percent of these owners are in the government and many other African governments have cattle-owning ministers).

## Famine staved off by amassing money

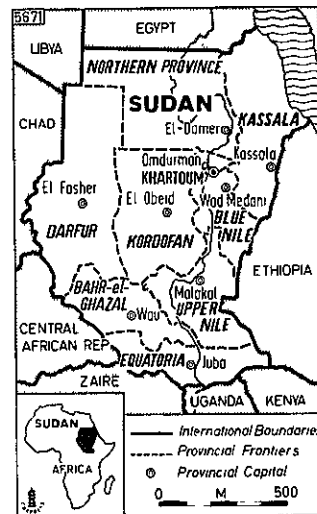
Thus curing the huge food problems of Africa is not going to be achieved by the rest of the world joining a great scheme to throw dollars, yen and pounds at them.

Even if famine is staved off by amassing great heaps of money to deal with starvation and buy tractors and ploughs, in another year or after another missed rain season the problem will be back.

You can train great numbers of modern African farmers, but unless they can adapt modern ways to African conditions or vice versa hunger will always haunt the continent's agriculture.

Perhaps, too, the African social customs requiring large families, and the ambitions of new nations to have large populations, will have to be curbed. Possibly Kenya and Nigeria already have populations too big to handle.

There are those who say that the biggest territory in Africa, the Sudan, can become the bread basket of the Middle East but that will take a century or two to achieve, and it still may not improve the capacity of Africa to feed itself, even if the UN does manage to induce the world to contribute millions to the agricultural rescue of this continent.



Sudan — bread basket of the Middle East?

ers burn off the natural bush, and even forest, to get at the hiding places of tsetse fly.

An international bank has become so disturbed by the surface damage done in at-

ternatively, the patient can pay the bill in full and claim the Rams rate from medical aid.

Doctors are guaranteed the Rams rate in full. If the charge is less than the Rams rate the benefits will be passed on to the patient. If the higher Masa tariff is charged, doctors must claim directly from the patient who must then claim from the medical aid scheme.

Ernstzen hopes that these measures will enable medical aid societies more direct control over their finances and thus be able to budget on a more certain basis. Tariffs are to

be reviewed annually to allow for forward budgeting. However, doubts have been expressed as to whether the Act will result in lower costs as there is little likelihood those doctors "contracted out" will reduce their rates. They will probably still charge higher rates. On the other hand those doctors "contracted in" will only be encouraged to charge more.

Ernstzen points out that those doctors "contracted in" increase the costs of medical aid payments by as much as 40% because they tend to see patients more frequently

than do those doctors who are "contracted out." And they have higher service rates too.

He adds that the industry is not accumulating sufficient funds to cover the price increases which result from inflation and the depreciating rand. He feels that despite the amendments the structure is still too rigid and that they are obliged to pay for too many benefits. It would be more desirable to cover only the serious medical needs and not the whole spectrum, claims Ernstzen.

In SA approximately 20% of the population is under medical cover. ■

MANFRED REICHARDT

## Developing southern Africa



Manfred Reichardt is the recently appointed special adviser to the chief executive of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). He studied economics at the universities of Zurich, Bonn, Cologne, Paris and the London School of Economics, and has more than 20 years' experience with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

**FM:** How do you see your role in the DBSA?

Reichardt: As part of the DBSA I want to help southern African states avoid some of the mistakes experienced by many African countries in their early phases of independence. In my 30 years' experience as businessman and international banker, mainly involving African countries, I have seen many achievements and many failures.

The DBSA, as a young, multinational body, has the potential to become the pivot of development efforts in the whole of southern Africa.

**What were the mistakes?**

The over-proportional growth of the government apparatus, the creation of too many public bodies and the decline in productivity; and the negative influence of some foreign businessmen trying to exploit the inexperience of some of the young governments, with the enormous swelling of the public debt as one consequence.

The debt crises of many less developed countries (LDCs) — not only in Africa — is ample proof of the wrong approach to their problems.

**Were these danger signals understood?**

About four to five years ago, the IMF recognised the link between these policies and their negative results. LDCs and their governments developed the impression that an efficient economic policy and budgetary discipline could be superseded by political exigencies. Resulting financial gaps would be covered, they believed, in some way or other by benevolent foreign donor countries

or international institutions.

This approach resulted in an allocation of resources which was not optimal or, in some cases, even detrimental to the country concerned. This, in turn, led to disenchantment with the development idea, first in the industrial countries, but soon among the better elements in the recipient countries.

**How did the IMF react?**

The management of the IMF quite rightly changed its policy. It has since emphasised the "help yourself idea" and has been applying stricter economic principles when granting credit. In fact, credit is provided now only if the recipient country adopts economic policies leading to a balanced growth of the economy, based on sound economic principles.

**So how do you see the DBSA's development role in southern Africa?**

At the DBSA I will try to help participating states learn from the adverse experience of the past 25 years. The final aim will be to help these states grow more and more economically self-sufficient.

One could compare its activity with that of the World Bank. It provides project aid to the participating states in the form of finance and/or technical assistance, mainly in the fields of agriculture, rural development, industry and manpower development.

Project aid is provided only after it has been verified that no private sector initiative is forthcoming and that the project is economically viable.

I can foresee an even wider role for the DBSA. All participating states are within the rand monetary area (RMA) and members of the Southern African Customs Union. One day, the DBSA may be able to fulfil, not only the functions of the World Bank, but also some functions similar to those of the IMF.

For example, non-traditional lending, such as structural adjustment loans, are becoming more important for economic prospects of the recipient state than straight project lending. And the non-project loan would allow the DBSA to promote important policy changes and economic reforms.

**Is your role limited to states in southern Africa?**

Not at all. Being an international organisation, I cannot see why the DBSA should not attract other states into this part of the world. If they wish to contribute and benefit from the DBSA, they are welcome.

**Can the DBSA obtain development funds from international sources?**

The agreement establishing the DBSA authorises it to receive grants from any source, subject to certain conditions. It may also tap capital markets for additional sources in or outside the RMA. Indeed, we have already received various loan offers from outside the RMA.

**Could economic development transcend political differences in future?**

That's a difficult question. A sound economic policy in all states in southern Africa should lead to a balanced growth and, in a free market system, the standard of living of all inhabitants should go up. That is the classic approach to reduce political differences as well.

Although all political differences may not be transcended by a considerable improvement in the living conditions of everyone, the economic interdependence of all states in southern Africa will play a significant role comprehending the importance of having an economically strong neighbour.

**Is there a possibility of the IMF and the World Bank becoming more directly involved in southern Africa, once the DBSA starts spreading its wings?**

International institutions tend to work in their own field. However, sooner or later they become aware of related interests or overlapping areas and they often exchange views or even come to some form of co-operation. I could foresee such possibilities, yes.

**What is your view on disinvestment?**

I share the view that disinvestment in SA is a politically short-sighted approach, regardless of your political stance. It will be harmful to both sides, to a variant degree. If applied, it will not achieve the final aim, as was proved by Ian Smith's Rhodesia and SA's experience with the arms embargo. ■

FACE  
TO FACE



(D) Stan 1/4/85  
**SA's influence 'now reaches to Morocco'**

NEW YORK — South Africa is extending and consolidating its dominance in Southern Africa, according to an analysis published in the influential *Christian Science Monitor* in Boston.

Louise Wiznitzer, quoting UN African diplomats, says South Africa,

"not content with playing the role of 'regional cop' ... is engaged in an ambitious continental policy extending as far as Somalia and Morocco, in an attempt to establish itself as Africa's main power".

She quotes diplomats as saying the action is

carried out with the tacit assistance of the United States.

Quoting a West European diplomat, she says: "Mozambique has been so weakened that it has to dance to South Africa's tune. The same is true of Zambia, whose economy

is almost completely dependent on South Africa's goodwill.

"South Africa's successful bid for leadership in Africa was helped by the Reagan Administration's policy of 'constructive engagement'," according to the diplomat. — Sapa.

# SA exports to Africa increase

South African exports to Africa have started to increase after a steady drop since 1980, says South African-based foreign trade consultant Miss Sally Gallagher.

She told the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg yesterday that exports to African countries who officially dealt with South Africa had increased substantially in the last six months.

"Exports to those countries who officially do not deal with South Africa have increased between 20 and 25 percent in

the last few months," she added.

In 1980, trade with Africa had reached R1 million mark but because of the world recession it had dropped again.

Miss Gallagher said there were ten countries in Africa who dealt openly with South Africa: the Ivory Coast, Comoros, Malawi, Mozambique, Reunion, Seychelles, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Mauritius.

"But I can say there is not a single country in Africa that has not purchased South Afri-

can goods in the last five years," she added.

"That is why I cannot understand our businessmen when they show despair every time an African country makes a statement against South Africa, which is a natural trading partner of the continent."

Miss Gallagher, former senior executive at the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, said there could be a danger in the fact that trade with black Africa was in most cases highly favourable to South Africa.

# Mauritius aims for SA industry

Star By Stan Kennedy 3/4/85

The importance of South Africa to its tourist industry and the need to redress its poor balance of trade, which is strongly tilted in favour of South Africa, has spurred Mauritius to take part in this year's Rand Easter Show for the first time.

Last year, South Africa exported goods worth R50 million, mainly paper products and machinery, against textile imports from Mauritius worth R2 million.

Mr Jean-Claude Montocchio, secretary-general, Mauritius Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said his country's presence represented recognition of South Africa's economic power.

"We value the importance of South Africa to our expanding tourist industry and we expect about 33 000 to visit our country this year. More importantly, we are looking to South African investment in our export processing zones, which will give employment to our people and help towards the rapid industrialisation of our island."

## IDEAL ALTERNATIVE

Wages in Mauritius had been declining for four years and were today about 10 percent of those in Europe and 25 percent of those in Malaysia, Hong Kong and Indonesia.

Mauritius was the ideal alternative manufacturing base for SA industrialists, who wanted to expand overseas markets, particularly in the EEC, or re-export to South Africa.

Advantages of the export processing zones include: no import duty on machinery, equipment and spare parts, no import and excise duty on raw materials and semi-finished goods, no corporation tax on income from exports for the first 10 years and free repatriation of capital and remittance abroad of profits and dividends to companies with export enterprise certificates. Other incentives cover loans, buildings and electricity.

CGrouther (the March '85, to Dealer's digest) owners adding in their 1983 3-series VW's are receiving on average, 1.1% of their original purchase price.

Thus, in terms of resale value, the 3-series clearly outperforms any other car range S.A.

Why has the 3-series captured the imagination of so many discerning intelligent drivers? We believe it's because they

even close to paper

But we suspect the open road is the actual purchase made.

For having seen performance of 3-series, drivers ignore the fact that they defer to their own result of which they up in a few weeks. "I want it because"

# UTO BAVARIA

Oxford Road, Rosebank. Tel: 788-0462/7

(1) FM 5/4/85

## A Somali alliance?

Has SA entered into a military agreement with Somalia? According to the latest edition of *AfricAsia*, a Paris-based news magazine, there is one, aimed at giving that country military hardware captured in Angola, spare parts for aircraft, and military training in exchange for landing rights at three Somali airports and use of Somali harbours by the SA navy.

It is widely known in SA that Foreign Minister Pik Botha visited Somalia in December last year on a trip that also took him to the Comoro Islands. It was reported at the time that he secured landing rights at Mogadishu for SAA.

A Saudi Arabian magazine, *Al Majalla*, reported last year that Somali Defence Minister General Mohamed Samanter visited SA secretly in April, and that the Somali ambassador to Nairobi visited Pretoria in October.

*AfricAsia* reports in its March issue that SAA will get landing rights at Mogadishu, Kismayo and Berbera. Berbera was built by the Soviet Union and is presently being upgraded by the US as a base for its Rapid Deployment Force.

SA is also said to have agreed to help Somalia modernise the port of Kismayo on the southern coast near the Kenyan border. The SA navy has been permitted use of the ports of Kismayo and Berbera. It says Botha was accompanied by a senior representative of the SA defence force on his December trip to Somalia.

According to the magazine, Somalia has also agreed to sell SA eight Soviet-built MiG-21 fighters, grounded for lack of spare parts after the break with the Soviet Union in 1977.

SA is said to have agreed to provide engines, spare parts and ammunition for 10 Hawker Hunter aircraft that Somalia recently received from the United Arab Emirates. SA will also meet the expenses of 10 former Rhodesian Air Force officers who are training Somali pilots and technicians. The magazine also claims that SA has agreed to provide anti-guerrilla training for units of the Somali army.

*AfricAsia* reports that Swapo and the ANC have condemned the alleged military agreement in a joint statement, saying it constitutes a direct military threat to Africa in general, and in particular to the Horn of Africa, East Africa and the Indian Ocean Islands.

The Somali government is fighting a low-level guerrilla war against the Somali National Movement (SNM), and is unhappy with the level of military support it gets from the US. The US turned down a request for military aid of R4 billion, and is instead providing assistance worth only about R80m. It refuses to give Somalia tanks and aircraft — exactly what the government of



**Somalia's Barre . . . looking for tanks and aircraft**

Siad Barre needs most.

It is no secret that SA is looking for a market for its highly successful G5 155mm howitzers and its Ratel armoured personnel carrier, one of the best in the world. Two years ago it was reported that SA had sold several Ratels to Morocco, but that was never confirmed.

Foreign Minister Botha was not available for comment at the time the *FM* went to press. ■

# The coup that was bound to happen

9/4/85

THE coup which toppled President Jaafar Numeiri of Sudan at the weekend was going to happen sooner or later. His 16-year rule had been punctuated by a dozen previous attempts. And increasing repression, which ignited armed rebellion in the non-Muslim south, plus economic mismanagement, which worsened the effects of a three-year drought, had broadened the base of discontent.

So it came as no surprise — not even to Numeiri's US backers, President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, who had promised him support plus 181 million dollars in new aid and 225 000 tons of grain on the last fatal trip to Washington.

The irony was that Numeiri's acceptance of pressure by the US and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to make economic adjustments before getting more money, proved the final straw. He devalued the Sudanese pound by 48 percent and cut subsidies on staples (bread rose by 33 percent) and petrol. That set off an explosion of food



President Numeiri... ousted after many attempts

price rioting — five died and 2 600 were arrested. But Numeiri's fall was ensured when the doctors, lawyers, engineers and civil servants took to the streets of Khartoum demanding his resignation. And the army, his only source of power, refused to intervene, while the police used minimal force against the demonstrators.

Faced with mutiny in the armed forces, Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief General Abdull Rahmann Sowar el Dahab took over. The army has decided to take the side of the

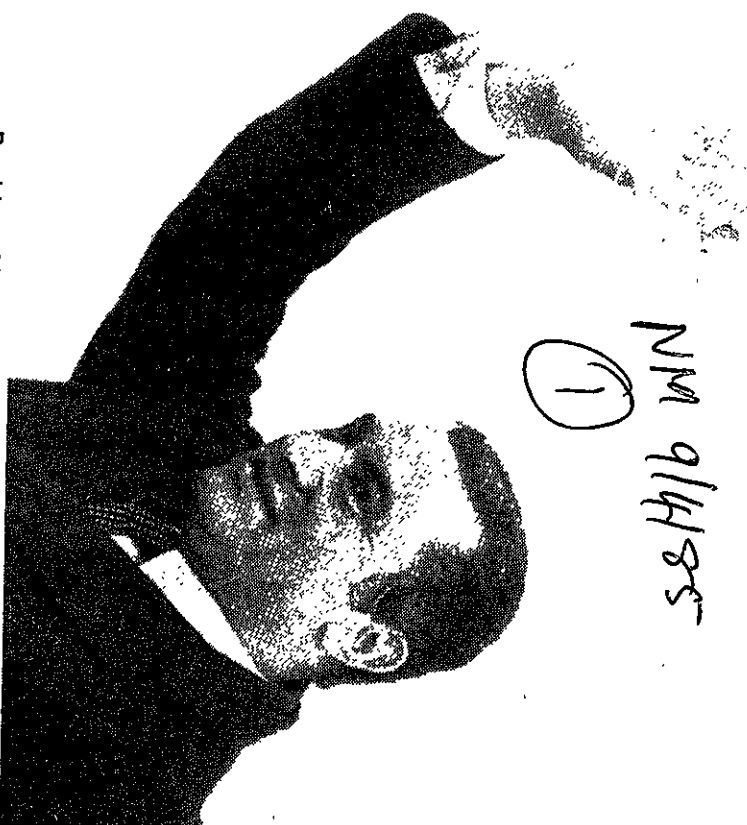
## London Bureau

recognise the new regime, saluting 'the heroic Sudanese people and their brave army'. But the US also responded swiftly. The State Department said aid would not be affected and the US expected its close relationship with Sudan to continue without interruption. Saudi Arabia also added its wishes for the new leadership's success.

More significantly, the Ethiopian-backed rebels in the south of Sudan announced a ceasefire from their base in Addis Ababa. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SDPLA), led by ex army colonel John Garang, was spawned when Numeiri, to appease

people, he announced, and Numeiri remained in Cairo, where he had stopped off for talks with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

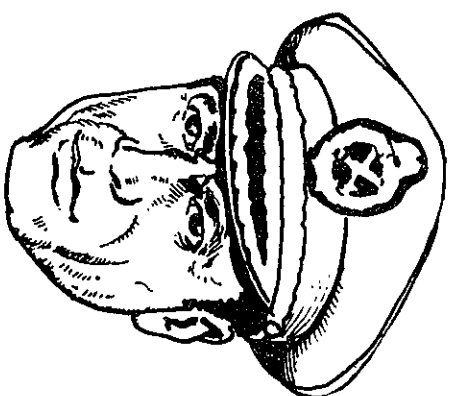
El Dahab declared the army would keep control for 'an interim period', and assured Egypt that Sudan's ties with it would be maintained. But an army communiqué also referred to healing the breach with the neighbouring countries, appearing to refer to Marxist-ruled Ethiopia and Libya, whose Colonel Gaddafi has for years been trying to foment trouble in Sudan. Libya was the first to



President Mubarak... Cairo host to deposed ruler

Muslim religious opponents, introduced Islamic Law (sharia) in 1983. In so doing he alienated the Christian and animist Africans of the south.

Numeiri also reneged on the semi-autonomy granted to the region in 1972 — a move which



Colonel Gaddafi... has been trying for years to foment trouble

ended a 17-year secessionist war which cost 500 000 lives. The SDPLA guerrillas have beaten off the Sudanese army, and control large areas of the country, cutting off the oil producing region of the south and halting work on the 320-kilometre Jonglei canal, designed to provide desperately-needed irrigation for the dry central Sudan. Numeiri's harsh application of 'sharia' — hundreds suffered the lash and amputations for minor offences — also antagonised moderate Muslims in the 'Arab' North. This year he handed the 76-year-old Muslim leader of the Republican Brothers for political opposition. It stirred up so much trouble that Numeiri then turned on the extremist Muslim Brotherhood, his main supporters in the application of 'sharia', arresting 200 of them.

It is too early to guess what direction Sudan, crucial to US geo-political strategy in the region, will take or what political grouping will emerge at the top. But the economic mess that prevails will probably ensure it sticks to links with the West and pro-Western Arab states — in spite of claims made by Numeiri that Libya offered Sudan a five-billion-dollar 'bribe' in exchange for an alliance. The country is all but bankrupt, with nine billion dollars of foreign debt which it cannot service out of export earnings of 800 million dollars and, at the last count, only 17 million dollars in foreign reserves.

The drought has left as many as a third of its 22 million people starving, and the situation will become catastrophic unless the drought breaks next year.

Window  
on  
Africa



NM 10/4/85 (1)

## Mystery of the missing peanuts

**DAKAR:** A widespread 'peanut hunt' has been launched in Senegal to find two thirds of the country's main crop of at least half a million tons of peanuts.

The authorities are convinced that the missing peanuts have been hidden by the growers who hope to smuggle the peanuts out of the country. This belief stems from the seizure of two huge trucks with a cargo of 56 tons of peanuts by customs officials near the northern border of the country with Mauritania.

The 'mystery' has been aggravated by the fact that the peanut harvest has been poor and the four oil-extraction factories — the only organisations permitted to buy peanuts from local producers — have only taken delivery of 200 000 tons of nuts while their extracting capacity is 900 000 tons.

They were expecting a minimum of 500 000 tons. With growers appearing to prefer markets that are more profitable than the official ones factory officials estimate that 400 000 tons of peanuts have 'gone missing'.

### Unpopular

As a result the extraction factories have not only been forced to go slow but have had to import soya and sunflower seeds to keep in production and provide cooking oil for the local market. And because the product is thicker than the traditional peanut oil it is unpopular.

The production of peanut oil is Senegal's most important industry and in spite of the present fall in harvests still ranks in front of the fishing industry, tourism and phosphate production.

The decreased production of peanut oil in Senegal could, say authorities in the capital Dakar, lead to a shortage on world markets which in turn could create a greater demand for olive oil and oil from soya, maize and sunflowers to the detriment of Senegal's main export crop. It is this fear that is prompting the determined efforts of the government to solve the 'mystery of the missing peanuts'. (AFP)



Cairo—Sudanese students crowd their embassy here shouting slogans against former President Gaafar Nimieri, toppled at the weekend in a bloodless coup in Khartoum. — (Reuter)

# Deposed Nimieri suffers heart attack in Cairo

NM 11/4/85 ①

CAIRO—Deposed Sudanese President Gaafar Nimieri suffered a heart attack yesterday and was hospitalised at a military hospital, a source close to the Egyptian Government said.

Hospital officials however denied that Mr Nimieri had been admitted.

Nimieri, 55, overthrown by a coup in Khartoum on Saturday, has been in Cairo since the coup.

He arrived from a nine-day visit to the United States shortly after the coup was announced and cancelled plans to return home.

'Nimieri suffered a heart attack this morning and was taken to the Armed Forces Hospital at Maadi,' said the source.

The Armed Forces Hospital, which overlooks the Nile River, is the same facility where Shah

Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran was treated for lymph cancer in 1980. He had come to Egypt after being forced by Muslim fundamentalist revolutionaries to flee in January 1979.

A main reason for Mr Nimieri's visit to the United States was his annual medical checkup at Walter Read Hospital near Washington.

Mr Nimieri, a strongly

built former athlete, has been ailing since the late 1970s. The nature of his illness has never been revealed, but it is reported to involve erratic blood pressure.

## Threatening

Meanwhile, in the Sudan, thousands of members of professional unions, defying a warning from the new military ruler, marched on army headquarters yesterday demanding that power be surrendered immediately to civilians.

The march began at the hour Gen Abdul-Rahman Swareddahab had summoned union leaders to his office for consultations after threatening that anybody calling for the continuation of a general strike would be charged with high trea-

son.

It was uncertain whether the leaders had answered Swareddahab's call, but the demonstration obviously was to reinforce union demands decided at meetings on Sunday night.

At the meetings, they vowed to continue the general strike until the state security apparatus, a pillar of the ousted regime of Mr Nimieri, was dismantled, and until power was transferred 'from the army to the people'.

Gen Swareddahab, who has promised civilian rule after six months, acceded to the first demand on Sunday by ordering the army to take over the security agency's functions. — (Sapa-AP)

NM 17.14.85

**Tanzania in  
African  
trade area**

**DAR-ES-SALAAM—**  
President Julius Nyerere  
signed an agreement  
making Tanzania the 15th  
member of the Preferen-  
tial Trade Area of East  
and Southern Africa.

The other members are  
burundi, Comoros, Dji-  
bouti, Ethiopia, Kenya,  
Lesotho, Malawi,  
Mauritius, Rwanda, So-  
malia, Swaziland, Ugan-  
da, Zambia and  
Zimbabwe.

The PTA, established  
in December 1981 by nine  
countries after four years  
of negotiations sponsored  
by the U N economic  
commission for Africa,  
aims at creating a com-  
mon market. — (Reuter).



NM 17/4/85



①

## Guinea wants 'clever' exiles to return

CONAKRY: In the 26 years that Mr Ahmed Sekou Toure imposed his ruthless dictatorship on Guinea, more than a third of the population sought a better and safer life abroad.

His bloody rule ended a year ago with his death in a US clinic and the overthrow, a week later, of his feuding heirs by the armed forces.

Now most of the two million exiles want to take advantage of the military's pledge of a more relaxed political atmosphere and liberal economic reforms and return home.

But a quarter of a century of socialist collectivisation and high level corruption has left the country — potentially one of Africa's richest — in ruins.

The country's economic performance has not improved much in the past 12 months as potential investors have stayed away because of the military's reluctance to devalue the syli, Guinea's worthless and unconvertible currency.

'The return of two million people in the present circumstances would be too much of a burden on our ruined economy,' admitted Secretary of State for Guineans in Exile Mr Jean-Claude Diallo.

He said in an interview that a short-term solution would be to give Guineans formal refugee status in neighbouring countries such as Senegal, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone which have large exile communities.

Mr Diallo is planning a tour of several West African capitals later this month to negotiate bilateral agreements.

Some Guineans have returned home over the past year and the government had to call on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to help them resettle.

About 100 000 people, mostly farmers whose plots of land were confiscated as part of Mr Sekou Toure's economically disastrous state farms scheme, have been given seeds and basic agricultural equipment but unskilled youths returning from Abidjan

or Dakar have swollen the ranks of the unemployed and contributed to Conakry's rising crime wave.

The people the military authorities most need and are desperately trying to lure back are staying away.

They are the professionals — the doctors, teachers, engineers with a solid training acquired in African or European universities that the country badly lacks.

Some have come on short visits to look at the situation but they soon realise that their living standards would plummet dramatically.

The few who have returned with a view to settling down permanently have faced hostility from high government officials fearful of losing their own jobs.

There is deep-rooted animosity between local high officials who feel they deserve the top jobs because they survived Mr Sekou Toure's countless bloody purges and the people coming home who argue that they are better equipped to turn Guinea into a modern state.

Mr Diallo recognises the problem but charges that some professionals have returned with an arrogant attitude, demanding top jobs, high salaries and perks the state can ill afford.

But he also admits that a year after the coup, Guinea's overstuffed civil service suffers from what he calls 'bad habits' — a euphemism for incompetence, laziness and corruption.

With UN financial backing, Mr Diallo has devised a programme aimed at luring back home badly needed exiled professionals.

Known as 'transfer of knowledge to Guinea', the scheme will provide for highly skilled exiles to spend two to three months teaching in Guinean Universities.

Mr Diallo is optimistic about the long-term prospects. 'The next two to three years will be difficult but Guinea will eventually be able to absorb all those who want to come home,' he says. (Sapa-Reuter)

# Lebanese

Govt

18/4/83  
collapses

BEIRUT—Lebanon's year-old 'National Unity' Government, aimed at forging unity between the country's factions, collapsed yesterday after fierce street fighting in Beirut involving Shi'ite Muslim, Sunni Muslim, Druze and Palestinian fighters.

State-run Beirut radio said Prime Minister Rashid Karami, a Sunni, announced the Cabinet's resignation shortly after Shi'ite and Druze militiamen staged a 'victory parade' through West Beirut following 15 hours of street warfare.

The battles pitted Shi'ites and Druze against Sunnis and Palestinians after the Shi'ite Amal militia tried to open an office in a district controlled by the Sunni Murabitoun group.

— (Sapa-Reuter)

# Africa's options if it is to survive the famine

CAPE TOWN  
26/4/85

SIX months have passed since the first films were shown on British television of the horrifying famine in Ethiopia and since the Western world began sending massive famine relief to that stricken country.

Now the fact has sunk in that the relief, huge though it is, is only temporarily filling empty stomachs, and that nothing has been achieved in dealing with the basic problem of Africa's inability to feed itself.

By the latest reckoning, 30 million people in Africa are threatened with starvation. By 1990 the number will have risen to 65 million and by the year 2000 it will be 130 million. These figures are so horrendous that they are scarcely credible.

## Cannot feed population

Some desperate remedies are being suggested. Writing in the New York Times, the Democratic governor of Colorado, Mr Richard D Lamm, said the United States should give no emergency relief to countries that were unwilling to adopt long-term economic reforms and programmes to control population growth.

There are 535 million people in Africa now. At present population growth rates, there will be 873 million by the year 2000 and 1.2 billion by 2020. And Africa cannot even feed its present population.

"Our desire to help," said Mr Lamm, "must be appropriately and realistically directed. If America gives short-term aid without insisting that recipient nations take long-term action to limit population and reform their economies, we merely throw gasoline on a fire.

"... if we do not attempt to initiate long-term solutions, we will only perpetuate the cycle of hunger. We will only be keeping the hungry alive long enough to produce equally hungry offspring."

It is unlikely that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank will make population control a condition of further aid to Africa, although African governments will be encouraged to intensify family planning programmes.

## Food problems traced back

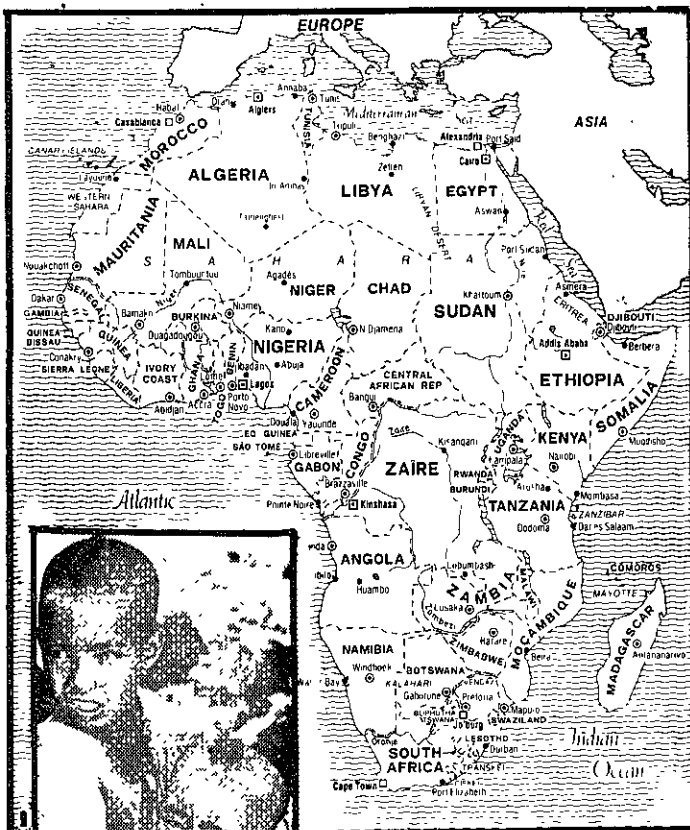
But the Reagan administration has made it quite clear that it expects African governments to start reforming their economies if they want American economic aid (as distinct from famine relief).

Africa's present food problems can be traced back to the transition from colonialism to independence. The newly independent states decided, quite naturally, that they wanted both to modernize their countries and to introduce welfare schemes, free education and so forth.

But they underestimated the state of unpreparedness in which years of colonial neglect had left them. The wealth-generating side of the economy was not developed enough to



**London Dateline**  
By STANLEY UYS



Wad Kowli, Sudan. After a long journey these two Ethiopian children, who fled the guerilla war and famine in their ravaged homeland, wait to be registered in one of the fastest growing camps in the Sudan. The camp holds more than 35 000 refugees.

Picture by REUTERS

support either the new welfare schemes or the burgeoning urban bureaucracies.

Farm prices were kept as low as possible so that cheap food would be available, particularly to the urban population. This meant that the towns (where coups take place) were cosseted, but farmers were discouraged from producing surpluses for sale.

Farming became uneconomical. By the end of the 1960s domestic food production in Africa was already seriously inadequate.

I have discussed before in this column the other contributory factors to Africa's decline — the shuddering blow struck by the oil price increases in 1973 and again in 1979. Import bills shot up. To compound the problem a world-wide recession began.

The huge urban populations proved to be obstacles to reform. Pampered by low food prices they effectively vetoed the urgently needed changes. Currencies, too, were kept artificially high to ensure cheap imports.

In Ghana a sack of imported rice, for example, became 10

times cheaper than locally grown rice.

Western economists and other "experts" were among those who encouraged Africa to dream its grandiose dreams. Banks, too, encouraged African governments to borrow from them. By the end of the 1970s the drive for modernization had hit rock bottom. Africa had no more rabbits to pull out of the hat. It could no longer feed itself.

Africa's future looks hopeless. Famine relief, immense though it is, is no more than a palliative. Climatologists claim that a long-term deterioration in rainfall has set in, with lower rainfalls being recorded in the 1970s and 1980s.

Some Africa-watchers have been using purple prose to describe their present assessment of Africa's troubles. The famine is seen as "the worst natural disaster in modern history," and as for the future, Africa faces "a nightmare of indescribable proportions".

All that some African countries seem to have achieved for the present is to have exchanged their subjection to colonialism for subjection to fam-

ine. The worst affected countries are the northernmost sub-Saharan ones, stretching from Mauritania, Mali and Niger through Chad and Sudan to Ethiopia and Somalia, although the famine has also penetrated to Southern Africa.

Africa is being urged now to follow India's example and embark on a green revolution — a massive switch of resources from town to country. From being a country with desperate food shortages, and the recipient of massive food aid, India increased its wheat production six-fold in 20 years. Famine appears to have been banished. From being a net importer of food in the 1960s, India is now self-sufficient.

## Cost of funding 'brown' revolution

Because of its poorer soil and inadequate water resources, Africa, it is said, will have to be satisfied with a brown revolution. The basis of this brown revolution is that farmers will have to be rewarded for their production or they will quit the land. This will cost money.

Where will the money come from? The West alone is not prepared to fund the huge cost of the brown revolution — it says the cost would be unacceptably high.

Another option would be for Africa to go it alone — to shoulder the whole burden. This would mean unleashing free-market forces which would remove the distortions favouring urban dwellers and provide incentives for farmers to produce surpluses.

But the assumption that peasants would begin to operate immediately as aggressive Western-style entrepreneurs is a romantic one. The system would take years to start functioning. Meanwhile city dwellers would become restless if not rebellious.

The third possibility is for Africa and the West to share the burden between them — to form a partnership. A free market in agricultural prices would be allowed to operate, but a political upheaval would be controlled if the West assisted with food subsidies and other forms of aid.

The UN's Food and Agricultural Organization estimates that the West would have to contribute more than R13 billion annually (at today's exchange rates) between now and the year 2000 — in addition to present aid schemes.

## Diminishing of independence

Obviously the West would do this only if it was assured that the money would be used effectively. This means that African countries will have to shape their economies to suit the West's specifications. This spells the end of "African socialism".

This would mean a diminishing of Africa's independence, but does it have any choice? Ghana under Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings is already taking this path. Two years ago, for example, Lt Rawlings devalued Ghana's currency by 95 percent. Last year for the first time for many years Ghana had a food surplus. But, of course, there have been five reported coup attempts in Ghana.

But how much more aid is the West prepared to give to Africa? The chances of individual countries increasing their bilateral aid significantly are remote. The responsibility looks like falling therefore on the World Bank, whose own revenue was cut last year for the first time for 20 years.

The whole question of aid to Africa was one of the items on the agenda of the World Bank's conference in Washington last week. At the time of writing this column, full details have not emerged of what was decided. All that Africa can do now is hope for the best.

# Starvation threatens 30 million in Africa

NM 26/4/88

SIX months have passed since British television showed the first films of the horrifying famine in Ethiopia, and since the Western world began sending massive famine relief to that stricken country.

Now the fact has sunk in that the relief, huge though it is, is only temporarily filling empty stomachs, and that nothing has been achieved in dealing with the

that they wanted both to modernise their countries and introduce welfare schemes, free education and so forth.

But they underestimated the state of unpreparedness in which years of colonial neglect had left them. The wealth-generating side of the economy was not developed enough to support either the new welfare schemes or the burgeoning urban bureaucracies.



opia and Somalia, although the famine has also penetrated to southern Africa.

Africa is being urged now to follow India's example and embark on a green revolution — a massive switch of resources from town to country. From being a country with desperate food shortages, and the recipient of massive food aid, India increased its wheat production six-fold in 20 years. Famine appears to have been banished. From being a net importer of food in the 1960's, India is now self-sufficient.

Because of its poorer soil and inadequate water resources, Africa, it is said, will have to be satisfied with a brown revolution. The basis of this brown revolution is that farmers will have to be rewarded for their production or they will quit the land. This will cost money.

Where will the money come from? The West alone is not prepared to fund the huge cost of the brown revolution — it says the cost would be unacceptably high.

Another option would be for Africa to go it alone — to shoulder the whole burden. This would mean unleashing free market forces which would remove the distortions favouring

tribute more than R13 billion annually (at today's exchange rates) between now and the year 2000 — in addition to present aid schemes.

## Walking skeleton



Obviously the West would do this only if it was assured that the money would be used effectively. This means that African countries will have to shape their economies to suit the West's specifications. This spells the end of 'African socialism.'

This would mean a diminishing of Africa's independence, but does it have any choice? Ghana under Rawlings is already taking this path. Two years ago, for example, Rawlings de-

## One victim . . .



sic problem of Africa's inability to feed itself.

By the latest reckoning, 30 million people in Africa are threatened with starvation. By 1990 the number will have risen to 65 million, and by the year 2000 it will be 130 million. These figures are so horrendous that they are scarcely credible.

Some desperate remedies are being suggested. Writing in the New York Times, the Democratic Governor of Colorado, Mr Richard D Lamm, said the United States should give no emergency relief to countries that were unwilling to adopt long-term economic reforms and programmes to control population growth.

There are 535 million people in Africa now. At present population growth rates there will be 873 million by the year 2000, and 1.2 billion by 2020. And Africa cannot even feed its present population.

'Our desire to help,' said Mr Lamm, 'must be appropriately and realistically directed. If America gives short-term aid without insisting that recipient nations take long-term action to limit population and reform their economies, we merely throw gasoline on a fire.

'...if we do not attempt to initiate long-term solutions, we will only perpetuate the cycle of hunger. We will only be keeping the hungry alive long enough to produce equally hungry offspring.'

It is unlikely that the IMF or the World Bank would make population control a condition of further aid to Africa, although African governments will be encouraged to intensify family planning programmes.

But the Reagan Administration has made it quite clear that it expects African governments to start reforming their economies if they want American economic aid (as distinct from famine relief).

Africa's present food problems can be traced back to the transition from colonialism to independence. The newly independent states decided, quite naturally,

Farming became uneconomic. By the end of the 1960's domestic food production in Africa was already seriously inadequate.

I have discussed before in this column the other contributory factors to Africa's decline — the shuddering blow struck by the oil price increases in 1973 and again in 1979. Import bills shot up. To compound the problem, a worldwide recession began.

Western economists and other 'experts' were among those who encouraged Africa to dream its grandiose dreams. Banks, too, encouraged African gov-

## . . . of the many



ernments to borrow from them. By the end of the 1970's the drive for modernisation had hit rock bottom. Africa had no more rabbits to pull out of the hat. It could no longer feed itself.

Africa's future looks hopeless. Famine relief, immense though it is, is no more than a palliative. Climatologists claim that a long-term deterioration in rainfall has set in, with lower rainfalls being recorded in the 1970's and 1980's.

All that some African countries seem to have achieved for the present is to have exchanged their subjection to colonialism for subjection to famine. The worst affected countries are the northernmost sub-Saharan ones, stretching from Mauritania, Mali and Niger through Chad and Sudan to Ethi-

urban dwellers and provide incentives for farmers to produce surpluses.

But the assumption that peasants would begin to operate immediately as aggressive Western-style entrepreneurs is a romantic one. The system would take years to start functioning. Meanwhile, city dwellers would become restless, if not rebellious.

The third possibility is for Africa and the West to share the burden between them — to form a partnership. A free market in agricultural prices would be allowed to operate, but a political upheaval would be controlled if the West assisted with food subsidies and other forms of aid.

The UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation estimates that the West would have to con-

valued Ghana's currency by 95 percent. Last year for the first time for many years Ghana had a food surplus. However, there have been five reported coup attempts in Ghana.

But how much more aid is the West prepared to give to Africa? The chances of individual countries increasing their bilateral aid significantly are remote. The responsibility therefore looks like falling on the World Bank, whose own revenue was cut last year for the first time for 20 years.

The whole question of aid to Africa was one of the items on the agenda of the World Bank's conference in Washington last week. At the time of writing this column, full details have not emerged yet of what was decided. All that Africa can do now is hope for the best.

# African govts to blame for food crisis, says report

NM 27/4/85

①

ADDIS ABABA—African governments — not drought or disease — are to blame for the continent's deepening food crisis, according to a group of African economic experts.

In a report to a meeting of African ministers of planning and economy, the experts say that Afri-

can governments have failed to recognise the importance of agriculture and do not pay their farmers enough for their produce.

The report was prepared by a technical committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, which is based in Addis Ababa. It was to be submitted to the five-day ministerial meeting, which began yesterday.

It says that the origins of Africa's food shortages — more than 20 states need food aid — lies in the unwillingness of African governments to accept that agriculture was the major engine for economic development.

Although drought, disease and pests have aggravated the food crisis, the root causes, are the African governments

themselves, the report said.

Such external factors as world economic recession, protectionism and high interest rates might have made the food situation more difficult, but African states which showed negligence towards agricultural development have to be blamed, the report said.

The document was also critical of several unnamed African states for placing too much emphasis on growing cash crops and not enough on food.

African states also over-emphasised the development of urban areas at the expense of rural areas, the report said, echoing World Bank criticism that town people eat cheap subsidised food, while the farmers get too little for growing it. — (Sapa-Reuter)

# Disinvestment: Many will suffer, Ackerman warns

w/c ARGAS 27/4/85

**Financial Editor**

SOUTH Africa and Africa had many urgent problems to tackle and a disinvestment campaign would greatly intensify these problems, Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay, told a Rotary International Conference in Somerset West yesterday.

He warned that a trade boycott against South Africa could cause serious unemployment problems in Europe and the United States.

In South Africa a total of 300 000 jobs would have to be created each year to absorb the growth in the labour market until the year 1990.

Large numbers of people were leaving the land to work in the cities, particularly since the recent drought — a process which was increasing the unemployment problem.

## FORMIDABLE LIST

In spite of escalating unemployment, there was a chronic shortage of skilled manpower and of trained managers among the black population. There was also a need for more housing, training and educational schemes to be introduced immediately for blacks.

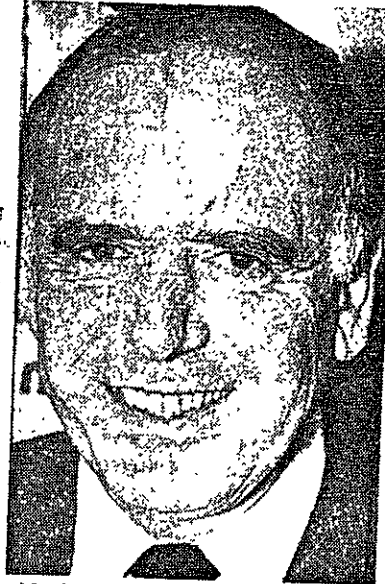
"This may sound a formidable list of problems, but South Africa I would remind you, is infinitely better off than most other countries in Africa. Let us consider the problems facing countries in the southern half of Africa as a whole."

A report by the Nairobi-based United Nations Environment Programme said that between 1970 and 1980 the region's population rose from 68-million to more than 90-million, about 3 percent a year and at the same time food production levels fell.

## HUGE RESOURCES

United Nations figures showed that in Africa as a whole, about 150-million people — one in every three — was affected by malnutrition or starvation. Recent focus on the starving millions in Ethiopia had given a dreadful indication of what many other countries must be suffering.

Amid all this gloom on the African continent, South Africa



Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay.

stood as an exception with its huge mineral resources, well-established infrastructure and transport systems and good financial and agricultural management.

Western bankers said that South Africa, in spite of all its present problems, was the best risk in Africa.

## RIPPLE EFFECT

But disinvestment on a large-scale and backed by most countries could eventually reduce South Africa and its neighbours to the level of Ethiopia and its starving millions.

All but four of 50 countries in Africa maintained economic links with South Africa and disinvestment would have an adverse ripple effect throughout much of the continent.

South Africa's imports from other African states rose by 25 percent in 1984 to R406-million, while its exports to Africa rose 20 percent in 1984 to R954.1-million, even though South Africa cut back shipments of essential foodstuffs because of the drought.

## JOBLESS HORDES

Large-scale disinvestment would have wide-ranging effects.

Neighbouring countries would be particularly vulnerable to the disruption in the South African economy, as South Africa was a

major provider of employment opportunities in the sub-continent.

Estimates varied, but there could be about 300 000 workers from surrounding countries working on the mines or in industry in South Africa. To help South Africa's own blacks, these would have to be sent back to add to the swelling ranks of the unemployed in their own countries.

Disinvestment on a large scale would be catastrophic for blacks in South Africa. It would create hordes of jobless blacks throughout the country.

## BANKRUPTCIES

Bankruptcies — already at a record level — would increase, further reducing employment opportunities for blacks.

The result of all this unemployment would be to undermine the two most important black power bases in South Africa — the independent trade unions and the fast-growing black consumer power. These two were being used as levers for better conditions by responsible black leaders.

## TRADE FLOW

In addition, South Africa's landlocked neighbours would suffer disruption in their trade flow because many of their imports and exports came through South Africa's well-developed transport links with the coast.

A boycott of South Africa would cost Western countries about 500 000 jobs, including 250 000 jobs in Britain. Almost 10 percent of all British overseas direct investment was in South Africa. Add indirect investment to this and R11-billion was at stake.

Also at stake was the large American investment. A total of 350 US companies had subsidiaries in South Africa representing an investment of nearly R3-billion. Another 6 000 US companies did business with South Africa.

For all European Economic Community countries, the embargo on trade with South Africa would cost about 330 000 jobs and an additional 122 000 jobs if the United States were also involved in the boycott. If Japan were included, the Western world would lose more than 500 000 jobs.

# Hope for Africa's starving millions

**BULAWAYO** — A cereal crop research project, now under way at an agricultural station in Zimbabwe's Matabeleland province, could save millions of lives in drought-prone African countries.

Funded by US-AID to the tune of (US) \$17.8-million over a five-year period, field trials being conducted at the Matopos Research Station, 25 km from Bulawayo, are devoted to the improvement of drought resistant crops such as sorghum and millet.

These two crops have traditionally played an important role in African life, but today maize has become the staple food of the bulk of the population in the SADCC region. But maize requires good rain for plentiful harvests — a fact which has been tragically accentuated in

the past three bad drought years in southern Africa.

According to Ohio-born Dr Leland House, who is the project manager at the Matopos site, sorghum and millet have important nutritional value.

## Domestic

Sorghum is equal to maize in food value, although much depends on the method of preparation. Millets are generally higher in mineral value than either maize or sorghum.

According to archaeologists, sorghum was used for domestic purposes long before recorded history. A carving has been found showing it under cultivation in Egypt in 2500 BC.

This extremely hard, drought resistant grain gradually became the

staple food of hot, dry countries and from the 17th century onwards traders took sorghum seeds from Africa with them on their voyages to the West Indies and America.

Sorghum is normally fresh-ground and cooked as a porridge, and along with millet, is often used in making the thick, traditional African beer.

Nutritional content of sorghum varies, but an average variety contains in every 100 grams 11 percent protein, 370 calories, 28 mg calcium, 287 mg phosphorus, 4.4 mg iron, 350 mg potassium, 3.9 mg niacin, together with traces of vitamins B1 and B2.

The Matopos project is one of five locations in the SADCC region where the experiments on sorghum and millet are being carried out. The expertise, seeds,

technical data and skilled staff are provided by the mammoth International Crops Research Institute for Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) in Hyderabad, India, which has the world's largest areas of sorghum and millet under cultivation.

ICRISAT staff assembled cereal seeds of different strains from 25 widely diverse locations, such as Nigeria, Upper Volta, the Near East and the US. Six sets, each containing 5 500 sorghum, were planted in five separate locations — one in Matopos, two in Zambia, and one each in Malawi and Botswana.

Technicians will constantly monitor the growing crops and take readings on grain mould, pests and leaf diseases, said Dr House. Data would be carefully analysed before de-

terminations would be taken on which strains to cross-breed. The hope was that the "marrying off" of two different genes of a plant would produce offspring which would show distinct improvement in future generations.

The new varieties would be of immense value in drought-prone areas, where maize harvests were susceptible to failure in bad years, said Dr House, who has been actively engaged in sorghum research since 1959, having worked with the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations around the world.

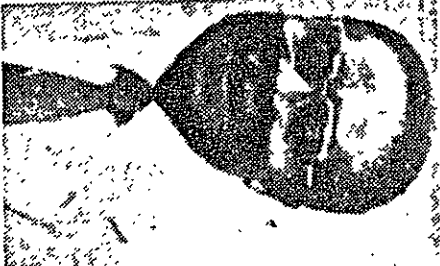
At the Matopos Research Station, which is a Zimbabwe government institution, the sorghum and millet projects are well under way, with 45 hectares of sorghum and plantations of pearl millet.

A low-voltage electricity fence had been set up around the experimental beds to keep out the marauding baboons from the nearby Matopos National Park.

Building of an administration block, three laboratories and hot houses is under way, with plans to add a reference library, conference centre and crop processing plants later. A farm service centre, workshops, seed storage facilities and crop receiving area will shortly become operational.

A road and sewerage network is now being prepared for the projected 75 staff houses, which will be built on the site. There are also plans for a recreational centre, a school, a shopping complex and sporting facilities.

The programme is being run in conjunction with Zimbabwe's Ministry of Agriculture.



**MUGABE:** A cereal crop research project is underway in his country.

"They are our hosts," Dr House said, adding: "We are not building any private castles here in Matabeleland, but merely helping the national food programme. Our job is to manipulate the crops to fit in with these national programmes in the region."

# Huge trading zone takes shape

Star 1/5/85  
Alastair Matheson writes

① from Nairobi

A vast economic trading zone, stretching through eastern Africa from Ethiopia as far south as Mozambique and Madagascar, is nearing reality with Tanzania's decision to join the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which has a potential of 100 million population in 20 countries.

When all the likely members join they will represent one-fifth of the continent's total population and include some of the world's hungriest and poorest nations, as well as several of black Africa's most industrialised and advanced states.

Until Tanzania's Mustafa Nyanganyi, the Minister responsible for regional co-operation, announced recently that his country had decided to join the PTA as soon as legal formalities were completed, only 13 out of the 20 states of Eastern and Central Africa had joined.

In addition to Tanzania, five states were still hesitating to sign up, until they were satisfied that membership would directly benefit their own people. Now they are expected to join the PTA as well. Those "doubting Thomases" are Angola, Botswana, Madagascar, Mozambique and the Seychelles. The PTA embraces countries with capitalist or mixed economies as well as more extreme Marxist ones. It is significant that, apart from Botswana, those still uncertain over joining are socialist regimes.

Already members of the PTA are Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius,

Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

PTA will thus become by far the largest economic co-operation area in Africa, although the West African equivalent, ECOWAS, will still have the larger population as it includes Nigeria among its 16 members. The PTA headquarters are in Lusaka and there is a "clearing house" in Harare.

Its secretary-general, Mr Max Nomvete, a South African exile who drew up the historic Lagos Plan of Action for the Organisation of African Unity several years ago, has described the PTA as "the only way out" if African countries want to control their own economic destinies. His aim

is to see the PTA free member states from "being slaves to Western-dictated trade patterns" by encouraging greater trade between each other.

The most difficult problem appears to be the wide range of currencies involved. Not one of the countries has a convertible type of currency. The obvious solution, settling accounts with each other in hard currency from their respective reserves, will not work in most cases, as foreign exchange is one of the scarcest commodities in Africa today.

The experiment currently being tried on a limited scale is for member governments to keep records of commercial sales so that at the end of the financial year whichever nation owes the other will settle in acceptable foreign exchange, such as dollars, sterling — or even rands in some cases. — *Observer News Service.*



SIMON BRAND

# Developing southern Africa



Simon Brand is chairman of the Development Bank of Southern Africa and until June, chairman of the State President's Economic Advisory Council.

**FM:** The Bank's original role was to promote the idea of a "constellation" of southern African states. Is this still a long-term goal?

**Brand:** The whole idea of a confederation of states is not specifically tied to the formation of the Bank. In fact, several of the present members gave their support to the formation of the Bank on the explicit understanding — and also the assurance from the SA government — that this does not commit them to supporting confederation or any other specific formula. Of course, there are others, including the SA government, who may have in mind the formation of a confederation. But there is not a one-to-one relationship between the formation of the Bank and any specific political formula.

**Have there been any negotiations with any neighbouring countries?**

There are two aspects which must be borne in mind. One is that we have concentrated our efforts on the original participating (homeland) states. We've had our hands full setting up our own activities and meeting the immediate applications from these states. That hasn't really left much time for looking further afield.

The second aspect is that there are obviously political reservations on the part of other states of the region. It is only realistic to accept that these states would first want to see the Bank establish a track record in terms of its ability to mobilise capital and to process projects expeditiously before they would be inclined to think of overcoming the political inhibitions they might have about co-operating with the Bank. For that reason, this is not something we have been pushing hard. I certainly believe that there is a wider role for the Bank to play, but it is something that will have to develop naturally.

In the meantime, we have been making informal contacts with various other states in southern Africa — obviously I wouldn't want to be specific on this — simply on the basis of exchanging information about what we are doing and trying to see whether there are lessons we can learn from development efforts in other countries. We have also made contact with other similar development institutions in Europe, the UK and North America on exactly the same basis without any commitments either way. So in that sense we have made known our presence so far.

**One would imagine that Swaziland would be among the first to approach the Bank.**

Yes, that could be a possibility. I would say that the way in which any sort of relationship between the Bank and any other states in southern Africa would develop naturally would be through a project of joint interest.

An example would be the development of a river system where there are interests on both sides of the border and where SA and the other member-states of the Bank could be involved. That would be the natural way to start this relationship, rather than pushing for membership.

**What about Mozambique, after Nkomati?**

The possibility exists. However, I understand that in the short-term Mozambique is more involved in rehabilitation of existing infrastructure rather than in new projects as such. That means, I think, that their needs are probably more for short and medium-term financing which is not the kind we specialise in. But as they reach the stage where they become interested in additional new projects requiring new financing, then they might look at the comparative conditions under which the Bank can provide financing compared to other sources.

**Has the Bank had any success in tapping the international capital market?**

No, we haven't tried so far. We have been in contact with a wide variety of banking institutions overseas and indications are that we have a good chance of raising capital on terms comparable to those that public sector bodies in SA can get. We are at this stage actively examining the various steps for a first entry into the market. Our approach is not to wait until we are in a tight cash situation and have to go to the market to meet our commitments, but to borrow while we are in a relatively strong funding position so that we can establish our name in the market. We will obviously try to do this in a way that will not disrupt the activities of other SA borrowers. So we would want to tie in with the scheduling of capital market issues by other SA institutions.

**Is the disinvestment drive overseas expected to affect your plans to borrow from abroad?**

I don't really think so. In the first place we are not looking at the American market. Right from the start we realised that that would be difficult because of political reasons. As far as the European markets are concerned, my impression is certainly that the pressure for disinvestment and for refraining from providing finance to public sector entities in this part of the world is not as strong as in the US. In fact, the fact that the Bank is mainly involved in financing basic development projects among the less well-off communities of southern Africa may even be an advantage.

**There is a view that development occurs in response to economic forces and not as a**

**result of political manoeuvring which, arguably, was the original motivation for forming the Bank.**

The whole orientation of the Bank is on the economic side. In fact it is explicitly written into the articles of agreement that in considering projects, the Bank must not take into account political factors, but must concentrate on whether or not viability of projects will pay. One of the first questions we ask when appraising projects is: has the market identified this particular area as one in which there is potential for industrial development? So we are not going to finance infrastructure somewhere in the bush completely against the stream of economic forces.

**But the fact is that you approach your task within the framework of the homelands system, geographic separate development and you are developing points in the homelands.**

We take the existing political constitutional framework as given. That is the framework in which we operate. We don't see it as the task of the Bank to either detract from that political framework or to build it out on the political side. We are looking for development possibilities as it is stated in the articles of agreement of the Bank, promoting development in the less developed parts of southern Africa, taking economic criteria as our exclusive norm.

**Is there a long-term black influx control function in your work to keep blacks out of the cities?**

No. We do not see our development efforts in the less developed parts of southern Africa as specifically aimed at supporting influx control. But I do think that from whatever political perspective one looks at the process of urbanisation in SA, there is a balance required between the pull factors of the urban areas and the push factors of the rural areas.

Quite often it is possible to create job opportunities and income generating opportunities in the rural areas at a lower cost than in the urban areas. So, yes, to the extent that development in the rural areas does succeed in these ways, it will reduce the pressure of influx into the cities. The fact is that all the governments involved in the Bank, including SA, have accepted the fact that there will be further urbanisation in SA.

**Will Namibia, now that it is getting self-government, become a member of the Bank?**

The articles of agreement do provide for Namibia's participation, but at this stage no decision has been reached on its membership. This will probably have to wait until Namibia is independent or at least until an independence date has been set. There is no reluctance on the Bank's part, but it will have to be a decision of an independent government. ■

FACE  
TO FACE

# African rains bring relief but food aid still a problem

CANB Times 20/5/85 (1)

ONE might suspect that Africa is now so full of trouble that the minds of its various inhabitants must be nearly exhausted of matter for creating further mayhem.

But each week new varieties of trouble occur, from Nigerians trying to suppress financial corruption among West African visitors to further strange developments in the attempt to evolve democracy in Liberia and order in Uganda or rid South Africa of later breeds of apartheid.

Meanwhile, the huge hunger area between the Nile and the Atlantic continues to produce weird manifestations of its own.

## Botha's manoeuvres

Or are the bitter attacks by black youths on black councillors and policemen in places as far apart as Grahamstown and Soweto a signal of a renewal of wider and more foreboding 'Kaffir Wars'.

Then again the signs that President P W Botha's manoeuvres had at last managed to crack the oppressive solidarity of the Afrikaner nationalist group must once again be taken in for reconsideration.

The latest batch of (white) Parliamentary by-election results can demonstrate that white fears are constructing a new laager. The old processes are competing again between building up rival racial blocks or creating groups willing to accommodate one another.

South African political imagination goes in circles.

## Good rains

The latest batch of (white) Parliamentary by-election results can demonstrate that white fears are constructing a new laager. The old processes are competing again between building up rival racial blocks or creating groups willing to accommodate one another.

South African political imagination goes in circles.

At the moment the weather is taking a hand in the process. In Southern Africa, at least, the rains are tentatively trying to break away from the process of drought and starvation.

Zimbabwe and Zambia have been encouraged by good rains. South Africa, Botswana and Lesotho have been



## Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



In Southern Africa the rains have brought some relief from drought and starvation.

cheered by moderately good showers. The rains around the Congo Basin have continued to be adequate.

Further up, Kenya and Tanzania may look forward to reasonable seasons. Perhaps the pressures of hunger may be lifted from much of the area.

The build-up of the weather prospects in Zimbabwe looks promising for some time ahead and seems to have influenced the growth of political patience in Robert Mugabe, even to the extent of slowing down his approach to a one-party state and the subjugating the million Ndebele.

Who knows, he might even experiment with a partnership with ZAPU after the elections in July. A few more months of good weather and success among the black and white farmers may spread some amiability.

In the central disaster areas — Ethiopia for example — hopes are rising. Some March rains came and the signs are that in July more adequate rains will arrive, better rains

than have fallen for several years.

Next door in the Sudan, however, sorghum and millet that may be planted next month with luck, will need another five months before it can be harvested.

The staple cereal of Ethiopia, teff, may not be ready until the end of the year and there are fears that the crop may fail again.

Sometimes it is not the rains that fail, but the railways. The trains that bear wheat across the central area of the Sudan from Kosti, beside the Nile, to the centre of Nyala, beside the Chad border, were plagued with breakdowns and great reserves of American wheat piled up at Kosti and fell prey to hungry rioters.

Before the Americans could supply \$3 million worth of spare parts to get the trains moving again much valuable time was lost in the battle against hunger.

In some cases it isn't trains or trucks or the climate that puts an edge on African hunger, but

the pure cussedness of world political competition.

Two big guerilla wars, plus some nasty circumstances caused by them, are working to make north-eastern Africa much hungrier than it should be.

## Complicates efforts

The struggle by Russians and their local allies to keep the Ethiopians attached to the eastern political connection and the struggle by the Americans to keep the Sudanese on their side complicates efforts to supply people of both regions with enough food.

If only the Soviet Union and the United States would cooperate with the rest of the world in keeping the people of the Sudan and the people Ethiopia alive, the problem of food supply to Africa's biggest territory and Africa's most ancient independent state would become immeasurably easier and more efficient.

# Togo gets loan

WASHINGTON — The West African Republic of Togo will get a loan of about R30 million, the International Monetary Fund announced yesterday.

It said Togo's international position would continue to depend on money from abroad, in-

cluding loans on easy terms from governments and inter-governmental bodies.

In return for this loan, the Togolese Government had promised to cut its government deficit, help farmers and improve private enterprise — Sapa-AP.

*Sowetan 23/5/85*

This camp, set in a grey and dusty wilderness, is home to 60 000 refugees

# A struggle for survival in a wasteland

4/6/85

Sowetan

ONLY a generation ago the vast plains to the south of Kishinet Girba were covered in forest. But man's need for firewood and the insidious encroachment of the desert have altered the landscape beyond recognition. Today only the occasional shrub breaks the steady progress of the eye across a vista of unending grey sands.

The place is plagued by fierce dust storms. The night I slept there — in the bed of a doctor who had been sent back to the city to recover from a mysterious illness which everyone assumed to be caused by constant inhalation of the fine grey dust — one such *habroob* struck. The clouds of sand blotted out the large African moon and the wind grabbed fiercely at the plastic sheeting which covered the straw roof

ets and officials of the Sudanese Commission of Refugees have been organizing the transportation of almost a quarter of a million people from the ill-prepared reception centres like Wad Kowh and Wad Sheriffe, which sprang up spontaneously on the border, to camps which will be easier to supply with food and water when the rainy season begins in a couple of weeks and the border camps become virtually inaccessible from the main road which brings the food aid from Port Sudan.

Refugees from the largely Christian province of Tigre have found far less of a welcome in Sudan than have their fellow Ethiopians from the province of Eritrea, the majority of whom are Moslems like their Sudanese neighbours; the refugee officials have established a policy that in camps for Tigreans, unlike in those for Eritreans, no permanent structures may be erected, and when local tradersmen who had set up tea-shops and stalls in Eritrean camps were asked to do the same in Girba



THESE children are being forced to eat whatever comes their way. Hunger seems to be a way of life in the Sudanese refugee camps.

camp should be sacked and replaced by inexperienced refugees? They were in bed by 10pm. It would be a long day, tomorrow, with a 5am start to meet the newcomers. And first there would be the *habroob* to weather.

Dawn broke to reveal that the fierce storm had taken a toll in its passing. Scores of the sturdy brown tents erected for the incoming refugees had been flattened and lay in their ranks like discarded piles of clothes

emerging into the light from a dark cave. They stood and looked at those of us who were already there much as the anxious tenant might regard a rapacious landlord, with a mixture of resentment and respect. Aid workers quickly divided those in need of urgent medical attention from those who could survive the lengthy period of registration. The inspections were, of necessity, cursory; there are thousands of people to deal with in this camp

papers to the Europeans. "They're letters of recommendation," explained McSorley. "These men were grave watchers at Wad Kowli. They want work here now." Employing refugees to watch the burial plots is the only reliable way of ascertaining how many people die every day, the only constant index to the health of the camp.

Australian doctor, Mike Toole, was examining a handsome young man whose community Aid Abroad. They are in charge of that, though I don't think they are employing any yet," said Cosgrave. They would need to soon. That day 14 of the newcomers died.

Among the rows of tents little bands of children were wandering, exploring the new terrain. Their mothers had already lit tiny fires from their precious wood stocks and were roasting wheat grains or cooking pancake bread on thin metal sheets rest-

covered the straw roof of the open-sided shelter.

The next morning a thick layer of the dust lay over everything. It had insinuated itself everywhere — between our teeth as we slept, into the food, into clothes wrapped tightly in plastic bags and had even driven itself into a suspension in the drinking water. Girda did not seem like a place where anyone could live.

Yet it is here that 60 000 people will make their home for the next year and perhaps longer. The empty plain is now known as Girda Central camp and it is being filled with those who have fled from the famine and war in Ethiopia in what is thought to be the largest organized mass movement of refugees anywhere in the world during the past decade.

In recent weeks international aid work-

no one there already.

And yet there were objections to placing refugees even in this barren wilderness. The Army insisted that plans to house 180 000 Ethiopians there should be reduced to only 60 000 because Girda with its lake and newly-constructed dam was a strategically important target supplying, as it does, water and power to most of the east of Sudan. The security forces objected on the grounds that the refugee groups might contain "subversives" who would have to be allowed to travel to the camp on the road across the dam which is guarded by formidable batteries of anti-aircraft weaponry and an impressive radar dish which never seems to turn.

Even the few indigent Sudanese villagers along the shore of the lake who were told they would benefit

could be same in Central they declined in the grounds that: "These are not our people."

I arrived in Girda the night before it was due to receive its biggest influx of newcomers to date. They were to be transferred from Wad Kowli, a camp more than 70 000 inhabitants but which now has fewer than 30 000. In preparation aid workers from the four groups which run the camp — Oxfam, its Australian equivalent Community Aid Abroad, the Irish charity Concern and a British group called Christian Outreach — were meeting to discuss the minutiae of running a refugee camp. Should they buy fruit for those children who needed therapeutic feeding or would that just clean out the local markets and raise prices? How were the plans going to swap one big water tanker for two small ones owned by a neighbouring camp? What speed limit should they impose on the road between the ranks of tents: a child had been killed recently by a lorry in another camp? What was behind the suggestion by local officers of the refugee's own organization of Tigre Society of Tigre (REST) that all the trained workers imported from the old

carded piles of clothes in a dormitory. But there was nothing to be done now. The first of the lorries was arriving.

No one was quite sure how many lorries had left Wad Kowli the night before but when they reached the staging post at Showak, where their occupants rested through the coldest hours of the night and waited for the road over the dam to open, there had been two or three vehicles missing.

The Sudanese lorry drivers were grinning cavalier characters who gave every appearance of being paid by the hour. They raced down the brooding dirt track at great speeds with plumes of dust billowing in their wake, covering the occupants of the following vehicles with sand, before breaking abruptly as they careered around to the reception centre to discharge their hap-

less cargo. There were 39 lorries in all, each with some 40 or 50 refugees huddled behind its barred sides. With speedy confidence the drivers unlatched the gates at the back and swung them open. By contrast, the Tigreans, their lives' possessions wrapped in trifling little bundles, emerged slowly and stiffly, peering cautiously about them like people

deal with in this camp and, in any case, even an elementary diagnostic measure like taking a patient's temperature is impractical — in the heat of Girda it is impossible to get the thermometers down below 110 degrees F.

The scale of adult malnutrition that day surprised the health workers and it quickly became clear that about a quarter of the entire population was also suffering badly from scurvy. The vitamin C deficiency which caused it was also responsible for a large number of slow-healing sores and abscesses.

As they spoke they were constantly approached by newcomers who presented

young man whose physique seemed strong enough but whose limbs were stiffened with pain. The man winced whenever his swollen legs were touched. "This scurvy is bad. He can't walk at all. But with vitamin C he should recover completely. We have ordered massive supplies."

Diarrhoea, tuberculosis and malaria were, apart from sheer malnutrition, the major problems among the newcomers. "We will do what we can to treat their existing ailments and try to build them up before they succumb to the chest and eye infections which all this dust will soon cause," said a health worker, with a bitter smile.

Outside the clinic two Concern workers, John Cosgrave and Dominic McSorley, discussed the options for camp sanitation. Both men were experienced in similar work, one in Ethiopia, the other in Thailand.

Their first suggestion had been ruled out by the Sudanese because it did not fit in with local regulations. The alternative offered by the local health officer had been rejected by the United Nations as being a grossly unrealistic underestimate. "This is a McAlpine size contract," commented Cosgrave. "Send them to Com-

thin metal sheets resting over the flames. They were not happy to be in Girda but were clearly resigned to it. They had chosen to come here when faced with the alternatives of Girda, with its heat and dust, or returning to Tigre as many of their fellows have done.

"These people have not given up by coming to Girda," said Megisha Katsay of REST. "They say there is no food in Tigre. They don't know whether there is rainfall or whether there is seed available. If they hear there is rain and there are seeds many of them will leave for Tigre too."

In the meantime the refugees of Girda prepared to make the best of things. As I walked around the camp little knots of children gathered and, taking my hands, acted as wordless guides to their new world.

One, a tiny nine-year-old boy whose name was Gebre, was wearing a little wolf cub sweater which still bore the legend of the 3rd Bath MGS, Somerset, troop. He did not understand when I smiled at the badges of achievement across his arm. But then there is a lot about his present life on this dusty futureless plain that Gebre Gerstard does not understand. Still, in reply, he offers his hand and smiles.

# MONIES Spirit Jive Soweto FESTIVAL

With  
Sipho Hot Stix Mabuse • Yvonne Chaka Chaka • Harari • Midnite Express • Rockets • Amampondo • Margino • Taxi plus!!

**FUN VALLEY**  
Sunday, June 9, 1985  
10 am R5

S10623



**WANDERING CHILD:** One of the tiny walks of the refugee camps.



NM 29/5/85

(1)

(226)

# Africa: always on the move

**The actions of Nigeria in expelling a further 700 000 'people without papers' to relieve the country's pressing economic problems following on earlier actions to expel more than 2 millions is not without precedent in a continent which is 'always on the move'**

APART from Ghana which is naturally preoccupied with reaccommodating another 200 000 of its former citizens, the ruthless action by Nigeria has met with little official reaction in the African capitals.

This attitude, according to observers, stems not only from the wish of the African states to preserve their 'sacrosanct solidarity' in keeping with the precepts of the Organisation of African Unity but because they have no desire to become involved in arguments with 'their big brother Nigeria' — country that has 100 million inhabitants.

Such is the case in Niamey, capital of Niger, to the north of Nigeria where the expulsion of several thousands of Niger nationals has received little more than brief official announcements and has been completely ignored by the local radio stations.

## Expansionism

It is an historical fact that Africans have always been on the move. Before the occupation of vast areas of the continent by the colonial powers these movements followed patterns that evolved from hunting, fishing and harvesting but also to escape the expansionism of warrior empires and the fears of being captured and sold as slaves.

Since the era of independence that began in the early 1960s Africa has been subjected to a new waves of population movements.

These mass movements and expulsions now appear to have become a normal pattern of African economic and social life. Often they are marked by plundering as refugees are systematically robbed at the frontier posts, general brutality by officials that has on occasions developed into massacres.

The list of expulsions made in an Agence France Presse report from Paris, is a long one.

## Ivory Coast

In October 1958 18 000 people — nationals of Togo or Dahomey (now Benin) working mainly in government service in the Ivory Coast were so molested and harrassed by young Ivory Coast demonstrators that they were forced to return to their own countries. Most of those repatriated were however eventually compensated by the Ivory Coast government.

In July 1962 when the former Belgian territories of Rwanda-Urundi became independent as the separate territories of Rwanda and Burundi there were vast population movements of the Tutsi and Hutu tribes following general massacres.

## Soccer clashes

Later in the same year at a soccer match at Brazzaville between teams from the Congo Re-

public and Gabon a series of incidents led to 2 500 Congo nationals being chased out of Gabon.

In 1963 the desert confrontation between Morocco and Algeria led to the Moroccan government expelling many hundreds of Algerians living in the country.

In December 1963 Niger, following quarrels over a small island in the River Niger with its neighbour Dahomey, expelled 15 000 Dahomey nationals 'in the interests of security'

In 1968 to provide protection for its own labour force Sierra Leone sent back 8 000 Ghanaians to their own country.

Also in 1968 the former emperor Bokassa, annoyed because of reactions by Zaire to his decision to withdraw from the Union of Central African States, decided to expel all Zaire citizens living in the Central African Republic.

## Smuggling blamed

In December 1969 the Ghanaian prime minister, Dr Koffi Busia in an effort to ease the declining economic situation in Ghana decided to send back foreigners from neighbouring states back to their own countries. Trading licences were withdrawn from merchants who were not Ghanaian citizens. About 60 000 people were forced to leave the country.

During 1971 and 1972 Zaire decided to repatriate all nationals of West African countries living in Zaire, particularly people from Nigeria, Senegal and Mauretania, claiming that they were responsible for the widespread smuggling of gold and diamonds.

In August 1972 President Idi Amin sent 100 000 Asians, who controlled about 90 percent of the commercial life in Uganda, into exile. And a year later on the pretext of differences with Dar es Salaam and Nairobi hundreds and Tanzanians and Kenyas were expelled.

In March 1976 following the breakdown in Col Gaddafi's plan to secure a union between Libya, Tunisia and Egypt many thousands of Tunisians and Egyptians were chased from Libya.

## Desert quarrels

Also in North Africa in the same year the Algerian government, angry at the 'Green March' which enabled Morocco to take over large parts of the disputed Western Sahara, expelled 30 000 Moroccans.

Also in 1976 the tyrannical president of Equatorial Guinea hounded out almost 10 000 Nigerians and in December following rioting between Comorians living in Madagascar and the local people at Majunga which led to 130 deaths, the Comorians were repatriated.

In 1977 the Congo president decided to expel thousands of nationals of Senegal and Mali, claiming that they were dominating the interal trade of the country.

In 1978 nearly 9 000 Benin nationals were declared 'undesirable' after quarrels between the presidents of Gabon and Benin at the Khartoum summit of the OAU and were sent back to Benin.

Boom in first five months

# SA's exports to Africa head for R1,8bn record

B-Day

4/7/85

By LESLEY LAMBERT  
EXPORTS to Africa could top a record R1,8bn this year if the present trend continues — with exports to the north almost doubling for the first five months of this year.

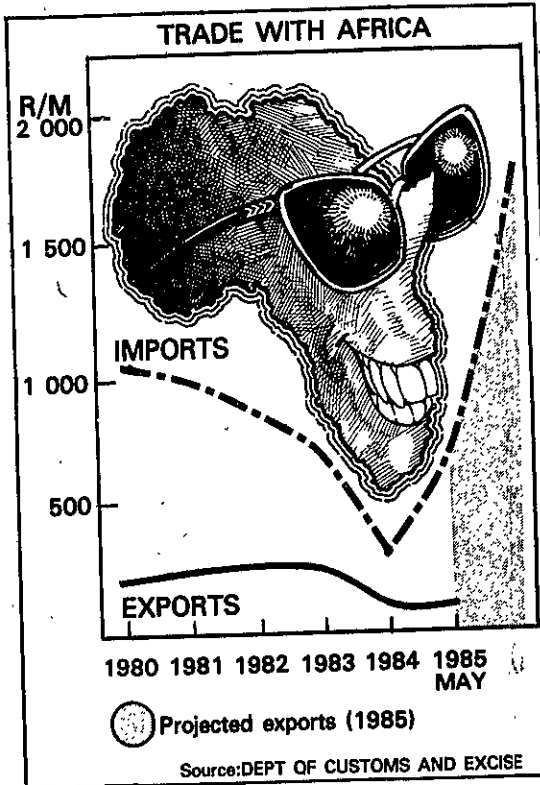
Despite the disinvestment threat, trade with African countries is booming. By the end of May, exports to Africa had almost doubled to R709,8m, compared with the same period last year. Imports rose by a marginal R1,4m to R162,3m.

The value of exports to Africa has never exceeded 1980's R1,1bn. This year, provided the economic and political situation does not change radically, exports are expected to reach new highs.

Although the rand/dollar exchange rate accounts to a large extent for the rise in trade income, the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) says that the volume of trade with African countries has also increased substantially.

Machinery, agricultural equipment, building materials, pharmaceutical goods, wheat and processed foodstuffs make up the bulk of South African exports to its 12 major African trading partners (which include Zimbabwe,

TRADE WITH AFRICA



Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique).

Sales of these goods have been considerably boosted by South African-sponsored development projects in the various countries, according to the manager of Safto's Africa division, Jean Caffin.

South Africa is the major supplier of specialised products to many of these neighbouring states.

# Russians are doing nothings to help

# the starvings millions, says Geldof

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Live Aid hero Bob Geldof has attacked Russia for "doing nothing" to help Ethiopia's starving millions.

It was, he said, "a shame" that politics had interfered with the Soviet Union's contribution to the cause.

"It is not good enough for the second most powerful country in the world to do nothing," he said. "With power comes moral responsibility."

"They must be aware that the world is demanding that all governments do something. It is not good enough if all they are interested in is appropriating land in the name of pseudo-colonialism."

## SUDAN

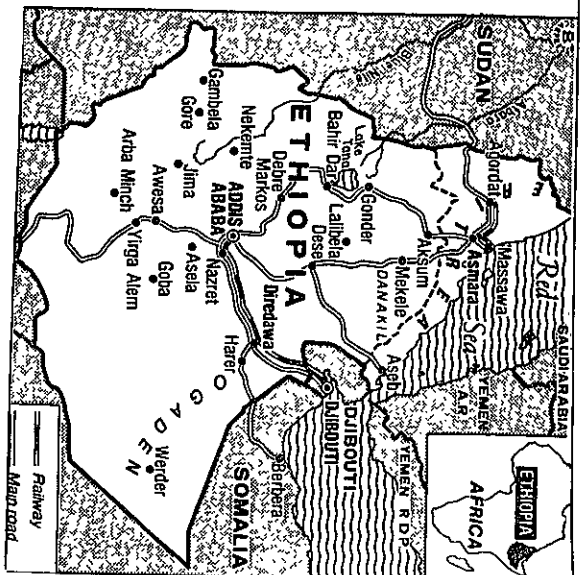
Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — A senior United Nations official involved in famine relief for Africa believes the focus of international attention has shifted from Ethiopia to Sudan.

Mr. Maurice Strong, a Canadian, who is the executive director in the UN's office for emergency operations for Africa, says the western part of Sudan is now threatened by what he calls "an absolute catastrophe".



The crowded relief camp at Mekele in Ethiopia.



Geldof's attack came after what was seen as a cynical propaganda exercise by the Russians over Saturday's Live Aid global concert, which has already earned more than R100-million.

They fed into the TV satellite coverage two songs by their top rock group Autograph, complete with a message about aid being "not just a matter of policy, but one of human love".

But the group played in Moscow for just 150 invited guests, the Live Aid concert was not shown on Russian television and no money was sent to the famine relief fund.

Geldof, whom many politicians are now putting forward for the Nobel Peace Prize after his spectacular world-wide coup, said: "If the Soviet Union cannot fend for itself in terms of its own agriculture,

## A new 'absolute catastrophe' looming

He told correspondents on his return to New York from a visit to drought-stricken countries that Sudan faced a desperate situation where nearly half the country's 22 million people could be threatened by starvation.

"Donor support has been slipping," he added. "I am deeply concerned as the problem of Sudan needs special attention, just as Ethiopia did."

then there is no point in them sending agricultural advisers to Africa.

"But they could send hoes, seed and drilling equipment. And they are not."

He added it was also "no use sending guns to people who have no food" — a reference to Moscow's military support of Ethiopia's Marxist regime.

Geldof went on to react with astonishment to the suggestion that he be nominated for the peace prize — but added that if he was, and received it, he would give the R375 000 prize money to the famine relief fund.

Meanwhile, a senior Ethiopian diplomat has pledged to set up an investigation of allegations that relief supplies are being left to rot while millions of his countrymen continue to starve.

"This cannot be allowed," said Dr Teshone Teklu, Ethiopia's senior official in London.

Clearly elated by the astonishing success of the Live Aid appeal, Dr Teklu said: "We quite understand that people will be anxious to know that the money they have contributed in aid is being properly used."

He said the Government was keeping a meticulous note of every contribution and what happened to it — "where the food is sent and so on".

He also disclosed that in common with all Ethiopian civil servants, everyone at the Ethiopian Embassy had contributed one month's salary to the famine relief fund.

"It is our battle, too," he said.



Bob Geldof.



# Food aid reality not music to ears of African leaders

LAST Saturday's global pop concert in aid of famine relief in Africa was what we used to call a "happening". It was an extraordinary manifestation — but whether of interest in the famine in Africa or in the unique assembly of pop stars, is now a matter of debate.

It was inevitable that after such a spectacular event sour notes would be sounded, like the letter to The Times which said: "Is it really appropriate to consider nominating as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize a man responsible for shattering the peace of the world by promoting no less than 16 hours of global non-stop rock 'music'? Three cheers for Barry Fantoni."

Another letter writer said: "How marvellous if public benefactor Bob Geldof, with his undoubted organizational talents and great influence over young people, could now harness his team of pop stars and his resources world-wide to tackle that other great destroyer of mainly young people — drug abuse — which, unlike famine, is man-made and doesn't end when the rains arrive."

Well, there's a thought for you. Among the pop stars who would be expected to take part in this anti-drug crusade would be some of the world's most active users of drugs. (No one suggests of course, that Mr Geldof or any of the other organizers of Live Aid are among the drug users).

In the Guardian, Terry Coleman took the BBC to task for televising 16 hours of the concert. Where, he asked, did this leave the BBC's "almighty pretensions" that it provided the best broadcasting in the world?

"Two hours of this concert... would have been fair: say, three then. Ten hours would have made poor old Reith (the BBC's austere first director-general) turn in his grave."

Coleman noted that anyone who saw the concert on television saw it better than anyone who was there. As a concert, "it was often a sham... the performers on the stage were generally invisible to the naked eye and had to be watched on great big television screens mounted at the side of the stage."

I agree with Coleman that while some spectators, both at Wembley in London and at JFK Stadium in Philadelphia, just went to the biggest pop concert in the history of ballyhoo, "many came with the highest motives".

But Coleman also has

## London Dateline

By STANLEY UYS



Bob Geldof

a point when he says, "You have to be a bit amazed and abashed at the sheer, sweet, innocent, hopeful, impossible altruism of the whole idea".

Of a banner "Feed the World" draped over the Wembley stage, Coleman remarked: "I can only applaud the hopeless and daft nobility of it all."

South Africa of course was the only country excluded from the television hook-up. It really is in the international doghouse these days, with its isolation getting worse not better. An estimated 1500 million people in 160 countries saw the concert live on television and South Africa was the only one officially excluded.

### Russia

Others of course, fearful of opening their societies, excluded themselves voluntarily, like China, which televised instead a mens' basketball game in Peking stadium and the Soviet Union, which showed the film live to a selected group of fewer than 200 people, although the slick, American-sounding Russian presenter Vladimir Posner claimed falsely that "we are proud to be part of this gathering of millions of people".

Russia did not contribute one rouble to the Live Aid fund and Geldof let it be known what he thought of its record of assistance for famine relief.

"Everyone knows that the Soviet Union is doing nothing," said Geldof. "It is a scandalous state of affairs."

If there is scepticism over Geldof's good intentions it is for various reasons: that the drought in Ethiopia and the Sudan — it stretches in an unbroken band from Mauritania to Somalia and then dips south; that the famine will still be there next year and the year thereafter; and that a lot of food aid is simply not getting through to the starving populations.

### Duties

The record of some of the African governments involved, like Ethiopia, is appalling. They began to take their own famines seriously only when the West launched its relief programmes. And even then they did not

provide the transport they could have provided.

Today Marxist Ethiopia is still levying port duties of R25 a tonne on foreign food relief and reportedly has already earned R53 million from these dues which are among the highest in Africa. Ethiopia charges R7,75 a tonne on food channelled through its own Relief and Rehabilitation Commission.

Distribution of food aid is still a problem in Ethiopia, while in the Sudan a staggering 280 000-tonne food mountain is choking Port Sudan's quays and warehouses.

A report published here on Monday said 28 ships were waiting to unload more food and other ships were on their way. The report added: "Food dispatched from the port has been disappearing in vast quantities, sold to line the pockets of black marketeers and corrupt officials."

### Distribution

One recent estimate said that only about 25 percent of food bound for distribution centres has actually got through.

The Sudan is witnessing the biggest distribution of free food in history: nevertheless, thousands of people will die in the remote desert wastes of that country this year. Even the United States' intervention has not saved the situation.

The US is the largest food donor to drought-stricken Africa, providing half of its emergency food needs this year. The total amount of US food relief for Africa this year is about 3 million tonnes, valued at more than one billion dollars.

The Sudanese relief operation particularly was to have been "a copybook example of the superiority of private-sector management" over what was happening in Marxist Ethiopia, but the distribution system has gone wrong. The private company awarded the distribution contract has prevented organizations such as Save the Children and the UN from arranging their own food convoys.

### Charities

Geldof is fully aware that the problem is not only to raise money for famine relief, but to ensure that the relief is distributed. Live Aid has already bought 40 trucks, 60 trailers, garages, spares and fuel tanks in a determined effort to move the food mountain from Port Sudan.

But there is a catch: the more Live Aid and other charities try to take food distribution into their own hands, the more they will come into conflict with African governments protecting their sovereignty.

There is no immediate answer to famine in

Africa. Almost everyone agrees now that Africa has to return to basic agriculture, but it is still not clear how farmers will be given a fair price for their crops without at the same time making urban dwellers pay prices which they feel they cannot afford. And disgruntled urban dwellers are the ones who start *coups d'etat*.

World Bank and FAO figures show 800 million people in the world in absolute poverty and the trend for the future looking worse. Some experts urge a return to small farmers. In Brazil, for example, small farmers grow 73 percent of the food on only 21 percent of the agricultural land.

Yet the emphasis is always on "development". The process has become a perfect circle of illusion, according to one writer. "Development" is paid for by "aid," resulting in "projects" designed to create "surpluses" for export, to earn foreign exchange to service debts which have been incurred to finance — "development".

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) is meeting in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa this weekend to examine the bleak economic, political and social future which African countries are facing. Five years ago, the OAU launched a collective survival plan, the Lagos Plan of Action, but it has languished in a pigeon-hole since then and only now is it to be taken out and dusted down to serve as the working text for this week's summit.

More than one million people have died in Africa since the recent droughts began; 10 million others have been displaced, along with appalling losses in livestock and crops, the spread of disease and water and energy shortages.

### Logistical

Nine of the 20 drought-stricken countries of sub-Saharan Africa are classed as "severely affected," and a total of 150 million people face famine and malnutrition.

The essential requirement for medicine, food relief and logistical support, according to Africa magazine, still stands at \$1.5 billion, of which \$893 million accounts for food alone.

While the drought has been persistent for only the past few years, the decline in agriculture has been noticeable since the 1960s. The "Brown Revolution" which Africa needs, equivalent to Asia's "Green Revolution" in the 1970s, will need an estimated annual investment, according to Africa magazine, of between 5 to 6.5 billion dollars from now until the year 2000.

Bob Geldof, regrettably, is out of his league. Perhaps he deserves the Nobel Peace Prize, or a knighthood, as has been suggested, or perhaps he should even be sanctified — they are already calling him Saint Bob — but these honours should be for the nobility of his intentions rather than for what he is actually going to be able to achieve in the long run.

# Africa needs more private US financial muscle

The economic well-being of Africa and our business ties to the continent are subjects of great concern to all of us in Washington who deal with Africa on a daily basis.

You may have heard the old dictum which says: "If you give me a fish, I will eat today. But if you teach me to fish, I will eat forever." We are, figuratively speaking, trying to help the Africans to fish, and to accomplish this we look to the private sector to play a major role.

Having said this, let me hasten to assure you that we have no illusions in the Department of State or other executive branch agencies that we can develop a strong, viable private sector in Africa as a sort of "quick fix" which can be achieved overnight.

While we encourage American investors to participate in opportunities in Africa, we do not consider the US private sector to be the US Government's tool to accomplish our foreign policy goals. Rather we would like to think that the Administration's goals and those of the American business community coincide.

You in the private sector are quite capable of reaching your own conclusions as to what you want to do in Africa, if anything. In fact, we have to constantly remind African leaders that the US Government cannot simply snap its fingers and have American companies standing in line to do business in Africa.

I could not talk about America's role in Africa without mentioning our aid commitment, especially the large amount of emergency food aid which is now flowing to that drought-stricken continent.

During the current fiscal year, which started on October 1 last year, total US emergency food aid to Africa, as of early June, amounted to nearly 1.8 million metric tons, valued at nearly \$750 million. And of course there is more to come.

Decisions are being made each week. In fiscal 1984, we provided 505 000 metric tons at a cost of about \$171 million. Moreover, these efforts have been supplemented by many American organisations, such as World Vision.

I must also mention our regular aid programme for sub-Saharan Africa, which in 1985 will amount to more than \$1 100 million, up from about \$950 million allocated in 1984.

The point I want to drive home with these figures is that the United States is the largest donor of emergency food assistance to Africa and we are the second largest donor of regular aid.

Drought and famine get the headlines, but the truly important

story of Africa's economy is often ignored. As the world economy further recovers from recession, many African economies continue to decline. Per capita income in Africa decreased in the 1970s while it increased in virtually all other countries of the world.

The situation in the early 1980s has been no better for Africa. Per capita food production has fallen by some 20 percent in the last 20 years. Debt rose from \$9 900 million to \$66 000 million during the decade from 1973 to 1983.

Inflation is still rampant in a number of countries despite such measures as severe budget cuts, import reductions and various forms of austerity policies that have been conducted in recent years.

What are the causes of Africa's economic woes? There are many. External factors, such as Opec oil prices and weak global markets for Africa's traditional export crops, certainly played a major role.

However, misguided policies by African governments themselves must also bear a large share of responsibility for this situation. The governments of many newly-emerging African nations, reacting against colonial experience and encouraged by socialist ideals and theories, imposed pricing and marketing restrictions, and superimposed massive bureaucracies. It is a long list.

African governments poured scarce

**"This supports our contention that the private sector must play a more vital role if Africa is to survive economically without constant inputs of financial aid from the US and other industrialised nations."**

resources into attempts to foster artificial and uneconomic industries. In some countries, this tight government control and channelling of resources seemed called for because the countries were pulling themselves up by their shoestrings, and at the beginning, in some cases, these policies may even have worked.

However, as commodity prices dropped, external credit became less available, African farmers realised they were being exploited, agricultural exports declined and food imports grew until they have become a major portion of Africa's current account deficit.

What I am painting — in a nutshell — is a picture that is very bleak and very stark. There is bad news, and there is also good news. The bad news is the story of decline in various categories of African economic output and activity. The positive news in all

Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, recently spoke to the Chicago Trade and Investment Conference on "America's role in Africa — the importance of US commercial and investment presence in the context of US foreign policy". This is an edited version of his address.

this is the recognition, after a generation of this experience, that the time for reappraisal and rethinking is at hand. The evidence of that rethinking process we see across the African continent today.

This leads me to the role of the private sector. An increasing number of African governments — including such Marxist-oriented ones as Benin and Mozambique — are expressly seeking foreign investment and have approached us for our help in locating American companies willing to enter into joint ventures or even coming in as wholly-owned US subsidiaries.

The contribution which the private sector, and particularly foreign private investment, can make to their economies has finally become evident to them, or at least is perceived as the logical alternative to socialist programmes which have not worked.

Governments have indicated their willingness to divest themselves of a number of parastatal corporations, government-operated industries, marketing boards and other organisations which have been largely ineffective and which account for far too high a percentage of those employed in the cash economy in African countries.

We in Washington see this trend as coinciding with our own appreciation of Africa's needs. As I am sure many

Ivory Coast, which provided ample access to credit by the private sector, were relatively prosperous, while other governments in both Africa and Asia which kept most foreign and domestic credit for public-sector projects saw their economies take a downturn.

This implies that the private sector used its financial resources more efficiently than the public sector.

The study further indicates that the four African and four East Asian countries in the medium and high growth categories had private entrepreneurs who responded to incentives and opportunities created by enlightened policies and that they used their resources effectively.

While such conclusions may oversimplify the real story of why some African economies did well and others went in the opposite direction, it supports our contention that the private sector must play a more vital role if Africa is to survive economically without constant inputs of financial aid from the United States and other industrialised nations.

This conference is only a small part of US activities to facilitate the role of our private sector in Africa. We are also working with African countries which want to send investment missions to the United States.

I have spoken almost entirely on the subject of investment thus far. This is not to imply that our trade relations with Africa are not important to us. We have, in fact, a sizeable trade deficit with the African region as a whole, and we wish that that were not the case.

We would obviously wish to do everything we can in Africa and in other parts of the world to balance our trade in a more effective way. And particularly with countries where we have large trade deficits, such as Nigeria, Cameroon, Angola — countries from which we import substantial amounts of goods, particularly petroleum.

The trade picture for 1984 shows that our imports from Africa amounted to \$10 400 million, while our exports to the sub-Saharan continent were only slightly more than \$6 000 million. So there you have the basic imbalance.

Finally, I will say again that while Africa is not an easy place in which to do business, Africans welcome US investment and are very interested in buying US goods. People are as eager as they have ever been since the heyday of Africa's independence 25 years ago to hear the American message.

of you are already aware, this Administration believes that the private sector could and should play a more positive role in the economic expansion of the developing countries.

A few weeks ago, there appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* an article by a World Bank official who drew some interesting conclusions from a study of certain African and East Asian countries.

The article, which asked the question: "Why have African economies stagnated while East Asian economies boomed over the past two decades?" is based on an analysis of 17 countries.

The study notes that, in 1962, Africa and East Asia started off on a similar footing. It concludes that economic growth was strongly correlated with growth of domestic credit to the private sector.

For instance, Cameroon and the

# Multi-party democracy in Africa?

July 1985

**EVEN** as Robert Mugabe began to claim that his recent poll victory gave him a mandate to make Zimbabwe an exclusive one-party state, a little-heralded but historic conference across the continent in Dakar, Senegal, was taking the first halting steps along a new road for Africa, that of multi-party democracy.

The Dakar meeting earlier this month was, significantly, hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal and the National Democratic Institute, an affiliate of the US Democratic Party. It brought together 30 high-level representatives from African countries, as well as a cross-section of US legislators and key Democratic Party activists in a delegation

led by Charles Manat, recently chairman of the Democratic Party. It was called "The International Conference on Democracy in Africa".

The thrust of the deliberations, centred on a brief "window of opportunity" that exists today in Africa for democratic environments to proliferate, and to profit by providing practical political remedies.

The failures of military regimes and Marxist models to solve basic African political and economic problems provides this window. But any vacuum created by this "open window" may only be fillable by specifically African approaches to democratic politics, and not the importation of Western models.

The language used by conference delegates at Dakar, including such as President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, Foreign Minister A K Amega of Togo, and Francis Minah, vice-president of Sierra Leone, contained much rhetoric. But this was always intended to be a practical conference and the nuts and bolts discussions of the role of the party in African states where predicted on recognition of the existence of unsuccessful military and Marxist-oriented governments.

tempted coup in Guinea. In simple economic terms, most of the African delegates were addressing the same negative proposition: the high price of imported energy and other basic imports, along with the decreasing value of natural resources exports and low agricultural productivity, has resulted in increasing international debt.

Stabs at pure socialism, it was agreed, have led only to the brink of economic and social disaster in Tanzania, Zambia and Angola. Military regimes have provided the seeds of their own failures, as seen most recently in the at-

## Trials

The trials of a multi-party democratic system, however, the delegates contemplated, may offer the participatory influences that contribute to increases in productivity and cause an environment encouraging to the longer term stability that crucial foreign investment re-

quired. Recent privatisation of state corporations in several African countries may be a key economic indicator.

Throughout the conference there was a rejection of the importation into Africa of East-West competition, corrupting the independent formation of a particularly African political environment. In the simplest terms, this was expressed as a waste of all too slender resources, both economic and political.

The attendance of delegates from the major political parties of the conservative Islamic states of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, including the Egyptian Minister of State for

Foreign Affairs, Boutrous Ghali, and the Tunisian First Minister, Hadi Bacouche, underlined concern in the "fertile crescent" at Libyan destabilisation efforts in adjacent black African states, and the need to support the growth of multi-party states as one mode of avoiding the smothering embrace of Colonel Quadhafi.

President Mubarak's attendance at the OAU conference in Addis Ababa this week gives added emphasis to that concern. Not gathering of this sort at this time could have passed without reference to South Africa. It was not formally on the agenda, but then it is never off the agenda—certainly for the sub-Saharan countries.

The American Democratic Institute said it was in Dakar as an organisation dedicated to the growth of pluralistic values and, therefore, multi-party democracy in all countries. The Democratic Party in the US is one

of the world's oldest political parties: establishing rapport with leaders and groups in Africa where democracy can legitimately be described as historic but political parties are rather greener, tender shoots, is a very delicate, but rewarding, enterprise.

formed, managed and communicating political parties.

The goal is to permit political parties — particularly in opposition and however structured — to become the constructive outlet for dissenting views.

One fascinating and important outcome of the Dakar conference was the clearly expressed desire to continue to develop and expand the links forged between the participating countries at party political level — Copyright London Observer Service.

At Dakar the NDI were careful not to prescribe for leaders of other nations how they should manage their political systems and, indeed, were at pains to point out that the discussion was not simply a contest between one-party and multi-party states, but a question of the greater politicisation of the potential electorate through the vehicle of competently

At Dakar the NDI were careful not to prescribe for leaders of other nations how they should manage their political systems and, indeed, were at pains to point out that the discussion was not simply a contest between one-party and multi-party states, but a question of the greater politicisation of the potential electorate through the vehicle of competently

①

APR 24/1985

②

# Famine: Money not enough

The Live Aid concert was the most spectacular example of the West's concern for Africa's famine disaster. But in spite of aid and good rains, millions continue to starve. GEOFFREY LEAN of the London Observer examines what has gone wrong

TWO ancient locomotives returning from a crucial delivery of food to the little town of Nyala in the extreme West of Sudan last week plunged off a bridge into the Hamadi River.

The rains that Africa has so long been praying for had turned the dried up river bed into a torrent. The flood had swept away the supports of the 30m span across the river and the unsuspecting drivers, unable in the darkness to see what had happened, had simply driven the train on to unsupported tracks.

It was four days before news of the accident reached the Sudanese capital, Khartoum. But when it did, it was openly described by relief workers as "a catastrophe".

Not only had it cut off 1 300 000 people facing famine in Darfur province from the food they so desperately needed, it demonstrated once again that warnings about the nature of Africa's famine disaster had gone unheeded.

For months the aid agencies in Sudan had urged that the railway should be used to get stocks of food into the province before the rains made the track unusable.

The link could have provided 1 000 tons of food a day, giving Darfur what it needed to carry it through the rainy season.

Instead it had averaged just 176 tons a day and now the destitute population faces a long period with virtually no food at all.

The Hamadi disaster is symptomatic of much that is happening throughout the hunger belt of North Africa.

There is food in plenty waiting at the ports but vital communication links are being cut and because everyone has moved so slowly, not enough food has reached the rural hinterlands to keep them fed when

the rains separate them from the rest of the world.

The prospects are grim. Hugh McKay, overseas director of the Save the Children Fund, a man not given to hyperbole, says: "What we saw last year is a pale shadow of the horror that is going on at the moment — and things are going to get considerably worse before the end of the year."

The best prospect for changing this depressing cycle is a newly-assembled team of men and women in a set of makeshift offices scattered over two floors of a glass tower on the banks of New York's Hudson River.

The United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa has attracted some of the brightest people in the UN system to co-ordinate the international response to the crisis. They pool information, discuss strategies, send ideas back through the UN system and take specific requests for help to potential donors.

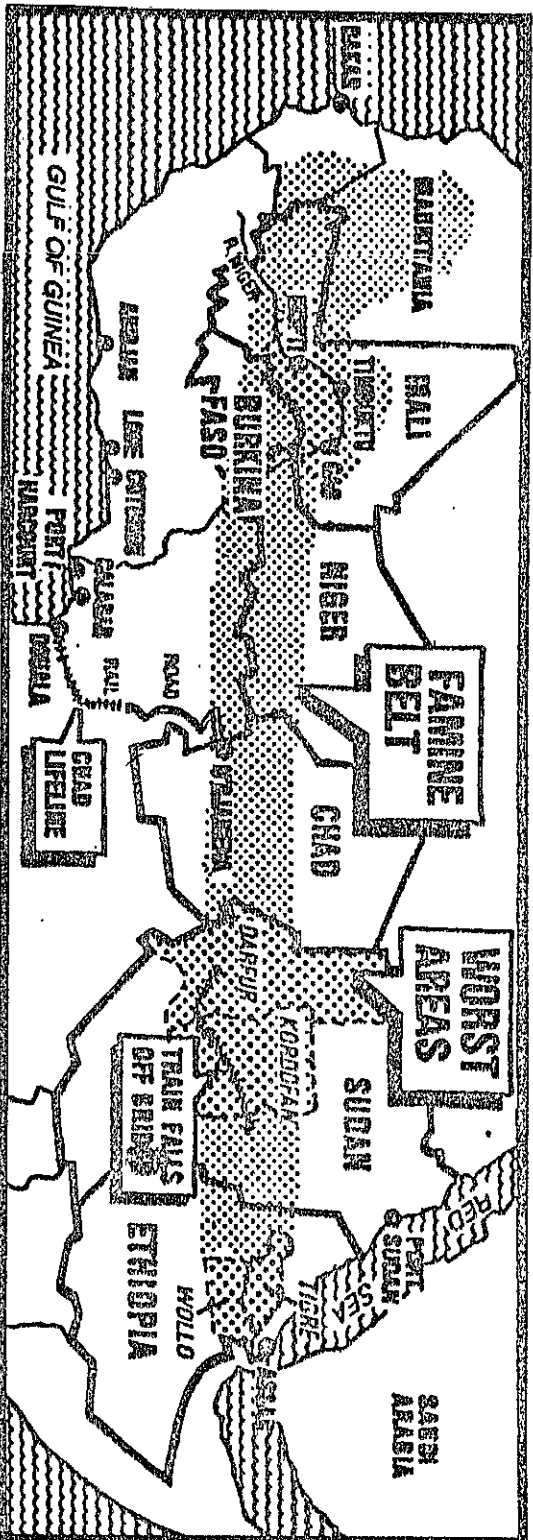
The atmosphere is very different from that of the main UN building just 70m downstream.

## There is food in plenty waiting at ports

The office is small (with just 14 professionals) and cheap (they even got a New York supplier to give them their typewriters). Everyone works hard and late.

Since they got together in January, they have gone about the business of trying to shake up the UN system and break the bottlenecks that have prevented supplies getting through.

And, in spite of all the disappointments, some things have come right. Recently, for example, the



delivery of food from West African ports has doubled.

The World Food Programme has organised a staggeringly successful rail and road emergency route from Douala on the Cameroonian coast to Chad which has increased the flow of food from 6 000 to 36 000 tons a month.

But, though they are loathe to admit it, the officials in that New York tower know that the main battle for 1985 is already lost. Increasingly they are turning their attention to 1986.

But if they are to get it right next time the mistakes of 1985 must not be repeated.

And the main lesson is that food itself is not enough. It is an irony that many of the refugee camps which provided the harrowing television footage of some months ago are now relatively well off.

International publicity, public generosity and hardworking voluntary and official agencies have worked wonders.

In Korea, where the BBC pictures were shot, deaths are down from 40 a day to single figures — very few children —

although the population of the camp has doubled.

At Bati, deaths fell from 2 400 in November to 350 in March. In the camps along the Ethiopia-Sudan border, too, the situation has "stabilised". It is in the rural hinterland, where communications are more difficult, that the crisis has got worse.

Northern Wollo, in Ethiopia, for example, is in desperate straits. Wollo as a whole needs 38 000 tons of food and a month in the first five months of this year it received a total of 70 000 tons — and most of this went to the southern part of the province.

In the Sudan, people from Darfur have been so desperate that they have trekked 1 500km across the country to the camps set up for the Ethiopian refugees in search of food.

And the neighbouring province of Kordofan is in nearly as much trouble.

There is a steady trickle of people out of the camps, back

to their land, hoping to take advantage of the rains, to plant a crop. But aid officials expect to see them back before long and have little hope of the harvest.

For a start, there is an enormous shortage of seeds in every one of the affected countries.

In Darfur, for example, only a fifth of the normal area is being planted. Chad, perhaps the most promising of the stricken countries at the moment, has only half the seeds it needs.

Seeds are scarce, because farmers and their families have had to eat them. Once gone, the seeds are not easily replaced from elsewhere, because only local varieties of crops will grow well.

Latest estimates suggest that in the Sudan, where at least 20 000 children are already dying each month, the numbers of starving people will double by the end of the year.

And the worst of the crisis in the West African Sahel has yet to come.

It never need have come to this. The crisis was predictable and widely predicted. There have been no surprises, no

earthquakes, no typhoons. But at every stage far too little has been done, far too late.

Western Governments have consistently reacted, as one expert put it, "at one minute past midnight". When they did respond they concentrated on sending food, which is plentiful and cheap in the world at the moment and provided little money, which is tight.

But for a long time, money

## The main battle for 1985 is already lost

has been needed far more urgently than food, for without the cash the grain could not be moved from the ports.

"We could bury Africa five feet deep in food, no problem at all," one UN official told me in a moment of exasperation. "but you try getting the money to buy the trucks to shift it to hungry people."

As long ago as last November, governments were being told that transport was the main problem and that cash had to be provided.

But only now, when it is too late, is determined action being taken.



About 1 000 people march through Guguletu yesterday in protest against deaths due to unrest.

Cape Times Newscolour: Ivor Markman

# PW threatens migrants

ONE THOUS 30/7/85

## Political Staff

**THE State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday threatened to expel 1,5-million foreign black workers from South Africa in retaliation for their countries' support for sanctions against South Africa.**

He also said South Africa might now deny neighbouring black states the use of South African roads, railways and harbours for their exports and imports and could end other forms of co-operation.

Mr Botha told students at Potchefstroom University that the moves were being considered because of last week's United Nations Security Council resolution advocating sanctions against South Africa.

He said the people repatriated would be informed that the action was "solely due to the decision of the Security Council".

If implemented, the mass repatriation would have severe implications for industries such as the goldmines and for

countries like Lesotho and Mozambique, where South African companies recruit large numbers of foreign workers.

The economies of Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, Zaïre and Malawi would be hard-hit, if not crippled, if they could no longer export or import goods through South Africa.

Mr Botha's threat is seen as an attempt to force the neighbouring black states to abandon their support for disinvestment from South Africa and the imposition of sanctions.

## 'Illegal'

Sapa reports that Mr Botha yesterday termed the Security Council decision "illegal and unethical", saying it threatened the economic stability and development of the whole of Southern Africa.

"No government with self-respect, no country with self-respect, can tolerate such an unholily decision against it without taking steps to neutralise it," he said.

"I have ordered that the relevant South African organizations undertake an urgent further survey of how many migrant workers there are



Mr P W Botha

in the country — and also where they are employed — so that the government may employ effective measures to send them back to their countries of origin.

"The countries attempting to introduce punitive measures against South Africa will likely follow up their declared concern about the welfare of the blacks with funds for employment opportunities for the hundreds of thousands of workers who will have to return to their countries of origin should the Security Council continue its campaign against South Africa.

Mr Botha said the US

and Britain, which abstained in the UN vote, had adopted "a realistic approach" which recognized that black people would not benefit from sanctions.

The Security Council would have to be blamed if South Africa's infrastructure was no longer available to Southern African states.

"Naturally there are also other important forms of economic, technical, financial, medical and agricultural co-operation which may fall victim, should the Security Council continue on its present course."

Mr Botha warned that if "the terrorist onslaught" continued, South Africa would meet the threat with its full military force.

Turning to conditions for negotiations, he said that he would not enter into talks with people propagating "communist godlessness" or civil disobedience.

● Sapa reports Bishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Johannesburg, as saying last night that sanctions were aimed not at punishing South Africa but at urging it to be well-combed into the family of free nations.

grant workers' from South Africa as "an immature response... the South African Government is going to end up having no friends left."

● Anthony Johnson reports that the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on labour and foreign affairs, Dr Alex Boraine, described Mr Botha's threat as "an exposure of the government's strategy of economic imperialism on the sub-continent."

## Mockery

"This vicious threat makes a mockery of the government's previous statements of concern for the welfare of the Southern African region."

Mr Botha's stance was a clear indication that sanctions as a strategy would not bring about change in Southern Africa as hoped for by its advocates.

"It is tragic that Mr Botha did not use this opportunity and the little time we have left to announce once and for all the end of apartheid.

"This would guarantee economic growth, acceptance by the international community and bring enormous benefits both to South Africa and her neighbours," he said.



Members of the railways police regional task force after a confrontation with 1 000 marching youths in Guguletu yesterday.

①

FM 16/8/85

SA TRADE

Exports for Africa

In spite of the international anti-SA furor, trade with black Africa is booming. In the first half of the year SA exports to African countries virtually doubled in money terms — from R424,4m to R826,9m.

But exports to Africa are growing more strongly than sales to other world regions, which suggests that factors other than the low rand are playing an important role.

Safto area manager John Caffin points out that exports to Africa increased 95% in the half-year to June. Comparative figures for other regional markets were Asia, up from R1 419,5m to R2 491m (75%); the Americas, up from R1 138,3m to R1 633,1m (43%); and Europe, up from R3 042,1m to R4 278,5m (41%).

The low rand has very little to do with this African export boom, says Sally Gallagher, a trade consultant specialising in trade with the nine Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) countries.

"Pro forma invoices, or quotations, to African countries are usually valid for six

months, while credit facilities for 90-120 days are required.

"This time-lag means that the major beneficial effect of the low rand on our exports may be felt only in the second half of the year," she says.

Caffin adds that African countries are "pragmatic trading partners — they realise that SA goods offer the quality and specifications they need, within the right delivery time and at a price they can afford. Our geographical location makes southern Africa the natural market on our doorstep."

Further, he says SA's more energetic marketing drive into Africa has been helped by growing disillusion with grant and trade packages offered by US and European agencies.

"After 25 years' independence, many African countries have come to realise that an intimate knowledge and understanding of local conditions has more value than aid packages tied to foreign equipment. There is a growing acceptance that SA products and know-how are tailored for African conditions. Increasingly, African countries are prepared to pay for this benefit," says Caffin.

SA is the major supplier to Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, while Zaire is also strongly dependent on SA goods and supply lines.

Indeed, Gallagher holds that SA exports to these countries — and further afield — are far higher than official trade statistics show. With 10 years' Africa trade experience and as a regular visitor to these countries, she guesses that unofficial trade with black Africa in the first half of the year could add some 60% to the official export figure. "This would put our total exports to Africa in the region of R1,3 billion for the half-year," she says.

"A major reason for this burgeoning trade is the virtual dependence of southern African states on our transport lifeline. Not only their imports, but also their exports are flowing through our ports and along our roads and railway lines. Cut these, and their economies will collapse."

But she adds a note of caution. "Our imports from Africa declined in the last year, and something must be done to change this trend and keep trade lines open," she says.

Preliminary trade figures from Customs and Excise show imports fell from R207m in

the first half of last year to R206,1m this year.

Caffin says there has been a "tremendous surge" in inquiries from SA manufacturers about trade with Africa. "This can be put down to the local recession — prospective exporters are taking the logical route of exporting to our closest neighbours first," he says.

Improvements in the economies of some southern African countries are increasing trade opportunities.

Good crops created a strong inflow of foreign exchange and there is more money to import from SA.

SA exports include food, agricultural and mining equipment, chemicals, low technology tools and basic necessities. SA technical

assistance is also playing an increasing role in opening trade doors with Africa, says Caffin.

"We can supply these countries with what they need, and there is wide scope for our services and manufacturing sectors to expand trade with the region. These countries need our know-how and expertise and we should be capitalising."

B. Day  
20/8/85

# Manufacturers may alter their strategy

OVERSEAS opposition to South African goods could encourage local manufacturers to consider assembling their products in neighbouring states, say business analysts.

Trade agreements between Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and the European Economic Community allow for manufactured goods with local added value to be exported duty-free to EEC countries.

Under the provisions of the Lome Convention, some African, Pacific and Caribbean countries also enjoy preferential tariffs with the EEC.

Other major export markets, like the US, Australia and Japan, have a prefer-

ALAN RUDDOCK

ence system for developing countries.

SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) GM Ann Moore says SA companies can legitimately finish products in one of the neighbouring states and then export them without "made in SA" labels.

But she adds a note of warning: "Customs officials at the point of entry are not stupid and it is very easy to get confirmation of genuine added value. The percentage of added value varies, but for EEC countries it is usually 20%-25% and for the USA 30%-35%."

Despite the adverse media coverage SA has been receiving this year, exports have fared well. However high-priced goods, such as fruit and wine, have been under pressure, while importers of goods in Australia are reportedly wary of a possible consumer reaction. A spokesman for the Department of Trade and Industry says the Swazi option is one of many possibilities for potential exporters, but says that companies do not approach his department when considering such moves.

"Certainly we at the department would never stand in the way of anyone who wants to operate this way".

Observers say SA companies must go international if they are to survive.

"We must internationalise our products by assembling abroad and by licensing overseas companies to manufacture our products. In this way we reduce the SA profile and increase the inflow of foreign exchange," says one export adviser.

Sources say a number of SA companies are already circumventing any possible reaction by assembling in neighbouring states, but the presentation of export statistics makes it difficult to gauge the extent of the practice.

# Black African leaders back sanctions despite logistics

HARARE — The economies of Southern Africa are so intertwined that sanctions against South Africa could have severe repercussions for the whole region.

South Africa's railways, roads and ports provide the outlet for much of the region's goods, its mines employ three-quarters of Lesotho's wage-earners, its communications network links its neighbours with the rest of the world.

Nevertheless, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere told the nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) — formed in 1980 to lessen economic dependence on SA — in Arusha, Tanzania, on

August 9: "We want mandatory sanctions". Of the SADCC members only two — Tanzania and Angola — are not heavily reliant on South Africa for trade, transport and communications links to the rest of the world. The other members are Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, for one, has long advocated sanctions in principle. But he has insisted that practical realities dictated that he could not impose them.

Mugabe may not have the choice. Angered by the latest UN Security Council resolution

for an economic embargo, President P W Botha threatened on July 29 to deny neighbouring black states like Zimbabwe access to his country's transport and communications network, to cut trade with them and expel about 1.5-million alien African workers.

South African trade figures for 1983 show the country buys about R400m worth of goods from black Africa, while exporting to 47 African countries goods worth about R1.8bn. Its purchases from black Africa amount to about 2.5% of its total imports.

Most threatened are Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Pretoria would only have to expel

some 152 000 Lesotho mineworkers to cripple that country's economy. Their remittances of R320m last year was roughly equivalent to Lesotho's gross domestic product.

According to figures from the three black African governments, South Africa supplied 99% of Lesotho's imports last year, 91% of Swaziland's and 88% of Botswana's.

At least 11 African countries bought South African grain in 1980, according to SA figures.

Despite this many black Africans shrug aside arguments that it would hurt South Africa's blacks more than their white rulers. Sapa-AP.



# 'SA has cost its black neighbours R26bn'

LONDON — Since the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was founded five years ago, South African "aggression and destabilisation" has cost it more than R26bn, says SADCC's progress report for July 1984-July 1985.

This is more than the total of foreign aid received by SADCC in the five-year period and more than one-third of all SADCC exports over the same period.

The report points out that the figure of R26bn does not include the "massive" losses suffered by South Africa's black neighbours before 1980, such as the losses suffered by Angola during 1975-79 and the costs to Mozambique and Zambia of imposing sanctions against Rhodesia.

"These earlier costs are at least comparable to those dealt with in this analysis," says the report.

The nine neighbour states referred to in the report are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The breakdown of costs lists direct war damage, extra defence expenditure, higher transport and energy costs, lost exports and tourism, smuggling, reduced production, lost economic growth, boycotts and embargoes and trading arrangements.

War damage accounts for the biggest losses — R4,186bn. This resulted from South Africa's "invasions" of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Lesotho, its "clandestine" commando

STANLEY UYS

raids on bridges and oil terminals, and its support for "puppet" anti-government groups.

"Stepped up South African aggression has forced the SADCC states into ever higher military budgets for larger and better equipped armies as well as expanded people's militias," declares the report.

"These armies must be fed, clothed, housed and transported.

"It is impossible to know what 'normal' defence budgets would have been if there were no threat from South Africa, but the SADCC estimates that destabilisation has forced its member states to spend an extra R7,956m on defence."

After giving the breakdown of costs, the report adds: "There is a wide range of other effects of economic destabilisation which simply cannot be quantified. South African companies in the neighbouring states engage in transfer pricing and other improper practices to take goods and money from the SADCC states.

"The demand for sanctions must be viewed in the context both of destabilisation and of Western support for the apartheid regime.

"Those opposed to sanctions argue that they will hurt the neighbouring states. Undoubtedly this is true. But if it accelerated the ending of apartheid, it would be well worth the additional cost."

# Frontline states urge pressure

MAPUTO. — The black frontline states of Southern Africa have urged greater world pressure on Pretoria to end apartheid despite the harm they would also suffer.

The leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe met here on Sunday to elect a new chairman and consider regional problems, including the growing international campaign for economic sanctions against South Africa.

A communique issued after the four-hour talks praised the economic moves which most Western European countries and the United States have already taken against South Africa.

## Pass on

The communique called "upon these and other countries to broaden and intensify the pressures so that they may effectively hasten the process of dismantling apartheid".

President P W Botha has warned he will pass on the effects of sanctions to neighbouring states, whether or not they themselves apply sanctions.

Economists in neighbouring Zimbabwe have forecast that if South Africa were to close its road and rail links with Botswana and Zimbabwe the physical trade flow to the frontline states would drop 70 per cent overnight.

The communique condemned the state of emergency in parts of South Africa, expressed concern at what it called increased repression and violence in the country and called for jailed nationalist leader

Mr Nelson Mandela to be released.

It also praised "the positive results" of a joint military offensive launched by Mozambican and Zimbabwean forces in central Mozambique last month against rebels who have been fighting President Samora Machel's government since 1975.

It was the first time the Zimbabwean troops — who have been guarding oil, rail and road links in Mozambique for the past three years — had gone on the offensive and they helped capture the rebels' main base.

The meeting elected Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda chairman of the group, taking over from Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who retires from office next month and who has led the group since 1975.

## Think-tank

● The Cape Times correspondent in Melbourne reports that former Australian prime minister Mr Malcolm Frazer, fresh from a whistle-stop tour of South Africa, has come out in support of armed struggle as a means of toppling apartheid.

In a televised satellite debate from New York, where he has joined a United Nations think-tank deliberating the effective use of sanctions against Pretoria, Mr Frazer said: "There is no peaceful, legal means in which black people in South Africa can seek to exercise political pressure on the government ... ultimately you can't blame them if they pick up arms." — Sapa-AP

# Window on Africa: continent in peril

By Brian Parkes

*'Our ancient continent is now on the brink of disaster  
... Gone are the smiles, the joys of life.'  
— Edem Kodjo, former secretary-general of the OAU.*

ON March 6, 1957, the Union Jack was lowered in Ghana's Parliament Square and the first black African became president of a decolonised country.

Kwame Nkrumah was carried through the streets by his people. He gleefully nominated Dr Daniel François Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa at the time, his *bête blanche*.

In the streets the high life bands pounded out the latest hit — *Jaguar, Fridge Full, Been-to*.

Today, 28 years on and 19 years after-disenchanted Ghanaians boot-ed out the man they called Osagyefo — their Redeemer — it's doubtful if there are many Jaguars on the streets of Accra, and even more doubtful if there are many full refrigerators.

'Been-to' was a West African word for a local who had been to Britain for his education. Now it would read 'go-to'; few, if they went, would want to come back.

The song, of course, epitomised what Ghanaians believed, independence would bring them — cars, consumer comforts and white-collar jobs.

Today the dream's long gone, as is Nkrumah, his Egyptian wife — and the millions he salted away. So is the memory of his tough Interior Minister, Krobo Edusei, the man who ordered a gold double bed for his wife.

Ghana is broke. Nkrumah's philosophy in his quest for freedom was 'Seek ye first the political kingdom and all else will follow'. As others took up the call, the headlong rush of Africa into independence followed.

And then followed another story: tribal warfare, coups, butchery, corruption, mismanagement and an endless list of man-made misfortunes, complicated by natural disasters such as droughts and floods.

There is no satisfaction in cataloguing Africa's ills.

But it is relevant to mention them now, when most of the world is clamouring for South Africa to abandon government to the majority.

Do they really want Ghana — or Uganda, Burkino Faso, Zaire, Nigeria, Tanzania, or Zambia — here?

As Mrs Helen Suzman pointed out succinctly the other day, it would be madness to exchange 'a rotten white minority government for a rotten black majority government'.

Perhaps the do-gooders wouldn't mind; that, at least, the majority would be doing its own thing, which is about the only thing that can be said for most of black Africa.

But the decolonised believe that the ex-colonisers — and the rest of the Western world — still owe them a living.

Witness Ft Lt Jerry Rawlings, Ghana's latest strongman, this week. He rapped the West for spending money on its own defence while Africa starved.

## Millions on scotch

That is Col Mengistu's favourite refrain in Ethiopia. No matter what the West gives him to ease the horror of the drought in his country, he can still squander millions on scotch to celebrate 10 years of marxist misery after the overthrow of Haile Selassie — and still raise millions to bolster his regime by levying import duty on every ton of relief food shipped in.

And the lemming rush to disaster goes on.

Black Africa now owes some R202 000 million — and the banks which lent that money appear to have little or no hope of recovering it. Indeed, in quaint new financial doublespeak, they refer to those billions — which do not include the billions given as charitable aid — as non-producing assets.

If the Western world is white, then black Africa is still its burden.

Population growth makes nonsense of planning.

The average African woman has 6.9 children.

The average Kenyan woman has more than eight.

At its current rate of population increase, Kenya will have to build 15 new Nairobis in the next 30 years.

In 1960 black Africa's population was 210 million. Today it is more than 385 million and growing by 3.2 percent a year — the highest rate in the world.

In less than 20 years it will have doubled again.

Yet only a handful of countries actually grow more food than a generation ago.

In the past 10 years the number of hungry and malnourished people has grown to more than 100 million.

And Africa is said to be 150 years behind Europe in health care — and is going backward.

Each year more African doctors give up the struggle and emigrate. Infant mortality runs at double the rate for developed countries.

Education deteriorates as fast as medical care. Schools operate without books or pencils, carpenters graduate from trade schools without using a hammer, welders without seeing a blowtorch.

And arable land is disappearing as the Sahara marches relentlessly south.

Bad weather speeds up the process, but at its root the crisis is man-made.

In the 60s, when the colonisers were falling over themselves in the rush to slough off the colonised, a

French agronomist sounded a warning.

While Nkrumah and the others painted their problemless pictures, Rene Dumont predicted that policies of centralisation, State enterprises, State farms and controlled prices would bring economic ruin.

The 'father of African socialism', Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda dashed off angry rebuttals, Dumont recalls.

Today Nyerere and Kaunda, desperate to save their countries from disintegration, spend their time dismantling the centralised systems that were to be their salvation.

Nyerere comments of the nationalised sisal industry, at one time the backbone of his economy, that if the British returned and saw their estates, they would laugh — or cry — at the ruins.

This great socialist has also spent millions building a new capital at Dodoma. But years after he launched this grandiose concept, not one government ministry has moved in.

In Nigeria, billions of dollars have gone down the drain on a new capital a couple of hundred kilometres away from Lagos — incidentally, the world's most expensive city. As in Tanzania, it's empty.

## Oil refinery

Togo built an oil refinery big enough to serve half a dozen West African countries. But it produces not one drop of oil. It sits empty under the coconut palms.

In Zaire, where in the 50s development was compared with the poorest parts of southern Italy and where now wages work out at an average 10 percent lower than they were in the 60s, a double-deck suspension bridge was put up over the Congo River. One deck is for a railway that does not exist.

After independence, Madagascar bought a jet aircraft and proudly named it The Revolution. Now Chase Manhattan is trying to repossess The Revolution.

So the sorry story goes. And always there is the unending battle against nature.

As one African put it: 'If the hungry could eat words, Africa would have recovered a long time ago'.

In fact, so many words are still being written, that the UN publishes its own magazine on the disaster — Africa Emergency Report, produced by the UN Office for Emergency Operations in Africa.

The latest issue carries a double-page spread on what it calls the 'evolving emergency situation' in 20 African countries.

Sample headlines from it read: Angola — Needs will worsen year-end; Botswana — Poor crop prospects; Burkina Faso — Increase in numbers affected; Cape Verde: Delivery crisis persists; Mozambique: Continuing setbacks; Niger: Half the population affected; Rwanda: Food gap persists; Sudan: Crisis intensifying.

It details unmet emergency needs in 20 countries:

Agriculture: \$238 million; health: \$79 million; survival relief: \$38 million; water: \$82 million; and additional logistics: \$141 million.

That's the bottom line — \$459 million required to fill non-food needs.

But why recount these grim facts? Why, as it were, rub black Africa's nose in it?

Not to prove that South Africa is such a marvellous place after all. Not to advance any theory of superiority.

It is important that these things are known now when the world is screaming for our head.

Reform!  
Get rid of apartheid!  
One man, one vote!  
Majority rule!  
Sanctions!

But has the world paused to think what would take the present set-up's place?

Do they really want the chaos and misery that would be the inevitable result of sanctions, not only within South Africa, but in the whole of southern Africa?

As was said in one of our neighbouring states the other day: If South Africa hiccups, we throw up!

Equally important is how those who orchestrate the internal demands think.

Their bible is the Freedom Charter with its inflexible commitment to eradicating private enterprise and substituting nationalisation.

Which is arguably and demonstrably the main reason for black Africa being in the moribund state it's in now!

Can anyone blame South African whites for their misgivings?

## Guarantees for security

To go back to Mrs Suzman and what she had to say. Expanding on her statement that it would be madness to swop a rotten minority government for a rotten majority one, she said South African whites would never surrender power without guarantees for their own security.

It is easy to sit down 6 000 or 9 000 miles away and just talk about handing over power to the majority. I don't think people sit down and work out what that is going to mean in practice.

'This country is too great to be thrown to the wolves.'

It is hard to believe that is what the world wants.

# What became of the 'Jaguar, fridge full, been-to...'? <sup>①</sup> 25/9/85 Mercur

The Natal Mercury, Wednesday, September 25, 1985 23



A dream realised . . . Ghana's president, Kwame Nkrumah, with his Egyptian-born wife Fathia, walks in procession to the Parliament chamber in Accra to open the republic's second parliament. Today the dream is long gone, as is Nkrumah, his wife — and the millions he salted away.



# Looking to Africa for export opportunities

LOCAL manufacturers' over-reliance on the domestic market has cost them dearly during the present depression, say business analysts.

"There has always been a lack of export consciousness in SA, with the result that when the local economy falls upon recessionary times, there is no export market to keep production ticking over," says one observer.

"Many industries are operating at less than 50% of production capacity and have only now started to look at the possibility of developing an export market. But it's too late for most of them. You can't develop an export market overnight."

## Problems

Logistically, SA is the ideal manufacturing base from which to service the needs of sub-Saharan Africa, say manufacturers. But problems abound. Foreign exchange crises in most African countries makes trading exceptionally difficult.

SA Foreign Trade Organisation's Africa manager Jean Caffin says African countries will always find reserves to pay for essential goods and services — particularly mining machinery — but admits they experience foreign ex-

## ALAN RUDDOCK

change problems.

The motor industry is a glaring exception to the rule that local manufacturers are geared primarily to meet domestic demand. The industry estimates its total production capacity is over 45 000 passenger cars a month — a long way above the domestic economy's requirements, even in peak years.

Car-makers agree that 20 years ago, part of the rationale behind such high volume production lines in SA was the hope that the whole of the Southern African market would be opened up to them. And, of course, they have been waiting for the "awakening of the black consumer giant".

Other troubled SA industries, such as textiles and metal, report utilisation of production capacity below 55%, but admit that during periods of peak domestic demand there is hardly any excess capacity available for exports.

In the past this has led to accusations that SA is a "fairweather" exporter — developing export markets during domestic slumps but dropping those markets as soon as local demand perks up. Safto

says it is a hard reputation to shake, but argues that most SA exporters do not fall into that category.

Export advisers say sub-Saharan Africa will become a major consumer of manufactured goods and argue that if SA manufacturers had been more export-conscious in the past they could have developed extensive export markets which would have helped alleviate some of their recessionary problems.

Already the trade figures for the first six months show that exports to Africa have soared 94.8% over the same period last year, to R8926m.

## Suited

"If the current trend continues, trade with Africa will increase dramatically. It has fallen off since 1980, but the figures for the first half of this year show that it is shooting up. I believe the trend could accelerate," says Caffin, who says he has experienced few problems in dealing with African countries.

"The depreciation of the rand has obviously helped, but SA is logistically an excellent source market. In SA we have a dual economy and we can provide for both. We have the type of products that are suited to African conditions.

TOTAL EXPORTS  
JAN to MARCH 1985

	Rnd. millions				
	AFRICA	EUROPE	U.S.A.	OTHER	TOTAL
MACHINERY AND MECH. APPLIANCES	41	33	29	8	111
PREPARED FOODSTUFFS	13	49	28	24	114
TEXTILES	11	180	33	36	260

"SA is the industrialised power south of the Sahara and African countries need manufactured goods. The only possible constraint on trade is not political but financial — their lack of sufficient foreign currency."

Caffin says SA manufacturers should not limit themselves to the neighbouring states.

"Too many people think that the African market is limited but they must be prepared to broaden their outlook". He points to countries like Gabon, Ivory Coast and Reunion where markets may be small numerically, but where the buying power of the consumers is high. A number of African countries have

official trade links with SA, some operate discreetly, while with other countries a cloak-and-dagger approach is sometimes required.

"Yes, we have to route products through a third country to get them into some markets but they tend to be the less obvious products. We prefer the importer to know that the goods are South African so that he can be more cautious."

Caffin says France has lost much of its trading dominance in Africa — "They treated the French-speaking countries as a captive market" — opening the door for SA exporters.

"However, France has started to come back strongly. Recently it concluded a barter deal with Nigeria worth around \$500m."

As the rand continues its fall, Caffin says, more and more SA subsidiaries of major British, German and US firms have approached Safto about export possibilities.

"Companies that were perhaps previously prevented from trading outside of SA have now received the go-ahead from their parent company to start branching out into the whole of Africa. Franchises are also being extended as companies realise the value of manufacturing in, and exporting from, SA," he says.

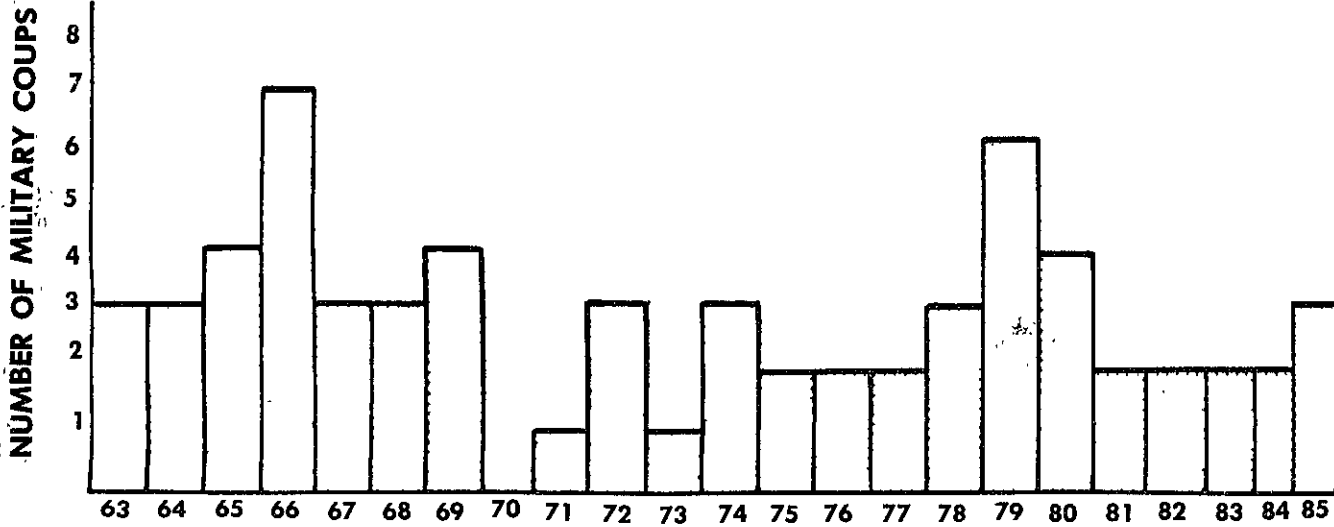
15. Very 1/10/85

# 25 years of uhuru

ARGUS 3/10/85

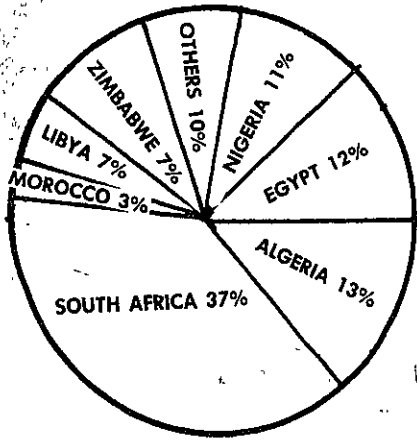
**TOMORROW** South Africa's Africa Institute examines a quarter of a century of "uhuru". To facilitate their discussions, the institute has compiled one of the most comprehensive statistical analyses of Africa ever published in South Africa. JOHN D'OLIVEIRA, Editor of The Argus Africa News Service, reports on the state of the continent.

**SUCCESSFUL COUPS SINCE 1963**

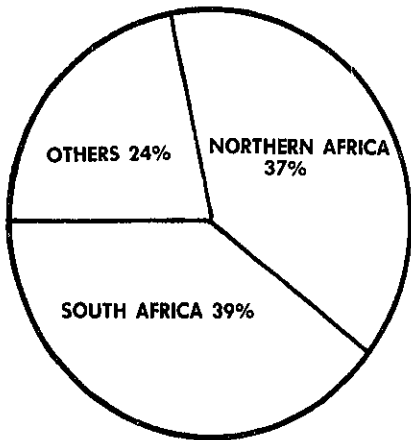


1985 was a moderate year for African military coups, although the year still has three months to go.

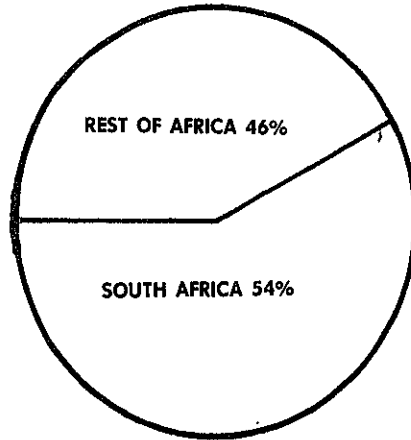
**STEEL 1982**



**AGRICULTURAL TRACTORS 1982**



**ELECTRICAL ENERGY PRODUCTION 1982**



THIS year, for all practical purposes, the so-called dark continent can look back on a quarter century of independence.

It is an exercise that will be conducted with mixed feelings in most parts of Africa — for "uhuru" has brought little real comfort to the continent's teeming millions.

They watched joyfully in the sixties as power passed from white to black hands, as one country after another exchanged colonial "repression" for "freedom".

In the years that followed, the masses saw they had exchanged a white for a black elite; that repression continued, even increased; that African governments were as reluctant to surrender power as the colonial powers were to decolonise; that the road to stable nation-states was as bloody as the fight against colonialism ever was.

And if "freedom" was a disappointment, the material benefits that it was supposed to bring were even more so.

Africa's last 25 years are documented in a series of statistical tables in the latest issue of the Africa Institute's journal, African Insight.

The 200-page publication paints a bleak picture, using a mass of statistics covering everything from the number of political assassinations to the drop in the continent's food production.

It will provide a background for a conference in Pretoria tomorrow at which South Africans interested in Africa, together with a leavening of international experts on the continent, will examine 25 years of African independence and try to learn lessons for the future.

Ironically, Africa's first quarter of a century of independence comes at a time when the last bastion of white rule in the continent, South Africa, is under tremendous pressure to offer an acceptable plan for a transition from white minority rule to black majority rule.

The anniversary also coincides with the centennial of the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885 when the European powers carved up Africa among themselves.

In the words of Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute, it has been a century of "profound and often traumatic change".

Africa Insight shows that Africa has been more stable politically than most people might have believed; that the almost endemic turmoil in a minority of states has obscured the remarkably peaceful transition from one government to another or the continuity of government and leadership in a majority of the states.

However, despite Africa's natural riches, its mineral wealth and its massive agricultural potential, despite the "striking advances" that have been made in the provision of

the increases in the number of hospitals, clinics, doctors, schools and life expectancy tables; the continent's standards of living are falling.

The miniscule one percent annual growth rate in per capita gross domestic product of the sixties has been translated in the seventies into a one percent DECREASE.

The prospects for the eighties are a 0.1 percent annual increase at best, but, more likely, a continuation of the one percent decrease of the seventies.

Mostly this is due to the fact that progress with the provision of jobs and social services simply cannot keep pace with a population explosion that currently averages three percent a year.

Paradoxically, progress in bringing down the infant mortality rate and increasing life expectancy aggravates the economic problems.

The continent's population doubled from an estimated 275-million in 1960 to 550-million in 1985. Now it is rapidly reaching for the 1 000-million mark.

As a result, 26 of the world's 34 poorest countries are in Africa.

Against this background, South Africa is an economic giant, producing 37 percent of the continent's steel, 54 percent of its electricity and owning 39 percent of its tractors.

At 2 450 US dollars, GNP per capita is almost three times Africa's average of 938 US dollars — but it is well behind Gabon's 4 250 US dollars and Libya's 7 500 US dollars and on a par with the Seychelles' 2 400 US dollars.

But, for all its expertise and its wealth, South Africa has not been able to escape Africa's biggest problem: decreasing levels of food production relative to population.

While per capita food production in the world as a whole increased from an index of 96.01 in 1972 to 103.17 in 1981 (with 1974-76 being taken as 100), Africa's per capita food production dropped from 101.96 to 95.24.

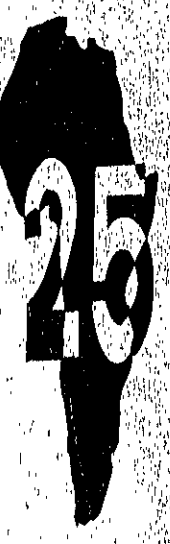
South Africa's dropped as well — from 107.90 to 105.97.

While this drop may be temporary and while it may be due to the long drought years, the statistics are a warning.

To quote Dr Leistner again:

"Obviously South Africans cannot content themselves with the predictions of impending doom for a continent whose destiny is also theirs."

"They share the common problems emerging from a harsh environment and are inextricably part of an immensely diverse, complex and, despite all its excruciating problems, exhilarating



# 25 years of uhuru

ARGUS 3/10/85



THIS year, for all practical purposes, the so-called dark continent can look back on a quarter century of independence.

It is an exercise that will be conducted with mixed feelings in most parts of Africa — for "uhuru" has brought little real comfort to the continent's teeming millions.

They watched joyfully in the sixties as power passed from white to black hands, as one country after another exchanged colonial "repression" for "freedom".

In the years that followed, the masses saw they had exchanged a white for a black elite; that repression continued, even increased; that African governments were as reluctant to surrender power as the colonial powers were to decolonise; that the road to stable nation-states was as bloody as the fight against colonialism ever was.

And if "freedom" was a disappointment, the material benefits that it was supposed to bring were even more so.

Africa's last 25 years are documented in a series of statistical tables in the latest issue of the Africa Institute's journal, African Insight.

The 200-page publication paints a bleak picture, using a mass of statistics covering everything from the number of political assassinations to the drop in the continent's food production.

It will provide a background for a conference in Pretoria tomorrow at which South Africans interested in Africa, together with a leavening of international experts on the continent, will examine 25 years of African independence and try to learn lessons for the future.

Ironically, Africa's first quarter of a century of independence comes at a time when the last bastion of white rule in the continent, South Africa, is under tremendous pressure to offer an acceptable plan for a transition from white minority rule to black majority rule.

The anniversary also coincides with the centennial of the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885 when the European powers carved up Africa among themselves.

In the words of Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute, it has been a century of "profound and often traumatic change".

Africa Insight shows that Africa has been more stable politically than most people might have believed; that the almost endemic turmoil in a minority of states has obscured the remarkably peaceful transition from one government to another or the continuity of government and leadership in a majority of the states.

However, despite Africa's natural riches, its mineral wealth and its massive agricultural potential, despite the "striking advances" that have been made in the provision of social services (measured in

the increases in the number of hospitals, clinics, doctors, schools and life expectancy tables), the continent's standards of living are falling.

The minuscule one percent annual growth rate in per capita gross domestic product of the sixties has been translated in the seventies into a one percent DECREASE.

The prospects for the eighties are a 0.1 percent annual increase at best, but, more likely, a continuation of the one percent decrease of the seventies.

Mostly this is due to the fact that progress with the provision of jobs and social services simply cannot keep pace with a population explosion that currently averages three percent a year.

Paradoxically, progress in bringing down the infant mortality rate and increasing life expectancy aggravates the economic problems.

The continent's population doubled from an estimated 275-million in 1960 to 550-million in 1985. Now it is rapidly reaching for the 1 000-million mark.

As a result, 26 of the world's 34 poorest countries are in Africa.

Against this background, South Africa is an economic giant, producing 37 percent of the continent's steel, 54 percent of its electricity and owning 39 percent of its tractors.

At 2 450 US dollars, GNP per capita is almost three times Africa's average of 938 US dollars — but it is well behind Gabon's 4 250 US dollars and Libya's 7 500 US dollars and on a par with the Seychelles' 2 400 US dollars.

But, for all its expertise and its wealth, South Africa has not been able to escape Africa's biggest problem: decreasing levels of food production relative to population.

While per capita food production in the world as a whole increased from an index of 96.01 in 1972 to 103.17 in 1981 (with 1974-76 being taken as 100), Africa's per capita food production dropped from 101.96 to 95.24.

South Africa's dropped as well — from 107.90 to 105.97.

While this drop may be temporary and while it may be due to the long drought years, the statistics are a warning.

To quote Dr Leistner again:

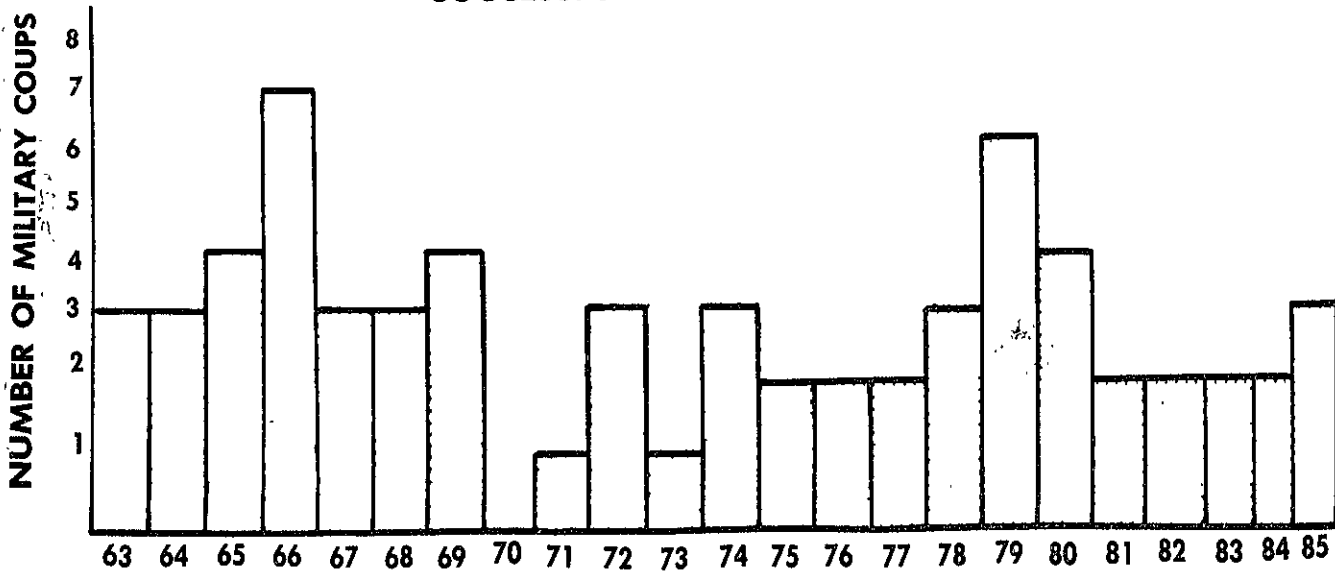
"Obviously South Africans cannot content themselves with the predictions of impending doom for a continent whose destiny is also theirs."

"They share the common problems emerging from a harsh environment and are inextricably part of an immensely diverse, complex and, despite all its excruciating problems, exhilarating continent."



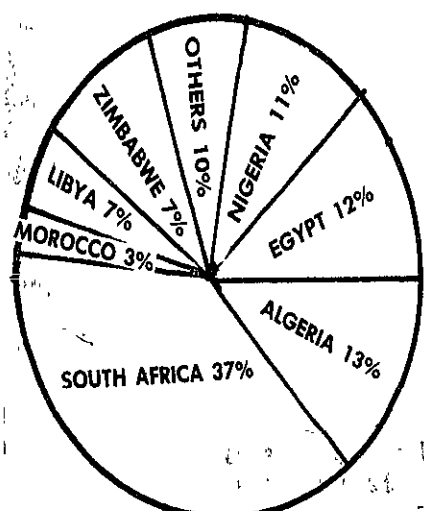
TOMORROW South Africa's Africa Institute examines a quarter of a century of "uhuru". To facilitate their discussions, the institute has compiled one of the most comprehensive statistical analyses of Africa ever published in South Africa. JOHN D'OLIVEIRA, Editor of The Argus Africa News Service, reports on the state of the continent.

SUCCESSFUL COUPS SINCE 1963

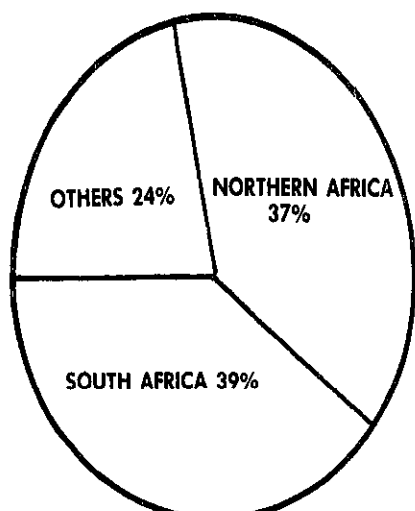


1985 was a moderate year for African military coups, although the year still has three months to go.

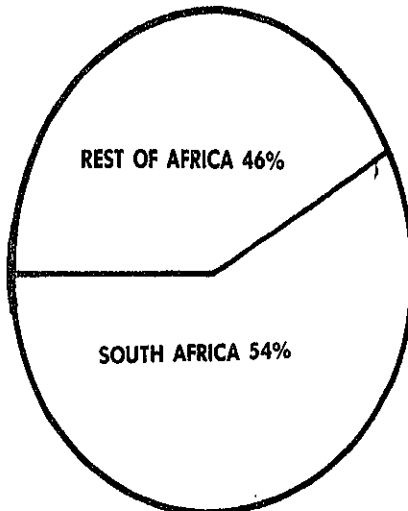
STEEL 1982



AGRICULTURAL TRACTORS 1982

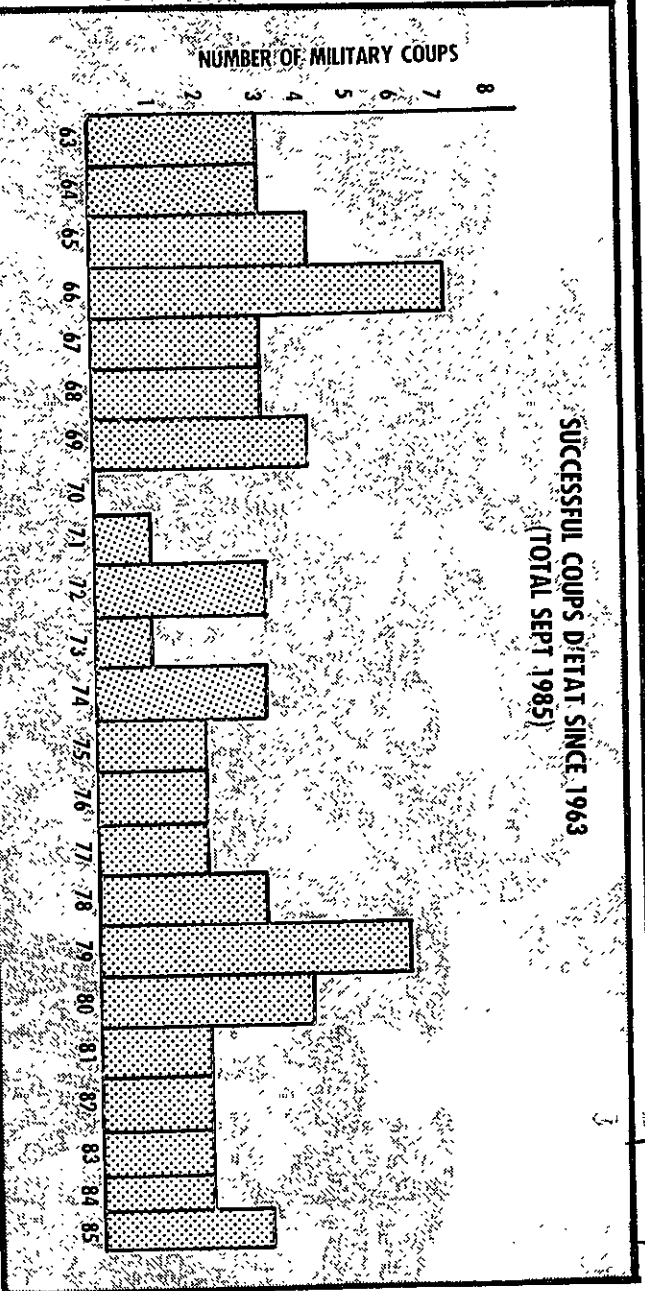


ELECTRICAL ENERGY PRODUCTION 1982



STAR 3/10/85

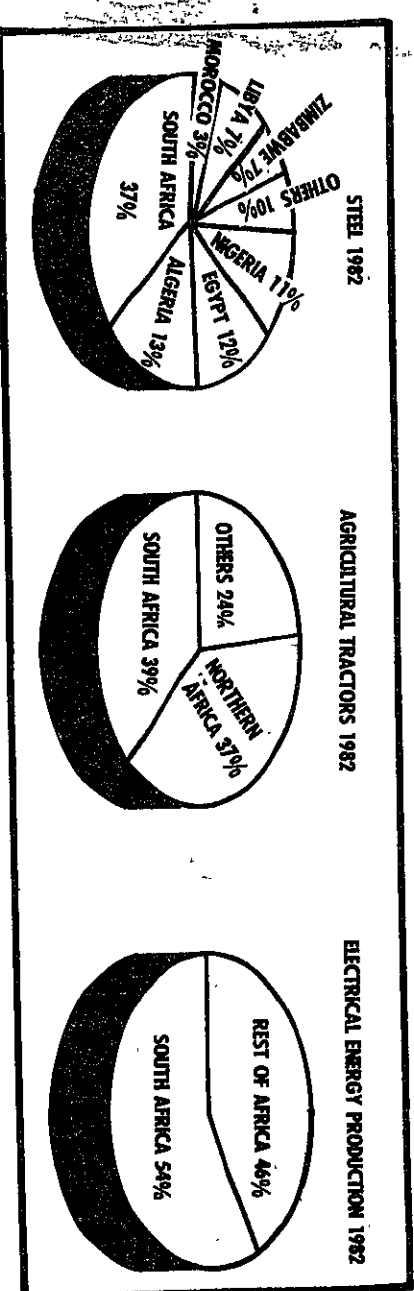
SUCCESSFUL COUPS D'ETAT SINCE 1963  
(TOTAL SEPT 1985)



1985 was a moderate year for African military coups, although the year still has three months to go.

# Painting the bleak picture of 'uhuru'

City and country	Present population		Notes
	Date	Number '000	
1. Cairo (Egypt)	1979	8,500	Arabic; Al Qadira; including Al Giza, capital 5, universities, principal Arab cultural centre
2. Lagos (Nigeria)	1980	4,500	Capital (temporary), main seaport, university
3. Windhoek (South Africa)	1980	3,500	Including Johannesburg, Soweto, Germiston; principal industrial and commercial centre in Africa; 2 universities
4. Kinshasa (Zaire)	1976	2,500	Formerly Leopoldville; capital, major river port, university
5. Alexandria (Egypt)	1976	2,300	Arabic; Al Iskandariyah, main seaport, university
6. Casablanca (Morocco)	1978	2,200	Main seaport
7. Algiers (Algeria)	1978	1,700	Arabic; Al Djazair; capital, main seaport, 2 universities
8. Cape Peninsula (South Africa)	1980	1,500	Capital, major seaport, 3 universities
9. Abidjan (Ivory Coast)	1978	1,250	Capital (temporary), main seaport, university
10. Copperbelt (Zambia)	1980	1,200	Mining towns including Kitwe and Ndola
11. Luanda (Angola)	1982	1,200	Capital, main seaport, university
12. Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)	1978	1,200	Capital, OAU headquarters, university
13. Durban (South Africa)	1980	1,200	Including Pietermaritzburg; principal seaport, 2 universities



## A quarter-century after African independence

● From previous page

Population explosion that currently averages three percent a year.

Paradoxically, progress in bringing down the infant mortality rate and increasing life expectancy aggravates the economic problems.

The continent's population doubled from an estimated 275 million in 1960 to 550 million in 1985. Now it is rapidly

reaching for the 1 000 million mark.

As a result, 26 of the world's 34 poorest countries are in Africa.

Against this background, South Africa is an economic giant, producing 37 percent of the continent's steel and 54 percent of its electricity, and owning 39 percent of its tractors.

At US \$2 450, GNP per capita is almost three times Africa's

average of US \$938 — but well behind Gabon's US \$4 250 and Libya's US \$7 500, and on par with the Seychelles' US \$2 400.

**FOOD PRODUCTION**

But, for all its expertise and its wealth, South Africa has not been able to escape Africa's biggest problem: decreasing levels of food production relative to population.

While the world's per capita food production increased from an index of 96.01 in 1972 to 103.17 in 1981 (with 1974-76 being taken as 100), Africa's per capita food production dropped from 101.96 to 95.24.

South Africa's dropped as well — from 107.90 to 105.97.

While this drop may be temporary and due to the drought, the statistics are a warning.

To quote Dr Leister: "Obviously South Africans cannot content themselves with the predictions of impending doom for a continent whose destiny is also theirs."

"They share the common problems emerging from a harsh environment and are inextricably part of an immensely diverse, complex and, despite all its excruciating problems, exhilarating continent."

HEALTH & LIFE EXPECTANCY		
REGION COUNTRY	PEOPLE PER PHYSICIAN	LIFE EXPECTANCY
WORLD	1 100	61
USA	524	75
ASIA	7 749	59
India	3 690	55
Lesotho	18 640	53
Mozambique	39 110	51
Zimbabwe	6 580	56
South Africa	2 016	63

Africa still lags behind most of the world in providing doctors and health care facilities.

# The mixed feelings of Africa after 25 years

This year, for all practical purposes, the so-called "dark continent" can look back on a quarter-century of independence.

It is an exercise that will be conducted with mixed feelings in most parts of Africa — for "uhuru" has brought little real comfort to the continent's teeming millions.

They watched joyfully in the '60s as power passed from white to black hands, as one country after another exchanged colonial "repression" for "freedom".

## EXCHANGE

In the years that followed, the masses saw they had exchanged a white for a black elite; that repression continued, even increased; that African governments were as reluctant to surrender power as the colonial powers were to decolonise; that the road to stable nation-states was as bloody as the fight against colonialism ever was.

And if "freedom" was a disappointment, the material benefits it was supposed to bring were even more so.

Africa's last 25 years are documented in a series of statistical tables in the latest issue of the Africa Institute's journal, *African Insight*.

The 200-page publication paints a bleak picture, using a mass of statistics covering everything from the number of political assassinations to the drop in the continent's food production.

It will provide a background for a conference in Pretoria tomorrow at which South Africans interested in Africa, together with a leavening of international experts on the Continent, will examine 25 years of African independence and try to learn lessons for the future.

Ironically, Africa's first quarter-century of independence

comes at a time when the last bastion of white rule in the continent, South Africa, is under tremendous pressure to offer an acceptable plan for a transition from white minority rule to black majority rule.

The anniversary also coincides with the centennial of the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885 when the European powers carved up Africa among themselves.

In the words of Dr Erich Leistner, Director of the Africa Institute, it has been a century of "profound and often traumatic change".

*Africa Insight* shows Africa has been more stable politically than most might have believed; that the almost endemic turmoil in a minority of states has obscured remarkably peaceful transitions from one government to another, or the continuity of government and leadership, in a majority of the states.

However, despite Africa's natural riches, its mineral wealth and its massive agricultural potential, despite the "striking advances" that have been made in the provision of social services (measured in the increases in the number of hospitals, clinics, doctors, schools and life expectancy tables), the continent's standards of living are falling.

## PROSPECTS

The miniscule one percent annual growth rate in per capita gross domestic product of the '60s was translated in the '70s into a one percent decrease.

The prospects for the '80s are a 0,1 percent annual increase at best, but, more likely, a continuation of the one percent decrease of the '70s.

Mostly this is due to the fact that progress with the provision of jobs and social services simply cannot keep pace with a

Tomorrow South Africa's Africa Institute examines a quarter of a century of "uhuru". To facilitate their discussions, the Institute has compiled one of the most comprehensive statistical analyses of Africa ever published in South Africa. John D'Oliveira, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, reports on the state of the continent.

THE WORLD & AFRICA		
	TOTAL POPULATION 1983 '000	GNP PER CAPITA, 1983 US\$
WORLD	4 669 685	3 833
DEVELOPED WORLD	1 194 561	3 833
DEVELOPING WORLD	3 475 124	3 833
AFRICA	514 317	968
CENTRAL AFRICA	59 736	360
EASTERN AFRICA	103 221	241
NORTHERN AFRICA	119 030	1 170
SOUTHERN AFRICA	78 237	1 252
Angola	7 651	470
Botswana	1 000	920
Lesotho	1 444	470
Malawi	6 813	210
Mozambique	14 000	270
South Africa	31 345	2 450
SWA/Namibia	1 100	1 760
Swaziland	688	890
Zambia	6 374	580
Zimbabwe	7 822	740
WESTERN AFRICA	155 703	604

● To next page



125  
50  
150  
150  
100  
31-  
11,  
1e,  
10  
11,  
11,  
1r-  
11  
1e,  
35  
ns  
n  
h  
75  
ut  
35  
er  
s)  
e  
d  
in  
e  
d  
d  
h  
1-  
1-  
1-  
e  
4  
4

# Nyerere may lead 'wise men'

*CAFK Times 7/11/8*

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former Tanzanian president Dr Julius Nyerere has been chosen to lead the group of Commonwealth elder statesmen who will try to assist the process of internal dialogue in South Africa, according to diplomats in New York.

But the Commonwealth Secretariat in London was unable to confirm Dr Nyerere's appointment. "We know nothing of this," a senior secretariat spokesman said.

But he confirmed that the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, was due to meet former Canadian prime minister Mr Pierre Trudeau today to invite him to be a member of the "eminent" group.

Independent sources said, however, that an announcement was expected to be made by the secretary-general in London today.

Well-placed diplomatic sources said that the other members of the panel were still being considered. It was for that reason that the announcement of the full team was being delayed.

## Mr Malcolm Fraser chosen

During the recent Commonwealth conference in the Bahamas, it was agreed that a group of "wise men" would be chosen to facilitate an internal dialogue with the South African Government.

This was designed to assist the process of change away from apartheid. In six months time there would be a review of progress, or lack of it.

Former Australian prime minister Mr Malcolm Fraser confirmed that he had been chosen by his Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, to be on the team of "wise men".

United Nations sources said that originally Mrs Thatcher had proposed Mr Brian Urquhart, a UN Under-Secretary-General, who retires at the end of the year after a 40-year career with the world body.

But she later changed her mind in favour of the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe. She again changed her mind and nominated Lord Barber, the chairman of Standard Charter Bank.

Sources close to the South African Embassy indicated that if reports that Dr Nyerere had been appointed to lead the group were correct there would be little chance of Pretoria co-operating with the group.

... must make sure position."

1, 2 & 4  
onight

: Ek Wil Praat The  
and the process of  
d language.  
test on the new Audi

lling: Spotting Posi-

uring Winston

A  
b  
st  
"  
lu  
st  
P  
al  
st  
tid  
th  
ob  
st  
vi  
"T  
d boarder,  
d revealed his  
stir to Fred's  
Pr

at commer-  
ably ending  
programmes was some-  
thing of the past. Many

... series where each epi-

## TAX REFORM

### All bar the nearest

One thing Judge Cecil Margo, chairman of the tax commission, seems to have in common with 187 countries is that he does not recognise Ciskei. Addressing the FM investment conference, he noted that several countries are involved in tax investigations: "not all of these enquiries are proceeding smoothly."

He mentioned the US; UK; Canada; Ireland; Italy; India; Israel; Australia; New Zealand; Zimbabwe; and Japan. He missed Ciskei, where an economic and later tax commission completed their studies in record time.

Soon afterwards sweeping tax reforms including a zero company tax rate and flat personal rate of 15% for incomes above R8 000 were implemented. Within a year, the results have been highly positive on almost every score.

#### Unique problems

Judge Margo, as in the past, made strong play on the point that the tax commission is working: "in the context . . . of SA's unique problems of politics, race, and the economy." Surely the Ciskei economy is more akin to SA's than the US, UK, Canada. . . ?

Furthermore, if SA is unique, it may be ready for the world's most radical tax reform idea. Judge Margo referred to this, the expenditure tax, which taxes what a taxpayer spends and exempts savings.

"The difficulty is that no country has yet introduced it successfully. And, I am told, none of the countries now engaged in tax reform, with the possible exception of Sweden, will consider it. It is regarded as too experimental and involving too many unknown factors.

"That is not to say that it does not enjoy tremendous support among economists. A most respectable body of economists in the US is in favour of the introduction of this tax — but not yet — over a longer period."

A prerequisite for expenditure tax is high Inland Revenue computerisation. SA has one of the most advanced tax computer systems in the world. ■

## SENTRABOER

### Farmers fumble

The surplus before tax crashed 70% last year to just R1,5m. In the report for the year ended June 30 1985, Sentraoer attributes the poorer performance to: stiffer reinsurance treaty terms including a reduction in capacity; lower reinsurance commissions received; increased rates for excess of loss insurance such as for catastrophe covers; and increased costs of claims.

Sentraoer is a central special farmers' co-operative, providing short-term insurance and risk management to the sector. It is

registered to insure any risk, including compulsory Third Party, but excluding comprehensive crop insurance which is provided by Sentraoes. It has 233 shareholder co-operatives which also act as Sentraoer's marketing arm.

Like many short-term insurers, the co-op experienced a weakening solvency ratio — share capital and reserves as a percentage of gross premium income less approved reinsurances fell from 29% the previous year to the latest 27,7%.

#### Liability losses

This reflects a deterioration in underwriting performance where there was a switch from a surplus of just R76 000 in 1984 to a deficit of R7,7m. There were two abnormally large losses under liability insurance, although other classes, including crime, showed improvement. Gross premium income rose 13,4% from R89m to R100,9m.

Surplus available for appropriation — after taxes and other disbursements — plunged from R4,9m to only R729 000. To maintain an adequate solvency margin for future growth, shareholders miss out on their bonus: the entire surplus was transferred to the guarantee reserve fund. Share capital



Healthy crop . . . but no bonus for farmers

was also increased by R1,3m to R5,8m, and unexpired risk reserve and Sasria reserve by R4,9m to R26m.

Net investment income, fortunately, rocketed 149% from R3,5m to R8,8m. This hefty accrual is attributable to a more than doubling of the investment portfolio from R16,2m to R34,8m; higher returns on the money market; and revaluations of fixed interest stock.

Sentraoer plans to improve its classification of risks and make a clearer distinction between insureds on the basis of claims: premiums ratio judged over a reasonable period. ■

## LLOYD'S OF LONDON

### Ups and downs

While controversy continues to surround Lloyd's of London, it doesn't seem to have affected its ability to attract names. The announcement that chief executive Ian Hay Davison has resigned, after disagreements with the committee, came almost simultaneously with news that Lloyd's will increase capacity more than 25% next year.

Chairman Peter Miller told a meeting of members in London this month that the number of new names is likely to exceed 3 000, while "massive support" has come from existing members. He recorded that, in the past three years, premium income had doubled and market share steadily increased.

Meanwhile the ghosts of yesteryear continue to haunt Lloyd's. The London *Financial Times* reports that the rift between Davison and the Lloyd's authorities developed when the market published its annual results and a £22m accounting error was discovered.

Lloyd's is looked on as a national asset and Davison's departure is likely to create problems for the government and the Bank of England, who were responsible for his appointment in 1983.

Formerly a senior partner in Arthur Andersen, a top international auditing company, Davison took on the job of reforming Lloyd's regulatory framework shortly after the collapse of two reinsurance groups.

New disciplinary procedures were established which made it obligatory, among other things, for agents to disclose to names any interests in transactions and for syndicate accounts to be made publicly available. "Given all that has been done," says Miller, "I cannot easily see how the problems of the past could occur under the present regime."

In his resignation, Davison said his decision was prompted by "divergent opinions about the continuing need for the chief executive to be independent and responsible directly to the council." His view was that an independent chief executive was a paramount necessity. "I would find it impossible to continue in office were those terms to be significantly altered."

He pointed out that, by resigning, he freed himself "to argue for retention of the position of chief executive with independent powers without any suggestion of self interest." Though his relationship with Miller is known to have been difficult, Davison's resignation referred to the chairman's energy in "pressing the changes called for." ■

CUSTOMS DUTY

### Explaining the riddle?

Revenue statistics may give some clue to the imposition of the 10% import surcharge set to raise R400m over six months. When the impost was announced by Finance Minister

22/11/85

① FM 22/11/85

Barend du Plessis, it was made clear that the revenue was to be spent on a Department of Manpower rescue package.

But no economic, or indeed any other reason, was given for penalising customs traffic to raise new revenues. One criticism was that the dramatic fall in the rand was enough to curtail imports severely and the surcharge had the effect of import limitations that Gatt would normally scorn.

Latest statistics show that customs duty for the first half of the 1985-1986 fiscal year is R585m, 20% down on a year ago. Annualised collections are R1,17 billion against a budgeted R1,59 billion. This leaves a shortfall of R420m which almost tallies with the R400m expected from the surcharge.

Total revenues on average are up 27% on a year ago against a budgeted 19% so the Manpower package could easily have been financed. But the source of customs duty — and where it goes — has a lot more behind it than most government heads of revenue.

Of the R1,59 billion estimated customs duty revenue, R1,3 billion was budgeted to go to BLS/National States in terms of the SA Customs Union Agreement (SACU). If trade continues to fall at the present rate, only about R1 billion may come into the customs duty account for the year, R600m short of estimate.

The 10% import surcharge will stitch this hole to the tune of R400m and help balance other accounts. This may explain why Du Plessis was not forthcoming on an explanation for the 10% import surcharge.

Monies paid out in terms of SACU are hidden subsidies. Payments to National States are in line with separate development. But as the recent scandal in Ciskei shows, Pretoria loses control once money has been doled out.

Measures in Ciskei to monitor government appropriations better may set a precedent for other National States. But although excision of SACU would save SA taxpayers substantial cash, such a move is unlikely.

Apart from being honey to negotiations with the National States, the agreement helps relations with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. It is said, for example, that a confidential clause provides that if a BLS country or SA can supply a large percentage of a given product it is to be granted monopoly rights for the SACU area.

Botswana's Makgadigadi soda ash deposits can supply the subcontinent for at least the next 100 years. Yet no development has taken place as it is said that SA threatened to withdraw Botswana's SACU rights unless that country signed a Nkomati-type agreement. ■

## GOVERNMENT FINANCES

### Kaleidoscope figures

Hopes that government revenues being well ahead of estimates would justify meaningful tax cuts have been dashed by Pretoria's an-

nouncement of increased spending. To show how simple the matter is, a senior Department of Finance official just said that government has taken a "conscious decision" to increase spending.

Debate has grown around the question whether increased spending is preferable to tax cuts in the current climate. More spending is stimulatory but tax cuts also fuel increased spending — with more valuable effects. It is common cause that a rand spent in the private sector is more efficacious than a rand spent by the bureaucracy.

Several economists have criticised Pretoria's decision as a smokescreen for spending that is bound to go significantly over estimate anyway.

Most worrying is that the stern undertaking to curtail spending by implementing special controls seems to have been abandoned. When government integrity is under severe criticism such a move increases uncertainty.

The balance of opinion is that tax cuts are the best route. Certainly, cursory analysis of revenues for the first seven months of the fiscal year suggests this option is wide open.

### Detailed figures

Revenues were estimated to rise an average 19% in 1985-1986. For the first seven months the aggregate increase has been a handsome 26%. Detailed figures for the first half of the fiscal year show that the two most important taxes, income tax and gst, rose 40% and 45% respectively, while Inland Revenue's haul increased by a significant 34%, slowing to 28% for the first seven months. The harvest months for gst are yet to be accounted for and a windfall payment is expected from gold mines in February.

Should the seven-month overall revenue increase of 26% apply to the fiscal year as a whole, taxpayers would cough up R6,2 billion more than last year. On this basis, the total haul for 1985-1986 comes out at R30 billion, not far off revised estimated spending of R31,5 billion.

The problem is that spending for the first seven months shot up 22,9% (against an estimated 14% or revised 16%) to R18,7 billion.

The spending-revenue gap no doubt buffers Pretoria's confidence in its statement of intent to increase spending.

Some R33,9 billion would be spent for the year if spending increases match the first six months. This leaves a deficit before borrowing of R7,3 billion on official projections, but only R3,9 billion if revenue increases match the first seven months' actual.

The statement highlights criticism that the Budget is becoming academic as so many extra-Budgetary measures are taken.

Budget-juggling must be ratified in the next parliamentary session. With the vast majority of seats held by the National Party, this is a mere rubber stamp.

The lack of constitutional checks and balances over government spending and the level of its address by Pretoria are part of an overall attitude. ■

## SASRIA

### Extending the cover

Good news for insurance brokers and insureds pressing claims for damage incurred in riots is that they may no longer have to prove the riot was politically motivated.

The bad news is that there could be a big increase in rates as a result of the large number of claims for all types of riot.

Says Rodney Schneeberger, MD of the South African Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria): "The South African Insurance Association has submitted a request that Sasria be extended to non-political riots. The Sasria board has accepted and will be making representations to government."

He is not prepared to commit himself yet on what effect it will have on rates and how the total will compare with the present total for the two types of riot cover.

But, reading between the lines, the experiences of the past year may prompt Sasria to prepare for the worst.

"In previous years, the number of non-political riot claims — for things like soccer hooliganism, township riots which had nothing to do with politics, labour disturbances — was not significant," said Schneeberger.

"But, in the past year, there has been a marked increase in the incidence of looting,



Sasria's Schneeberger . . . smoothing out problems

theft and vandalism, most under the umbrella of general unrest."

The extension of Sasria cover will smooth out many administrative problems.

Though in principle "averse to insurance going to parastatal organisations," Don Galimore, who speaks for the South African Insurance Brokers' Association on matters relating to Sasria, says that the change would be practical.

Since inception in 1979, Sasria has provided for losses incurred in political riots only. A major criticism of the system has been that difficulty in establishing causes of

# Aid 'causing' new drought?

Aid from developed countries has changed life in sub-Saharan Africa dramatically, researchers say. Associated Press reports from New York.

THE famine in Africa was caused by human activity, not by lack of rain, and emergency food aid is making the situation worse, two ecologists have concluded.

Piecemeal aid from developed countries has changed life in sub-Saharan Africa so dramatically that the land can no longer support the population, the researchers say.

The core of the problem, according to Mr Anthony Sinclair and Mr John Fryxell of the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, is that too many people and too many cattle are living on land that can no longer support them, because it has been overgrazed and stripped of vegetation.

"If you feed the people and leave them where they are, it won't address that problem," Mr Sinclair said. "It will make it worse, because these people will move into new areas and alter the vegetation again, so the famine will spread."

Mr Sinclair is quick to say that on humanitarian grounds there is no immediate alternative to sending food to the millions of starving African families, but warns that more must be done.

"The very first thing we have to address is to repair the vegetation," he said. "We've got to get the grasslands growing again. We've got to take the people off the land, take the pressure off the land."

Moving large numbers of people is a difficult political problem in the best of circumstances and may be impossible given the political unrest in some of the drought-stricken countries of Africa, in the broad belt known as the Sahel that stretches across the continent just south of the Sahara.

In a recent paper titled *The Sahel of Africa: Ecology of a Disaster*, Mr Sinclair and Mr Fryxell described how the wildebeest and the white-eared kob, two African antelopes, survive in large numbers by migrating during the rainy season to areas where short-lived, high-protein grasses briefly appear, and then returning in the dry season to areas where lower-quality vegetation grows year-round.

## Different areas

Many people living in the Sahel have traditionally followed a similar strategy, moving their cattle herds to different areas at different seasons, and thus avoiding overgrazing and permanent loss of grasslands.

That pattern began to disappear several decades ago, however, as Western countries began to send aid to Africa.

Wells were drilled in areas that were green with vegetation year-round. Communities developed around the wells, and medical and veterinary care became available. Much of this change was the result of aid from developed countries.

People who had migrated soon settled near the wells, and it was not long before difficulties arose, according to Mr Sinclair and Mr Fryxell.

Grazing animals no longer had access to high-protein grass during the rainy season. The land around the wells became overgrazed and ultimately denuded of vegetation, now that animals were feeding there constantly.

As the process accelerated, each periodic episode of less-than-average rainfall had more severe consequences. The famines of 1973 and 1984 were both preceded by reduced rainfall, but resulted in far more deaths than previous droughts, the researchers said.

AKG

2/11/85

1

THIRTY-one years of reporting black Africa during its most phrenetic transitional years has left me with the overwhelming question — what's new

I have roamed the continent for the past 16 years for Argus newspapers, covering wars, revolutions, insurrections, civil uprisings, famines, disasters and — on some of the tragic occasions — which have been so much a part of Africa's emergence.

And now, with most African republics at least 20 years old, I realise that news in Africa runs in a series of cycles. Whatever it is — a government toppled, an economic disaster, a mind-boggling expose of top-level corruption, cross border sabre rattling, a new headline-grabbing guerilla movement — I've been there before.

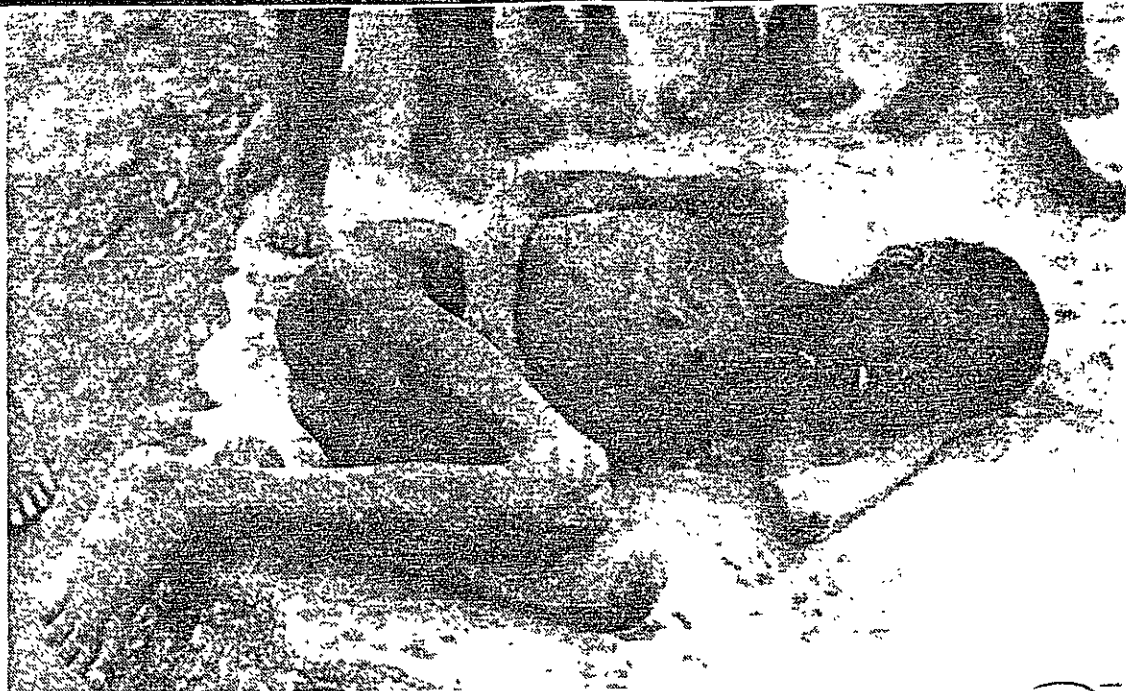
For me, it began with the Mau Mau in Kenya. This was given great international publicity as a mass black uprising against white colonialism, and has since been chronicled as Kenya's liberation struggle — the forerunner of many others in Africa.

### Struggle

It wasn't really. Only three of Kenya's 54 tribes were involved, many of the Kikuyu and Embu and a relatively small percentage of the Meru.

Most who took to the bush did so because it was the "in thing" to be one of the lads. Atrocities against whites shocked the world, but there were not many of them. In fact, less than 50 whites were killed during the entire Mau Mau struggle, nearly half of these being British soldiers trampled by Rhinos in the forests.

Compared with Mau



A grim reminder of famine and starvation during the Biafran war (1966-1970).

# News in Africa runs in series of cycles

FOCUS

29/11/85

SOWETAN

By HENRY REUTER

Mau, the 1960's civil war in the then Belgian Congo, now Zaire, was horrific. This was no colonial independence struggle. It was black against black, with white mercenaries confusing the issues, but not affecting the final outcome.

White civilians stranded in the country were raped, butchered or both. Some were cooked and eaten in the war's final, savage stages. Two close journalistic colleagues were shot and killed. Another, a young Dane out to make a name for himself, ventured with two Africans into a very dangerous area. They were never seen again.

and unconfirmed reports said they had been eaten

The civil war in the then Ruanda-Urundi (now Rwanda and Burundi) in 1972-73, produced even greater savagery. In what is now Burundi, the ruling Watusi minority was estimated to have killed more than 250 000 former Bahutu serfs over a 24 months' period.

### Starving

For sheer, cold-blooded callousness, there has never been any war in Africa to match the 30-month clash (1968-70) between Biafran and Nigerian Federal Government forces.

When Federal troops finally routed the greatly outnumbered Biafrans, they closed the Uli air field, through which

church and other relief organisations had been feeding a million starving people

Then they ordered all newsmen out of the region for the next six weeks while Biafrans died

In its early stages, the civil war in Angola, still raging, was an appalling saga of Portuguese panic. When they heard the Africans were coming, they jumped into their trucks and cars and fled south

Driving around with Unita forces in town after town I found signs of instant flight. Houses with half-eaten meals on the tables, electrical household appliances still switched on, and everywhere, forlorn, abandoned household pets.

These were later in great demand, dogs in

particular. It was a common sight to see a man going home to dinner with a happy smile on his face, a bag of mealie meal under one arm and a dog under the other.

Questioning Cubans captured by Savimbi forces I was impressed by their idealism and courage. I found they were mystified about their role in Angola. "We were told we were going to Africa to fight for the blacks against imperialists. But we find we are here fighting blacks", was a common complaint.

My favourite Africans have been found in the most primitive societies. My favourite Arabs are the Sudanese. They are the kindest, and most hospitable.

I don't have many favourite politicians. Jomo Kenyatta had the greatest charisma.

# North Africa faced by a 'crisis of survival'

JOHN MARKS of The London Observer reports from Brussels on the economic crisis facing North African countries following the enlargement of the EEC

EUROPEAN Foreign Ministers meeting in Brussels have reached a surprising but uneasy compromise agreement on an issue which has preoccupied North Africa for more than a year — the enlargement of the European Community (EEC) to include Spain and Portugal who formally join on January 1.

The accession of Spain and Portugal will mean a European surplus of citrus fruits, olive oil and cheap wine with very serious consequences for states such as Morocco and Tunisia which are trying to export more of these products to keep pace with mounting international debt.

Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali (whose economic calculations are based on maintaining fruit and olive oil exports) has repeatedly called for new forms of co-operation to safeguard "traditional markets".

But it is Morocco which feels it has most to lose and has lobbied most vociferously. King Hassan II has gone as far as applying for EEC membership and in April he created a new ministry to handle EEC affairs, headed by one of Morocco's brightest technocrats, former Industry Minister Azzedine Guessous.

Mr Guessous underlined the central problem — the future of Moroccan exports.

"EEC enlargement is certain to disturb the fundamentals and conditions of competition and if Morocco doesn't negotiate precise conditions then Spanish and Portuguese products will be treated in such an advantageous way that our products will no longer find a place in the market."

The stakes are high. Agricultural exports to Europe are worth about R1 300-million a year; approximately 65 percent of Moroccan exports go to EEC states and Europe represents 80 percent of all non-oil trade.

The current Government of Prime Minister Karim Lamrani is committed to an aggressive "liberal" policy favoured by the IMF and World Bank who have worked closely with Morocco as it tries to untangle its economy from a R30-billion debt and rescheduling problems. Morocco needs its European markets.

Mr Guessous claims that 250 000 agricultural jobs are threatened, indirectly affecting another 1,25 million Moroccans. There is also the question of 500 000 Moroccans living in France and others living elsewhere in the EEC.

Thus the need for a viable arrangement. Developing trade is also in Europe's interest, says Mr Guessous. He

claims that interests in Spain, Italy and Greece have mobilised against Morocco, acting as a brake on development. If this continues, "it will mean that other exporting sectors of the Community will not be able to count on Morocco as a market."

Morocco's bargaining position is strengthened by the current trade war between Europe and the US which has focussed on North African markets. But threats apart Morocco is committed to Europe in spite of a R380-million trade deficit.

Before Brussels, the EEC Commission put forward a series of proposals with European Commissioner Claude Cheysson calling for a Mediterranean trade pact helping Southern Mediterraneans reduce their huge food import bills and maintain EEC imports of their products, in addition to seeking further European investment for eleven states. But Greece and Italy opposed further concessions which are, however, backed by France with an eye to its own interests in the region.

In the event a compromise was reached in Brussels with Italy's appeal for more aid from the "rich" Northerners matched by assurances that markets for "sensitive" products will be protected, helped by further subsidies.

ARKUS 17/12/85

(1)

Bus DAY 18/12/85

# SA on agenda as PTA<sup>①</sup> states hold trade talks

LUSAKA — Top officials of 15 African countries begin two days of key talks in Lusaka today to assess an ambitious effort to promote trade and co-operation.

The leaders of at least four members — Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — will attend the annual summit of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for Eastern and Southern African states.

The meeting comes at a critical time for the group, launched in Lusaka four years ago, because it marks the end of an 18-month "operational phase" designed to turn the PTA concept into reality.

"The talks are all the more important as they take place amid growing global economic uncertainty for developing countries and the threats of economic destabilisation by SA," the PTA said in a statement yesterday.

Other members represented by senior officials are Comoro Islands, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland and Uganda.

Five other potential members, Angola, Botswana, Madagascar, Mozambique and Seychelles, have sent observers.

"Most of the issues to be discussed revolve

around ways in which trade between member states could be further promoted to help make them less reliant on increasingly uncertain 'traditional' markets, how they can share their experience and natural resources to meet more of their own needs and how they can mobilise the resources needed to finance development projects," the statement said.

By working towards the removal of trade barriers among members, the PTA aims not only to improve economic self-sufficiency but the eventual establishment of a regional common market.

Ministers from the 15 states have been meeting here for the past four days to prepare for today's talks, which a report on their discussions described as "extremely crucial and critical for the success of the PTA".

The ministers' report noted that several members were facing major economic difficulties and attacked SA as "a great threat to peace, stability and unity" in the Southern African region.

"These problems underscored the economic dependence of the sub-region (on SA) and justified the existence of the PTA," it added. — Sapa-Reuter.



● KAUNDA

# Free trade zone meeting opened

Bus DAY 19/12/85

①

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday urged black African states to minimise their differences, as 15 eastern and southern African states met to review efforts to set up a free trade zone.

Opening the fourth annual summit of the east and southern Africa Preferential Trade Area (PTA), the Zambian leader also lashed SA for oppressing its black majority population.

Kaunda said PTA members, who include some of the world's poorest and hungriest countries, faced enormous problems in developing their economies.

"There is an imperative need to consolidate our unity of purpose. We should endeavour as much as possible to emphasise those areas in which we agree and minimise those in which we disagree," he told delegates to the meeting.

Fellow heads of state — Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Jean Baptiste Bagaza of Burundi and Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania — are taking part in the two days of talks. Senior ministers are representing the other PTA members — Comoro Islands, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland and Uganda.

Kaunda said the PTA, which aims to create an African common market

among up to 20 countries by 1992, was vital because the continent's black states had been economically dependent upon the industrialised world for much too long.

"Our people know that, when the PTA was launched, we resolved on their behalf to create a new economic order through our own collective efforts," he said.

Kaunda urged the group to demonstrate concrete results such as "improved living standards through collective self-sufficiency".

The PTA was formally launched in Lusaka four years ago. This week's meeting primarily will review operations during the past 18 months when member states were committed to implementing a programme of action ranging from standardising tariffs and customs procedures to establishing a bank clearing house.

In his opening address, Kaunda castigated SA for what he charged was brutality at home and aggression against its weaker, black neighbours.

"Apartheid continues on its rampage of oppression, destruction and destabilisation in the southern African sub-region." — Sapa-Reuter.



# African plan deferred

① BUS DAY 23/12/85

LUSAKA — East and Southern African states seeking to promote trade among themselves have deferred action on key issues after a disappointing two-day meeting marked by the absence of most of the group's leaders.

Only four heads of state of the 15-member Preferential Trade Area (PTA) attended the annual summit.

A final communique last week deplored "the lack of full participation" by the group's leaders, and postponed action on issues under consideration until next year's summit, or an extraordinary meeting at a date to be set.

Two major items on the agenda were a "common list" of more than 200 items eligible for preferential trade and the "rules of origin", which define the amount of local content products must have to qualify for the common list.

Leaders attending the meeting were: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia; President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tan-

zania; President Jean Baptiste Bagaza of Burundi; and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

The PTA's other members are Comoro Islands, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland and Uganda.

Three countries considering joining the group, Angola, Botswana and Mozambique, sent observers.

The poor attendance and lack of progress at the meeting were sharply criticised by the *Times of Zambia* in a front page editorial last week.

"This lukewarm approach to important organisations like the PTA is not the best way to tackle Africa's multiple crises," it said.

Western diplomats said a lack of commitment to the group had dogged the PTA since it was first formed four years ago, with the aim of creating an African common market by 1992.

# Africa needs more than \$1.3bn in aid

19/12/87

BUS DAY

(1)



RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — Africa is going to need well over \$1.27bn in emergency aid next year — much of it in cash needed to buy and transport food from areas of plenty to areas of want.

Contradicting reports that the famine crisis was over, United Nations office for emergency operations in Africa director Bradford Morse said that next year posed a greater challenge because of the difficulties involved in spreading the benefit of bumper harvests to less fortunate areas.

Zimbabwe, Kenya and Niger produced a combined surplus of 1.5-million tons of grain, and Malawi also had a surplus.

Yet, where crops were good, prices were declining rapidly, and unless something was done, farmers would become dispirited, he said.

His office put next year's aid needs at \$1.27bn, compared with the \$2.9bn this year that went into what Morse called "the most suc-

cessful relief operation in recent years".

He added: "At least 3-million lives were saved, but a greater challenge is posed by the changed nature of the relief operation in 1986, which will require that a much greater proportion of the aid be in the form of cash to purchase local food and transport it to those in need."

The latest report by Morse's office leaves six countries on the "serious" list — Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Botswana.

These six account for nearly 70% of those who were in need of emergency aid at the height of this year's crisis and 19-million people remain threatened, it states.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar told a recent meeting of UN ambassadors that there were now grounds for "very cautious and conditional" hope over the famine crisis.

## Frontline and Nordic links

19/12/85 BUS. DAY  
OSLO — The Nordic countries are to step up economic and cultural co-operation with Southern Africa's Frontline states, the Nordic Council said in Oslo yesterday.

In a statement issued during a one-day meeting of the prime ministers of Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland, the council said technical assistance, investment, trade and cultural exchanges between the two regions would increase.

A declaration of Nordic co-operation with the Frontline states confronting SA is to be signed in Harare in January.

The Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — oppose Pretoria's racial apartheid policies but, economically, are largely dependent on the white-led republic.

The announcement of the planned increase in co-operation between the Nordic and Frontline states follows decisions by Norway and Sweden to reduce their trading links with SA. — Sapa-Reuter.

# ANC activities

# SA warns border states

By MICHAEL ACOTT

THE State Security Council has issued a forthright warning to neighbouring countries that "all appropriate means" will be taken to counter African National Congress activities within their borders.

The rare statement from the country's top security organization is a forceful reiteration of previous South African threats to take action against ANC bases if these countries would not curtail ANC activities on their soil.

It is seen as a warning to Zimbabwe in particular, following South African allegations that the people who planted the killer landmines in the Northern Transvaal had come from, and returned to, Zimbabwe.

The council said it had irrefutable evidence of the presence and activity of "terrorist elements" in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland. Repeated representations had been made to these governments, but the attitude of some of these states was "unsatisfactory".

It warned these governments that, unless they acted against the ANC, "all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price".

The council said yesterday's meeting was chaired by President P W Botha at Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

The meeting considered a report by intelligence and security authorities on "the



Mr P. W. Botha

increased acts of violence and terror planned and executed from neighbouring states", particularly the Northern Transvaal landmine incidents which killed civilians, including women and children.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Rik Botha, reported on the reaction of some neighbouring governments to South African requests for them to eliminate the activities of the "Soviet-supported" ANC in their countries.

"The State Security Council considered the attitude adopted by these governments as

unsatisfactory," the statement said.

"It is clear that terrorist elements continue to operate *inter alia* from within Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland, despite repeated representations based on irrefutable evidence concerning the presence and activity of terrorist elements in these countries, and despite the abhorrence recently expressed by the United Nations in its unanimous repudiation of terrorism.

"The State Security Council is convinced that all South African and cowardly attacks on civilians of our country in a serious light and are unanimous in their condemnation of these acts of violence, particularly at a time when the most far-reaching reform is taking place in the country's political, social and economic life."

## 'Duty'

"It was decided that the governments of these countries must again be informed of the South African Government's grave concern at the increased terrorist activities from their territory, and that they be urged to realize that if this menace is allowed to continue, all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"The South African Government has a duty to protect the country's

## PFP appeal to

## National Congress activities within their borders.

The rare statement from the country's top security organization is a forceful reiteration of previous South African threats to take action against ANC bases if these countries would not curtail ANC activities on their soil.

It is seen as a warning to Zimbabwe in particular, following South African allegations that the people who planted the killer landmines in the Northern Transvaal had come from, and returned to, Zimbabwe.

The council said it had irrefutable evidence of the presence and activity of "terrorist elements" in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland. Repeated representations had been made to these governments, but the attitude of some of these states was "unsatisfactory".

It warned these governments that, unless they acted against the ANC, "all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price".

The council said yesterday's meeting was chaired by President P. W. Botha at Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

The meeting considered a report by intelligence and security authorities on



Mr P. W. Botha

increased acts of violence and terror planned and executed from neighbouring states", particularly the Northern Transvaal landmine incidents which killed civilians, including women and children.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Rik Botha, reported on the reaction of some neighbouring governments to South African requests for them to eliminate the activities of the "Soviet-supported" ANC in their countries.

"The State Security Council considered the attitude adopted by these governments as

unsatisfactory," the statement said.

"It is clear that terrorist elements continue to operate *inter alia* from within Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland, despite repeated representations based on irrefutable evidence concerning the presence and activity of terrorist elements in these countries, and despite the abhorrence recently expressed by the United Nations in its unanimous repudiation of terrorism.

"The State Security Council is convinced that all South Africans consider these criminal and cowardly attacks on civilians of our country in a serious light and are unanimous in their condemnation of these acts of violence, particularly at a time when the most far-reaching reform is taking place in the country's political, social and economic life."

**'Duty'**

"It was decided that the governments of these countries must again be informed of the South African Government's grave concern at the increased terrorist activities from their territory, and that they be urged to realize that if this menace is allowed to continue, all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"The South African Government has a duty to protect the country's boundaries and the security of its citizens by all appropriate means," the statement concluded.

**Composition**

● The State Security Council is one of four cabinet committees, and the only one whose composition is laid down by law. It is chaired by the President and includes the ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Police and Justice.

Also on the council are the Chief of Security Intelligence, the Chief of the Defence Force, the Commissioner of Police and such additional ministers or civil servants as it may wish to co-opt.

The government has strongly denied that the State Security Council acts as a "cabinet within a cabinet" or that it has a predominant role in determining government policy.

**Territorial integrity**

"At the same time, I trust that the South African Government is also taking into account the serious consequences of pre-emptive action, and will do nothing to add to the violence or the threats to the security of the region," Mr Eglin said.

South Africa was entitled to require that its neighbours respect its territorial integrity.

South Africa was entitled to require that its neighbours respect its territorial integrity.

South Africa was entitled to require that its neighbours respect its territorial integrity.

South Africa was entitled to require that its neighbours respect its territorial integrity.

## PFP appeal to 'reduce tension'

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday appealed to the government and to South Africa's neighbours to work together to reduce tensions in the region.

The PFP foreign-affairs spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, said the unprecedented statement by the State Security Council yesterday on behalf of the government underlined the "serious deterioration of relations between South Africa and its neighbours."

"The fact that the State Security Council statement names all of South Africa's internationally recognized neighbours, shows that the Southern African regional accord which looked so promising last year is on the brink of collapse."

Mr Eglin said a tense and potentially explosive situation was developing which would best be resolved by mutual respect resulting from government-to-government discussions, not by rhetoric or threats from either side of the border.

"I trust that all governments will take note of the serious situation that is developing and that they will take steps within their own countries to eliminate the causes of tension."

At the same time, I trust that the South African Government is also taking into account the serious consequences of pre-emptive action, and will do nothing to add to the violence or the threats to the security of the region," Mr Eglin said.

South Africa was entitled to require that its neighbours respect its territorial integrity.

ir a

STAR 30/12/85

(1)

# 'Farming sector needs strengthening' Spectre of famine will haunt Africa in 1986

NAIROBI — As Africa moves into 1986, it is still the world's most troubled continent.

The famine that killed perhaps one million people abated in 1985, thanks to lifesaving rains and a massive transfusion of foreign aid, but food remains Africa's most compelling need.

With its population growing by 3.2 percent a year, per capita food production falling, foreign debt rising to around \$170 billion, economies stagnating and civil conflicts persisting, Africa's 500 million people can look to the new year only with apprehension.

"The harsh truth is that sub-Saharan Africa today faces a crisis of unprecedented proportions," Mr Robert S McNamara, former World Bank president, noted in a recent lecture in Washington.

### SEVERE

A report in December by a panel of American foreign policy experts said decades of drought, famine, debt and war have left the vast continent facing a crisis so severe it is "almost impossible for the rest of the world to imagine or comprehend".

The Food and Agriculture Organisation, a United Nations agency that monitored the drought and famine throughout 1985, will have pared its emergency list from 21 countries to six by the end of the year.

But the director-general of the Rome-based body, Mr

Edouard Saouma, warned in a year-end report that another drought was possible. Unless Africa strengthened its long-neglected farming sector, it "will speed headlong to another catastrophe".

Though the rains brought the best harvests in years, particularly in the drought-prone Sahel belt south of the Sahara, the 21 famine-hit countries will still need to import 6.6 million tons of food in 1986, compared to 11 million tons in 1985.

With the 1985 catastrophe in mind, the UN General Assembly plans a special session from May 27 to 31 at the world body's headquarters to "consider the depth of the critical economic situation in Africa".

At the current growth rate, Africa's population could quadruple to 2 billion by the year 2025.

By the end of 1986, economists estimate, payments required to cover interest alone on Africa's debt will equal two-thirds of the money the continent receives in aid.

Some countries use most of their meagre export earnings to service their debts.

African leaders can be expected to step up their demands in 1986 for what they call a "new world economic order" — rescheduling or waiving of debts, massive aid packages by the developed world, transference of technology, lower interest rates and higher prices for agricultural commodities.

In return for loans to bail out collapsing economies, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has demanded austerity measures.

Ghana, Zaire and Zambia have adopted the IMF's "bitter pill" of austerity. Socialist-governed Tanzania, which has long balked at IMF terms, may be compelled to deal with the fund.

Aside from the economic malaise and food shortfalls, much of Africa's misery stems from the civil wars that show little sign of resolution — in Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan and Western Sahara.

### WARFARE

Angola and Mozambique, for example, stayed on the FAO's emergency list of food-short countries not because of continued drought but because warfare has disrupted food production and distribution.

The year ended on a hopeful note for Uganda with the signing of a peace accord between the military government and guerillas who had been fighting in the East African nation for nearly five years.

Africa had its usual crop of coups and coup attempts in 1985: Sudan, Uganda, Nigeria and Liberia. But there were also signs that the continent's political institutions were maturing.

Presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone retired peacefully, setting examples that could be followed by other aging leaders.

# Africa looks back on year of turmoil

Bus Day 31/12/85 (1)

**LONDON** — It was a turbulent year even for Africa, a continent accustomed to bloodshed and political upheaval.

It was dominated by riots in South Africa, a crop of military coups, a Christmas border war between Mali and Burkina Faso and intensified guerrilla activity in southern Africa.

In Uganda, the government and rebels signed a pact which could bring peace after 20 years of internecine strife.

Africa laboured under the weight of a \$170bn debt compounded by a sharp fall in world commodity prices and economic mismanagement.

The continent's appeal to foreign tourists appeared threatened by preliminary Western findings that AIDS may be rampant in many African countries.

In South Africa, black opposition to the government exploded into relentless rioting despite crackdowns on dissent and hesitant apartheid reforms.

Since large-scale unrest erupted in September 1984, more than 1 000 people have died.

Tension between Mali and Burkina Faso over a small strip of land along their border — in dispute since independence 24 years ago — exploded into fighting on Christmas day.

As African politicians shuttled back and forth between Bamako and Ouagadougou trying to organise a ceasefire, the desert battle spread to areas far from the border.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was returned to power in July for another five years. President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast was re-elected for another six-year term.

In November, Houphouet-Boigny restored relations with Israel, only the third black African state to do so after Zaire and Liberia.

All of black Africa with the exception of Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland broke ties after the 1973 Middle East war.

Togo was rocked by bomb explosions that shook the 17-year-old government of President Gnassingbe Eyadema.

In Chad, the military stalemate continued, with Libyan troops still entrenched in the rebel-held north, although there were signs at the end of the year that the Libyan leader, Col Muammar Gaddafi, was trying to extricate himself from the commitment to Goukouni Oueddei's rebels.

The year marked the end of the worst drought on record in most African countries and there were better than average rains. But famine-related suffering continued in 21 countries, which still need foreign aid to fight the effect of drought.

In Mozambique, a civil war escalated as a non-aggression pact, signed with South Africa amid great fanfare in March 1984, threatened to crumble under the impact of allegations that South Africa was still supporting Mozambican rebels.

Rebels intensified attacks in Angola and Zimbabwe.

South African forces invaded Angola in June and September in pursuit of guerrillas seeking independence for South West Africa.

In June, South African commandos struck in the Botswana capital of Gaborone, killing 12 people. In December, Pretoria threatened Zimbabwe with hot pursuit after several land mines had exploded near the South African border, killing six whites and one black.

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was chosen to take over leadership of the 101-nation non-aligned movement next year.

Zambia's economic woes continued to multiply. President Kenneth Kaunda finally bowed to the International Monetary Fund by introducing foreign exchange auctions.

In North Africa, the 10-year-old conflict between Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisario in western Sahara continued.

The government of Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba was shaken by an Israeli air raid on Palestine Liberation Organisation headquarters in Tunis in October in retaliation for the killing of Israelis in Cyprus.

The Pope visited Cameroon, Zaire, Togo, Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic, Kenya and Morocco in August. — Sapa-Reuter.