

Shops could be PLO front

□ From Page 1

that details of the PLO operation were uncovered by one of KLM's security officers based in Africa.

Mr Verdonk said several African countries had been mentioned at the London meeting as suspected PLO targets. However, investigations had revealed that so far the PLO had moved only into Dar es Salaam.

The airport is used by 17 international airlines.

While there are no direct flights from Dar es Salaam to South Africa, there are flights to Swaziland and Mozambique. And there are 18 flights a week from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

Zimbabwe's sympathy for the PLO was publicly emphasised this week. In a New Year message to mark the 21st anniversary of the organisation, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said he was convinced the PLO would triumph in its struggle to regain its homeland from Israel.

Investment

He added that Zimbabwe wanted an end to the "daily atrocities" committed by both Israel and South Africa.

Mr Ali Halimeh, the PLO's chief representative in Zimbabwe, told the Sunday Times this week that the organisation did not own any commercial enterprises in the country.

And he claimed it operated the duty-free shop at Dar es Salaam as an "economic investment".

European airport security chiefs are deeply concerned about the implications of the PLO gaining control of duty-free shops at international airports.

These shops are normally located "airside" and goods are supplied by lorries which are not usually searched.

By the time passengers can buy duty-free items, they have already passed through security screening and are given their purchases in sealed bags which are not searched before embarkation.

This means a terrorist could take a deadly package from a PLO-controlled shop to any destination in the world.

PLO in Africa airport terror plot

By NEIL HOOPER

THE PLO has a fiendish new strategy to take over airport duty-free shops in the "frontline states" of Southern Africa.

International airline and airport security chiefs are alarmed because this could provide perfect cover for smuggling arms and explosives.

The ruthless Palestine Liberation Organisation, the world's most feared terror group, this week confirmed to the Sunday Times that it had bought control of the duty-free shop at Tanzania's Dar es Salaam airport.

A PLO spokesman said it was purely a business venture to make money, and denied that the organisation

PLO web of terror, page 6

was negotiating for control of other Southern African airport shops.

But airline security sources claim the PLO has its eye on airports in two of South Africa's neighbours — Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

They revealed the PLO's latest scheme in London at an emergency meeting of airline security chiefs.

The fact that Arab terrorists had taken over the duty-free shop at Dar es Salaam — one of black Africa's biggest airports — was first uncovered by KLM, the Dutch airline.

KLM dropped its bombshell warning to other airlines in London on December 13, just two weeks before last Friday's Arab terror attacks at the Rome and Vienna airports, which left 18 dead.

The deputy security chief at Amsterdam's Schipol Airport, chief superintendent Joop Verdonk, told the Sunday Times yesterday

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Monitored

In the wake of the PLO alert, a source close to the South African Railway Police said yesterday security at other African airports was being monitored.

"We do not think the PLO will succeed with any plan to smuggle weapons ... certainly not into South Africa".

"But we will obviously keep a close watch on the situation."

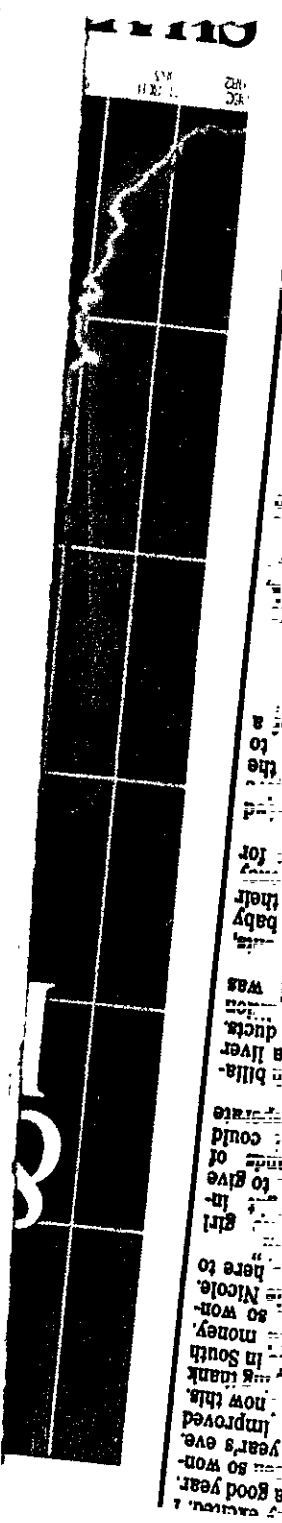
The PLO, sponsored by Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, supports the ANC and Swapo.

Its foremost African ally is Zimbabwe — which has allowed the Arab organisation to open an office in the country. In 1984, PLO leader Yasser Arafat was personally welcomed to Zimbabwe by Mr Mugabe, who described him as a "hero".

Prices elsewhere on back page



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The first generation of free Africans have short-changed the next, leaving them with a tattered legacy, says a leading African journalist.

STAR 7/1/86 (1)

Lament for the first 25 years of African freedom

It is a tragedy for Africa that in its second quarter century of independence it will be in the hands of a generation shaped by the sins and errors of the first quarter century.

This point is made by one of Africa's most prominent journalists, Peter Enahoro, editor and publisher of the London-based monthly newsmagazine *Africa Now*, in a commentary on the first 25 years of African liberation from European colonial rule.

Mr Enahoro finds little to rejoice over in the first 25 years and little cause for optimism in the next.

Africans in general, in his view, have been browbeaten into meek submission by autocratic regimes, made cynical by coups and corruption and robbed of their individualism by one-party states.

"Nothing better illustrates the throes we are in than the plight of the young African who was born in 1960," he says.

"He has seen many of his generation driven to the ground by the changes in government brought by way of the gun. He is surrounded by controls and restrictions.

"His local newspapers tell him that his leader is infallible, but foreign newspapers are almost hysterical in claiming that African leaders are inevitably corrupt. The young African has been brought up to believe that civilians become politicians only because they want to steal public funds."

Mr Enahoro sees the post-independence generation as one that "has been bathed in an orgy of blood-letting".

"A typical young person of this generation," he says, "has never known an absolute period of peace. Public executions, military coups, political show trials have featured through most young peoples' lives.

"The average city-dweller has been bullied into believing that the one-party state is the indigenous system of Africa. He is exhorted to accept socialism by leaders who have substituted socialism (a superficial pretence to knowledge) for the genuine article."

Mr Enahoro recalls that in 1985 — "a typical year; it was just as remarkable for its catalogue of violence and instability as were the other years of the decade it climaxed" — there was a succession of meaningless elections in one-party states.

No serious criticism of this situation came from any respected African quarter.

"Individualism has been discouraged since most young people attained the age of awareness, and that will be the legacy of the last 22 years that they will take into the next quarter of a century.

"During this time they will reach middle age as conformists who redeem themselves by periodically taking refuge in cynicism.

"The tragedy is that the next 25 years will end up in the hands of such individuals, nurtured in a world created for them by the first generation of African rulers who followed the whites.

"There is a feeling of guilt that one generation has short-changed the other."

— The Star's Africa News Service.

luntary removal" appears to have shattered hopes that government's policy of resettlement has been shelved for thousands who are still threatened with removal in different parts of the country. ■

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Economic prospects

Recent events, most notably the landmine explosions in the Messina and Ellisras areas and Pretoria's threat to resort to hot pursuit incursions into neighbouring Zimbabwe, underscore the extent to which developments within South Africa itself are likely to dominate the southern African region during 1986.

Pressures will build up on the frontline states to intensify measures against Pretoria with the high point likely to be reached in August when more than 100 heads of state or their representatives will attend the Non-aligned Movement conference in Harare. Although the conference will discuss many other issues, it's already clear that SA will dominate the proceedings.

There is, of course, relatively little that the frontline states can do other than provide moral support and military bases for the South African freedom movements. Although several of the border states have called for mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria, none of them can relish a confrontation with the regional economic superpower. None of the frontline states, with the possible exception of Botswana, is in a sufficiently healthy position economically to participate effectively in an economic boycott. At the same

time, the dangers of providing military or logistical support to nationalist guerrillas have been vividly illustrated by the South African strikes against Angola, Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique in recent years.

From a strictly economic viewpoint, every state in the region has more than enough on its plate without becoming embroiled in the South African crisis. Yet, such are the political imperatives that virtually none of them has a free choice in the matter — they are committed to the struggle against apartheid. For most of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) states the need in 1986 will be to ensure that their economies are not undermined and their governments destabilised by the seem-

ingly inevitable political and military deterioration in the region.

Zambia is in the forefront of those who simply cannot afford to be distracted from the harsh realities of bread-and-butter economics. Zambia, with negative real growth in the 1984/86 period, a commercial arrears foreign payments pipeline in excess of US\$700m and in hock to the IMF to the tune of another \$700m is making a brave, if belated, attempt to put its economic house in order. In the final quarter of 1985 it introduced weekly foreign currency auctions resulting in a major devaluation of the currency and backed this up with steep increases in interest rates as an inspired austerity programme was implemented.

But, with Zambia more than 95% dependent for its foreign exchange on copper, and with most forecasters suggesting a further deterioration in world copper markets next year, it's difficult to see any early improvement in the economy. Copper output, which declined 5% to 526 000 t last year, is forecast to fall below 500 000 t in 1985/6 and even if the IMF measures do succeed in stabilising the domestic economy — which is highly

problematical — prospects of an improved foreign currency cash flow and the development of non-traditional exports are extremely slim. The best hope lies with agricultural growth that would reduce food imports and boost rural small-holder incomes. But this will be a long-term strategy and the prolonged decline in real living standards in Zambia that began in the Seventies is unlikely to be reversed in the next two years. 1986 promises to be a bleak year as devaluation, higher retail-level taxes and increased interest rates result in sharply-high-

er inflation.

Neighbouring Malawi — which ranks as one of the regional success stories — is heavily dependent on good rains and buoyant tea and tobacco prices. Prospects for both commodities are not bright while the country's difficulties have been compounded by the transport crisis in Mozambique and the need to ship a substantial proportion of imports and exports by road through Zimbabwe to SA.

There is little prospect of any material improvement in the Mozambique economy as long as the war continues. Efforts by neighbouring states such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi to route traffic through Mozambique rather than SA will intensify in

1986, but so long as the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) is able to sabotage the transport system the capacity to handle increased traffic volumes simply doesn't exist.

Zimbabwe's economic prospects will be substantially influenced by the weather. The 1985/6 rains have started rather patchily, but it is still too early to make any meaningful crop predictions. It is known that there have been significant reductions in the land planted out to both cotton and maize by the large-scale commercial farmers, while the tobacco crop target for 1986 has been raised some 20% to 130m kg. It seems clear that the rate of agricultural growth will slow from more than 20% in 1985 to no more than 10%. Since agricultural expansion provided the main stimulus to the economy in 1985 when real growth is estimated at 6%, it appears that with the slowdown in the farm sector gdp growth will halve to around 3% in 1986. Much will, of course, depend on the rainfall pattern in the first three months of the new year, but there is little likelihood of a repeat of the 1985 performance.

Industrial expansion surprised the forecasters by reaching 14% in the first nine months of 1985. However, growth was slowing in the third quarter and over the year as a whole the volume of output is estimated to have risen some 12%. In 1986, this will halve to around 6% at best. The signs are that domestic demand is flattening out while export demand — especially from SA — has weakened significantly. Few Zimbabwean industrialists can compete with their SA counterparts at current exchange rate levels either in the SA market itself or elsewhere in the region.

The key constraint on industrial growth is the level of import quotas and while a further improvement is anticipated in 1986, this is unlikely to be large enough to maintain the 1985 rate of industrial expansion.

The outlook for mining has darkened with the continuing decline in metal prices. Zimbabwe is finding it difficult to compete with SA ferrochrome given the weak rand while lower prices for asbestos, tin and nickel point to some slowdown in the growth rate of mining production which is estimated at 15% (in value) for 1985, falling to no more than 10% in 1986. Much will depend on exchange rate policy since the main source of growth in mining production in 1985 was the currency depreciation effect which boosted Zimbabwe dollar values. Prospects for the key export — tobacco — are mixed. The increase in the crop size from 106m kg to a target of around 135m kg this year could well depress auction floor prices. Some merchants argue, too, that increasingly Zimbabwe is being forced, reluctantly, into barter arrangements to move tobacco into markets in eastern Europe, the Far East and elsewhere in Africa. While tobacco exports may expand in local currency terms next year, the expectation is that they will decline in US dollar values. The balance of payments position will tighten in 1986 partly because export growth will slow



Botha and Kaunda ... facing regional economic difficulties

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while higher import allocations will be allowed, but also because debt service payments will rise and higher levels of profit and dividend remittances have been approved.

Because some 94% of Zimbabwe's foreign trade is currently routed through SA, it is particularly vulnerable to political pressure by Pretoria. Already tobacco and mining industry spokesmen have warned that the mere mention of the possibility of a border closure by Pretoria has set the alarm bells ringing in some foreign markets where buyers have been looking for alternative sources of supply. But Pretoria would have to accept that any such raising of the stakes would be a double-edged sword given the major positive net flow of investment income and pension payments from Zimbabwe to SA and Pretoria's massive foreign investments which might be jeopardised.

Politically, 1986 promises to be a more tranquil year for Zimbabwe. It seems that prospects of a merge between PM Robert Mugabe's ruling Zanu-PF and the opposition Zapu, led by Joshua Nkomo, have improved recently, though the merger is much more likely to be a takeover with Zapu being faced with an offer it won't be able to refuse. Once the merger is achieved, Zimbabwe will to all intents and purposes have become a de facto one-party state since the Conservative Alliance, led by Ian Smith, has been served notice that its days are numbered. In 1987, Mugabe will be able to use his parliamentary majority to abolish the anomalous white roll which gives 110 000 whites — or one and a half per cent of the total population — 20% of the seats in the House of Assembly. If the merger with Zapu goes through, government hopes it will undermine the activities of the

so-called super-Zapu dissidents in Matabeleland. Just as Pretoria claims that Zimbabwe is harbouring ANC guerrillas, so Zimbabwe alleges — citing evidence of Russian weaponry captured in Angola by the South African forces and recycled by Pretoria's "dirty tricks" department into dissident activity in Matabeleland — that SA is actively engaged in destabilisation by financing, training and arming the Ndebele dissidents. This, too, highlights the degree to which economic progress in the SADCC region in 1986 will be affected by political events in SA or dictated by Pretoria. It is difficult to be optimistic about the outcome and the probability is that the SADCC region's economy will suffer in 1986 from the combination of regional political instability and a slowdown in world trade and the world economy which will depress commodity prices. ■

politically priceless.

Today, more than three years after Argentina invaded the disputed Falklands, the sinking of the Belgrano remains a subject of debate in Britain.

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Ponting makes clear a major factor that led Heseltine to call for the compilation of the "crown jewels" was the publication on March 5, 1984 of a book entitled "The Sinking of the

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Rains ease the famine crisis

DROUGHT-ENDING rains and humanitarian efforts have overcome the worst of Africa's famine, but even as relief agencies applaud the global response they warn that the crisis is only diminished — not over.

"The challenge of keeping people alive and getting them back on their feet and farms was the easy part," said C. Payne Lewis, director of the Washington-based agency Africare.

At the beginning of 1985, the Organisation of African Unity said Africa's foreign debt was \$150 billion (R375 billion). At the end of the year, African leaders attending a Franco-African summit in Paris said it had risen to \$170 billion (R425 billion).

"We have to prevent hungry people becoming dependent on foreign aid, but we have to help and find new ideas all the time," Lucas said. "The long-term challenge is going to be tougher as the image of the famine disappears

off the TV screens."

Across the continent from east to west, seven nations in a belt on the burning southern fringes of the Sahara Desert are most at risk - Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Sudan and Ethiopia. To the south, the nations most at risk through war and drought are Mozambique, Botswana and Angola

In London, the United Nations Children's Fund published a special report in December saying more than 17 million children - or a quarter of those under 5 in Africa - are suffering from malnutrition. Unicef said that the trend will adversely affect Africa's development for generations to come.

A recent UN report said that 26 of the world's least developed nations are in Africa, where populations are growing at a faster rate than anywhere else but where life expectancy is just

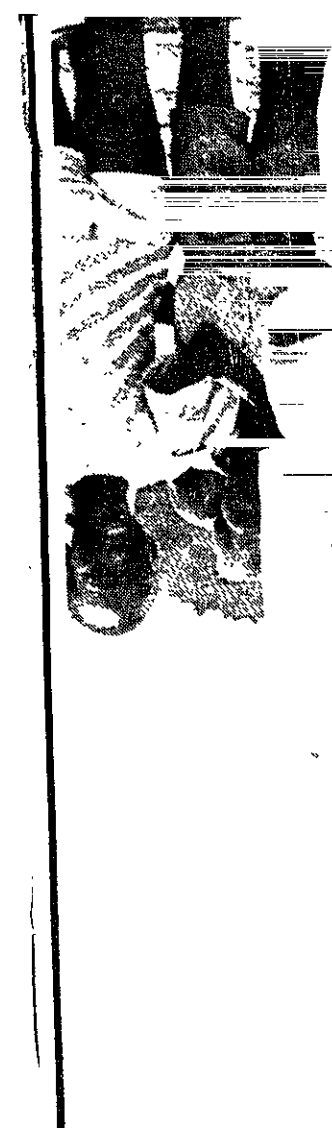
50 years — the lowest in the world.

The average annual per capita income is currently estimated at less than \$350 (R875). Literacy rates are low. More than 50 percent of Africa's urban populations live in slums or squatter camps.

"African states are requesting a special session of the General Assembly to consider the African situation," Adebayo Adededeji, head of the UN Economic Commission for Africa said. "This will help us to organise additional international support to complement the work of African governments."

Africa's debt had to be re-negotiated to channel funds into development he said. "We also hope to convene an international conference between debtor and creditor countries in 1986. Many of our countries pay 30 to 60 percent of their incomes to service their debts," he said. — UPI.

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Lesotho puts West in a dilemma

Cape Times 17/1/86



London Dateline
JOHN BATTERSBY reports

SOUTH AFRICA'S slow strangulation of Lesotho, by applying stringent border controls has presented the West with a dilemma

Significantly, Chief Leabua Jonathan's appeals for help, particularly an airlift of essential goods, have been directed at the two capitals where that dilemma is most intense: Washington and Whitehall.

Of all the Western countries involved in aid to South Africa's neighbours, it is Britain and the US alone which have repeatedly warned frontline states that there will be no special economic aid if they are hit by international sanctions.

When Mrs Thatcher was fighting a lone battle against the rest of the Commonwealth in the Bahamas last October to stave off sanctions against SA, she reminded the frontline states of this in a letter and President Reagan sent a special envoy to Nassau to underline America's concurrence.

At the same time both Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan are deeply concerned about the re-emergence of Pretoria's hardline destabilization tactics in the region and the escalation of the military struggle in the region.

And both leaders are mindful of the enormous international respect for the small landlocked kingdom of Lesotho in resisting what is widely perceived as Pretoria's bully-boy tactics in imposing a de facto blockade against a small and defenceless neighbour.

The warm reception accorded to King Moshoeshoe II by other Commonwealth leaders at the Bahamas summit was a recognition of Lesotho's brave stand.

That must have been a major factor in Britain's prompt diplomatic response to Chief Jonathan's personal appeal to Mrs Thatcher for help.

The new Minister of State in the Foreign Office responsible for South Africa, Mrs Lynda Chalker, lost no time in telling the House of Commons that Britain was appealing to South Africa to lift the border restrictions and enter into a dialogue with the Maseru government.

Some sympathy

It now looks as though security talks between the two countries are on the cards and a showdown appears to have been averted.

But what would have happened if South Africa had pushed its point a little further?

While Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan have some sympathy with Pretoria's efforts to prevent guerrillas of the African National Congress from entering the country, they are fully aware that the last place the ANC is likely to do this is at border posts of a rugged and unprotected border.

This immediately exposes the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha's, denial of a blockade and insistence that South Africa is merely applying stringent border checks to prevent further ANC infiltration.

Britain and the US have so far been successful in urging South Africa not to resort to military retaliation against neighbouring states for recent landmine blasts on the borders.

What right, it could be argued, do they now have to prevent Pretoria from using its economic power to pressure neighbouring states to take more vigorous steps to flush out the ANC?

After all, it has been the thrust of President Reagan's foreign policy in the region to bolster a "reforming" South Africa as the regional superpower and persuade neighbouring states — Marxist and otherwise — to enter into security and economic arrangements with a view to stabilizing the region.

But Pretoria's point has been well taken in both seats of government: it has taken a mere two weeks to bring Lesotho to its knees.

This has illustrated graphically how vulnerable it, and other neighbouring states, would be if South Africa passed on the burden of international sanctions.

Britain and the United States are reluctant to establish the principle of special aid to Southern African states, which feel the whiplash of Pretoria's brinkmanship. It would establish a dangerous pre-

cedent and weaken the Western argument not to bail out states whose economies cannot endure the spin-off of sanctions.

But if South Africa went all the way Washington and Whitehall would have little option but to make some gesture of support to the beleaguered Chief Jonathan.

In this way Britain and the US could find themselves forced into a shift of emphasis in their constructive engagement policies which assume South Africa as the regional superpower.

The timing of the de facto blockade on Lesotho is probably not coincidental.

In the next few weeks four important events take place in Southern Africa which collectively could give a major boost to the sanctions campaign.

First is a joint "forum" of the African, Caribbean and Pacific states and the European Parliamentary Assembly (ACP/EEC) due to take place in Swaziland towards the end of this month.

Joint 'forum'

Everyone from the ANC's Oliver Tambo to KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and members of the SA government have been invited. (My sources tell me the ANC has turned down the invitation because Chief Buthelezi has been invited.)

In early February there will be a meeting in Lusaka of foreign ministers and representatives of the 12 members of the expanded Common Market and frontline leaders under the chairmanship of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.

Mandatory sanctions against South Africa will be high on the agenda and both the EEC and Commonwealth members present will come under intense pressure to tighten the mild sanctions adopted so far.

Later in February the Commonwealth's seven-strong Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) is expected to visit South Africa to begin its dialogue-and-peace mission before reporting on the need for tougher sanctions. (Unless the EPG is allowed to meet Nelson Mandela the initiative might never get off the ground.)

In the midst of this frenetic round of talks and missions the five-year-old Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) will hold its annual conference in Harare on January 30 and 31 — the day President Botha is due to deliver his Rubicon II speech to the opening of Parliament.

The SADCC — made up of the six frontline states and Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi — will be under the chairmanship of Mr Robert Mugabe, the most outspoken frontline critic of Pretoria with his international standing enhanced by his chairmanship of the 101-nation Non-Aligned Movement.

It is the SADCC conference that could prove the most devastating for Pretoria.

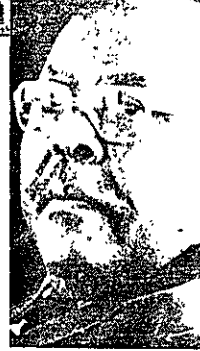
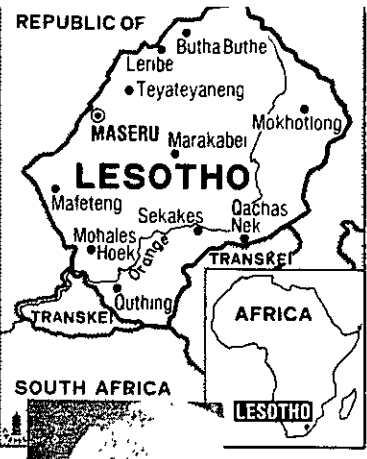
In recent months there has been a dramatic shift by Britain, the United States and the World Bank towards the SADCC, whose political aim is to rid itself of economic dependence on South Africa.

Because of its regional policies outlined above, British and American involvement in SADCC has been very low key up to now.

But in the last few months Britain has pledged aid for the building of a road from Malawi to Tanzania and the US has suddenly promised \$5 million for the rehabilitation of the Harare-to-Beira railway line — a favourite target of Renamo saboteurs. My sources tell me South African businessmen are deeply concerned at this development.

Although neither Britain nor the US nor the World Bank have officially changed their policy of opposing SADCC's delinking with South Africa, their involvement in these projects is clearly a first step in this direction.

It will serve as a warning that exercises like the Lesotho blockade could have disastrous long-term consequences for Pretoria. It is the West's turn to say to President Botha: Don't push us too far.



Landlocked Lesotho and its Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan (inset).

How SA can turn on the railway squeeze

Cape Times 23/1/86

By JOSE CAETANO

THE Nkomati Accord appears to be dying and relations between South Africa and Mozambique reveal strains in areas where co-operation was always good, even in the tense times before the accord.

One example is transport. In 1979, at a time when South Africa and Mozambique appeared to be on the brink of war, a former general manager of the South African Transport Services, Dr Kobus Loubser, described as "very good" relations between SATS and the Mozambican Railways and Harbours.

Now relations between even these two organizations have deteriorated. The Mozambicans allege South Africa is deliberately diverting most of the high-tariff cargo away from the port of Maputo.

The tensions have also been aggravated by the recent sabotage of a bridge on the Komatipoort-Maputo railway line, close to the South African border. Mozambique claims it was done by "a group of sabotage specialists from South Africa".

Well-informed sources in Maputo point out that the rail diversions contradict the South African government's declaration that Maputo is a natural port of South Africa. More important, the alleged diversions seem to breach the terms of the "business agreement" which governs relations between the railway authorities of the two countries.

The 40-article agreement was signed in Johannesburg on February 26, 1979, between the then national director of the Mozambique railways, Mr Alcantra Santos, and Dr Loubser. Mr Santos was appointed Mozambique's Minister of Transport soon afterwards and still holds the portfolio.

The preamble to the agreement says it aims at promoting co-operation between the Mozambique railways and harbours and SATS "to facilitate the transport by rail of all classes of traffic" between South Africa and Mozambique and "the smooth functioning of the ports of Maputo and Matola".

Mozambican sources claim South Africa has been guilty of:

- Diverting South African traffic traditionally aimed for the port of Maputo, with special incidence for high-tariff traffic.

- Diverting traffic from inland countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Swaziland and Malawi whose natural routes are to the Mozambican ports.

At the time of Mozambique's independence in 1975 the country's ports handled:

- 5,6 million tons of South African traffic.

- 80 percent of Rhodesia's foreign trade, roughly estimated at 2,5 million tons.

- All Swaziland's imports and exports (about 2,4 million tons).

- All Malawi's imports and exports (0,7 million tons).

- Some traffic from Zambia, Zaire and Botswana.

When Mozambique closed its border with Rhodesia in 1976, in compliance of the United Nations mandatory sanctions, the Rhodesian economy became completely dependent on the South African railways for imports and exports.

Barely a year after the independence of Zimbabwe and the re-opening of the border, Mozambican ports were handling 40 percent of Zimbabwe's foreign trade (about one million tons).

It was then that the rebel MNR gangs began the systematic sabotage of Mozambican railway lines, locomotives and trucks. The clear aim was to deny Zimbabwe (as well as Zambia, Zaire and Malawi) the use of Mozambican railways and ports, forcing it back to its former status of reliance on the South African railways system for external trade.

This comprehensive plan of sabotage by the MNR had the objective of, in addition to damaging the economy of the landlocked countries of the region, strangling any possible economic development in Mozambique.

To make matters worse for Maputo, South Africa persuaded Swaziland to accept the railway line linking Mpaka to the South African railway head at Golela, close to its southern border. This reduced the distance between the Eastern Transvaal and the Richards Bay harbour by 250 km and made this port a direct competitor with Maputo.

In addition, Pretoria got Swaziland to agree to build a 58-km line linking Phuzumoya to the border town of Mananga, where it will link with the new line which SATS is building from Komatipoort.

According to shipping agency sources, SATS began, from 1983 onwards, to extend the offer of special tariffs — which in the past was restricted mainly to container traffic from clients who could guarantee minimum values of traffic — to other cargo.

Today these tariffs apply to just about all traffic from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Zaire, in addition to local South African cargo from areas which traditionally used the port of Maputo.

It is worth noting that Article 4 of the "business agreement" reads: "Each administration shall fix its own rates and fares applicable over its own lines. The DNPCF (Mozambique railways and harbours) and the SAR administrations shall not, without prior consultation with each other, take any measures by way of a manipulation of the scales of goods rates which may nullify or detract from the relative advantage which the ports of Maputo and Matola at present enjoy over the ports of South Africa."

In his lecture to the Institute of Strategic Studies in 1979, Dr Loubser referred to the agreement signed with the Mozambican railways: "This agreement has elicited a world-wide favourable reaction and was widely acknowledged as a realistic approach which gained favourable recognition for our country at a critical stage.

"As everyone knows, the change of rule in Mozambique initially had an extremely injurious effect on the movement of traffic between that country and South Africa.

"A diversion of traffic to South African harbours at that stage would have brought about considerable problems, as regards both rail and harbour capacity. The additional Rhodesian traffic that had to be handled over SAR lines and through South African harbours as



"It has been said that by these trade ties (transport links with Mozambique) South Africa is strengthening a communist-orientated country strategically to its own detriment. Such a view would be acceptable if South Africa's aim was military domination, but this is not at all the case. African states have frequently predicted that South Africa would use its economic strength to smother its neighbour states. Such action would be in conflict with our policy of non-intervention in another's domestic affairs, and I am personally opposed to the use of transport to achieve non-economic objectives. The fact that we do not do it has already opened many doors which would otherwise have probably remained closed. Mr Smith of Rhodesia tried it but only built up stronger resistance and had the borders closed against himself".



— Extract of a lecture delivered by Dr J G H LOUBSER, the then general manager of South African Railways, at the Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria, on September 26, 1979.

a result of the closure of the border between that country and Mozambique made the matter more difficult.

"All possible assistance was therefore offered with due diplomacy at the highest level to the authorities concerned with a view to normalizing the handling of traffic.

These negotiations resulted in visits by senior railway officers to Maputo and the rendering of aid in various fields by the SAR to the DNPCF so that the clearing of traffic to and from Maputo could proceed satisfactorily and to the advantage of both countries.

"... This spirit of good neighbourliness displayed by the SAR, and the discussions that are regularly held between representatives of the two administrations, has contributed largely towards the improvement in traffic clearance that has since taken place and also to the very good relations now prevailing between the two railways, notwithstanding the ideological differences.

"Also, the relations between the countries have developed beneficially and one can talk of a political neutrality.

"Maputo is not only the nearest harbour to the RSA's largest industrial complex, namely the Witwatersrand and the Vaal Triangle, but is also by far the most economical harbour for much of South Africa's foreign trade."

- Mr Jacobus Gustav Hans Loubser joined the South African Railways on 27 February 1942 as a pupil engineer, after obtaining his B Sc degree in mechanical engineering at the University of the Witwatersrand. He became general manager in 1970 after serving with distinction in a wide variety of posts within the department. Dr Loubser retired on February 1, 1983.

SA blacks reject communism, says US activist

'Africa turning against Soviets'

STAR 25/1/86

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The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Mr Roger Wilkins, a prominent black American civil rights figure and a leader of the Free South Africa movement, told a nationwide television audience here this week that the Soviets were racists and that their influence was declining in Africa.

"If you have ever been to the Soviet Union — as I have in a black skin — you will know that the Soviets are awfully racist," he said.

In a debate with the South African Ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes, Mr Wilkins said it was an insult to South Africa's blacks to speculate that they would want a communist system.

"They do not want to throw off dictatorial rule by one group of white people only to accede to dictatorial rule by another group," he said.

Mr Wilkins has played a leading role in the campaign of demonstrations and boycotts directed against the South African Government in the past 14 months.

He said African countries which had started off being sympathetic to the Soviet Union soon found themselves — like Angola — trying to find a way to make peace with the West.

ANC motives

Mr Beukes replied that African countries were unable to get out of the Soviet grip.

Answering questions from high school students, Mr Beukes and Mr Wilkins differed sharply on the motives and the actions of the African National Congress.

Mr Wilkins said non-violence worked when protesters appealed to a compassionate conscience. The ANC had tried this in South Africa, but had failed.

"You ought not to be speaking strongly for the

ANC when you look at the people running the show," the ambassador told him.

Mr Beukes said he was not talking about rank-and-file members, who might simply be in favour of equality or be African nationalists. He was talking about the 19 members of the ANC's 30-member national executive who were card-carrying members of the outlawed South African Communist Party.

The chairman of the SACP was vice-president of the ANC's national executive, he added.

Mr Beukes said he was waiting for people (in America) to condemn the sort of violence carried out by the ANC in which bombs were placed in shopping centres and post offices, killing women and children.

Violence deplored

Mr Wilkins replied that he was the father of a two-year-old girl.

"My heart bleeds for the parents of any two-year-old child that is killed. I deplore violence of any kind, I deplore terrorism of any kind. I do not think that is the way people can talk to each other," he said.

He had spoken to many ANC leaders and none had given him any sense that the organisation was tied to Moscow — although they would accept help from Moscow.

Asked by a Massachusetts student how South Africa could justify racism when it had been removed in the US, Mr Beukes said: "I am not supporting it or embracing it, and I am against it. To the extent that it is still present in South Africa in the form of legislation or custom or tradition, it ought to be removed.

"It is easy to legislate something off the statute books. But when you deal with human beings with prejudices in their hearts, with fears and anxieties that may have been built up over years, how do you legislate these away?"

CAPE TOWN

27/1/86

SADCC

focus on Lesotho coup

From MICHAEL
HARTNACK

HARARE. — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), founded in 1980 to reduce reliance of its members on Pretoria, will hold its annual conference here on Thursday and Friday.

The Commonwealth secretary-general, Sir Sridath Ramphal, is expected to attend. Australia, Canada, China and the Nordic countries are among 40 states sending delegations.

Of special interest will be the treatment the Zimbabwean hosts accord envoys expected from Lesotho — the kingdom's first public contact with its eight SADCC partners since last week's coup.

The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, is likely to give his own reaction to events in Lesotho when he opens the conference.

The Sunday Mail, which generally reflects official thinking, yesterday made a renewed attack on the reluctance of Western nations to impose sanctions against Pretoria on the grounds that they would not destroy apartheid.

Ironically, it said, South Africa's blockade of Lesotho had shown how a determined economic campaign could force change.

SADCC gets \$100m to fight apartheid

30/1/78
SADCC
1

HARARE — The European Economic Community (EEC) will give \$100m to the nine nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to help end apartheid, director-general Dieter Frisch said in Harare on Tuesday.

“One of the major contributions that (SADCC) member countries can make to the eradication of the apartheid system is in the strengthening of the countries around SA,” he said.

The money will be used to improve regional transport and communication links to ports and for rural development and food production.

“It is necessary, from our point of view, that countries like these have secure access to the world markets and to the sea without going through the southern neighbour,” Frisch said.

The agreement was signed by Frisch and SADCC executive secretary Simba Makoni of Zimbabwe before the opening of the fifth SADCC donors' conference in Harare today. — Sapa-AP.

Botswana fears SA clamp

GABORONE — An economic clamp by SA would cripple Botswana, President Quett Masire said yesterday.

"One thing is certain We know our economy would be terribly crippled if a blockade took place and our lives would be turned into misery," he said.

Speaking at a Press conference in Gaborone, he added that although Botswana was not able to impose economic sanctions against SA, it would not stand in the way of those who proposed to impose them.

He accused Pretoria of deliberately destabilising neighbouring black-ruled states to prevent them from pursuing independent policies.

"We recognise, however, that South Africa is under great internal and international pressure. Its reactions to its problems and criticism from the international community often disturbs its judgment."

"I cannot rule out border restrictions. We do not know what South Africa will do."

He said his government viewed seriously SA threats to raid Botswana in pursuit of guerrillas.

"We are victims of phenomenal bouts of blind rage on the part of the South African government."

"South Africa has already attacked my country. It has recently blockaded Lesotho."

"These are drastic and chilling events that have affected our relations adversely," the President said.

Referring to Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement at the weekend that appropriate action would be taken if Botswana did not close the guerrilla infiltration route, he appealed to the international community to dissuade Pretoria from carrying out its threats.

Masire said Botswana did not allow its territory to be used as a launching pad for attacks on SA.

He said there was "no likelihood of taking on" the SA Defence Force as it was far superior to Botswana's security forces and any contacts would be one-sided.

Masire said Pretoria had been invited to send officials to investigate alleged ANC activities in his country, but Pretoria had not responded and had also not paid reparations for the commando raid on Gaborone last June in which 12 people were killed.

He said that, although SA had claimed that the raid had been aimed at an ANC base, the victims had been civilians. The UN Security Council had censured SA and asked it to compensate Botswana.

He said Botswana would continue to accept SA refugees.

"The government of South Africa looks upon refugees with suspicion. It also looks upon any country in which refugees from South Africa have been granted asylum with the same suspicion."

He added that the current turmoil in SA was having an adverse effect on his country's economy.

Botswana is heavily dependent economically on SA. Virtually all its imports and exports are transported through SA. — Sapa-Reuter.

Report says progress scant and prospects poor

SA, drought blamed as SADCC leaders meet

HARARE — Southern Africa's black states open an annual conference on development today with a warning that the outlook is poor after five years of bad economic performance.

The two-day meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) brings together high-level representatives of its nine members and more than 40 countries and international bodies backing their development efforts.

The nine banded together in 1980 with the common aim of reducing their dependence on SA.

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

In a frank appraisal of its progress in the past five years, a report by SADCC staff, released in advance of the Harare meeting, stated flatly "The general economic performance

has been unsatisfactory and prospects for the foreseeable future look unpromising."

It said the long-term goals of self-sufficiency, regional integration and reduced reliance on SA were sound but strategies were needed to turn them into concrete gains.

Blaming SA destabilisation and a crippling three-year drought as the major factors which hampered its efforts in the first five years, the report added "It has taken all the running SADCC could do to avoid falling back."

Nevertheless, it continued, "results to date are modest but far from negligible."

The report said SA destabilisation had cost members \$10bn during 1980-1984 "An astronomical sum for a region of nine developing countries, some of which are least developed and land-locked."

Calling the sum an "underestimate", the report said it was based

on such factors as direct war damage, extra defence spending, higher transport costs and lost exports and tourism earnings.

SADCC officials estimate the nine members' per capita output fell 15%-20% during 1980-1984. It began to rise again last year, but only by 1%, well below population growth.

The conference will set policies and goals for the SADCC over the next five years, a period when officials see the organisation growing in stature.

One diplomat involved in administering regional SADCC projects said "Partly due to the past year's unrest in SA, which has focused attention on the region, SADCC has begun to come into its own after a period a couple of years back when it was drifting rather aimlessly."

"It might have had to run hard to stay in place, but at least it hasn't fallen back." — Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Citizenship likely to be a highlight of P W speech



● BOTHA

PRESIDENT P W Botha's opening speech to Parliament tomorrow is being seen as one of the most important and significant in the country's history.

In it he is expected to outline government plans as well as review reform successes achieved so far.

He is not expected to make any dramatic announcements or changes in policy direction.

On the plus side, however, his speech is not expected to contain any retrogressive steps.

Botha has already spelt out how far he is prepared to go in dismantling apartheid. The steps implementing measures already announced are expected to dominate his speech as well as the forthcoming session of Parliament.

He is, however, expected to reveal further developments in the restitu-

tion of citizenship rights to those who lost them through the granting of independence or self-government.

Moves to increase the mobility of workers and the granting of extended residential rights are also expected to be announced.

The elimination of pass laws and modifications to influx control regulations are other aspects expected to receive attention.

It is understood that steps to improve the quality of life and standard of education have been in the melting pot for some time but were hindered by the slump.

Such announcements could well come in the light of the improved gold price, the better rand/dollar rate and the much more favourable balance of trade figure.

Botha could also reveal his thinking on the possibility of a Natal-

KwaZulu federal state.

Another issue almost certain to be mentioned is the question of terrorist infiltration.

It is understood that Botha is fairly satisfied with measures taken to curtail the activities of the ANC operating in and from neighbouring states.

He is, however, expected to chastise Botswana for continued support of the ANC.

South Africa's foreign debt crisis and ways of solving the dilemma will also receive attention.

The outcome of recent talks with US congressmen and the US Secretary of State for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, as well as other diplomatic initiatives are also expected to be tackled.

Botha's speech, which will be televised live, starts at 11 am. — Sapa.

UK trade balance looking healthy

LONDON — Britain's balance of trade improved sharply last month, showing its first visible trade surplus since last May.

Britain had a current-account surplus of £691m last month, up £423m from November. Exports rose by £117m to £6,425m and imports fell by £140m to £6,3bn.

The visible trade surplus rose to £125m from a deficit of £132m in November, but earnings of £566m in so-called invisible trade — such as banking, insurance, tourism and shipping — accounted for the overall surplus. — Sapa-AP.

'No moves against Tutu'

GOVERNMENT is not considering any action against the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu after the Bishop of Johannesburg's recent statements in the US, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday.

Botha, who has the power to deny or withdraw a passport if he considers a holder's travelling abroad being not in SA's interests, added he had not seen the particulars of everything Tutu said in the US.

"It would appear to me, from reports I have seen, that Bishop Tutu has made some rash and foolish statements. It is my impression that he will now be explaining these

statements to his diocese and, perhaps, even to his political friends.

"In any event, I think Bishop Tutu's remarks were of such a nature that all reasonable South Africans will find them totally unacceptable."

"He has most certainly dented his reputation as a man of the cloth," Botha added.

Far from talk of seizing Tutu's passport, as has been speculated the authorities might do, some government members have said how pleased they are that Tutu's passport, which expired at the end of last year, had been renewed. — Sapa.

CME-Ter KS
31/1/86



SADCC nations back sanctions

HARARE. — Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe yesterday accused South Africa of destabilizing neighbouring countries and called for international sanctions against the white government.

Mr Mugabe spoke at the opening of a two-day conference of nine African nations which have joined together in an effort to loosen their trade, transport and communications links with South Africa.

He urged delegates and international donors at the fifth consultative meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to step up support for guerrilla armies fighting South Africa.

"We in SADCC are also agreed that the international community must apply comprehensive

economic sanctions against South Africa as another important strategy in the struggle to rid this region of the menace and threat to peace that apartheid represents," he said.

He cited the recent economic blockade of Lesotho, military incursions into Angola and South African support for rebels in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The SADCC chairman, Mr Peter Mmusi, who is Vice-President of Botswana, also urged members and 40 donor nations to support insurgents and impose sanctions.

Addressing representatives at the conference of the ANC, PAC and Swapo, Mr Mmusi said: "Your cause is our cause ... especially since we are increasingly threatened and attacked by the same evil power hunting you." — Sapa-AP

You wake up, and there's another village

Jonathan Wright
WAD SHERIFE

S U D A N E S E smallholder Nasreddin Abdullahi surveys the largest refugee camp in Africa and is angry. 'At first we welcomed these people but now we're fed up,' he says.

The camp, at Wad Sherife, near Kassala, on the Sudan-Ethiopia border, is home to more than 120 000 refugees from war and famine in the north Ethiopian province of Eritrea, 18 km away beyond the line of hills on the eastern horizon.

'If we had known it would be like this we would never have agreed to let them come in the first place,' adds Abdullahi, a stout 40-year-old immaculately clad in white robes and turban.

Drab tents

In the background the drab tents of the camp extend across the plain as far as the eye can see. The Eritrean children play in the dust, their mothers go about their household chores and clusters of unemployed men idle in the shade.

'They are sitting on our farmland, they send their children to our schools, they take business from the local merchants, and robberies are on the increase,' the villager goes on, with a litany of grievances echoed by Sudanese throughout the country's eastern region.

'The Sudanese have been very generous, but their capacity to cope has limits. Public opinion is at breaking-point,' adds Karam Mohamed Karam, the regional government secretary-general.

Camp authorities have no ready solutions — the refugees refuse voluntary repatriation until the Eritrean war is over and local officials elsewhere in Sudan object whenever central government proposes a transfer to



Ethiopian children who have fled the guerilla war and famine in their ravaged homeland wait for registration at Wad Kowli, now holding 85 000 refugees and one of the fastest-growing camps in the Sudan.

permanent, self-sufficient settlements.

Mohamed Osman, camp executive officer for the Sudanese Commissioner of Refugees, told reporters that in the past eight months only 100 families had moved out of Wad Sherife, which began life in 1982 as a temporary reception centre.

In the meantime an average of 15 to 20 new families arrive every day. The new arrivals set up wigwams of matting on the edge of the camp and clamour to be registered whenever someone in authority approaches.

'When I wake up in the morning I find a village on top of me,' Osman says. 'It cannot go on.'

The Eritreans cling to the camp as a lifeline in an unstable world, refus-

ing to work in distant areas in case they lose their right to relief rations from international agencies

Idris Mohamed Sheikh, an Eritrean religious leader in Wad Sherife, said 'If you lose your ration card that's it — you're in big trouble. Your livelihood depends on it.'

Experience of war has aggravated their unease. Mousa Ali, 20, said he left home last month after Ethiopian warplanes had strafed his village and soldiers had burnt his crops and killed his animals.

'I won't go back until Eritrea is free and independent,' he added. After more than 20 years of secessionist rebellion in the province peace still looks a long way off.

In Khartoum the politicians affirm their commitment to an Organisation of African Unity convention promising safe haven for Africans displaced by civil disorder in their native lands.

Hassan Attiya, Commissioner of Refugees, told reporters the only way to combat Sudanese resentment was to provide the local population with health and education facilities equal to those received by the newcomers.

The refugees are sometimes more privileged than the Sudanese,' Prime Minister Al-Gazouli Dafaal-Allah said. 'There is no going back on the open-borders policy but the international community must understand the difficulties.' — (Sapa-Reuter)

(1)

1/2/86

Mercury 1/2/86

Apartheid condemned by 49 nations

CAP Times
1/2/86
①

HARARE. — South Africa's race policies were yesterday condemned by Western and communist nations as diverse as China and the United States at a conference here of nine black states seeking to loosen economic ties with the Republic.

However, member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and 40 countries that support them remained deeply divided on how to bring about political change in South Africa.

The African countries, communists and the five-nation Nordic bloc backed full mandatory sanctions against Pretoria to bring an end to apartheid.

The major Western powers including Britain, the US and West Germany opted for limited sanctions and ongoing political and diplomatic pressures. They said a South African backlash against sanctions could bring "economic chaos" to the mainly-impoorished black neighbour states.

Convened to chart strategy

The two-day meeting of the fifth consultative SADCC conference, ending yesterday, was convened to review the organization's first five years and to chart strategy to the end of the decade.

Reports by experts presented to some 450 delegates and donors acknowledged "modest but far from negligible" progress in loosening trade, transport and communications links with Pretoria.

But they said members had to strive for greater co-operation to meet their goal in the next five years and some Western donors complained that millions of rands pledged to the region went unspent.

The British Minister for Overseas Development, Mr Timothy Raison, said £12 million (about R38,4 million) pledged to the SADCC in 1981 to help rebuild the railroad from Harare to Maputo was not used because of rebel activity along the line.

'Certainly in our lifetimes'

Mr Mark Edelman, head of the US delegation, predicted that apartheid would disappear "certainly in our lifetimes" and that one day South Africa would be a working member of the SADCC.

He also said: "We have made it clear to South Africa that the undermining of its neighbours' economies and cross-border incursions are grave mistakes serving no one's interests."

The SADCC claims that South African destabilization cost the SADCC members some \$10 billion (about R22 billion) in five years, a third of the bloc's export earnings in that time. — Sapa-ap

They remain dependent on South Africa

By Robin Drew of The Star's Africa News Service in Harare

Six years ago the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) came into being with its first objective being the reduction of economic dependence particularly on South Africa.

But in the period since then dependence on South Africa in key areas such as transport and electricity supplies has increased and it looks as though there will be little change in the reliance on South Africa as a major supplier of consumer goods and other supplies in the next five years.

In Harare last week more than 400 dele-

gates gathered for the annual SADCC meeting to review progress in the efforts by the nine independent black states of Southern Africa to foster regional co-operation and reduce dependence on South Africa.

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

Delegations from the European Economic

Community and the Nordic countries were there to offer multimillion-rand aid packages to boost development, particularly in the field of transport.

There was a strong British delegation led by the Minister for Overseas Development, Mr Timothy Raison, and the United States and Canada were represented at the gatherings in Harare's new R100 million hotel and international conference centre.

But overshadowing everything was the unrepresented presence of South Africa which was portrayed as the wicked force mainly responsible (the drought of recent years comes second) for the failure of the countries to make progress towards SADCC's objectives.

The macro-economic survey of the region produced by the SADCC secretariat maintained that military aggression and economic destabilisation by South Africa cost its members the staggering sum of R23 000 million over the past five years.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

This included sums such as R7 000 million on extra defence expenditure, a total loss in output or gross domestic product of R8 000 million and damage to property or productive capacity of about R3 700 million.

During the five-year-period, says the survey, the measurement of trade flows through South African ports showed the region had become more dependent on these because of the destruction of transport routes in Mozambique and Angola by bandit groups directed by South Africa and because South Africa had offered special tariff rates for Zimbabwean and Zambian traffic.

These rates made it cheaper to route traffic through South African ports than through Mozambique.

In 1981, nearly 76 percent of the total overseas trade of SADCC countries went through South African ports. By 1984, this had grown to 31 percent.

The survey attacked the activities of freight forwarding firms controlled by South African companies.

It said these firms "are believed to be obstructing the movement of cargo through SADCC ports with a view to diverting it through South Africa."

It said they handled most of the containers in Southern Africa and complicated their use to shippers in SADCC member states if they wanted to export through Mozambique.

On trade with South Africa, the survey said that about seven percent of total SADCC exports went there against 30 percent of total imports which originated there.

It says dependence on South Africa for manufactured goods had not decreased significantly and there had been an increase in dependence on South Africa for electricity and transport services.

On trade among SADCC countries, the survey said that set against total trade this had not increased markedly though Zimbabwe, Malawi and Botswana had exported more manufactured goods.

On the need to counter South African destabilisation tactics, the survey said the SADCC states did not have the strength to repel South African military and economic aggression.

They would have to look to their overseas partners who did have substantial economic and political leverage to exert on South Africa.

The survey also warned that initial projections that by 1990 only eight percent of the region's overseas trade was expected to go through South Africa now seemed "rather optimistic."

However, it expected that important progress would be made in the next five years on SADCC ports and railways with the most urgent work being carried out in Maputo, Beira and Lobito and the transport systems serving these ports.



Go away, officer, and leave us to be raped, robbed and murdered in peace, thank you.

Lusaka meeting on SA

3/2/76 • Bus Day
HARARE — Foreign ministers of the 12 European Economic Community (EEC) countries and the six African Frontline states meet in Lusaka this week, starting today, to discuss ways of ending apartheid and bringing peace to South Africa.

EEC Council of Ministers president Eegje Schoo, who is also the Dutch Development Co-operation Minister, said the talks were aimed at political change in SA.

Schoo, addressing the 5th consultative meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) last week, said:

"The foreign ministers will discuss policies to be followed *vis-à-vis* SA in order to contribute to the abolition of apartheid and thereby facilitate a peaceful situation in SA.

"Faced with the intolerable situation in SA, the EEC has not remained idle."

Diplomatic sources said last week the meeting between the foreign ministers of the EEC and their counterparts in the six Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — would take place in Lusaka today, tomorrow and on Wednesday. — Sapa-AP

3/2/86 BUS DAY (B) (1)

EEC meets Africans on SA

LUSAKA — Talks open in Lusaka today between a European Economic Community delegation and foreign ministers of six black states on how to influence political change in SA.

The delegates are also expected to meet leaders of the ANC, PAC and Swapo.

The Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — are likely to urge the EEC to impose comprehensive economic sanctions against Pretoria in a bid to force the government to abolish apartheid.

The talks, the first of their kind between the EEC and the Frontline states, followed a conference last Thursday and Friday in Harare, at which African, East-bloc and Western nations roundly condemned apartheid.

But they disagreed on how best to effect change.

African, East-bloc and Nordic countries attending the meeting of the South-

ern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) urged mandatory sanctions. Western powers such as Britain and West Germany, which are EEC members, stressed diplomatic and political pressure.

African and European sources in Harare said the Lusaka talks would probably result in general agreement on the need to influence Pretoria to lift its state of emergency, legalise the outlawed ANC and PAC and free political prisoners including ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

But differences are expected on how to tackle SA, with the Frontline states opting for harsh economic measures and the Europeans favouring diplomacy.

Dutch Minister for Development Co-operation Eegje Schoo said in announcing the Lusaka talks in Harare last Thursday that the aim was "a political dialogue" between the EEC and the black states followed by discussion of policies toward SA. — Sapa-AP.

● See Page 5

SA freight firms block our cargo
BUS DAY
3/2/76

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HARARE — SA-controlled freight forwarding firms are thwarting the southern African region's efforts to reduce dependence on SA's transport system by obstructing the movement of cargo through other ports, a Southern African Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) survey claims.

The communications and transport report claims that monopolising forwarding agents force freight through SA by refusing insurance cover if it is routed through SADCC ports.

"They handle most of the containers in Southern Africa and complicate their use to shippers in SADCC states if they want to export through Mozambique."

The activities of these firms, which operate in seven of the nine SADCC countries, helped to reinforce the region's increased dependence on SA transport systems "primarily because the groups which own routes are being sabotaged by SA and its proxies".

The size of the SA railway system, compared with the SADCC's rail links, at first glance implied SA was likely to dominate "every kind of cooperative or competitive relationship related to railways in Southern Africa." — Sapa.

4/2/86 - BUS DA

EEC-Frontline meeting

LUSAKA — Foreign ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the six Frontline states of Southern Africa met yesterday to chart ways of increasing pressure on Pretoria to end apartheid.

The unprecedented meeting opened with a message from Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda that South Africa's racial volcano was set to erupt. Kaunda said SA must act urgently to dismantle apartheid or be engulfed in conflagration.

He set out five steps SA must follow to ensure peaceful change:

- Declare apartheid dead and waiting to be buried;
- Lift the state of emergency;
- Lift the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and other political organisations;
- Release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally;
- Establish a dialogue between government and genuine leaders, not puppets, on the future of SA.

Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, leading the EEC delegation, said SA must take urgent measures to abolish apartheid totally or violence would escalate in the country.

The meeting was the first of its kind between the two groups. Conference sources said the African side was disappointed with the EEC level of representation.

Apart from Van den Broek, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias are attending. But other EEC members are represented by deputy foreign ministers or junior officials.

The foreign ministers of all the Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — are attending.

The two-day meeting is being held at the initiative of the frontline group. It comes after a move last September by European countries when they adopted a number of limited measures against SA to try force the pace of racial change. — Sapa-Reuter.

Aid for Unita ^{BUS DAY} upsets SADCC

7 4/2/86
MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The annual consultative meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has ended in Harare on a sour note for the West.

Representatives of the nine member states applauded a bitter attack on US support for Unita rebels in Angola, but the week-long meeting provided evidence of positive Western backing for plans to lessen the nine's economic dependence on SA.

SADCC Council of Ministers chairman Peter Mmusi, Vice-President of Botswana, told the 500 delegates — representing 32 countries and 20 international aid agencies — that by receiving Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Washington last week, President Ronald Reagan had contradicted the US's professed support for SADCC efforts to achieve economic liberation.

"This now places the US clearly in league with South Africa in fomenting instability in this region," Mmusi declared.

(1) BUS DAY 5/2/88

EEC, Front-Line states urge end to apartheid

LUSAKA — The European Community (EC) and black southern African states yesterday jointly called for the total dismantling of apartheid and condemned South African aggression against neighbouring states.

A communique issued at the end of an unprecedented foreign policy strategy session between the two groups said they were united in the need for Pretoria to enact sweeping reforms swiftly.

They stressed, however, that changes should be brought about by peaceful means.

Delegates described the communique — which made no mention of sanctions against SA — as unexpectedly mild. It

also contained no reference to last week's visit to Washington by rebel Angolan leader Jonas Savimbi, although this had been sought by the Front-Line states.

The communique said necessary reforms in SA included the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, an end to the state of emergency, and the lifting of the ban on the ANC and other political parties.

The communique deplored the violence sweeping SA, which it said was due to "the existence and entrenchment of the immoral policy of apartheid". — Sapa-Reuter.

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CME 11/15 5/2/86

Malan warns SA neighbours

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — General Magnus Malan yesterday threatened to resume cross-border raids into neighbouring countries if they refused to join the Southern African security body proposed last week by President P W Botha.

The minister also brushed aside Opposition allegations that South Africa had broken the Nkomati Accord as the Nkomati Accord as mere "technical" violations and questioned the patriotism of PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert for raising the issue.

Co-operate

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, General Malan said it would be in the interests of Southern African states to co-operate with the establishment of the joint organization to counter "security threats".

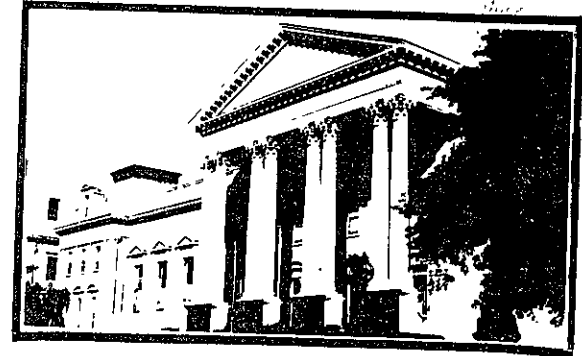
He indicated that establishing such a security body implied the removal of "foreign forces" from the subcontinent, including the ANC.

He urged neighbouring states not to ignore Mr Botha's "offer" — "otherwise our security forces will have no alternative but to engage, in our own interests, in cross-border actions against the enemies of South Africa".

General Malan vowed that the security forces would, as in the past, "get at these enemies wherever they are".

"I warn neighbouring states that we will not sit here with folded arms and wait for them (the ANC) to cross our borders."

General Malan also dismissed Dr Slabbert's allegations that the SADF was destabilizing neighbouring countries



General Malan



Dr Slabbert

like Angola and Mozambique.

Turning to the Vaz Diaries which detail extensive SADF violations of the Nkomati Accord, General Malan asked why Dr Slabbert had gone to Mozambique to consult with the Machel government instead of being briefed by the SADF on the situation.

"Is this a demonstration of patriotism?" he asked.

General Malan went on to reject allegations that the former chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, had committed breaches of the Nkomati Accord.

Violations of the accord had merely been of a "technical" nature and their only goal had been

to reconcile warring parties in Mozambique, he said.

He added that no action of the SADF had been taken without the full support of the government.

Medal

Continuing his attack on Dr Slabbert, General Malan said the PFP leader was playing into the hands of South Africa's enemies by talking to the ANC. He suggested that Dr Slabbert might be in line for a medal from the banned organization.

Dr Slabbert was also attempting to create an air of suspicion about sensitive defence matters by questioning the role of the SADF, General Malan charged.

Apartheid talks end on mild tone

RUS DAY 6/2/88

LUSAKA — The European Economic Community and Frontline states of Southern Africa agree on ending apartheid but differ on how to do it. The two groups held two days of talks in the Zambian capital this week to plot a joint strategy to bring change in SA.

Delegates said the talks were marked by a greater degree of harmony than had been expected, due largely to the fact that the two major issues on which they were furthest apart — the use of violence and economic sanctions — were largely ignored.

A surprisingly mild communique

did not mention sanctions, support for which has been mounting in the Frontline group and the rest of Africa, nor make any reference to black states' support for the armed struggle in SA.

Instead, it stressed "the importance of continuing international pressure on the government of South Africa to bring about the abolition of apartheid through peaceful means". Editorials in Zambia's two daily newspapers yesterday criticised the meeting and said it achieved only a small measure of success. "The two parties agreed only on the obvious. They agreed only on the

fact that apartheid must go soon," the *Daily Mail* commented.

"The meeting failed to tell the world how apartheid could be abolished completely," said the *Times of Zambia*.

The newspapers said the meeting's failure to achieve more was the fault of the European side, particularly the British delegation — led by Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe — which opposes sanctions. A senior British Foreign Office official met high-ranking members of the African National Congress during the talks — Britain's first formal contact with the black-nationalist

group — to put forward the view that violence stood in the way of dialogue and that dialogue was necessary for reconciliation.

Delegates said the Frontline foreign ministers did not press the issue of sanctions as much as the European side had expected. Instead, the two sides found strong accord on the need for the total and speedy abolition of apartheid. The meeting, which the European side said was a strong diplomatic signal to Pretoria of their concern over the slow pace of reform, was designed to follow up a package of limited measures against SA.

EEC ministers agree ¹ on SA sanctions

7/2/86 BUODAY.

HARARE — The Frontline states scored an historic diplomatic victory in Lusaka this week when foreign ministers of the European Economic Community agreed to impose sanctions against SA says,



● MANGWENDE

MICHAEL HARTNACK

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende.

On his return to Harare from Lusaka late on Wednesday Mangwende told newsmen that, despite the reluctance of some EEC members, the community as a whole had for the first time agreed that sanctions constituted the only peaceful means of eliminating apartheid.

He also noted the pledge by EEC foreign ministers to increase "humanitarian assistance" to liberation movements in SA and SWA.

The discussions in Lusaka had been "very difficult" he said, because although there was unanimity of commitment among the Frontline states' representatives, EEC foreign ministers held "various perceptions" on the South African crisis.

The Frontline states had demanded comprehensive mandatory sanctions, rejecting as inadequate the EEC's concept of a package of selective measures, including the withdrawal of military attaches, and embargoing arms and military technology sales to SA.

Mangwende said the greatest breakthrough had been the achievement of the Frontline states' representatives in convincing British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe that the rejection of sanctions, and denial of military support to liberation movements by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government, was unrealistic.

EEC representatives had, however, set no date for the introduction of tougher measures against SA.

Mangwende said the EEC foreign ministers had condemned states which gave encouragement to Unita rebels in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique, assuring the Frontline states that their governments would not emulate President Ronald Reagan in according red-carpet treatment to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

New trade union body speaks for 10 million

STAR 7/2/86.

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Quietly, with very little fanfare, a trade union organisation with enormous potential power is being built up on South Africa's periphery.

Few people in South Africa — even trade unionists — know much about the one-year-old Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council (SATUCC) which claims it speaks for about 10 million workers in the countries bound together in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

It is also linked to expatriate trade unionists from South Africa and Namibia.

SATUCC's constituent organisations are:

- The Angolan Organisation of Workers.
- The Botswana Federation of Trade Unions.
- The Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions.
- The Lesotho Congress of Free Trade Unions.
- The Congress of Malawi Trade Unions.
- The Organisation of Mozambique Workers.
- The Zambian Congress of Trade Unions.
- The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions.
- The National Union of Tanzania Workers.

Represented

South African workers are represented by the Azania Trade Union Co-ordination Centre, allied to the Pan Africanist Congress, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, allied to the African National Congress, while Namibia is represented by the National Union of Namibian Workers.

Although not part of SADCC, SATUCC was formed to parallel the nine-nation organisation which seeks to make Southern Africa less dependent on South Africa and the South African economy.

SATUCC keeps step with SADCC, rotating its chairman (and its administration) every four years.

By John D'Oliveira, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, reporting from Gaborone

The chairman of the host country's national trade union organisation is automatically SATUCC chairman.

Botswana provided the first chairman, Mr G B Matlhoane, chairman of Botswana's National Union of Mineworkers and of the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions.

However, Mr Matlhoane resigned recently and has been replaced by his deputy, Mr B C Nthune, in both the BFTU and SATUCC.

In an interview in Gaborone, Mr Nthune, vice-chairman of the Botswana Diamond Sorters and Evaluators and a bright, energetic man who will shortly leave the trade union movement because he has been promoted to a managerial position, said his successor as chairman of the BFTU would be elected at a conference in Gaborone on March 9 — and would then automatically become chairman of SATUCC.

Conditions

Mr Nthune conceded that SATUCC was trying to weld into an effective organisation a variety of trade union movements in countries which had a disparate — and often unsympathetic — attitude to trade unionism.

"But we will try to create a movement that will bring better living and working conditions for the workers of the region. That is our first priority.

"We are not worried about a country's political norms or systems, as long as there is an effective functioning relationship between trade unionists and employers, whether the employers are private or government."

Asked about South Africa, Mr Nthune replied: "South Africa is important and we have a programme of action aimed at supporting the black workers of

South Africa ... but you must understand that until South Africa can become a member of SADCC, our involvement in the country must be peripheral.

"Our main commitment is to the workers in our member countries."

Asked about sources of finance, Mr Nthune said SATUCC would take aid from "whoever gives us money, white, black, red or pink" as long as no strings were attached to the aid.

SATUCC's "programme of action on South Africa" was adopted at a "consultative meeting on South Africa and Namibia" earlier this year.

The programme is largely rhetorical condemning this and demanding that.

However it includes:

- A commitment on SATUCC's part to pursue "socio-economic and political action" until South Africa is "completely liberated".

Assistance

- A call to the SADCC governments to continue providing "flexible conditions and material assistance" to the South African and Namibian "liberation movements".
- A commitment to establish a "solidarity fund" to aid South African and Namibian trade unions.
- A call on SADCC countries to discriminate against goods which come from South Africa "unnecessarily".

SATUCC also decided at the conference to call on all SADCC countries to attempt to provide a long-term solution to the problems involving migrant labour to South Africa, together with a short-term programme aimed at aiding migrant workers in the event that they are expelled from South Africa.

The organisation also called on SADCC countries which provided South Africa with migrant labour to provide protective legislation to safeguard their workers from occupational hazards in South Africa.

EC will push SA

THE European Community and six Southern African countries decided after a two-day meeting in Lusaka they will increase pressure on South Africa to scrap its apartheid policy.

But no formal decision was taken on sanctions.

This meeting co-incided with another meeting between a British delegation and the ANC. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said "this does not mean support for the ANC".

● A group of European parliamentarians who were on a fact-finding mission to South Africa said they will call for stronger economic sanctions against SA on their return.

The delegation left on Wednesday for Lusaka, where they were to meet with ANC officials. - Sapa.

Azania was shown on ¹ early maps of Africa

By Olga Horowitz

A reference in *The Star* to an American journalist who claimed that the name Azania was a fiction first perpetrated by author Evelyn Waugh in his novel "Black Mischief" has drawn fire from collectors of old maps of Africa.

Dr Oscar Norwich, who recently published a definitive volume on the maps of Africa, said the name Azania appeared in a map created by the famous French cartographer Mr Nicholas Sanson in 1667.

Azania is shown as the name both of the sea and a kingdom at the bottom of the Horn of Africa.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica also refers to Azania as the land of the blacks on the east coast of Africa.

Now Mr Menno Klapwijk, an archaeologist who lives in Tzaneen, has produced another four maps naming Azania as the area below the Horn of Africa.

Waldseemuller's map of 1516 mentions Azamo Regio, he says. Sebastian Muller's map of 1540 shows Azania Regio; Vincenzo Coronelli's map of 1691 shows the Latin equivalent, Azanium plinio; and John Cary's map of 1805 shows Azania.

Mr Klapwijk sent *The Star* a copy of *Azania* — the journal of the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa — whose editorial stated that Azania was chosen because it was name "by which the eastern coasts of Africa were known to the Graeco-Roman world ..."

African food plight acute

12/2/76
1
BLS DAY
GENEVA — As many as 19-million Africans will need emergency food supplies and other aid this year despite largely successful international efforts to combat drought and famine last year. be delivered and stored before the beginning of the rainy season in May and June.

The worst-hit populations are those of Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Sudan and Botswana, says a UN official.

Maurice Strong, executive director of the UN Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, told a news conference in Geneva yesterday the total estimated aid for Africa this year would cost about \$880m, compared with \$2.9bn last year.

Strong appealed for speedy responses from donor countries so that cereals and other relief supplies could

He said the US had contributed 35% to 40% of last year's African emergency funds.

He expected the US to raise about \$300m to \$350m this year — despite constraints imposed by budget-balancing legislation. — Sapa-Reuter.

13/2/86
Resolution in UN hits at SA threats

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — A group of five countries tabled a resolution in the United Nations security council yesterday strongly condemning South Africa for its recent threats to "perpetrate acts of aggression" against the Frontline states and others in Southern Africa.

The debate, called by the African group at a time when Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was visiting the United States to raise funds for his rebel movement, was designed to embarrass Washington for giving Dr Savimbi such cordial treatment.

According to diplomatic sources, some Western countries were against a part of the resolution which would "deplore any form of assistance given by states which could be used to destabilise independent states in Southern Africa" — a clear reference to proposed US support for Unita, and Washington's relationship with Dr Savimbi.

BANTUSTANS

Many speakers have debated the resolution since it was tabled by the Congo, Ghana, Madagascar, Trinidad and Tobago and the United Arab Emirates last Wednesday.

As well as calling for an end to apartheid the resolution demanded: The dismantling of "bantustans"; the abrogation of the bans on political organisations, individuals and news media opposed to apartheid; and the unimpeded return of all the exiles.

Diplomats said they were uncertain when the resolution would be put to the vote.

Security Council ^{STAR} condemns SA for ^{14/2/86} 'aggressive acts'¹

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — As high-level talks between Pretoria and Washington continued in Europe, the United Nations Security Council yesterday condemned South Africa for its aggressive acts against the Frontline states and others in the region.

The vote, 13-0, with the United States and Britain abstaining, came at the end of a week-long debate called by the African nations.

The most controversial part of the resolution deplored "any form of assistance given by states which could be used to destabilise independent states in Southern Africa".

This was a clear reference to the recent visit to the US by the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi; a visit criticised by several speakers during the debate.

The British UN Ambassador, Sir John Thomson, attacked several of those who joined the long line of speak-

ers. He called for a more constructive search for the problems facing Southern Africa.

He also took a swipe at those with problems in their own countries who came to the council to deflect from them, be they in the Middle East, Afghanistan or Central America.

To treat the council as an "off-season general assembly", he added, did not enhance its dignity.

"My Government's belief that the Security Council should not merely react to events, but should seek to play a greater part in averting crises through preventative diplomacy, is well known. Unfortunately, the timing of this debate appeared to be almost accidental; and it has followed an unchartered course.


"It is at best gratuitous and at worst counter-productive to use a serious debate on a subject of great concern for the purpose of attacking other member states on completely unrelated topics."

Afterwards, an American delegate, Mr Herbert Okun, defended the recent Savimbi visit.

"There must be an end to violence in Angola, but that cannot be achieved unilaterally. Legitimate nationalist organisations with legitimate aspirations must be factored into the Angolan equation," he said.

"Such an approach heralds absolutely no change in our policy of seeking negotiated solutions that incorporate both the withdrawal of all foreign forces and independence for Namibia."

The South African delegation has taken little notice of the debate and South Africa's UN Ambassador, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, dismissed the week-long proceedings as "a farce and a waste of money".

 (1) STAR
The United States Department of State has just issued its annual report on human rights practices last year in most countries of the world.

14/2/86 -
US law requires the department to review this issue in United Nation member countries, and in those lands which receive US aid.

The State Department, responsible for US foreign policy, prepares the review for Congress.

The 1440-page report included chapters on South Africa's neighbouring states and Angola, one of the so-called "frontline states" of Southern Africa.

ALAN DUNN of *The Star's* Washington Bureau reports.

**SA Defence
Minister adds
to Africa's
jitters**

By John D'Oliveira
Weekend Argus
Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — General Magnus Malan's warning that South Africa would consider helping rebels in neighbouring countries if this would help stop terrorist attacks on South Africa has added to the jitters already plaguing our troubled region.

The South African Defence Minister's statement follows the State President's opening of Parliament speech on January 31 in which he proposed Southern Africa give "serious consideration" to the establishment of a permanent joint security mechanism.

Mr P W Botha added the warning:

"Should this offer be ignored or rejected, we would have no other choice but to take effective measures in self-defence to protect our country and population against threats."

Thus far, the State President's proposed regional security mechanism has generated no enthusiasm in the region.

Warning

The warnings have underlined heavily the dilemma in which South Africa and its neighbours find themselves.

Such states as Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe must tread the narrow path between ostracism by the rest of Africa or punishment by South Africa.

Each state must balance its sympathies with black freedom fighters from South Africa against its need to maintain a working relationship.

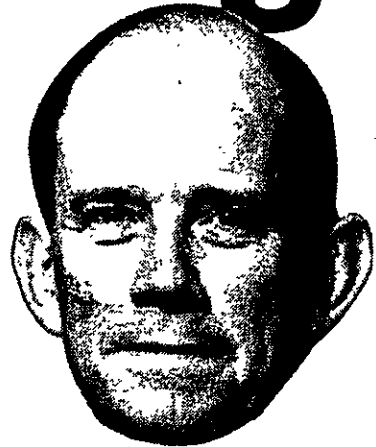
However, assuming the states committed themselves to stopping the ANC using their territory as a springboard for attacks, the question remains whether they possess the resources to give effect to that.

Public pressure

Assessments suggest that even with the most sincere commitment, countries like Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Zimbabwe could not prevent all ANC activities in their territories.

Nor does a country like Botswana want to sacrifice its proud democratic tradition in order to impose the kind of security clamp-down that might satisfy Pretoria.

South Africa, too, has a dilemma. Even if the country's rulers accept all these points, there is



General Magnus Malan ...
pressure on neighbours

the considerable public pressure for action — as there was after the landmine explosions in the Northern Transvaal.

And every landmine explosion, every Amanzimtoti bomb blast is a setback to the State President's reform programme.

There can be no doubt that South Africa has a clear and legitimate right to protect its citizens' lives and property.

A few more landmines in the North-western Transvaal and relations between South Africa and Botswana could cool dramatically. A few more a little further to the north, and South Africa growls at Zimbabwe.

(1)

BUS DAY 20/2/86

Probe into diverted aid

RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — World Food Programme headquarters in Rome is investigating the illicit sale on the Reef of famine relief supplies given by the US to starving African nations.

One theory is that the sacks of high-protein food, clearly marked "Not For Resale or Exchange", came from Lesotho where the WFP has a long-standing operation.

Last month's Lesotho border blockade by SA might have provided special opportunities for pilfering or diversion. The blockade "led to delays in food shipments and to reduced stocks", the United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa noted in its latest crisis report.

Late last month the UN International Children's Emergency Fund (Unicef) said the blockade led to severe shortages in Lesotho hospitals and clinics.

Yet WFP experts seemed more resigned than surprised by the Johannesburg evidence of relief abuse.

"Like a river it flows," said an official, who suggested a similarity with what

happened recently in Florida. In that case, diverted famine relief stocks turned up in a Miami district nicknamed Little Haiti.

The UN-sponsored WFP uses government-donated food commodities, cash and services to back social and economic development throughout the Third World.

It had a key role during last year's crisis, when close to \$3bn worth of emergency relief was pumped into Africa. Another \$900m worth will be needed this year, according to the UN emergency office.

Lesotho is off the critical list and on a transitional aid list, released at the UN on Tuesday.

A profile of Lesotho's 1986 emergency needs shows that food is no longer required, but rather assistance in improving sanitation and local agriculture. Mozambique and Angola are the two southern African countries listed as still in need of emergency food.

SATS finds no irregularities in handling of famine relief

By Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

South African Transport Services paid out R2 600 to the World Food Programme (WFP) during 1985 in compensation for bags of the American-made famine food powder which went missing during transit, a spokesman said.

He said the money was paid to the WFP and not the shipping agents, Gundelfinger and Sons, as was previously understood. All the claims related to bags which were destined for Lesotho, but for various reasons were left behind in SATS trucks and were later impounded at Kazerne and other railway depots.

Some of the bags of Corn Soya Milk (CSM) were sold on public auction by the SATS to defray expenses.

However, the auction was stopped by the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, this month (after a Press report about famine relief food being sold) and only 240 of the 22 kg bags were sold to the public.

The spokesman said representatives of the WFP had been in touch with the SATS and were satisfied with the arrangements.

No irregularities found

An investigation by the Railways Police had also failed to uncover any irregularities.

Earlier reports said 400 tons of the food powder had failed to reach Botswana. However, the Zimbabwe Railways was responsible for transport to Botswana and SATS was not responsible for any missing freight in that instance, the spokesman said.

SATS transported about 65 000 tons of CSM during 1985 and 22 tons of that was impounded when it failed to reach its destinations. The food powder was shipped from the United States to Durban where some of it was loaded by SATS and others by Gundelfinger and Sons at the shipping agents' sidings.

Gundelfinger and Sons said arrivals in Botswana from a recent shipment continued into February. The receiving destination first lacked certain cargo transit particulars and it was possible that would account for initial reports that there was a shortage of 400 tons.



Two baby squirrel monkeys family in Fish Hoek adopted the two babies lost

Krugerrand ban not yet official

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Thatcher's proposed ban on the import of Krugerrands appears to have failed so far.

Customs officials at Birmingham international airport tried to impound a consignment of the coins last Friday — to find that no official import ban has yet been made.

An unspecified number of the coins in an unaccompanied case was awaiting collection by their owner when customs officers began proceedings to impound the coins.

The Department of Trade and Industry said its officials were still studying rules governing free trade and import controls to decide on the best way to ban the import of Krugerrands.

SA sets up 'buffer zone'

HARARE — South Africa, which has just won new security pledges from Botswana, is well on the way to creating an anti-guerrilla buffer zone around its borders, regional political analysts said here yesterday.

They said Pretoria's strategy was to get firm pledges from its neighbours that they would bar black nationalist guerrillas from infiltrating across the frontiers, and to threaten military or economic action if they did not.

From the south Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, only the 200 km border with Zimbabwe now remains outside the string of security pacts and consultative arrangements that Pretoria has assembled around its frontiers. Tiny Lesotho, encircled by South Africa, is also part of the system.

Last month, with a near-effortless flexing of its economic muscle, South Africa closed its borders with Lesotho, bringing its economy to a halt.

The Lesotho armed forces quickly seized power from the civilian government of the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, and began expelling anti-apartheid activists linked to the banned African National Congress.

The frontline between South Africa and its neigh-

bouring black-led states now looks like this:

- Mozambique and Swaziland have peace accords with Pretoria aimed at curbing ANC activities and have in the past two years expelled hundreds of ANC followers.
 - Namibia is ruled and policed by South Africa.
 - Zimbabwe has threatened to retaliate with its own army if subjected to force from its southern neighbour.
 - Botswana is resisting pressure from Pretoria to sign a non-aggression pact with its dominant neighbour, but agreed during security talks this week to use its "best endeavours" to stop ANC fighters crossing the country.
- Political analysts said that put Botswana, which has a 1 600 km border with South Africa in almost the same position as Swaziland, Mozambique and Lesotho.
- A Zimbabwe University regional political scientist, said: "It is clear now that South Africa's aim is to use its military and economic power to intimidate neighbours into submission and so create a buffer zone free from guerrilla infiltration."
- "The fact that Botswana agreed at all to curb ANC activity implies some admission of not having done

so in the past. When one considers recent threats of military action by South Africa against Botswana, this week's talks were a morale boost to Pretoria's increasingly aggressive and militant foreign policy."

Botswana's President Quett Masire said after the talks that the Pretoria side had declared "the presence in Botswana of the ANC in whatever guise constitutes a threat" to South Africa, which reserved the right "to defend the lives of its citizens".

He said: "They (the delegations) undertook to use their best endeavours to prevent the country (Botswana) being so used (by the ANC) and also undertook to report back to the Botswana government."

The talks took place after Pretoria issued repeated warnings to Botswana regarding ANC activities in that country. Botswana says it only gives sanctuary to refugees fleeing South Africa's apartheid policies.

Last June, South African commandos attacked the tiny Botswana capital, Gaborone, killing 12 people. Pretoria said were ANC activists. Botswana said they were civilians.

On January 31, South African President P W Botha warned Zimbabwe and Botswana to form "security councils" with Pretoria to curb ANC activities or face unspecified action. — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa — the silent continent

By John D'Oliveira, Editor of
The Star's Africa News Service

Think of Africa not so much as the dark continent but as the silent continent.

It is a continent in which modern rulers' sensitivity to criticism and their determination to retain power at almost any cost have silenced most of Africa's brightest and best people.

Many have become refugees. Others have kept quiet for fear of imprisonment — or even worse.

These points are argued vigorously in the latest edition of "Index on Censorship" by Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo.

He is editor of Unesco's "History of Africa" and secretary-general of the Union Progressiste Voltaïque, an organisation committed to the restoration of liberal democracy in Burkina Faso, formerly Upper Volta.

"Index on Censorship" is published by a non-profit organisation in Britain which is opposed to censorship. It is assisted in the US by the New York-based Fund for Free Expression and its supporters and patrons include top literary figures. Alan Paton is one of them.

Professor Ki-Zerbo, who is a refugee from his own country (having been sentenced to a term of imprisonment in absentia), pointed out that one in two of the world's refugees was an African — even though only one in 10 of the world's population came from Africa.

"For every African man or woman who leaves home, a voice is silenced, both in the country of origin and almost always in the host country.

ORAL CULTURE

"The African continent, where oral culture has always been paramount, is now gradually being reduced to silence.

"Of course, not much is written, since few people can read and write. But there is less and less oral discussion because only a few are free to do so.

"Even those who remain at home prefer to hold their tongues."

Professor Ki-Zerbo said African countries with a Press independent of government control were a rarity nowadays. Private radio stations were almost non-existent and independent television unthinkable.

"Gradually communication has become blocked, and public demand for information, thwarted by the monologue of State-monopolised radio, turns to alternative offerings from abroad.

"The BBC, Deutsche Welle, the Voice of America, Radio France Internationale, Radio Moscow and others are listened to more assiduously than the national radio networks.

"Denied the possibility of positive expression of its views, the public can at least express itself in negative fashion by refusing to consume the one-sided messages thrust at it."

This sort of situation bolstered the myth that Africa had dwelt under tyranny since time immemorial. While tyrannies had been a historical fact in Africa as elsewhere, there had generally been considerable freedom of speech.

"Even in imperial hegemonies such as the Mali Empire at its height, certain structures allowed the subject groups to put forward criticism which expressed the commonsense thoughts of public opinion."

Over the centuries, and particularly in the northern empire of Goa, there was much evidence of this tradition of frank, free speech. At the very centre of the Goan imperial power-structure the people managed to carve out for themselves some areas of freedom.

The absence of a heavy-handed administration freed peasant speech to an extent which was not the case in many African countries today.

"All in all, freedom of expression has constituted an ever-present and deeply-felt need among the African peoples; but it has continually come up against a sort of allergic reaction on the part of their rulers."

'Key against sanctions'

Rail system is our trump card — Stofberg

Political Staff

① S T M R
28/1/86

PARLIAMENT — Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP, Sasolburg) has called on the Government to apply an economic stranglehold on black Frontline states.

He accused the Government of playing into the hands of South Africa's enemies by giving them economic assistance, especially in the field of transport.

Speaking in yesterday's second-reading debate on the SA Transport Services budget, he said terrorists were operating against South Africa from the Frontline states.

And at a recent conference of these states, held in Maputo, they made a call for sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Stofberg said the Frontline states were "kicking the Government in the teeth" at a time when South Africa was assisting them "on a massive scale" through the country's transport services.

POWERFUL

He suggested the transport system was South Africa's "trump card" in the sanctions battle against the country.

Because of this, the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, was in a more powerful position than Defence Minister General Magnus Malan to fight terrorism.

Replying, Minister Schoeman said farmers on the Maize Board had decided last year to buy 200 000 tons of maize in Zimbabwe.

If South Africa were to withdraw trucks and locomotives, how would these supplies be transported to South Africa, he asked.



Mr Stofberg ... apply stranglehold on Frontline states.



Mr Schoeman ... action could harm South Africa.

Mr Schoeman suggested that any economic action taken against neighbouring states could also harm South Africa.

South Africans were working in factories building agricultural implements for African states.

Mr Schoeman argued that those states should rather be made dependent on South Africa and that South Africa's transport system profited from the services it provided to black states.

have taken to...
Africans to
protest US
aid to Unita
3/3/86

NAIROBI — African Foreign Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa have appointed a five-member delegation to travel to the United States to protest US support for rebel Angolan leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, Kenyan Foreign Minister Mr Elijah Mwangale said in Nairobi yesterday.

The delegation will also mobilise public action against the repeal by the Reagan Administration of the Clark Amendment, which lifted a ban on US aid to Angolan rebels, the official Kenya News Agency (KNA) reported Mr Mwangale, as saying.

Mr Mwangale, speaking on his return from an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Foreign Ministers' meeting, said the Ministers were appalled by US support for the right-wing Angolan rebels, fighting since 1975, with South African backing, to topple the Luanda Government.

Mr Mwangale said contributions to African "liberation movements" were \$15 million (about R30 million) in arrears and defaulting states had been told to pay up before the next OAU summit in July. — Sapa-
Reuter.

'Anti-guerilla buffer zone' for SA

HARARE. — South Africa, which has just won new security pledges from Botswana, is well on the way to creating an anti-guerilla buffer zone around its borders, according to political analysts here.

Pretoria's strategy is to seek firm pledges from its neighbours that they will bar black nationalist guerillas from infiltrating across the frontiers, and to threaten military or economic action if they do not.

From the South Atlantic to the Indian Ocean,

only the 200km border with Zimbabwe now remains outside the string of security pacts and consultative arrangements that Pretoria has assembled around its frontiers. Tiny Lesotho, encircled by South Africa, is also part of the system.

Last month, with a near-effortless flexing of its economic muscle, South Africa closed its borders with Lesotho, bringing its economy virtually to a halt.

The armed forces quickly seized power from the civilian govern-

ment of the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, and began expelling anti-apartheid activists linked to the ANC.

The frontline between South Africa and its neighbouring black-led states now looks like this:

● Mozambique and Swaziland have peace accords with Pretoria aimed at curbing ANC activities and have in the past two years expelled hundreds of ANC followers.

● SWA/Namibia is

ruled and policed by South Africa.

● Zimbabwe has threatened to retaliate with its own army if subjected to force from its southern neighbour.

● Botswana is resisting pressure from Pretoria to sign a non-aggression pact, but agreed during security talks last week to use its "best endeavours" to stop ANC fighters transiting the country.

Political analysts said this put Botswana in almost the same position as Swaziland, Mozambi-

que and Lesotho. A University of Zimbabwe regional political scientist, who asked not to be named, said: "It is clear now that South Africa's aim is to use its military and economic power to intimidate neighbours into submission and so create a buffer zone free from guerilla infiltration."

"The fact that Botswana agreed at all to curb ANC activity implies some admission of not having done so in the past." — Sapa-Reuters

Africa can't cope

BOA 12/3/86 (1)
NAIROBI — At least 43% of Africa's population — or 200-million people — will have flooded into the continent's towns by the end of the century, says Arcot Ramachandran, director of the Nairobi-based UN Centre for Human Settlements.

"The stark reality behind these percentages is that between 1980 and year 2000, Africa's urban population will increase from 136-million to 361-million. The economic bases (of the cities) are grossly inadequate to provide employment, decent shelter, transportation, basic services and a healthy environment."

Among measures he proposes to reverse the trend are the creation of secondary cities to relieve the migratory pressure on existing cities and to provide alternative employment sources for the rural poor.

Sapa-Reuter

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Ties with neighbours seen as aid in water supply

The resolution of political differences between South Africa and its neighbours could influence the availability and cost of water in this country, a business conference was told today.

This was because the most suitable schemes for augmenting South Africa's water resources would involve co-operation with neighbouring states, said an expert on water affairs, Dr D M McCallum.

He was speaking at the 1986 Manufacturing Management Convention in Sandton, near Johannesburg.

Fears of a water crisis arising from the drought were not fully justified, Dr McCallum said.

EXPENSIVE SCHEMES

"There are feasible schemes for augmenting water resources which will be capable of satisfying demand well into the next century," he said.

These schemes were expensive and could be expected to result in an increase in the price of water. The estimated cost of the proposed Lesotho Highlands Project, for example, exceeded R2 300 million.

"However, when one considers the vital nature of water supplies and the relatively low price paid at present, some increase in price does not seem unreasonable," Dr McCallum said.

PARLIAMENT

Govt urged to check loans to neighbours

3. DAY 6/3/86 (4) (2) (1)

GOVERNMENT should set strict conditions on SA loans to neighbouring states, Peter Gastrow (PFP Durban Central) said yesterday.

He said in the House of Assembly that some of the projects tackled by neighbouring states were "extravagance of the worst sort and showed a frightening lack of reality".

Speaking on the second reading debate of the Economic Co-operation Promotion Loan Fund Amendment Bill, he said there was growing public concern about the way independent states spent funds made available to them.

He cited as examples of extravagance the Venda President's purchase of a

R120 000 bullet-proof car with its own oxygen supply and public address system and Ciskei's construction of a R1m presidential home and a R25m airport.

Gastrow said he had no evidence that SA loans were being spent on these projects, but government had a right to address the states if it were granting money for other projects.

The Progressive Federal Party supported the Bill, which will simplify the procedure for granting loans to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

But the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party opposed the Bill.

Africa needs R115-bn aid programme

ADDIS ABABA — Africa's recently launched economic recovery programme, aimed at rescuing the continent from disaster, is likely to cost about \$115 billion, says Professor Adedeyo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa.

He told a conference of African and UN economic officials that Africa could contribute \$80 billion of this amount, while the rest would have to come from foreign governments and international agencies.

If world prices of minerals and foodstuffs, which constitute Africa's main exports, remain low and the continent's debt servicing burden remains at its present high level, "then Africa's effort for economic recovery remains futile".

He was confident that the international community "will rise to the challenge" and assist Africa to meet the gap in its development strategy. Reuter.

BDAY
11/3/86
Nationalists might meet ANC men

London to host trial national convention



● CHALKER

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — A trial national convention of leading white and black South Africans is to be held behind closed doors in London next week.

High-level observers from Frontline states and the West will attend the three-day South Africa in Crisis conference.

It will be held at the British government-funded Wilton Park centre at Steyning, Sussex, from Monday to Wednesday.

UK Foreign Office Minister of State Lynda Chalker is expected to be at the meeting. She has been keen to meet African National Congress (ANC) president Oliver Tambo.

The conference could bring together for the first time executive members of the ANC, at least one

National Party MP and possibly other government representatives.

Whitehall sources said they hoped the talks would boost chances of dialogue in SA along the lines indicated by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

Representatives of five Frontline states and six major Western nations, academics, business representatives, black community leaders and members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Inkatha are expected to attend.

Members of the National Party and the ANC have been invited, but it is not yet clear whether they will attend.

Sources close to the ANC indicated the organisation would be prepared to share a conference table with National Party MPs but not with government members.

Nationalist MP for Helderkruid Stoffel van der Merwe is in London this week. He was invited to the conference.

The Wilton Park conference will be preceded by a closed conference at the SA Embassy in London tomorrow.

President's Council chairman Piet Koornhof, Urban Foundation director Jan Steyn, Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, Assocom chief Raymond Parsons and Africa Bank MD Moses Maubane will attend the closed conference.

SA problems to be under the spotlight

LONDON — Brutally frank discussion on South Africa's prospects and problems is promised at a major two-day conference in London.

The guest participants at the Department of Foreign Affairs conference include more than 300 British political, business, academic and media leaders who recently toured

IAN HOBBS

South Africa.

Key host speakers include President's Council chairman Piet Koornhof, London ambassador Dennis Worrall, the Urban Foundation's Jan Steyn, Inkatha's Oscar Dhlomo and Nationalist MP Stoffel van der Merwe.

British MPs, including those who returned from SA fiercely critical of stagnating reform, will play a prominent part.

The theme of the conference, to be held as an open debate on tomorrow and a confidential panel discussion on Thursday, is: Where is South Africa Heading?

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BDA/12/86

THE International Monetary Fund (IMF) is not popular in Africa, but its prescriptions for the continent's economic ills are generally being swallowed all the same, a Reuter survey shows.

The image of the Washington-based fund in Africa is often that of a body whose harsh austerity recommendations bring unacceptable hardship and take little account of the needs of the common people.

And while many African governments recognise the problems of external debt, import dependence and slumping productivity need tough action, they are reluctant for political reasons to let the IMF be seen to take that action for them.

Nigeria, last December called off protracted negotiations with the IMF over a \$2.5bn (about R5.2bn) support package, but has since brought in austerity measures demanded by the fund as conditions for the loan.

Soon after taking power in a coup six months ago, Bahangida said he wanted to resolve the question of the loan talks with the fund. He recognised its political sensitivity and threw the issue open to a national debate.

The response was a media blitz in which those who spoke in favour of the loan were drowned by a chorus of emotional opposition which focused on a reluctance to have the fund move in to solve Nigeria's economic problems.

The IMF's conditions for the Nigerian loan were seen as too harsh, and the military government overthrown by Bahangida had already rejected demands for a sharp devaluation, an end to fuel subsidies and liberalisation of trade.

But while the rejection of the IMF loan was popular with a broad cross section of the Nigerian public, going it alone without the fund poses questions about Nigeria's ability to reach

Africa is swallowing the IMF medicine

GILES ELGOOD in Lagos

an urgently needed rescheduling deal with creditors.

Nigeria has called for talks with creditor commercial banks, but foreign governments, who are also important lenders, have long made it clear that they will not reschedule or provide more credit without an agreement with the IMF.

The IMF's response to criticism of the kind it faces in Africa, where over 24 countries have borrowed from it so far, is that it is often brought in too late.

IMF MD Mr Jacques de la Rosiere, speaking in New York in 1984, said: "Much of the misunderstanding occurs, I believe, because all too often countries delay their approach to the fund until their economies are in deep crisis."

In Zambia, once one of black Africa's most prosperous nations and which first turned to the IMF in 1981, President Kenneth Kaunda appeared to recalculate the fund's harsh logic. "Without the loan," he said, "Zambia would have had to go in for more serious conditions of her own," which he believed the country was not yet disciplined enough to take.

But five years later, the IMF is widely accused of worsening Zam-

bia's sad economic plight by pressuring the government to abolish subsidies on most goods, thus fuelling inflation, officially 20% but probably much higher.

Neighbouring Tanzania, which has for the last five years been resisting the fund's economic prescriptions, said this month the IMF does not act in Africa's interests and urged an alternative.

"I therefore call upon African countries to intensify efforts towards the creation of the African Monetary Fund, which will be capable of meeting our development needs," Finance Minister Cleopas Masuya said.

The IMF can, however, record at least one success in Africa, with Ghana doing everything it recommended and, after years of decline, showing signs of healthy growth in 1984 and 1985, according to diplomats in Accra.

Ghana's measures, which include massive devaluation of the once worthless cedi aimed at boosting commodity exports and slimming down a bloated public sector, have been rewarded with large doses of Western aid.

There are signs too that Burkina Faso, despite the radical slant of the government of Captain Thomas Sankara, may turn to the fund.

Like Nigeria, Burkina faces the problem of debt rescheduling. Major

lenders such as France have made it clear that agreement on that must be with the Paris Club of creditor nations, who usually require a prior deal with the IMF.

In Guinea, the dogmatic socialism of former leader Ahmed Sekou Toure meant there was little prospect of any dealings with the Washington-based IMF, despite the economic decay of what was once seen as one of the potentially richest states in Africa.

But since his death in 1984, the military government of Colonel Lansana Conte has agreed to borrow from the fund, pledged to cut down the public sector and replaced the country's worthless currency, the syl.

Mali, another left-leaning state faced with grave economic difficulties, has also borrowed from the IMF and President Moussa Traore has pledged to trim the public sector and encourage private enterprise.

Zaire, once dubbed a "basket case" credit risk by economists, has been able to benefit from Western fears that its strategic copper and cobalt reserves could fall into Soviet hands.

It is now pressing creditors to accept lighter debt repayments, saying it needs extra funds to finance its public investment programme, and help from economic partners to enable it to continue a three-year-old IMF austerity programme.

A look at Russian intentions in Africa

25/3/86 STAR 1
23/1

The military realities of Angola will not be altered by military aid worth a few tens of millions of dollars to Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement.

This view is put forward by Mrs Helen Kitchen, one of America's leading experts on Africa, in the latest edition of the prestige American publication *Foreign Affairs*.

Director of the African Studies programme at Georgetown University's centre for Strategic and International Studies, Mrs Kitchen examined the situation in Angola against a background of Soviet involvement in Africa.

She said the case of US conservatives for their country's intervention in Angola was grounded on a set of basic assumptions, including (or culminating in) the conclusion that failure to aid Unita could mean "handing over all of Southern Africa to the Soviet empire".

Analysts more familiar with patterns of Soviet behaviour in Africa had cited several reasons why United States intervention would more likely increase rather than deter Soviet activity in the region.

"In view of the major political embarrassment suffered by the Soviets in the region in 1984 (Mozambique's signing of the Nkomati Accord), can it be expected that a rejuvenated Soviet leadership under Gorbachev would be inclined to tolerate an 'under-the-gun' reversal in Angola?"

"Presumably as determined as his predecessors to assert the Soviet Union's status as a fully global power, will not Mikhail Gorbachev — at the very least — need to phase, delimit and rationalise any losses?"

"In the case of Angola, such face-saving would logically include stressing South African concessions (preferably on Namibia) while putting a positive twist on Cuban withdrawals."

Mrs Kitchen said it had been argued that there were limits to what the Soviet Union and Cuba were willing to pour into a country like Angola, located in at least the fourth tier of Moscow's geo-strategic priorities.

However, it should be noted that Angola had "cost" Moscow and Havana very little.

Angola used upwards of 50 per cent of its oil revenues of more than

Mrs Helen Kitchen, doyenne of Washington's growing band of Africa-watchers, writes extensively on Africa. In the first of two articles, John D'Oliveira, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, gives her thinking on Russian involvement in Africa — and the futility of President Reagan's planned aid to Angola's Unita rebels.

R4 000 million annually to purchase Soviet arms and to maintain 25 000 to 35 000 Cuban troops and technicians on its soil.

"Since the military sector is always the Soviet Union's strong suit in the Third World, a decision by the United States to play to it in Angola must be taken with eyes fully open to the fact that the price will be heavy and the risks high.

"The military realities of Angola will not be altered by a few tens of millions of dollars of military, let alone 'humanitarian', aid."

Looking at Russian involvement in Africa as a whole, Mrs Kitchen said the facts about Soviet interests, priorities, operational objectives, influence and constraints in Africa in the mid-1980s were more complicated than perceived by the Reagan Administration's conservative critics.

Resolution

A "constant" since the 1960s had been Moscow's resolution to establish a presence and an influence in Africa appropriate to global-power status and to ensure that the continent did not revert to a purely Western sphere of influence.

Soviet spokesmen were quite explicit on this point.

On the other hand, while the Soviets believed they had a "legitimate" interest in Africa, they also pressed the point that neither Russia nor the United States had a "vital" interest in the continent.

"In terms of global priorities, the evidence is clear that Africa continues to reside somewhere below Europe, East Asia, the rimlands south of the USSR and the Middle East.

"Within Africa, the Horn and North Africa, because of their prox-

imity to the Middle East and Asia are accorded — as is the case with the United States' valuation — higher geo-strategic value than Southern Africa."

When one moved beyond these relatively fixed points of reference into operational objectives, the pattern was less predictable — in part because of the fairly high incidence of trial and error.

"During the Khrushchev era, Soviet theorists were inclined to believe that 'African socialism' could and would evolve into 'scientific socialism'.

"Over time, however, African socialism went into decline and Moscow suffered a number of other disappointments in Africa."

Mrs Kitchen said the most traumatic of Russia's reverses occurred in Zimbabwe where the Soviets supported Joshua Nkomo during the long guerilla war only to see him soundly defeated in the 1980 pre-independence elections.

This disappointment had been preceded by the dissolution — at the host country's initiative — of a number of other significant Soviet patron relationships: Ghana in 1966; the Sudan in 1971; Egypt in 1972; Somalia in 1977; Equatorial Guinea in 1979; and Guinea over a period of years beginning in the late 1970s.

Unlike the early 1960s when Soviet operatives talked ebulliently of Africa's potential for socialist transformation, in 1985 no African state received higher ideological rating from Soviet analysts and spokesmen than being "socialist-oriented".

Another trend was the attention being given by Moscow to cultivating relations with all manner of African states, including those which were "outright capitalist in orientation".

US report outlines Soviet strategy in southern Africa

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union is following a three-pronged plan in an effort to influence events in South Africa, United States military intelligence reported today.

The plan included:

- Delivery of weapons to and the military training of armed forces located in regional countries hostile to South Africa.
- Fostering of ties with the South African Communist Party.
- Support of the African National Congress's attempt to topple the SA Government.

"By supplying military equipment to opposition groups, whether ideologically tied to communism or independently seeking equality and democratic reform, the Soviets hope to gain greater influence in the region," the report said.

It noted members of Swapo and the ANC were among thousands of Palestinians, other Arabs and "selected non-arabs" who had received training in insurgency and terrorist techniques at facilities in the Soviet Union.

The report, a highly-detailed examination of the Soviet Union's worldwide military build-up, is based on the latest US intelligence assessments.

It said Moscow was trying to exploit South Africa's internal discord in addition to working towards its diplomatic isolation.

Outlining Moscow's supplying of arms to southern Africa, it said the Soviets were boosting military aid to Angola's MPLA regime because they were trying to assure its survival, about which there was concern.

They were also paying significant attention to President Samora Machel's regime in Mozambique because of Maputo's inability to quell anti-Marxist rebels.

"Luanda is one of the largest and best natural harbours on the west coast of Africa and is the main support base for the Soviet navy's West Africa Patrol," the report said.

"Other assets there include a floating drydock, a communications station and access for TU-95/Bear Ds (aircraft) which patrol the South Atlantic sea lanes."

"Luanda was visited last Sep-

tember by a Soviet task group, including a Kirov-class nuclear-powered guided-missile cruiser and two new guided-missile destroyers, a Udaloy and a Sovremenny, transiting to the Soviet Pacific Ocean fleet.

"Permanent access would provide Moscow with significant advantages: A partial counter-balance to the US presence at Diego Garcia, greater staging capability for military airlift flights to southern Africa and more intelligence-gathering opportunities against Western naval activity in the Indian Ocean.

"The approximately 850 Soviet advisers are heavily involved in planning and supporting Mozambican operations against Renamo," the report said.

"Since Mozambique is not near the normal operating areas of the Indian Ocean Squadron, Soviet combatants visit its ports infrequently. However, hydrographic research ships are often present in the Mozambique Channel.

In a preface to the report US Secretary of Defence Mr Caspar Weinberger said the aggression by Soviet troops and their proxies could not be ignored.

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1985 may prove to be year of positive change

① STAR 26/3/86

One of the United States' leading authorities on Africa now believes that a "few tentatively encouraging breakthroughs" in Africa have "injected some shafts of light into the grey horizon".

Mrs Helen Kitchen, Director of the African Studies Programme at Georgetown University's respected Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington DC and an academic with close ties to the State Department, believes this despite what she describes as Africa's "persistent economic slippage".

Writing in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the prestigious journal published by the United States' Council on Foreign Relations, Mrs Kitchen said some analysts — even in the US banking community — now ventured to predict that 1985 may one day be viewed as the year in which fundamental, positive changes began to take place in Africa.

Mrs Kitchen said she was not attempting to gloss over Africa's continuing economic crisis.

Slippage

Africa's "persistent economic slippage" had been documented by 1985 updates from the World Bank and other agencies.

These confirmed that:

- More than 29 of the world's 34 poorest countries were African.
- Africa's population was growing faster than anywhere else in the globe — with an average annual increase of 3.2 percent and a high of four percent in Kenya.
- Some three million Africans were now refugees, having been displaced from their countries of birth by famines, wars or oppression.
- The pace of urbanisation — seven to 10 percent overall but up to 13 percent in some states — was resulting in mushrooming shantytown slums crowded with unemployed.
- The sub-Saharan trade deficit reached R16 000 million in 1984 and continued to rise.
- While sub-Saharan Africa's total debt of between R170 000 million and R180 000 million was moderate by Latin American standards, even the interest payments had become a

major hardship. Referring to the positive changes, Mrs Kitchen said particular importance was attached to "attitudinal changes" on the part of both Africans and non-Africans.

In the United States, for instance, the famine relief efforts and public concern with the issue of apartheid in South Africa had made more Americans aware of Africa than ever before.

The Reagan Administration's policy on multilateral agency aid to Africa underwent a major shift in the second half of 1985 which would make a great deal more money available to Africa's poorest countries.

At the annual Organisation of African Unity meeting of Heads of States in Addis Ababa in July, African leaders took note of the extraneous factors which affected their economies, but "focused primary attention on Africa's own miscalculations".

Acknowledging that the primacy accorded to the State had hindered rather than furthered economic development, the summit's economic declaration affirmed:

"National development plans and annual budgets for most African countries have tended to perpetuate and even accentuate the dependency of our economies through reliance on foreign resources (financial and



human) and has led to the misallocation of domestic resources through reduced shares for such high priority areas as agriculture, manpower, industry and to massive expenditure on foreign consumer goods and non-productive investment projects."

Whether prodded by outsiders or acting on their own, many African governments were removing price controls and subsidies.

In many countries — notably Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia and Zimbabwe — increases in producer prices towards free-market levels had resulted in substantial increases in food production.

Many governments saddled with unprofitable and unmanageable State-owned enterprises were seeking ways to close, rehabilitate or sell them to private investors.

Most African governments had also tried to rationalise their international economic relationships.

The International Monetary Fund had continued to link its short-term financing to stringent conditions controlling foreign exchange rates, foreign borrowing, imports, deficit spending and expansion of the domestic money supply.

"Some nations, including Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Zaire, having adopted the IMF prescriptions, could point in 1985 to improvements in overall economic performance."

From Zaire to Botswana, overt US aid surrounds South Africa

By Neil Lurssen
The Star's Foreign
News Service

WASHINGTON — While the United States operation to arm Unita with highly sophisticated weapons is being carried out with a strange form of furtiveness, other US military assistance programmes in southern Africa are being conducted openly.

Countries in the region receiving open US military support are Zimbabwe, Botswana, Malawi and Zaire. The Reagan Administration would like to give it to Mozambique too — but conservative congressmen spiked that idea because of Pretoria's ties to Moscow.

The difference between the two types of aid stems from the fact that Unita is a rebel movement involved in a civil war while the other recipients of Washington's military largesse are legitimate govern-

ments.

Another difference is that the administration has the authority to supply Dr Savimbi's forces covertly from an existing fund over which Congress has no control, while the overt military aid to other countries in the region is subject to congressional approval.

In spite of official coyness, details of the US effort in Angola are widely known in Washington and Africa. The officials make no effort to scotch reports of Stinger missiles going to Unita, probably because they realise that when the Savimbi forces start to use them, the enemy will certainly know about it.

REGIONAL STABILITY

Another good reason is that the supply of Stingers is a message to the Soviets and the Cubans that the US is not about to abandon Unita forces as they prepare for an expected as-

sault by the MPLA and its communist allies.

Thus the shipment of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Angola is a specific tactical exercise while the assistance for Zaire, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Botswana falls under a strategic policy objective to reduce the global security threat to the US by promoting regional stability.

Military assistance is only a part of it, and there are many millions more US dollars directed at boosting economic development — on the basis that poverty is the root cause of most security problems.

Many countries in southern Africa benefit from US economic aid and there is even a special fund to help those countries seeking constructive solutions to their problems with South Africa.

Some of this money is to be spent in South Africa itself to

foster black education, to help those who have suffered discrimination — and to demonstrate as visibly as possible the Reagan Administration's opposition to apartheid.

The military assistance programmes for South Africa's neighbours vary considerably. The programme set aside for Botswana — one of the Reagan Administration's favourite countries in the region — is designed to help protect its security and will cover the purchase of additional light armoured vehicles, missile and gun defensive systems, communications equipment and ammunition.

PEACEFUL CHANGE

Washington has long been grateful to Gaberone for its loyal support on local as well as world issues and believes unaggressive Botswana is playing a critical role in stabilising and troubled southern Africa.

It is for this reason Americans were so angry last year when South African forces raided Botswana.

Malawi's programme is more modest. It is to help the Banda regime buy communications equipment and to assist in operations, maintenance, training and funding for Command and General Staff College courses.

The US considers Malawi, like Botswana, to be supportive of US interests and a reliable partner in efforts to promote peaceful change in the region.

Zaire, too, is considered helpful but it is also important in strategic terms because of its mineral wealth and its local US military help there is designed to improve the logistics and mobility of the Zaire armed forces, particularly in air transport. It is an open secret in Washington that the US is shipping the Stingers to

Unita through Zaire.

Most US aid to Zimbabwe aims at encouraging economic development, especially in the private sector — and also to help the Mugabe government keep the Soviet bloc at arm's length.

US military assistance falls under the IMET (International Military Education and Training) programme and will help Zimbabwean servicemen improve their skills in maintenance, transportation, communications and engineering.

Last year, US officials drew up a modest US\$10 million military aid package for Mozambique as part of their plan to wean the country away from Soviet influence. But conservatives such as Senator Jesse Helms killed the deal in Congress, citing Maputo's still-strong Soviet connections and the country's bleak civil rights record.

South Africans 'must admit vital links with the rest of Africa'

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

It was time for South Africans to be honest with themselves and admit that the country's links with Africa — specifically regional trade — had become of vital strategic importance, the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs said.

Addressing a South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) meeting at Wits University last night, Mr Neil van Heerden said co-operation between South Africa and its neighbours was very much to this country's advantage as well as to others in the region.

Pleading a case for negotiation as a first option rather than seeking a military solution in the event of a regional dispute, Mr van Heerden added that co-operation and co-existence held many benefits for South Africa.

"All the states in Southern Africa are in more or less the same boat and their joint sense of survival could produce a strategy for co-existence which would ensure that in 50 or 100 years this will still be a viable place in which to live," Mr van Heerden said.



He said the basis for forging regional co-operation lay in the many facets of the region's undeniable interdependence.

According to Mr van Heerden, these factors could prove even more important than the opposition South Africa's neighbours obviously held against apartheid.

Mr van Heerden pointed out that hundreds of thousands of workers from neighbouring states found employment in South Africa and a large and ever-increasing volume of South African exports were finding markets in the region.

"We have developed costly transport routes which can only be viable if we rationalise by taking into account all the sources of traffic in Southern Africa," he added.

In addition, all countries in the region were threatened by the same human, animal and plant diseases and could be the victims of superpower rivalry, Mr van Heerden commented.

Such co-operation was not beyond the realms of possibility, but — among other important factors — more and more lines of communication would have to be opened between South Africa and its neighbours.

According to Mr van Heerden such lines of communication could act as a "safety net" in the event of an incident and prevent what could otherwise grow into military action.

He added that formal Nkomati-type agreements were not always necessary so long as a series of informal agreements could be implemented.

Mr van Heerden has held several official posts abroad, one of them SA Ambassador to West Germany. He also served as head of the Africa Desk in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr van Heerden recently played a leading role in the negotiations with the Lesotho Government on the highlands water project — among other issues.

FUN MAIL 11/4/86

AFRICA-WORLD BANK

Signs of hope

1986 is a year of opportunity for sub-Saharan Africa, according to the fourth in the series of World Bank reports on development problems in the region, published this week.

The report — *Financing adjustment with growth in sub-Saharan Africa 1986-1990* — says per capita incomes should rise this year for the first time since 1980, adding gloomily that there is little to celebrate since low-income Africa is poorer today than when the independence train gathered momentum in 1960. The bank warns that the improved outlook for 1986 could turn out to be no more than an interruption of "chronic decline." Population growth continues largely unchecked while productivity is all but stagnant.

The good news, according to the bank, is that many African governments are now making significant progress in structural adjustment, though they still have a long way to go to correct past policy errors. Governments are beginning to see the error of their ways in maintaining overvalued exchange rates, in setting producer prices too low in agriculture, and wages too high in the towns.

But policy improvements should not be exaggerated. Investment ratios in the region have been falling since 1980 and are now the lowest among developing economies. A dozen countries are facing "acute" foreign debt difficulties "with little prospect of improvement."

Per capita imports have been declining for 15 years and, despite higher coffee prices and lower oil prices, the outlook for Africa's terms of trade is "poor." Unless more aid and some form of debt relief is provided, imports will continue to decline for the rest of the decade and into the Nineties.

The World Bank calculates that 29 low-income African countries (including Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia, from southern and east Africa) will need more than \$35 billion in foreign exchange over the next five years, but their exports will earn them only \$20 billion with a further \$12.8 billion being provided in aid flows and debt relief.

This would leave a resource gap of \$2.5 billion to be filled by extra aid. The report suggests the donor countries of the West should contribute by increasing their aid budgets, by offering debt relief and rescheduling, and by converting previous loans into grants.

Much of the report reiterates previously devised strategies for African recovery. Four medium-term adjustment priorities are identified — overvalued exchange rates, neglect of agriculture, excessive public sector wages and overblown and inefficient public enterprises. The report points out that for the region as a whole, real effective exchange rates appreciated in the Seventies and early Eighties in marked contrast to what was

happening in both Latin America and Asia. By the end of last year, the real effective exchange rate in the 29 countries was 15% higher than in the early Seventies. The bank urges African leaders to bite the devaluation bullet, noting: "Rarely will the poor be the principal losers from devaluation."

It urges governments to improve incentives for export crops, pointing out that cocoa production in Ghana is estimated to have increased 25% over the past two years mainly because it devalued its currency and tripled the domestic producer price of cocoa.

The bank says that for cash crops like coffee, cocoa and cotton, the farmer is getting only about half the export price of the product. This ratio is too low, it says. A further important aspect of adjustment policy is the need to reduce the average public sector wage. According to the bank, the average government employee in low-income Africa gets a wage that is almost seven times the average per capita income for the country as a whole, whereas in Asia the comparative multiple is only three. Senior officials and skilled personnel should probably be paid more, but average wages should be lower.

The fourth policy priority emphasises another familiar theme — rationalisation of the public sector. The bank points out that, in Africa, public enterprise employs half the formal sector labour, compared with one-third in Asia.

Low-income African states have closed down or divested about 5% of their publicly-owned enterprises during the Eighties while, in many instances, improved management and sounder policies have resulted in sharply-reduced operating losses. But doubtful ventures continue to be promoted — "ostentatious universities, over-designed highways, luxury sports stadiums and uncompetitive agro-industrial ventures" — and the bank repeats its 1984 call for Africa to shun these "white elephants."

In addition to these medium-term adjustment strategies, the report re-examines the longer-run development problems facing the region — rapid population growth, the fact that health conditions remain among the worst in the world despite improvements, the "reversal in both the quality and quantity of education services," what it calls the "bare" technology shelf of African agriculture, and the "serious and mounting problems" of deforestation and land degradation. The message is clear enough: Donor nations must find additional resources, but these will go to waste unless and until Africa puts its economic house in order.

SA on list during Chirac's Africa talks

The Star's Foreign
News Service

PARIS — South Africa was one of the topics discussed by Mr Jacques Chirac and President Houphouet-Boigny during the French Prime Minister's visit to the Ivory Coast at the weekend.

French diplomatic sources said Mr Houphouet-Boigny "took the opportunity to bring up the dangerous evolution of the situation" in South Africa.

DESPAIR

"He warned that a catastrophe might occur in Southern Africa because of the despair of poor blacks exploited by capitalists — a situation which could be exploited into a terrible weapon in the hands of the communists."

Mr Houphouet-Boigny was the father of dialogue between Pretoria and black Africa in the mid-1960s. In recent speeches he has made it clear he is a firm believer in negotiating a settlement with Pretoria.

This was Mr Chirac's first visit abroad since he became Prime Minister on May 18. He was accompanied by Co-operation Minister Michel Aurillac and Mr Jacques Foccart, once General de Gaulle's adviser on Africa, and now brought back from retirement at 73.

A Chirac aide said the

visit underlined France's "respect for the wisdom, experience and political genius" of the Ivory Coast leader.

It also stressed France's wish to strengthen ties with French-speaking Africa.

Mr Chirac, in his keynote speech to the National Assembly last week, outlined his conservative coalition Government's policies, but did not once mention South Africa or even the African continent.

But his appointment of Mr Foccart as his chief adviser on Africa underlines the fact that Africa is not absent from his thoughts.

Mr Chirac and his Government have not yet made any statement about South Africa.

CONFERENCE

But three years ago Mr Chirac said he was in favour of an international conference to be held on Namibia in an African capital. He suggested Dakar, Senegal.

For this reason it is interesting to note that a member of his party, Mr Aurillac, did not return with Mr Chirac to Paris. Instead, he went to Dakar for talks with President Abdou Diouf, who is also head of the Organisation of African Unity.

Mr Diouf has treated South Africa as his main priority since he became head of the OAU.

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Socialist meeting will maintain anti-SA line

(1) STB/C 17/1/86

The Star's Africa
News Service

GABORONE — The South African Government and its policies will come under fierce attack here tomorrow and on Saturday from political leaders claiming the support of more than 100 million voters.

Both Botswana's Presi-

dent Quett Masire and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda are due to address the opening session of a two-day Socialist International executive meeting.

The meeting, will be chaired by Mr Willy Brandt, president of SI and a former German Chancellor.

It will focus on developments in Southern Africa, the struggle against apartheid, independence for Namibia and support for the "liberation movements".

Attending will be the leaders of between 50 and 60 socialist, social democratic and labour parties from Europe, the Americas and Australia.

Delegates will include three former Prime Min-

isters Mr Anker Joergensen (Denmark), Mr Joop den Uyl (the Netherlands), and Mr Harlem Brundtland (Norway).

SI, which claims to be the world's largest and oldest grouping of political parties, has connections with 75 organisations.

The organisation has been outspoken in its criticism of South Africa and last year organised a conference on Southern Africa at Arusha, Tanzania which was attended by SI members, representatives of the Frontline states, the African National Congress and of Swapo.

The conference adopted a joint communique rededicating SI to "the battle against apartheid".

18/11/88
10/11/88
30/11/88

Frontliners make plans

MARGARET SMITH

LONDON — A meeting is taking place in Beira to formulate contingency plans for Frontline states in the event of SA closing its borders to them.

Its keynote is threatened retaliation should Western nations impose economic sanctions against SA.

The aim is to counter SA's threat to close its railways and harbours.

Beira, Mozambique, is being discussed as an alternative port.

BUS DAY 2/14/86
UN protest stalled

RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — African governments have backed off from appealing to the UN Security Council, over the latest death sentence imposed on an alleged African National Congress member.

Instead, the 50-nation African group issued its own protest and appealed to "friends of the illegal regime in Pretoria" to exert pressure for the sentence imposed on 19-year-old Andrew Zondo to be commuted.

Zondo was convicted in Scottburgh of planting a limpet mine in a shopping centre at Amanzimtoti. The African group, which operates as a wing of the OAU, supports the ANC claim to prisoner-of-war status for its captured combatants.

In the past, the Security Council has issued a series of appeals on behalf of condemned ANC members. Diplomatic sources believe, however, that the decision not to approach the council this time is tied to the United States' high-profile stance over "terrorism".

PW's chance to meet African critics

The Star's Africa
News Service

MBABANE — President P W Botha would attend the Swaziland coronation with representatives of some of South Africa's most hostile critics in Africa, official sources said.

The coronation of Crown Prince Makhosetive would bring Mr Botha together with envoys from countries including Nigeria, Algeria, Ghana, Tanzania, India and Pakistan, the sources said.

These countries have taken the lead in pressing in international forums for tougher action against South African apartheid.

The coronation could, however, provide an opportunity for the State President to meet directly with some of his government's chief African critics.

He will not be brought into contact with anyone from the African National Congress as only representatives of countries and not political organisations, have been invited.

CONFIRMED

A Swaziland Government official confirmed yesterday that Mr Botha would be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and an entourage of 14, including senior government officials.

Security will be tight, especially for the protection of United States and British representatives.

Britain will be represented by Prince and Princess Michael of Kent.

The United States will reportedly be represented by its ambassador to the United Nations, Lieutenant-General Vernon Walters, though this has not been confirmed.

Some of the visiting dignitaries will be staying in closely protected government guest houses but most, including the South Africans, will be staying in the Royal Swazi Sun hotel.

The hotel was cleared of all guests yesterday and cordoned off by police and the army.

The coronation takes place in the Elusaseni palace on Friday and the presentation of the king to the public in the Somhlolo Stadium on Saturday.

PALACE

There will be a garden party at the Lozitha palace on Sunday.

The Zulu nation will be represented by King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Other royalty present will be King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho and the Crown Prince of Morocco.

FOCUS
on
AFRICA

Reagan's Raid — just killing a fly with a hammer, says Africa's press

By JOHN D'OLIVEIRA, Editor, The Argus Africa News Service, JOHANNESBURG

AMERICA'S raid on Libya last week has probably upset black Africa to a greater degree than anything else over the past decade.

Not even South Africa's military raids into Botswana last year and into Lesotho in 1982 appear to have generated as much editorial comment in Africa's newspapers.

Because the newspapers are generally owned — directly or indirectly — by the governments of the countries they serve, their editorial anger almost certainly re-

resents official thinking.

The following are extracts from some of the editorials over the past few days:

THE Kenya Times: "President Ronald Reagan, of the United States, it appears, is slowly and dangerously assuming the characteristics of a bully and a warmonger".

THE Daily Nation, Kenya: "This is the kind of foolhardiness, in pursuit of extremely narrow national interests on the international scene, which has, in the past, led to wars with blood-chilling international ramifications".

THE Standard, Kenya, accused the Americans of using "gunboat diplomacy" which, it said had become an "out-

dated weapon".

SENEGAL'S pro-government Le Soleil said the American action was as reprehensible as the terrorism the country said it was fighting — "It shows the whole world the warlike nature of the United States... and Ronald Reagan is nothing more than a man caught up in his own cult of grandeur".

AL Sahafa, Sudan: "The aggression against Libya has been made possible by the conflicts which are tearing the Arab world apart... this encouraged Washington to launch the attack".

THE Times of Zambia: "Is it not a great shame that a big power like the United States should seek to kill a fly

with a hammer... the American cowboy of Hollywood turned President must be told that he is being a big bully taking undue advantage of his might to crush a weakling".

THE Guardian, Nigeria: "The attack was an act so vile that no civilised nation would want to be associated with it... it is a clear act of aggression which defies all known principles of international law and runs counter to all accepted standards of civilised behaviour".

THE Daily Times, Nigeria: "The raid was an unnecessary show of power. It was provocation par excellence... it will create more problems than it will solve".

How South Africa sees her neighbours

By JOHN D'OLIVEIRA, Editor, The Argus Africa News Service

HOW does the South African Government see its relations with its neighbouring states as it moves deeper into the controversial — and dangerous — 1980s?

Mr Neil van Heerden, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and the man in charge of South Africa's approach to Africa, has set out for members of the South African Institute of Foreign Affairs, his department's view on relations with each neighbouring state.

He said the overall position now held great promise for "talking rather than for doing other things".

Mr Van Heerden examined each country in turn:

MOZAMBIQUE

IN the case of Mozambique "we have certainly come through a difficult time, but the Nkomati Accord remains one of the major achievements of recent history in Southern Africa," he said.

"In the face of the most pronounced ideological differences, we have managed to construct a form of co-existence which has not been without its advantages to both sides.

"At least we now have a semblance of stability in our inter-state relationships. The alternative is literally too ghastly to contemplate."

Mr van Heerden said that despite incidents like the capture of documents which purported to show that South Africa was still helping the Mozambique Resistance Movement (something South Africa has repeatedly denied), the Nkomati Accord remained intact, and it continued to provide channels of communication and contact.

In the spirit of the Accord, South Africa was currently implementing a number of projects aimed at improving the transport infrastructure, the production of food and the tourist industry in Mozambique.

Mr van Heerden said it could not be denied that there were an "overwhelming number of inhibiting factors" in South Africa's relationship with Mozambique.

"These include the radical tone of the anti-South African rhetoric coming out of Maputo, the lingering suspicion that South

Africa is still supporting Renamo, the intense feeling of insecurity in Mozambique as a result of the on-going insurgency, and the massive ideological gap between Maputo and Pretoria.

"Notwithstanding all these problems we have a working relationship with Maputo..."

LESOTHO

A new situation had come about as a result of the military take-over and, although no Nkomati Accord-type agreement existed with Lesotho, South Africa had a "reasonable expectation" that the new government would honour its commitment not to allow its territory to be used for the planning and execution of violence in South Africa.

"Joint consultative mechanisms in the field of security have been put in place and we hope these will provide both sides with the confidence which has been so seriously lacking in the recent past".

Lesotho and South Africa were "simply too close together" to be engaged in acts hostile to each other's interests.

"The profile of bilateral links between South Africa and Lesotho is possibly the best example of a relationship of interdependence.

"For instance, more than half Lesotho's economically-active population finds employment in South Africa while, on the other hand, Lesotho has vast water resources which, if properly exploited, could solve the staggering water shortage predicted for the Vaal Basin."

Mr van Heerden said the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, if agreed on, would be the biggest project of its kind in the world.

Negotiations had reached an advanced stage, but were being held up by technical rather than political problems.

ZIMBABWE

PRIME Minister Robert Mugabe had thus far honoured his undertaking not to allow Zimbabwe to be used as a staging ground for armed activities against South Africa.

South Africa had an active trade mission in Harare and Zimbabwe had a commercial representative in Johannesburg.

"Most of the transportation and communication links survived Zimbabwean independence and, in some cases, have been expanded.

"As with Mozambique, serious ideological differences separated Pretoria and Harare. The official Harare rhetoric, much of it aimed at internal consumption, is harsh and it can be expected to become even harsher in tone as the non-aligned nations' summit later this year draws near."

However, Mr van Heerden said, areas of common concern had thus far succeeded in providing a "safety net" in South Africa's relations with Zimbabwe.

"I think the trick would be to strengthen this net and to guard against our relations with that very important northern neighbour going out of control".

BOTSWANA

FOLLOWING the land mine explosions in the Messina and Ellis Ras areas earlier this year, South Africa discussed with Botswana its concerns over use of Botswana as a staging area for acts of terror against South Africa.

"It was explained to Botswana that the explosion of the mines on South Africa's western border had become a highly-emotional issue in local politics and that the South African Government was under considerable pressure to take effective action.

"These negotiations resulted in Botswana agreeing to the closure of the ANC office in Gaborone and to co-operate in an informal consultative mechanism on matters of security."

As with other neighbours, South Africa and Botswana shared many common interests, and there were many exciting prospects for joint projects between the two countries in the future.

SWAZILAND

SOUTH Africa's "relations with Swaziland are good. We maintain a trade office in Mbabane and the recently-completed northern rail link as well as plans to jointly exploit the water resources of the of Mlumati/Komati River basin... are examples of large developments which will bring enormous benefits to both countries", he said.

And in Zimbabwe, Ian Smith fights for political life

By ROBIN DREW The Argus Africa News Service, HARARE

MR Ian Smith, former Rhodesian prime minister, is fighting for his political life as the Zimbabwe parliament debates the report of a select committee which found he had made derogatory remarks about black Zimbabweans which were harmful to reconciliation and in contempt of parliament.

The committee has asked parliament to "take such steps as it sees fit to prevent Mr Smith making similar statements in future."

Government party backbenchers demanded that he be kicked out of the House. But a prominent supporter of Mr Smith, former Rhodesian minister Mr Mark Partridge warned that if parliament tried to implement the recommendations it would mean putting Mr Smith into solitary confinement for the rest of his life.

"It is parliament which is on trial," he said, "for its action will affect people's confidence more than anything else and will do the country a great deal of harm."

He appealed to the Prime Minister, Mr

Robert Mugabe, to get the motion withdrawn.

In an hour-long speech in his defence before he was required to leave the chamber while the debate on his conduct continued, Mr Smith said he was not prepared to accept a situation which denied him freedom of thought and expression.

The remarks which gave rise to the charge of contempt were made in a BBC interview in Britain last year when Mr Smith said one man, one vote was the negation of democracy and that the major-

ity of blacks had no education and did not understand the system of government.

Mr Smith charged that the select committee which was chaired by a former Rhodesian ministerial colleague and now political opponent, Mr Bill Irvine, was a kangaroo court which had made up its mind to convict him whatever he said.

He accused Mr Irvine of being biased and full of bitterness and resentment because Mr Smith's party had beaten the independent group led by Mr Irvine in the last general election.



Brandt's social bundu bash

DESPITE the swing of the pendulum back to political conservatism across Europe, socialism is alive and well — and hard at work in Africa. Or at least it was this past weekend. Just over the Botswana border, in Gaborone, ardent socialists from all over the world gathered to do whatever it is that socialists do when they gather.

Certainly they talked a great deal. The language of the almost-radical chic flew fast and thick at this second African conference of the Socialist International (SI).

But that was only to be expected. It was, after all, a conference about Southern Africa, with a hard focus on apartheid. A conference of mainly Europeans, in Africa, about Africa — but not for Africans. Ironically, barely any African political parties or countries qualify for membership of the SI, which demands adherence to the principles of social democracy.

ANC contact

Only Senegal attended the conference. The other two African members — Mauritius, if one can call it African, and Burkino Faso (or was that pre-coup?) — did not show.

But one should not underestimate the SI's support for African factions. The conference decided that the ANC was the most important resistance movement in Southern Africa, and the most representative of South Africans, and promised to step up contact.

At the SI's previous African conference, in Tanzania in 1984, close links were established with both ANC president Oliver Tambo and Swapo head Sam Nujoma. Neither organisation sent representatives to Botswana, but their interest were none the less well looked after.

Asked about their stand on the violent methods adopted by the ANC, delegates are quick to retort that violence is inherent in the apartheid system.



Socialist International, the world's largest and oldest association of political parties, gathered in Botswana this past weekend. The focus was on Southern Africa and Pretoria's policies

□ KAUNDA



BRANDT □

NEIL JACOBSON in Gaborone

SI president Willy Brandt, the former West German chancellor, said it publicly: "The source of violence is not those who resist, but those who have built their rule on injustice and oppression."

It says something about the world's preoccupation with apartheid that the conference took place at all. And while non-socialists might be tempted to dismiss the SI as one more extremist organisation, it is hardly an insignificant body.

With 75 organisations worldwide as members, 45 of them active political parties, SI can boast an indirect following of more than 100-million voters. At present, 24 of its 45 member parties hold or share government in 23 countries.

SI claims to have existed in various forms since 1864, when the First International was established in London by none other than Karl Marx.

Excluded

Communist and Marxist parties are not admitted as members to the SI, which indeed includes as consultative parties such exiled organisations as the Yugoslav Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party of Latvia.

Which brings us to a Botswana bundu bash on an April morning.

The current strength of SI undoubtedly is attributable to its president Willy Brandt, who has been re-elected leader four times.

Brandt is a pragmatic socialist,

and a more conservative one than many, and members admit privately that this plays a role in winning respectability for the organisation.

Brandt admits in private conversation, for example, that he is uncomfortable with the idea of sanctions, be they applied against SA or anyone else.

But on the SI platform, he's as stout a defender of the faith as anyone. But as a pragmatist, he showed a great liking for good Cape red wine.

The SI has moved somewhat Left over recent years, mainly because of the influx of Latin American members. Socialism was spawned by the working classes during the industrialisation of Europe, but, as in the United Nations, SI now finds itself numerically dominated by essentially Third World countries. Thus Brandt's high profile and his pragmatism is doubly useful.

Certainly he dominated this conference, along with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who delivered a gritty opening address in which Pretoria was spared few harsh words. They were familiar words, but devoured by both the delegates and the swarm of foreign Pressmen present.

The major plague of Southern Africa continued to be the apartheid regime and Pretoria's aggressive destabilisation of neighbouring states, said Kaunda.

He dismissed current reforms with contempt, making the point —

with which many within SA would agree — that apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be abolished.

The US, too, came in for a tongue-lashing, accused of being an ally of apartheid through its policy of constructive engagement and its support for Unita. Multinational corporations operating in SA were also branded apartheid supporters by Kaunda.

It's easy to dismiss much of what emerged as simply rhetoric. The language of socialism has become almost a cant.

Thus, in summing up the conference, Brandt thundered that he would tell President P W Botha that there was no compromise with apartheid. And he called for a wide-ranging new package of sanctions against SA. Again, it's easy to dismiss the call. SI is a voluntary body, and its resolution on sanctions is anything but binding.

Fixed item

But at the same time there is no doubting that the message taken back this week to Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, the UK, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Senegal, Sweden, Spain and the US is not one P W would like.

And messages of this nature are having their effect. Already Denmark has announced its intentions to completely end trade with SA. Other Scandanavian and European countries are likely also to tighten the noose.

In the words of Senator Margherita Boniver, of the Italian Socialist Party, apartheid has finally become a fixed item on the international agenda.

That meant something concrete to the recently-assassinated Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, who was a leading light in SI.

"When the world decides to abolish apartheid, apartheid will disappear," he said in one of his last major speeches. The world shuffled one step closer to that this weekend.

Talks with Frontline heads

A SPOKESMAN for President P W Botha refused to comment yesterday on the content of the informal talks between Botha and Frontline-state leaders at the weekend Swazi coronation of 18-year-old King Mswati.

Head of liaison for the State President's Office Jack Viviers said Botha had had an opportunity to talk with a number of people, including Mozambican President Samora Machel.

Botha and Machel were seated alongside each other for five hours on the guest podium on Saturday during the celebration

of the new king's appointment, which was attended by about 60 000 Swazis who packed the Somhlolo stadium to capacity.

This impromptu gathering of Botha, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Machel, Botswana President Quett Masire and Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende obviously provided an opportunity for an exchange of views, strengthening speculation that there will be further negotiations between Botha and black nationalists.

Botha flew back to SA on Saturday and did not attend the State banquet, at which Mswati himself failed to arrive.

Both Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Lesotho King Moshoeshoe addressed Saturday's celebrations. Moshoeshoe said: "We are all committed to liberating mankind from all forms of oppression, especially where those practices are institutionalised and legalised."

Mswati committed himself to work to advance his people's unity, happiness and prosperity.

THELMA TUCH

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Botha in
informal
talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A spokesman for State President P W Botha declined to comment yesterday on the content of the informal talks between Mr Botha and leaders of the frontline states at the weekend coronation of King Mswati III of Swaziland.

The head of liaison for the State President's Office, Mr Jack Viviers, said Mr Botha had had an opportunity to discuss matters with "a number of people", including President Samora Machel.

This impromptu gathering provided an opportunity for an exchange of views, strengthening speculation of future negotiations between Mr Botha and black nationalists.

Mr Botha flew back to South Africa on Saturday and did not attend the state banquet at which King Mswati himself failed to arrive.

Both Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe addressed Saturday's celebrations with King Moshoeshoe pointing a finger at South Africa as he said: "We are all of us committed to liberating mankind from all forms of oppression especially where those practices are institutionalized and legalized."

Obasanjo brings 'African realities' to talks on SA

CAC TMTS 2/5/86 (1/1)

SUDDENLY the South African political deck of cards has a new ace of spades. Out go Dr Chester Crocker and Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi and in comes the tough General Obasanjo of Nigeria.

No foreign visitor of recent times has made such a big impression on cabinet members as General Obasanjo. At the end of the recent visit by the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) the general and Mr Chris Heunis had a long discussion in which several intriguing constitutional possibilities were raised. This week Mr Pik Botha was quite explicit in his preference for this man, who knows the "realities of Africa", to the "do-gooders" of America and Europe.

Sources close to the cabinet and the EPG say that General Obasanjo, without for a moment condoning apartheid, listened sympathetically to the view that South Africa is a multi-ethnic state which requires a unique political solution that would provide special protection to ethnic minorities.

Pluralist option

In the vexing issue of the "national question", most nationalist thinkers and politicians in Europe and Africa have tended to favour what Benjamin Neuberger calls the Jacobin way. Its goal is to transform a heterogeneous state as quickly as possible, and by force if necessary, into a homogenous nation-state in which ethnic diversity is barely tolerated, if at all.

In contrast to someone like Nyerere with his policy of rapid and forcible Swahilization, all the Nigerian leaders since the civil war have been in favour of what can be called the pluralist option. Gowon, Muhammad, Obasanjo, Shagari and Buhari have all supported the right of self-determination for Nigeria's ethnic groups, with the qualification that self-determination must be achieved within and not outside the Nigerian federation. However, they have all made a clear distinction



Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOME



Dr Chester Crocker

between "pluralism", which accepts the equal value of all nationalities, and "tribalism", which they see as an ideology of discrimination, arrogance and national inequality.

People close to General Obasanjo say that on his recent visit to South Africa he was particularly incensed by the Group Areas Act which makes it impossible for blacks to escape the townships. One can easily imagine Mr Heunis earnestly assuring General Obasanjo that the Botha government's policy is really based on pluralism and not on tribalism, and that the homelands are being brought back into the South African state.

And General Obasanjo reportedly had most attentive listeners when he started talking about his attempt in the 1970s to steer Nigeria from a military dictatorship controlled by the biggest ethnic group — the Hausa — to a viable democracy. In his system the various ethnic groups were protected from domination through a system of checks and balances, and the devolution of power to regions which took ethnic diversity into account but did not absolutize the principle.

General Obasanjo comes



General Obasanjo

from one of the very small ethnic groups in Nigeria which together forms about a quarter to a third of Nigeria's population (a remarkably similar proportion to that of the whites, coloureds and Indians put together). When he took power in 1975 after staging a successful military coup, General Obasanjo, as the first non-Hausa in power, had a special incentive for breaking down the political predominance of the three big ethnic groups — the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Ibo.

He restructured Nigeria first in 12 and then in 19 federal sub-states before holding elections in 1979 which brought a return to democracy in Nigeria after 13 years.

Translated to the South African context this would mean a federation of 18 or 19 entities comprising the eight economic development regions and the homelands while leaving open the possibility of a merger of a homeland and a region along the lines of the KwaZulu-Natal experiment.

Constitutional schemes are cheaper by the dozen in South Africa, and the crucial question is whether the ANC will be prepared to participate in a system which would enable them to take power through

democratic elections in perhaps the majority of the federal sub-states and which would allow for power-sharing at the level of central government between ANC and the National Party.

This may not be all that far-fetched. On the national question the ANC is not hostile to the pluralist position, acknowledging four national groups in the Freedom Charter. And while strongly condemning Chief Buthelezi, the ANC stressed in their recent discussion with the delegation of business leaders that it has never attacked President Mangope.

Apart from whether the ANC will be prepared to accept a compromise, the crucial question is of course whether the Afrikaners and whites in general consider themselves really as a small, endangered minority whose future political well-being lies in a properly constructed democracy with minority safeguards.

There is also another possibility. This is that the government believes that the only basis of stabilizing South Africa is on the basis of a non-racial autocracy dominated by the Afrikaners. This would demand the scrapping of all the apartheid laws but it may also mean the suspension of the remaining vestiges of democracy (elections and a free press).

From this perspective it is a cardinal mistake to compare the Afrikaners to one of the small ethnic groups to which General Obasanjo belongs. The Afrikaners may in fact be the Hausa of South Africa. The Hausa wrested power from Obasanjo in the election of 1979 and then staged a coup shortly afterwards to entrench their power.

A dominant tribe in Africa rarely shares power except on its own terms. The challenge to General Obasanjo is to persuade both the Afrikaners and the Hausa that there will be no permanent peace without popular democracy.

It will be a tough task. (Hermann Giliomee is a professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town.)

Africa in state of 'economic crisis'

The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — Africa did not want free handouts but there was no way in which it could get out of the prevailing economic crisis because of its huge external debt of more than \$175 billion.

This was the message Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe gave today to the annual meeting of the African Development Bank which nearly 1 000 delegates from 75 African and Western countries are attending in Harare.

Mr Mugabe said Africans were determined to solve their problems but they could not achieve progress under the existing manipulative international economic system.

It was a mockery to expect them to do so under the conditions im-

posed by the IMF.

This was why Zimbabwe had endorsed the call for an international conference on Africa's external indebtedness.

The international community must recognise that Africa was an indispensable part of the world system and must act accordingly because a better-off Africa was good for its people and the rest of the world.

SOLUTION

Mr Mugabe said it was imperative to create an African Monetary Fund, but he warned against haste in doing so and making it a mirror image of the "imposing and manipulative" IMF.

But alongside its creation, there had to be a meaningful and long-term solution to the African debt crisis.

Africa a continent in crisis, says ILO

By Sieryl Raine

Unemployment in Africa will reach catastrophic proportions by the end of the century unless urgent corrective measures are taken by governments, says the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

In its latest report on Africa's economic growth and social stability, the ILO says Africa is a continent in crisis.

Unemployment has reached record levels with economic growth showing sharp deceleration.

Between 30 and 40 percent of the urban labour force is unemployed and about 70 percent of the total population in rural areas is either destitute or subsisting below the poverty line, says the report. Underemployment has risen sharply from 40 percent in 1977 to 70 percent in 1985.

"Per capita incomes in Africa have shrunk by between 15 and 25 percent over the past 15 years.

"Just two decades ago, Africa was making satisfactory progress with per capita incomes increasing by two to three percent a year. In the first half of the 80s this trend was reversed, with incomes declining at an annual rate of 4.1 percent."

The ILO calls for a thorough overhaul of current economic and social policies to restore growth and stability to the

troubled continent.

It says the growth in the number of unemployed youth is of particular concern.

Youth unemployment doubled to an estimated 40 percent in 1985. The number of people in the 15 to 24 age group is expected to rise from 89 million in 1980 to 168 million by the turn of the century.

Africa's problems were aggravated by a high population growth rate, now averaging three percent a year, compared with 0.4 percent in industrialised countries, the report says.

In the present stage of Africa's development, the modern industrial sector could not be expected to cope with the unemployment problem, it says.

The region's urban informal sector is seen as a means of generating employment for at least a section of those on the job market.

A Zambian survey found that the modern wage sector could generate only 14 000 new jobs a year from 1978 to 1983 compared to about 20 000 new jobs a year created in the urban informal sector.

"While the informal sector should not be viewed as a panacea for the urban unemployment problem in Africa, an expansion of this sector by seven to nine percent could make it a real shield against worsening urban unemployment and underemployment," says the ILO.

SWEETMA

Parties

Area

2

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, May 12 1986

Food production must double

37-nation talks on population ⁽¹⁾ growth in Africa

HARARE — African parliamentarians from 37 nations meet in Harare today to discuss the continent's population growth which has contributed to food shortages, massive migrations and a drain on foreign revenues.

"Whatever the obstacles, solutions must be found for population control to avert a demographic catastrophe," Didymus Mutasa, the Speaker of Zimbabwe's National Assembly and host of the five-day All-Africa Parliamentary Conference on Population and Development, told a news conference.

"With the exception of peace, no issue dominates the conscience of mankind this century as much as population control."

"This conference will try to bring together key facts and figures concerning population growth in Africa."

The Rome-based Food and Agricultural Organisation, a United Nations agency, blames Africa's baby boom, which has overtaken food production, for the continent's chronic food crisis.

Africa, with 500-million people, has an annual birth rate of 3%. During the past decade, its food production has increased only 1.9%.

The FAO, in its world food report last

August, said Africa was the only region in the world where the population growth was higher than food production.

The report said Africa needed to nearly double its annual food production, to 3.4%, in order to feed its people.

Only recently have African governments acknowledged that many of their problems of food shortages, unemployment, migration and inadequate education, health and housing programmes are linked to unchecked population growths.

Previous population control programmes have been dismissed by some African leaders as a Western plot to depopulate the continent.

In Addis Ababa last April, the 51-member Organisation of African Unity pledged to "achieve population growth rates that are compatible with desired government goals".

Kimani wa Nyoike, Kenya's assistant labour minister and secretary-general of the conference steering committee, said African parliamentarians should take a firm stand on population issues.

Africa, he said, needed to reduce its annual birth rate along with levels of illiteracy, malnutrition and disease. — Sapa-AP.

Africa's population problem

By Robin Drew, of The Star's Africa News Service reporting from Harare

How to dispel the dark shadow hanging over the African continent — its soaring population — has been under examination in Harare this week by parliamentarians from 30 African countries.

The conference has before it some frightening statistics. The continent as a whole is the least developed of the world's inhabited areas. But in terms of population growth rate, it is the fastest growing region.

In a keynote address, Dr Frederick Sai of Ghana, the World Bank's senior population adviser, said that every other part of the developing world has begun to bring its excessive rates of population growth under control.

"Only in Africa are growth rates still expected to rise by some small amount, cresting at an annual 3.09 percent a year in the period 1990-95, before they begin finally to decline."

But even if current expectations are fulfilled and the rates of growth do move



slowly downward, the annual increases in absolute numbers will continue to be ever larger well into the 21st century.

A three percent growth rate doubles a country's population every 23 years and, said Dr Sai, this has only to be sustained for a few generations and the result is absurdly large and impossible totals.

Africa's current population is estimated at 553 million and by the end of this century it will have grown to 877 million.

Dr Sai made the point that only rarely did absolute numbers pose a problem. The trouble lay in the impact of rapid population growth on development and the quality of human life.

For example in 1980 nearly half the 60 million children of school-going age were not in school despite the fact that many African countries were already putting 25 to 35 percent of their national budgets into education.

No one really knew the true number of unemployed in Africa, but estimates of up to 30 percent of the potential labour force were probably an understatement.

Just to keep unemployment from getting

worse under current population growth rates would mean increasing the number of jobs by three percent a year which was a prodigious challenge, barely within the capacity of industrialised countries.

There was a growing awareness of the adverse effect on development of rapid population growth, said Dr Sai, but the majority of African governments did not yet perceive the developmental need for slowing down this rate.

The conference also considered recommendations drawn up at a workshop of parliamentarians in Kenya last year which said that members of parliament should create and sustain an awareness of population and development issues among the peoples and governments of their countries.

Parliamentarians were urged to examine existing legislation on family planning and fertility issues with a view to ensuring that safe contraceptive services could be made freely and easily available to those who wanted them.

There was also a suggestion that legislation be enacted to support family

planning, including a minimum age of marriage.

In his opening address to the conference, Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, urged the delegates to come up with practical solutions.

But he warned that people must not be made to feel that policies were being imposed on them. Every nation had the right to formulate its own policy and programmes which should take into account socio-economic, cultural and ideological attitudes and be capable of adaptation to regional circumstances.

He asked how many recommendations had been successfully implemented despite resolutions passed at other international conferences on population control.

This week's meeting, the All-Africa Parliamentary Conference on Population and Development, is the first of its scope to be held in Africa.

A member of the parent body, the Global Committee of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, said the aim was to draw up an action plan which would be a milestone for future important steps.

403 - LAUNDRY, DRY CLEANING AND

Superceding w.d. no: 343

AREA A: Alberton, Benoni, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Sasolburg, Springs, Uitenhage, Westonia, Wonderboom, Durban. Those portions of the last-municipality within a radius of 24,14 km of

AREA B: Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Pietermaritzburg, Potchefstroom. Municipal Areas: Beacon Bay,

AREA C: Worcester Municipal Area

AREA D: Port Shepstone and Mthatha, Harrismith, Kroonstad, Ladysmith, Richards Bay and Rustenburg

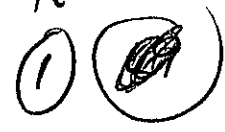
Footnotes

1. Additional allowance - Bicycle

Despite world aid, dependence on SA has increased

W/E ARGUS 17/5/88

Southern Africa needs South Africa



Home at last



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus

Cape Town's Hole in the Wall gang — plus a few other abandoned children — moved into "Kayamandi", the first black children's home in the Peninsula. With Captain Farrington Notshati are Derrick Ngcani, Sylvester Nomlala, Whitey Zeya, William Nyirenda, Ellias Nyirenda, Alfred Maseti, Lennox Nzinga, Robert Yekelo, Michael Shasha, Jimmy Ngumbela, Patrick Ngangiso, Abby Jack, Howard Mge- mana, Cyril Mbalu, Columbus Nogwebu, Derrick Mbalu, Christopher Zeya, Jackson Dywili, Ayanda Mazula, Mxolisi Mhiabeli and Sydney Kaptein.

By MARK STANSFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE BOYS were wearing their new, brightly coloured hand-knitted jerseys because they were expecting us... but at least two of the shiny, well-scrubbed faces were not smiling as a result of chronic malnutrition.

Sydney's little stomach was badly distended and his eyes reflected the pain. But he managed a pleasant greeting as he stood hunched over alongside his "brothers" outside their newly-renovated Langa "home".

Soon he will be in hospital.

Sydney Kaptein, 12, was part of a group of abandoned, glue-sniffing children who became known as the "hole in the wall gang" six months ago when it was reported in Weekend Argus that a gang of young boys were haunting the Fountains Centre in Rondebosch by day, begging for food, and sleeping in a hole alongside the Rondebosch canal at night.

Transformed

This week, the group — as well as a few other abandoned children found wandering Peninsula streets by welfare and church organisations — finally moved into the old Langa hostel which has been transformed from a roofless, windowless shell into a pleasant, five-roomed home thanks to the help and generosity of a caring community.

There are 21 boys settled into Kayamandi, the name chosen by Captain Farrington Notshati of the Langa-based branch of the Salvation Army. It means "Sweet Home", according to the Captain who will be in charge of the boys during their stay.

Two house mothers, Mrs Constance Mapempeni and Mrs Beauty Ndzunga

of Langa, have also volunteered to look after the children and at least one of them will be a constant presence at Kayamandi.

The transformation of the boys and the old hostel is astounding.

Crumbling shell

Six months ago the boys were ragged, red-eyed glue sniffers. Today most of them are bright-eyed, neatly dressed youngsters — and those who need medical attention are to be admitted to hospital soon.

A few months ago the Langa hostel was a crumbling shell. Today it is a newly-painted home, thanks to Bester-ecta Ltd, Everite, Olympic Painters, CIW, Ready Mix and Glasshopper.

The children will be attending school soon, said Captain Notshati — but their troubles are far from over.

"We still desperately need food supplies, clothing and some industrial cooking units amongst other things.

Bare essentials

"At present the Salvation Army is managing to feed the boys with the bare essentials but help will have to come soon," he said.

Weekend Argus readers responded overwhelmingly to the boys' plight and have already donated beds, cupboards, clothing and cooking utensils.

Extra items are needed as more abandoned children flock to the centre.

"Last week there were only 13 boys. Today there are 21... who knows how many more will be found out there?" said Captain Notshati.

It is estimated that there are 3 000 abandoned children in Nyanga, Guguletu and Langa.

From JOHN d'OLIVEIRA

Weekend Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Whatever neighbouring African politicians might say in public about sanctions and revolution, the fact is that most hope that South Africa's transition to democratic rule will do little to disrupt either the Republic's economy or the infrastructure which is vital to the region.

For years the countries of southern Africa have been trying to reduce their dependence on South Africa, but, despite millions of rand in international aid, this dependence has, if anything, increased.

Their leaders' fears are heavily underlined by statistics provided by Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute of South Africa, in an article in the latest issue of the Institute's monthly bulletin.

Economically there is no doubt that South Africa is one of the most important sub-Saharan states.

It has 40 percent of Africa's vehicles, 33 percent of its trucks, 44 percent of its tractors. It produces 87 percent of its steel.

Dominance of transport

More significantly, South Africa produces 77 percent of southern Africa's maize, 87 percent of the wheat, 97 percent of its coal, 98 percent of its iron ore, and 67 percent of its sugar cane.

The Republic's dominance of southern Africa — which has a total population of almost 80-million — is uncontested.

Eighty percent of the region's gross national product and 77 percent of the electricity is generated by South Africa.

South Africa's dominance of transport in the region is undisputed.

Sixty-eight percent of Zimbabwe's imports and 65 percent of its exports are moved by South Africa.

Some 70 percent of Zambia's imports and 40 percent of its exports move through South Africa, as do 60 percent of Malawi's imports and 50 percent of its exports. For Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana the figures are closer to 100 percent.

South Africa provides about 50 percent of Botswana's electricity, all of Lesotho's, almost all of Maputo's requirement and 79 percent of Swaziland's power. It even provides some electricity to Zimbabwe.

Not to mention the hundreds of thousands of jobs the South African economy provides for hungry people from countries as far north as Zaire.

Officially there were 351 260 foreign workers in South Africa in 1984. They sent home an estimated R677,8-million in deferred pay and remittances.

Attraction

It is probable that the number of illegal foreign workers in South Africa would push that number to above the million mark and the amount of money sent out of the country to R1 000-million or more.

The attraction is the South African economy which generated a per capita GNP of \$2 450 in 1983 — way ahead of the African average.

Next in line came Botswana with \$920, followed by Swaziland's \$890 and Zimbabwe's \$740 with Malawi coming a poor last with only \$210 a person.

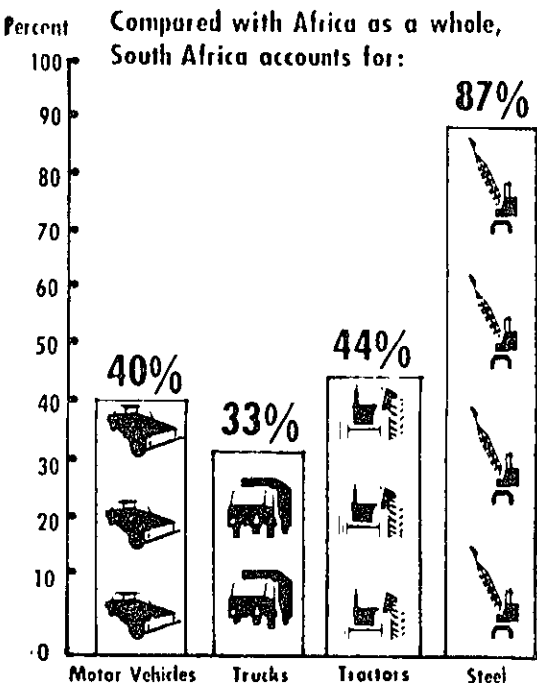
Unfortunately, the South African economy grew at a real rate of only 0,5 percent between 1973 and 1982, being outpaced by Botswana (five percent) and Lesotho (four percent). Zimbabwe grew at 0,4 percent, despite the ravages of the Bush War, while negative growth rates were shown in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia.

All the countries have increased food production in the past decade, but South Africa appears to have outpaced the others dramatically.

This does not mean the dependence is one-way.

South Africa needs the income from exporting to its neighbours and to other African countries and from providing these countries with services.

Continued or increased disruption would only be to the detriment of all in the region.



RAIDS ON TARGETS IN ZIMBABWE, ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA

SADF hits ANC in 3 states

AGUS
1981
AB

JOHANNESBURG. — South African troops struck at ANC targets in the centre of Harare early today. At the same time SADF units attacked ANC targets near Gaborone and clashed with Botswana Defence Force troops, wounding at least three.

In addition, South African Air Force aircraft "successfully attacked" ANC targets outside Lusaka, Zambia early today, the SAAF said.

A statement by the Chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General D J Barr, said SAAF fighter jets "successfully attacked the ANC's operational centre and Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) on the Makeni Plois 13km south-west of Lusaka".

All return safely

All the South African Air Force aircraft returned safely to base. The statement did not identify what type of craft were used. The statement said the centre had in the past been used "for the harboring of terrorists and their weapons en route to the RSA; research into and preparation of specific propaganda material against the RSA, some of the research and planning for the terrorist sabotage attacks against Sasol 2 and Secunda in 1980 and terrorist leaders regularly visit this centre".

It was the second time South African forces had raided Gaborone but the first time they had fought with Botswana soldiers. An international outcry is expected over the raids, especially the one on Harare, which hit the main ANC office only a block away from the central police station.

"Small elements"

In a statement today the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General A J Liebenberg, announced that "small elements" of the army had attacked ANC targets in the two capitals. "The operations were successfully completed," he said. "Information from the South African police played a vital role."

General Liebenberg said the targets attacked were the ANC operational centre at 16 Angwa Street in the centre of Harare, a "terrorist transit facility" at 19 Eves Crescent, Ashdown Park, Harare and a "terrorist transit facility" at Mogaditsane outside Gaborone.

Initial reports said the house in Ashdown Park was badly damaged in an explosion. Windows in the main ANC offices in central Harare were blown out.

There was no immediate report on casualties in the Harare raid but one man was reported to have been hurt while trying to get away from the raiders. A senior official said there may have been attempts at kidnapping.

Early today three wounded Botswana soldiers were admitted to the Princess Marina Hospital in Gaborone. Witnesses said they saw stretchers being prepared, possibly in anticipation of more casualties.

One resident said he saw six to eight helicopters near Mogaditsane early today and another said he saw two helicopters near the Gaborone dam. The South African raiders are believed to have used helicopters to reach their targets in both Gaborone and Harare. The Zimbabwe attack would have involved a penetration of about 350km into Zimbabwe.

Heard blasts

Gaborone residents said they heard marching drums and several heavy explosions about 6.30am.

There were no immediate statements from either the Zimbabwe or Botswana governments but the raids are expected to provoke an angry reaction internationally.

No information was immediately available on the clash between the South Africans and the Botswana troops, who have maintained regular patrols around Gaborone since the last SADF raid on ANC targets on June 14 last year. In (Turn to Page 3, col 1)

P.T.O

Grave international reaction is expected

Political Staff
JOHANNESBURG. International pressure on South Africa is expected to increase dramatically as a result of today's raids by the South African Defence Force.

The Opposition warned against the grave international consequences of the raids at a time when a Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group was involved in delicate negotiations to help bring about peace in Southern Africa. Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia will almost certainly demand an urgent Security Council debate on the South African actions.

Formal diplomatic protests and sharp public criticism will come from a number of countries — including Britain and the United States — and organisations like the European Economic Community and the United Nations and pressure for mandatory sanctions against South Africa will grow. Apart from anything else, it is expected the raids will put (Turn to Page 3, col 1)

CAP's Times 20/5/86

EPG mission 'not dead'

From JOHN
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The Commonwealth's peace mission was "bludgeoned and severely injured" but not dead, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, said last night.

Speaking on Channel Four's television news he said the South African raids into three neighbouring Commonwealth countries "come very close to a deliberate attempt to wreck the initiative".

Confirming that the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) had decided to leave South Africa after hearing of the raids, Sir Sonny said that the mission could still be rescued if the West was prepared to give a clear signal that sanctions were down the road if Pretoria continued to "wreck the peace process".

"The damage can be remedied now by an appropriate Western response. If we believe in peaceful means we must use the only peaceful means to end apartheid — political, economic and diplomatic sanctions," he said.

"If the Commonwealth

effort is to have any chance the message must be conveyed by the West that sanctions are down the road if Pretoria continues to wreck the peace process."

He said the Commonwealth's effort for peaceful change had been "looking good" before the raids.

"The better it looked the more some in Botha's cabinet wanted to wreck it," he said.

The Commonwealth Secretariat announced yesterday that it was convening an urgent meeting of its Southern African committee — consisting of Commonwealth high commissioners in London — later this week.

CMT Times 20/5/86

2 die, 13 injured during SA raids

JOHANNESBURG. — At least two people were killed and 13 injured in South African Defence Force raids on alleged African National Congress targets in Zimbabwe and Zambia yesterday.

The raids followed hours after the South African Police reported finding the largest arms cache in the country's history, including Soviet-made dynamite, plastic explosives and rocket-propelled grenades.

A statement by the chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General D J Earp, said SAAF fighter jets "successfully attacked the ANC's operational centre and 'Department of Information and Publicity' (DIP) on the Makoni plots 15km southwest of Lusaka".

Targets

The Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General A J Liebenberg, said in a statement that South African forces attacked alleged African National Congress targets in or near the capital of Zimbabwe early yesterday morning.

He said the targets were "the ANC operational centre at 16 Angwa Street in the centre of Harare" and

a "terrorist transit facility" at 19 Eve's Crescent in Ashdown Park, Harare.

In a statement broadcast on Lusaka Radio, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said two people had died in the raid. One was a Zambian national and the other was from SWA/Namibia, he said.

Dr Kaunda said about 13 people had been rushed to hospital while an ANC spokesman in Lusaka said casualties were still being assessed.

Abducted

It has still not been confirmed here whether anyone was killed or injured in the Harare raid. Initial reports that people may have been abducted in the Harare raid were later dismissed by a government spokesman, Mr Justin Nyoka.

A member of the ANC said yesterday morning that she was warned the night before to evacuate her house. ANC representatives were also told to be careful in the vicinity of their offices in Angwa Street.

The office was gutted by a blast at 1am, at the same time that SADF members attacked the house in Eve's Cres-

cent, where an ANC envoy, Mr Joe Gqabi, was assassinated in August 1981.

Two senior Zimbabwean ministers yesterday toured the scenes of the raids in Harare and were told that, in one of the incidents, a 20kg bomb was used to flatten an ANC residence, reports said.

Riddled

The servants' quarters at the house in Ashdown Park were also riddled by about 100 bullets.

The Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Dr Nathan Samuyarira, and the Minister of State (Political Affairs and Co-ordination of Co-operatives), Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, toured the demolished home and the ANC offices in the city centre, which were also ripped apart by another powerful bomb.

In Ashdown Park, they also visited one of the neighbouring homes in which the ceiling collapsed because of the blast.

At the ANC offices in the city centre they were shown a long ladder, still standing, which was believed to have been used by the raiders to gain access.

World

CARE Times
20/5/86



Outrage

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE SADF raids into Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, and an apparent breakdown in dialogue between the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group and the government, may have effectively scuttled the delicately poised peace-and-dialogue mission.

News of the raids unleashed a torrent of condemnation from Western governments yesterday and by last night five members of the EPG group had packed their bags and were headed for home. The remaining two leave this morning.

The raids on ANC targets in frontline states have effectively ended any chance that the ANC would accept proposals for a truce put forward by the EPG.

Mandela

Although it appeared last night that the EPG group left sooner than expected because of the raids, some diplomatic sources said the talks may have collapsed as a result of a breakdown in talks with the South African officials on issues such as the release

of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

Another source said the raids had not even been discussed at yesterday's meeting between the EPG and the South African authorities.

The three-pronged strike is likely to spark a new wave of punitive measures — both economic and diplomatic — against South Africa from abroad.

But last night the diplomatic sources were cautioning that while the raids would inevitably colour the EPG's future deliberations, it would be premature to interpret their hasty departure as a sign that the mission had been "abandoned".

Although the EPG still intends drafting, by the



The building at 16 Angwa Street, Harare, after the SADF attack yesterday.

end of June, a report on whether Commonwealth sanctions should be imposed against South Africa, no date has apparently been settled for members to reconvene in London.

Earlier yesterday the co-leaders of the EPG — former Australian prime minister Mr Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo — indicated that they would not be issuing a statement on the raids.

A spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said last night that the government had "absolutely no comment" on either the travel plans of the EPG or of the state of the peace initiative.

In an unusually swift and blunt response, the Reagan administration yesterday expressed outrage and disbelief at the raids, **Simon Barber** reports from Washington.

The State Department was preparing to deliver



Suzman: The 'last straw'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MRS Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Hongkong, said yesterday the SADF raids on Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana could be the "last straw" paving the way for more extensive economic sanctions against South Africa by the United States.

Mrs Suzman, whose party has called for a snap debate today on the raids, has just returned from an extensive visit to the US and noted that Congress was likely to initiate a measure of punitive measures this year, including the denial of S&A trading rights, a doubling of taxation of US companies doing business in South Africa and a ban on all new loans to South Africa.

CP spokesman: Raids 'essential and timely'

Mr Kyburgh said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. K. Botha, appeared to be "painfully aware" of the international implications of the raids when he proceeded yesterday.

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Malan linked raids to US strike at Libya

Political Staff

GENERAL Mangu Malan, Minister of Defence, gave a clear warning last week that cross-border raids were the willing and linked them to America's pre-emptive strike against Libya. Speaking during the defence budget debate, General Malan said: "The circumstances in which we find ourselves are against justification for operations against terrorist bases across our borders, should the threat of course originate there."

The merit of such action was underscored by the United States' counter-

attacks against Libya after many threats and provocations."

The chief of Opposition defence spokesman, Mr Philip Myburgh, said yesterday he had been given a hint of Malan's intention by the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Adriaan Venter, who said "in substance and definition, the targets in the Promithe states."

At the time of the raids General Malan was in hospital where he has undergone a heart-by-pass operation. Last week he sketched the background of the terrorist threat to South

Cape Times 20/5/86

Cosatu: Real intention to destabilize sub-continent

Staff Reporter and Sapa

FOR the oppressed majority "dictatorial aggression" against its neighbours" was indicated by the crisis and denunciation within the ruling class circles, the United Class Democratic Front said in a statement last night by its national executive.

The UDF statement said: "For them to sub-

ject our neighbours to such brutalisation and blatant disregard for their territorial integrity, is the ultimate in State gangsterism and blackmail."

The raids also acted as a rebuff to the Communist Party's "new paternalism" — the irremediable and the proposed Regional Services Council — has prepared the "seed bed" for communism in South Africa, Mr Eddie Trell (PFP, PE Central) said here yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading budget debate, Mr Trell said the government had not yet realised or recognised the biggest problem facing the country in 1986, namely the black market of the free enterprise or free enterprise system, a perception that could only lead to total rejection.

'When peace seemed a real possibility'

Staff Reporter

JOHANNESBURG — The most astonishing thing about the SADF raids on Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana was that they came at a time when the Communist Party's "new paternalism" was a real possibility of establishing peace through negotiation, said Professor John Barratt, director of the Institute of International Affairs at the University of Natal, Durban.

Professor Barratt said security considerations were probably the major factor behind the government's thinking as they always take priority over any political or diplomatic considerations.

He also felt the timing of the raid was connected to last month's raid into Libya by US airplanes and supported by Britain.

"The government could argue if they (the US and Britain) do this kind of thing then why can't we?"

"The American public has been especially averted to taking action against terrorists. The government probably hopes there would be some sympathy amongst the American and British public for doing this kind of thing."

From Mr Barratt said the other possibility was that "something we haven't been told about made it crucial for the government to act in this way."

"The raids clearly indicated that the government was not interested in peace, said Dr Farook Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress.

"While it asks the ANC and other organizations to renounce violence, it is prepared to use force both internally and outside its borders to maintain apartheid," he said.

From Umpoti the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, said that while attacks on neighbouring states should be condemned, it was also true the government had retaliated if attacks on South Africa were launched from any one of the neighbouring states — Sapa

economic and cultural isolation of this regime."

The local branch of the End Conscription Campaign yesterday condemned the raids and demanded the support of conscientious objectors.

In a statement yesterday Ms Paula Hawthorne, publicity secretary for the ECC, said that in the past victims of similar raids had often been young children and innocent civilians, "not so-called terrorists."

The use of the SADF in actions such as this places many young men who are conscripted into the SADF in a very difficult moral dilemma."

The ECC also applauded the stand taken by conscientious objector Phillip Wilkinson who will go on trial on Friday.

"We salute people such as Phillip who are prepared to take the consequences for their belief in peaceful solutions."

Cosatu said: "These illegal actions convince us that the minority regime has no intention of peacefully resolving the crisis that faces our country."

"It only convinces the democratic majority in South Africa that this minority regime will continue to seek to maintain power through force and the cycle of violence."

Cosatu believes that the latest raids show and continue the secular Western government that only an intensification of pressure from their side will move this government towards meeting the demands of the people."

'Communist seed bed'

Staff Reporter

as by-collis and stay-aways especially when other forms of protest have been denied.

A system that acknowledges trade unions as part of an economic system yet arrested, banned and bounded their leadership whenever they challenged the status quo.

A system that denied participation in the economic system and ensured that it would "take generations" to reap the benefits of a free market economy.

A political system that has, through the years, placed whites in almost unassailable economic positions and adopted an attitude of paternalism to their needs and aspirations.

"Not only has the National Party prepared the seed bed for communism. They have demonstrated to our black population how effectively political bureaucracy to further the economic aspirations of just one group of the community," he said.

"The South African Defence Force would 'step in' and prevent

the new R12.2-million hospital at Horeklands, Mitchell's Plain, and lease a certain number of beds and reserve them for Provincial patients.

Sonnenberg

Speaking during the second reading budget debate in the Provincial Council yesterday, Dr John Sonnenberg (PFP, Southern Cape) said the day hospital at Mitchell's Plain — which, with a population greater than Kimberley or Windhoek, really needed a regional hospital — had still not been completed.

"We must accept the unlikelihood of a hospital being built at Mitchell's Plain for many years," he said.

Reservoir

It should also be remembered that private hospitals would cater for mainly "medical aid" patients and that only 40 percent of "colours" belonged to medical aid societies," he said.

"That leaves a reservoir of 60 percent who do not belong to any medical aid society and these people should rightly be regarded as State health patients."

He urged Mr Louw and the Executive Committee to leave about a third, or 50 beds, at the new Horeklands Hospital, and reserve them for patients who were the responsibility of the Cape Provincial Administration.

Hounded

A system that hounded their leaders as they resorted to peaceful extra-parliamentary pressure, such as the whistles of white use.

A system where the right to trade was applied selectively according to the whims of whites.

A system that hounded their leaders as they resorted to peaceful extra-parliamentary pressure, such as the whistles of white use.

A system where the right to trade was applied selectively according to the whims of whites.

"In that revolutionary process the population is intimidated, grievances are exploited, innocent people are killed and law and order is undermined."



SA raids: Timing and objectives puzzling

AMK Tom's
2/5/86
①

Defence Correspondent
WERE the SADF raids into Zimbabwe, Zambia and Lusaka a purely military operation — or also a psychological action linked to broader political objectives? This was one question puzzling local observers yesterday as claimants yesterday and accusations flew back and forth.

All agreed that there must have been compelling, if unseen, reasons for launching such obviously

controversial operations at an exceedingly sensitive moment, with the Commonwealth EPG actually in South Africa and only a few hours out of Lusaka, one of the target areas.

One possibility is that the raids were aimed strictly at pre-empting some ANC move inside South Africa. Another is that they combined pre-emption with a desire to harm the ANC's fighting image for domestic political purposes. A third is that they are linked with

some impending domestic political move for which a smokescreen is needed.

There are several puzzling aspects on which none of the official statements issued so far have thrown any light:

● Why have so few casualties been reported so far, even by government-controlled media which could have made excellent use of the opportunity to inflate the numbers of dead and wounded?
● How were the attacks

on the Harare and Lusaka areas carried out?

Gaborone and environs constitute an easy target for vehicular or helicopter attacks because the Botswana capital is so close to the South African border.

As the crow flies, however, Lusaka is more than 450km from South African or South African-controlled soil, and Harare more than 400km. The only border closer to Harare is Mozambique's Manicaland

Province, about 200km away.

If, as is possible, the attackers infiltrated by means of a precision HALO (high altitude, low opening) parachute drop, there is no clarity as to how they were brought out again. No helicopter in South African service can fly a round trip of 800km or 900km without refuelling at least twice.

The SADF's deepest known parachute attack is the 1978 drop on Cassinga,

250km inside Angola, and in order to evacuate the paratroopers by helicopter a retelling point had to be established outside the town — a hazardous procedure at the best of times.

A fixed-wing aircraft like a C-160 Hercules or C-130 Transall would have no difficulty in making such a trip, but then the attackers would have to secure a landing-ground such as an airstrip, flat terrain or a straight stretch of reason-

ably well-surfaced road. It is also a fact that there might be a danger of aircraft being picked up by Mozambican or Zimbabwean radar networks.

One possibility mentioned yesterday was that the South African Air Force strikes on targets in the Lusaka and Harare areas were actually deception measures designed to distract the attention of the radar networks from troop-carrying aircraft.

CAP T10K 20/5/86

Rand drops after SA raid

Financial Editor



S J Van Maaren, president of the Cape Society of Chartered Accountants, has been elected vice-chairman of the Public Accountants' & Auditors' Board.



THE British Ambassador, Patrick Moberly, advised a SA British Trade Association (Sabrita) lunch in the City yesterday that the SADF raids into SA's neighbouring states would cause great concern in London, particularly given the presence of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons group in the region.

Financial indicators reflected nervous reaction to the move.

The decline in the rand accelerated to create a \$0,1 loss on the day against the US dollar with a close of \$0,4490/\$0,4500, while the JSE wandered weakly.

"We do not believe that military action is going to solve your problems," the ambassador said.

Earlier he had noted that British investment has created more than 100 000 black jobs in SA.

Rate of exchange

UK exports to SA totalled more than £1 billion last year, slightly ahead of its imports from the Republic.

"We think we did well to keep our sales here up to that level at a time of reduced demand in SA and a weaker rand against sterling rate of exchange."

SA remained the UK's 17th largest overseas market, and the fourth largest outside Europe and North America.

The UK was third amongst SA's main suppliers in terms of physical goods, but if "invisibles" (financial agreements, obligations, and services payments) were included it would probably be number one.

The ambassador said it was believed about 120 000 jobs in Britain depended directly on exports to SA where some 30% of foreign investment was estimated to be British owned.

Outrage, anger in US

20/5/86

By NEIL LURSSSEN, The Argus Foreign Service, in WASHINGTON

SOUTH Africa's raids into Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana are a severe blow to the Reagan Administration's diplomatic efforts in the region, which have been wittingly under domestic and international pressure this year.

With American peace initiatives in Angola on the point of collapsing because of military aid to UNITA, the latest raids are being seen by some analysts here as another example of constructive engagement's ineffectiveness. However, the analysts do not expect President Reagan to drop his opposition to further sanctions.

But American frustration and anger at this latest setback was reflected in severe criticism of the SA government by White House and State Department spokesmen yesterday.

The spokesmen declared outrage at the raids, said they were "difficult to fathom" in the light of the effort by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group to promote dialogue between whites and blacks, insisted that the SA raids could not be compared with US air attacks on terrorist bases in Libya, and held out the possibility that the US Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, might be recalled for consultations.

If he is recalled, it will be a reply of last year's situation when he was brought back to Washington because of SA raids into Cabinda and Botswana, and because of the establishment of an interim government in Windhoek.

It delayed for five months the accreditation of Mr Herbert Beukes as SA Ambassador to Washington.

This week, Mr Beukes was visiting California and the Charge d' Affaires in Washington, Mr Andre Killian, responded when the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker summoned the senior SA representative in Washington to the



IN HARARE: The scene at the ANC headquarters after the South African raid.

Chorus of condemnation

The Argus Correspondent, in LONDON

FLEET Street clamours today with reports on South Africa's raids after last night's television lavished prime viewing time on the incidents.

In a chorus of condemnation and incredulity, Britain's 10 national dailies amplified world outrage in a total of 25 prominent news reports — the main items on the front pages of The Times, Financial Times, Guardian and Daily Telegraph — and five editorials.

There is not a word of support over what The Times dubs a "Raid Against Reason".

Even the popular tabloids, which seldom reflect the tides of South Africa's conflict, give prominence to reports on yesterday's raids.

In a sober appeal, the Financial Times urges the EPG to "let the dust settle" and continue its exercise.

THE SA RAID ROUND-UP

Vital ANC

nerve centre, says SADF

By SUE LEEHAN, The Argus Correspondent in PRETORIA

THE South African Defence Force says the building in Angwa Street, central Harare, which it attacked yesterday, accommodated a vital ANC nerve centre, which co-ordinated the activities of ANC operatives in Zimbabwe and the movement of ANC members between Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho.

The SADF has also charged that this office co-ordinated attempts by Dutch fugitive Mr Klaas de Jonge to smuggle weapons, explosives and landmines from Zimbabwe to South Africa, and gave aid to ANC operatives who planned landmines in the Welpe area of the northern Transvaal late last year.

In a statement late yesterday, the SADF gave its reasons for attacking two targets in Harare, which has not been the victim of cross-border raids before — and one in Gaborone. Another attack was launched on Lusaka.

ANC expert Professor Tom Lodge has expressed surprise at the Zimbabwe raid, saying he was not aware of any ANC operations there.

However, the SADF said the building at 16 Angwa Street had been used to house ANC representatives since 1980.

"All activities of the ANC in Zimbabwe have been co-ordinated from this office."

The official representative of the ANC, the SADF said, was also responsible for official liaison between the ANC and the Zimbabwe Government.

In addition, satellite houses for ANC members were located in

ments of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe have made serious efforts to limit cross-border violence directed at South Africa.

And in this context, there was a process of on-going communication and discussion between South Africa and its neighbours on security issues, Mr Kahl added.

Asked whether the US rejected South Africa's contention that the ANC was a terrorist organisation, Mr Kahl said, "We continue to regard the ANC as an important political organisation that must be a factor in negotiations over South Africa's future."

"We have repeatedly made clear our condemnation of its use of violence for political



ington, Mr Andre Kihan, responded when the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker summoned the senior SA representative in Washington to the State Department to hear an official US protest.

After their meeting, State Department spokesman, Mr Berbard Kalb, said that the question of Mr Nickel was "under review". Attempts to get clarity from the State Department later in the day produced no further comment.

MR Kalb said that there was no parallel between the SA raids and the American raids on Libya.

"The US has for many years made clear its strong opposition to the use of terrorism and violence as a means of solving South Africa's problems.

"Libya is the world's principal proponent of state sponsored terrorism. The govern-

be a factor in negotiations over South Africa's future.

"We have repeatedly made clear our condemnation of its use of violence for political ends, and are concerned about its close ties to the Soviet Union.

"We also note that the organisation contains important nationalist elements," he said, adding that this had been acknowledged by State President P W Botha.

AT the White House, chief spokesman Larry Speakes said the US stood with the governments and people of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana in their sense of outrage over the raids and in its condolences to the families of victims.

"We vigorously condemn these attacks by South Africa", Mr Speakes said. "Our diplomacy in South Africa has been aimed at stopping cross-border violence. Such efforts have had results."



IN BOTSWANA: A wall pockmarked with bullets and a door kicked off its hinges.

Pretoria — obsessed with ANC terrorism

By GERALD L'ANGE, The Argus Africa News Service, in JOHANNESBURG

THE three-pronged South African strike into nearby territories yesterday has provided the most dramatic evidence yet of Pretoria's overriding obsession with combating cross-border insurgency by the ANC.

It strongly reinforced previous indications that blocking the ANC takes precedence over most foreign relations considerations.

The operation was the most elaborate of its kind ever launched by South Africa. Not only was it the first time targets in three different countries had been struck simultaneously, but it was the first time South Africa admitted sending its forces into Zimbabwe and Zambia.

This has introduced a new dimension to Southern African politics.

Pretoria has served notice that it will go to extreme lengths, perhaps any lengths, to prevent the ANC from developing strength outside as well as inside South Africa.

Other states in the region will have to recognise this reality in pursuing their relations with the Republic and with the ANC.

The raids leave Swaziland and Malawi as the only countries in the sub-continent whose territorial sovereignty has not been violated by South Africa.

THE launching of the raids despite the presence in South Africa of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group may be seen elsewhere as a sign that Pretoria has little faith in the group's initiative — or that it does not give a damn anyway, despite the common belief that failure of the initiative will greatly increase the likelihood of mandatory, world-wide economic sanctions against the Republic.

Whatever else they might mean, the raids indicate that supporting the EPG initiative has a lower priority in Pretoria than combatting the ANC.

In its desire to nip ANC insurgency in the bud in neighbouring states, Pretoria has taken two approaches.

One was to strike across the border at ANC targets, as was done in Maputo in January 1981 and again in May 1983, in Maseru in 1982 and again in 1985 and in Gaborone in 1985 and again on Monday.

The other approach was to get neighbouring states to agree to prevent the ANC from operating from their territory, and preferably to conclude "non-aggression" or "mutual security" pacts.

THE Nkomati accord was the brightest achievement of this attempt to impose a *cordon sanitaire* around South Africa through which the exiled ANC insurgents could not penetrate.

Swaziland's acceptance of a similar agreement, the less official agreement reached with Lesotho following the coup there, and the even less official understanding with Botswana had theoretically completed the ring.

But Botswana claimed it was unable to stop ANC infiltration. Zimbabwe either could not or would not do so, according to Pretoria's own allegations.

Continued leaks in the cordon faced South Africa with the prospect of going beyond the neighbouring states and striking the source of the infiltration.

This seems to be what happened in the case of the raid on Lusaka, from where the infiltration through Botswana is said to come.

Argus iger in US



ANC headquarters after the South African raid.



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Chorus of condemnation

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Even the popular tabloids, which seldom reflect the tides of South Africa's conflict, give prominence to reports on yesterday's raids.

In a sombre appeal, the Financial Times urges the EPG to "let the dust settle" and continue its exercise.

But, says the Guardian, the day of the raids was one of "profound gloom for those around the world who would like to see a peaceful and just settlement" in South Africa.

The attacks, the Daily Mail says in an editorial headlined "Blitzing the peace mission", will make it increasingly difficult for those arguing against sanctions to continue opposing them in international forums.

Vital ANC nerve centre, says SADF

By SUE LEEMAN, The Argus
Correspondent in PRETORIA

THE South African Defence Force says the building in Angwa Street, central Harare, which it attacked yesterday, accommodated a vital ANC nerve centre, which co-ordinated the activities of ANC operatives in Zimbabwe and the movement of ANC members between Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho.

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ANC expert Professor Tom Lodge has expressed surprise at the Zimbabwe raid, saying he was not aware of any ANC operations there.

However, the SADF said the building at 16 Angwa Street had been used to house ANC representatives since 1980.

"All activities of the ANC in Zimbabwe have been co-ordinated from this office."

The official representative of the ANC, the SADF said, was also responsible for official liaison between the ANC and the Zimbabwe Government.

In addition, safe houses for ANC members had been arranged from here.

The SADF added that ANC operatives leaving Lesotho after the coup earlier this year had been among those for whom the Harare office found accommodation.

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Mugabe ⁽¹⁾ urges more support for ANC

Argus Africa News Service HARARE. — Zimbabwe will never consider closing the office of the African National Congress, Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe said in reaction to the South African raid.

He told a Press conference: "The time has come for us to call for more support to be given to the ANC and other liberation movements fighting in South Africa."

Denouncing the attack as "barbarous, cowardly and an act of wanton aggression", he said it showed South Africa had adopted a policy of state terrorism.

This would lead to a dangerous security situation in the region because "we, the victims, will have to defend ourselves".

The international community should isolate South Africa by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

INTELLIGENCE

Mr Mugabe said four suspects had been arrested when security forces reacted to the attacks on the ANC office in Harare and a house in the suburbs.

In the attack on the office, a private security guard had been hurt but there were no other injuries.

He said: "At both places, the racists in panic left various equipment including communications items, vehicles and explosives when security forces reacted to the attacks."

Mr Mugabe said: "Zimbabwe will not be deterred from rendering assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa in the form of political, material and moral support."

Tip-off may be reason Harare house was empty

The Argus Foreign Service HARARE. — The belief is growing here that Zimbabwean security officials were alerted to the likelihood of a raid on ANC targets shortly before the attacks.

The occupants of the house in Ashdown Park which was demolished had left the premises shortly before the raid and it is believed they were tipped off that it would be safer to get out.

There have been no further details about four "suspects" who were arrested in follow-up operations.

Officials were tight-lipped about this aspect but it is widely believed here that they would have been local people.

Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe said more details would be released as the investigation proceeded.

Neighbours in Ashdown Park said they heard two cars sounding like four-wheel drive vehicles leaving the scene and this was followed by two huge explosions.

Mrs Grace Ali said: "It was shattering. We had to crawl un-

SAA back to normal

The Argus Correspondent PRETORIA. — South African Airways flights to Zimbabwe and Botswana are back to normal after having been "temporarily suspended", an SAA spokesman said today.

The spokesman said: "Only the daily flights to and from Harare, Bulawayo and Gaborone were affected, as our bi-weekly flights to Lusaka, Zambia, take place on Wednesdays and Sundays."

der the beds and my children were screaming."

The attackers used a ladder to plant a bomb on the roof of the house and placed explosive charges inside it. Small arms and hand grenades were also used in the attack on the empty house.

At the ANC office in central Harare leaflets were left behind by the raiders saying they would attack all ANC offices and residences.

There has been no reliable information yet on how the raiding party entered and left Zimbabwe. Harare is about 500km from the South African border.

Three killed — up to 20 hurt in raids

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The cross-border raids by the Defence Force apparently claimed three lives in Lusaka and Gaborone. As many as 20 people may have been injured in the attacks, including the raid on Harare.

There are also unconfirmed reports that the Defence Force abducted people in Gaborone and Harare.

It is still not clear whether there were casualties in the strike forces.

Reports from Lusaka indicate that at least two people were killed when South African fighter planes attacked an alleged ANC operations centre 15km from the capital.

In the attack on Mogoditane, near Gaborone, Mr Jabulani Masilele was killed.

Frontline states hold urgent summit on SADF attacks

HARARE. — Foreign Ministers of the frontline states began emergency talks here today on yesterday's South African attacks on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Political sources said the talks followed a call last night by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the six-nation group, for a frontline summit.

JETS, HELICOPTERS

South African jets, helicopter-borne troops and ground forces struck at targets close to Gaborone, Lusaka and Harare, which it said were bases of the African National Congress.

At least three people died in the lightning raids, which were internationally condemned. — Sapa-Reuter.

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oi River, Parys,

Reserve Bank rescues the rand

Financial Staff

21/5/76 (2) (1) (30)
THE Reserve Bank rescued the rand on the foreign exchange market and helped to prop the currency above the US 44 cents level today.

The rand was quoted at 44,20 cents, slightly below last night's 44,40 close. The financial rand improved to 27 cents from 26,75.

The commercial and financial rands tested their lowest levels in more than a year yesterday in reaction to the Harare-Gaborone-Lusaka military strikes. But the Reserve Bank put about \$100-million into the market to support the rand yesterday, say dealers.

Foreign exchange dealers report pressure on the Reserve Bank to accumulate dollars for foreign debt repayments and to handle demand from importers forced to cover forward. Both these factors tend to depress the rand.

Motive of govt raids not clear — Borain

Capl Times 22/5/86 Staff Reporter

IT WAS "inconceivable madness" for the government to embark on its recent raids into three neighbouring countries while the Commonwealth EPG was in the country and when, for the first time, there was some hope of peace negotiations with the ANC.

This was said last night by Mr Nick Borain, chairman of Western Cape Region of the End Conscription Campaign, at a public meeting called by more than 20 organizations to protest against the cross-border raids.

About 800 people packed into the Claremont Civic Centre to listen to various speakers criticize the attacks, as well as the government's alleged role in the destabilization of black communities both within and outside the country's borders.

Mr Borain said it was not clear to him why the raids should have been staged. It may have been that the raids were meant to wreck a negotiated peace with the ANC, or that the government "just doesn't care what the rest of the world thinks".

Professor Mike Savage, professor of sociology at the University of Cape Town, said the raids were a direct response to the growing demands within South Africa for a nonracial, democratic society.

There were certain myths being built up about the SADF, including that it was acting in self-defence against international terrorism. These myths bore no relationship to the realities in South Africa, he said.

Raids: 'Duty to protect'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Foreign reaction to this week's SADF raids showed that the nature and character of the ANC was not properly understood, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said yesterday.

At a news conference at the Union Buildings, Mr Nel said at least "two terrorists" had been killed in Harare. "We think the Zimbabweans are withholding this information," he said.

It was possible two more "terrorists" had been killed in Botswana, he said. Nothing had been brought back from the ANC bases "because it was not the purpose of the mission".

Brigadier Herman Stadler of the security police and Brigadier Jan Klopper of the SADF also addressed the news conference.

Mr Nel said the raids were a "purposeful step to bring about peace. The terrorists don't want peace, they want revolution".

'Danger to innocent citizens'

The African National Congress was a "terrorist" organization, formed part of "international terrorism" and was not a danger to government but to innocent citizens.

While it had been anticipated the raids would not be popular in the international community, Mr Nel said the government had a duty to protect its citizens and would do so again "when and wherever the situation demands".

He said the ANC had been weakened because transit camps and infiltration routes had been destroyed. Without infiltration routes the ANC "will hardly have a presence in SA".

The intention was also to send a message to the ANC that they could be reached in Southern Africa.

Mr Nel said the operation was a limited one which did not indicate the full capabilities of the SADF.

When asked whether SA's warning had not killed off the Commonwealth peace initiative, he said he could not comment other than to point out that EPG members had said the initiative was not dead.

He denied press reports that Zimbabwe had been warned about the raid.

Mr Nel denied — "until it is proved" — a claim by Zambia that the camp hit outside Lusaka was a refugee camp run by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. He said it was "not easy" to assess the results of the Lusaka attack.

Mr Nel linked the ANC to the "international terrorist network" because "ANC terrorists" were trained in the Soviet Union, East Germany, Angola and Libya, the ANC depended on the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries for arms, it used PLO communication facilities in Zimbabwe and the ANC had close ties with Libya.

Despite this support, Mr Nel said, the ANC had not been able to create an "effective command and control structure within SA".

Botha firm on raids action

BY EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

— President P W Botha yesterday vowed to strike at ANC bases in foreign countries in future if necessary, and added that South Africa had the capacity to "break" the organization.

"We have only delivered the first instalment," an unrepentant Mr Botha explained in the face of international condemnation of South Africa's pre-emptive military strikes against ANC targets in neighbouring states.

Speaking during a special parliamentary debate in the House of Delegates, Mr Botha clearly spelt out in unambiguous terms his government's determination to fight the ANC.

The debate was held to discuss last Monday's military action against ANC targets in Lusaka, Gaborone and Harare.

Mr Botha said: "We will continue to strike against the ANC base facilities in foreign countries in accordance with our legal right..."

He said that pre-emptive strikes against the ANC, such as the recent raids in frontlines states, would continue "as long as the ANC is not prepared to return to this country and talk to South Africans in a decent way".

In an appeal to the West, Mr Botha said the international community treated South Africa as an exception to the general rules of law by which society was governed.

He warned the West that it would not succeed in its fight against terrorism if it selectively condemned terrorist activities.

CAP-Timb 22/5/60
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Commonwealth slates 'aggression'

From MARGARET SMITH

LONDON. — The Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa, representing all member countries of the Commonwealth, last night condemned "utterly" the South African "aggression" against the three Commonwealth frontline states of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In a statement after an emergency meeting of the Secretariat here they referred to the raids as acts of wanton aggression.

They also demanded full compensation to be paid to the countries concerned and called on South Africa never again to violate the territorial integrity of other states.

Referring to President P W Botha's warning that South Africa could strike again, the statement said: "The Commonwealth and the international community must act to prevent such crimes against world order.

"As members of the Commonwealth we share a deep sense of indignation at the grievous damage South Africa has done in a calculated way to the Commonwealth initiative for peaceful change in South Africa."

CMK Tap 22/5/86

SA raids. Foreign reaction varies

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — While the British press reaction to South Africa's cross-border raids ranged yesterday from outright support for attacks on the ANC to demands for South Africa's isolation, two of America's most influential newspapers said the raids undermined President Ronald Reagan's policies in the area.

The New York Times said in an editorial that the attacks against alleged guerilla bases had "bloodied" Reagan administration apologists for the State President, Mr P W Botha, who had asked that recent reforms in the apartheid system be interpreted as signs of its eventual demise.

The Washington Post said: "All attacks conducted in the name of fighting terrorism are not equal — some are justified and some are not."

Meanwhile in Britain, the conservative Daily Telegraph, sharply critical of the South African action, said the call for full-blooded sanctions would be strong, and the British Government had to consider fresh steps to be taken.

Britain's recently-launched national morning newspaper, Today, said the cross-border raids were an act of "reckless desperation" which demanded a considered, but tough, response from the West.

"In Southern Africa, we feel, the greatest evil is apartheid, the very thing the raid was designed to protect, but a system of government we find indefensible."

In a sharp attack on the ANC, the mass-circulation right-wing Sun said Britain would strike back if it was the target of regular terrorist raids from neighbouring countries.

① FIN HALL 23/5/86
NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Rajiv warns on SA

India's Premier Rajiv Gandhi's four-nation African swing through Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania last week, followed by the weekend strikes into Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe by the SADF, could develop into two major milestones along the road towards escalating conflict in the region. Gandhi, while being prepared to give the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) a chance to resolve the crisis through peaceful negotiation, warned in Harare that peace prospects were "not good."

Warning that SA was heading for a "major explosion," Gandhi said Pretoria could anticipate the imposition of comprehensive mandatory UN economic sanctions, unless apartheid was immediately abolished. His warning and the SADF's latest raids served as a foretaste of what might happen at the September meeting in Harare of more than 100 non-aligned nations.

While the Indian leader repeatedly described his brief tour as a "solidarity" visit, there is a clear link between it and the Harare summit. As retiring chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, an important reason for Gandhi's visit was to discuss arrangements for the Harare summit at which he will be succeeded by Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

Although there has been no mention of concrete Indian assistance for the Frontline states (except for technical aid to Angola), Gandhi hinted that the non-aligned leaders

might up the stakes in September and consider providing the means whereby Frontline countries could defend themselves.

No sooner was the ink dry on this suggestion, than South African planes and commandoes struck at African National Congress offices near Lusaka and in Gaborone and Harare, underlining the need for the kind of military assistance and hardware that Gandhi appeared to have in mind. ■

Mengistu offer

26/5/86 STAR ①

NAIROBI— Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam has offered to train and arm 10 000 combatants from South Africa and Namibia to help fight Pretoria's white, minority-ruled government, Ethiopia's government-owned radio reported yesterday.

The radio, monitored in Nairobi, said Mr Mengistu made the offer during a meeting in his capital, Addis Ababa, with envoys from Botswana, Mozambique, Zaire and Zimbabwe and representatives of the African National Congress and the South West Africa Peoples Organisation.

The meeting was held to discuss South Africa's military raids against Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia a week ago.

Addis Ababa radio said Mengistu had sent a message to the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo and to Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo offering to arm and train their fighters. — Sapa-Associated Press.

Sanctions: costly sacrifice for the Frontline states

The head of the Frontline states, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, whose country was hard hit by sanctions against white-ruled Rhodesia, says Zambia is prepared to make a sacrifice again to end white rule in South Africa.

And sacrifices it will certainly have to make, as will the other countries in the region.

If full sanctions are imposed and South Africa wished to retaliate, it could repatriate thousands of foreign workers, cut off port facilities and its vital rail network, and restrict the supply of electricity, fuel, food, strategic minerals, credit facilities, as well as medical and development aid.

Many of these measures would also hurt the South African economy, but they are options open to the Government.

The economic interdependence includes the following areas:

The Frontline states would suffer enormous economic hardships in the event of sanctions against South Africa. Yet they have intensified calls for trade embargoes against this country following the raids into Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. ZENAIDE VENDEIRO and KYM HAMILTON review the implications of sanctions on these Southern African states.

● Foreign workers — there are about 350 000 legal foreign workers in South Africa, supporting an estimated 2 million dependants throughout the region. However, the number of illegal foreign workers is estimated at 1.2 million.

● Transport — more than 50 percent of all locomotives and rolling stock in Africa are operated by the South African Transport Services.

In addition, six of the 15 largest harbours serving the sub-continent are in South Africa.

As a result, 57 percent of Zaire's imports come through South Africa.

Zambia routes 70 percent of its imports and 40 percent of its exports through South Africa. A total of 60 percent of Malawi's imports and 50 percent of its exports move through South Africa as do 68 percent of Zimbabwe's imports and 65 percent of its exports.

● Electricity — South Africa generates 77 percent of the electricity needed in the sub-continent. It provides about 50 percent of Botswana's power needs, 100 percent for Lesotho, 60 percent for Mozambique and 79 percent for Swaziland. Only Zimbabwe would be more or less unaffected.

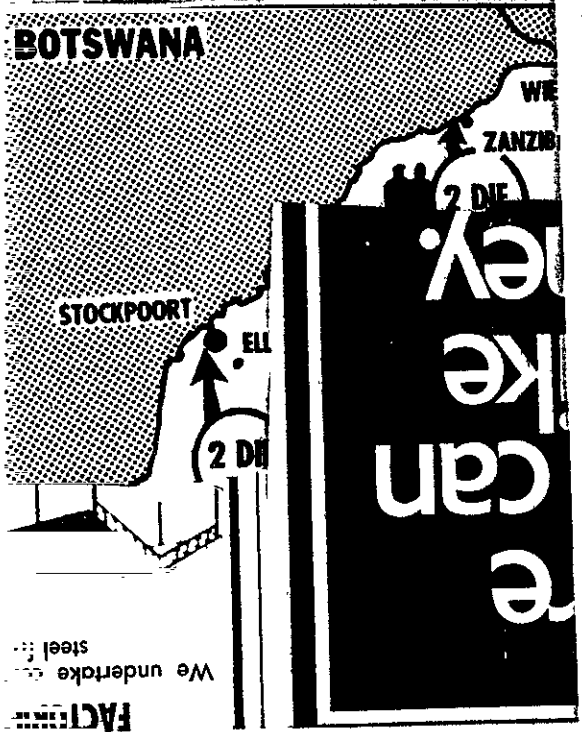
● Food — South Africa pro-

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the Star



Eco-Africa summit gets more support

BUJUMBURA — African leaders begin a two-day summit today to discuss means of boosting regional trade and reducing economic dependence on the West and Japan.

Senior officials from 15 southern and east African nations are attending the extraordinary summit of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which is slowly gaining momentum after experiencing severe teething troubles since it was founded in 1981.

PTA officials hope that the meeting will make up for an embarrassing fiasco in December, when only four heads of state turned up for the organisation's annual summit in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

The officials expect eight leaders to attend this week's summit, including Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda, Hassan Gouled of Djibouti and Ahmed Abdallah of the Comoros, as well as the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and their host, Burundian President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza.

The PTA also comprises Ethiopia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Somalia, Swaziland and Tanzania.

Reuter.

SADCC summit to focus on SA raids

The Star's Africa
News Service

GABORONE — South African military action against neighbouring states will almost certainly dominate the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference annual summit in Luanda this year.

Due to attend the meeting will be the Presidents of Zambia, Malawi, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Tanzania, together with the Prime Ministers of Zimbabwe and Swaziland and the Chairman of the Lesotho Military Council.

NO DATE

The date of the summit has not yet been settled but it is expected to be held in either July or early August.

As the SADCC leaders review the five years since the organisation's launch to facilitate regional co-operation and make Southern Africa's black states less dependent on South Africa, they will be faced by generally depressing statistics.

If anything, many of the SADCC countries have become more dependent on South Africa over the past five years.

POOR PERFORMANCE

In addition, this year's summit will take place against a backdrop of poor economic performance by SADCC's member states.

A spokesman for SADCC told a local newspaper in Gaborone this week that "man-made conflicts" and natural disasters were the major obstacles to the region's economic progress.

He said the South African Government's "destabilisation policy" was one of the major factors influencing the Southern African region and its economic development.

Nevertheless, he said, there had been progress in some fields, several significant projects had been launched in the region and a regional identity had been created.

Ghana puts forward plan for African defence force

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Ghana has proposed a Volunteer Force be raised by African countries to help defend Frontline states against South Africa and to help the liberation movements.

The proposal is to be considered by the Organisation of African Unity's Defence Commission, meeting this week in Harare.

There was a note of near-desperation yesterday in opening speeches at the start of the four-day meeting attended by representatives of around 30 of the OAU's 51 member states.

It is the ninth time the Defence Commission has got together since it was formed 23 years ago.

PROTOCOL

The outgoing chairman, Mr Mahama Iddrisu of Ghana, pointed out that the only real achievement was the drawing up of a protocol to provide for an African Defence Organ.

Even this had still to be presented to heads of state for approval.

He called on members to resist "the temptation to throw up our arms in despair and continue to seek security in military arrangements with our former colonial masters."

Mr Brownson Dede of Nigeria, representing the OAU Secretary-General, said the "rhetorical flourishes and pious declarations of the past 23 years" were no longer adequate.

Africa remained disunited and hesitant about collective defence.

Unless urgent action were taken it would be fair to ask if the Defence Commission had any purpose.



20/5/86
Sisulu
①
②

British Consulate

Mrs ALBERTINA SISULU (right), was among a group of women who staged a demonstration outside the British Consulate in Johannesburg yesterday. In a statement the women said: "We, a group of concerned South African women of all races, feel it is our duty to protest most strongly against the British Government's weak response to the destabilising South African raids into Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana on May 18th, 1986."

SOME 30 years have passed since much of what was colonial Africa achieved its independence. Over that period it has received billions in aid and yet has progressively become poorer, to the point now of serious crisis, or so it is claimed.

The irony is that this crisis of pauperisation has come in Africa despite an improving economic outlook, especially as rains have fallen, some agricultural prices have risen and energy costs are falling.

It has been judged serious enough for a special session — which began in the United Nations on Tuesday — on sub-Saharan Africa, the most depressed part of this unfortunate region.

The session has been heralded by cries for yet further aid — or free transfers of resources from Western countries, some of which are becoming impatient with Africa's indigence. And rightly so.

Even the London *Financial Times* wrote this week that "in the medium term, income per head in sub-Saharan Africa will continue to decline unless the present trend towards domestic policy reform is underpinned by a substantial improvement in resource availability in the form of aid . . ."

In other words, the parrot cry of the supposed humane and well-meaning is for more of precisely what has not worked in the past.

Yet foreign aid played no part at all in the development of the West, or in those parts of the world that were growing fast before aid was invented in the Forties.

And, indeed, the opinion is gaining ground among some economists that even to provide basic humanitarian relief the continued payment of aid to Africa is both wasteful and will do more harm than good.

This was the substance of a view put forward to some leading businessmen in Switzerland this week by Lord Bauer, a former professor of economics at the London School of Economics.

He told an international management symposium at the Saint Gallen business school that, in reality, foreign aid did not go to the pitiable figures "whose photographs are seen in the campaigns of the aid lobbies".

It went all too often to the very rulers who were responsible for the gruesome conditions depicted in aid publicity.

The forum he was addressing was established by the students of Saint Gallen Hochschule 16 years ago to examine the relationship



□ BAUER . . . aid used to stir up guilt feelings

'More aid to Africa will do more harm than good . . .'

BRUCE DAY. (1)
29/5/86

NIGEL BRUCE in Switzerland

between business and other sectors of society.

Bauer himself has lived and worked in Asia and Africa. Essentially, therefore, neither the speaker nor the forum were hostile to the fundamental wellbeing of the Third World.

Bauer acknowledges that his views are very unpopular. He says: "I may, of course, be mistaken in fact, logic or assessment. If this be established, I shall have to reconsider my views. But their unpopularity alone will not make me do so."

He argues that foreign aid cannot do much either for the relief of need or for the promotion of development. In fact, by relieving some immediate shortages it conceals, at least temporarily, the worst effects of the destructive policies of Africa's rulers.

It provides, moreover, external endorsement of these rulers' activities and confers spurious respectability on them. It enables them to persist in damaging policies that reward impoverishment.

"Per-capita incomes are reduced directly if a government restricts, persecutes or expels its most productive people, often but not only ethnic minorities — as, for instance, Asians and Europeans in East Africa and Chinese in South East Asia.

"As incomes in these economies are lower, such governments qualify for more aid, since much Western aid is based on per-capita incomes in recipient countries.

"Over most of Asia and Africa there is no machinery for state relief of poverty. Even if aid-recipient governments wanted to use aid to help the poorest, this would be very difficult or even impossible without the necessary apparatus."

But this did not in any case usually accord either with local mores or with the political priorities of most contemporary rulers in Asia and Africa.

Instead, he said, aid was spent on lavish prestige projects, on the Organisation of African Unity and on arms — which accounts for one fifth of total world spending on arms.

The misery in Ethiopia, for example, followed the receipt of \$1m of aid in the years 1978 to 1982. Throughout this period the Ethiopian governments pursued policies that included forcible transfers of people, persecution of productive groups, coercive collectivisation of agriculture, large-scale confiscation of property and the underpayment of farmers by state buying agencies.

Instead, this aid was used to fight several civil wars and to finance the lavish OAU presence in Addis Ababa. The Sudan received \$1.5bn in this period and Tanzania more than \$3m.

Bauer argued too that, instead of assisting Third World development, foreign aid is more likely to retard it. Not only are the cost of investible funds not critical to de-

velopment, but the Third World debt crisis has demonstrated that funds are available in the West.

"The absolute maximum contribution of aid is therefore the avoided cost of borrowing; that is, interest and amortisation charges."

Moreover, he argued that any modest contribution of aid to development by reducing the cost of investible funds is likely to be offset by other adverse consequences.

One of these is increased politicisation, which diverts energies and resources from productive economic activity to political struggles. Another is that it promotes the notion that economic improvements depend on external factors rather than individual effort.

And it impairs international competitiveness by increasing the money supply and/or driving up the rate of exchange, which in turn increases the dependence of recipient economies on external help.

He does not accept that aid has to be maintained to prevent the Third World defaulting on its debt and thus causing a Western banking crisis. Nor that aid is necessary to maintain Third World demand for Western exports.

"If government spending is required for that purpose, it can be achieved more effectively by more domestic spending"

Aid, he claims, has not endeared the Third World to the West politically and is the source of and not the solution to the North-South

confrontation. It has been used to stir up guilt feelings in the West about its own prosperity.

But the West, he says, can help the Third World's economic development by reducing trade barriers. For it offers huge markets as well as vast sources of supply.

Bauer's views are reinforced by four World Bank reviews which are less explicit but essentially indicate some sympathy with his argument.

The first of these was published in 1981 and focused on the ineffectual use of resources in Africa. It did not dwell on inadequate resources to the same extent.

But this argument is not accepted today by developmental economists, who tend now to acknowledge the misuse of Third World resources. Instead, they argue that this has created a shortage of resources which the austerity policies of adjustment insisted on by the International Monetary Fund will not replenish until well into the next decade.

The African man-in-the-street is becoming impatient with the slow progress of the austere adjustments necessary for a return to prosperity, says the *Financial Times*. But the reality is that he may have no option.

For the alternative is not just prolonged hardship. It could be certain pauperisation of generations to come.

□ Nigel Bruce is Editor of the *Financial Mail*

RUN DAY. 30/5/86.

Trade with Africa — the open secret

ANNABELLE GORDON

HERE are currently 13 African countries that officially trade with SA. They are Botswana, Comoros, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe. Since 1980 they accounted for \$1bn worth of exports and this year \$20 is expected in nominal terms — thanks to geographic proximity.

Because of infrastructure problems other countries rely on us for survival. They are not a country on this continent that does not trade with SA," says Sally Gallagher MD of Business Development Africa.

"We could add 65% over and above the \$1bn in "official" exports which do not show in the statistics. Due to the drought we could not export more."

"Africa has had two decades of independence now. Even the newer players like Zimbabwe, are experimenting with things. If governments want to stay in power they have to feed their people which brings us back to what we said 10 years ago: we have the product, the quality, the price and delivery. Acceptable or not, it will go where it is needed because that is economics and that is what politics is not."

"If we go to hostile countries, there are ways of handling matters. For example we have 'other' labelling. It is not peculiar to SA, everyone does it. The range of products has not changed much. The African market is very important to our exporters. Everything goes up north, from basic items to luxury items — even diet foods."

SINCE the advent of SA's latest recession, and the call for an export-led recovery, a number of foreign trade service offices have set up in competition to Saffo. At the same time, an increasing number of businesses are looking to export.

One organisation which has rapidly gained a reputation for being the expert on trade with Africa is Business Development Africa (BDA), established two years ago and run and managed by ex-Saffo employee MD Sally Gallagher and her partner John McGrath.

"We specialise in the promotion of two-way trade among the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADC) countries," says Gallagher. This covers the provision of information and advice on project de-

"The African market changes. It used to be anti-West because of post-Colonial politics. Now survival is the name of the game and they want Western goods."

"The African market to us is big, to others — like the US — it would be small. Personal communication contact is vital. Once you are accepted and trusted they do respond to you and your business needs."

"The export fraternity is perhaps not aggressive enough. Supplying the domestic market is easy, where you have had slight hiccups in the economy and get a surplus, suppliers have done one-off sales or dumped, giving a bad name to the serious exporters."

"Now that the local market has decreased they have been looking to export anywhere and purchasing power parity is far more competitive with the lower rand so they want to look at southern African markets as well as internationally."

"I have never come across such an interest in Africa from Britain and Europe. Britain wants to regain her old traditional markets in Africa, and it is aggressive... we must watch that."

"Africa has difficulty with exports because of diminishing foreign exchange being a problem. In some countries there is an foreign aid programme, instead of sending an export manager, companies should send a financial expert. It is the financial package that gets you the business. There is limited credit guaranteed finance from SA but it is not easily

Gallagher has been involved in exports for 18 years. She finds SA exporters have become shrewd and found ways and means of getting markets for Africa even without subsidies from government.

The SA exporter is generally risk-averse, she smiles.

"The Lebanese crisis (Lebanon was the gateway to the whole Middle East at one time) was devastating to see... the banks were operating out of milk stores. We got badly burnt with the Iranian crisis. Each country has a perceived difference and one needs to know them all."

"Because of security problems at Mozambique and Angola, with the road links inadequate, Africa has to front its goods through SA. Several countries would prefer not to do so but have no option and use more expensive transport to get guaranteed, timorous deliveries."

It is now more realistic for Africa to buy from the P.W. We are back to the geographic proximity we mentioned earlier. Transport is crucial.

A critical situation exists in Malawi as traditional routes to the sea are severed. Nacala container port and Beira harbour are not operable now so Malawi incurs heavy transport costs on her sugar due to the political problems of her neighbours. Malawi exports food — it is a great success story — but has to use SA transport and harbours. Despite this, Malawi remains the most developed of all African states where payment is concurred.

When a specialist is needed

development, aid programmes and financing facilities.

Durban-based Export Marketing and Management Consultants runs a more comprehensive service geographically, but specialises in marketing evaluation and trade missions.

Run by Nora Hill and Keith Anderson, the company has established contacts in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Germany, Korea and the USA.

Dr P. Kieseer Associates is a newly-established export service company. It has an office in Lisbon which services Portugal, Spain, North Africa and Brazil. Its associates in the UK, France and

Germany service the rest of the EEC as well as the Middle East and Turkey. In Australia, Kieseer's associate services New Zealand, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and mainland China.

The company undertakes international marketing, partial manufacturing of goods in Lisbon, the establishment of off-shore facilities, export finance and other documentation and logistics.

Other companies springing up are beginning to provide more and more specialised services. Their advantage over Saffo is that they are smaller and therefore more flexible and more capable of offering a personalised service.

ACE takes Sals

MOORE... satisfying requests

The first private enterprise company to lease SA Transport Services property in Durban is Ace Hantel, the shipping and forwarding subsidiary of the German multinational Hantel-Spedition.

Rudi Kotze, Natal regional manager, says "The move to the 8,000m² warehouse at the docks (formerly a maize shed) is ideal because of proximity to ships and the resultant savings in transport costs on her sugar due to the political problems of her neighbours. Malawi exports food — it is a great success story — but has to use SA transport and harbours. Despite this, Malawi remains the most developed of all African states where payment is concurred."



SAFTO has all the necessary answers

HELA ET BLAIZE-MOLONY

THE South African Foreign Trade Organisation (SAFTO) is still the most important foreign trade organisation in the country.

Established nine years ago, SAFTO is the only organisation which can claim to offer "a one-stop export service."

In fact, GM Anne Moore argues, it is more necessary than ever to be able to offer a wide variety of services capable of satisfying all requests.

The foreign trade business has changed dramatically during the past decade, particularly for a South African exporter, explains Moore. Now there are a number of complicated questions which need delicate answers. And apart from the political pitfalls which SA traders face, there are geographical differences also in need of careful handling.

Foreign trade

In addition to these more specific aspects of foreign trade, quite a number of exporters require guidance on basic financial, marketing and administrative questions. Even experienced exporters, Moore says, need advice from time to time.

SAFTO's approach, she adds, is to try to train companies to

Another important aspect to exporting is that of taking part in trade exhibitions worldwide. South African manufacturers in this area, says Exhibitions International MD Anton Post.

This company specialises in organising and setting up participation. It will establish what presentation is needed and how to promote the product or manufacturer at an exhibition.

Government incentives are available for this purpose, says Post, who stresses that South African exporters should be aware of how effective exhibitions can be. If your participation in an exhibition is fully arranged, many useful contacts can be made, ideas can be exchanged and often a clearer path to establishing sales can be mapped out.

Until recently, Saffo's disadvantage was that it appeared to have no competition and therefore could operate more or less as it wished. But new entrants to the market have been challenging Saffo's position recently.

The organisation is also unlikely to disappear under a recessionary cloud. It is government-funded, owing to community work and training projects for the Department of Trade and Industry.

Organisation

The organisation is also unlikely to disappear under a recessionary cloud. It is government-funded, owing to community work and training projects for the Department of Trade and Industry.

PROVIDING a full range of transport and customs handling services, Saffo has been part of the changing world of cargo movement which mirrors the state of our economy.

The last six months have been one of the toughest periods experienced by us in a decade of operating in the Republic. In the face of decreasing overall volumes and pressured margins, it is only those companies which have changed themselves to challenging circumstances that have survived.

But Saffo accepts many companies either do not have the time or the manpower to efficiently organise their own export projects. Members of Saffo pay an annual fee of R50, for which they are entitled to a number of on-going services including use of research teams and availability of expert advice.

The main advantage to using Saffo is that it is big and established long enough to have knowledgeable staff and good overseas contacts. Its services range from marketing, management and administration to research and training.

Part of a changing world

Porting territories and the Indian Ocean Islands has provided a broader base for exporters.

Known for its speciality in the movement of capital goods, Saffo has been successful in handling abnormal loads for SA's manufacturing sector.

"This is the challenge and prospects are bleak in the short and medium term. Forecasts are dangerous in the very volatile local market, but we are daily surprised by the underlying confidence of SA industry. The industry is not doing badly. I believe there will be any meaningful growth — export oriented — until the political climate knows better. This does not mean investment programmes.

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WEEKLY MAIL 30/5/86

One in ten Africans has Aids

AIDS may overtake malaria as the principle cause of adult death in Central Africa.

By SCOTT SIMMIE,
London

In some major urban centres in Zambia, Rwanda, West Kenya and Uganda, it has been estimated that 10 percent of the entire population has been exposed to the AIDS virus.

Recent testing of 3 000 blood samples from Uganda, where the emaciating disease is known as "Slim", showed a positive rate of 12 percent to 15 percent. By comparison, figures from the US are low — about 0.25 percent among healthy, sexually active men and women from the 18 to 45 age group.

Translated to a wider scale, the Ugandan statistics are overwhelming. If the 3 000 blood samples taken are indicative of a wider trend, 500 000 people in that country are likely AIDS carriers.

Of those who have been exposed, 10 percent to 17 percent will go on to develop the actual disease at some point in the next few years. As time passes, that percentage could go even higher. Observer Professor Michael Adler of the Middlesex Hospital Medical School in Britain says: "The longer we watch it, the more we will see others with the infection going on to develop AIDS." Those who have been infected, says Adler, are "sitting on a time bomb".

Armed with increasing evidence of the disease's spread, The Royal Society in London recently predicted that in Central Africa AIDS "may soon overtake malaria as the principal cause of adult death".

Sexual promiscuity, both

heterosexual and homosexual, has been singled out as the most common way the disease is spread. Intravenous drug users and haemophiliacs are also likely candidates. But there is less agreement on why the African rate of AIDS is so high.

Some argue the disease was endemic to that continent, and has somehow been triggered in recent years. It has also been suggested that mosquitoes are partially responsible for its spread, but there appears to be little evidence as yet to support this.

Others believe differing attitudes towards sexuality are to blame for Africa's epidemic. High rates of AIDS antibodies found in blood samples from prostitutes and promiscuous men lend some support to this argument. One survey of prostitutes in Nairobi reportedly found an infection rate of 54 percent.

Sexual practices aside, lesser-developed countries have another potential means of transmission to worry about: poorly-sterilised needles.

Although there have been no documented cases of AIDS spreading in hospitals because of this, the potential clearly exists. Instances of other viral diseases spreading through hypodermics are not uncommon. In 1976, a blood-borne virus causing Ebola fever swept through a 120-bed mission hospital in Yambuku, Zaire. Five poorly-sterilised needles had been used for all ward patients and out-patients. — Gemini News Service

Geldof takes hard line on UN efforts

UNITED NATIONS — Rock star Bob Geldof took a dim view yesterday of all involved in the United Nations session on Africa's plight — and he expressed the wish that representatives could discuss it seriously "for once in their f..... lives."

"I personally believe that the Soviet response to anything so far has been derisory, cynical and laughable," he told a news conference at UN headquarters.

"And I think that the American response from (Secretary of State) George Shultz, where he advocated free enterprise as the answer to all of Africa's problems, is just as simplistic and nonsensical," said the Irish organiser of last weekend's worldwide Sport Aid event for African relief.

Referring to the way the critical economic situation in Africa was being dealt with at the UN, he said: "If they could grow up in this place, for once in their f..... lives, and talk about it seriously.

"Who do these people purport to represent? They certainly do not represent the 30 million people who got out in the streets on Sunday," he added, referring to the Sport Aid races in cities around the world.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THUGS

As for UN delegates, he said: "Most of those guys sitting down there are thugs or representatives of thugs. That's the reality of this place. All we are saying is, please listen to what the non-thugs are saying."

Although Africa emerged as the victim, African representatives themselves came out with very little credit, Geldof said.

"To constantly drag in the colonial past as the absolute and only factor for the situation Africa finds itself in today is really disingenuous," he said.

Geldof, who wore faded blue denims, yellow shoes and sunglasses, criticised most General Assembly speeches as rhetoric, cant and well-meaning platitudes.

If all that resulted from the session was a "pathetic 10-page document, full of holes and ifs and buts, then millions more Africans will die," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC quash widespread truce deal speculation

The Star's Africa News Service
LUSAKA — The African National Congress has denied it is considering a truce deal with South Africa sponsored by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group.

A spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, said the ANC had not received proposals of any kind from the EPG and therefore had nothing to consider. He declined, however, to say what the ANC's reaction would be if it did receive a truce proposal.

Mr Sebina was commenting on widespread speculation in South African news media that the EPG had proposed the ANC agree to renounce violence or at least suspend insurgency in return for the South African Government lifting its ban on the ANC and releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Speculation has accompanied reports that the EPG is close to presenting recommendations. Meanwhile the EPG has returned to South Africa and was today continuing its consultations.

NEWSPAPER

Mr. Sebina's statement referred specifically to a report in the Catholic newspaper, *New Nation*, edited by Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, son of Walter Sisulu, an imprisoned ANC official.

Mr Sebina said *New Nation's* report that the ANC was studying the EPG truce proposal was a misinterpretation of a message sent to the newspaper by the ANC. Mr Sebina reiterated the ANC's stand that it would not renounce violence unless the South African Government first agreed to dismantle its "violent" apartheid system. Only in this way could a climate for dialogue be created, he said.

Commenting on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent call on the Government to unban the ANC and release Mandela, Mr Sebina said this did not represent a change of heart by the Zulu leader but a reaction by "liberation struggle" in South Africa. The "Buthelezi clique" had no alternative but to accept the reality of the struggle as the people mobilised themselves to dismantle apartheid, he said.

R297-bn plan for African economic recovery



NEW YORK — The UN General Assembly was poised last night to adopt a resolution committing the international community to help African economic recovery with a R297 billion five-year programme.

The draft, expected to be approved by consensus, was the result of a special assembly session on Africa's economic plight, highlighted in recent years by famine and drought.

The UN programme is designed to help Africa implement a plan adopted last year by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) under which African countries would provide about R190 billion from their own resources.

This leaves R107 billion — R20,9 billion a year — to be mobilised outside the continent.

The OAU plan focuses heavily on the need to boost food production which has been rising at a rate of about one percent a year compared with a population growth of three percent.

During the six-day session there were few specific pledges of aid although Canada, Denmark, and the Netherlands were among developed countries which announced some debt-relief measures.

The UN session came after last Sunday's massive international "Sport Aid" event in which athletes all over the world took part in sponsored runs to raise more than R232 million for the beleaguered continent.

Guidelines for future action

Most industrialised nations, including the United States, said the aim of the UN session, the first devoted to the economic ills of a single continent, was to set guidelines for future action.

Tentative agreement on the assembly's final document was announced yesterday by Canadian ambassador Mr Stephen Lewis, chairman of a committee which spent most of the week behind closed doors drafting the text.

He said it had been completed by a working group and was later due to be adopted by his committee before being put to the full 159-nation assembly.

"I anticipate no difficulties," Mr Lewis told a questioner.

Senegal's Foreign Minister, Mr Ibrahim Fall, spokesman for the African group and a major figure in behind-the-scenes negotiations, told reporters: "I can say that the international community has answered massively the call launched on behalf of the African continent. Given that this is the first time such a session has been held in the United Nations, we can consider it a success."

The resolution urges all governments to take effective action for the rapid and full implementation of the "UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990".

It also calls for a review of progress at the General Assembly's regular session opening in September 1988. — Sapa-Reuter.

CAK. Jims 4/6/86

'Hidden war by SA alleged'

By BARRY STREEK

CLAIMS that South Africa is waging an undeclared and hidden war against its neighbour states that has already cost them R35 000 million and more than 100 000 lives have been made in a book published last week.

"Apartheid's Second Front" was written by Dr Joseph Hanlon, a former Mozambique-based journalist, and published by Penguin.

He argues that the South African Government has combined economic, military and political means to hold its neighbours hostage to protect itself against international pressure. When Pretoria cannot force these countries into line by military aggression and economic destabilization, it is prepared to impose its own economic sanctions, he says.

"The goal is nothing less than control of the neighbours. Pretoria intends to keep them in thrall and thus to create a buffer against both the southward tide of majority rule and against international campaigns for sanctions."

Dr Hanlon calls South Africa's policies the "carrot and sjambok" approach.

"The carrot takes the form of economic incentives, trade links, jobs for miners and outright bribery and corruption. The sjambok is the destabilization, which is intended to keep the neighbours in line, accepting the few carrots on offer."

War 'extracted an awesome toll'

The book, a popular version of a longer study to be published later this year by the Catholic Institute for International Affairs, says: "South Africa's war against its neighbours often seems diffuse and hidden, but it has extracted an awesome toll."

"More than 100 000 people have been killed in Mozambique, plus thousands in Angola and hundreds elsewhere. Probably more than one million people have been displaced in Angola, Zambia and Mozambique."

Between 1980 and the beginning of this year, this had cost the neighbouring states nearly R35 billion — and R8 750 million in 1984 alone.

Dr Hanlon claims that the war has involved direct military attacks on the neighbouring states, covert support for armed groups and economic manipulation.

He claims that "all the leaflets, letters and envelopes" for a massive disinformation campaign in 1983 and 1984 "had been typed on typewriters in the South African Trade Mission in Harare".

Apart from accusing South Africa of being behind the bombing of Zanu's headquarters in December 1981, a number of attacks on power lines, railways and other installations near the Limpopo River and the raid on the Thornhill air base in July 1982, Dr Hanlon says that when an explosives expert, whom he names, was caught after an arms dump was blown up in August 1981, "the South Africans simply kidnapped the wife and two children of the investigating officer" and forced his release.

The book, which through Penguin will enjoy wide circulation throughout the world, makes numerous other allegations against the government — and it could well influence the growing campaign for sanctions against South Africa.

'No foreign troops in South Africa'

● An SADF spokesman said yesterday: "We are so used to being accused from all quarters of the destabilization of Southern Africa that it is hardly worth commenting on it (the book)."

"What should be taken into account is that South Africa is part and parcel of the Southern African subcontinent and it should be clear to everybody that, unlike Angola and other certain African countries, we have no foreign troops in South Africa."

"The destabilization programme of Southern Africa and the efforts to destabilize South Africa are certainly coming from countries like Cuba and other communist-aligned countries."

"The South African Government has put it on record on several occasions that it wants to live in peace with all its neighbours. A very recent example of this was the State President's call at the opening of Parliament this year to all its neighbours to form a body to prevent aggression against each other."

"We wonder what the world thinks of the fact that there was no positive response to that while landmines were planted close to our borders with our neighbours and calls to end the South African Government were heard from some of the leaders of the front-line states," he said.

AFRICA

(2)

Beleaguered aid call

Senegalese President Abdou Diouf's pleas that the United Nations (UN) special assembly on Africa's economic malaise avoid ideological quarrels, were ignored last week when all sides immediately retreated to their respective philosophical camps.

The United States wasted no time setting itself up as leader of the free-market group. Secretary of State George Shultz, while conceding that Africa remains the neediest continent, told the General Assembly that inter-



Senegal's Diouf ... calls to avoid ideology in vain

nal reform was what the struggling nations needed.

Shultz's comments ran counter to calls by a united group of African nations for a substantial increase in economic aid from the industrialised world.

Secretary Shultz said he hoped the special UN session would "mark a historic turning point" by promoting bold economic measures to stimulate free market and individual initiative.

Absent from his speech was any direct response to the African nations' requests for a large-scale increase in aid. America's budget crisis has made foreign aid a contentious topic on Capitol Hill, and the Reagan administration has had to fight simply to keep US aid commitments from being slashed, let alone boosted.

The catalyst for the special session, the first ever held by the UN on a regional economic problem, was a report from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which asks the donor nations to extend \$80 billion to \$100 billion in additional aid and debt relief to Africa over the next five years.

The OAU report, which openly criticised

past policies of African countries, also commits the Third World nations to provide \$80 billion of their own resources for economic reform. Nearly half of the funds are earmarked by the OAU programme for agriculture, including incentives for farmers.

Among the most controversial pieces of the OAU programme was a request that Western nations suspend interest payments on the region's \$175 billion debt. Although Africa's debt totals pale when compared to Latin America's \$300 billion foreign loan burden, in terms of per capita income, Africa's debt load is much greater. Twenty nations are already in arrears and, over the next five years, export earnings will be far outstripped by the annual \$24,5 billion a year in loan repayments owed to Western banks.

The US and its allies, however, insisted that Africa cannot be given special treatment over debt relief without extending the same measures to Latin America.

Although some industrial nations questioned the figures provided in the OAU report, few disputed the fact that a weak agri-



US's Shultz ... free market and private initiative needed

cultural base, environmental destruction, an uncontrolled population explosion, and mounting debt have placed Africa in a crisis that can no longer be ignored. "Bear in mind the essentials," urged Senegal President Diouf, "the survival of a continent, the recovery of Africa." Whether or not anyone listened will become apparent in the months to come.

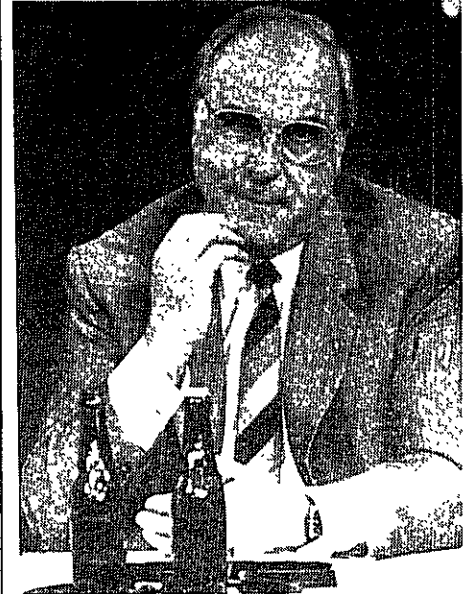
GERMAN ELECTIONS

Nuclear factor bites

The Chernobyl disaster and fears that West Germany's economy will not grow as fast as expected this year, are casting shadows over Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government in the run-up to January's federal elections. And with an opinion poll (published by *Der*

Spiegel) showing 83% of Germans oppose expanding the country's nuclear power system, Kohl's Christian Democratic party (CDU) is especially worried about the June 15 State election in Lower Saxony.

Before the Soviet nuclear disaster, Germany's strengthening domestic economy — inflation headed towards zero, and growth as high as 4%, against 2,4% in 1985 — promised to provide a solid platform on which Kohl's coalition government of the CDU, the conservative Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU) and liberal Free Democrats (FDP) would be returned to power. Chernobyl, however, has cracked the alliance and



Germany's Kohl ... wondering if his coalition will survive

now some leading economists doubt whether real economic growth will match the official forecast of 3,5%.

Questions about the economy have been raised by stagnating exports (as the D-mark rose) and sluggish domestic demand in the first three months during which GNP increased at an annual rate of only 2%. The Ministry of Economics said the economy had "paused for breath."

But at two of the five main economic research institutes — the "Five Wise Men" — growth estimates have been revised down to 3% for the full year unless demand rises exceptionally sharply in the current quarter.

Commerzbank, pointing to wage increases and price stability which will lift private disposable incomes by 5,5% in real terms, believes the consumers will come through for the economy. Even so, Commerzbank has trimmed its GNP growth forecast of 4% to 3,5%.

These doubts about the economy have only served to compound the erosion of confidence since Chernobyl — the Commerzbank equity index has fallen 10% following the accident. The nuclear factor has left the political situation in disarray.

Kohl persistently answered demands from the opposition Social Democrats (SDP) for a

Thumbs up for African aid plan

The Star's Foreign
News Service

NEW YORK — African nations managed to cross a "critical bridge" by working out a major five-year programme for recovery of this devastated continent.

This was the view of a top American aid official as the United Nations General Assembly managed to reach agreement after a six-day session which included hard-bargaining, often into the early hours of the morning.

Mr Peter McPherson, administrator of the American Agency for International Development, said the fact that Africans had "taken responsibility for their own destinies" and then asked for international support was "one of the healthiest, most powerful things that has come out of international discussions on development matters for some time".

By consensus, the assembly agreed on a 22-page document designed to help African countries implement a plan of action adopted last year by the Organisation of African Unity.

PARTNERSHIP

It sets Africa's first priority as increased food production and puts the cost of the entire plan at \$128 000 million over a five-year period — less than asked for.

The document commits the UN to a "spirit of genuine and equal partnership" to revive the African economy.

Final agreement of the document was delayed by the British and French delegations which insisted Soviet references to blaming Africa's problems on colonial legacies be deleted.

In the end a compromise was reached.

From the outset, Western nations made it clear they did not regard the session as a pledging conference.

What was important, said diplomats, was that the international community commit itself to making every effort to provide the funds and supplement Africa's efforts.

ANSWERED

Senegal's Foreign Minister, Mr Ibrahim Fall, a spokesman for the African group and a major personality throughout the negotiations, said shortly before the plan was adopted: "I can say the international community has answered massively the call launched on behalf of the African continent ... Given it is the first time such a session is being held in the UN, We can consider it is a success."

Mr Fall said it was a success on two fronts — recovering co-operation between the developed and developing countries and recovering co-operation among developing countries.

According to Mr McPherson, Africa still faces "a real struggle for the next several years," but he stressed there was no reason African nations could not enjoy the same turnaround as had Asian nations, particularly India.

16/6/86
SAPAC

Mugabe's pan-African army call against SA

HARARE — The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, yesterday called for the creation of a "Pan-African Army" to repel South African attacks on the Frontline states.

Addressing a solidarity rally in Harare's Rufaro stadium to mark the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising, Mr Mugabe referred to last month's SADF raids on African National Congress (ANC) targets in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia and said the proposed force, to be mustered under the aegis of the Organisation of African Unity, was vital to preserve the integrity of the Frontline States.

While he was speaking, anti-aircraft gunners had their motorised batteries at the ready outside the stadium. The whole area was ringed with heavily armed police, many with heavy machine guns, rocket launchers and AK-47 assault carbines.

Mr Mugabe pledged 2 000 Zimbabwean dollars (R2 600) of his own money as the first contribution to a \$1 million (R1,3-million) South African "solidarity fund" to which every Zimbabwean adult is to be asked to contribute \$1 (R1,30). Every child is to be asked for 25c (32c).

LASHED OUT

He urged all Africans to develop a new sense of commitment to the cause of freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

Mr Mugabe lashed out at Britain and the United States for failing to implement effective sanctions against South Africa. He said British and American economic activity in the republic amounted to financial bankrolling of an illegitimate regime.

Protest demonstrations outside the British High Commission and the American Embassy preceded Mr Mugabe's rally, passing off peacefully.

There was no attempt to march on the city centre offices of the South African Trade Mission or South African Airways.

Two meetings held in Harare last month proposed the establishment of an OAU "peace-keeping force" but stressed its potential for use in mediation efforts in black Africa. Its role in repelling the SADF was played down. — Sapa.

US warns Africa on military solution

18/6/86 BUS DAY - 1

CANBERRA — The US warned African nations yesterday against forming a multilateral military force to "deal with" the SA government.

US ambassador to the UN Vernon Walters, on a visit to Australia, said Washington opposed the plan of Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe for a pan-African force to fight Pretoria.

Mugabe said on Monday he would put his proposal to a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa next month.

His statement was the first concrete suggestion of military intervention by the rest of Africa.

Walters questioned the viability of a combined black African force and said the US was totally opposed to a violent solution in SA.

He said: "I do not believe the US would support any attempt to solve the situation in SA violently. We believe the situ-

ation should be solved by negotiation.

"As to Mugabe's suggestion, it takes a long time to create an army. You can't just put arms in people's hands, particularly the sophisticated arms of today.

"I think Mugabe would be well advised if he did not attempt a military solution to this problem."

Walters also said the US opposed economic sanctions against SA because they would affect young blacks striving to obtain technical knowhow from foreign companies.

In Lagos, it was reported that former Nigerian military ruler General Olusegun Obasanjo had warned against a war with SA.

Obasanjo, a co-chairman of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group, said creation of a pan-African army to fight SA was laudable, but impractical, because of logistical and financial problems. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

STAR 18/6/86

SA 'a nuclear threat to its neighbours'

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Dr Witness Mangwende, has warned that South Africa might use nuclear weapons against its neighbours.

In a speech to the Paris conference on sanctions, he said South Africa's nuclear development owed much to the United States, France and West Germany.

According to the national news agency Ziana, he said President Botha did not intend to drop "his bomb" on Johannesburg when the burst of the AK-47 rifle became a regular recipe in township violence. He intended to deliver "that parcel" to neighbouring states.

Dr Mangwende said: "I can foresee the coming of Armageddon in all this — we will have to find ways to defend ourselves. This aspect of the Southern African conflict should be of profound concern to the world as a whole."

USE OF CATALYST

He said sanctions alone could not bring down "the apartheid regime", but used in conjunction with diplomatic and political pressure they could act as a catalyst to bring about change.

"It is in the context of such a multi-pronged approach that sanctions can play an important role in persuading the regime to reach an accommodation with its opponents.

"Botha responds to pressure and threats. We have no doubt that faced by the threat of extinction as a people (as happened in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the Afrikaner chose survival through compromise during the Boer War) the Afrikaner nation will again opt for survival through compromise," he said.

But he cautioned that an economic boycott which was not supported by western countries would have little effect.

WORLD WATCH

SANCTIONS against South Africa threaten devastation to the fragile economies of neighbouring black-ruled nations.

Ironically, black states form the vanguard in demands through the United Nations for a blockade of South Africa.

And few doubt that the same black states will suffer more from the backlash of boycotts than South Africa itself.

Mr John Mkshl, president of the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries, warns that, since most of his landlocked country's trade is ferried through South African railroads, highways and ports, Zimbabwe's economy will collapse "in a matter of months" if Pretoria carries out threats to pass on the impact of sanctions to neighbouring states.

"By howling for sanctions the African countries in the region are inviting economic suicide," said a Western diplomat in Harare.

Migrants

"All the South Africans have to do is to close their borders with the black states round them and that will lead to the black states' ruin."

Statistics tell one side of the story:

- Malawi, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe move up to 80 percent of their trade through South Africa.

- More than 350 000 migrant workers from black states send \$1 000-million in foreign currency to their home countries, supporting two-million people who are dependants.

- South Africa controls 77 percent of the region's electricity output.

- South Africa produces almost 80 percent of the area's maize, 87 percent of its wheat

Black states in a cleft stick

By **NORMAN ELLIS**
Harare

and 67 percent of its sugar cane.

- A customs union linking South Africa to the former British colonies of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland provides those landlocked countries with up to 61 percent of their government incomes.

- And more than half of the continent's locomotives and rolling stock is owned by South Africa, which routinely leases them to neighbouring states

To blunt the impact of sanctions — and to make these neighbouring nations independent of South Africa's trade, transport and communications links — nine African nations in 1980 formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. Its members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

But the grouping, representing 60-million of Africa's 550-million people, annually trades more than US\$1 500-

million with South Africa — and a mere US\$290-million among its members.

"South Africa can demolish these countries' terms of trade by simply cutting the existing contracts," said an importer in Lusaka.

"Every time our President (Dr Kaunda) opens his mouth to call for sanctions against South Africa, we wince."

But African leaders like Dr Kaunda, Mr Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Samora Machel of Mozambique contend they are willing to court South Africa's wrath, and the whiplash of sanctions, to set an example to Western powers.

Zimbabwe's Minister of Economic Planning, Mr Bernard Chidzero, believes that a sanctions backlash will not collapse his country's economy, now picking up after three years of drought, but will slow it down.

Britain, the US and West Germany fear that sanctions will stiffen white South Afri-

can defiance, heap hardships on South Africa's blacks and irreparably cripple the economies of the neighbouring independent nations.

The fall-out from a trade blockade might even be felt in African countries thousands of kilometres away. South African coasters routinely dock at most African ports to off-load anything from apples to air-conditioners. Its air transporters land in capitals ranging from Kinshasa to Khartoum, with medical supplies, food and machinery.

"Nowhere do we have this situation in which so many countries are so dependent on a powerful neighbour they hate and want to destroy," a Zambian diplomat said.

Ivory Coast backs SA 'dialogue'



The Star's Foreign
News Service

PARIS — President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast says he fully supports dialogue between South Africa and black states — a move he started in the 1960s.

In an interview with Robert Lacontre of *Figaro* magazine, he urged the world to be less critical of South Africa and more realistic.

"Can you imagine that in underdeveloped countries where there are so many prisoners there is a single government which would have allowed somebody like Nelson Mandela to survive for 20 years?" he asked.

"Obviously we oppose apartheid, which sickens us, but it is not Africa's major problem, which is one of development.

"Apartheid must be fought by dialogue. Let us realise that without communism we would long ago have found a solution."

He did not look on dialogue as a weapon of the weak. If dialogue were abandoned for force "we will see a 100-year war."

On sanctions, he said: "It would be a good thing if everybody studied this problem realistically. The whites are frightened they will be thrown into the sea and sanctions against South Africa will only poison the whole problem.

"There is already progress. Apartheid is fading away. That is reality. Botha is a moderate. I do not believe in the usefulness of sanctions."

Govt believes SA would be better able to cope with embargo blues than its neighbours

Sanctions will hit sub-continent

Staff Reporter

The South African Government maintains that economic sanctions against South Africa would affect the entire sub-continent. And South Africa, because of its more resilient economy, would be better able to absorb the impact than its neighbours.

The country's leading role was shown in a recent Department of Foreign Affairs publication, "South Africa — Mainstay of Southern Africa."

It examined areas of inter-dependency between South Africa and 10 Southern African states and demonstrated how these states would suffer in the event of sanctions.

● **Foreign labour** — If employment opportunities were reduced by sanctions, the SA Government would "be obliged to give preference to its own citizens in the labour market."

The implication is that South Africa could expect about 350,000 foreign blacks legally employed in South Africa — 189,000 from Lesotho, 60,000 from Mozambique, 30,000 from Malawi, 28,000 from Botswana and 17,000 from Swaziland. These workers send home half their total earnings. In 1983 this money accounted for more than 50 percent of Lesotho's GNP.

If each of these workers support six people at home, nearly two million women and children depend on earnings in South Africa.

In addition, the number of foreign blacks living and working illegally in South Africa is estimated at 1.2 million. Most come from Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

● **Electricity** — If foreign capital were closed, Eskom would be forced to curtail expansion and put South Africa's power needs first.

Eskom supplies all of the electricity used in Lesotho, 79 percent in Swaziland, about 52 percent in Botswana and 60 percent of power used in Maputo, the Mozambiquan capital.

● **Railways and harbours** — SA Transport Services are a lifeline for Southern Africa.

At least 45 percent of the combined total imports and exports of Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire are carried to and from South African ports and virtually all by Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are routed through South Africa.

Last year, 5,863 SABS freight cars on average were used in these states on any given day.

● **Trade** — Few African countries admit to trade relations with South Africa but there is a flow of goods between 47 African states and the country.

In 1983 South African exports to Africa amounted to R1,800 million (about 10 percent of total exports) while imports came to R400 million (2.5 percent of total imports).

Sanctions would undermine South Africa's capacity to supply these vital imports. Alternative sources would be more expensive.

● **Petrol** — Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia obtain all their petroleum products from South Africa, while Zimbabwe and Zambia rely on South Africa's transport network to bring in much of their supplies.

An effective oil embargo could mean a sudden and catastrophic cut-off of supplies of South African oil from coal products to at least Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

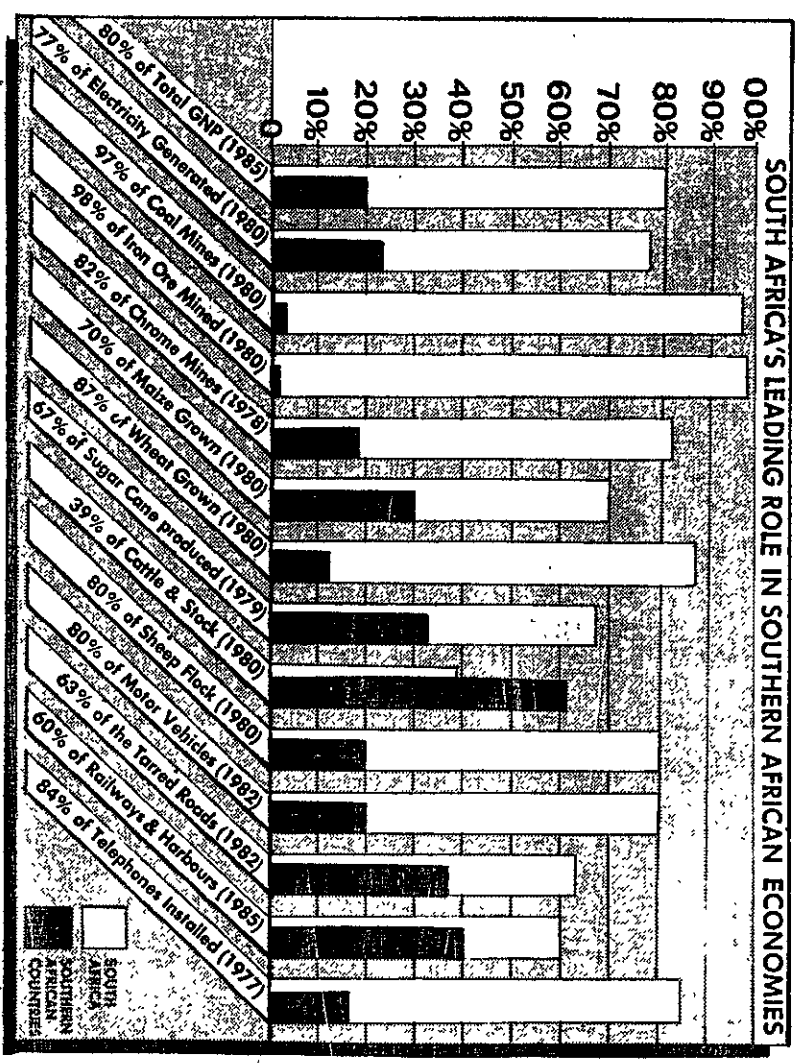
● **Credit** — Both public and private sectors provide credit to sub-Saharan Africa. The Government has provided R214 million in development funds to Southern and Central African countries.

The Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation based in Johannesburg, which enjoys reinsurance facilities from the Government, has provided African countries long-term credit guarantees in excess of R350 million, of which about R200 million was outstanding in September last year.

It has extended short-term credit of more than R240 million a year, of which R80 million was outstanding in September last year.

● **Posts and telecommunications** — All international telecommunications traffic of Lesotho and Swaziland and some of Botswana's is routed through South Africa. SA telecommunications link Swaziland direct with the United Kingdom.

SOUTH AFRICA'S LEADING ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIES



TRADE

Exports to black Africa booming

By KITT KATZIN

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa is heading for a record R2-billion trade boom with black Africa — in spite of the threat of sanctions, the disinvestment campaign and economic and political crises at home.

As international moves get under way to tighten the sanctions noose, SA's exports to its so-called "official" trading partners — in the southern region only — have topped a record R548-million in just four months.

This is 43 percent up on the R382-million posted in the same period last year — and the nine countries boosting SA exports do not include Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, which are linked by a profit-sharing customs union.

This means that total exports to southern Africa — from Lesotho to Zaire and the Ivory Coast, and across the Indian Ocean to Comores and Mauritius — are poised to top the magical R2-billion mark this year for the first time in history.

Final figures

Last year SA's exports to the sub-continent were worth R1 577-million, but with eight months this year still to go, final figures should be even higher than R2-billion.

And with SA trading — unofficially — with at least 34 more African states, and breaking into spectacular new markets in some of them, trade experts confidently

predict that this year's total exports to Africa could top R3-billion — yet another record.

On top of this, current trends reflect a sharp increase in SA imports out of Africa — up from R134-million in last year's first quarter to almost R200-million this year.

This has been widely welcomed as an important step towards correcting the one-way trade imbalances, and stimulating exports by these states, though this would also be of benefit to SA as well — for strategic and political reasons.

Gain as much

In economic terms, SA stands to gain equally as much — by sponsoring higher levels of counter-trade, she forges yet another link in the ever-growing chain of interdependence with her traditional partners and others in Africa.

However, with the threat of international sanctions looming, the key to SA's own economic survival lies one way or another with a vigorous drive to push exports, and its ability, as an economic powerhouse, to underline the extent of its growing trade links with Africa as a whole.

In terms of the latest trade figures, SA appears to be doing just this and should have no difficulty in presenting the essence of this message to the international community.

Exports to existing outlets are booming, and new markets are opening up in countries elsewhere.

Figures show a steady monthly increase in exports to SA's "official" partners — Comoros, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Reunion, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

According to the latest statistics, exports in January topped R137-million (compared with R82-million the same month last year); in February R132-million (R91-million last year); in March (R140-million (R103-million last year); and April R137-million (R104-million last year).

Total earnings of R548-million were more than half the R954-million worth of goods exported for the whole of 1984 — and are on course to reach R2-billion by next December.

Although, compared with worldwide exports, SA's trade with Africa is negligible, the continent is fast becoming the biggest market for certain categories of goods.

Nine countries

These include plastics, resins and rubber products (of which not less than 45 percent of total exports go to Africa), non-metallic mineral products (44 percent), footwear and millinery (40 percent), machinery (40 percent), animal and vegetable fats and oils (37 percent), chemicals and chemical products (33 percent), and vehicles and transport equipment (24 percent).

As SA penetrates deeper into southern Africa, the nine member countries of the Southern African

Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) — formed to lessen the region's economic dependence on the SA economic umbrella — have failed to reach the objective.

Botswana, where the SADCC has its headquarters, continues to obtain 90 percent of its imports from South Africa, and most if not all the other member states are more dependent on SA exports than ever.

In addition, all still rely almost exclusively on SA routes to move their own exports into Europe and the United States, and imports from those areas.

Zambia, as an example, routes 70 percent of its imports and 40 percent of its exports through SA. In the case of Zaire, 57 percent of imports are channelled through SA, and of its exports, 45 percent of its copper, 65 percent of its lead and 40 percent of its cobalt are shipped from SA ports.

Stranglehold

More than anything, SA's irreversible stranglehold on southern Africa, accounting as it does for 75 percent of its total output, is the most potent weapon it has to stave off threats of sanctions, with overwhelming evidence that they would destroy neighbouring trading partners within months.

However, SA's export success story is not confined to the southern region — its economic tentacles are spreading far beyond, and with spectacular success.

In the past few months, SA exporters have broken into new markets in Zaire, Congo, Gabon and Cameroon, and are developing links in Kenya, Tanzania and Somalia in the east.

Large supplies of SA steel and machinery are landing in Cameroon, Gabon and Zaire, and foodstuffs, chemicals, vegetable products, textiles, base metals and minerals are reaching markets in a host of other countries in the north-west.

SA delegations

In fact, says Sally Gallagher, head of a consultancy firm, Business Development Africa: "There is not a country we don't trade with on this continent."

According to Safio Africa area manager, Mr David Muirhead, SA delegations are preparing to visit Gabon and Kinshasa in Zaire for trade talks in September, and similar contacts are being set up with at least one more African state.

"There can be no doubt that SA exporters are getting to new African markets," said Mr Muirhead. "And that's good news."

He disclosed that 10 SA food exporters would attend the Hong Kong food festival in September, and said exports to the East were also up.

Mrs K 24/6/86

Argus 25/6/86
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AFRICA

Farmers chased off land by wars

Argus Africa
News Service

NAIROBI. — Half-a-million Angolans have fled from their farms, driven by the civil war.

Combined with unreliable transport, hit time and again by Unita troops, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) concluded in a special report on Africa's famine that the Angolan food supply situation is "critical".

Fighting between the government and Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrilla force has made it extremely difficult to get seeds, tools and fertilizer to those who have stayed on the land.

The report said Angola will probably need 150 000 tons of emergency food aid this year.

Buried in the report is the fact that the United States has supplied only 18 600 tons of emergency aid — compared to 37 000 tons sent by the European Economic Community — making Angola one of the only African states where the US is not the leading donor.

On the other hand, it is not known how much food aid the Angolan government receives from the Soviet Union.

Across the continent in Mozambique, the fight pits the government against the Mozambique National Resistance.

As in Angola, farmers have been driven from the land and transport has been disrupted, though the UN report also cites the deficiencies of the state Agricultural Commission in Mozambique.

While the food situation is not as desperate as in Angola, Mozambique will need slightly more than half-a-million tons in exceptional food aid this year.

"EMERGENCIES"

Botswana, which was on the edge of becoming one of Africa's brightest success stories, is losing huge numbers of its chief product, cattle. The national herd is down to 2.5-million from its 1982 level of three million. To cover the shortfall, Botswana is to buy about 130 000 tons.

The five-year-long drought is chiefly to blame for Botswana's woes, though the famine appears to be easing elsewhere in Africa.

At least six countries face "exceptional food emergencies": Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Africa's three neighbours.

Sudan, which has received little news coverage, is in the most desperate straits. At least 3 000 000 people face starvation in the south of the country, again, because of a civil war.

Food is available. In fact, the FAO report said Sudan had a surplus of about 1.1-million tons of sorghum. Money to buy the food and money to transport the food are what is needed.

RELUCTANT

Twelve African countries possess a surplus of 2.1-million tons — half of which is in Sudan. To get the food where it is needed, the UN urges the use of local purchasing and triangular purchases.

Both these call for donors to contribute cash, not material. And donors are understandably reluctant to give cash for the simple reason that they cannot control its use very closely.

A painful irony for Africa after these last two years of famine is that the long drought, coupled with this year's excellent rains, are perfect conditions for huge clouds of locusts and grasshoppers.

The UN said emergency programmes to eradicate these pests needed to be watched closely in the next few weeks. There have been several locust scares in East Africa in recent months.

Some of the programmes already designed by the FAO cannot begin as they have received no money from the donor countries.

25/6/86 S.M.R. (1) (2)

Africa: A continent in need of a square meal

The Star's Africa News Service

NAIROBI — Half a million Angolans have fled their farms, driven off by the civil war

Because of this, and the fact that the country's tottering transport system has been hit hard by Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation has concluded in a special report on Africa's famine that the Angolan food supply situation is critical

Fighting between the government and the Unita rebel force has made it extremely difficult to get seeds, tools and fertilizer to those who have stayed on the land.

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of emergency food aid this year. Buried in the report's reams is the fact that the United States has supplied only 18 600 tons of emergency aid, compared to 37 000 tons sent by the European Economic Community.

This makes Angola one of the only African states where the Americans are not the leading donors. On the other hand, it is not known how much food aid the Angolan government receives from the Soviet Union.

OFF THE LAND

The fight in Mozambique which pits the government against the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), as in Angola, has driven farmers from the land and disrupted transport networks, though the FAO report also cites the deficiencies of Mozambique's state agricul-

tural commission.

While the food situation is not as desperate as in Angola, Mozambique will need more than half a million tons in exceptional food aid this year.

Botswana, which was on the edge of becoming one of Africa's brightest success stories, is losing huge numbers of its chief product: cattle.

The national herd is down to two million from its 1982 level of three million. The drought has lasted five years and the country has only 10 percent of its water needs.

To cover the shortfall, Botswana will buy about 130 000 tons on the international market

In the rest of Africa, including Ethiopia and Sudan, last year's famine is easing, but six countries do face exceptional food

emergencies. They are Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Africa's three neighbors

Sudan, which has received little news coverage, is in the most desperate straits. At least three million people face starvation in south Sudan, again, because of a civil war.

Food is available. In fact, the FAO report says Sudan has a surplus of some 1.1 million tons of sorghum. Money to buy the food and money to transport the food are what is needed.

And Sudan's case is typical. Twelve African countries possess a surplus of 2.1 million tons — half of which is in Sudan. To get the food where it is needed, the UN urges the use of local purchasing and triangular purchases.

Both these call for donors to contribute cash, not material. And donors are understandably reluctant to give cash for the simple reason that they cannot control its use very closely.

LOCUSTS

A painful irony for Africa after these last two years of famine is that the long drought, coupled with this year's excellent rains, are perfect conditions for huge clouds of locusts and grasshoppers.

The UN says emergency programmes to eradicate these pests need to be watched closely in the next few weeks. There have been several locust scares here in East Africa over the last two months.

So far, the problem is under control. In the passage most likely to be passed over by donors, the report calls for creating or improving economic and agricultural warning systems in Africa to avert scenes reminiscent of the last year.

Some of the programmes already designed by the Food and Agriculture Organization cannot begin as they have received no money from the donor countries.

Enviro '86 off to good start

By James Clarke

Enviro, the annual environment competition for South African high schools, has this year attracted entries from a wide range of high schools, including Afrikaans, English, black and Indian.

For the first time a Bophuthatswana school has entered.

Enviro annually sets out to find school environmental projects worthy of note. The school teams offering the most promising projects are invited to deliver papers later in the year.

The winners of Enviro 86 will then be invited to read them at the national environmental symposium for youth at Golden Gate — an event founded by *The Star's* CARE campaign 11 years ago.

The SA Eagle Insurance Company sponsors the competition. Enquiries: Mrs Pearson 782 4723. Address for entries: Enviro, Box 31201, Braamfontein 2017.

School not involved in teargas drama

King David School, Johannesburg, was not involved in an incident in which two people were teargassed near the school.

A report in *The Star* on June 19 described how an unidentified man sprayed teargas into the face of Mrs Ethna Murphy, of Linksfield, as she stood talking to Mr Wilson Mlambo in Tregoning Street.

Mrs Murphy had seen security

action in the vicinity of King David School.

A spokesman for the SA Board of Jewish Education has asked *The Star* to point out that no school employee, or person connected with the school, was in any way responsible for the reported incident.

He said the school did not "engage in any plain clothes security activity."



Pages

Europe forges fragile formula over sanctions

Reverse threat

But in a simultaneous placatory message to Britain, which has opposed sanctions, Mr Botha said the British Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was welcome to visit South Africa if he sought first-hand knowledge and wanted to make a contribution towards ending the violence.

Earlier at The Hague, the European Community (EC) agreed with great difficulty to a common reaction to the South African emergency. It fell far short of calls within the group for economic sanctions.

Heads of government of the 12-nation group argued for two days over the sanctions question, described by Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, as a "hot potato."

The majority in favour of immediate action was unable to bend the will of the two leaders.

All they obtained was a promise that in three months' time, and after consultations with other major industrialised states, the EC may impose a ban on new investments in South Africa and on imports of South African coal, iron, steel and gold coins.

Told to lift ANC ban

To prevent sanctions the South African Government has been told to free jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and to lift its ban on the ANC.

Mr Pik Botha's statement emphasised the Government was not prepared to permit foreigners to prescribe how the problems of the country would be solved.

Mr Botha found it surprising Western governments had so much time to keep themselves busy in such a single-minded manner in discussions about South Africa instead of giving attention to their needs.

He said it was also surprising that European governments did not concentrate their attention on the economic depression and misery increasing in many countries of the world.

Reacting to the sanctions threat, Dr Johan van Zyl, chief executive of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries, said he was pleased that "no precipitate action had been taken" because South Africa could now "keep its options open".

He added that South Africa's best interests did not lie in being isolated from the rest of the world.

"We believe that the Government understands this and is sincere in its reformist intentions. The FCI calls on the Government to create the conditions for meaningful dialogue among all South Africans."

The general manager of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Marius de Jager, said holding back on sanctions meant that "good sense had prevailed".

Mr de Jager said he believed it was unrealistic to attach a time scale to demands laid down by the EC. "This will achieve nothing. We need time to put our house in order without ultimatums from outside," he said.

At The Hague Greek European Affairs Minister Mr Odore Pangalos said:

"We are disturbed because we make our agreement

28/6/88 SNAK
BY SA

By David Braum, Bruce Cameron, Sue Fleming
Sue Leeman and Sapa-Reuter

The Government last night warned the world that, if sanctions were applied, it would hit back at neighbouring states.

A tough statement issued on behalf of the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned that not only would foreign workers be expelled but neighbouring states would also be denied access to South Africa's infrastructure, partially or totally.

'No big stick' against S Africa, says Sir Geoffrey

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Sir Geoffrey Howe won't be "armed with a big stick" on his solo peace mission to South Africa, he insists.

Instead he would be "armed with the strongest weapon in the world - commonsense and the sense of moral justice that apartheid must be brought to an end"

In an interview yesterday on BBC Radio 4, Sir Geoffrey said he hoped the black leaders who have refused to meet him will change their minds

He said of the South African Government. "We recognize how foolish it would be to drive them in to a laager where dialogue would be impossible

"We are deliberately not going armed with a threat, a big stick, a weapon of that kind because it is the judgment of the European Economic Community that the South African Government is not best calculated to respond to that kind of approach"

PRESIDENT

In a thinly-veiled reference to sanctions, he said "We don't want to go down that road because it is our conviction that it will make change less likely

"I am going to South Africa armed with the strongest weapon in the world - the overwhelming weight of commonsense, the sense of moral justice, which the whole world feels - that apartheid must be brought to an end"

Sir Geoffrey, who is to visit South Africa in his new capacity as president of the Common Market Foreign Ministers, denied that Britain was "on the hook" over sanctions.

"A CHANCE"

He said the British Government was working with various world organisations to bring about concerted action for change.

Sir Geoffrey said his mission would provide "one further chance, an additional effort backed by the entire authority of the 12 members of the EEC, to persuade the South African Government to go down the road which the Eminent Persons Group so much wanted them to do".

"They must recognise the extent to which opinion around the world is moving more and more solidly against them"

Although black leaders in South Africa have said they will refuse to see him, Sir Geoffrey said he believed that when they reflected on his mission they would "engage in discussion of the kind the whole world is asking for"

● US reviews policy towards SA — Page 3.

UK faces reprisals for stalling on sanctions

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Black Commonwealth states are threatening diplomatic and economic reprisals against Britain because of her reluctance to impose sanctions against South Africa.

Sir Shridath Ramphat, Secretary General of the Commonwealth, attacked the European Economic Community's acceptance of a three-month breathing space which Mrs Thatcher won for the South African Government at last week's summit in The Hague.

The Commonwealth would have no part of the EEC's equivocation over apartheid, he said. Last week he met the Queen in a routine briefing and warned her of the worries of member nations and the danger to the unity of the Commonwealth.

PULL OUT

He is said to have emphasised the possibility of retaliatory measures against Britain.

In Zambia, President Kaunda said he suspected that some Western leaders were motivated by racism.

He has said in the past that he would pull Zambia out of the Commonwealth if the British Government did not agree to sanctions.

Contributions

Staff Reporter

CONTRIBUTIONS to welfare organisations working in the Crossro area have dwindled as the relief operation enters its seventh week.

Shawco warden Mr Derek Live said today the organisation was "managing", but the exercise had come routine because of the "st mate" situation.

He said Shawco was still spending an average of R3 000 a day in spit gifts — particularly in kind — that have almost dried up

Mr Livesey emphasised the need for staple foods like samp and meal.

He said Appletiser had contributed

July 1986

S A 'double-crossed me' says Mike Hoare

PARIS—Mercenary leader, Col 'Mad Mike' Hoare, said yesterday South Africa double-crossed him by sponsoring his assault on the Seychelles in 1981, then jailing him when it collapsed.

He claimed here that the South African Defence Force provided half of his 50 men, with funding from the National Intelligence Service.

Other mercenaries were former Rhodesians hired in South Africa.

Col Hoare said South African leaders were worried that the Seychelles, moving farther to the Left, were about to bring in Cuban

and North Korean advisers.

He said he was told that President Botha personally approved the raid.

Col Hoare's men were caught on arrival at the airport, planning to take over the Indian Ocean Islands, disguised as rugby players on holiday.

After a night-long shootout, they escaped back to South Africa aboard an Air India plane.

The men were convicted of contravening international civil aviation codes, although Col Hoare insisted the Indian pilot took them voluntarily out of gratitude for protecting his

aircraft.

Indian authorities refused to testify in South Africa.

Col Hoare said his original contacts disappeared during his trial because the South African Government wanted to appear as an innocent party which defended international justice.

Col Hoare's book, *The Seychelles Affair*, is to be published next month in London.

He revealed its main points to an Associated Press correspondent who knew him as a Congo mercenary leader in the 1960s.

The cover says "he was put in jail by the very peo-

ple who supported him", and that's a rather nice way to put it," said Col Hoare, now 67, released in 1985 after serving nearly three years of a 10-year sentence.

He spoke by telephone from southern France.

He is walking on a 193 km pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, honoring a saint credited with helping drive Moorish invaders from Iberia.

Col Hoare plans to settle in his native Ireland to write a book on the pilgrimage and a novel about African mercenaries. — (Sapa-AP)

Ghana, Nigeria pull out of Games over 'support' for SA

AGRA — Ghana yesterday joined with Nigeria in announcing it would boycott the Commonwealth Games to be held in Edinburgh later this month in protest at the decision made in London to allow South Africa to compete.

The decision was made in protest at what Ghana's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Obed Asamoah, called Britain's support for the South African government.

He said those countries which continued to give support to Pretoria in defiance of world opinion "should be con-

demned in no uncertain terms."

The Ghana news agency GNA said earlier yesterday the Sports and Youth Ministry sent a message last night to the Ghanaian team currently training in West Germany ordering it to suspend further instructions.

Nigeria and other black African nations have been angered by Britain's refusal to impose sanctions on Pretoria and the reported inclusion of two South

African-born girls in the English team.

A British High Commission spokesman in Lagos said he had not been officially informed of the decision.

British officials in London said they had no official word of Nigeria's decision, but added that such a move would be regrettable.

A spokesman for the Department of the Environment, which handles sport, said he was unaware of any breaches by Britain of either the Gleneagles Agree-

ment, which prohibits sporting links by Commonwealth countries with South Africa, or of the Commonwealth Games code of conduct.

"We are aware of doubts expressed by some countries about the selection of Miss Budd and Miss Cowley," he said, referring to the inclusion in the British team of two South African-born sports women — athlete Zola Budd and swimmer Annette Cowley.

"This is a matter for the Commonwealth Games Federation and we understand it will rule on their eligibility the next few days," the spokesman added.

In Nairobi, Kenya said it was unlikely to boycott the Games and its national team of 45 athletes was due to leave for Britain next Wednesday.

Nigeria and other African countries boycotted the Montreal Olympics in 1976 in protest against New Zealand's sporting links with South Africa.

Look to your
own faults
black Africa
advised

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Former Foreign Office Minister Lord Chalfont has slammed Africa's Commonwealth nations for their stand against South Africa.

Lord Chalfont writes in the *Daily Express* today that while Africa calls for one-man, one-vote in South Africa, only 15 of the continent's 51 nations have "any semblance of democratic government".

"In most of the Commonwealth countries of Africa, it is not possible for power to change hands without violence," he says.

"In some of them, thousands of men, women and children have been murdered by the 'security forces'. People are detained for long periods without trial — one of the most frequent charges levelled at South Africa.

"When the white farmers had to leave, there was an almost total collapse of the agricultural economy".

BLACK POWER

Lord Chalfont says the Commonwealth nations' present policies "seem expressly designed not only to destroy the economy of South Africa but to do it in a way which will postpone peaceful change indefinitely.

"It seems that what they really want is black power in South Africa — now, and at any cost, including the break-up of the Commonwealth itself.

"The Commonwealth countries in Africa are not a community of tolerant, free and democratic states. Within their ranks are a number of repressive tyrannies.

"Most of them are poor and underdeveloped. They are therefore in no position to deliver moral homilies on democracy and human rights or to advocate the economic destruction of the one country in their region which might be able to help them."

The \$10-bn cost of South Africa's other war

The "other war" being waged by South Africa has been overshadowed by the dramatic death tolls in the Cape Town squatter camp of Crossroads. But in terms of damage done it is far more serious.

Since Pretoria's destabilisation of her neighbours began in earnest in 1980, damage estimated at \$10 billion has been inflicted, 100 000 have died, one million people have been displaced and four surrogate armies have received hugely increased aid.

In a book which should be recommended reading for President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher, author and journalist Dr Joseph Hanlon has detailed the sorry record of South Africa's policy of state terrorism. The book is aptly titled "Beggar Your Neighbours".

Speaking at a conference on destabilisation organised by the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London last month, Hanlon said: "When somebody blew up a Berlin disco, Reagan and Thatcher sent in the F111s. But South Africa's terrorism takes place on a more massive scale."

He cited the case of South Africa's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, flying in clandestinely to Mozambique three times last year to discuss with the MNR rebels what aid

Denis Herbststein reports on a new book, "Beggar Your Neighbours" by Joseph Hanlon, which "counts the cost of Pretoria's destabilisation policies". Hanlon says the policies amount to "state terrorism".

The South African Government has consistently denied that it is trying to destabilise neighbouring countries, although both Mr P W Botha and General Magnus Malan have indicated that the Government would be

would be forthcoming in their war against President Samora Machel's Government which, it should be remembered, signed a friendship accord with President Botha.

"The rebels have done enormous damage to Mozambique's economy, yet there is no suggestion of America bombing Botha's residence in Pretoria, as it did to Gaddafi in Libya."

Hanlon says the destruction and poverty which South Africa causes can be used to justify the argument that "blacks can't rule themselves".

Pretoria also wants to use its neighbours both as hostages to head off in-

prepared, in certain circumstances, to support anti-communist movements such as the MNR in Mozambique and Unifa in Angola.

Mr Hanlon refers to clandestine visits by Mr Louis Nel to the MNR to discuss aid in the fight against the Machel Government. The South African Government has pointed out that Mr Nel held talks with the MNR at the request of the Machel Government with a view to getting the rebels to the conference table.

international sanctions and as a useful export market for South African industry in its efforts to become self-sufficient in the face of sanctions.

South Africa exports \$1 billion in manufactured goods within the sub-continent. Many of the large factories and mines in Zimbabwe, the most flourishing of the neighbouring states, are South African-owned. Destabilisation, by destroying their economies, is designed to keep them subservient.

South Africa also imposes economic sanctions — and very effectively too. Thus, when South Africa wanted

sands died of thirst.

Zimbabwe, which trades heavily with Britain, has extra transport costs of up to \$75 million a year because goods have to be shipped through South Africa. Pretoria, Hanlon claims, destroyed rail links through to the closer port of Beira.

He points out that the total of \$10 billion in damage is more than all the foreign aid received by the nine countries affected — members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), founded as a common economy outside the Pretoria orbit.

The largest component is direct additional military expenditure, followed by war damage, higher transport and energy costs, losses of production, exports and other revenue, and lost or deferred economic development. This is before even a single body is counted.

The position at the moment between the two warring factions is "a costly draw".

"The dreams of 1980, of steady regional progress towards economic growth and independence, have been shattered," says Hanlon. Destabilisation now costs the SADCC countries \$4 500 million a year. — *The Observer*.

WPA SAN

~~SECRET~~

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① SA ^{DD} 11/2/86

tricked me says Hoare

PARIS — Mercenary leader Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare said yesterday South Africa double-crossed him by sponsoring his assault on the Seychelles in 1981, then jailing him when it collapsed.

Speaking for the first time about the abortive raid, he claimed the South African Defence Force provided half of his 50 men, with funding from the National Intelligence Service.

Col Hoare said South African leaders were worried that the Seychelles, moving farther to the left, was about to bring in Cuban and North Korean advisers.

The men were convicted of contravening international civil aviation codes, although Indian authorities refused to testify in South Africa.

Col Hoare's book, *The Seychelles Affair*, is to be published in London next month.

● Mr Leon Mellet, of the Bureau for Information, said last night a fair and lengthy trial had followed the Seychelles affair and all information was brought into the open.

All allegations since should be viewed in the light of the trial, he said.

— Sapa-AP

15/7/85 STAR

Strategists recommend border protection

Border protection measures should be introduced in South Africa, says a report released by the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria.

The report says that an increase in the discovery of arms caches in South Africa and indications that the African National Congress (ANC) is attempting to infiltrate the country from neighbouring states warrants the introduction of border protection measures.

According to the institute, the most effective measure for controlling the entrance of individuals and goods from a neighbouring country is the establishment of border control posts.

These could be supplemented by electric fences and offensive measures, including cross-border operations.

Such operations could be aimed at the destruction of the insurgent's infrastructure in neighbouring countries. It would also deter the neighbouring countries from playing hosts to the insurgents.

RELEVANT FACTORS

Measures to counter infiltration depend on several factors, says the report. They depend on the hostility or friendliness of neighbouring states and the nature and length of the country's border.

The longer the border, the more difficult and expensive protection measures become.

The report says that any well-devised counter-insurgency strategy will entail measures to ensure effective border protection.

The protection of sea borders entails the employment of coastal patrol aircraft and naval craft, including surface patrol ships, submarines, mine-sweepers and mine-hunters.

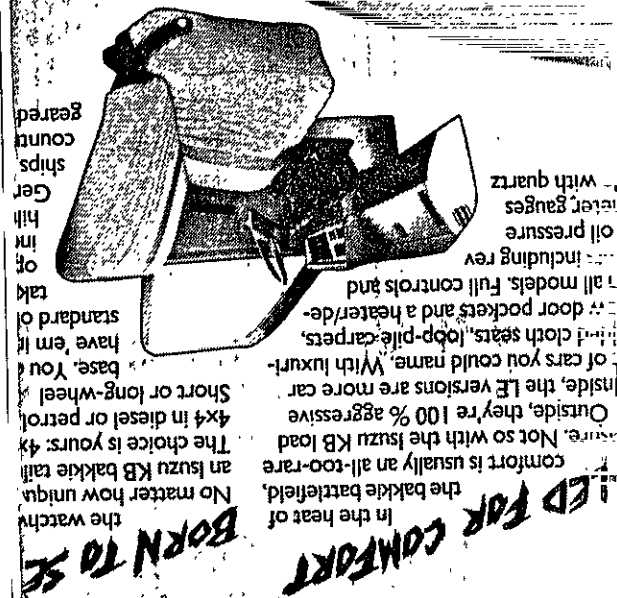
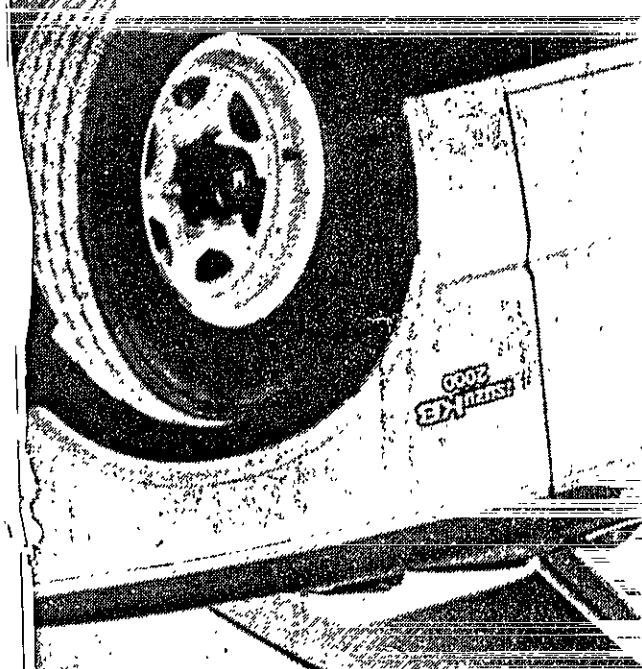
Comparing South Africa's situation with that of Israel, the report says that the most effective way to defend a small country such as Israel, with its long and hostile borders, without exhausting economic and manpower resources, is deterrence.

The creation of a reliable deterrent is based on military force capable of inflicting overwhelming damage.

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ISUZU

African Press critical of Howe

The Star's Africa
News Service

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe's peace mission to Southern Africa has dominated the African Press for the past week.

Most comment has been highly critical, although the *Times of Zambia*, owned by the ruling United National Independence Party, sounded a conciliatory note.

The paper urged both the African National Congress and South Africa to give Sir Geoffrey a hearing.

The paper said the South African "racists" needed fresh ideas from their friends.

Radio Maputo, the English-language external service of Radio Mozambique, told its listeners that, if Howe had a sense of history, he would warn Mrs Thatcher of the dangers for Britain in continuing to be seen as allies of apartheid and advise her to change her position on sanctions.

ANGOP, the Angolan news agency, said Sir Geoffrey's mission had done little to expel strong reservations about its effectiveness.

The motive behind the mission was clearly concern over Western profits in South Africa and not the "miserable conditions under which black South Africans are forced to live".

Kenya's privately-owned *Daily Nation* said that if the "neo-conservative" European nations changed their minds about sanctions, it would be the product of their "increasingly embarrassing isolation on the issue".

Games: Africans urged to rethink boycott moves

15/7/80 STOR
LONDON — Organisers of the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh have appealed to African nations to reconsider their boycott as India considered joining the ban.

The government in New Delhi shocked the organisers yesterday when it ordered the Indian team to postpone its trip to Edinburgh, where the Games are due to start on July 24.

The Sports Ministry said the government asked the Indian Olympic Association not to let the 126-strong squad leave for the Scottish capital today because it was pondering joining a growing list of countries boycotting the Games in protest against British policies on South Africa.

A withdrawal by India, by far the largest member of the 49-nation Commonwealth, would be a severe blow to the prestige of the sporting extravaganza.

Five African nations have decided to withdraw from the Games to show their dissatisfaction at the refusal of

British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher to impose sanctions on South Africa.

British Press tycoon Mr Robert Maxwell joined other Games officials in urging the boycotters to drop their opposition to the sporting events, saying leaders of the Commonwealth countries should rather line up against Mrs Thatcher when they meet in London next month.

"For God's sake, don't do it."

"If you want to kick Mrs Thatcher, do it at the (Commonwealth) conference."

"Let the Games go on."

An opinion poll showed last night that a majority of Conservative parliamentarians supported Mrs Thatcher's stand against sanctions.

The poll, carried out among more than 100 parliamentarians for the BBC, showed that 78 percent of Conservative Backbenchers backed Mrs Thatcher, 11 percent disagreed and the rest were undecided. — Sapa-Reuter

● See Page 13

African leaders call for sanctions

West gets warning



ARAP MOI

NAIROBI — Leaders of seven East and Central African nations said yesterday Africans would not forgive Western governments which failed to apply mandatory sanctions against SA.

They called for comprehensive sanctions in a joint communique at the close of a two-day summit meeting attended by Sudan's prime minister and the presidents of Kenya, Zaire, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.

"The people of Africa will never forget those that deliberately failed to join them at the crucial moment in their fight against . . . apartheid," the communique said.

It was signed by Daniel Arap

Moi of Kenya, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania, Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda, Jean-Baptiste Bagaza of Burundi and Sadiq el-Mahdi of Sudan.

They agreed to strengthen cooperation on security, crime detection, cultural and social programmes, disease control, trade, transport and communications.

They called for steps to prevent dissidents from conducting subversive activities against their home countries from bases in neighbouring states.

They agreed to meet again in November in Kigali, Rwanda.

Three of the participating nations — Zaire, Uganda and Kenya — border on Sudan, which is

torn by a civil war.

The leaders were briefed on the conflict by El-Mahdi.

El-Mahdi said after the summit that Sudan's recent elections had been conducted democratically and had produced a government committed to human rights and negotiations.

"The people organising the violence have lost all credibility," he said, referring to the rebels fighting in southern Sudan. "There is no reason for anyone to bear arms against the government."

He said the government was willing to talk directly to rebel leader John Garang or to include his Sudan People's Liberation Army in a planned national conference. — Sapa-AP.

Sandton keen to be 'open'

HAMISH McINDOE

SANDTON should be opened to all races and used as the pilot scheme for a zone free of group areas, PFP MP for the area David Dalling said yesterday.

Speaking at a report-back meeting, Dalling called on President P W Botha to give the town council immediate authority to open Sandton to South Africans of all races.

"Sandton is willing to be a forerunner in the abolition of the Group Areas Act. The times are too urgent for government to wait for the report on the Act by the President's Council," he said.

Dalling said the town would be happy to open its doors to all people who wished to live there.

He urged the State President to use his powers to give Sandton immediate authority to open the town to South Africans of all races.

ADDITIONAL MOVEMENTS

Warning of 'provocation' by SA

The Star's Africa News Service

ca was trying to provoke the Frontline states into an open military confrontation.

16/7/86
The situation in Southern Africa is dangerously developing into an open military confrontation between South Africa and the Frontline states, a top Zambian official has said.

He was speaking at a meeting in Lusaka of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Mr Alexander Kamalondo, executive secretary of the country's Youth League, said yesterday that South Afri-

He said the Frontline states supported sanctions against South Africa, even though they were aware they would suffer because of them.

Africa perceives
SA as real enemy'

17/7/86
SARK
①

By Hannes de Wet

Africa's antipathy to South Africa was not a result of Soviet indoctrination. It sprang from an inherent hate of racism and colonialisation, the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond was told at Potchefstroom yesterday.

Dr Johan Kirsten, of the department of international and public law at Potchefstroom University, said: "Africa sees South Africa as a symbol that the black man in Africa is not totally free yet". He said many South Africans underestimated the intensity of this antipathy.

The Soviets were not responsible for this. They were simply using Africa's hostility towards South Africa to get a foothold in Africa.

REFLECTION OF FEAR

He said: "Africa laughs at South African pleas to keep communism from the continent as it perceives South Africa to be its real enemy". The accusation that South Africa was destabilising the region was not rhetoric but a reflection of genuine fear. That was why countries such as the Frontline states welcomed the Soviets as a form of protection against South Africa.

Dr Kirsten said these countries believed the West had no intention of getting rid of apartheid. They were convinced there was no peaceful way in which apartheid could be ended.

He said: "Western countries, by not giving liberation movements military aid in their struggle against apartheid, are destroying the West's credibility in Africa".

DISTALD / MINDENHO
Mercury 19/07/86 (280) 1

Games despair as more pull out

London Bureau

DESPAIR spread in Edinburgh last night as Commonwealth Games officials awaiting Africa's verdict were told India was the 11th country joining the boycott.

Hours earlier the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) was stunned when Bangladesh became the 10th country to withdraw.

The Press Trust of India then reported that Indian officials had decided to withdraw from the games which will open in Edinburgh next week.

PTI gave no source for its report.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, who was attending an anti-apartheid display by African students, had earlier said he would stand by whatever decision was reached by leaders of the African front-line states meeting in Harare.

The meeting was still in session late last night.

30 countries

The sudden decision by Mr Gandhi raised fears that Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific Commonwealth countries would follow, taking the total number of boycotters to nearly 30 countries.

Games officials said that even if the Africans and others came to Edinburgh, the withdrawal of the most populous Commonwealth country, India, providing the biggest Commonwealth team, was devastating.

Indian diplomats said Mr Gandhi had been under pressure from his own Cabinet to boycott the games as a warning that the Commonwealth would split if British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher continued to resist sanctions against South Africa.

In the meantime, the lengthy meeting chaired in Harare by Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe raised marginal hopes that he might produce a compromise deal.

This was heightened as a British diplomat handed Mr Mugabe a message from Mrs Thatcher urging him to

save the games.

The Commonwealth Secretary General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, is understood to have renewed his appeal that the games should be spared now that South African-born Zola Budd and Annette Cowley have been disqualified and Mrs Thatcher has hinted that she is changing her mind on at least limited sanctions.

It is claimed that all the Caribbean countries with the exception of Dominica and Bermuda and all the Pacific Commonwealth states except Malaysia, which has already withdrawn, will bind themselves to the decision in Harare, be it for or against the games.

Nigeria, said to be piqued that its front-running stance to boycott has not been followed by all African countries, renewed its boycott call yesterday.

Interference

As the Harare meeting continued, the Canadian team, the largest foreign Commonwealth team, arrived in Edinburgh, swelling the number of athletes present to about 1,000.

Black and white athletes interviewed on radio and television spoke bitterly against political interference in the games which they said were anti-apartheid by their very nature.

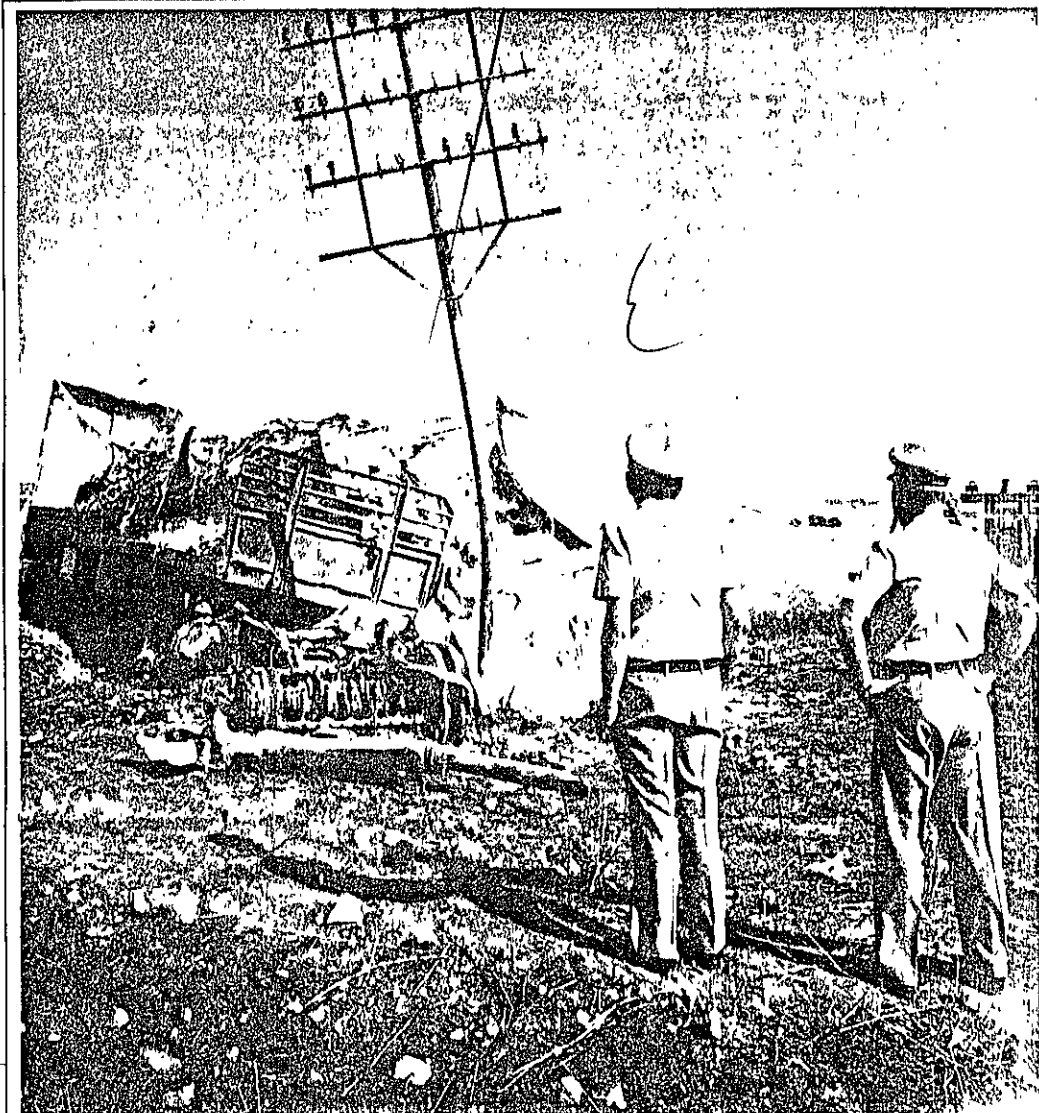
Meanwhile the Superior Council for Sport in Africa has called on all African Commonwealth countries to join the boycott.

The council is a body of the Organisation of African Unity.

● See Editorial Opinion

Lion dies

Lagos—A lion presented to former Nigerian military leader Yakubu Gowon in 1969 by the late Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has died in a Nigerian zoo. — (Sapa-Reuter)



Burned metal and a bent telephone pole ... remains of a head-on smash between two freight trucks on the Pietermaritzburg-Ladysmith main road.

Toddler drowns

'Seconds' Sarah

Mercury: 22/07/86
①

West 'must give aid to new S A'

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Western nations have a moral duty to provide massive aid to a post-apartheid South Africa so that an economic base can be established on which reform and democracy can survive.

That is the opinion of Mr Bruce Forssman, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, who was interviewed in the latest issue of the Developer, the quarterly journal of the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation.

Mr Forssman says that, leaving aside the moral dimension, an aid programme would also be in the best interests of the West.

He says that without an economic base, the best-intentioned reform will fail because South Africa simply does not have the resources to satisfy the expectations and aspirations of all its people.

Aid running into billions will be needed, Mr Forssman maintains, to create conditions in which economic free enterprise and democracy can flourish.

There would otherwise be a drift towards authoritarian socialism and a further weakening of the economy.

He draws an analogy between South Africa today and Germany after defeat in World War II. The United States responded to the ruin of the German economy and the threat of communism with the Marshall Aid plan, by which billions of dollars were pumped into Europe.

The sanctions battle

No winners among the neighbours

AMONG the black states that fringe South Africa there will be no winners in an international economic war against Pretoria.

In a region stretching from the central vastness of eastern Zaire to the southern mountain enclave of Lesotho more than 80 million people bound in nine different economies depend in varying degrees on South Africa.

The reactions of their governments to the burgeoning sanctions issue vary from vehement antagonism through mute neutralism to virtually enforced opposition.

The assessments of the region's diplomatic, academic, government and business experts of the likely effects of sanctions range widely from 'worst case' to 'sanctions are bearable' scenarios.

Zimbabwe is the most vehement of Pretoria's bordering states in demanding sweeping, mandatory and punitive economic action to end apartheid, and regional analysts feel it is most likely to feel first the sting of any South African wrath.

By contrast, the leaders of Swaziland and Lesotho, their enclave economies in thrall to their huge surrounding neighbour, say further action against Pretoria would kill their countries before harming South Africa's white minority.

Like a giant octopus, South Africa's powerful tentacles reach out across sub-equatorial Africa in the form of air links, road and rail lines and communication circuits. It is both marketplace and marshalling yard for a huge chunk of the continent's trade.

South Africa has warned frequently it will not suffer sanctions alone, pointing out the vulnerability of neighbouring economies and

emphasising that its own black majority will be the first and biggest victim.

Its range of options should it care to demonstrate its economic, military and technological dominance runs from closing its borders, the 'worst case' hypothesis that would quickly bring most regional economies to their knees, to a war of attrition, where rail shipments are held up, fuel is not available, customs papers are lost or visas refused.

Measures now in force and the threat of South African retaliation have already had an impact. As recession grips South Africa the number of migrant workers has been cut, forcing them to trek home, further straining the ravaged economies of such countries as Mozambique and Lesotho.

Diplomatic ties between Britain and the United States, the most stalwart Western holdouts against sanctions, and regional proponents Zambia and Zimbabwe have been strained almost to breaking point.

Buyers for export crops like Zimbabwe's economically vital tobacco are looking for other markets as they see South Africa's monopoly of regional transport causing supply problems.

The issue has thrown up divisions in the region itself, with Zambia and Zimbabwe at odds with Swaziland and Lesotho while Botswana and Mo-

zambique say they are in no position to apply sanctions but this should not deter others.

On the other hand, a recent Canadian study of the likely effects of sanctions suggested that while they will cause hardship in the region Pretoria may actually step up trade with its neighbours

lies on South Africa for refrigerated trucks for beef exports to Europe. With Malawi, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe, vulnerable to closure of sole rail link at Mafikeng border post

Lesotho: Virtually totally dependent on Pretoria. Extremely vulnerable to South African pressure.

Peter Gregson HARARE

to replace markets denied it elsewhere.

'It is likely in the next few years the southern African market will become even more crucial to South Africa as protectionism and sanctions by the Western industrialised economies take hold,' the Cida aid agency study said.

The following pen-pictures of South Africa's economic relations with its neighbours have been compiled from official figures, surveys by international bodies, banks and regional economists among other sources:

Angola: No direct trade with Pretoria, but South African companies have interests in the Luanda diamond mines and the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme. **Botswana:** Imports 85% of its goods from South Africa and 94% of its exports go either to or through the republic. About 17 000 migrant workers employed in South Africa. Part of the South African Customs Union (Sacu), with Lesotho and Swaziland. One of few African countries to export more than it imports with a trade surplus in 1985 of 420 million dollars (about R1 050 million). Exports copper/nickel matte, diamonds, beef. Imports food, fuel, equipment and manufactured goods. Re-

A border crackdown in January led to the overthrow of former civilian government by military in less than a month. At least 60% of government revenue comes from Sacu. About 150 000 migrant workers in South Africa, more than treble the number with jobs in Lesotho. Minor exports of mohair goods; imports 97% of all its needs from South Africa.

Malawi: The only African state to have diplomatic ties with Pretoria. Imports 36% of its goods from South Africa and 60% of its exports go to or through South Africa. Vital exports of tea, sugar and coffee use South African routes.

Mozambique: In deep recession due mainly to a protracted civil war with South African-backed rebels which has abated little since the two countries signed a non-aggression pact in 1984. Imported about 50 million dollars (about R125 million) worth of goods from South Africa in 1985. About 10% of its total exports worth 80 million dollars went to the republic, another 20% was shipped through South Africa. South Africa supplies Maputo with 60% of the capital's electricity but power lines are often sabotaged. About 60 000 workers in South Africa.

Swaziland: Heavily reliant on Pretoria for investment, aid and communications. A growing number of South African companies are setting up subsidiaries in Swaziland to get round anti-South African boycotts. Imports 85% of its goods from South Africa. Sends 30% of its exports, mainly sugar and wood, to the republic and ships another 40% through South Africa. About 15 000 workers in South Africa. Two thirds of government revenue comes from Sacu.

Zaire: About 50% of its copper, cobalt and lead exports go by rail through South Africa.

Zambia: Sends 46% of its rail freight through South Africa, including 30% of copper exports which provide 90% of Zambia's foreign earnings. Imports 15% of its goods from South Africa.

Zimbabwe: South Africa is Zimbabwe's biggest trading partner and has substantial investments in the country. Strained ties are delaying the renewal of a preferential trade agreement. About two-thirds of all imports and exports use South African routes. Vulnerable to closure of the sole road and rail crossing at Beitbridge/Messina. — (Sapa-Reuter)

14/8/86 STAR

Education in Africa 'facing serious crisis'

The Star's Africa News Service

Africa's education system was experiencing a serious crisis, Professor P. Smit, chairman of the Africa Institute of South Africa, told members at the institute's annual general meeting in Pretoria today.

Professor Smit said it was becoming increasingly clear that the neo-colonial education system did little or nothing to advance development and there were experts who believed the system was counter-productive.

Syllabi were too academic, and bore no relationship to needs and community interests.

The great financial sacrifices made by the majority of Africans, mainly small farmers, in the interests of national education systems generally benefitted a privileged minority.

FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT

Professor Smit said Africa's declared national objectives and the realities of African education were in fundamental conflict.

"African countries seek, most of all, freedom from overseas economic and cultural domination in order to give more meaning to their own constitutional independence.

"While they regard education as the major key to these objectives and ideals, it is becoming increasingly clear that the present neo-colonial education system does little or nothing to advance development."

HARARE — Africa is the weakest continent in terms of economic development and has been hit the hardest in the current international crisis, Professor Dan Nabudere of the African Association of Political Science said in Harare yesterday.

Prof Nabudere was speaking at the second session of an internation-

World crisis hits Africa hardest (1)

STAR 22/11/85
al seminar on Non-Alignment.

Africa "has been hit in the very soft part, namely the belly," said Professor Nabudere, so that the continent's crisis was characterised by "famine and starvation".

Professor Nabudere criticised African governments for their inadequate response to the crisis. The Lagos Plan of Action, adopted by the Organisation of African Unity in 1980, had been "constructive" but had

been effectively shelved at the 1985 OAU summit.

This year's special United Nations session on Africa, he said, had simply been "used as a propaganda platform for the United States to push its privatisation plans."

'No hope for black Africa' says ecology expert Rene Dumont

25/8/86 STAIR ①

By James Tomlins,
The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Third World expert Rene Dumont's new book spells out the tragic message: "There is no hope for black Africa".

Mr Dumont wrote a book 25 years ago entitled "Black Africa's bad start", which has been a reference work since then.

His new book "Africa — I accuse" published this week, bears out all the most pessimistic predictions he made in his earlier one.

He said: "The situation in Africa is a disaster. Neither independence, nor aid, nor progress, nor years of prosperity seem to have brought to the black continent the slightest chance of emerging from its misery and escaping its slow suicide."

"The high birthrate has made the problem even more difficult. The forests are slowly being wiped out and desertification is growing worse, while selfishness, incompetence and the waste of natural re-

sources effectively end any further hopes."

The title of the book in French is "Pour l'Afrique - J'accuse". The phrase "J'accuse" is the famous newspaper headline of Emil Zola's attack on the French president, government, law officials and civil servants over the injustice done in the celebrated Dreyfus case.

APPALLING DEFORESTATION

He pointed out: "The black continent is threatened with death. There are too many inhabitants, too many cattle, no agricultural policy, as well as a total disorganisation of all societies."

He noted the appalling rate of deforestation in Africa, which was losing 3,6 million hectares of trees annually. The Ivory Coast, which had 15 million ha of forests in 1950, has hardly 2 million now.

Senegal was burning wood at the rate of 1,7 million tons annually, and 223 000 tons

of charcoal which is equivalent to 1 million tons of wood.

Rene Dumont asked: "How can we rest calm faced with the perspective of a catastrophe unprecedented in the history of mankind? A catastrophe which threatens the entire continent."

He added: "I accuse the French governments from 1960 onwards ..."

"I accuse the majority of African leaders ..."

"I accuse the World Bank ..."

"I accuse the vast majority of international experts ..."

"I accuse all industrial projects ..."

"I accuse, finally, all leaders and experts who have so often by their policies ignored, ruined and humiliated African peasants."

Rene Dumont, who is 73, heads France's ecological movement which in the March 1986 parliamentary elections won less than two percent of the vote.

EVENTS since the inception of the summit have confirmed non-alignment as a durable and expanding global force. Now firmly established as a foreign-policy credo, it will confront students of international affairs as well as officials from the East and West with a mighty challenge in the future.

'Assembly of the self-righteous' and the future

THE Non-Aligned summit starting in Harare tomorrow is of major interest, especially for South Africans. Made up of 101 member nations, it represents about two-thirds of the world population.

The meeting will be under the chairmanship of Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who takes over from India's Rajiv Gandhi.

The movement has its origins in the Bandung Conference of 1955. Its founding fathers were Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia, Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia and Nkrumah of Ghana.

While the most maligned and misunderstood of all global social movements, it remains a third force in international politics that is gaining credibility in a world in which the superpowers see their influence waning.

Western media often refer to the Non-Aligned summit as the "assembly of the self-righteous". But it has slowly transformed itself from a social movement into a more tightly organised pressure group internationally.

NON-alignment is not passivity and does not stand for neutrality in world affairs. A widespread and increasingly influential ideology, it is the dominant political/economic and diplomatic philosophy of the Afro-Arab-Asian world and is proving attractive to many Latin American countries as well.

It is a coalition of a variety of governments which share broad international objectives, such as racial equality and the total elimination of all forms of discrimination

By Dr MAURICE HOMMEL, a specialist in International Relations and head of the department of public administration at the University of the Western Cape.



Robert Mugabe, chairman of this year's Non-Aligned summit, which meets tomorrow.

based on colour, opposition to global warfare and a search for a solution to the fundamental economic problems confronting the majority of the nations in the movement. It is a grouping of countries the greater number of which are experimenting with non-capitalist paths of development.

The most popular misconception about the movement is that which sees it exclusively in terms of a desire to remain outside the influence of Washington and Moscow. This is a gross oversimplification. The movement is primarily anti-imperialist in origin.

Its founding fathers recognised that real independence for their countries could not survive if the struggle for political independence were to be followed by a new form of domination. Consequently, to be dedicated to decolonisation, anti-imperialism, liberation and the enjoyment of independence also implied a refusal to become aligned with and subservient to either power bloc. Collective self-reliance among the developing countries in the movement became a primary goal.

As a result the Western view of non-alignment has been shaped chiefly by irritation and pique, mystification and bewilderment, suspicion and mistrust. Western reactions often suggest that non-alignment translates into some kind of foreign policy aberration. It implies that nations adhering to the principle of non-alignment fail to recognise the "true nature" and gravity of the communist "menace" to global peace and security, and that this kind of neutralism reflects an inexplicable anti-Western prejudice.

EVEN the USSR and its satellites tend to view non-alignment with suspicion. Both power blocs are inclined to see non-alignment as stemming from a kind of Machia-

vellian opportunism that leads its adherents to seek the "best of both worlds" in their relations with East and West.

Most explanations of non-alignment have largely consisted of little more than stereotypes, crude value judgments and plain factual errors. Little effort is made to fathom its origins or to deal dispassionately with its implications for the world.

Events since the inception of the movement have confirmed non-alignment as a durable and expanding global force. Now firmly established as a foreign policy credo, it will confront students of international affairs as well as officials from the East and West with a mighty challenge in the future.

It has made a significant contribution to world politics. Working through the United Nations system and various regional alliances, it can justifiably claim to have accelerated liberation throughout the world.

It has raised consciousness about the nature of imperialism and oppression and mobilised international support for freedom struggles, with particular focus on Southern Africa. It continues to provide an umbrella of moral authority for the liberation struggles of Palestinians, Namibians and South Africans.

In the pursuit of such aims it has shown an uncanny facility to identify specific targets capable of uniting its membership. This makes it a potent force within the UN where the major powers can never be certain of securing the moral authority of a visible international consensus for their own, often cynical, objectives. Therefore it is simultaneously able to confront the rest of the world community with the bold challenge of another view of international decision-making.

It does not mean it has always lived up to its own early

promise. But such failures cannot detract from its astonishing success in sensitising the world to the cause of liberation in the most profound sense.

The problem is that it contains within its ranks the widest imaginable range of political philosophies and government arrangements. Yet it somehow finds sufficient common ground to survive and present itself as a powerful third force in global politics. It is kept intact by the common recognition that the weak unite or face submergence.

Without the movement each of its members would be that much more dependent on either US or Soviet power. Its members hang in there because a world without the movement would be that much poorer.

THE overriding challenge to the grouping remains economic. Since its inaugural summit 31 years ago its thinkers have recognised that political independence is a myth unless it rests on economic foundations.

More than ever the independence of the weaker countries is threatened by the effects of the world economic crisis. When a balance-of-payment shortage can mean the difference between starvation and survival, foreign exchange itself becomes a dominant political reality — affordable terms become the all engrossing preoccupation for political leadership. And so the only answer for members of the movement is to be found in programmes of mutual self-help and self-reliance. The recognised need is for regional groupings that plan economic development together based on the pooling of resources, the sharing of burdens and the mobilising of effort.

Nearer home, the holding of the eighth Non-Aligned summit at a time of growing crisis for South Africa and its neighbouring states must have significance for all the people of the region. Historically, the Non-Aligned Movement has introduced to contemporary global relations an effort to provide international legitimacy to national liberation movements. Thus both the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress will be taking part in the Harare summit.

The international community as represented in the UN has tended to follow the movement's lead in accepting the bona fides of such liberation movements as authentic spokesmen for their people.

High on the Harare agenda will be issues such as the search for world peace, strategies to fight world poverty and, of course, the situation in South Africa.

As chairman, Mugabe is a vociferous opponent of the South African Government as well as a stridently vocal advocate of full mandatory economic sanctions against this country. For the South African Government to ignore or play down the deliberations that take place in the Zimbabwean capital would be an act of acute political folly.

From JAMES TOMLINS,
The Argus Foreign Service
in PARIS

FAMOUS Third World expert Rene Dumont's new book spells out the tragic message: "There is no hope for black Africa."

Mr Dumont wrote a book 25 years ago entitled *Black Africa's Bad Start*, which has been a reference work since then.

His new book *Africa — I Accuse*, published last week, bears out all the most pessimistic predictions he made in his earlier one.

He said: "The situation in Africa is a disaster. Neither independence, nor aid, nor progress, nor years of prosperity seem to have brought to the black continent the slightest chance of emerging from its misery and escaping its slow suicide."

The high birthrate has made the problem even more difficult. The forests are slowly being wiped out and desertification is growing worse, while selfishness, incompetence and the waste of natural resources effectively end any further hopes."

The title of the book in French is *Pour l'Afrique j'accuse*. The phrase "j'accuse" is the famous newspaper headline of Emil Zola's attack on the French President, government, law officials and civil servants over the injustice done in the celebrated Dreyfus case. The words naturally have a highly emotive meaning in this country, as Mr Dumont is well aware.

HE pointed out: "The black continent is threatened with death. There are too many inhabitants, too many cattle, no agricultural policy, as well as a total disorganisation of all societies."

Rene Dumont asked: "How can we rest calm faced with the perspective of a catastrophe unprecedented in the history of mankind? A catastrophe which threatens the entire continent?"

He added: "I accuse the French governments from 1960 onwards..."

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The Argus, Monday

Argus 25/1/76
**'No hope'
for black
Africa...**

FOCUS ON apartheid at NAM summit

CAPE TOWN
11/9/86
(1)

HARARE. — Third World leaders gathered here yesterday to mark the Non-Aligned Movement's 25th anniversary, which is expected to be dominated by discussion on South Africa.

And in an interview on state-run television on the eve of the week-long summit, the incoming president of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe, said the 101-member organization should support the armed struggle against South Africa and apartheid.

“Military assistance should now intensify to assist the liberation

of the dress to leaders of famine-stricken African states and small pro-Western democracies, the strains of national anthems, the beating of drums and a pulsating welcome from traditional dancers greeted each leader as he stepped on to the tarmac at Harare International Airport.

Foreign ministers of the NAM, who held two days of preparatory meetings last week, announced the establish-



Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, greets Cuba's President Fidel Castro at Harare Airport yesterday.

ment of a fund aimed at cushioning the effects of any South African reprisals to sanctions.

They also sharply condemned the killing of 21 people in Soweto on Tuesday.

A nine-page declaration, which is certain to be approved by the week-long summit of the movement which professes independence of the world's power blocs, recommends a wide range of sanctions against Pretoria, including a halt to imports of South African coal, agri-

ultural produce, uranium, iron and steel and gold coins.

The ministers also proposed a ban on promoting tourism to South Africa, a ban on visas for South African nationals and an end to all new investments in the Republic.

Meanwhile Cuba's Foreign Minister Mr Isidoro Malmierca, predicted a swift withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, but gave no date for what would end an African dispute between the superpowers.

He indicated in an interview, published in the government-controlled Sunday Mail, that the troop withdrawal would depend on the non-aligned summit hastening the demise of the South African Government and independence for SWA/Namibia.

Meanwhile, hundreds of reporters were locked out of the press centre adjoining the conference hall for nearly four hours yesterday afternoon for what officials described as a “security exercise”. The journalists were evicted without notice.

After three days, foreign ministers have not finished drafting political and economic reports to be adopted by the heads of state. They are divided over paragraphs which attack US policy in Central America, condemn South Africa and call for an end to the Iran-Iraq war.

— Sapa-Reuter AP and UPI

● Zimbabwe asks for MIG squadron, page 4

From Cuba's President Fidel Castro in bat-

— Sapa-Reuter AP and UPI

— Sapa-Reuter AP and UPI

CMB Times
2/19/86

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Mugabe: 'Let's end apartheid'

HARARE. — The summit of the Non-Aligned Movement opened here yesterday with blistering attacks on South Africa and calls for concerted international action to end apartheid laws.

Leading the onslaught was the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, who earlier in the day took over leadership of the 101-nation movement from the Indian Premier, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

He described apartheid as a crime against humanity to some 15 000 delegates, including about 50 heads of state and government.

Mr Mugabe called on the Non-Aligned states to impose punitive sanctions on South Africa and give more material support to black nationalist groups.

"In this regard, support for the frontline and other independent states in the region is critical, so that they may become dependable bulwarks against apartheid.

"What is needed now is action..." he added.

Mr Gandhi, in a speech mainly marking the movement's 25th anniversary, said: "Our freedom is incomplete so long as apartheid and tyranny continue in South Africa, so long as Namibia remains occupied and subjected ...

"Our success in Harare will be judged by the extent to which we can hasten the liberation of the people of South Africa and the emergence of Namibia as a sovereign nation."

The Organization of African Unity chairman, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo, proclaimed what he said was the movement's firm determination to "combat any system which makes man not the equal of man".

"But must we continue to combat apartheid with simple statements and condemnations to which Pretoria, assured of powerful support, will remain deaf?" he asked.

Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Mr Yasser Arafat called on the movement to direct guns at Pretoria and Israel.

● Two South African journalists reporting on the summit had their press credentials withdrawn yesterday and were ordered to leave the country "as soon as possible", government officials said.

No reason was given for the action against Miss Patricia Sidley and Mr Philip van Niekerk. Both represent Johannesburg's Weekly Mail.

However, Ziana quoted sources as alleging the two were "involved with South African intelligence".

The officials said more than a dozen South African journalists usually barred from working in Zimbabwe had been allowed in specially for the conference. None of the others were affected.

Last week, police briefly detained local journalist Mr Jan Raath, who reports from Harare for British, US and West German news organizations. — Sapa-Reuter

Desperate need for general legal aid, says lawyer

The Star 8 December '83

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — There is a desperate need for a network of community-based legal centres, staffed by salaried lawyers, to guarantee that the law is just to all no matter how poor they may be, says Mr Wallace Mgoqi, a researcher with the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit.

Mr Mgoqi, who has recently completed a law degree and is planning to do a year's fellowship with the Legal Resources Centre which was recently established in Cape Town, will present a policy paper at the Carnegie investigation into poverty to be held next April.

Land and labour laws

affected the poor more severely than any other laws, Mr Mgoqi said in an interview this week.

"Land laws determine what kind of land is available to whom. Labour laws control who can get a job and where they can find it. Labour contracts affecting black workers severely disadvantage them in terms of the law," Mr Mgoqi said.

Poorer communities in South Africa felt helpless in the face of the law.

Access to justice was severely limited because of high legal fees and because most lawyers were concentrated in big cities, away from the rural areas.

In his paper Mr Mgoqi recommends that legal

services in black communities should be spread too make them more financially and physically accessible.

He also says that members of the community should be trained to have a functional knowledge of the law.

Lawyers who are prepared to take up cases in the black communities could help make life "slightly more tolerable for some".

When the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg took up the cases of Komani and Rikhoto, two migrant workers fighting for urban rights, and won them, it benefited not only the individuals but also helped to set down the rights of the poor. Mr Mgoqi said

Skills shortage a political problem, warns lecturer

The Star (Overseas Edition) 5 March '84

By Jean Hey, Education Reporter

The skills shortage in South Africa is not only a technical problem; it is also a political one.

This is one of the conclusions of University of the Witwatersrand education lecturer Miss Linda Chisholm after completing research for the Carnegie inquiry into poverty and development in Southern Africa.

Miss Chisholm said the boom in technical education was a political issue which had not been adequately tackled by the Press or by academics.

"The Government wants to create a class of blacks firmly wedded to capitalist values who will not only meet the skills shortage but who will also pose no threat to the free-enterprise system," she

said.

The Government and the private sector relied on a stable, efficient and motivated workforce that the present black school system had obviously failed to create.

"Bantu Education might have produced enough manual and semi-skilled workers, but the continual unrest in schools shows it has also produced people who fight apartheid, capitalism and separate education."

From 1976 to 1981 students mounted a sustained attack on Bantu Education and on each occasion tried to form links with workers.

"The significance of this is not to be underestimated. Every year more politically aware, highly militant school-leavers are joining the ranks of the increasingly active trade unions.

"This problem, as much as a real technical shortage of skills, has shaped the manner in which the notion of 'skill' has been constructed."

Private enterprise was pouring money into technical education at a rate unprecedented in the country's history, she said. Anglo-American's Chairman's Fund had been labelled "South Africa's Other Government".

The Department of Education and Training (DET) had also given the highest priority to black technical education in the past three years.

"While this is not an entirely new departure, the scale certainly is," said Miss Chisholm.

The DET had in 1982 introduced a massive programme to transform Bantu Education schools into technical and commercial high

CONT...

The Soldier of Burkina Fasso makes Harare summit

4/9/86
By John D'Oliveira,
Editor of The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Captain Thomas Sankara, President of the tiny West African country of Burkina Fasso (it means "land of incorruptible men") is, well ... different.

He's a soldier, and he's obviously proud of it. The 37-year-old who seized power in what was then Upper Volta in August 1983, dresses like a soldier and talks like a soldier, obviously scorning the ambiguities and the rhetoric of the politician.

He stands out from the impeccably-tailored or costumed crowd at the eighth Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit as the only leader in military uniform.

Captain Sankara arrived at Harare International Airport dressed in immaculate camouflage uniform, his red beret precisely angled on his head, his paratrooper's wings on his breast and a heavy, pearl-handled automatic pistol on his hip.

He attended the Summit opening ceremony on Monday and his Press conference on Tuesday in an identical uniform.

His message was as down-to-earth as his soldier's dress. For instance, he told questioners in a deep voice that he would not object to South African State President Mr P W Botha's pres-

ence at the NAM summit. "Then I would set a trap and destroy him on behalf of my brothers in the liberation movements ... I would let him talk and then I would give him a hand-grenade."

Asked what message he had for NAM as it celebrated its 25th anniversary, he told a slightly surprised audience: "The aim of NAM is not to celebrate anniversaries but to resolve the questions which affect member states."

"We have come here to Harare more to evaluate NAM's failures than to celebrate its anniversaries. We think there have been many failures ... Our presence here is to seek solutions to problems." What sort of failures?

"Well, after 25 years we are still talking about help to the liberation movements. Here we are meeting in Harare, with Pretoria only a few hours away."

"My own fear is that we might keep on making inflammatory speeches here and that when we have finished, P W Botha will send his bombers to crush the people of Zimbabwe without us having the power to respond."

"I fear that the blacks in South Africa may become the scapegoats (for what was done in Harare) and that the racist regime will turn on them."

And he brought into the open an issue which is distracting the summit: whether or not to hold the next sun Nicaraguan capital of Managua.

"No country present here would be opposed to the one being held in Nicaragua."

"But there may be some states which are uneasy or uneasy about it being held there. This is proof that, after existence, we are still, consciously or unconsciously, unwillingly, aligned instead of non-aligned".

On his own promise (at the Organisation for African conference earlier this year) of ten guns for the South African "liberation movements", Captain Sankara said these guns "delivered".

He added: "Now we can go on to the next one and guns".

In case anybody thought he was joking, Captain Sankara said that the figure of ten guns might appear to be ridiculous people, but Burkina Fasso was a very poor country and was all that it could afford to give.

He reminded his audience that the chairman of the said at the time that if every country gave ten guns, considerably strengthen the liberation movements.

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Fasso makes Harare summit look at past failures

M summit. He set a trap and destroy him on behalf of my brotherhood movements... I would let him talk and then I would hand-grenade." He told a slightly surprised audience: "NAM is not to celebrate anniversaries but to resolve which affect member states. Some here to Harare more to evaluate NAM's failures rate its anniversaries. We think there have been many our presence here is to seek solutions to problems."

of failures? For 25 years we are still talking about help to the liberators. Here we are meeting in Harare, with Pretoria ours away. Fear is that we might keep on making inflammatory re and that when we have finished, P W Botha will send to crush the people of Zimbabwe without us having the spond. blacks in South Africa may become the scapegoat that was done in Harare) and that the racist regime will m."

And he brought into the open an issue which is discreetly troubling the summit: whether or not to hold the next summit in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua.

"No country present here would be opposed to the next summit being held in Nicaragua. But there may be some states which are uneasy or embarrassed about it being held there. This is proof that, after 25 years of existence, we are still, consciously or unconsciously, unwillingly, aligned instead of non-aligned."

On his own promise (at the Organisation for African Unity conference earlier this year) of ten guns for the Southern African "liberation movements", Captain Sankara said these guns had been "delivered". "Now we can go on to the next one and make it 11 guns".

He added: "Now we can go on to the next one and make it 11 guns". In case anybody thought he was joking, Captain Sankara said that the figure of ten guns might appear to be ridiculous to some people, but Burkina Fasso was a very poor country and that this was all that it could afford to give.

He reminded his audience that the chairman of the OAU had said at the time that if every country gave ten guns, that would considerably strengthen the liberation movements.

When a reference was made to "racism" in a question, he gave the answer and then asked to make what his interpreter said was a "point of precision".

He pointed out that people should remember that racism fight racism whether it was aimed at blacks or at whites. "We must tell whites that yesterday we helped Europe fight against Nazism and against Hitler."

"We crushed Nazism together."

"In Africa we all have memories of people who fell in that war or people who are still mutilated as a result of that war. They gave their lives and they spilled their blood for the freedom of the world, but it is clear that it was Europe that benefited most from that victory."

"Now we have our own Nazism in Pretoria. We have our own Hitler in Pretoria. The whites have a moral obligation to help us fight against this new Hitler."

He turned to the media people listening to him: "Let the whites who do not accept what I say raise their hands and then let them settle accounts with the blacks in this audience."

No hands were raised.

CAM. Times 4/9/86 (1)

'SA attacks cost Angola R30b'

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — South African attacks on Angola had cost that country more than R30-billion and South African security forces had used chemical weapons in SWA/Namibia, it was said at the Non-Aligned summit here.

The Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, made the chemical warfare claim at a press conference. A press aide later elaborated on his passing remark, saying victims were noted to have swollen bodies and a form of sleeping sickness. He claimed these symptoms had been confirmed by medical experts as evidence of the use of chemical weapons.

President Dos Santos of Angola told the summit Angola had suffered more than US \$12-billion (R30-billion) in material damage since 1976 as a result of South African attacks, with 600 000 people driven from their homes and 50 000 more permanently disabled. It was not clear whether the MPLA leader was placing at South Africa's door all blame for the civil war.

And the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Rev Allan Boesak, who is due to make a special address to the summit, said in a statement released last night that South Africa had "a government afraid of children".

"If the light of a candle is a symbol too powerful for the government, that alone explains a great deal," he said.

Dr Boesak said not a single day had passed in



Dr Allan Boesak

South African since 1984 without some violent incident occurring.

Political awareness in the country had not been created by intellectual debate but by confrontation, oppression and suffering, by going to prison and dying, he said.

"One of the problems of the whites is that they have not yet experienced enough, they have not yet shared the pain of apartheid," he said. "They do not understand what is happening. The truth is largely being kept from them."

Sanctions would not drive them into a laager because they were already in one, he said.

The leaders of both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress are at the summit as observers, as well as the Commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), Mr Joe Modise.

President Samora Machel of Mozambique delivered a lengthy report on Renamo atrocities against Mozambican villagers and accused South Africa of



Mr Sam Nujoma

stepping up its support for the rebels in violation of the Nkomati Accord.

● Some 200 Zimbabwean University students staged a demonstration in Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's honour yesterday, bearing placards denouncing President Ronald Reagan and the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, as he arrived at the conference centre.

But by late yesterday he had not addressed the delegates, and the Zimbabwean Minister of Information, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, denied rumours that he was planning to fly out in a fit of pique at less radical statesmen.

Last night he appealed to journalists not to report "rumours" about Colonel Gaddafi and denied that the Libyan leader had either arrived unexpectedly on Monday night or was about to fly out of Harare without addressing the summit.

● NAM has 'lost its moral force', page 4



AFRICA

THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT

'Necklacing' causes concern to the ANC

ARKS 4/9/86
118 370
1

WHILE the torrent of words flows at the eighth Non-Aligned Summit here this week, the African National Congress is conducting a highly effective lobbying operation.

Highlight thus far was Tuesday's well-attended press conference at which ANC President Oliver Tambo spoke to a potential international audience of hundreds of millions of people.

And, while the South African media may not report on what Mr Tambo said, his views will certainly be broadcast to South Africa by way of the ANC's own Radio Freedom, and by the official broadcasting services in neighbouring states.

Mr Tambo, who heads a heavyweight ANC delegation to what could be the most important NAM conference thus far for the banned South African organisation, performed impressively behind a battery of microphones and in front of a row of television cameras.

Unlike his Swapo counterpart, Mr Sam Nujoma, who is not as fluent in English, Mr Tambo eschews revolutionary jargon in favour of clear, rational argument based on a perception of South Africa which is clearly shared by most of the people he has to talk to.

From JOHN D'OLIVEIRA,
Editor, The Argus Africa
News Service, in HARARE

Thus he presents the ANC's "struggle" within the framework of an integrated view of the situation in Southern Africa, as an essential element of a solution to the whole region's current problems.

Like any experienced politician, he answers only those questions he wants to answer, ignoring or bypassing others (like the issue of unity with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania).

Although unity would bring recognition by the United Nations as the "sole and authentic" representative of the South African people as well as full membership of NAM (like Swapo or the Palestine Liberation Organisation), the ANC does not appear terribly keen to merge forces at this stage.

MEANWHILE, at the conference itself, it is clear that the ANC delegation is having to answer a string of questions on the issue of "necklacing" in the South African townships.

This was confirmed today by Mr Tom Sebina, ANC spokesman.

Mr Sebina said the movement's spokesman were mak-

ing it clear that the ANC would rather that "necklacing" did not take place, but that it understood the frustrations and the bitterness that led people to use "this bitter form of killing".

And, while the ANC did not encourage "necklacing", it could not condemn the people who were "driven to use necklacing out of desperation".

However, he said, ANC spokesmen were also pointing out to delegations that many of the alleged cases of "necklacing" were figments of the South African Government's imagination, attempts by the Government to discredit the ANC.

On the issue of negotiation with the South African Government, the ANC's spokesmen were making it clear that they did not believe the South African Government was thus far being subjected to the kind of pressures that would force it to talk to the ANC.

As a result, the ANC would continue the "struggle". However, their fight would be aimed not at negotiation as such but at the elimination of apartheid in all its many forms — negotiation with the South African Government would be no more than a step towards the elimination of apartheid.

Birth rate a threat to the environment

1
MORTALITY RATE
5/9/86

RAPID population growth in Africa, at 3% a year the highest rate in history, is slowing development and sharply reducing the chances of raising living standards, according to a World Bank report.

The report, released in Nairobi under the title 'Population Growth and Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa,' says that between 1970 and 1982 the effect of rising population cancelled out economic growth in the region, so that there was no average improvement in per-capita incomes.

It says agricultural production grew at only 1.4% in the 1970s and warns that unless other sectors of the economy grow even faster than population to finance food imports Africa will have to rely more and more on food aid.

Without efforts to spread the message of family planning, population growth may even accelerate in many parts of the continent as better health care reduces death rates and encourages birth rates to rise, it adds.

The nightmare is that the extra population will not only hold down per-capita income but could also degrade the environment, put tighter constraints on basic health and education services and lead to lower real wages as the labour force outpaces investment.

Hopeful signs

The report sees some hopeful signs that attitudes towards family planning are changing, though only 3 to 4% of African women now use any form of contraception.

More and more African governments are expressing concern, education for women is spreading and is likely to reduce fertility, and continued urbanisation is loosening family ties.

As a model for the future, the report cites Zimbabwe, where government action over the past five years has raised contraceptive use from 10% to 25%.

Even this modest level of family planning would have a significant effect on population growth, bringing birth rates down from between 45 and 50 per thousand to between 35 and 40 per thousand.

Radio Nigeria reported on Wednesday that according to a World Bank official the population of Nigeria would reach 162 million by the year 2000.

90 million

The radio, monitored in Abidjan, said World Bank representative Mr Ishrat Husain said in Lagos that 'with a population growth rate of 3.3% development must proceed at an extraordinary rate'. According to Nigeria's National Population Bureau Nigeria has about 90 million people.

Mr Husain said that with a real average growth rate of 3% the population of sub-Saharan Africa, which now stands at 470 million, would exceed 700 million by the year 2000. The bank believed that life for the majority of Africans could be improved if governments would adopt more efficient economic policies and give agriculture higher priority.

The report puts much of the onus for bringing about change on African governments but the bank itself promises to try to double its financing for population and related health pro-

grammes in sub-Saharan Africa over the next three years.

'If progress in population policy is to be rapid some strategic reorientation of the direction and nature of government involvement is needed,' it says.

It proposes that governments take the lead in 'generating a climate of legitimacy for family planning,' broaden the choice of contraceptive methods, and end their reliance on highly trained staff for spreading the message.

The World Bank estimates that providing family-planning services to 25% of couples for the continent would cost only 75 US cents per person per year and says that, given Africa's limited resources, it is not unreasonable for foreign donors to finance half of programme costs for the next decade.

Meanwhile Mort Rosenblum reports from Addis Ababa that as a billion dollars flowed into Ethiopia to feed starving people a world-renowned research centre seeking ways to prevent famine found its meagre budget dwindling.

'We've seen none of the money, and we are really very frustrated,' said Mr Peter Brumby, director of the International Centre for Livestock in Africa. 'For us, it is all rhetoric.'

The crisis at Icla reflects a worldwide problem: mounting sums go toward relieving hunger, but little is spent on heading it off.

In Africa 12 billion to 14 billion dollars (about R30 to R35 billion) a year is spent on food imports to countries that could produce substantial surpluses.

soils Icla has helped double and triple yields in some places.

African technicians track weather and ground cover on a finely drawn grid of the continent, using computers and satellite readings. Others isolate abnormalities in animal herds

Special Correspondent

NAIROBI

African research centres and agricultural extension services go begging when they could be instrumental in breaking a deadly cycle of crop failure and famine, scientists say.

'We are cap in hand all year around,' said Mr Richard Stewart, a British chemist who supervises Icla publications.

'After Ethiopia became news we thought rather naively some of this manna would find its way to us,' he said. 'We are still waiting.'

Icla is one of 13 centres funded by the Consultative Group of International Agricultural Research, a group of governments, the World Bank, specialised agencies and private foundations.

The US Agency for International Development pays a quarter of Icla's budget.

The 10-year-old centre helps African nations raise draft animals and build herds for meat and milk. It researches, trains African specialists, distributes data and runs laboratory and field tests.

By finding better ways to farm and fertilise different

International experts assess range-land and land use and, in related fields, expand scientific knowledge in Africa.

'But we have no resources with which to tackle these enormous problems,' said Mr Brumby, a New Zealander on loan from the World Bank. 'We're doing it with bloody peanuts.'

The centre's budget was 13.5 million dollars (about R33 million) this year Mr Brumby expects it to be reduced because individual donors, including USAID, say they are pressed by hard times

In Ethiopia alone international donors spent a billion dollars (about R2.25 billion) for emergency relief from late 1984 until the end of 1985. The United States paid a third of the total.

Many lives were saved, but perhaps one million Ethiopians starved to death. Hundreds of millions of dollars were spent elsewhere in Africa, but hundreds of thousands of people died. — (Sapa-Reuter-AP)

What life is like beyond the bitter almond hedge

Carle Times 11/9/86

FOR a white South African, travelling with the Rev Jesse Jackson in black Africa is an unusual experience.

In the first place, it sweeps one past border controls and into the presence of heads of state of countries that normally cannot be visited with a South African passport.

It takes one beyond the bitter almond hedge which our forbears planted three centuries ago to fence us off from the indigenous inhabitants of the continent in which we live, and which has kept us psychologically imprisoned ever since.

But the real interest for me was not so much in seeing how others live beyond the hedge, for I have been there before. It was in getting a new perspective on how black people, universally, see us.

There is a cultural gap as wide as the Atlantic between America and Africa, and black Americans are American to the core. They profess a spiritual affinity rooted in their common ancestry and a shared experience of oppression at the hands of slavers and colonizers, but their broad southern accents fall incomprehensibly on African ears and their flashy ways are often an affront to people who are more homespun.

But in one thing they do have a unity of heart and mind, and that is on the subject of South Africa. That is where their shared experience of humiliation and oppression at the hands of whites over the centuries comes together in a single focus.

Whatever else may be wrong in the world, South Africa is unique as the only place where white people still elevate the principle of discrimination on the basis of skin colour to the level of a national philosophy, writing it into their law and into their constitution and using it to ensure that they retain a monopoly of power.

No resemblance

That this should still be so in this day and age is to black people everywhere the greatest outrage in the world.

What we have to realize is that black people everywhere feel about apartheid South Africa the way Jews everywhere feel about Nazi Germany. No amount of rationalization or modification designed to placate the white Western world will ever change that. It will remain as long as the white minority who devised apartheid remain in power.

Those were the broad impressions. There were more specific impressions as well. Such as a visit to the refugee camp on the outskirts of Lusaka which South African planes bombed last May.

I attended a press briefing in Pretoria by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, a few days after that raid, at which senior military and security police officers were also present.

We were told the target was a facility



By
ALLISTER SPARKS



The Rev Jesse Jackson

used by the ANC's information and publicity department. There were maps showing this and the other targets in Harare and Gaborone in detail. I have to tell you that the place which was bombed in Lusaka bears no resemblance whatsoever to the map we were shown of the target there.

The map showed a few fairly large buildings, one of them a printing works. There are no such buildings at the place that was bombed. That is unquestionably a refugee camp run by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. It contains more than a dozen long, low bungalows which are used as dormitories. There is nothing even remotely resembling a printing works.

We spoke to several hundred inmates. They said they were from Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. None appeared to be from South Africa. They could not understand Xhosa or Zulu. We were told that the ANC took care of people from South Africa elsewhere.

There were shrapnel and bullet marks on the walls of the dormitories and small craters in the ground made by anti-personnel fragmentation bombs. Bits of shrapnel lay on the ground. I spoke to a woman from Namibia whose room was flattened by a bomb and a man from Mozambique with a huge shrapnel wound in the back. Two people died in the raid, a Namibian and a Zambian.

Impressions of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam is indeed as run down as our newspapers have told us it is. The shops are empty and shuttered and there is a look of mould and mildew about the buildings.

I need no further persuading of how self-defeating it can be to interfere so heavily in an economy and try to man-

age it to meet ideological objectives, however idealistic. Black South Africans must heed the lessons that are there as they contemplate the future South Africa they want to build. Other black people on the continent are doing so, not least Tanzania itself.

But there is another side that our newspapers do not tell us much about, which is that there is now 75 percent literacy in Tanzania; 90 percent of the total population have piped water to their villages, which in a tropical country is a massive first-stage triumph over disease; and there is a medical clinic in every village, although because of the economic crisis they are short of medicines.

No rural slums

I travelled 500 km inland into the heart of the poorest province in this poorest of African countries. There are villages of mud huts with cattle and goats and fields of maize, millet and cassava. There is no money but subsistence agriculture is intact. The people are literate and they carry themselves with dignity.

Nowhere did I see the kind of rural slums that we have created in places like Onverwacht, Qwa Qwa and the resettlement camps of the Ciskei, where there is no employment and subsistence agriculture has been obliterated by the pulsating congestion.

Nor do Tanzania's leaders live in the kind of ostentatious opulence in the midst of poverty to be seen in Venda and Qwa Qwa. Julius Nyerere, retired now as president to devote himself to running his party and trying to uplift the country's agriculture, lives in a plain house in his home village on the shores of Lake Victoria, and has offices of exquisitely simple design built into the rocks of a koppie near the new capital of Dodoma.

Finally, to the meeting of non-aligned countries in Harare. Yes, it was a massive talk-shop whose wordy outpourings were of little practical value. But it was also a great gathering of the inhabitants of our polyglot world just across the borders from this insular republic.

Brown people, black people, white people, yellow people and endless shades in between. People in flowing robes and silken saris, with capes and cloaks and tight three-piece business suits. That is what the world beyond our hedge of bitter almonds looks like.

It was a liberating experience to escape from our prison for a while and to meet up with the human race. To realize afresh that apartheid has not only oppressed the blacks but robbed the whites of this country.

It has robbed us of our humanity and turned us in upon ourselves. We look ugly viewed from outside, huddled behind our bitter hedge and staring fascinated like Narcissus into our own reflection in the water. The world will cheer when we fall in.

Plan to restore African farming

YAMOUSSOUKRO—Africa's agriculture ministers will back an ambitious United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation plan to rehabilitate the continent's farms, conference sources say.

During four days of talks in Ivory Coast's inland capital, Yamoussoukro, about 30 ministers and representatives from nearly 20 other countries endorsed the FAO report, which outlines practical ways of implementing commitments to agriculture made by African heads of state, the sources said.

The report paints a picture of devastation and repeated famine in Africa unless current trends are reversed.

But the report, titled *African Agriculture: The Next 25 Years*, also says decline is not inevitable provided African countries give priority to agriculture in their budget, act to protect the environment from the pressures of a rising population and improve incentives and infrastructure.

The sources said all countries backed the theme of the report, which also called for an end to agricultural protectionism and more international aid to farming.

Investment

FAO officials have described the meeting as a last-chance 'food summit' for Africa to thrash out how to put into effect commitments to farming made at this year's Organisation of African Unity summit and last May's special UN General Assembly meeting on the continent's economic crisis.

African leaders have pledged to boost public investment in agriculture to between 20% and 25% of budget expenditure compared with current allocations, which are often under 10%.

FAO Director General Edouard Saouma has praised African countries for increasing agricultural producer prices and many ministers pointed to the success of such increases in boosting food output.

But most ministers skirted the report's contention that Africa must take urgent action to curb the growth of its population, which it says is certain to double by the early part of the next century.

Delegates praised the realism of the report and its plan of action, which concedes that Africa cannot reach food self-sufficiency for at least 10 years. — (Sapa-Reuter)

AFRICA

Continent in crisis

WEEKEND
ARCUS
SPECIAL
REPORT

Plague of locusts devastating the land

■ LONDON

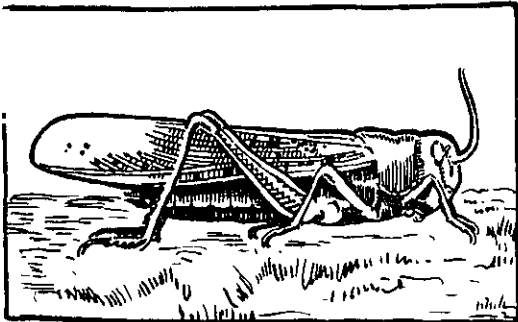
AFRICA is bracing itself for a locust invasion, the largest in 50 years, at a time when the continent's locust control organisations are collapsing.

Swarms of Senegalese grasshoppers, and red, brown, desert and migratory locusts are now poised to sweep across the continent just as it emerges from the devastating drought of 1984-5.

The very rains that broke the drought have set off the locust threat, which some experts now believe could cause even more damage than the drought. The damp soil makes ideal breeding conditions for the insects, some of whose eggs will hatch only if there is enough moisture.

The alarming aspect of the outbreak, according to George Popov, a leading locust expert at the Tropical Development and Research Institute in London, is that it involves all five species of locust simultaneously. This has not happened since the 1920s.

Locusts swarm at a density of up to 50m per square mile, and the swarms can cover hundreds of miles. A single swarm can consume more than 4 000 tons of vegetation a day.



THE most immediate threat is posed by the Senegalese grasshopper, swarms of which are massing in southern Mauritania, set to fly south into the Sahel and east as far as Sudan. As they move, the natural vegetation will be drying out, and the insects will satisfy their voracious appetites on the ripening crops, laying eggs as they go.

To the east, the grasshopper converge with the migratory locust in Sudan. There has been a big increase in their numbers, and swarms have been reported as far south as Uganda. Locust experts are uncertain about the extent of this threat, as the civil war in Sudan has made it impossible to monitor the migratory locusts. However, they fear that the locusts may wipe out what little food is being grown in Sudan, a country already on the brink of widespread famine.

Desert locusts, meanwhile, are swarming in Eritrea and moving down the Red Sea towards Somalia. The Ethiopian civil war in Eritrea makes monitoring and control especially difficult.

THE red locust, which breeds along the African Rift Valley from Malawi through Tanzania and Kenya, has also been sighted in large numbers, swarming as far east as Burundi. But perhaps the most widespread threat of all is the brown locust, still at the egg stage in the soil of Botswana and northern South Africa.

When the rains break in November, millions of these locusts will hatch and spread into southern and central Africa. Some experts now believe that it is already too late to beat them and control will have to be centred on the protection of crops.

— London Sunday Times



The horrifying face of Africa's famine.

■ ABIDJAN

How battle rages in the West African skies

A BATTLE is being waged in the sky above West Africa's semi-desert Sahel region in a bid to destroy yellow-green waves of grasshoppers descending from the north, and to protect this season's food harvest.

A one-month aerial spraying campaign covering 1.1m hectares in six countries is expected to be in full swing next week. About 36 small aircraft and helicopters have been mobilised to spray pesticides to protect millet and sorghum crops due to be harvested next month.

Spraying has already started in the Senegal, Mauritania and Western Mali triangle, and will be extended into Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad. "We have enough striking power and pesti-

■ GENEVA

Food mercy flights again

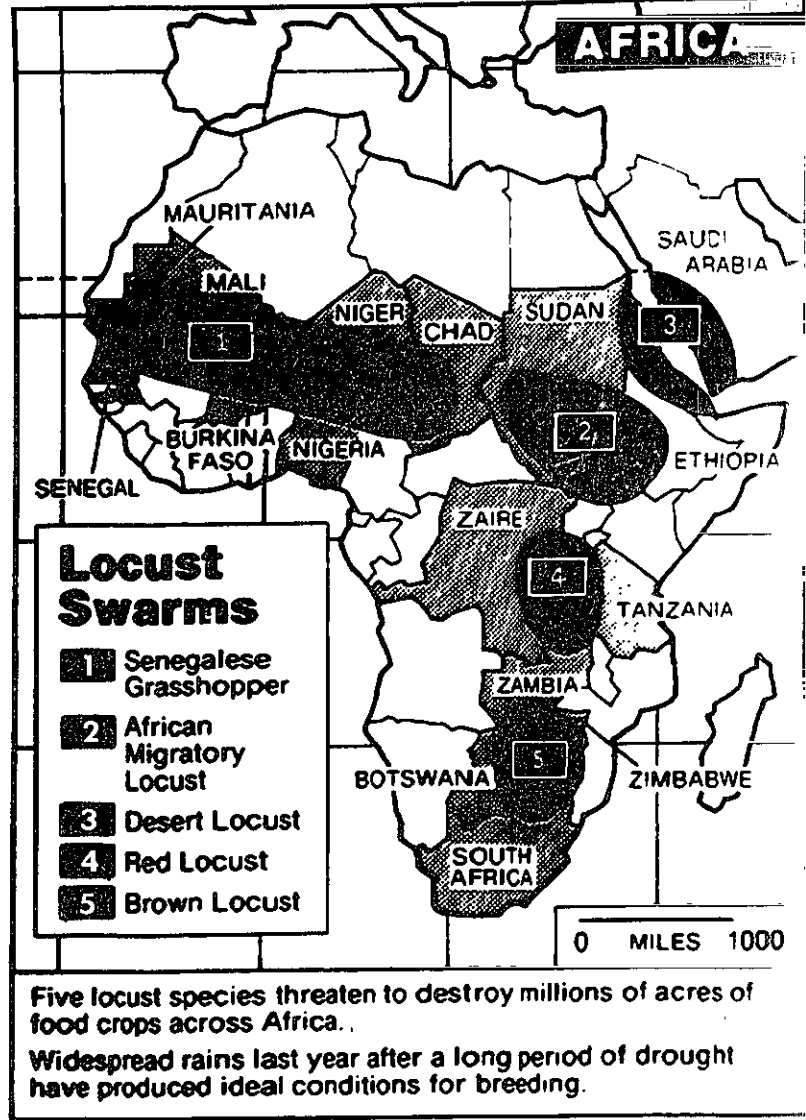
UNITED Nations mercy flights to southern Sudan, suspended last month, are to resume next week under a conditional agreement with rebels operating in the area, a top UN relief official said today.

A Hercules C-130 transport plane is scheduled to leave on Monday from Khartoum, the capital, for the town of Malakal with a first shipment of emergency medical supplies and high-protein food, said Mr Charles Lamuniere, head of the UN Office of Emergency Operations in Africa.

Some 120 000 people need aid in Malakal.

The UN stopped its airlift on August 16 after the Sudan People's Liberation Army shot down a Sudanese civilian airliner, killing 60 people.

Relief agencies estimate 2-3 million southern Sudanese face starvation because of war-induced famine. Sapa-AP



Five locust species threaten to destroy millions of acres of food crops across Africa.

Widespread rains last year after a long period of drought have produced ideal conditions for breeding.

■ YAMOUSSOUKRO (Ivory Coast)

Plague of rats, too

From CHARLES HARRISON

THE threat to food production from widespread locust swarms is being exacerbated by an explosion of the rat population in the Sahel region of West Africa. The rodents are thriving on a diet of millions of dead Senegalese grasshoppers.

Millions of rats are destroying stocks of stored grain in Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso and Chad. "The rats have learnt to avoid the poison we put down for them. We are trying to organise night hunts to control them, but this is not enough," a Niger delegate told the conference of African food ministers taking place here.

Experts say that the insecticides, used to kill the grasshoppers are of such a low concentration that they do not affect the rats.

Dr Lukas Brader, director of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation's plant protection division, and an international expert on locusts, said operations against the Senegalese grasshoppers are being stepped up.

He said the rat threat underlined the need to launch anti-locust operations at the earliest stage so that the locusts did not hatch out to provide food for the rats.

While the Senegalese grasshopper is threatening the Sahel, there are also serious threats from the African migratory locust in Sudan, Ethiopia and Chad, from the desert locust in northern Ethiopia and Sudan, from the red locust in western Tanzania and eastern Zaire, and from the brown locust in Botswana and parts of South Africa.

All these species are breeding simultaneously as a result of the return of the rains after a long drought period in 1983 and 1984.

Mr Edouard Saouma, director general of the FAO, told the regional conference "The ending of the drought has been a mixed blessing. The threat from locusts and grasshoppers is now threatening to assume catastrophic proportions."

He said that there had been a gratifying response to appeals for aid to combat the locusts, but that international co-operation must further be strengthened to co-ordinate the fight.

More than R120 million has been raised from donors including the European Community and the US in response to FAO appeals. — London Times News Service.

From PETER BLACKBURN, Weekend Argus Foreign Service

Spraying has started just in time and we should be able to save up to 90 per cent of the harvest," said Mr Lukas Brader, the Dutch head of the new FAO emergency centre for Locust Operations.

The main problem was alerting governments and donors so that control programmes could be prepared and aid mobilised before it was too late, he explained.

Niger and Mauritania were quick to see the danger and have organised effective control programmes. But there is concern about the situation in Mali and Senegal.

About 22 million dollars (some R54 million) has been provided, mostly by western bilateral donors, to finance the Sahel grasshoppers campaign which is being co-ordinated by the FAO.

The last big grasshopper invasion of the Sahel came after the great drought ended in the mid-1970s. Good rains have now brought them back again, according to the FAO.

The grasshoppers, up to 5cm long and weighing 1 and half grammes each, eat their own weight daily. At the end of the rainy season, vegetation withers in the desert they move south in search of food. They can cover up to 200 kms over 30 days stripping all greenery in their path.

Emissary still unidentified

23/9/86
MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

GREAT secrecy still surrounds the "senior African emissary" who, according to President P W Botha, was in SA for talks with government and brought a "message of support" from his President.

Botha mentioned the black leader's presence during his address to the Free State National Party Congress to prove his point that not all African states supported sanctions.

The visitor, Botha proudly added, was not from a southern African state, from Francophone Africa or from Malawi.

Diplomats and politicians believe that if that statement was correct, the emissary probably came from Somalia or Morocco, to whom SA has reportedly sold weapons.

There have also been drawn-out negotiations with Somalia about possible landing and fly-over rights for SA Airways.

Baby boom must be stopped

By Robin Drew, of The Star's Africa News Service, reporting from Harare

The baby boom in Africa has got to be stopped if the continent is to have any chance of getting to grips with its daunting economic and ecological problems.

This was the message given to members of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) by the executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, Professor Adebayo Adedeji, in Harare last week.

He phrased it differently, talking about the "demographic phenomena constituting the heart of the African development problematique".

But the data presented in a paper to the WCED had, in his own words, "led most analysts to project a continuing and deepening crisis in Africa and left no doubt of the imperative and urgent need for a far-reaching population policy".

The figures tell the story: in 20 years Africa's population will have topped one billion, growing at an annual rate of 3.2 percent.

There will be 472 million people living in the towns and cities alone, an urban population which will be more than Africa's total population in 1980.

How, he asked, could sub-Saharan Africa produce enough food for an extra 15 million to 20 million people each year when it was unable to feed its present population?

How could it be expected to create an extra 10 million jobs a year when it was already plagued with unemployment?

How could it hope to provide primary education for the 137 million children who would be in that age group in the year 2000?

One suggestion Professor Adedeji had to make was that governments use the tax system to try to control the population growth.

He asked if families without children could be given tax relief or if a tax penalty could be imposed for each child after a fixed number.

No international aid

This brought the comment from one delegate at an open hearing of the WCED that it was usually the poor, who did not pay taxes anyway, who had the most children.

Another contributor, in a passionate plea for action, said governments which did not have specific population policies should no longer get international aid.

He urged the WCED to put pressure on

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STAR 24/9/80
African governments to implement population control policies immediately.

He warned against a belief in "demographic transition periods" in which population trends moved through various phases culminating in the stabilisation of growth with a reduced birthrate and a relatively higher standard of living all round.

There was no evidence that this was working anywhere in Africa. He asked if the WCED was aware of growing public cynicism towards conferences and yet more conferences being held in luxury hotels while more of Africa became a desert.

In another gloomy analysis, a paper put out by the United Nations Environment Programme said: "Looking at the situation closely and objectively, Unep is of the view that Africa is moving towards environmental bankruptcy."

"As a result of mismanagement, indifference and misguided economic and social policies, Africa's once rich natural resource base and natural ecosystems have been overtaxed and over-exploited to the point where valuable life-support systems, built up over many centuries, have been seriously damaged."

The degradation of the land was one of the most alarming features and this increased in almost direct proportion to the rate of population growth and pressure.

The Unep paper also sounded a warning about lack of action on the ground. It found some hope, however, in the outcome of the meeting in Cairo last December of African Ministers who had adopted a programme of action on the environment.

The underlying philosophy was that African governments and African peoples must take the continent's development in their own hands, relying first and foremost on their own resources.

L. Rickman

Africa Institute underlines trade reliance

SA's neighbours: Who owes what to whom

NEW details of SA's trade with Africa have been exposed by the Pretoria-based Africa Institute.

These details, which have been published in the latest issue of the institute's magazine, *Bulletin*, show that most Southern Africa countries' economic fortunes are linked closely to the South African economy.

The article, written by Andre Wilsenach, estimates that 249 921 legal workers from seven neighbouring countries sent back R537,6m a year during 1983/4, providing a major source of income for those countries.

It also concluded that Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe were heavily dependent on

Own Correspondent

SA for their exports and imports, and assistance with railway transport and servicing of aircraft.

Botswana exported 90% of its products to or through SA in 1984/5. SA Transport Services (Sats) carried 409 059 tons of its imports.

More than 90% of Lesotho's imports, about R420m a year, came from customs-union countries, and all its exports went through SA.

SA provided about 40% of Malawi's imports, and Sats handled about 24 400 tons in exports.

In 1984, SA was the second largest supplier of goods to Mozambique — after Russia.

About 85% of Swaziland's imports came from SA and 80% of its exports went abroad through SA.

About 57% of Zaire's imports went through SA, while 45% of its copper, 65% of its lead and 40% of its cobalt was exported through SA.

In 1984/5, Sats transported 278 936 tons of Zaire's exports.

During the same year, Sats transported 122 366 tons of Zambia's exports and 390 203 tons of its imports, of which 52 419 tons were imported through SA harbours.

These figures represent about 70% of Zambia's total imports and 40% of its total exports.

SA, with an overall trade figure of R382m, was Zimbabwe's largest trading partner.

"Informed sources are of the opinion that 65% — 90% of Zimbabwe's exports and 65% — 80% of the country's imports go through SA," the report says.

1 30/9/86

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France still armed 'gendarme' of Africa

African leaders often refer to France as West Africa's "gendarme". And last week's decision to send troops to the West African state of Togo after an attempted coup, showed the French Government is still committed to using armed forces to help keep its allies in power in Africa.

Besides Cuba, France is the only foreign power to have thousands of troops in Africa.

There are 7 300 French soldiers in Africa, says Miss Helen Kitchen, director of the African Studies Programme at

the Centre for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University in Washington.

They are stationed at strategic bases in Senegal, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Djibouti and the Central African Republic.

In addition the French Navy makes use of Reunion Island and the Comores as supply points for its Indian Ocean naval force.

In addition troops from the French Foreign Legion are stationed in Mayotte, in the Co-

comores archipelago.

And the 47 000-strong Rapid Action Force, stationed in Toulouse, can be called to intervene in Africa at any moment.

While last week's intervention in Togo to save the regime of General Gnassingbe Eyadema was small, France has intervened in a larger scale in Zaire and Chad.

In 1977 and 1978 French troops were called to save Zaire's copper-rich province of Shaba from falling to rebels.

In 1983 French troops and planes intervened in Chad to protect the Government of President Hissene Habre from Libyan-backed rebels.

In July France showed its military muscle in West Africa when 1 500 French troops took part in a military exercise near Libreville, in Gabon.

France's military commitment to Africa is largely due to its economic interests. Last year it was estimated that 300 000 French citizens

were doing business or serving in a wide range of advisory, technical and educational roles in Africa.

There are said to be more French citizens in Ivory Coast now than there were when it was a French colony.

The Paris-based *African Defence Journal* says that one of the main aims of French policy towards Africa "has been to avoid the forming of zones of tension that might be detrimental to France's interests."

France has defence agreements with eight African countries, the most recent one, signed in 1983, with Togo.

France intervened there last week at the request of President Eyadema.

These agreements authorise French forces to engage in operations in those eight countries — Cameroon, Comores, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Gabon, Central African Republic, Senegal and Togo.

In addition France has "tech-

nical military assistance agreements" with 24 African countries.

Two African military academies in Zaire and Ivory Coast where officers from several African countries are trained are run under French guidance thus assuring Paris a say in the training of top-level officers from several countries.

Hundreds of African army officers are also trained in France itself. This year Djibou-

ti alone has 100 men being trained in France. The *African Defence Journal* says that France has recently begun to expand its field of influence to the Portuguese-speaking countries in the continent.

France now plays a role in equipping the armed forces of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau and this is expected to open the way for a close co-operation with Mozambique and Angola.

The Angolan rebel group Unita has said that the Angolan army is now also using French helicopters.

On a continent ravaged by drought, famine and plagues of locusts and grasshoppers, there is a growing awareness among some African leaders that abuse of the environment can foment disaster.

The awakening to environmental issues is a significant trend on a continent where many people appear to be resigned to ecological changes. Many peasants view the loss of woodland and desertification — a term used by environmentalists to describe dying land — as beyond their control.

Perhaps the most glaring example of African environmental neglect has been the desertification of areas where forests once thrived, where parched river beds and lakes have replaced areas once abundant with water.

Desertification was one of the major factors causing the Ethiopian drought of 1983-85 that brought the world images of skeletal children dying in their mothers' arms. These televised images sparked a huge international relief campaign.

"Hindsight has now taught us that the mismanagement of our environment has greatly

Africans ^① aware of environment crisis

increased the frequency and severity of drought," the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, told an international meeting on the environment in Harare.

The Daily Nation, Kenya's leading newspaper, echoed Mr Mugabe's remarks in a September 25 editorial.

"Not long ago, those crying out for protection of the environment were apt to be dismissed as cranks and radicals," the newspaper said in commenting on a series of environmental articles it had just published.

The African Development Bank's report to the UN-backed World Commission on Environment and Development at its September 14-20 meeting in Harare warned of awakening too late to environmental degradation.

Other prominent figures — including Zimbabwe novelist Wilson Kativo — have lamented that the Africa of their

youth, rich in wildlife and vegetation, is vanishing.

"I looked for the rivers where I used to swim and they were dry, I looked for the pastures where I herded cattle and they were dust, I looked for the forests where we picked wild fruit and they were gone," he said in an interview about his return to his boyhood village

LAWRENCE BARTLETT :: Harare

after living 15 years in Europe.

"We used to love going into the hills to climb trees and watch our cattle. We never went home for lunch — it was in the trees around us," he said.

He left what was then Rhodesia, ruled by whites, for political reasons in 1965. He studied in London before and became a writer, got married and raised two children in a farmhouse in France.

He published two novels — one called *Son of the Soil* — and returned to Zimbabwe at independence in 1980.

Kativo headed home for the traditional well-come of a slaughtered beast, beer drinking and festivity.

"By the time I got there I was quite upset. The rivers that used to stop buses when they were in flood were dry,

although it was the end of the rainy season," he recalled.

"And when I got home I was shocked to see that the huts were now built where our croplands used to be. My original home area was a real desert and the people had followed the retreating vegetation to run away from the dead soil.

"When I was a boy, if you walked a kilometre out of the village you could get lost in the bush. Now the hills are bare."

The bush and forest were stripped for fuel, to build homes, granaries and cattle-drawn ploughs, and cleared for crops as old, overused lands died.

The UN Commission heard in Harare, for example, that tropical forests are disappearing at the rate of 1.3 million ha a year.

A top official of Tanzania's Ministry of Natural Resources, Mr Ndloviro Kitomari, said that his East African nation's central Shinyanga region would become a desert within 30 years if current wood consumption trends continued. He said each resident would need to plant 20 trees a year to replace the wood being used.

Zimbabwe, although able to feed itself, is listed as one of the African countries threatened by desertification.

Although the countries most threatened are those below the Sahara Desert — which is encroaching onto once-

marginal croplands — much of the continent is in danger.

Repairing the damage is not easy for a continent faced with more than 600 million additional mouths to feed by the year 2008. In 1983, Africa's population was estimated at 482 million, and the UN-backed Economic Commission for Africa predicts that 25 years later it will be 1.1 billion.

"To revive the soil is our only hope," said Senegal's Mr Koly Ba, a regional inspector for the government's reforestation programme. "We once were a food-exporting country. Now we need food aid to survive."

Many environmentalists say the damage need not be permanent and can be repaired without massive investments. They say that poor governments can reclaim damaged areas by irrigation, planting trees, and improving agricultural and grazing practices.

For example, Kenya and Ethiopia have begun to plant trees where peasants had denuded forests. Some governments are promoting use of fuels other than firewood and construction of homes with materials other than wood to save forests. — Sapa-AP

'Executions are still rife in Africa'

PRISONERS are still executed in 18 African countries and thousands of people are detained without trial in the continent, according to Amnesty International.

The London-based human rights organisation said in its 1985 annual report that 90 000 people were jailed in SA last year under the now-defunct pass laws. CITY PRESS

It said there was widespread torture and ill-treatment of detainees in SA, several of whom had died while in custody. 19/10/86

It also said security forces had murdered several prominent opposition figures.

"The death penalty remained a major concern. In all, about 137 people were hanged at Pretoria Central Prison in 1985 ...," the organisation, which campaigns for the abolition of the death penalty, said.

SA journalists protest against BBC sacking

A MEDIA delegation met BBC-TV's Johannesburg representative and protested against the sacking last week of its member Sarah Crowe in a bid to get her reinstated.

Crowe, a BBC researcher, was fired for singing the anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika* and raising her fist during the memorial service for miners killed in the Kinross gold mine disaster.

International Federation of Journalists vice-president for Africa Thami Mazwai, Southern African Society of Journalists president John Allen and Mike Tisong of the Media Workers' Association met Michael Buerks in Johannesburg and presented five points for transmission to BBC's London office. They said:

- "The SA media unions regard Crowe's dismissal as unfair as the BBC did not follow normal procedures.

- "We believe Crowe was

not as representative of the BBC as their full-time Johannesburg-based correspondents are. As such whatever action she might have been involved in cannot be seen by the average person as BBC policy.

- "The BBC officials in London did not take into account the realities of the explosive and emotional situation in the country.

- "The dismissal will affect the attitude of the black community towards the BBC and the foreign representatives and this would be an unhealthy development.

- "We respect the BBC's attitude towards perceived impartiality but this cannot be applied *holus bolus* in any situation."

Buerks, describing the issue as delicate, told *Sapa* he had already passed on the views to the London office.

★ See Percy's Itch on Page

At last Africa is waking up to the nightmare

7/10/86 - SMK



HARARE — On a continent ravaged by drought, famine and plagues of locusts and grasshoppers, there is a growing awareness among some African leaders that abuse of the environment can foment disaster.

The awakening to environmental issues is a significant trend on a continent where many people appear to be resigned to ecological changes. Many peasants view the loss of woodland and desertification — a term used by environmentalists to describe dying land — as beyond their control.

Desertification was one of the major factors causing the Ethiopian drought of 1983-85 that brought the world images of skeletal children dying in their mothers' arms.

LAMENT

"The mismanagement of our environment has greatly increased the frequency and severity of drought," the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, told an international meeting on the environment earlier this month in Harare.

Other prominent figures, including Zimbabwe novelist Wilson Katiyo, have lamented that the Africa of their youth, rich in wildlife and vegetation, is vanishing.

"I looked for the rivers where I used to swim and they were dry, I looked

for the pastures where I herded cattle and they were dust, I looked for the forests where we picked wild fruit and they were gone," he said in an interview about his return to his boyhood village after living 15 years in Europe.

Katiyo headed home for the traditional welcome of a slaughtered beast, beer drinking and festivity.

UPSET

"By the time I got there I was quite upset. The rivers that used to stop buses when they were in flood were dry, although it was the end of the rainy season," he recalled.

"And when I got home I was shocked to see that the huts were now built where our crop lands used to be. My original home area was a real desert and the people had followed the retreating vegetation to run away from the dead soil.

"When I was a boy, if you walked a kilometre out of the village you could get lost in the bush. Now the hills are bare."

The bush and forest were stripped for fuel, to build homes, granaries and cattle-drawn plows, and cleared for crops as old, overused lands died.

The UN Commission heard in Harare, for example, that tropical forests are disappearing at the rate of 1.3 million ha-

a year.

A top official of Tanzania's Ministry of Natural Resources, Mr Ndeviro Kitomari, said that his East African nation's central Shinyanga region would become a desert within 30 years if current wood consumption trends continued.

Zimbabwe, although able to feed itself, is listed as one of the African countries threatened by desertification.

Repairing the damage is not easy for a continent faced with more than 600 million additional mouths to feed by the year 2008.

Environmentalists say the damage can be repaired without massive investments. They say poor governments can reclaim damaged areas by irrigation, planting trees, and improving agricultural and grazing practices. — Sapa-AP.

Continued on I

secrets

STAR 7/10/86

We have trained Swapo fighters, boasts Gaddafi

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has boasted on American network television that he has trained Swapo insurgents — and that he will continue to do so.

Asked if he denied that his country supported terrorism and provided training facilities and bases for terrorists, Colonel Gaddafi said:

"If supporting the struggle of peoples for liberation is terrorism, then we are responsible for such acts.

"We have trained fighters in Zimbabwe and the fighters of Swapo — and we've trained the fighters of the Palestinian people and the PLO.

"These are people who are fighting for their independence. And we continue to do so and we should never retreat from that even if America were to bomb us with nuclear bombs."

The Libyan leader — "Arch Enemy Number One" in the United States — appeared yesterday on the ABC breakfast hour talk show "Good Morning, America".

In reply to a question by



Colonel Gaddafi

American interviewer David Hartman, Colonel Gaddafi denied that he was a communist but added that America might yet force him to "declare my communism" just as it had forced Fidel Castro to be a communist.

He said American citizens were the victims and agents of Zionism and President Reagan was at the top of the list. President Reagan was a liar, he said.

"And the US Foreign Secretary is Jewish, a Zionist."

Asked whether he was referring to the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, Colonel Gaddafi said: "Yes, that he's a Zion-

ist, that he's an Israeli, that he's Jewish. He's an Israeli. He's using America for the interests of his own people."

The colonel denied that he had said at the non-aligned summit meeting in Zimbabwe that he had threatened to send hit squads to the US.

"The correct thing is that, if America continues its aggression, I shall be forced to create an international army against America because, militarily, my country is not up to the Americans."

Later he boasted that he enjoyed the support of 150 million Arabs even if their leaders did not support him.

"I can easily form an army that would comprise tens of thousands of soldiers — if I don't say hundreds of thousands.

"But I hope I will never get to this point," Colonel Gaddafi said.

Asked to comment, Mr Robert Oakley, former chief of counterterrorism at the State Department, said Colonel Gaddafi was trying to "resurrect" himself after his prestige and standing had been damaged by the US raids on Libya earlier this year.

FOCUS
①

Sowetan
22/10/86



NEW YORK — Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka, the first African to win the Nobel Peace Prize for Literature, is a maverick who denies the ideological roles that people ascribe to him.

Soyinka, the visiting Professor of Theatre at Cornell University, is a passionate critic of oppression in Africa, both from blacks and whites.

He is as ardent in his literary criticism of apartheid as he is of black Africa's political and cultural failures.

The playwright was an early critic of black politicians who, as Africa gained independence, jumped at the chance to "step fast into the shoes of the departing whites".

He is a man of the left, but he once said he would rather not be bracketed with "those pseudo-Stalinists, Leninists and Maoists who are totally unproductive and merely protect themselves behind a whole barrage of terminologies."

Civil war

Soyinka (52) was born in Nigeria, but left in 1954 to continue his studies at the University of Leeds.

He returned in 1960 and started a drama company.

After the outbreak of civil war in 1967, Soyinka's unsuccessful attempts to bring about a cease-fire and act as mediator between conflict-

ing groups led to his arrest and incarceration for almost two years.

He wrote prolifically in jail — mostly on toilet paper. He emerged from jail "obsessed with the theme of the oppressive boot" — the "betrayal of politicians and the absence of freedom in black Africa".

He was visiting Paris

SOWETAN Foreign Service

as head of the International Theatre Institute when he learned of his award — worth \$290 000 in cash.

The institute is part of Unesco, the cultural arm of the United Nations. The job led to international controversy this June when he cancelled the performance of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, by Britain's National Theatre at the Festival of Nations in Baltimore.

The Soviet Union had protested the production and Soyinka ap-

peared to be acceding to their wishes. He said he was following the festival rule of barring material offensive to any culture.

Soyinka said he considered the prize an award for "the whole literary tradition of Africa".

According to reports here, two other writers from Africa were among the contenders, but the Nobel Academy felt it could not give them the prize because they were both whites from South Africa. They were Nadine Gordimer and Andre Brink.

WOLE Soyinka . . . first African to win the Nobel Prize for Literature.

The colour blind critic

Africa gets its first human rights charter

N/M
① 22/10/86

NAIROBI—Africa's first human rights charter took effect yesterday, six years after it was drafted, clearing the way for the creation of a commission to investigate alleged atrocities and repression.

The 11-member commission, to be chosen by leaders of countries ratifying the charter, will be the first pan-African group empowered to conduct such investigations on a continent where almost every government has been accused of human rights violations.

The charter will be administered by the Organisation of African Unity, which hailed the document as 'a legal instrument of great political significance'.

'The OAU can only express satisfaction at this happy achievement and hopes this charter will genuinely contribute to the promotion of the well-being of the African peoples,' the 50-member organisation said in a statement issued at its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The new commission will not have enforcement powers. But Kenyan lawyer Mr Amos Wako, a member of the International Commission of Jurists, said that 'the mere fact that someone is investigating is important'.

'It will make governments think twice about human rights,' he said.

The charter was drafted in 1980 and adopted unanimously by the OAU heads of state at a Nairobi summit in June 1981. But it required ratification by a majority of the OAU's members to become effective.

Until the end of 1985, only 15 countries had ratified the charter, but an intensive campaign led by President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, the OAU chairman for 1985-86, prompted several other countries to sign this year.

The requisite number of 26 signatories was reached on July 22, when Botswana, Chad and the Central African Republic all ratified the document, triggering a timetable under which the charter took effect three months later. Since July 22, five more countries have ratified the charter, raising the number of signatories to 31.

The charter stipulates that all Africans should be entitled to basic rights and freedoms without regard for their race, creed, language or political opinion. It also prohibits torture and arbitrary detentions, two practices which Amnesty International — the London-based human rights group — has said take place in most African countries.

The charter calls on governments to respect citizens' freedom of movement, speech, worship and political association. It prohibits mass expulsions of foreigners and says citizens cannot be forced to join any party or organisation. — (Sapa-AP)

DOHA (Qatar) — Corruption viding aid nor reduce it. and mismanagement had prevented massive amounts of aid from reaching the needy, mainly in Africa, a leading Arab aid administrator has said.

The charge was made by Saudi Arabian Prince Talal Ibn Abdulaziz, outgoing president of the Arab Gulf Fund for UN Development Programmes (Agfund), in an interview with Doha's English-language daily *Gulf Times*.

"Bad administration and high corruption among political and administrative leaders in all 49 recipient countries of Africa are responsible for gross misappropriation or misuse of these funds," Prince Talal was quoted as saying.

Citing Sudan as an example, Prince Talal said that in 16 years until the military coup of April 1985, the country had "re-

Corruption stops Arab aid to Africa, says prince

ceived billions of dollars, but there was no trace of even one dollar rightfully spent".

He said Agfund had provided more than \$150 million (about R333 million) for 231 projects in 115 countries since 1981.

But, he added, "at least 60 percent of the funds have gone into the pockets of top government leaders. So huge funds from Arab countries do not reach the needy".

Despite this, Prince Talal said Agfund would neither stop providing aid nor reduce it. — Sapa-Reuter.

Black states in SA link

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA is negotiating trade missions in two African countries, according to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller.

He said discussions with the countries concerned were in progress and the states could not be named yet, but the countries are understood to be OAU members.

The information comes at a time when African countries are struggling to balance their desire to isolate SA with their need to deal with the continent's economic leader.

It also represents a growing mood of pragmatism by some African countries, mainly those closer to SA's borders.

Trade missions, apart from their economic function, are seen as a practical way of establishing low-profile diplomatic presences in countries that cannot afford the political price of open relations with SA — for example, a trade mission in Mozambique is headed by a professional diplomat, Mr Colin Patterson.

7/10/86
Sun
TIME

AIDS — AFRICA'S NEW AGONY

In this second article, THOMSON PRENTICE of the London Times assesses the problems facing Africa in its struggle to control Aids

① Prevention v promiscuity

ARGUES 5/11/86

PART 2:

IN THE sunlight, a herd of goats grazes on the thin grass of the forecourt of the Foreami Clinic in Bujumbura, capital of the central African state of Burundi. Chickens peck along the open veranda of the clinic, where a handful of laboratory staff check blood samples every day for traces of "Slim" — the virus known to the West as Aids.

"Don't ask me how big the Aids problem is," a doctor says angrily. "Don't ask me if it's a disaster. All I know is that it is here, it exists and the only thing that matters is trying to prevent it spreading."

First recognised in nearby Uganda, "Slim" causes severe diarrhoea and drastic weight loss. It cannot be treated and kills within a year.

Unknown thousands of men and women in Burundi and many of their children are infected with the virus. Hundreds are dead or dying from the disease in a variety of forms and the problem facing this poor but beautiful country is how to control the epidemic before it becomes a disaster.

It may already be too late. "There is nothing we can do for them," says a doctor at the Prince Louis Rwagasore clinic. "We don't have the drugs or facilities to offer much beyond basic palliative treatment."

"Most people don't want to come to a hospital to die. Instinctively they go back to their families, to their villages. To them, Aids is nothing special. It's just one more disease to die from, like tuberculosis or malaria."

"What we are trying to do is save the next generation. Telling people that they could die from a sexually transmitted disease is unlikely to have much impact. They think it's just the church preaching morality to them."

"But if we can tell women that they may give birth to infected children who will die because of parental promiscuity, there may be a chance of changing their behaviour."



"To them, Aids is nothing special. It's just one more disease to die from, like tuberculosis or malaria."

Children are born with the virus, acquired in the womb of their infected mothers. Infants become infected through medical injections with syringes that are used time and time again without proper sterilisation.

BURUNDI is a former Belgian colony of about five million people, bounded by Lake Tanganyika and Zaire to the west, the mountains and tropical forests of Rwanda to the east and south. It is the very heart of central Africa and at the core of the Aids epidemic that stretches right across the continent.

Some scientists believe that the Aids virus originated somewhere among these majestic hills and lush valleys, mutated perhaps from the African green monkey, possibly carried unwittingly for generations among the Hutu peasant farmers or the rival Tutsis who now rule Burundi.

Over the past 20 years, as huge stretches of the land were exhausted by farming, many thousands of Burundians, among them those who may have been symptomlessly carrying the virus, drifted to the capital, Bujumbura, in search of work.

They gradually lost some of their rural village traditions and codes of conduct. Men who left their families behind were able to marry again — polygamy is a way

of urban life — and form countless liaisons with women who became used to being discarded after they had borne a child or two.

Bujumbura began to sprout "music bars" where indulgent owners rented back rooms by the hour or the night. Girls, who learned that prostitution was as good a source of income as any in the overcrowded town, became regulars in search of clients.

THERE are big colonies of prostitutes in those two capitals and Kenyan and Zairean businessmen expected to find similar entertainment in Bujumbura. So too did the French, German, Belgian and occasional British travellers.

The chief medical officer of Burundi, Dr Cassien Ndikumana, believes that Aids was brought to Bujumbura by such businessmen or by immigrants from Rwanda and Zaire. Evidence of infection has been found among 60 percent of Nairobi prostitutes and in up to 88 percent of the "street girls" of Kinshasa. In neighbouring Rwanda, 43 percent of Aids patients studied were prostitutes. Figures in Burundi are not made public.

In Zaire, before they knew better, the citizens of Kinshasa used to make jokes about Aids. Their suspicion that the disease was an invention of the church aimed at curbing sexual freedom led to the joke that the French acronym for the illness, Sida, actually stood for *Syndrome Imaginaire pour Discourager les Amoureux*.

According to Kinshasa folklore even President Mobutu, Zaire's head of state, joined in the ribaldry. If Aids really was a sexually transmitted disease, he scoffed, why had one particular minister in his cabinet not caught it? The laughter stopped three years ago when one of the President's ministers did die of Aids, as did the man's wife and soon afterwards his mistress.

Today more than 200 000 of Kinshasa's two million population are believed to be carriers of the infection and in the next five years the city could have 50 000 people dying from the disease.

Africa ^{Savefor} ① 7/11/86

threatened by AIDS epidemic

AIDS has splashed across the headlines often enough recently. Only last month, a number of African states reacted angrily to reports that the British Foreign Office was considering screening African visitors to Britain for the Aids virus.

Before that, African medical officials were equally bitter about scientific claims that the Aids virus originally came from Africa.

In fact, although there is no doubt that the disease is spreading alarmingly fast throughout central Africa, expert opinion is divided about where the disease came from first. In a sense, it doesn't matter.

Spreading

The virus is spreading at such rate that many doctors believe it is a complete waste of time arguing about where it came from — the urgent job is to try to prevent it spreading any further.

Four top researchers on Aids in Africa have gathered together much of the published material on Aids into short booklet, which is due to be published soon. One of them, Dr Jonathan Mann is the head of the World Health Organisation's Aids project in Switzerland, and spent several years working with Aids patients in the Zairean capital, Kinshasa. He and his three colleagues say that Aids has now been identified in more than 20 African countries, and that the number of people carrying the virus in some cities, such as Kinshasa or the Rwandan capital, Kigali, is higher than anywhere else in the world — the report cites figures of between 500

Will a million Africans die of Aids?
By PETER MURRAY

UGANDA'S health minister has announced that his government is to spend 750 000 dollars (about R1½-million) on a campaign against AIDS — or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. The virus is reported to be spreading in many parts of Africa. But, like Uganda, African countries are looking into ways of preventing it. Our reporter examines what the disease is, and what can be done in Africa to contain it.

and 1 000 people per million infected there. The authors of the report say that the Aids virus is "well established" in certain parts of the continent, and say that it has become "a major threat to all Africans".

Doctor Mann said recently that he was very reluctant to speculate about the numbers of people who might be affected by the virus in Africa. He said that about one million people may have been infected with the Aids virus, but pointed out that this does not mean that they actually have the disease.

Symptoms

Just because someone carries the virus in his or her body does not mean that they will develop any of the symptoms associated with full-blown Aids. Although it does mean that one can pass on the virus to others. He described as "an overstatement" and "very discouraging" suggestions in the British press that one million Africans will die of Aids in the next few years. And he pointed out that while one million Africans may be infected, around one and a half million people in the United States are thought to be infected with Aids.

Doctor Mann explained that the purpose

of the report was not to alarm people, but to try to help understand the deadly disease by collecting the available data in one publication. As the head of WHO's work on Aids, Doctor Mann is responsible for the organisation's programmes in Africa. But, according to the report, the problems are enormous. Not least among them is a shortage of money and medical facilities in several African countries. It's been estimated that it costs some 450 000 dollars (about R1-million) to treat ten Aids patients in a hospital in the United States. That figure is more than the entire annual budget of a large Kinshasa hospital — where, the report estimates, as many as a quarter of those admitted to the hospital may have had contract with the Aids virus.

Campaign

In view of those shortages, the authors are calling for international support for Aids control and prevention programmes in Africa, and they stress that preventative measures are much cheaper and more effective way of ensuring that fewer people will contract Aids.

It's widely believed that central to any preventative campaign must be a programme of public health education. Most medical research so far has shown that the Aids virus is being spread in Africa by heterosexual (male and female) sexual activity. If people can be persuaded to restrict their sexual relations, and take measures to prevent intimate contact with Aids carriers, then they will be going a long way towards preventing the spread of the deadly virus. Sapa

More SA firms trading in Africa

7/10/85
JUSTIN
DAVID FURLONGER

MORE South African companies are trading with the rest of Africa, says the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto).

Its annual report says there has been a "sharp rise" in the number of smaller companies doing business with African countries.

A region-by-region analysis paints an optimistic picture of export opportunities. Only Oceania, where Australia and New Zealand are already applying limited sanctions, is singled out as a no-growth area.

Western Europe remains the most important market, says Safto. While political action places restraints, "innovative" marketing techniques offer major opportunities.

North Americans, while wary of goods with an obvious SA identity, cannot resist the price advantages of a weak rand, although exports of certain products could be curtailed in the future.

The west coast markets of South America are taking record shipments of SA industrial goods. The Middle East, already exploited by some SA exporters, is likely to become more important as business seeks alternative markets for its goods.

Exports to the Far East have risen "dramatically". Where this region used to take mainly primary goods, there is increasing demand for manufactured goods.

Africa goes for capital economy

Sowetan
7/11/86
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AT a little-publicised conference in Nairobi the representatives of a string of African countries decided the challenge of development and recovery in their continent could not be met by state initiative alone.

Officially known as the Enabling Environment Conference for effective private sector contribution to development in sub-Saharan Africa, the conference is further — and fairly dramatic — evidence that Africa is turning its back on Marxism/Leninism/Socialism/African Socialism and a string of other isms.

Instead, the continent is turning increasingly to the private sector to

**SOWETAN Africa
News Service**

help solve its manifold, enormous and endemic problems.

The conference attracted government, business and private development agency representatives from Botswana, Cameroun, Gambia, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In addition, there

were representatives from Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The conference was sponsored by the Aga Khan foundation (Switzerland), the government of Kenya, the African Development Bank, the World Bank and other organisations.

It was the first conference in Africa to be focussed exclusively on the role of the private sector in African development and recovery

and, if its decisions are put into effect, the conference will greatly strengthen private enterprise in Africa.

After the conference, delegates put out what they called "The Nairobi Declaration" which started off by saying the gathering had focussed on "evolving relationships between African governments and the private sector".

It said the conference had taken its guidance from African leaders who had recognised that growth required deep reforms in the functioning of the public sector as well "the provision of sufficient incentives to private initiatives".

11/11/86

BUS DAY

Africans 'hungrier' (1) in 1990'

ROME — Many Africans could be hungrier in 1990 than they were in 1980, a United Nations agency said in a report released on Sunday. Average per capita consumption of basic foodstuffs in 20 low-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa "is expected to be lower in 1990 compared with the levels attained in 1979-81," the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) said.

FAO said its projections reflected problems inherent in raising domestic food output in line with population growth and expectations that foreign exchange constraints would make importing of food difficult.

Consumption of cereals was expected to fall from the already low level of 123kg per person at the beginning of the Eighties to 119kg by 1990. Consumption of roots and tubers — a main source of calories for many Africans — was also expected to drop. — Sapa-Reuter.



President Samuel Doe

Liberia report tells of brutal killings

NEW YORK — A United States human rights group has charged that brutality, executions, political detentions and abuse of the Press had become hallmarks of the government of Liberian President Samuel Doe.

The private New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights published a report on alleged abuses in Liberia based mainly on the findings of a journalist, Mr Bill Berkeley.

The committee said Mr Berkeley spent a month during March and April this year in Liberia where he "travelled extensively and interviewed numerous victims of human rights abuses and their relatives, as well as lawyers, doctors, academics, business people and opposition politicians."

The report concluded that "summary killings have been a recurring feature of President Doe's regime since he seized power in a military coup in 1980.

"Several hundred soldiers and civilians were summarily executed in the aftermath of an attempted coup on November 12, 1985," the committee's report said.

"Some of these executions were characterised by horrific brutality, including castration and dismemberment."

The report also said political detentions "remain a persistent feature of Liberian life. Scores of opposition figures, journalists, and university faculty and students have been detained for prolonged periods with little or no deference to due process."

It said the Liberian Press had been a frequent target of official abuse and independent newspapers had been subjected to repeated threats and harassment.

The report said the United States provided economic and military assistance directly to the Doe government largely without conditions and it "has thus become closely identified with the Doe regime in the eyes of the Liberian people." — Sapa Reuter.

Professor A. Thembela, vice-rector of the University of Zululand, will speak on still being prepared, but it will include at least 59 resolutions.

Angola denounces talks with Unita

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said that efforts by Western nations to set up peace talks between his government and Unita were a waste of time. Speaking at a meeting on Tuesday night to mark the 11th anniversary of independence, Santos said his government had repeatedly said it would not negotiate with Unita because Angola was "an independent state and had nothing to share". — Sapa-Reuter.

GM sets sights on Africa expansion

DETROIT — General Motors (GM), which last month announced plans to withdraw from SA, is casting hopeful glances toward the rest of Africa as an area of expansion, say GM executives.

With international revenues above \$100bn expected in 1986, GM has only a small presence in a few African nations, concentrated mainly on manufacturing operations in Kenya and Zaire.

William Mott, vice-president of GM Overseas and head of African operations, said several countries were under review for new investment.

A recent "field report" received in Detroit said the strengthening of the yen in world currency markets over the past year had made some Japanese vehicles less price-competitive in Africa.

As a result, there was now a "stirring of interest" in countries such as Zambia, Malawi, Ghana, Mauritius and Mauritania — in small cars such as those GM can offer.

Mott said GM's interest in the continent included mineral exports as well as vehicle sales and manufacturing.

"We've been working a lot with the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique."

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CAPE TIMES 18/11/86 (1) (1)

Boom in business between SA and African countries



Dennis Foster has been appointed an alternate director of Jack Frost (Cape Town) (Pty) Ltd.

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Deputy Financial Editor

SOUTH African firms are doing business with 33 countries in Africa and this may be a growing trend now that sanctions are cutting off access to some US and European markets.

So says export agent Gunnar Hagelberg, who, with his partner in Scan International, fellow Swede Goran Morander, specialize in exports to African countries.

Vast potential market

Mr Hagelberg said yesterday: "Trade with other African countries increased by between 60% and 70% in the past year.

"SA exports to black Africa could be worth R3 billion this year.

"Black Africa is a vast potential

market, but it is only in recent months that South African firms have realized the extent of the demand for a wide variety of goods.

"Many firms now successfully exporting to black Africa started doing so only in the past two years when they started encountering difficulties overseas.

Possible payment delay

One disadvantage, however, is that firms may have to wait up to 120 days for payment due to delays in sending currency.

Mr Hagelberg advised taking out insurance through the Credit Guarantee Corporation.

Scan International has permanent representation in several African countries, excluding Zimbabwe and Zambia.

African seminar on Aids

See Report

19/11/84

NAIROBI — Delegations from six Central African countries had begun a week-long seminar in the north-eastern Rwandan town of Gisenyi to discuss a common strategy on Aids (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) screening techniques, the official Rwandan radio reported.

The meeting — the first of its kind in the region said to be one of the world's worst affected by the killer disease — is sponsored by the World Health Organisation (WHO).

In his opening speech, Rwandan Health Minister Mr Francois Muganza said Aids was not an overwhelming problem.

He did not give any figures but late last year, the Rwandan Government disclosed it had diagnosed 319 Aids cases in a population of just four million and that 106 of the victims had died. — Sapa-
Reuter

Bokassa trial

opens

BANGUI, Central African Republic — Eduardo Franck, former ambassador to France, is to preside at the murder, conspiracy and cannibalism trial of former Emperor Bokassa I opening today, the Central African government announced.

SAPA-AP 26/11/86

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Franck served as ambassador in Paris from 1982 to 1984, while Bokassa was himself living as an exile in France. Like most other senior officials, Franck served Bokassa's regime until the self-crowned emperor was ousted in a French-backed coup in 1979.

Death

Carpenters worked through the night to prepare the crumbling indoor sports stadium where the trial is to take place, the same building where Bokassa crowned himself in a costly and extravagant ceremony on December 4, 1977.

Bokassa faces a list of 13 charges including murder, complicity in murder, embezzling public funds, betraying the country's national interest to a foreign power, Libya, cannibalism, procuring human bodies and violating individual freedoms.

In 1980, one year after the end of Bokassa's 14-year rule, he was tried in absentia on the same charges and sentenced to death. The law requires a new trial for anyone previously sentenced in absentia.

Sapa-AP.



BOKASSA . . . on trial for cannibalism.

String of charges against Bokassa

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BANGUI — The former ambassador to France, Mr Edouard Franck, is to preside at the murder, conspiracy and cannibalism trial of the former Emperor Bokassa I, opening today, the Central African Government said.

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In 1980 Bokassa was tried in absentia on the same charges and sentenced to death, but the law requires a retrial for anyone sentenced in absentia. — Sapa-AP

Sweaty Bokassa says crimes invented to justify his overthrow

eye part 27/11/84
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BANGUI — Disgraced ex-Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa went on trial denying he committed atrocities during his 13-year rule and accusing former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing of inventing crimes against him to justify his overthrow.

Bokassa told about 200 people in a stifling courtroom in the Central African Republic capital yesterday that President Giscard waged a campaign of "manipulation and disinformation" against him after order-

ing French troops to overthrow him in 1979.

The trial was adjourned until December 15 after the court said a Central African magistrate wanted to clarify unclear elements of the case.

The bearded, diminutive Bokassa, wearing a smart suit and tie, waved at the large contingent of international journalists before listening to prosecution allegations that he committed atrocities ranging from assassination and cannibalism to poisoning a young baby.

Flanked by troops, the 65-year-old ex-dictator sat calmly while a red-robed court clerk described him as "sadistic, egoistical and sexually obsessed".

Bokassa, who stunned his three million countrymen by flying home from exile in France last month, said President Giscard accused him of imaginary crimes and misused French troops in the former colony to topple him.

Bokassa, a former captain in the French colo-

nial army, seized power in 1966. He proclaimed himself president for life six years later and crowned himself emperor in 1977 in a Napoleonic extravaganza, aided by France.

His downfall came after charges that up to 200 schoolchildren were beaten to death for refusing to buy uniforms made by a Bokassa-owned firm. He was sentenced to death in absentia in 1980 and yesterday told the court he knew he would be arrested when he returned from France.

No proof AIDS is from Africa

A large German study of 6 015 blood serum samples collected in Africa between 1976 and 1984 has found little evidence to support the widely held theory that AIDS originated in Africa.

They suggest that the tests carried out in previous studies might have been confused by the presence of antibodies to other diseases such as malaria.

Central Africa is now suffering an AIDS epidemic. As in many countries in the West the incidence of this disease is climbing sharply. Against the background, there has been considerable disagreement about where the lethal virus first

By Tim Haines

came from. The pattern of incidence of AIDS in Africa is different to that in the West. In the US, for instance, AIDS is most common among homosexuals and drug

addicts. Whereas in Africa AIDS is identified with urban-dwelling heterosexual men, their wives and children, and prostitutes. However, blood tests in East Africa have shown anti-

body levels — showing infection — are highest among symptomless rural workers and their children.

One widely accepted theory that explains this distribution suggests that AIDS originated in isolated rural communities, perhaps mutating from an animal disease. It spread among these populations where there were probably a lot of undiagnosed deaths among children but the adults who survived were immune.

Epidemic

When these resistant adults then moved to urban areas the current epidemic was started. Better medical facilities in cities, then ensured that it was quickly identified as the disease AIDS.

But a recent study carried out immunologically on 6 015 African blood samples that were taken between 1976 and 1984. They could only find specific antibodies to AIDS in four of these samples.

They did find that false positives could develop when antibodies to diseases such as malaria were present in the blood. All this, the research-

ers conclude, did not support the idea of an African origin of AIDS. But it did not totally disprove it either. Unfortunately, most of the samples came from outside Central Africa mostly along the West Coast. Dr Tony Pinching, a specialist in AIDS at St Mary's Hospital in London, said the report was an interesting piece of historical research but was really of little importance to the problem of AIDS in Africa now. He commented that poor reporting by the media of the theories around the origin of AIDS have led to many countries in Africa feeling "blamed" for the disease.

Virus

This, he said, was unhelpful. Because the way that the virus probably mutated and spread, scientists may never know where AIDS came from. But according to Dr Pinching, that is just an academic question. AIDS is now epidemic in Central Africa and the development of an effective treatment and of more health education programmes is far more important than rooting around trying to find the disease's origins.

27/11/86
AUSOM

Warning on Aids in Africa

LONDON — Aids was sweeping across Africa and could wipe out half the population of several central African states, an expert on the disease said yesterday.

The warning came from Dr John Gallwey, a British consultant who treats Aids patients.

"We are witnessing the death of a continent. It really is too terrifying to contemplate," he said.

Dr Gallwey was speaking at a conference on the spread of Aids in the Third World. He said an international research study had indicated that in Zambia, 15% — or 975 000 people in a population of 6.5-million — were affected.

In towns in Uganda, half of the blood donors were affected.

"It is very clear that there is a major epidemic in some central African states," he said. — Sapa.

Bokassa ruled with a mixture of flamboyance and harsh repression

HE DIRECTED DEATHS OF 200 CHILDREN

BANGUI — Former Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa, who went on trial in the Central African Republic yesterday for a wide range of gruesome crimes, is a former army captain who ruled with a mixture of flamboyance and harsh repression.

Bokassa's coronation as Emperor, inspired by that of his hero Napoleon Bonaparte, included a crown worth five million rands.

His 13-year rule ended when he was ousted by the French in September 1979 after charges that he had directed the deaths of up to 200 schoolchildren. He was later sentenced to death in his absence for mass murder and cannibalism.

Bokassa, who has at least 55 children, served 22 years in the French colonial army and then served in the forces of his country after its independence in 1960.

He came to power after deposing the first president, his nephew David Dacko, in 1965.

In 1972 he named himself president for

His crown was worth R5-m

life, and the State's only political party elected him emperor in 1976. The country was then renamed the Central African Empire.

His rule was marked by a series of eccentric acts. On Mother's Day in 1971 he released all women prisoners and ordered the execution of all

men convicted of assaults on women.

In the same year he ordered that thieves should have one ear cut off for one theft, two ears for two thefts, their right hand for three thefts and be executed for four.

The first wave of the new punishments was carried out under his supervision and the victims were later displayed in the main square of Bangui, the capital.

Dangerous

Critics saw him as both a comic and dangerous figure. Short in stature, he wore a lengthened and strengthened tunic to carry his many medals and decorations.

But he was also a convincing speaker both in French and Sango, the national language, and a keen photographer and music-lover.

Bokassa survived three attempted coups and one assassination attempt. But in 1979 French paratroops reinstated Dacko as president after an African jurists' commission said the emperor had ordered, and perhaps taken part in, the massacre of around 200 schoolchildren who had complained about their uniforms.

The children were reported to have been beaten to death after being imprisoned for refusing to buy uniforms made by a Bokassa-owned firm.

In the subsequent trial, witnesses who had worked for Bokassa also said he ate human flesh and he was condemned to death for mass murder, cannibalism and other crimes.

Coup

After the coup, Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouët-Boigny was persuaded to give him refuge.

Soon after his overthrow the Paris satirical weekly *Canard Enchaîné* embarrassed the French government with charges that Bokassa had given the French president of the time, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, di-



EMPEROR Bokassa . . . on his throne during his rule.

amonds worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Giscard admitted the gifts but said he had sold them and given the proceeds to charity. He also said the value of the diamonds had been greatly exaggerated.

In 1983 Bokassa attempted to organise a comeback, but France tipped off the Ivory Coast and police arrested him as he boarded a plane in the capital Abidjan to return to Bangui.

He was then deported to France

where he lived in an 18th-century chateau outside Paris.

Last month, Bokassa astonished the Central African Republic's three million people by returning to the poverty-stricken state where he was immediately imprisoned.

Bokassa was born on February 22, 1921, in the village of Bobangui, 80 km from Bangui.

His uncle, Barthélemy Boganda, became the founder of the Central African Republic.

The future emperor became a Catholic and considered entering the priesthood, but instead joined the French army on the eve of World War II.

Ethiopia's refugees

THE Tigray Peoples Liberation Front, which is fighting for the independence of Tigray from the rest of Ethiopia, took the decision at the end of 1984 to move starving Tigrayan villagers to refugee camps in Sudan.

The journey, which took about 30 days on foot, was organised by Relief Society of Tigray.

Although Rest managed to organise some food and emergency services along the way, there was nothing awaiting the stream of refugees (up to 4 000 a night at the height of the famine) when they arrived in Sudan.

The large numbers of Tigrayans posed extreme problems for the international agencies trying to set up relief centres in Sudan. Many thousands died

ETHIOPIAN refugees who fled the drought and famine in their country are now returning in large numbers from camps in Sudan. Three major camps have now closed. Some 120 000 refugees from the drought-stricken highlands of Tigray have returned under the auspices of the Relief Society of Tigray (REST) — which is organised by the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF).

before food and medical supplies could be brought in to the makeshift camps.

When the rains eventually came towards the end of 1985, the Tigrayans (and others) started out on the long trek back home. There were reports that the TPLF had initially told them to remain in Sudan, where international aid (and publicity) was more readily available than in Tigray itself.

However, as the pressure mounted among the refugees to go home, the TPLF (through its relief agency, Rest) organised the return jour-

ney and the resettlement of farmers and villagers.

Many were unable or unwilling to return to the central highlands, where the Ethiopian army had regained control from TPLF guerrillas.

Fertile

So Rest has been resettling them in the lowlands in the north-west of the region. This area is more fertile than the highlands during the rainy season (June-September) but drains dry during the hot summer season (December-June).

There is a shortage of clean drinking water —

and the area is infested with malaria.

The TPLF, which claims to control these western lowlands, is setting up agricultural projects for the returned refugees, as well as water-supply programmes.

A number of boreholes have been destroyed in fighting between the TPLF and government troops: the TPLF does not have the money or technology to replace them, so it is encouraging a simpler kind of well-digging.

Instead of digging water holes in the middle of dry river beds, which are vulnerable to flash flooding, villagers are being told to dig permanent wells on the banks of rivers which have adequate rock protection from erosion.

The wells are dug with the support of a

go home

metal ring (either imported or made from captured Ethiopian military vehicles).

As the hole grows deeper, so the metal ring is replaced with stones — and the ring is used again for the next well.

Food

Rest is also trying to organise food supplies before the next harvest is gathered. Oxen are badly needed to plough the land since farmers lost most of their animals during the drought.

Rest allocates what oxen are available to the most needy families ... who are also, presumably, loyal supporters

of the TPLF. The TPLF claims that its resettlement programme is a model one, based on the wishes of local community organisations (known as *Battos*).

It is asking aid agencies and governments to support its projects instead of the Ethiopian government's controversial Resettlement Programme.

This scheme (which has come to a virtual halt since the end of 1985) aims to resettle people from the arid northern regions in the more fertile south.

In spite of criticism that the scheme is not as voluntary as the government claims, and that it

is aimed at moving people from guerrilla-held territory into government-controlled areas, considerable international aid has gone into the programme.

The Ethiopian government and the TPLF, both insist that their resettlement plans are for the good of the people.

Both schemes involve moving highlanders to malaria-infested lowlands, resulting in large numbers of deaths.

Both schemes claim to be voluntary, although little option is given to any families who may wish to remain in their highland homes. — *British Broadcasting Corporation.*

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BUS DA

Trade summit urges tough action on SA

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ADDIS ABABA — SA's "continued acts of destabilisation" did not demonstrate its military might but showed it was "bogged down in a mire of desperation and bravado because of its ideological bankruptcy", Ethiopian leader Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam said yesterday.

Opening the fifth Preferential Trade Area (PTA) summit, Mengistu said SA continued to pursue apartheid because of the support of its "imperialist allies".

Independent African states had a responsibility to co-ordinate their efforts for the dismantling of apartheid.

They had to play a leading role in making the international community aware of "the urgency of imposing comprehensive sanctions against SA and the need for its total isolation".

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe told the summit SA's "acts of destabilisation" had created a new sense of urgency for economic co-operation and integration in the PTA region.

He said the PTA's hope for economic survival was the integration of the member states' economies.

"This calls for deliberate action to re-examine our trade-flow patterns and to determine the modalities of intensifying and improving the quality of our trade relations." — Sapa.

Talks on aid for black states

ADDIS ABABA — Leaders from 14 Eastern and Southern African countries yesterday discussed ways of helping Frontline states likely to suffer if economic sanctions were imposed on SA.

The countries are members of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), a regional organisation set up in 1982 to

Bus Day
22/11/82
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stimulate trade between African states and wean them from traditional trading partners in the developed world.

A plan circulated at the summit suggested that military units protect vital installations such as airports, railways and power plants from possible SA attack.

Africa's food production 'never worse'

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9/2/86
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HARARE—Agricultural conditions in Africa were, in many ways, worse than they had ever been, Mr T Taka, chief of the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation's regional bureau for Africa, said here yesterday.

He told delegates to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference on Agricultural Development and Food Security in Africa that agriculture in Africa had regressed over the past 20 years.

Food production per head had fallen by nearly 20% since 1961. Ten years ago many African countries were self-sufficient in food. Now every one of them imported food.

In 1982-84 the bill for food imports in sub-Saharan Africa amounted to two-thirds of all agricultural export earnings.

Today only 11 out of 51 countries in Africa had enough food, domestic and imported, to provide their people with more than 2 400 calories a day. In some countries food intake per head was found in 1983 to be 1 400 to 1 600 calories a day. Levels as low as this had never before been recorded in Africa, he said.

Mr Taka said production of export crops had also fallen, reducing revenues for governments with continually mounting foreign-exchange bills.

Once world leaders in the production and trade of products such as cocoa, coffee and cotton, African countries had lost their market shares, he said.

Outlook gloomy

But while hunger persists in some areas, the world is continuing to produce too much food, and astonishing advances in plant breeding and animal husbandry have created the potential for even greater productivity, according to the 1987 World Commodity Outlook of the London-based Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU).

The unit, part of the Economist Group which includes the Economist weekly newspaper, sees the outlook for agricultural commodity producers everywhere as gloomy.

Countries that need the new technologies most are those least able to secure them and use them to the benefit of the majority of their populations.

'It is poverty, not any absolute shortage of food, that is the main cause of hunger,' the report says.

On the other hand, the developed world faces coping 'with the problems of existing plenty without wrecking the world trading system and thereby plunging the world into protracted recession', it says.

The report says all First World countries, to differing degrees, 'practise agricultural policies designed to secure their farmers' incomes far higher than market forces would dictate'. The means that Japan, the EC and the United States 'inflict considerable damage on outsiders'.

Japan, for instance, pays its rice farmers eight to 10 times the world price and keeps surpluses under control by feeding rice to animals at about half the world price. Potential exporters 'are denied markets that might otherwise exist'.

It sees a danger that industrialised food exporters' unfair trade practices 'will disillusion many countries about the virtues of international trade'.

The EC's Common Agricultural Policy, which enables subsidised exports through its open-ended commitment to buy farm produce at a high price, will have to go, the report argues. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Frontline states unite to fight SA's stranglehold



London Dateline
By STANLEY UYS

THE nightly scenes of violence from South Africa's black townships have disappeared from British television screens and have been replaced by longer and more thoughtful comment on the situation in Southern Africa generally.

There is less moralizing in the media here these days about the iniquities of apartheid, because the realization has dawned that Pretoria is not listening — that it has passed beyond the reach of moral arguments and diplomatic pressures — and that reading homilies to President Botha is about as time-wasting an exercise as could be imagined.

So the media are looking deeper into the South African condition and are asking more basic questions, like what makes the Afrikaner tick? Where is it all going to end? And how much of southern Africa will be devastated before a settlement is found?

The problem is being seen more in its regional rather than in its specifically South African context and the scenario that is being written runs something like this:

The immediate, overriding issue is international sanctions against South Africa and Pretoria's best defence against sanctions is to make its black neighbours pay for them — and pay visibly and painfully.

The black neighbours, in turn, know that if they are to escape this fate they must lessen their economic dependence on South Africa as quickly as possible and principally this means finding alternative transport routes to the sea (most of South Africa's neighbours are landlocked).

This in turn means giving priority to expanding the facilities of the Beira corridor and keeping the corridor open at all costs against MNR sabotage.

Port facilities

This is where the battle over sanctions is expected to be fought: along the corridor.

Pretoria, as the analysts see it, will move heaven and earth to retain its transport stranglehold on its black neighbours and the MNR can be expected now to redouble their efforts both to cut the corridor and destabilize the Frelimo government.

The frontline states have taken a long time to get their act together, but now they are moving at speed. The Beira corridor project — to upgrade the rail and road routes between Zimbabwe and Beira and the port facilities in Beira itself — has been launched under the co-ordinating control of the nine Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) states and with international funding and substantial involvement of the private sector.

The plan was that by December this year upgrading would have proceeded so far that Beira would have been able to handle 60 percent of the trade of countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia. This first phase of the project, however, is now three months behind schedule.

The second phase was due to be completed by mid-1989 when Beira would be ready to handle all the traffic of its neighbours. The final cost was estimated at \$3 billion.

If the Beira corridor project goes according to schedule (which some sceptics doubt), the frontline states will be free of their transport dependence on South Africa by mid-1989. Pretoria will still be able to apply other pressures — eg, it supplies Mozambique with electricity and it has Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland locked into unbreakable relationships — but the most important stranglehold, transport, will have been lost.

Possible routes

Completion of the Beira corridor project, therefore, has become a race against time, and that is why some southern Africa-watchers here expect Pretoria (and the Heritage Foundation in Washington, the MNR's next biggest backer) really to take the leash off the MNR this time. For delenda est Carthago substitute delenda est Beira.

The frontline states have six possible routes to the sea, of which only one is to the Atlantic Ocean — the railway line which connects Zaire and Zambia to Benguela on the Angolan coast. This line has been under attack from Unita since independence in 1975 and much of the permanent way and other installations have not been maintained over this period.

Full rehabilitation of the line will take several years and will be costly, but the railway management estimate that under "peaceful conditions" limited international traffic can be restored on the line in three to six months. Management says rehabilitation would benefit Zaire, Zambia and even Zimbabwe and "substantially reduce the dependence of the Central African states on South Africa".

Unita, which is supported by South Africa and others, of course has no intention of allowing the "peaceful conditions" in which the line could be rehabilitated. The situation is an exact replica of the MNR attacks on the Beira corridor.

The Tazara railway line linking



Zambia to the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam has not lived up to expectations and the port itself is congested and inefficient, but rehabilitation work has started here, too.

The Chinese, who built the line, are helping again, West German locomotives have been bought, and gradually the line is expected to expand its capacity. The line in fact is said to be in better condition than some reports indicate.

The railway line linking Malawi to the Mozambique port of Nacala (East Africa's best deep-water port) is not functioning and neither are the lines linking Malawi to Beira and Harare to Maputo.

The Beira corridor, therefore, is the best immediate chance of establishing a route to the sea. It is a combined rail, road and oil pipeline route. It is sabotaged repeatedly, but repairs are effected reasonably speedily.

However, no one underestimates the scale of rehabilitation. Beira itself is a stricken city with, as a correspondent wrote recently, "no electricity, water, telephones, food or goods in the shops".

One of the most significant recent developments in Southern Africa has been the way in which the frontline states have pulled together to resist what they see as the threat from South Africa.

Zimbabwe for example sees its fate as inextricably linked with that of Mozambique — if Mozambique goes under, so does Zimbabwe. This is why Mugabe supported Machel when the Frelimo leader went to see Malawi's leader President Banda and threatened to close Mozambique's border unless Malawi ceased to harbour MNR guerillas (the guerillas then poured out of Malawi, overrunning large sections of adjacent Mozambique).

Joint venture

Zimbabwe troops, too, for some time now, have been helping Frelimo against the MNR and some 7 000 Zimbabwe troops are responsible principally for guarding the Beira corridor. Tanzania may also send in troops against the MNR and Frelimo itself, whose troops are pathetically ill-equipped and ill-trained, is trying to recover its morale.

The involvement of the private sector in the SADCC countries in the Beira corridor project is particularly interesting.

Various business interests will sponsor a number of joint-venture companies which will try to provide Beira with utilities, general services, hotel and office accommodation, road transport, crop terminals and shipping clearing and forwarding facilities.

For these companies this is a clear signal that they have chosen sides in the looming sanctions struggle — and an investment, as they see it, in Africa's future.

The Standard Chartered Merchant Bank of Zimbabwe, for example, is inviting investors to take up shares in BCG Ltd, which is registered in Harare and represents the business sector in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Botswana.

The front line of the battle over sanctions is, therefore, the bush war which the MNR is waging against Frelimo. It is principally an economic war to bring Mozambique to its knees.

Tens of thousands of refugees already are in flight in Mozambique and casualties are mounting. A television film shown here interviewed Mozambicans who had suffered mutilation at the hands of the MNR — noses and ears had been cut off. In Beira hospital a ward has been set aside exclusively for MNR victims.

So the battle has been joined — and a fierce and deadly battle it will be, too. As the frontline states see it, if they lose this battle their countries will be devastated for years to come.

It will take at least three long years for them to decouple themselves from the damage which international sanctions will inflict on South Africa — and South Africa has it in its power to deny them these critical years.

Seminars for local businessmen

Cape Times 22/12/86

'All-out' bid for SA investment

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Deputy Financial Editor

MAURITIUS is making an all-out effort to attract SA investment and tourists to bolster its economy.

While the sanctions lobby persuades US companies to disinvest from this country and campaigns against SA exports, the Mauritius Trade Office is organizing seminars in Cape Town and Johannesburg for local businessmen.

It has opened a SA desk to help firms opening up in Mauritius and is organizing investment and trade missions to the island.

Mauritius trade representative Jean-Michel de Senneville has sent circulars to firms all over SA listing the advantages his country has to offer the entrepreneur.

'Heaven'

He says that in 1986 SA exports to Mauritius rose by 32,2% "and a large number of factories and businesses were established in our 'business Heaven'.

"The expanding SA contribution to the rapid development of Mauritius' economy is of mutual benefit."

Urging firms to book for the next trade mission, De Senneville says Mauritius offers "a very generous package of incentives".

Other advantages he mentions include an infrastructure for business, and government development projects.

"There is much scope for contracting and the supply of equipment in the various fields of agriculture, fisheries,

agricultural diversification, irrigation, health and hospitals, water supply and sewerage, housing, tourism, harbour and shipping, post and telecommunications, energy, roads, construction and education," he says.

Discussing SA exports to Mauritius, he continues: "Apart from an increased volume and a wider range of general SA products exported to Mauritius, the latter requires more machinery, equipment and raw materials for the rapid development of its manufacturing sector.

"Instead of enumerating a long list of products that can be manufactured or assembled on the island, I would rather simply confirm that Mauritius would welcome the manufacture or assembly of virtually any product."

He also points out that "the development of the manufacturing industry is progressively creating new business opportunities for service industries such as computer science, the repair and maintenance of containers and packaging."

'Controls relaxed'

● Sapa reports that Mauritius has also begun phasing out exchange controls in a move aimed at turning it into an important financial centre.

It has increased personal travel allowances and the amount of duty-free goods Mauritians returning from abroad may bring into the country.

"If the first step gives the anticipated results, the others will follow until control is totally removed," the Deputy Finance Minister, Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, said at the weekend.

Million Africans will die in next 10 years

AIDS is 'destroying a continent'

By Garner Thomson, The Star Bureau

LONDON — At least one million Africans, mostly in central Africa, will die of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) in the next 10 years.

Some countries are already facing an immediate crisis, with one in five of their populations already infected and with no sign of the epidemic abating.

These are some of the horrific figures highlighted by a conference on the disease organised by the Panos Institute with the Norwegian Red Cross.

One observer, Oxford AIDS expert Dr John Galloway, has said: "We are witnessing the death of a continent. It is too terrifying to contemplate."

A report points out that no country in the world should believe it is immune from the virus's devastating effects.

"By 1991, only five years away, 145 000 Americans will be dying of AIDS. The direct US health costs will be over \$8 billion for that one year alone, a price which will strain even America's vast resources.

WORSE CRISIS

"But the health services of many African countries must today contemplate a crisis already 20 to 50 times worse."

The report shows that virtually every country in Africa has felt the effects of Aids.

At the time 32 deaths from AIDS had been reported in South Africa, but the number is already over 40 and there is no indication of how many people have been infected.

The Panos report stresses: "There is as yet no cure, no vaccine and no immediate prospect of either, for Nairobi or San Francisco. Our picture of AIDS is a grim one. Our main weapon is knowledge."

Report slams injustice in black Africa

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — While world attention concentrates on South Africa, injustice in most of the 41 black African states is shameful, disgraceful and sometimes barbaric, according to a special report in the human rights watchdog journal, *Index on Censorship*.

Writing in the New Year edition of the respected publication, Ghanaian-born Professor George Ayittey says Botswana and Senegal are the only black African countries which allow their people to vote.

Dr Ayittey, assistant professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania, says the rest are ruled by military dictatorships and "farical democracies".

"Black Africa is a disgrace, politically and economically. It hurts us black Africans even more at this time when the world is applying pressure on South Africa to dismantle apartheid and grant political freedom to its blacks," he said.

"African leaders calling for sanctions against South Africa themselves do not give their own black African people the right to vote and choose their leaders."

Dr Ayittey quotes as farces the 1984 presidential elections in Cameroon, when President Biya, the only candidate, won 99,98 percent of the poll, and Zaire, where President Mobutu, again the only candidate, won 99,16 percent.

Since 1957, says Dr Ayittey, there have been more than 110 heads of state in Africa, but only five have relinquished power voluntarily.

They were Obasanjo of Nigeria, Ahidjo of Cameroon, Dahab of Sudan, Nyerere of Tanzania and Senghor of Senegal.

"The rest, a disgraceful lot, had to be booted out in military coups or assassinated," he said.

Listing confirmed governmental atrocities, Dr Ayittey said: "In all these barbaric atrocities, the organization of African Unity (OAU) did nothing — shamefully nothing."

Recalling some of the horrors of

Uganda under Idi Amin, which were virtually ignored by the 1975 OAU summit, Dr Ayittey asked:

"Is this the kind of black rule leaders want installed in South Africa?"

"On 18 August, 1986, the leaders of the frontline states bordering South Africa met in Angola to discuss political power-sharing in South Africa.

"But none of these leaders himself would even dream of sharing power with his own black African people.

"For example, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the most vociferous critic of white monopoly of power in South Africa, himself has been in power for 22 bloody years (since independence in 1964).

"We want apartheid dismantled and also freedoms for the blacks in South Africa, but not foxes from independent Africa to advocate them.

"Even the 'illiterate and backward' peasants of Africa will laugh at a thief who calls someone else a thief.

"A thief is a thief and oppression is oppression, irrespective of the skin colour or the ideology of the oppressor.

"Free the blacks in both South Africa and independent Africa."

As far as media censorship was concerned, said Dr Attiye, there were only five independent African countries (Senegal, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Tunisia and Botswana) that had even limited press freedom.

Separate specialist reports in the journal detailed censorship and repression in Ghana and Kenya.

Index on Censorship also gave a second instalment of a "blow-by-blow" record of media control in South Africa, written by Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Professor Stewart's meticulous analysis listed a chronology of dozens of documented incidents of state repression of the press and other media in South Africa day-by-day from June to November this year, including a list of journalists detained since the declaration of the second emergency on June 12.

Report slams black Africa as a 'disgrace'

N/M 31/12/86 ①

Ian Hobbs

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'The rest, a disgraceful lot, had to be booted out in military coups or assassinated,' said Dr Ayittey.

'As a black African, I am ashamed to see how our own leaders in Africa indirectly aid and abet apartheid.

'Take one look at how African leaders treat their own black African people.

The professor then outlined a horrrifying catalogue of governmental atrocities from Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya in northern black Africa through the length of the continent to the slaughter of Ndebeles in Zimbabwe under Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's rule.

Media censorship

Recalling some of the horrors of Uganda under Idi Amin, which were virtually ignored by the 1975 OAU summit, Dr Ayittey asked:

'Is this the kind of black rule leaders want installed in South Africa?'

He added: 'The leaders of the frontline states bordering South Africa met in Angola to discuss political power-sharing in South Africa.

As far as media censorship was concerned, said Dr Ayittey, there were only five independent African countries (Senegal, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Tunisia and Botswana) which had even limited Press freedom.

Dr Ayittey said that until the traditional native African freedom of speech was reinstated no amount of foreign aid would rescue the continent.

'But none of these leaders himself would even dream of sharing power with his own black African people.

'For example, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the most vociferous critic of white monopoly of power in South Africa, himself has been in power for 22 bloody years (since independence in 1964).

Africa injustice shameful in 41 states — report

Dispatch Bureau

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"For example, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the most vociferous critic of white monopoly of power in South Africa, himself has been in power for 22 bloody years (since independence in 1964).

"We want apartheid dismantled and also freedoms for the blacks in South Africa, but not foxes from independent Africa to advocate them.

"In seeking to champion the campaign against South Africa, black African dictators weaken the integrity and damage the credibility of the black cause in South Africa.

"Even the 'illiterate and backward' peasants of Africa will laugh at a thief who calls someone else a thief.

"A thief is a thief and oppression is oppression, irrespective of the skin colour or the ideology of the oppressor.

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cerned, said Dr Attiye, there were only five independent African countries (Senegal, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Tunisia and Botswana) which had even limited press freedom

He said one case of press censorship in Ghana was particularly noteworthy.

It was the closure on April 25 this year of the Free Press, the last privately owned newspaper in Ghana.

The last issue carried the headline The Last Tango with the editor's comment: "When detention and death clouds hang over the premises of a paper, then the chemistry of publishing a paper is equally bad."

With bitter irony the final edition of Ghana's Free Press carried a photo spread showing Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela, together with pictures of two staff reporters, Kwesi Pratt and Kweki Baakok, who had been detained by the Ghanaian Government.

Dr Ayittey said societies which advanced were those which allowed free debate and exchange of ideas.

This could not be done in Africa because the press was owned by the state.

And until the traditional native African freedom of speech was reinstated no amount of foreign aid would rescue the continent.

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"Take one look at how

Sanctions essential, says Young

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — The South African Government holds the key to the solution of the country's political and economic crises, says Mr Andrew Young, former American Ambassador to the United Nations.

The Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, also believes a "rational destabilisation of South Africa that does not destroy person or property" is essential to bring the South African Government to its senses to avoid the type of chaos there was in Iran after the fall of the Shah.

Mr Young, a delegate at the African-American Institute's conference here, said in an interview that a "constitutional convention" with Nelson Mandela at the negotiating table would end South Africa's political and economic turmoil. "I believe that only Nelson Mandela can pull all the people of South Africa together," he said.

The former ambassador said South Africa was headed down the road to disaster and that the application of comprehensive economic sanctions would bring "temporary, controlled destabilisation" that would make the Government realise it could no longer exist with its present apartheid policies.

Mr Young said corporations leaving South Africa should relocate in the neighbouring black states. "Disinvesting groups should leave South Africa but not Southern Africa," he said. Once South Africa had "come to its senses" these corporations could return and new investments would pour into the country.



President Quett Masire of Botswana (left) and American Congressman Mickey Leland at the opening of the African-American Institute conference in Gaborone.

African countries oppose call for a 'debt pardon'

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Some African delegates at the Africa-American Institute conference here have called for a debt right-off by international financial institutions and lender Western nations to whom their countries are beholden.

But a "debt pardon" did not find favour with Americans at the conference and with most African delegates, who have recommended a re-scheduling of debt repayments over longer periods and lower interest rates.

This emerged at a media briefing yesterday, following a closed session on the African debt crisis and development priorities on the second day of the week-long deliberations.

African delegates complained that while there was a lot of talk about the cost of the outstanding debt to the international community, there was not a word about the cost of this debt to Africa.

Austerity programmes were both politically and economically disruptive to the debtor countries, they said.

They recommended that African countries "must drive a very hard bargain" when they negotiated repay-

ment deals.

Strong pleas were made to the private sector in industrialised countries to "do more in Africa".

Mr James Mapoma, special assistant for economic affairs to the President of Zambia, said many African countries were willing to provide a suitable climate for foreign investment by guaranteeing security of investments, recognising the need for investors to make a profit, and by making it possible for them to take out these profits. The response from the West had remained disappointing.

Mr Bisi Ogunjobi, a representative of the African Development Bank, said Africa was being confronted by the problem of foreign investors having to deal with African governments and a lack of effective African entrepreneurs to deal directly with foreign investors.

He claimed that when African entrepreneurs went into partnership with foreign investors, such deals were tantamount to "a handover to foreign investors".

Today, the conference looks at African concerns and American public opinion.

Tomorrow, the spotlight shifts to South Africa.

ARKS 16/1/87 (1)

EC aid for frontline rail routes

The Argus Foreign Service

BRUSSELS. — The European Community is giving more than R80-million to repair two vital railway routes to boost the Southern Africa region's drive for economic independence from South Africa.

About R54-million will be given to restore the 800km Nacala line, which runs from the Mozambican port of Nacala to the Malawi border.

This line, frequently attacked by MNR rebels, could provide frontline states with a viable alternative route for at least a proportion of their exports now going through South Africa. It is a vital conduit for Malawian exports.

France, Canada, Portugal, Italy and Finland are sharing the cost of the project. European Community aid is being drawn from the European Development Fund.

Money is also being allocated for a 10-year development plan for the Tazara railway between the Tanzanian

capital, Dar es Salaam, and the central Zambia town of Kapiri Mposhi.

Built by the Chinese in the 1970s, the 1700km line is in need of major repairs.

Accord on rebels

It is reported from Harare that Zimbabwe and Mozambique have agreed to intensify military operations against the MNR in Mozambique as a result of talks at Victoria Falls between the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano.

A communiqué said the two countries had agreed to intensify co-operation and to wipe out banditry.

According to reliable sources, Zimbabwe has about 11 000 troops stationed in Mozambique.

President Chissano is expected to pay a State visit to Zimbabwe this year. He has accepted an invitation to visit Zimbabwe and said he would address the people on how relations between the two countries could be strengthened.

F (N) M 1187
16/1/87

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US-AFRICA RELATIONS

North of south

The Reagan administration has never made any secret of its priorities in the struggle for influence in southern Africa — the ousting of the Cubans in Angola and the SA Army from Namibia; the restriction of SA cross-border incursions and the promotion of what progress was possible toward dismantling apartheid within SA itself.

Now, however, the American agenda includes a new priority. Where it fits and whether it will ultimately come to dominate Washington strategy remains to be seen. Whatever happens, the Reagan administration has come to view the black nations of sub-Saharan Africa as valuable converts to capitalism, and Secretary of State George Shultz's visit there last week gave a clear hint of just how valuable those new clients have become.

Shultz embarked on an eight-day swing through Senegal, Cameroon, Kenya, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast and Liberia — nations, not surprisingly, which have shown themselves most willing to eschew socialism.

In a speech to the Senegalese business council, delivered at the central bank for the west African states in Dakar, Shultz proposed a "new partnership" between black Africa and America based on a shared vision of free enterprise. Shultz warned that the US would probably never be able to return to its open-handed old ways of doling out large blocks of dollars to the faithful.

America's best aid, Shultz said, would come in the form of direct investment by US corporations. "The initiative must come from within Africa. There are untapped savings in traditional market systems. There is a wealth of entrepreneurial talent waiting for the right incentives. If the energies of the African peoples can be liberated for productive enterprise — and I'm confident they can — then our long-term reform effort will know success," he said.

But the key to Shultz's address came later in his attack on socialism and his praise of those black countries that are daring to dismantle some of the failed experiments of central planning: "Old orthodoxies about the need for State control are being discarded, while the benefits of free markets are becoming ever more widely acknowledged."

He noted: "Zaire has decontrolled key markets and relaxed exchange controls. Zambia has eliminated most trade and price controls and interest rates. Kenya has liberalised import licensing, maize and fertiliser marketing and adopted a flexible exchange rate policy."

The recapture of black African nations from Soviet influence is one of Reagan's dreams come true. And it is interesting that many key State Department aides and White House national security advisers now discuss the problems of the region not in terms of the racial struggle but in terms of the economic orthodoxies that are being test-

ed there.

It is on this point that the P W Botha government should be wary. More and more, American officials, when they give their private press briefings, refer to SA as a "neo-socialist state" and couch the marked shifting of Washington support for the black anti-apartheid groups both within and outside SA in terms of economic reality rather than racial justice.

In short, America opposes apartheid not only because it is evil, but also because the Nationalist government owns key State industries and manipulates key prices. Shultz's message from Dakar is that such a government is the antithesis of what America wants to see built in Africa — so one need not worry about Americans wanting to preserve such a society in SA.

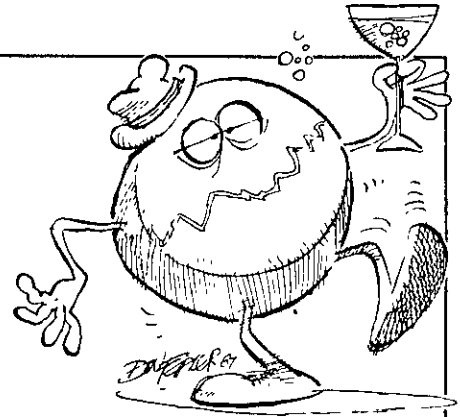
Instead of battle cries, Shultz makes the calm argument of the economics classrooms he occupied for 25 years at Milton Friedman's University of Chicago. He also speaks for his old employers of the Bechtel corporation and for the ultimate free marketeer. ■

ALCOHOL

Sober as a rat

Just as one begins to despair, man's capacity to improve his environment gives a heartening glimpse of a better world. In this case, scientists for the Hoffmann-LaRoche drug company of Switzerland say they have perfected what may be the first effective sobriety pill.

The new wonder drug (called Ro15-4513), simply put, counters drunkenness and makes over-imbibers sober. Six researchers from the prestigious US National Institute of Health last week reported on experiments



with rats given identical amounts of spirits. Those drunken rats given the drug sobered quickly; those given the pill beforehand stayed sober.

The drug, which is akin to such tranquilisers as Vallum and Librium, does not counter alcohol's lethal effects when excessive quantities are taken.

Before one rushes off to the neighbourhood chemist and off-license, there is bad news. The Hoffmann-LaRoche scientists apparently are appalled by their creation. In an article on the research published by *Science*, the journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, one of the researchers doubts that government regulators would ever allow the drug to be used in a national alcohol-control campaign, or that the courts would shield the producer from the inevitable personal injury damage suits that would follow.

"Suppose you go to a restaurant, have a few drinks, take the tablet, and get into your car. If an accident occurs, you will be considered drunk if your blood level of alcohol is high enough. But there would be tremendous legal complications if you then said, 'Yes, I have a high level of alcohol in my blood but I took this tablet so I am not drunk.'" It's enough to drive one to drink. ■

BANKING'S NEW WORLD

The US Federal Reserve (Fed) and the Bank of England took a major step on the road towards co-ordinated international bank supervision last week. Both proposed a pioneering regulatory framework that will impose nearly identical standards on capital adequacy levels for banks on both sides of the Atlantic.

The proposal would, for the first time, force US banks to maintain capital reserves based on the risk contained in their loan portfolios, rather than the standard 6% total capital-to-asset ratio now employed. The proposal is now in a 90-day comment period, after which the Fed and Bank of England are expected to adopt the new measures.

The move, which Fed board members hailed as a major step towards increasing the effectiveness of regulation of international banks, paves the way for the Bank of England and the Fed to co-ordinate

aspects of their banking supervision.

The proposed rules would, for the first time in US banking history, include both on- and off-balance sheet transactions (such as letters of credit, interest rate swaps, and foreign exchange contracts) and would establish capital adequacy standards more "sensitive to differences in the risk profiles of banking institutions," according to the Fed.

Fed chairman Paul Volcker praised the idea of risk-weighted capital adequacy standards and said the UK-US agreement "illustrates the desirability to work toward an international standard."

All the Fed's board members expressed the hope that the bilateral accord would be just the first step towards total internationalisation of bank regulations, and that Japan and West Germany might decide to join in as well.

□ See Leaders

Africa leads way to 5-bn population

NEW YORK — Africa, its population growing by 18 million a year, is leading the world as the global population races towards five billion this year.

It took 14 years to grow from four billion but will reach six in only another 12 and seven 11 years after that, in 2010. "After that, the number of years needed to add another billion is expected to increase more gradually," a UN report said.

It took 35 years to grow from two billion in the mid-1920s to three in 1960 and more than a century to grow from one billion to two.

The annual rate of population growth reached a

peak of 2,04 percent in 1965-70 and has since declined. It stood at 1,67 percent in 1980-85 and is expected to be 1,51 percent in 1995-2000.

Nevertheless, the size of the average annual addition to the world total is increasing and is expected to go from 82 million in 1985-1990 to a peak of 89 million in 1995-2000.

A gradual decline is not expected until the next century, the report said.

Population increases vary from place to place but Africa is highest at 3,0 percent, followed by Latin America (2,2); South Asia (2,0); East Asia (1,2) and the developed countries (0,6). — Sapa-Reuter.

A dismal record of Press censorship

Africa 10/2/87 (243) (1)

THE latest restrictions on the press in South Africa have, justifiably, been given great prominence in Europe and America.

They are denounced as yet another blow to individual liberty and freedom of expression.

But when, I wonder, will those who protest so loudly turn their attention to the rest of the continent.

With a few honourable exceptions, notably Senegal and Botswana, the press throughout black Africa is under strict government control and serves only the interest of those in power.

The least deviation from the "revolutionary path," the slightest allusion to ministerial corruption or the expression of a timidly dissenting opinion invariably brings a harsh reprisal.

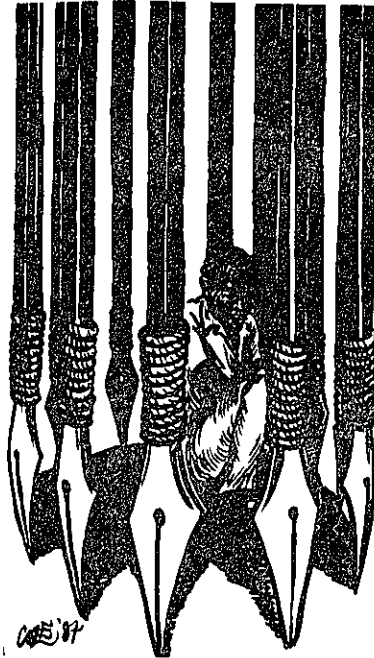
Thousands of editors, journalists and writers have been imprisoned; some have simply vanished. Here, almost at random, are some examples of what black journalists are up against:

■ **Nigeria** — Dele Giwa, editor-in-chief of *Newsweek*, was killed by a letter bomb on October 9, 1986. The sophisticated nature of the bomb and Dele's encounter with State Security officers shortly before his death led

most Nigerians to suspect the government itself.

■ **Malawi** — Jonathan Kuntumbila, chief editor of the *Daily Times*, and two senior journalists of the Malawi news agency, Sunday Kuwale and

GEORGE AYITTEY, a Ghanaian assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, looks at dismal record of restrictions on the Press in independent Africa.



Paul Akomenji, have been in jail for more than a year for publishing a statement by President Banda's official hostess, Cecilia Tamanda, that "men cannot do without women" which she later denied.

■ **Zimbabwe** — In 1981 the editor of the *Umtali Post* was dismissed on Robert Mugabe's orders after she questioned the presence of North Korean military instructors.

■ **Cameroon** — Officers of the National Documentary Centre, the country's secret police, detained journalists and seized publications it deemed "detrimental to public order." In the 1960s there were 15 newspapers in the Cameroon; today only one remains.

■ **Kenya** — In March 1986, more than 20 people were arrested in a new wave of detentions without trial under the Preservation of Public Security Act.

■ **Liberia** — The newspaper *Footprints Today* has

ceased publication following threats from the security police. The offices of another newspaper *The Daily Observer*, were burned down last May, apparently by government agents.

■ **Ethiopia** — Martha Kumsa, who wrote for the Oromo-language newspaper *Barissa*, remains detained in Alem Bekagne ("End of the World") prison without trial or charges.

■ **Zaire** — In March 1986, Amnesty International released a report detailing accounts of arrests, torture and extra-judicial executions by soldiers on February 10, 1985. On the same day Technala Malembwe, a journalist working for the *Courier d'Afrique* and *Tribune Africaine*, was arrested.

■ **Ghana** — Officially editors are free to publish whatever is newsworthy. But as Bafour Ankomah, editor of the independent Ghanaian daily, *The Pioneer*, put it: "You publish whatever is newswor-

thy when you want to commit suicide."

In the face of this evidence, some people outside Africa may nevertheless argue that the 1986 Nobel Prize to Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian novelist, play and poet renowned for his attacks on officialdom, demonstrates that freedom of expression still exists.

Ironically, anxious to share in the reflected glory, the jubilation over Soyinka's award was led by the very despots and dictators who have discouraged African writers, gagged a once free press and done so much to destroy African culture and tradition.

Throughout Africa one constantly hears the slogans "People's Revolution" and "People's Power," but where is the power of the African people to remove a head of state in black Africa.

Only six (Obasanjo of Nigeria, Ahidjo of Cameroon, Dhab of Sudan, Nyerere of Tanzania, Senghor of Senegal and Stevens of Sierra Leone) relinquished power voluntarily. Of these, Stevens had ruled for 17 years, Senghor 20; Ahidjo for 22 and Nyerere for 24. All the rest were ousted or assassinated in military coups.

True freedom never came to Africa. Its people wanted independence from colonial rule not to be ruled by another set of aliens or black neo-colonialists.

A set of figures from the International Press Institute illustrates the situation today: in the 1960s there were more than 300 daily newspapers in Africa; now there are fewer than 140, and nine countries have no newspapers at all.

So, when you read of the next iniquity by the Botha government, perhaps you will at least spare a thought for the millions to the north, repressed by their own people in the name of freedom. — *The Times News Service.*

ARK

EX Africa semper aliquid novi — except, of course, good news.

For the past 20 years the news from Africa has been unremittingly bad. It is the playground of the Four Horsemen, the continent where Malthus may yet be proved right.

It is the only region of the globe where per capita food production has declined over the past two decades.

Desertification is advancing more rapidly than industrialisation. Forests are being hacked down with no thought of re-planting, the population is doubling relentlessly every 25 years (unless checked, that is, by the spread of AIDS).

Expressing pessimism about Africa is therefore the order of the day. Another fashionable pastime — righteous indignation being what it is, the most gratifying of emotions — is finding someone, or something, to blame for the present lamentable state of Africa's affairs.

Nefarious

Africans themselves tend to blame the world economic system, which, they say, also brought them colonialism. They point out that, in general, the terms of trade have moved consistently against them: it now takes much more of their produce to buy a tractor (or a Mercedes) than it once did.

They forget the world has moved on while they have not. Besides, it is less than luminously clear what is the "just" price of, say, a personal computer, calculated in pineapples and peanuts.

They are no doubt right when they allude to the nefarious practices, such as transfer pricing, of multinational companies.

However, as several nations have found to their cost, there is only one thing worse for an African country than being exploited by a multinational, and that is *not* being exploited by a multinational.

And even if it were true that the world economic system is entirely to blame for the present mess in Africa, it would be a sterile discovery.

Parasitic

As I remarked, no doubt cruelly, to several young African radicals, even if Africa were to unite economically it would still scarcely amount to Switzerland. Politics is, or should be, the art of the possible.

Visitors to and foreign residents of Africa, on the other hand, tend to blame the Africans themselves: indeed, African incompetence is to their small talk what the weather is to English conversation.

Certainly, there is no shortage of grounds for castigating the collective laziness, rapacity, stupidity and corruption of African officialdom, from the highest to the lowest.

It makes little difference whether the leader of the country is a cheap plaster saint like Nyerere or an out-and-out villain like Mobutu. Almost the only way to

assure oneself of a decent standard of living in Africa — at least one which allows the consumption of Western goods — is by joining the pigs at the trough.

Governments have consistently favoured the urban, parasitic classes at the expense of the rural, productive ones. The reason for this is quite simple. If the modern history of Africa teaches anything, it teaches that he who controls the capital controls the country.

Riots

Maintaining its own power has, not surprisingly, been the chief preoccupation of every national élite (and explains, incidentally, the Organisation of African Unity's principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states).

An overvalued currency which has disastrous economic effects that are then *not* automatically corrected by the imperative IMF devaluation has been one of the élite's favoured mechanisms.

No less an authority than

Nyerere admitted as much when asked why he refused to devalue the Tanzanian shilling. "There would be riots on the streets," he said, "and I would lose everything I have."

Backward

In response, the peasants tore up their coffee bushes — at a time of record world prices — and grew maize for their own consumption. Meanwhile, there was no money to pay for the *shipment* of oil, let alone for the oil itself, while the central bank resorted to filching private accounts.

There are, no doubt, purely economic constraints on Africa's advance.

If all of Africa were to produce tropical commodities as efficiently as possible, supply would so far exceed demand that prices would fall catastrophically.

And there is little hope of industrialisation. Africa is so technically backward that it would be cheaper to ship things from Mars than to produce them on the continent.

An arms embargo on South Africa has produced an arms industry; an arms embargo on the rest of Africa would produce bows and arrows.

It is, above all, the cultural condition of Africa that prevents economic expansion. There is little in traditional African culture that is compatible with a modern economy, and much that is inimical to it.

Pride

The early missionaries who wanted to change Africa understood this. They may have been intolerant, but they were surely not wrong. They merely underestimated grossly the power of formal education to change deep-rooted patterns of thought.

No doubt the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature to Wole Soyinka is a legitimate cause for pride: but an award to an African in physics or chemistry would have been of far greater import.

The cultural impact of the West on Africa has been, in the main, disastrous. It has caused confusion and disar-

ray and awakened aspirations that cannot be met.

Chinua Achebe, with regard to Nigeria, has written of a cargo-cult mentality in which Nigerians believe that one day, without any creative effort on their own part, all the good things of the world can and will be theirs.

In one form or another, this mentality is present throughout Africa and is by no means discouraged by Western efforts at assistance.

Few Africans have — can have — the faintest notion of the depth of the cultural and scientific tradition necessary to produce a Mercedes, or even a simple light bulb.

Misleading

For them, education is simply an obstacle course to a government post, from which they will be able to extort happily for the rest of their lives. (Failure to do so would be regarded as both foolish and reprehensible, insofar as it would be a failure to do the best for one's family, village, clan etc.)

The idea of trade exists in Africa, but the idea of developing products does not. Industry, except of a very second-rate kind, will not be possible in Africa for a long time. The trouble is, Africa does not have a long time.

Yet all this is profoundly misleading if it is taken to mean that Africa is a continent of unrelieved gloom and misery. To that extent, the proponents of the New World Information Order, who want the world's Press rendered safe for dictators, have a point.

The picture I have painted of Africa — surely by now a commonplace one — may injure the *amour propre* of the African élite, but it is far from capturing the whole of African life.

Pseudonym

We too easily assume that poverty, even increasing poverty, equals misery. We also assume too easily that what would make us unhappy must make African peasants unhappy.

But two years in an African village, and thousands of kilometres of travel through Africa, during which I reported, for obvious reasons, under the pseudonym of Edward Theberton, have convinced me this is not so.

Within very wide (but not infinitely wide) limits of governmental incompetence and mismanagement, people in Africa are capable of leading lives whose major concerns are not the large questions of economic or political philosophy, but the small change of everyday existence.

(Published in the *Spectator*, London)

Is Africa quite as black as it's being painted?

OSIT
22/2/87

ANTHONY DANIELS sums up his experiences of working for two years in Africa as a doctor

THE ECONOMY

IN dramatic moves that have taken much of the donor world by surprise, African nations are rapidly adopting the bold and sometimes politically risky economic policy reforms they committed themselves to at the United Nations' Special Session on Africa last year.

From Zambia and Ghana to Guinea and from Tanzania and Mozambique to the Congo, the state is diminishing the hold it has exercised since the 1960s on every detail of economic activity, a step few would have imagined likely even two or three years ago.

There is little indication as yet, however, that the major donors, who have pushed for such reforms, are coming up with the additional resources which most of these programmes need if they are to succeed.

"Country after country in the sub-Saharan region has come up with comprehensive reform packages," acknowledges Edward Jaycox, the World Bank vice-president. "There are now 22 countries whose reform measures have qualified them to receive funds from our special facility."

When the facility was established in 1985, only about 10 nations were expected to apply.

The pace, intensity and direction of reform varies. But all across the continent, countries are increasing prices they pay farmers for food (to boost production), cutting back on government regulation of the economy (to allow market forces to determine prices and allocation of resources), slashing public expenditures and employment (to balance the budget and invest in more profitable sectors) and devaluing their currencies (to remove price distortions and increase rural incomes). They are also substantially increasing their investment in agriculture.

Success for these reform programmes is extremely difficult without external assistance, however. There is a "time lag" between the initiation of the new structural adjustment policies, as these reforms advocated by the International Monetary Fund and others are called, and their intended result of a vigorous

Africa gives in to the banks

by about 30 percent for 1987.

That bilateral resources are not forthcoming is not really surprising. Many donor countries themselves are in the midst of cost-cutting exercises. There is little awareness that the causes underlying the last terrible famine are still very much in place: commodity prices, debt, resource flows mean little to the person-in-the street, even though their stranglehold on people's lives can be every bit as deadly as drought.

Complicating the scenario is the fact that reforms, especially underfunded as they often are at present, do not guarantee success, as Zambia's recent difficulties revealed.

The country's economy had been battered over the previous decade by the plummeting drop in copper prices, its main export, and food production was down as well. Zambia needed cash, and that was only available if the country undertook policy reforms. So it began structural adjustment measures a little over a year ago, devaluing its currency and cutting the

public service.

The new measures further increased unemployment, depressed incomes and inflated prices. When the government doubled the price of maize meal in December, there were riots in the streets which left 15 people dead. President Kenneth Kaunda rescinded the price increases.

But underfunded or not, most nations really strapped for foreign exchange — without which the imports central to growth in a poor country are unavailable — have no alternative but to adopt structural adjustment policies if they want to negotiate IMF or World Bank assistance.

As Edward Jaycox asserts, there is only a fixed amount of foreign exchange assistance available, and it is important that this be channelled to countries undertaking reform.

So more and more countries (including those which militantly opposed IMF conditions for assistance, such as Ghana, Tanzania and Guinea) are realising that there is no option to structural adjustment programmes. — The Guardian, London

Even those African countries which oppose the IMF conditions for assistance are discovering that there is no alternative to following the international banks' economic programmes.
SALIM LONE reports from Washington

and more self-reliant economy.

During this period, there will be intense human suffering as food prices go up for hundreds of thousands of urban residents who are already living on the margin, as wages fall and as governments lay off people and cut social services in order to limit expenditures.

While multilateral assistance for Africa is growing, the evidence on bilateral aid — which accounts for a significantly larger proportion of financing — is not encouraging. The United States, for example, has cut back its economic assistance to Africa

Sad tale of African independence

When Ghana became the first black African colony to win its independence 30 years ago, a new era of political unity and economic progress appeared to many Africans to be dawning for their continent.

Today, the vast majority of Africa is independent. There have been success stories, but many of the fledgling states have experienced wars, coups, famines and debt.

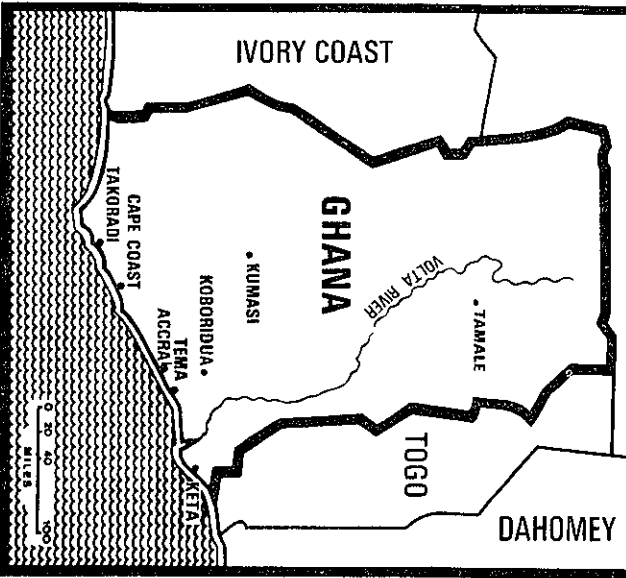
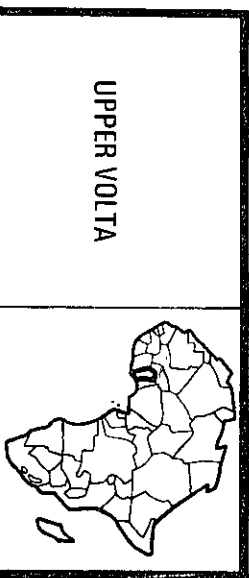
Few could have predicted what was in store for Africa when, on March 6, 1957, Britain handed over sovereignty of the Gold Coast, as Ghana was formerly known, and the government of Kwame Nkrumah took over.

"There was tremendous optimism and a good relationship with this country," recalls the Earl of Listowel, who was Governor-General, or representative of Britain's Queen Elizabeth, for the first three years of Ghanaian independence.

"It was a very happy time and I wish it had continued like that."

"It was seen as the dawn of a new, glorious African golden age, and the beginning of independence for the continent as a whole," says Colin Legum, a South African-born writer on African affairs for more than three decades.

Dr. Nkrumah, educated in America and Britain, sought to implant the idea of pan-Africanism, which he saw as coming through a United States of Africa. Accra became a political Mecca for independence leaders from



By Patrick Worsnip in London

For many African states, left by the colonial powers with arbitrary frontiers that cut across tribal boundaries, independence has not brought political stability.

Civil wars, without foreign involvement, are currently raging in Angola, Chad, Ethiopia and Mozambique, and have caused widespread suffering and destruction in the past in Nigeria, Uganda and Zaire.

These conflicts have often reflected local rivalries, but some have been fanned by super-power rivalries and South Africa's struggle to maintain white rule.

Of some 40 sub-Saharan and Indian Ocean African states, 23 have had coups since independence, of which 10 have had more than one coup or violent transfer of power. The record is held by Benin, formerly Dahomey, with six coups, although the last of these was in 1972.

had been independent since it was founded by freed American slaves in 1847.)

Only South Africa and Namibia, the territory Pretoria rules in defiance of the United Nations, are still under white domination today in sub-Saharan Africa.

After Ghana, independence spread steadily across Africa as the European powers gave up their colonial possessions, either freely or under pressure from guerrilla wars. (Liberia

African conditions, and some Western experts agree with them.

The economic situation, too, has proved much worse than was foreseen in the heyday of independence. Africa, which could feed itself 30 years ago, is now an importer of food and the continent's wars and droughts have brought famine to a number of countries.

A few countries, like the Ivory Coast and Cameroon, have increased their prosperity, but according to World Bank figures, the per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of the poorer two thirds of the continent was five per cent lower in constant dollars in 1985 than it was in 1960.

If the figure is adjusted to reflect terms of trade — the amount of imports that a given quantity of African exports will buy — these countries' GDP was 22 per cent lower.

Meanwhile, Africa's external debt has spiralled to \$200 billion.

Western experts say many African countries have pursued erroneous policies of putting industrialisation before agriculture, and growing cash crops for export in an unfavourable market instead of feeding themselves.

But experts also say the real blame lies with the developed world for giving bad advice.

"Socialist systems devised in the Eastern bloc and capitalist systems intruded from

the West have proved equally incapable of rescuing Africa from the wreckage of underdevelopment," says French writer Marie-France Mottin in the book *Stranglehold on Africa*.

African countries suffered acutely from the oil price boom of the early 1970s, both directly through increased oil bills and indirectly from inflation in the West and a world slump in demand for African commodities.

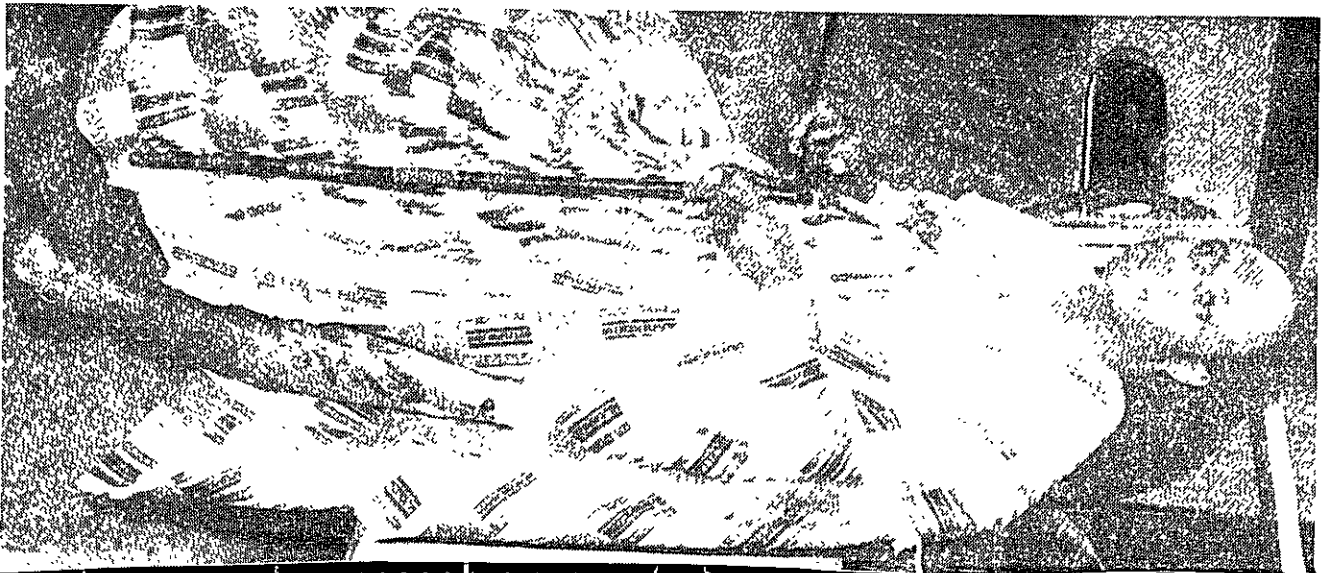
"Decolonialisation was mainly legal and political, rather than economic," the Socialist International said in its 1985 report *Global Challenge*.

"As the colonial powers transferred responsibility for administration, infrastructure and welfare to national governments, the strain on their limited resources proved intolerable."

Some Western politicians involved in decolonisation now think it was done in too much of a rush.

"It came too quickly," the former British Prime Minister, Lord Home, told Reuters. "It was the emotional call of freedom. The governments were okay, they were elected, but the skills weren't there. However, they preferred freedom."

According to the Earl of Listowel, colonial powers like Britain feared getting involved in guerrilla wars if they did not withdraw. "The important thing was to pull out before anything worse happened. It was a choice of evils." — Sapa-RNS



DR KWAME NKRUumah, who as Prime Minister of Ghana, was the first African leader to take independence from Britain.

Million could die in Africa in decade ST report warns

ST By NORMAN ELLIS: Nairobi

THE Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is sweeping virtually unchecked through Africa, threatening over the next decade to kill more than 1-million people, according to the privately funded Panos Institute.

More than 80 percent of prostitutes screened recently in Nairobi, Kenya, were found to carry the AIDS virus.

But many Kenyans blame the spread of the killer disease on foreigners, and some have even demanded the expulsion of British troops and unmarried tourists.

Zaire, believed by Western scientists to be the epicentre in Africa of the disease, is one of 12 countries on the African continent that refuses to report cases to the UN World Health Organisation (WHO) — yet entire village populations have been decimated by the disease.

In Uganda, people suspected of having "slim" disease — locally named for the way it emaciates its victims — have been beaten to death.

While malaria and measles remain the main killers in Africa — claiming more than 2-million lives each year — more than 2 300 AIDS cases have been reported to the WHO by 18 countries, while 16 governments claimed they have no victims.

Serious

The Western-backed Panos Institute, in a 61-page analysis of AIDS in Africa, observed there was no proof that the disease originated in Africa — as many Western researchers have often suggested — but it grimly concludes that it is a more serious problem in Africa than anywhere else in the world. Casualties are not only human.

Governments have lost countless millions of rands from cancellation of holidays by foreign tourists.

The WHO's Africa director, Mr Gottlieb Monekesso, told a seminar on AIDS in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare last week that African countries were until a year ago reluctant to openly admit they had AIDS cases, but since then most were backing WHO efforts to curb the disease.

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Foreign aid to Africa 'more harm than good'

14645 12/3/87

Dateline: JOHANNESBURG. Gerald L'Ange, editor of the Argus Africa News Service, reports

FOREIGN aid may have done more harm than good in Africa and may even largely be responsible for the decrease in the continent's food production.

This theory, which has been gaining credence in Western capitals, is now being investigated by Africa specialists as they see the economies of most Africa countries continuing to decline despite large-scale foreign aid.

One of them, Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute in Pretoria, says foreign aid has often benefited the donor country but damaged the economy and environment of the recipient.

Randolph Braumann and Volker Janssen, two Germans who recently examined the subject in a book, Africa is being fed to death, are convinced that foreign aid, and especially food aid, has contributed far more to the continent's retrogression than have droughts and population increases.

While experts believe Africa has the capacity to feed itself it is becoming increasingly dependent on imported foods, according to Dr Leistner.

Development ruins

Africa is strewn with the remains of failed development projects — development ruins — he says in a paper published in the latest edition of the Africa Institute's Bulletin.

"Agriculture especially is marked by such 'ruins'," he says. "It makes an increasing number of people wonder if there is perhaps a link between the retrogression of Africa's agriculture and the presence of about 80 000 western development experts and an annual application of about 8-million dollars in development aid.

"According to Braumann and Janssen there is hardly a single functioning agricultural system in Africa that owes its existence or operation to development aid."

The German book quotes Sweden's foreign secretary, Mr Gosta Edgren, as saying that all his government's programmes for providing water

in rural areas of Kenya and Tanzania became dead-end streets. After 15 years of relatively heavy investment only 10 percent of the schemes remained in working order.

Mr Edgren told the authors that African agriculture could not survive further shocks such as the one suffered from the introduction of foreign grain varieties that not only needed more water than local grains but also required imported fertiliser and insecticides to survive in Africa.

Dr Leistner says the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation has estimated that the per capita availability of food in Africa is declining by two percent a year.

About 150 million people in 24 countries — representing

Time after time modern projects built with foreign aid have ground to a halt because there was no more money for buying fuel, seed and fertiliser

one third of Africa's total population — are underfed, according to the FAO.

Yet the level of food imports in Africa has progressively increased. In the early eighties it was five million tons a year; by 1985 it was 10-million tons. Tanzania, self-sufficient in 1973, was importing 55 000 tons by 1977, 160 000 tons by 1983 and 336 000 tons by 1984.

Even in good years countries such as Senegal, Mali and Ethiopia have to import half of their food requirements.

"A growing number of western observers are becoming convinced that African agriculture was approached far too self-assuredly and arrogantly," Dr Leistner says.

Initially they assumed production and incomes would quickly be boosted by large-scale capital investment, mechanisation and fertilisation. Now they increasingly are advocating a return to the more flexible and surer traditional methods of agriculture.

Time after time modern projects built with foreign aid have ground to a halt because there was no more money for

buying fuel, seed and fertiliser, says Dr Leistner.

"It is clear that 'aid' has in the first instance benefitted the donor countries while often in the recipient countries it has damaged the economy and environment and served to maintain the power and life style of a ruling group.

"It is estimated that two-thirds of western aid capital is returned to the donor countries in the form of orders for their factories.

"About half of the total western aid is estimated to be paid in salaries and other benefits to technical experts."

While food aid had widely been seen as a manifestation of western magnanimity, the big fund-raising campaigns for the starving in Ethiopia have thrown a spotlight on the serious shortcomings of this form of aid, Dr Leistner says.

"Experience shows that food aid discourages domestic production and places the country concerned in a permanent state of dependence on donated or at least subsidised foods.

Dependent themselves

"The reason is that domestic food producers can sell little or nothing in competition with free or subsidised products. They naturally stop producing more than their own needs and may even decide to become dependent themselves on external food aid."

He says critics point to the 300-million-ton "mountain" of surplus grain the western countries are trying to get rid of and which they at the same time use as an important instrument of foreign policy.

Mr Braumann says the United States ambassador in Somalia told him his main task was to unload as much grain as possible on Africa.

Giving African countries food aid in the form of exotic grains such as wheat or rice has undesirable consequences in countries whose climate prevents them from producing these grains for themselves, says Dr Leistner.

It tends to make their people accustomed to the imported grains.

Africa reaps a grain bonanza

① w/Mai

AFRICA has produced a surplus of 4-million tonnes of grain now available for export — more than enough to cover the continent's 3,2-million tonne import requirement.

Thanks to good 1986 harvests, the 1986/7 food supply prospects are favourable in most African countries, but five countries still need emergency assistance, according to a report issued in February by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

In the first analysis of the 1986/87 food situation in sub-Saharan Africa, a special FAO report cites particular concern over continued deterioration of the food situation in Mozambique, owing mainly to civil strife. "There is an urgent need to take all possible measures to deliver emergency food assistance to meet the most pressing needs of the most seriously affected population in the next few months before the 1987 harvest," the report stresses.

The FAO estimates that the total cereal import and food aid requirements of the 45 developing countries of sub-Saharan Africa will decline to 3,2-million tonnes, or three percent less than last year's requirements and less than half of what was needed in 1984/5.

But about 25 percent (800 000t) of these food imports will be needed to meet the emergency food requirements of just five countries: Angola, Botswana, Ethiopia, Lesotho and Mozambique. Notably absent from the list are Sudan, Chad and all the countries of the Sahel. Almost 80 percent of the emergency food aid (625 000t) is needed by just two countries, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

In Mozambique, the displaced and affected population has increased, and the transportation of relief supplies to rural areas is encountering serious difficulties. The government estimates the size of the affected urban and rural

population to be 5,6-million persons. According to the report, 610 000t of food aid will be needed in 1987. Of that amount, 325 000t would be for emergency assistance.

Pledges by donors totalled 470 000t as of January, of which only 288 000t has been received at port. It will be a matter of urgency to expedite the delivery and distribution of the remaining 182 000t and to receive additional allocations to cover the food needs in the lean period before the next harvest.

The report also notes that Ethiopia's 1986/87 total cereal production will reach 5,7-million tonnes, or seven percent more than last year's and over 40 percent better than the drought-affected 1984/85 harvest.

However, output in certain areas is still below pre-drought levels, largely as a result of "adverse weather and internal strife".

African Business

20-26/3/87

'At least 1-m Africans' will die from AIDS

London Bureau

AN AUTHORITATIVE report on AIDS in the Third World estimates that at least 1 000 000 Africans will die of AIDS in the next decade.

The report goes on to say that this figure is probably an under-estimate. Some African countries, in 10 years time, could have lost half their population through AIDS.

The report has been drawn up by Renee Sabatier, the director of the AIDS Information Programme of the Panos Institute. It was commissioned by the Norwegian Red Cross.

Speaking on BBC Radio 4 yesterday, Miss Sabatier said that, as more blood testing in Africa was being done, it was being found that most of the infection centred on major urban areas. But certain 'pockets' in the rural areas were also affected.

Pandemic

'It may be that the disease is spreading very quickly and eventually large parts of rural areas will be affected, but in some African countries — for example Uganda — rural areas are not very much affected yet.'

AIDS, however, was truly a 'global epidemic', Miss Sabatier said, what one called a 'pandemic'.

She said that an extreme prediction estimated that some countries, in 10 years time, could have lost half their population through AIDS.

Miss Sabatier pointed out that one of the problems the poorer African countries faced was the cost of any campaign to try and contain the epidemic.

'The cost of one blood test is about \$3 to \$5 (about R6,50 to R11). The health budget in a number of central African countries is only about \$2 (about R4,20) per capita per year.'

She said the only way the disease could be combated would be by means of a very great international effort and international co-operation 'such as we've

really never seen before in a battle against a disease'.

In Kenya some groups, including the Kenyan Red Cross, were involved in a comprehensive public education campaign. In Uganda and Rwanda there were serious efforts on the part of governments and non-governmental organisations to 'get the message across'.

But what was needed was combined world efforts by all countries to try and control the disease.

Meanwhile, many American AIDS patients fear a painful choice between economic ruin and premature death due to the astronomical cost of a new drug called AZT which could prolong their lives, say officials who work with them.

The estimated cost of thousands of dollars (pounds) for a year's treatment of the newly-approved drug may bar its use by those without private health insurance who do not meet the poverty levels

required to qualify for the federally-funded Medicaid health insurance programme.

About 30 000 cases of AIDS have been diagnosed in the United States.

AZT, or azidothymidine, was the first drug approved by the Government for treatment of AIDS patients in the United States.

Developed by North Carolina-based Burroughs Wellcome Co, the US arm of Britain's Wellcome plc, it has also been approved for marketing in Britain and France.

Kathy Bartlett, a Burroughs Wellcome spokeswoman, said the company estimated that after federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approval last week, AZT's retail cost will be from \$7 000 to \$10 000 (about R15 000 to R21 000) for a year's treatment.

The drug, to be marketed under the name Retrovir, is not a cure for the killer disease but has been shown in clinical trials to slow its progression. — (Sapa-Reuters)

24/3/87

Third World AIDS warning

LONDON — A report on AIDS in the Third World estimates at least 1-million Africans will die of the disease in the next decade.

Own Correspondent

This figure is probably an under-estimate, it adds — some African countries could lose half their population through AIDS in 10 years' time.

very quickly, and eventually large parts of rural areas will be affected," she says.

The report has been drawn up by Renee Sabatier, director of the AIDS Information Programme of the Panos Institute. It was commissioned by the Norwegian Red Cross.

AIDS is a global epidemic, Sabatier adds. One could call it a "pandemic".

Sabatier says that, as more blood testing in Africa is being done, it is being found that most of the infection centres on major urban areas. But some rural areas are also affected.

One of the problems the poorer African countries face is the cost of any campaign to try to contain the epidemic.

"It might be that the disease is spreading

She says the only way the disease can be combated is by means of international co-operation "such as we've never seen before in a battle against a disease".

Even if this is done, Sabatier says, authorities wonder if this will be enough.

by Jeremy Gavron

On the stroke of midnight, March 6, 1957 the Union Flag was lowered for the last time over the Gold Coast and the red, green and gold of Ghana was unfurled. Under the guidance of the Kwame Nkrumah, the "Modern Moses," Ghana became the first black African country to shake off the yoke of colonialism. "A bright and happy future," came the message from Queen Elizabeth. "At long last," Nkrumah spoke out to the 100,000 Ghanaians gathered before him in the candlelights, "the battle has ended."

For Africa those were euphoric days. Accra, British newspapers reported, was the happiest place on earth. "No continent has ever beckoned with more fruitful opportunities," John Gunther had written a couple of years earlier in *Inside Africa*, and African countries were queuing up to take those opportunities. Within three years of Ghana, 18 more African nations had claimed their freedom. Within a decade, 34. But Nkrumah was wrong: the battle had not ended, it had just begun.

Thirty years later, the dreams that rushed Africa to independence have mostly fallen away. Ghana took its liberty with bundles of dollars in its pockets and an average income almost as high as Britain. It was the world's largest cocoa exporter, the sixth

DEATH OF THE AFRICA DREAM

largest gold producer and, to its people's pride, a democracy. Now, Ghana is deep in debt. Its gold and cocoa production have fallen by more than half. Ghanaians earn 25 times less than Britons. And the military government of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings is in power for the second time after democracy had failed Ghana once again.

"Thirty years ago you and I breathed in the air of freedom," Rawlings said to the Ghanaian people a week ago. "But did that sweet air of freedom ever give you the freedom of food or good health?"

Ghana's sad tale of dreams (and farms) turned to dust is true over all but a few pockets of the vast continent. Africans are healthier and better educated now than a decade ago, but they still die younger and read and write less well than the people of any other continent. And Africans today are, on the whole, poorer and hungrier than they were at independence. Income per person in the 29 poorest countries in

Africa has fallen by five per cent since 1960, while the rest to the world, from Sao Paulo to Seoul, has got richer. African money is worthless in international trade—who wants meticals, kwachas or cedis? But a third of the precious foreign currency Africa earns to buy imports goes straight back to Europe and America to pay interest on debts.

The problems that have brought Africa to this depressing state are myriad. Africa has had more than 60 coups, dozens of wars (at least eight of which are smoldering as I write) and the worst drought in recorded history. It has struggled to educate itself and prevent its children from dying without enough money or aid to eradicate any of its besetting handicaps, from ignorance to malaria. But Africa's fundamental sin is that it has neglected its two great assets: its land and the farmers who work it. At independence, Africa could pretty much feed itself—now, one in five Africans survives on imported food. And in times of droughts,

many Africans do not survive at all.

Farming was the source of colonial wealth and the prime reason that Europeans flocked to Africa. Almost every elderly white living in Kenya today came to the country as a farmer. But when African countries gained independence, it was into the building of cities, roads and factories that their money flowed. Before the oil price boom of the 1970s, Indonesia, for example, was the world's biggest importer of rice. But it invested its oil money in agriculture and is now self-sufficient in food.

For a decade, Nigeria—Africa's equivalent—earned about \$8 billion a year from oil, and spent it all on highways to nowhere and cars for all. Lagos, the capital, has so much traffic that cars with numbers plates ending in even numbers can drive into the city for half the week while odd numbers come in the other half (so, many Nigerians have two cars). Nigeria now needs to import mountains of grain and, every

month, \$3 million worth of frozen meat is flown into Lagos.

A handful of African countries, such as Kenya, Malawi, the Ivory Coast and Malawi, adopted favourable attitudes towards agriculture and have literally reaped the benefits. But the majority look away the farmers' incentives and watched as agricultural output fell, farmers returned to subsistence and fields became fallow. Whether from principles of African socialism or a political need to placate the army and the urban population, who are always any government's main threat, most African countries have kept food at artificially low prices.

In Mozambique, farmers were forced to sell their food at such low prices that it became uneconomical to bring produce to market. Coconuts fell from trees and rotted. In Tanzania, farmers have all but given up selling to the inefficient and corrupt government parastatals, which are supposed to control all food distribution, and sell only

on the black market.

In Ethiopia, where the government has seemed to believe that farmers will grow food if you tell them to, with payment as an airy future possibility, farmers have simply stopped growing food.

At the same time, Africa has produced children at astonishing rates. The average African woman gives birth to six or seven children. The annual population growth rate in Kenya of four per cent is as high as it can possibly get. In other words Kenya could not have more babies. And contraceptives, which are used by about four per cent of African women (compared to about half of all Asian women) are seen as an insult.

The result is that food production in Africa per head has fallen by about one per cent a year since independence. Africa, which in an ideal world would be selling grain and rice to Europe and America, instead spends much of the hard cash it has left over from paying its debts, and which it badly needs to buy



A Sudanese policeman drives back a hungry crowd trying to get at a small amount of relief grain sent by the Save the Children Fund. The village—near the Chad border—had not seen any proper food for four months.

tractors and fertilizers, on buying food from Europe and America. Adding to the dismal picture is Africa's cash crop story. Crops such as cocoa, coffee, tea, sisal, cotton and sugar are Africa's best bet, along with its natural mineral and energy resources, for earning foreign exchange. True, the crash in world commodity prices means that African countries need to sell twice as much cocoa as ten years ago to buy one tractor. But Africa's absurdly high exchange rates, often

ten, twenty, thirty times higher than the more realistic black market rates, have made cash farming almost pointless. Mozambican sugar earns as many dollars on the world market as any other sugar—for the Mozambican government. But the sugar farmer gets paid 40 meticals for every dollar coming to him—hardly enough to buy one cigarette in Maputo market, where a dollar will buy 1,000 meticals or more on the sly.

It is a gloomy picture, but not entirely hopeless. India was once written off in similar way and now feeds its people. And the terrible famine of the first half of this decade did help to jolt quite a few African countries into more positive agricultural policies. Tanzania, Guinea, Gambia, Togo, Ghana, Zaire, Niger, Mali and others have changed their policies, signed deals with the IMF, devalued their currencies, tightened their purses.

Africa's recovery will not be easy, indeed it may well not happen in this century. Zambia devalued the kwacha and removed maize subsidies last year and had full-scale riots on its hands. It had to back down and lower maize prices again. But there is more realistic hope in the international aid community and even among Africans than there has been for a decade at least. "If we can get a few packages working," says one World Bank Official, "if we can set some good examples... You know, in the 1950s the World Bank told Japan not to go into automobiles—too complicated, too high-tech. Anything can happen."

Economists are optimistic

Time for Africa to pay back its massive debts

LONDON — The money Africa borrowed to keep its people from starving is due to be repaid — and no one knows where it is going to be found.

But in a way, Africa is lucky, according to economists who follow the Third World debt crisis.

Most of what Africa owes is not due to commercial banks but to governments and agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

That means that Finance Ministers and central bankers at IMF-World Bank development committee meetings in Washington this week are freer to give Africa leeway in repaying its debt, London-based economists said.

Last weekend British Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson disclosed that the Paris Club of Western creditor governments had agreed in principle to reschedule sub-Saharan African debts over almost unprecedented periods of 15 to 20 years.

In Africa, the price that nations have had to pay to win short-term reschedulings of their debt is beginning to draw political fire.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's move last December to abolish subsidies for maize to conform with an IMF reform programme caused prices to double and sparked riots in which 15 people died.

Earlier this year, Togo Finance Minister Komlan Alipui called the continuing round of debt reschedul-

ings an "absurdity".

"Aid is stagnant, banks aren't lending," said John Clark, a researcher at Oxfam. "The situation is getting worse." According to Oxfam, aid to stop famine in the 29 poorest countries in Africa totalled \$3.5bn in 1985. But these same countries had to pay out \$7bn to keep current on their debt. Africa as a whole used to get about \$10bn a year more from aid and grants than it had to pay out to keep current on its debt.

But despite the huge sums that went to feed the starving through rock star Bob Geldof's Band-Aid, the figure slid to \$1.7bn in 1985, Clark said.

Although the final figures are not yet in, Africa probably paid out more than it got last year, Clark added.

THE WORLD THIS WEEK

Village projects may force 250 000 to move

MOVING people is high on the Ethiopian government's list of priorities these days — whether from the eroded northern highlands to the more fertile southwest through resettlement, or from scattered countryside huts into more accessible "villagisation" sites throughout the country.

In recent days, in fact, the *Ethiopian Herald* — the government mouthpiece — has praised both programmes as a way to "free the country from the stranglehold of poverty and backwardness" and "make the peasant masses productive pillars of society."

The reason is that Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam's government has announced that it will resume its controversial resettlement programme: it plans to move between 200 000 and 300 000 people from the northern highlands to existing resettlement sites this year.

Sill smarting from the scathing criticism they received in the Western media when they moved 600 000 people during the 1984-85 famine, government officials promise that this time they will not repeat their mistakes.

They concede thousands of people did die needlessly, because of what the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) now admits were actions by "overzealous local officials".

Those officials, say commission sources, used force to meet their assigned quotas and win favour with the ruling party.

There are now strict orders that people should be moved only if they want to go. But this puts the commission in the tough position of having to drum up 200 000 or more volunteer resettlers before the planting season starts.

This is doubly difficult, since last year's harvests in the north were relatively good. Many farmers say they will not even consider moving unless another famine hits their area. Although some aid officials predict this may well happen within the next two or three years, the commission must convince these farmers to move now.

Contrary to the condemnation the resettlement programme has received, almost everyone in Addis Ababa — from Western aid workers and diplomats to Ethiopian civil servants

The Ethiopian government is to embark on another huge transfer of people — over a quarter of a million from the overcrowded highlands.

MARY KEY MAGISTAD assesses one of the world's largest official migrations

— says resettlement can, in theory, be one effective step in a much larger programme to rehabilitate Ethiopia's ravaged and eroded highlands.

Says Nick Winer, Oxfam's representative in Addis: "The highlands of Ethiopia are overcrowded and badly farmed. The real question isn't whether to have a resettlement programme, but how to make it work well."

For future resettlement to be effective, aid workers say, it must be done voluntarily, with proper social services and farming equipment in place before people move and sufficient support afterward. Toward that end, the Ethiopian government reportedly plans to earmark \$1,2-billion (R2,4-billion) to be spent over the next five years to make resettlement sites self-sufficient.

While most Western observers in Addis Ababa support some form of resettlement, few can find any redeeming qualities about villagisation. One Western economist in Ethiopia calls it "a real time bomb in Ethiopian planning".

The official point, according to the government, is to provide better social services to Ethiopia's rural population. Party officials promise easy access to clean water, schools and clinics — even electricity — in exchange for them bearing the expense and burden of tearing down their old house, moving up to 12km, and building a new hut.

But often they arrive and find that none of the promises have been kept. And although the Ethiopian government plans to "villagise" 30-35-million people by 1991, it has allocated little or no money to the programme.

Three to four million more people will be moved this year. The demand for social services, for which insufficient funds have been allocated, will take years to catch up on. The fierce pace of villagisation has compounded its inherent problems.

South Africa looks elsewhere as its friendships with Western countries turn sour

Buildings

Up support in Africa

①
SPM 18/5/87

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

As its former friends in the West become increasingly antagonistic, South Africa is turning more and more to black Africa for trade and future political support.

Pretoria's overtures are proving surprisingly successful, officials claim, even though overt hostility from Africa has reached unprecedented levels.

Behind the scenes there is claimed to be not only a dramatic increase in trade but also a growing acceptance of South African aid and technology.

The diplomatic campaign appears to be a revival, though in different form, of the "outward" policy in Africa that was launched by the Government in the 1970s and subsequently dropped when it failed to elicit significant response.

With the European Community and even the United States imposing sanctions and relations with Britain wearing ever thinner, Pretoria's diplomatic and trade options have dwindled in the past few years.

Its response has been in part to exploit South Africa's unique ability to help meet Africa's crying need for funds and technology for development, cheap food and consumer goods.

"For too long we have looked over the heads of our African neighbours to the leaders of Western nations in trying to achieve solutions to our problems," Mr Neil van Heerden, the director-general of Foreign Affairs, said recently in an interview with the *Washington Times*.

Mr van Heerden said the "dramatic" increase in South Africa's trade with Africa "has led us to realise where our priorities lie".

'Determine our own future'

"The emphasis of our diplomatic effort is now very much concentrated on Africa."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha enunciated a similar approach last October in Maseru when he signed the Lesotho Highlands water project treaty. He urged African states to join with South Africa to "determine our own future" instead of allowing the Americans, the Europeans and the Soviets to do it for them.

In addition to its substantial open trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and other members of the Frontline grouping, South Africa is reported to have had secret dealings of one kind or another with at least 40 of the 51 black African countries.

To avoid embarrassing them and thereby jeopardising the links,

Pretoria co-operates in keeping the dealings secret. As a result the truth of the claims cannot be tested, either in terms of trade or aid.

Mr van Heerden said, however, that South Africa was involved in more than 300 projects, costing more than R50 million, in about a dozen African countries.

He said these included three experimental cattle ranches in countries "far north of here" where a cattle breed suited to tropical Africa was being developed.

While Pretoria is trying to build secret bridges to Africa, Western countries are pushing large amounts of aid into South Africa's neighbouring states in an effort to reduce Pretoria's influence over them.

Political pressure

The United States has in addition tightened its political pressures on Pretoria, notably by recently joining the Frontline states in claiming that Pretoria is continuing to aid the MNR rebels in Mozambique in contravention of the Nkomati Accord.

The Western aid effort is aimed largely at reducing the Frontline states' dependence on the Republic. This is a long-term programme, however, and in the meantime South Africa's neighbours continue to rely heavily on the Republic.

According to Mr van Heerden, Pretoria's aid programme in Africa is helped by the fact that many African countries "have grown tired of people coming from rich Western nations, throwing money at them and then leaving. They are tired of being stroked".

"Some of them have told us that what they like about us is that we stay and we work with them," he told the *Washington Times*. "We tell them we are Africans together and we must seek our own solutions, without relying on the outside world, and they love that."

South Africa's programmes, he said, were more like those of the Israelis and Taiwanese. "We show how, we teach and we stay until they know how to do it."

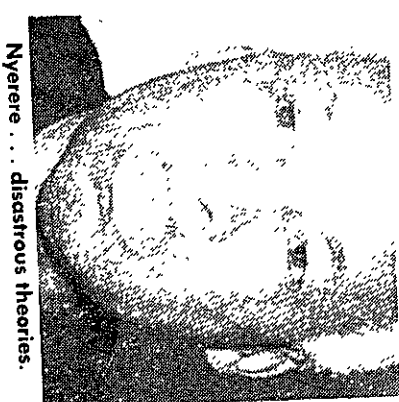
Mr van Heerden said Africa was "stumbling out of a post-colonial era with something of a Monday morning feeling" and most African leaders were prepared to listen to alternatives.

"This is where we come in. "Whatever our faults, they regard us as the 'Big Apple' of Africa. Our markets lie close to their markets and we have more knowledge and expertise of African conditions and a better understanding of their problems than anyone else in the world."

Why the IMF is getting tough



Kenunda . . . medicine refused.



Nyerere . . . disastrous theories.

Hundreds of billions of dollars lent to tottering African economies by the Western banking community in the past decade will probably never be repaid, while current loans by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to those countries are mainly earmarked to help them to pay interest due on the lost billions.

It is against this background that must be viewed the recent decisions of Zambia and Zaire to limit the repayments of their national debt to a maximum of 10 percent of their export earnings and of Zambia to cut its links entirely with the IMF, which had imposed austere guidelines to be followed before any further loans would be granted.

It is also the background for the new tough face being shown by the IMF to African and other Third World countries that have mismanaged their economies to the point of collapse.

A question being asked in banking circles is, how many other African countries will follow Zambia's lead of simply chucking overboard its international debt commitments and trying to "go it alone", on the premise that it can hardly be worse off?

A perhaps more relevant question is how these countries managed in the first place to slip into the economic bog they are now in.

The answer to the second question lies in the boom decade of the '70s when, flush with money from high prices for their agricultural and mineral exports, many of the newly independent African countries decided to spend their way directly into the First World.

Despite what amounts to a moratorium on

lending, the overall debt of black Africa

continues to rise and some banks have begun

writing off some early loans as bad debts. The

situation is reviewed by Ken Vernon.

Interest rates were low, Western banks had money and were only too eager to lend it for impressive-sounding projects like dams and steel mills, automated bakeries and five star hotels.

A decade later prices for the exports of Africa are lower than they have ever been in real terms while import costs for essentials such as oil and machinery are sky high, as are interest rates.

The dams lie empty in the drought-hit countryside. The steel mills cannot produce steel at competitive prices, the automated bakeries produce unemployed bakery workers, while the five star hotels are filled only occasionally.

The drought, the crash in commodity prices and the high interest rates were not the fault of the African countries.

But the "African socialist" economic theories of leaders such as Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere

of Tanzania, and indeed of a whole generation of "liberation" era African politicians which grew from the disastrous ideas of Marxist economists, cannot escape a large measure of blame for the sorry economic state of black Africa.

They espoused a form of state intervention in the whole economic fabric of their countries to reduce "dependence" on their former colonial masters, and in the process the president's office rather than the market place became the centre of economic life.

The crunch came for black Africa — and for much of the Third World — in the early 1980s after the stunning defaults of Poland and Mexico on their foreign loan obligations.

The Western bankers who had funded the experiment of African socialism decided a return to traditional values was needed — and in effect the IMF was appointed as an international economic policeman to ensure that

sounder fiscal policies were followed in future by borrowing nations.

The change in the attitude of the bankers was matched by an awareness of a new generation of African leaders and intellectuals that African socialism had been a failure.

In the jargon of the economic professionals, the emphasis of the IMF and World Bank in the '80s has been on "structural adjustment aid".

Simply put, that means supplying short-term loans to Third World countries which are threatening to default on repayments of earlier loans. But the "structural adjustment aid" is invariably tied to a bitter dose of good old-time economics that many countries, especially in black Africa, are finding hard to swallow.

The medicine usually consists of an immediate devaluation of a country's currency, aimed to discourage imports while aiding exports, to boost foreign exchange balances.

Government subsidies on goods such as food and petrol are dropped, leading to effective price increases, while wage increases are kept to a minimum and the number of well-paying government jobs is reduced.

In any country such a mixture would seem a sure formula for social unrest, and this is what has happened in Zambia, precipitating its decision to stop taking its medicine.

Possibly the only factor limiting similar outbreaks in other black African countries is their authoritarian government systems that tend to suppress dissent until it erupts in revolt.

The IMF usually turns an unsympathetic ear to complaints by governments that IMF austerity programmes are politically unacceptable and illegitimate, saying the programmes are imperative whatever government hap-

pens to be in power and the longer they are delayed, the more bitter the medicine becomes.

And acceptance of the IMF medicine is the only way that Western banks will now agree to more loans. In theory this has always been the role designed for the IMF, but it is only since the near collapse of the international banking system in 1982 that the power of the IMF has been magnified to near omnipotence.

This power can be seen in the fact that the revolt of Zaire in limiting the repayment of its foreign debt to 10 percent of its export earnings lasted just a few months under the threat of IMF-sponsored isolation from the world finance markets.

Not surprisingly, such power, allied with not a little arrogance, has raised howls of protest from the Third World, which says with some justification that the IMF has changed from being its saviour to being its jailer.

The same countries complain, again with some justification, that under the cloak of economic neutrality, the IMF is in reality designed to ensure their continued linkage to the Western capitalist system.

Which doesn't change the fact that they need it to survive.

Little chance

Since 1982 the Third World share of the international bank lending market has fallen from 27 percent to just 1 percent in 1985-86.

Yet despite what amounts to a moratorium on lending, the overall debt of black Africa rose by 8 percent to US\$175 billion at the end of 1986, and with little chance of banks ever seeing all their money, some have already begun writing off some early loans as bad debts. Citicorp led the way recently, writing off \$3 billion.

In spite of its tough conditions for the granting of loans, the IMF last year transferred to the whole of Africa more than \$900 million more than it received in debt repayments.

The IMF's role as the only organisation able to grant such short-term loans to help black Africa over its seemingly insurmountable balance of payments problems, allied with its role as the agency that in effect has to give approval for longer term loans, makes its position unassailable and illustrates the quixotic actions of Zambia in trying to tilt at it.

African states caught in a 'vicious borrowing cycle'

ARGUS 1/6/87 ①

Hundreds of billions of dollars lent to tottering African economies by the western banking community in the past decade will probably never be repaid, while loans by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to those same countries are mainly earmarked to help them to pay interest due on the lost billions.

Another way of putting it is that many African countries are locked in a vicious cycle of having to borrow from Peter in order to pay interest on previous loans from Paul, without the faintest prospect of ever being able to repay them.

In the final analysis "Peter" is the average tax-paying westerner.

It is against this background that must be viewed the recent decisions of Zambia and Zaire to limit the repayments of their national debt to a maximum of 10 percent of their export earnings, and of Zambia to cut its links entirely with the International Monetary Fund, which had imposed austere guidelines to be followed before any further loans would be granted.

It is also the background for the new tough face being shown by the IMF to African and other third world countries that have mismanaged their economies to the point of collapse.

A question being asked in banking circles now is, how many other African countries will follow Zambia's lead of simply chucking overboard its international debt commitments and trying to "go it alone", on the premise that they can hardly be worse off?

A perhaps more relevant question to ask is how these countries managed in the first place to slip into the economic bog in which they now find themselves?

The answer to the second question lies in the boom decade of the seventies, when, flush with money from high prices for their agricultural and

By Ken Vernon of the Argus
Africa News Service
Dateline: Johannesburg

mineral exports, and buoyed by the ideas of western economists trained in the hazy liberality of the sixties and intellectually enamoured with marxist economics, many of the newly independent African countries decided to spend their way directly into the first world.

Interest rates were low, western banks had money and were only too eager to lend it for impressive sounding projects like dams and steel mills, automated bakeries and five star hotels.

A decade later prices for the exports of Africa are lower than they have ever been in real terms, import costs for essentials such as oil and machinery are sky high, as are interest rates.

Hotels are filled only occasionally

The dams lie empty in the drought-hit countryside. The steel mills cannot produce steel at competitive prices, the automated bakeries produce unemployed bakery workers, while the five star hotels are filled only occasionally and then with non-paying government guests who attend endless conferences that try to find out what went wrong, and who to blame.

But the "African socialist" economic theories of leaders such as Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and indeed of a whole generation of "liberation" era African politicians which grew from the disastrous ideas of marxist economists, cannot escape a large measure of blame for the sorry economic state of black Africa.

They espoused a form of state intervention in the whole economic fabric of their countries to reduce "dependence" on their former colonial masters.

Throughout black Africa, leaders optimistic that a new and uniquely African socio-economic system was possible, plunged into converting inherited western free-enterprise orientated economies into African socialist economies that supposedly better reflected the true African nature.

Their mistake was primary, for there is no uniquely African nature. Africans react the same as other men faced with the "socialisation" of the product of their labour they cease to produce.

The crunch came for black Africa — and for much of the third world — in the early 1980s following the stunning defaults of Poland and Mexico on their foreign loan obligations.

The western bankers who had funded the experiment of African socialism decided a return to traditional values was needed — and in effect the IMF was appointed as an international economic policeman to ensure that sounder fiscal policy was in future followed by borrowing nations.

The change in the attitude of the bankers was matched by an awareness on the part of a new generation of African leaders and intellectuals that African socialism had been a failure.

The IMF usually turns an unsympathetic ear to complaints by governments that IMF austerity programmes are politically unacceptable, saying that the programmes are imperative whatever government happens to be in power, and that the longer such programmes are delayed, the bitterer the medicine becomes.

It can afford to take such a hard line because the reality is that Africa has come to realise it cannot survive, cannot feed its people, pay its ruling bureaucracies, buy oil or machinery to produce goods — without western capital.

And acceptance of the IMF medicine is the only way that western banks will now agree to more loans.

Reviews 10/6/87

(1)

Colonialism — Africa's crutch

Doteline: JOHANNESBURG

If the causes of all the ills that presently beset black Africa could be distilled into one word, the choice of the vast majority of Africans and non-Africans alike would be "colonialism".

Along with its equally abhorred offspring, "neo-colonialism", the word has become a mental crutch African states have used to explain away the present and past failings of an entire sub-continent.

It is more than 30 years since the Gold Coast, now Ghana, became the first black African country to gain independence from its colonial masters in March 1957, time enough to be able to unemotionally reassess the legacy of this crucial era in African history.

The first and most successful colonisers of Africa were the Arabs who surged out of the Middle East in the eighth century carrying the creed of Islam.

But these colonisers have long since been assimilated by their conquests, and the colonial era of Africa is now usually said to have begun in the 1880s when the European nations began their massive land grab, each looking for its "place in the sun" — lest its neighbour should get it first.

The Africa they encountered was politically and tribally fragmented, with each group almost constantly at war with its neighbour and where, as Hobbes said of such a state, "the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."

Some form of contact was inevitable between a Europe that was expanding commercially, militarily and technically, and an Africa that lay weak, divided and stagnant a relatively short sail away.

Given that contact was inevitable, the question to be

By KEN VERNON
The Argus Africa
News Service

posed is what form the contact could have taken.

There were only two options — the first was that Africa be left to the various attractions of the missionaries, traders, mercenaries and slavers who had been plaguing the continent in ever increasing numbers for more than a century, or that European governments become involved and attempt to impose a more stable and ordered conquest, both for national, strategic and humanitarian or paternalistic reasons.

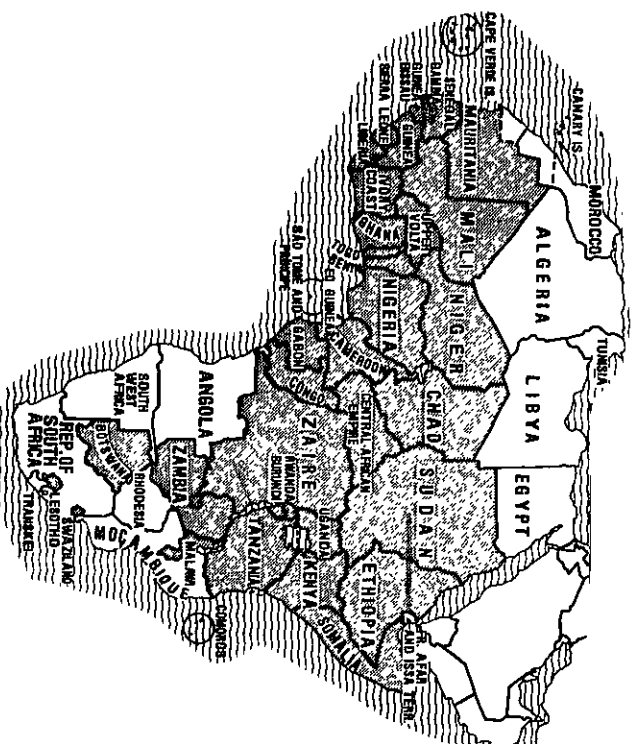
That European governments did conquer and then divide Africa is history; that this was both inevitable and, given the alternative, was in the best interests of Africans is the unpalatable truth that lies behind the taboo of any rational examination of the colonial phenomenon.

True capitalist exploiter

The best example of an African country that escaped, for a time, national colonial administrators, to be left to the less than tender mercies of less idealistic masters, is the Belgian Congo.

This vast country was "bought" by King Leopold II of Belgium at the Berlin conference of 1884-5, the gathering of powerful European nations that met to fix colonial spheres of influence in Africa at the beginning of the scramble for Africa.

Leopold ran the Belgian Congo like a true capitalist exploiter, forcibly seizing and exporting any and all items of value and turning the inhabitants to forced labour in vast rubber concessions he sold to private companies.



His efficient exploitation even extended to demanding that a human left ear be sent to him for every bullet fired by his soldiers, to ensure that nothing was wasted in the rape of the country.

In comparison the colonial administrators sent to Africa by the major colonial powers, Britain and France, resembled the ideal "guardian" rulers described by Plato, being in the main "just, detached and incorruptible."

The first and most important achievement the "pax Europa" had upon Africa was the creation of widespread peace between tribal groups.

Admittedly this "peace" was achieved by violent conquest in some cases, but that does not serve to belittle the achievement of peace or what it meant to the average African for whom life became far less uncertain.

One immediate result of this imposed peace was the final stamping out of the ubiquitous slave trade, the aim of which was one of the

and durable goods.

It can, and often is, argued that such advances were only undertaken to enable the better exploitation of the continent, and that the social and psychological debilitations colonialism left in the African psyche was not worth the material gains.

However this concept is not based on what the colonial administrators actually achieved, bearing in mind that they were in the main products of a system that strictly believed in the "white man's burden" of raising the spiritual and material well being of their charges.

In fact one of the first actions of the administrators was usually to restrict the unbridled actions of unscrupulous traders.

This was especially the case in the Belgian Congo after Leopold had been forced to hand the country over to government administrators in 1908 following an international outcry over the barbaric methods of his privateers.

As far as financial exploitation is concerned, in the case of Britain the colonial balance sheet was never out of the red, and major national debates about a total withdrawal from Africa were undertaken as early as the 1840s and the 1860s because of the high cost of maintaining military and administrative forces on the continent, without any meaningful return from commerce.

The option of withdrawing was rejected for two reasons. First was the idealistic and paternalistic idea of the "white man's burden", and secondly there was the strategic value of the territories.

The competing nationalisms of Europe were deadlocked in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with seemingly no movement or advantage possible, so that

national rivalries shifted to the colonial territories.

Those who constantly point to the psychological legacies of colonialism on the African peoples tend to forget that the major colonial investments took place outside black Africa in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

These countries underwent a longer and more intense colonial involvement than most of black Africa — with few if any psychological hangovers of the era.

Colonial aims

- grossly maligned

Of course forced labour there was, injustices and indignities there were, but such actions are now more than a generation past, having occurred most often in the period from the initial conquest to the end of World War 2.

To suggest that such actions today still prevent African leaders, in all fields, from acting reasonably to confront their problems is to continue the paternalistic attitude of colonialism at its worst, and to malign the capabilities of Africans that have been amply displayed in many fields.

All of this is not to suggest that the legacy of colonialism was uniformly good, or that the ruling European countries and their administrators did all that could have been done for their charges.

It instead offers the suggestion that the actual aims and effects of the colonial era have been grossly maligned, and that perhaps it is time for Africans of all nationalities to come out from under the comforting cloak of being able to blame colonialism for all their shortcomings and to begin to look at their faults and failings for what they are as a first step in resolving them.

Environmental Scourge of Africa

DD
19/1/78

Environmental decay exposes African and other countries to ravages perhaps greater than they would suffer at the hands of plundering armies.

This is the conclusion of a 30-month study completed on world environmental crises by the UN-sponsored World Commission on Environment and Development.

It warns that if Africa's environmental rot goes unchecked, it could only mean disaster for future generations.

The world's deepening and widening environmental crisis, it says, "presents a threat to national security — and even survival — that may be greater than well-armed, ill-disposed neighbours and unfriendly alliances."

Already in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia, ecological decay is becoming a source of political unrest and international tension, it says.

"The recent destruction of much of Africa's dryland agricultural production was more severe than if an invading army had pursued a scorched-earth policy," it declares.

Yet, it notes, "most of the affected governments still spend far more to protect their

people from invading armies than from the invading desert."

The report was the focus of a symposium held here for aid donors and beneficiaries in Africa arranged by the African Development Bank (ADB), the continent's top development aid agency, to promote greater care of natural resources in development schemes.

Most of this woodland is reduced to low-grade farmland, unable to support the farmers it sets.

The severe drought in Africa from 1982 to 1985, ironically, had some benefits. It reduced the numbers of animals which, until then, had been 50 to 100 per cent higher in many parts than the rangelands could support.

The combination of livestock overgrazing, deforestation and desertification in Africa had destroyed 90 million hectares of land in the last 67 years, the biggest reaching in any continent.

As a result much of the land has become unsuitable for farming, one of Africa's top economic priorities. And, with the population rising rapidly, land unfit for farming was being over-cultivated and exposed to soil erosion.

Environmental decay in any one area, the report notes, has a far-reaching ripple impact.

"Deforestation by highland farmers causes flooding on lowland farms, factory pollution robs local fishermen of their catch... dryland degradation sends refugees in their millions across national borders."

The report says the re-

From Rory Channing In Cairo

In only 900 days between the start of the World Commission study and completion of its report last April, it notes, Africa's drought-triggered "environmental development crisis" peaked, putting 35 million people at risk, killing perhaps a million.

An estimated 60 million people worldwide died of diarrhoeal diseases linked to unsafe drinking water and malnutrition in that time. Most were children, it added.

Despite increased awareness of the threat of environmental decay, the report warned, "continued unabated, partly caused by food shortages and famine which still haunt millions of Afri-

can people"

Nearly four million hectares of forest is denuded every year in Africa, where many people rely heavily on wood for fuel.

This represents over a third of some 11 million hectares destroyed every year worldwide which, over three decades, would ravage land equal to the size of India, it says.

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Ethiopia — one of the prime examples of environmental decay in Africa where peasants trek back and forth seeking food for themselves and grazing for their cattle.

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at reasonable prices, putting yet more pressure on the environment.

Debt crises mean growing poverty and unemployment in countries pushed to export growing amounts of scarce resources.

"The present level of debt service of many countries, especially in Africa and Latin America is not consistent with sustainable development."

Debtors are reduced to using trade surpluses to service debts, and are drawing heavily on non-renewable resources to do so.

"Urgent action is necessary to alleviate debt burdens in ways that represent a fairer sharing between both responsibilities and burdens."

"Industrialised countries, given their large stock of technology and long-term funds, could play a key role in helping arrest ecological decay in Africa, whose vast and largely untapped natural resources are an important source of raw materials."

It warns of difficulty in striking the right balance between exploiting the earth's riches and sound economic planning. "Painful choices have to be made... sustainable development must rest on political will." — Sapa-RNS

① B/Day 3/7/87

Africa on verge of famine

BRUSSELS — Africa was on the verge of another devastating famine, but this time economics, not drought, would be to blame, a UN official said yesterday.

"The economic crisis is as deadly as any drought. We are laying the ground work for another famine," said Salim Lone, New York-based spokesman for the UN programme on African recovery issues.

Lone, who was in Brussels for meetings with EC and Belgian officials on African development, pleaded for more international attention to Africa's plight — which he blamed on crippling debt and low commodity prices.

He said the loss of commodity revenue in 1986 had effectively wiped out

every cent of economic aid.

Lone said: "We have had previous occasions when the world did not respond till people were dying on TV screens. We do not want the same kind of situation to recur."

Developed countries had not yet come up with enough bridging finance to help African nations implement urgent programmes to make them self-sufficient in food.

Debt-servicing was putting Africa, the world's poorest continent, in the position of exporting wealth to the rich countries. Lone said: "That is unconscionable."

"The UN is appealing therefore that more attention be paid to this need and more be done quickly." — Sapa-Reuter.



President Abdou Diouf

CAPE TOWN 9/7/84
Diouf looms large
in Dakar meeting

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal looms large — in every sense — in the series of meetings starting in Dakar today between a South African group and the ANC.

President Diouf, who, at 2.03m, is the tallest head of state in the world, is hosting the meeting.

He is a 51-year-old political scientist and a formidable intellectual.

A senior official, who helped arrange the meeting, said: "President Diouf was clearly keen that the message to come out of this meeting must be that white South Africans, and we should emphasize Afrikaners, are as much part of the African continent as any black African.

"He clearly feels that it is vital for this to be felt with confidence in South Africa. If not, how can we achieve political progress?

His grasp of Afrikaner sensitivities is astonishing. He has a remarkable appreciation of their role in African history and their future."

Following his predecessor, President Senghor, President Diouf is also a firm opponent of communism.

Dakar call to 'try SA Govt for its crimes'

10/7/87

DAKAR. — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal has called for a trial of "the supporters and accomplices of apartheid" and declared that the abolition of legalised racism was the greatest task facing mankind "since the victory over nazism".

Mr Diouf was opening what he termed a "historic" three-day conference here between a group of about 50 white South Africans and leaders of the outlawed African National Congress.

He said: "A crime against humanity cannot be forgiven — only punished. Would it not therefore be indicated that in the course of your meetings you would examine the most appropriate means of conducting the trial of apartheid, in the name of the civilised values of us all, the trial of its supporters and accomplices?"

Although he did not elaborate, Mr Diouf appeared to be suggesting that after the abolition of apartheid the South African Government be publicly tried for "crimes against humanity".

Dialogue

Mr Diouf, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity in 1985 and 1986, promised to help mobilise support throughout Africa for whatever proposals the conference might put forward.

He further invited delegates to consider "the creation of an institute of research at one of our universities ... where young South Africans could study and improve their knowledge of Africa".

President Francois Mitterrand's wife Danielle, head of the human rights organisation France-Liberte, one of several groups which helped organise the meeting, called for increased dialogue aimed at bringing about change in South Africa.

Earlier the leader of the South Africans, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said they were in Dakar "to break out of the cocoon of ignorance" in which whites were wrapped at home.

Addressing "our compatriots from the ANC", Dr Slabbert spoke of "the sadness that we have to meet so far from our common fatherland".

Alternatives

He added: "This in itself is a tragic commentary on the history we share. Some of you have suffered much pursuing freedom for your country. Some of you have ended up adopting strategies and supporting ideologies which some of us find difficulty in supporting or understanding, but which we hope to find out more about."

"We gather on foreign soil, but on a shared continent. We are among friends, although we live in a country whose government is determined to keep us enemies. In the few days ahead let us, in all sincerity, explore a way out of this lunacy."

He emphasised that the group had no power to negotiate.

The agenda for the talks is centred on plans for a post-apartheid South Africa, but most of the non-South Africans taking part said they wanted immediate action to topple the Pretoria government. — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.

● Visiting Soweto in Dakar, Page 13.

CAPIT Times 17/7/87

Slabbert's group feted in Ghana

ACCRA. — Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert's group of South Africans arrived here yesterday, accompanied by members of the African National Congress.

Speaking at an airport press conference after a flight from Burkina Faso, Dr Slabbert said they were not afraid of confrontation with the South African authorities.

"That confrontation has been there all along and some of us have been in jail several times for our stand against apartheid," he said.

He added that members of his group sometimes felt offended when they were referred to as "liberals" because "there are some serious radicals among us and if we were afraid of confrontation we would not take any initiative on this issue at all".

Both groups will remain in Ghana until Friday, when they return to Burkina Faso en route home.

Ghanaian authorities arranged a royal reception for them at the airport last night. Groups of young girls sang songs as a seven-man delegation, led by acting Information Secretary, Mrs Joyce Aryee, welcomed them.

The South Africans will split into smaller groups, according to their respective vocations, for talks with Ghanaian counterparts.

The academics among them will talk to Ghanaian university officials, the writers will meet with the Ghana Association of Writers, the businessmen will visit the industrial town of Tema and the politicians will hold talks with top government officials.

Dr Slabbert believes Africa has an important role to play in dismantling apartheid and he is anxious that the group find out as much as possible about Ghana. — Sapa-Reuter

stockings, a favour to an...
HOVOSTA

For the 61 South Africans, most of whom returned home today, it was a journey from pariah status to acceptability, writes ALLISTER SPARKS

Unexpected welcome for Afrikaners

Dateline:

ACCRA

IN a remarkable demonstration of Africa's readiness to accept even that sector of white South Africa most closely identified with apartheid, provided they are prepared to renounce it, the group of Afrikaner academics, businessmen and professional people who held talks with the African National Congress in Dakar were accorded the status of visiting dignitaries as they journeyed on last week to two more African countries, Burkina Faso and Ghana.

In what for most was their first venture into black Africa, the Afrikaners were first astonished and then delighted at the warmth of their reception. Gradually as the 10-day tour progressed their stiff reserve gave way to a reciprocal response that saw them uninhibitedly embracing their black hosts and the ANC leaders who accompanied them in African-style farewells as they parted last Friday.

For most it was a profound personal experience that had left them in an emotional turmoil as deeply ingrained preconceptions have been shattered.

From relatively benign Senegal, one of Africa's few multi-party democracies, where they held their conference with the ANC and had their first experience of how this would be seen as an act of political expiation by the Africans, the Afrikaners were astonished to be given an even warmer reception in the revolution-



From left: Breyten Breytenbach, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine who were part of a delegation who last week met exiled leaders of the ANC in Dakar.

ary republic of Burkina Faso.

It was tumultuous. Thousands of cheering people lined the streets, with bands and groups of dancers, as the Afrikaners were driven through the sprawling, mud-brick capital of Ouagadougou in a cavalcade led by 12 uniformed policewomen on motorcycles.

A running commentary on the procession was broadcast by the national radio and over loudspeakers throughout the capital.

Planted trees

The South Africans attended a State House banquet where President Thomas Sankara, an innovative and charismatic new generation African leader, who is trying to revitalise his desperately poor country (formerly called Upper Volta) by engaging the people in get-up-and-go programmes, held a two-hour discussion with them sitting

under the stars in his palace gardens.

They were driven into the countryside to plant trees, Israeli-style, to help halt the encroaching desert and commemorate what Sankara called an historic visit.

In Ghana the welcome was less spectacular but equally warm, and, for the Afrikaners, even more mind-blowing. This is the spiritual birth place of African nationalism, whose founding leader, Kwame Nkrumah — now being resurrected as a hero figure after 20 years of obliteration — launched the Pan-African campaign against apartheid and was the key figure in getting South Africa expelled from the Commonwealth in 1961.

On Thursday evening, while a police band played the lilting strains of the black anthem, *God Bless Africa*, Af-

rikaners and ANC members, buddies by now after a week of travelling together, mingled in the hot night air with members of the Ghanaian government on a floodlit square in the conference complex where 22 years ago the Organisation of African Unity discussed the launching of a war of liberation against apartheid South Africa.

A feature of the extraordinary safari was the complementary relationship that developed between Slabbert, the former liberal opposition leader in the South African Parliament who now runs an institute for inter-racial contact, and Mbeki, the ANC's information director, and a rising star in its leadership.

In public forums and at press conferences the two found themselves repeatedly on the same side of the argument, defending their shared commitment to non-racialism in the face of criticisms from radical black nationalists.

Visit questioned

At a joint press conference when the group arrived in Accra. After questioning Slabbert about his motives for meeting with the ANC, implying that it might be a capitalist attempt to blunt the black organisation's revolutionary commitment, a young Ghanaian journalist turned sharply to an ANC official and demanded: "Do you really trust these whites?"

Yes, came the instant reply. "There were some whites in the ANC armed forces, and there is nothing in a person's colour that defines his politics."

— © London Observer Service

Loosening SA ties under review

16 African states say Africa must lead on sanctions

ADDIS ABABA — Sixteen African states said yesterday that black Africa should lead the way in imposing comprehensive sanctions on SA.

The 16-nation steering committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), in its report to a conference of OAU foreign ministers, said the organisation's 50 member states should "spearhead the struggle against the fascist regime in SA and be exemplary in the imposition of sanctions".

The report proposed that African states should draw up a plan identifying alternatives for countries which depend on SA as a market or trade route.

The OAU has repeatedly called on its members to boycott SA, but some have retained extensive contacts with SA.

Zambia and Zimbabwe earlier this week postponed plans to stop direct flights to and from SA, arguing that other states would not join them.

In Lusaka, leaders from nine African nations meet today for a one-day summit to review efforts to loosen economic ties with SA.

Heads of state of the seven-year-old Southern African Development Co-ordi-

nation Conference (SADCC) will meet for their annual talks at a time when most members still depend heavily on Pretoria for trade and transport routes.

"Monumental tasks still lie ahead of us," Zambian Prime Minister Kebby Musokotwane told the opening of the two-day ministerial council session on Wednesday. "A lot remains to be done."

But he appealed to foreign ministers preparing for the summit not to allow their countries to surrender to Pretoria's economic or military power.

The SADCC — comprising Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — was founded in 1980 as a regional bloc seeking to free member states from reliance on SA markets, roads, railways and harbours.

Zambia and Zimbabwe promised last year to impose some economic boycotts against Pretoria in accordance with an 11-point Commonwealth package aimed at forcing SA to abandon apartheid. But both feared they would suffer most from the embargoes. — Sapa-AP.

● See Page 4

News in Brief *AP Times 2/2/87*

African debt

ADDIS ABABA. — The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) yesterday expressed the need for an international conference on Africa's foreign debt, Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana reports. The ministers stressed that Africa's debt-service obligations had to be related to the deteriorating and, in some cases, total collapse of international commodity prices and consequent drop in Africa's export earnings.

Cap Times 27/1/87

African countries to hold indaba on SA?

By ANDREW DONALDSON

BY MISSING a bus, a Cape Town freelance journalist has cracked what could be the most important development to have emerged from Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's Dakar safari — a possible all-Africa conference early next year on a future South African constitution.

Freelancer Chris Louw, one of the many foreign and local journalists who covered the meeting between South African delegates and African National Congress representatives, was breakfasting with top African constitutional experts when he missed his bus to the airport on the last day of the West African visit.

'Optimistic'

To catch up with the party, he was given a ride to the airport in a taxi and told all the details of the proposed conference, apparently to be attended by delegates from South Africa and the rest of the continent. Mr Louw said representatives of the South African government would also be invited.

Although the ANC would be invited to take part, it would have no special privileges at the conference, Mr Louw said.

Dr Alex Boraine, co-director of Idasa, last night confirmed that discussions on the proposed conference had taken place and said

he was "optimistic" that it would come off.

The conference was agreed to in principle by Idasa and the influential African Jurist Association (AJA). It will take place with the blessing of the Organization of African Unity.

In the taxi-ride to the airport, Mr Louw was given details of next year's summit by the vice-president of the AJA, Professor A A Neto, who told him that invitations to the conference would be extended to law and constitutional experts both in SA and its neighbours, as well as to interested parties on the rest of the continent.

Vital role

Agreement on the conference was struck in the last minutes of the visit. Its initiators were two top African jurists, AJA president Mr Benoit Ngom, and Professor Neto.

"Both men are committed democrats and believe that Africa has a vital role in creating the right circumstances for a future democratic South Africa," Mr Louw wrote. "Their plan for a constitutional conference took shape after extended discussions with two law experts on Idasa's team."

The two South Africans are Professor Gerhard Erasmus and Professor Johan van der Westhuizen, professors of law at the universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria respectively.

grandfather this week as
in Detroit on Sunday.

preparing the next convoy of tankers...
Kuwaiti tankers and Navy warships. It commercial vess

Fears of famine in Ethiopia

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Ethiopi-
an famine which killed
about a million people in
1984/5 is almost certainly
about to be repeated.

Relief agency and gov-
ernment officials in
Addis Ababa say rains
have failed in many parts
of the country and they
have appealed to the in-
ternational community
for food.

"It looks exactly the
same as 1983. We must
not wait for television to
show again the horrifying
pictures of hunger and
death," said Mr Berhanu
Jembere, head of Ethio-
pia's Relief and Rehabili-
tation Commission. He
said that, unless aid came
soon, the disaster could
be on the same scale as
before.

The failure of the main
rains in large parts of the
country has left early
crops burnt and withered
and late crops cannot
now be sown because the
ground is too hard.

All that can stop fam-
ine now is rain, but rain
after such a drought will
bring another catastro-
phe — locusts.

Milestone in battle against Aids?

Star
1981/8

WASHINGTON — A
milestone has been
reached in the battle
against the deadly Aids
virus with government
approval of the first
human testing in the
United States of an ex-
perimental vaccine.

But medical experts
said a marketable vac-
cine may be years off,
advising that great cau-
tion remained an im-
portant way to avoid spread-
ing the disease.

Federal officials said
yesterday the National
Institutes of Health (NIH)
had already begun re-
cruiting about 75 healthy
male homosexuals in the
Washington, DC, area for
initial clinical trials of
the new vaccine.

The vaccine for ac-
quired immune deficien-
cy syndrome was devel-
oped by a private bio-
technology company, Mi-
croGeneSys Inc.

"Even if we are suc-
cessful in developing a
safe and effective vac-
cine, it will not be widely
available for use until
well into the 1990s," said
Dr Anthony Fauci, a top

Aids researcher with the
National Institute of Al-
lergy and Infectious Dis-
ease (NIAID).

"You're going to have
to see how many people
in the placebo group get
infected versus the vac-
cinated group and that
may take time."

Because of ethical con-
straints, vaccine makers
cannot test the vaccine's
effectiveness by delibera-
tely exposing vaccinated
individuals to the virus.

Instead, effectiveness
is tested by watching
vaccinated individuals
over a long period to see
if they develop the dis-
ease.

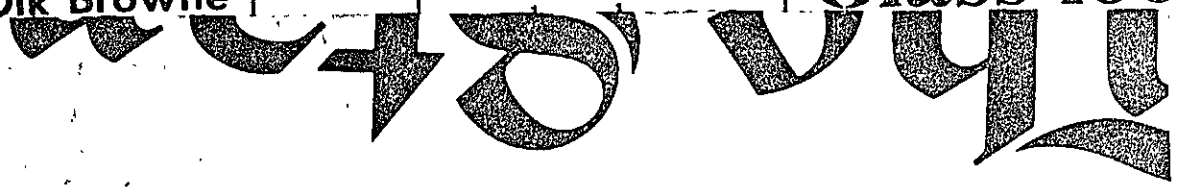
Health officials caution
those at risk to abstain
from sex, to develop mo-
nogamous relationships
with uninfected sexual
partners or to use con-
doms, and to avoid conta-
minated needles.

The Food and Drug Ad-
ministration approved
the human tests after the
laboratory animals had
responded to vaccination
by developing high levels
of anti-Aids antibodies. —
Sapa-Reuter.

Dik Browne

Palestinians on

Glass loc



go to a nearby supermarket about 10am on Tuesday.

without my permission," he said.

Argus 21/8/87

OAU may accept Tutu plea on SA passports

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — The Organisation of African Unity may soon relax restrictions on certain South African passport-holders wishing to travel in parts of the continent where South Africans are generally regarded as unwelcome.

This follows a call by Archbishop Desmond Tutu earlier this week.

Speaking in Togo, on his way home from a visit to Europe, the archbishop said he understood the rationale behind the decision by African countries not to recognise South African passports, but the rigid application of this policy was creating difficulties for the very

people, blacks, that it was intended to assist.

He said: "You should not make the people you are trying to help suffer."

He suggested that African countries should work out a procedure with the South African Council of Churches through which they could grant a waiver on certain passports the SACC had vouched for, or guaranteed.

"Why should black South Africans find it difficult to travel to sister independent African countries?" he asked. "Only those who suffer oppression and the outrage of injustice know the joy of getting out of the den of suffering under apartheid."

From PAT CANDIDO

overturned after the driver

African states moving towards privatisation

ABIDJAN — Some African countries are recognising the failure of government-controlled companies and moving to privatise corporations.

Officials of the Ivorian Economy and Finance Ministry are expected to announce soon that equity holdings will be offered for sale in 103 state companies.

The Ivorian government has already sold holdings in 28 companies

involved in agriculture, commerce, tourism and public works.

Last week, Ghana announced its decision to divest itself of 30 state-owned enterprises citing the need for improved performance to make those businesses productive.

Zaire announced it had dissolved nine state enterprises in such fields as banking, fisheries, and transportation.

Nigeria is looking for buyers for state-owned banks, breweries and in-

surance companies.

Even such "revolutionary" countries as Benin and Congo have announced their desire to sell state-owned companies which are draining national treasuries.

Angola, which follows a Marxist-Leninist path, has said it wants to create a private sector and announced it will seek membership in the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Last month, a group of Angolan government officials met potential US investors in New York for talks on privatisation.

Many Western bankers and aid specialists are pleased with the new trend.

"We don't believe governments should be in the business of business," says Donald Sherk, US executive director of the African Development Bank, based in aBidjan.

Sherk says, however, that the rush to privatise does include risks.

"We are concerned that by a premature leap into privatisation, the private sector could get condemned for not being the answer for the development of Africa."

Successful attempts at privatisation attract much interest. Private airlines in Zaire and Nigeria run smoothly, in sharp contrast to state-owned lines. — AP-DJ.

US tourism to Africa hit by Aids fear

Star
21/8/87 (1) ~~(2)~~

WASHINGTON — Travellers to Africa can take precautions against contracting the Aids virus, but they could be in trouble if they have a serious accident in an isolated area, US government and health officials say.

"Almost everybody who goes is concerned," said Mr Rob Callard, a State Department official who fields calls from inquiring US citizens.

Mr Harvey Shields of the Commerce Department's Travel and Tourism Administration said figures indicated that the number of US departures for Africa had been "dropping like a rock" over the last few years.

Fear of Aids may be a factor in the decline, but Mr Shields said there are

also other reasons: political unrest, high costs, the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and a ban on South African Airways' US landing rights, which took effect last fall.

Statistics show the number of US departures for Africa declined 13 percent to 113 000 in 1985, and dropped another 35 percent to 74 000 in 1986. Departures were down 47 percent for the first three months of this year.

Despite the attention given the Aids epidemic, other diseases such as yellow fever and malaria are also potentially serious problems, officials said. Automobile accidents are a major killer in Africa where roads are poor.

But Aids worried Republican Representative Mr Jack Fields so much that he asked the State Department for a list of hospitals in Africa that screen blood for the Aids virus.

"Given the high incidence of Aids in Africa and the potential for a hunter needing a blood transfusion, all of us in the delegation have been gravely concerned," Mr Fields wrote.

Mr Fields, an avid big-game hunter, was spending the August recess on a trip to Zimbabwe and Namibia with other hunters, said his Press secretary. — Sapa-AP.

SA and the Algerian connection

11/1/87

Is the Algerian war a useful analogy for South Africa?

In their joint chapter in the forthcoming study SA Beyond Apartheid, Anglo-American Corporation labour negotiator Bobby Godsell and Boston University sociologist Peter Berger conclude, in three fairly dismissive paragraphs, that it is not "unhelpful" category with several more obvious candidates including Zimbabwe, the American civil rights movement and the overthrow of the Shah and Filipino president Ferdinand Marcos.

Their reasoning, as far as it goes, is unexceptionable. Face the official ANC line, SA is not a colonial problem, special or otherwise; however much they disputed it at the time, the Algerian pied noirs, or colonists, did have somewhere else to go; Charles de Gaulle lived in Paris not Algiers. In sum: "it requires one kind of calculus to persuade a leader and government to surrender even a much treasured colony, quite another to abdicate power in your own territory."

Fine. But I would argue (quibble might be better) that in leaving it there, Berger and Godsell may be shortchanging themselves and the two-year SA Beyond

Apartheid project which they oversaw. Here's why

The Saba study group, a collection of 20 or so academics and other professionals, mostly South African, some American and one Canadian, set out to establish two things: how the SA drama's major players see the present and the putative post-apartheid future and how, realistically, that is to say taking everyone else's positions into account, they intend to achieve that future. The findings are to be published as a series of essays dealing with each of the main actors, the outside world included.

Berger, who chaired the group and contributed the overall methodology, coined two terms to describe what Saba was looking for: the "cognitive maps" of the actors (how they view the world) and their "strategic logics" (how, in broad, as opposed to tactical, terms they plan to reach their goals). These are pregnant phrases. The pity is that in his chapter with Godsell, "South Africa in comparative context", Berger chose largely to ignore them.

Much has been written, sometimes quite barrenly, on possible historical parallels for the South African dilemma. What has all too rarely been investigated

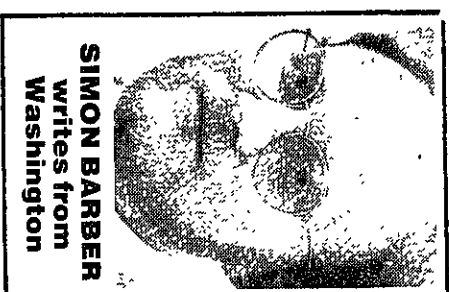
is (1) how various parallels affect the "cognitive maps", or to get really ivory-covered about it; and (2) what conclusions can be drawn when developments those parallels suggest should occur don't. Algeria merits more than three paragraphs on both counts.

Berger and Godsell recognise that the Algerian crisis, or at least the compelling account of it by Alistair Horne, "a savage war of peace", is widely thought about in the white South African elite. They also concede that through the writings of General Andre Beaufre, it has had a substantial (though "almost certainly exaggerated") impact on SADF counter-insurgency doctrine.

The military connection is suggestive and may have real value in analysing, even predicting, tactics and strategies the state security council may adopt in certain situations (the joint management committees, for example, strongly echo of the Sections Administratives Specialisees set up by Governor General Jacques Soustelle). Far more intriguing, however, is the way in which the war, as chillingly recounted by Horne, may shape the attitudes of change and reform of key white civilians.

For all the essential dissimilarities, Horne's

South African readers cannot but help being grabbed by the conversely-covered about it; and have proved that the "go home" but at the outset of hostilities at Setif in 1945, and indeed almost to the very end, home for the pied noirs was "Algerie Francaise". The question was who should run it: the settlers who viewed them-



SIMON BARBER
writes from
Washington

skin to regional service councils.

Reform in Algeria was always too little, too late. That, and the extraordinary savagery with which both sides conducted the war, combined to turn any middle ground of sanity and compromise into scorched earth. The long-standing French policy of breaking up indigenous power structures (dated back decades before the final conflict) made genuine negotiation increasingly difficult. Horne quotes one governor general observing as early as 1894:

"In suppressing the forces of resistance in this way, we were also suppressing our means of action. The result is that we are today confronted by a sort of human dust on which we have no influence and in which movements take place which are to us unknown."

It would take an inspired casuist to refuse to see a reflection here of the South African condition, and a truly leaden sensibility not to feel some sense of foreboding as a result. The consequent horrors that Horne goes on to recount may not prove that such things will happen in SA, but they suggest, far more persuasively than the rhetorical "blood bath" predictions of the Eminent Persons Group, that they can.

The FLN, Algeria's ANC, acted on the theory of Brazilian guerrilla leader Carlos Mari-guela that "it is necessary to turn political crisis into armed conflict by performing violent actions that will force those in power to transform the political situation of the country into a military situation. This will alienate the masses who, from then on, will revolt against the army and the police and blame them for this state of things."

In pursuing this doctrine, the FLN committed atrocities against the civilian population of a bestiality and on a scale thus far unknown in SA. The targets were both pied noir and Moslem, many of whom died not because they supported the French cause, but because they thought (or were suspected) to think there might be a better approach than that adopted by the FLN.

The preferred mode of execution was throat-slitting, giving the victims was known as le grand sourire, or big smile. This was frequently followed by ghastly mutilations expressly designed to provoke the maximum irrational response from the authorities and surviving pied noirs. A typical incident was the Philippeville massacre in August 1955. FLN gangs

murdered 123 Europeans, many of them women and children. At least 1 200 Moslems died in the course of uncontrolled reprisals. The Algerian experience does not predict that this will happen in SA, far from it, but it surely makes an imprint on the "cognitive map" of white South Africa which it would have been worth Saba's while to investigate. It does, after all, raise the fundamental question of whether the perceived possibility of a Philippeville-in, say, Oudtshoorn, raises or diminishes the will to negotiate. Or does the SA elite think it can profit from the mistakes of the past by learning to commit them more efficiently?

The modus operandi of the FLN ought also to be able to suggest something about the "strategic logic" of the South African resistance, especially the ANC. The ANC has shown an affinity for the Mari-guela doctrine, but thus far has not pursued it to same extreme as the FLN. Why not?

Several theories can be advanced. The demographics of apartheid and the strength of the SA security structure may be one explanation. With its rigid separation of communities, SA does not lend itself to kind of mass intra-community reprisals that took place at Philippeville and

which were central to FLN strategy. It is difficult to imagine the SADF or police allowing an angry mob of whites into Soweto to carry out a "ratonnade" or rath hunt to avenge an atrocity in Bantu town. To their cost, the authorities in Algeria were unable to stop this kind of activity because pied noir and Moslem lived pretty much side by side.

More importantly, however, it may well be that the ANC command is deliberately avoiding the FLN approach. The FLN wanted the pied noirs out and knew they could leave even if the colonists themselves believed otherwise. The ANC, on the other hand, knows that the majority of whites have nowhere else to go and that all sides are going ultimately to have to sleep together in whatever bed is ultimately made. This distinction may tell us a lot about the ANC's "strategic logic" that is not evident from Pretoria's propaganda.

In light of the above, it is difficult to declare the Algerian analogy "unhelpful", least of all within the context of Saba's own methodology. One can only hope that this lapse from the project's agreed (and extremely valuable) method is not going to prove symptomatic of similar deviations in the study as a whole.

Coup victim snubbed in bid to return home

SUNDAY TIMES
FOREIGN DESK

THE deposed president of the Central African state of Burundi, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, has been thwarted in an attempt to return home and re-establish his authority.

Bagaza, 41, flew hurriedly back to Africa from a Francophone summit in Canada after hearing on Thursday that military officers had ousted him from power.

But Rwanda, a scheduled stop on his flight to the Burundi capital of Bujumbura, said it would not let him into the country.

Bagaza, who ruled the 5-million Burundians since he staged his own military coup in November 1976, alighted instead at Nairobi airport.

Airport sources said he left to return to Paris 12 hours later.

Diplomatic sources said his departure effectively ended his hopes of regaining power in Burundi.

Bagaza, a suave, handsome

soldier schooled as a sociologist, now joins the likes of Idi Amin, Milton Obote and Jean-Bedel Bokassa in Africa's most exclusive club for deposed leaders.

While he ponders his next move, he is likely to be sobered by the fact that few deposed African leaders have regained power.

Two that did — former President Milton Obote in Uganda and the late Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia — were subsequently overthrown.

Calm

Details of the situation in Bujumbura remained sketchy. The organisers of the coup, led by Major Pierre Buyoya, cut off outside communications and closed all airports and borders.

Radio Burundi said the country was calm. Diplomats in contact with their Bujumbura embassies said they had received no reports of violence.

The new rulers have suspended the constitution, imposed an overnight curfew and recalled all military personnel from leave.

They have also given assurances that Burundi will respect its international obligations.

In the face of hunger and poverty, a book by the International Institute for Environment and Development finds the future in Africa more hopeful. **JOAN MOWER** reports from Washington

MR 6/5 9/9/87 (1) ~~1~~

Out of Africa's poverty comes a glimpse of hope

The future for Africa, a continent that evokes images of starving people, need not be as bleak as it seems, says an author who has studied 20 successful development projects.

"We have come across spreading signs of hope, areas of advance in a line of general retreat, victories pulled out of defeat," wrote Paul Harrison in "The Greening of Africa," a study commissioned by the London-based International Institute for Environment and Development.

David Reynolds, director of the institute's North American operations, said one purpose of the book was to present a "not inaccurate but slightly more hopeful" picture of Africa's future at a time when news coverage of the continent tends to focus on famine and disease.

"There are substantial examples of success," he said.

Irrigation

Harrison, whose book was the topic of a recent discussion by US development specialists, studied 20 successful projects in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Niger, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Ethiopia in 1985 and 1986.

With the proper approach to development, better farm prices and lower exchange rates, Harrison believes that Africa's prospects could be transformed in the next several years.

One project cited by Harrison involved a cheap, simple irrigation technique in Burkina Faso, a country where rainfall has been hurt by poor population pressures.



To conserve water, the villagers were taught to build a line of stones that hold back rainwater, making it pool uphill so the soil can be infiltrated.

Another successful project is under way in Niger, an arid country affected by wind erosion. To combat the problem, trees from Asia were planted to serve as a break.

Tree-planting, an aid to curbing erosion, also has been a success in many parts of Kenya, where it has been promoted by voluntary organizations such as the National Council of Women of Kenya, which set up its "Green Belt Movement" a decade ago.

Kenya is also the home of another successful project that has helped reduce the

amount of firewood needed by villages. Deforestation, prompted by a need for firewood, has led to an increase in soil erosion.

In Kenya, entrepreneurs have developed a ceramic-lined stove that increases efficiency over a metal stove and can burn fuel such as maize cobs, stalks and other refuse. The stoves proved popular before any advertising campaign, Harrison said.

Although the book talks about government policies that tend to worsen the problems of drought, food shortages and poor soil conditions, it does not deal with civil strife, which is one of the major reasons for famine in countries like Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

"The implicit assumption is

that you need some sort of political stability to achieve long-term development," Reynolds said.

The success stories cited by Harrison had the following characteristics:

- Low costs with profit margins of up to 100 percent
- Invulnerability to unpredictable climatic changes.
- Ability to function without imported goods
- Responsibility for the programs handled by local communities rather than government officials.

The projects range in their scope, but characteristically they involved improving or preserving the land to allow for an increase in food production.

Challenges

Most African nations have seen their ability to feed their populations decline in the past two decades, although there are exceptions such as Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

Reynolds said that one of the challenges for the future involves training Africans to manage development projects so they become self-sustaining and are not dependent on foreign technical know-how.

Still Africa needs foreign capital and aid to pursue its development, he said. It was "profoundly depressing" that the United States has done little to increase aid money for Africa, he said.

And he criticized Congress' priorities in providing Egypt and Israel each with twice as much aid as the rest of the African continent. — *Sapa-AP.*

Another coup. Another day for a bored Burundi

THE world might be forgiven for not noticing Burundi. It is a small, irregular shape on the map of Africa, east of Zaire and west of Tanzania.

The world might equally be forgiven for not noticing the military coup earlier this month which ousted Burundi's president, Colonel Bagaza, who had recklessly gone to Canada for a meeting of Francophone leaders.

Many of Burundi's five million inhabitants scarcely noticed the coup either. Around 11am, soldiers quietly occupied the banks, the radio and television centre and main government buildings in the capital, Bujumbura. Just before 6pm the radio announced that Major Pierre Buyoya had taken over. Not a shot was fired.

The following morning everyone went to work as usual, apart from ministers in the previous government who were under house arrest. "No need to make a fuss," said one hotelier. "We had one soldier as president and now we've got another."

I, however, did make a fuss. I had to get my story out. For nine days I fussed to no avail. Burundi — a tiny, landlocked, mountainous, introverted country — grounded all aircraft and shut down telecommunications with the outside world.

Both Bagaza and Buyoya are Tutsis, from the same clan. The 30 soldiers Buyoya has appointed to his military Committee for National Salvation are Tutsis too. But government officers will always deny tribal

A coup took place in Burundi but the world did not notice. Neither did the people

By LINDSEY HILSUM

tension, or even that two distant tribes exist.

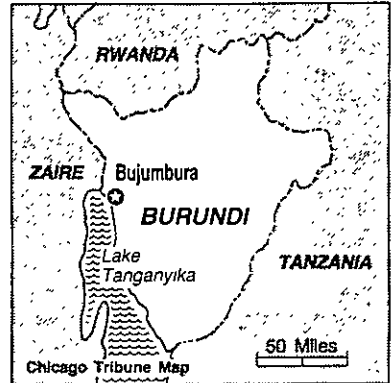
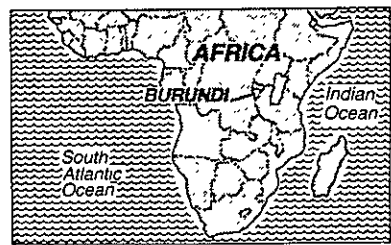
The other main source of conflict in Burundi is the Catholic church. Under Belgian colonial rule, the church was inordinately powerful, running all social services including schools.

"The church was the auxiliary of the colonialists," explains Marius Ruhenge, who was a member of Uprona's central committee under Bagaza and is still the head of the country's government-controlled trade union movement.

Bagaza, who seized power in a similar bloodless coup in 1976, made it his mission to rid Burundi of these troublesome priests, whom he saw as an alternative power base to Uprona.

Towards the end of Bagaza's rule, the crusade against the priests became increasingly idiosyncratic. At the end of August two Xaverian priests were arrested and interrogated. Their house was searched, and the police found a copy of a magazine which featured an article about the Nuremberg trials, including photographs of Hitler meeting a cardinal. The photos were shown on television as proof that the Italian priests were fascists.

Paranoia is contagious. I heard this



Burundi — a quiet coup which nobody noticed

story and gave away my copy of the *Guardian Weekly* which carried photographs of Rudolf Hess.

The Sunday before the coup I went to mass. As people came out of church, I took photographs. Twenty minutes later, two men appeared at my hotel room to question me. This was my first brush with Burundi's intelligence network.

Buyoya has given umpteen reasons for overthrowing Bagaza.

The new president has opened churches closed by his predecessor and intimated that he might allow the church to start up their banned schools again.

But the power base has not shifted.
— The Guardian, London

Wpraise ①

2579-1/10/87

'80 000 black businessmen visited'

CAPE TOWN 8/10/87

SA trade with Africa 'thriving'

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa seems more confident than ever that secret and open trade with its black-ruled neighbours and the rest of Africa will continue to thrive in spite of calls for stronger economic sanctions against Pretoria.

SA remains Africa's economic superpower, acutely aware of the inability of other southern African countries to survive without it and adroit at circumventing sanctions, analysts say.

"If, economically, SA sneezes, the rest of southern Africa will get a very bad cold, if not influenza," according to SA business leader Raymond Parsons.

Black African states are expected to press for more international sanctions against South Africa when Commonwealth heads of state meet in Vancouver, Canada, next week.

But businessmen seemed unconcerned about the impact of the meeting. Parsons, CE of SA's Association of Chambers of Commerce, believed it would emphasise the need to help SA's poor neighbours rebuild economically.

"Although this may be presented as a blow against SA, in fact SA stands to be a major beneficiary," he said.

SA generated 75% of southern Africa's gross domestic product and can only benefit "if we have trading partners in the region who need and can pay for our goods and services", he said.

Government official Glen Babb boasted that South Africa had so much business success with the rest of Africa that its biggest city and busi-

ness capital, Johannesburg, "has become the New York of Africa".

"There is a fascination in Africa for our successes," said Babb, South Africa's deputy director general of Foreign Affairs, in a speech last month.

Babb said South African trade with black Africa now totalled nearly R3 billion rand (\$1.5 billion) annually, a figure which analysts said was impossible to confirm because of substantial secret dealings.

"Eighty thousand black businessmen came to our country last year — Ghanaians and Ugandans have come to sell their skills here," he said.

Babb did not say how many countries were involved but the Johannesburg Star newspaper quoted unnamed sources last week as claiming that more than 45 of the continent's 50 states have trade or aid relations with South Africa.

"One can only infer from the figures that black Africa's desire for dealings with SA overrides its abhorrence of apartheid," the newspaper said.

Efforts by southern African countries to cut their overwhelming dependence on South African transport routes are starting to bear fruit due to aid from Europe and North America, regional political and business leaders said.

Economists here estimate that over 50% of South Africa's foreign trade is "semi-clandestine" and say that Pretoria's cheap currency, the rand, gives the manufacturing industry an advantage in Africa and elsewhere. — Sapa-Reuter

CAF & Times 12/10/87

Kaunda calls for tough US action

WASHINGTON. — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has praised President Ronald Reagan's administration for its commitment to ending apartheid in South Africa, but has urged Americans to press Mr Reagan to take even tougher action.

"Look what's happening now in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, indeed Namibia," he said. "You can tell that we are on the verge of a major explosion."

The only chance for averting a bloodbath in the entire region, he told a weekend news conference, was tougher mandatory economic sanctions against the South African government, a move opposed by the US administration.

The two presidents agreed on principles concerning Southern Africa during their two-hour White House meeting on Thursday, Dr Kaunda said. But they recognized that their "positions were at issue in terms of implementation".

The African leader criticized the Reagan administration in a speech later on Friday at the University of Maryland's Eastern Shore Campus, where he was awarded an honorary doctorate.

"In the last seven years since the Reagan administration came into office, this nation has been pursuing . . . policies which have made South Africa a more belligerent and intransigent nation, flouting world opinion and destabilizing frontline states," he said.

"I hope you will press upon your senators and House of Representatives members to bring pressure on the Reagan administration to change its policies toward South Africa and Southern Africa."

— Sapa-AP

UCT honours first Shawco chairman Dr Golda Selzer

Medical Reporter

AGWS 14/10/87
THE University of Cape Town has conferred an honorary doctorate on Dr Golda Selzer, one of the co-founders of Shawco.

The honorary doctorate in medicine was conferred at a private ceremony by Vice-Chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders as she is unable to be present at the university's graduation ceremony in December.

Dr Selzer graduated as a doctor from UCT in 1932.

FIRST SHAWCO CHAIRMAN

She was one of the co-founders of the student-run medical clinics begun in 1943, which eventually amalgamated in 1954 to become Shawco, the UCT Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation. She was its first chairman.

A pathologist, she began virus research in 1946 in a newly-established unit at UCT. In 1967, she was elected to a UCT fellowship. She retired in 1971 to Israel.



HONORARY DOCTOR: Dr Stuart Saunders confers an honorary doctorate in medicine on Dr Golda Selzer.

3/day 15/10/87



"AND TURNING TO SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA . . ."

The skeletons in the ¹ Commonwealth cupboard . . .

MARTYN HARRIS of the London Daily Telegraph reviews a new Amnesty report causing embarrassment in Vancouver

COMMONWEALTH conferences in the past few years have had only one real subject — sanctions against South Africa — with Britain against them and almost everywhere else in favour.

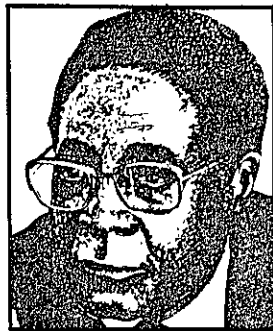
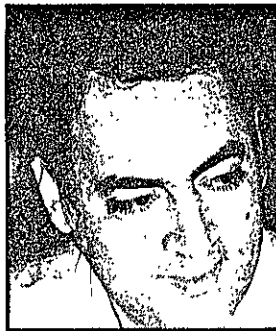
So determined are anti-apartheid campaigners to air their views this year that they have set up a fringe conference in Vancouver — The Parallel Commonwealth Conference — which will be addressed by, among others, President Kaunda of Zambia.

Embarrassingly for Kaunda and others devoted to human rights in other people's countries, the Canadian branch of Amnesty International has produced a report to coincide with the conference, detailing the human rights violations of no fewer than 33 of the 49 members of the Commonwealth — including Zambia itself.

This was not difficult for Amnesty, which, as well as defending political prisoners, is opposed to capital punishment in principle. As only 28 countries in the world have abolished the death sentence, even countries with very good human rights records, such as Barbados, achieve an Amnesty entry.

Nevertheless, some of the Commonwealth's most vocal critics of SA come out pretty dismally.

In India, whose Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has led the sanctions campaign, Amnesty criticises the



□ THE ACCUSERS ACCUSED . . . Rajiv Gandhi, Robert Mugabe and Kenneth Kaunda

detention of hundreds of political prisoners under "anti-terrorist" legislation, the alleged torture of detainees and the reports of extrajudicial killing of opposition groups and peasants in "encounters" staged by the police.

In Zimbabwe, Amnesty is concerned with "the detention of political opponents of the government, including prisoners of conscience, and the torture of prisoners in the custody of the Central Intelligence Organisation".

In August last year, Robert Mugabe's government declared that Amnesty itself was "an enemy of Zimbabwe" and that anyone who supplied it with information would be detained.

In Zambia, where no political parties are permitted other than

the governing United National Independence Party, Amnesty criticises the Kaunda regime for detaining political opponents without trial, for the detention, torture and sexual abuse of South African nationals by police and for the use of the death sentence for political offences.

One could go on and on: the persecution of Chittagong Hill tribes in Bangladesh; the wave of executions without judicial appeal in Nigeria; the starving of prisoners in Sierra Leone.

The only major Commonwealth nations that do not appear in the report are Australia and Canada itself.

Britain is criticised for what Amnesty sees as the inadequate investigation of the alleged "shoot and kill" policy in Ulster, the alleged mistreatment of prisoners in Northern Ireland jails and the use of strip searches to harass women prisoners.

These various claims are acutely embarrassing for an organisation which likes to pride itself on its lofty political ideals. The Commonwealth is not a federation — there are no rigid contractual obligations such as those which bind the United Nations.

All a member of the Commonwealth has to do to be a member is subscribe to the ideals of the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles (1971), which says "We believe in the liberty of the individual, in

equal rights for all citizens, regardless of race, colour, creed, or political belief, and in the inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which they live."

Following the atrocities of Idi Amin's Uganda, Gambia called for the Commonwealth to set up its own version of the European Court of Human Rights, but so jealous were Commonwealth members of their sovereign rights that the proposal was eventually watered down to a two-man "advisory" desk at the Commonwealth Secretariat.

In April of this year, a Cumberland House conference in London called for a non-governmental Human Rights Commission on the lines of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

A further conference is due to take place in London once the Vancouver Heads of Government meeting is over, though any commission which does emerge seems unlikely to exercise any more real influence than the EPG.

The Commonwealth, in short, is defined more by its lofty political ideals than by its institutions. The Amnesty report exposes the reality behind some of those ideals, but the Commonwealth still shows no likelihood of developing the political will and the institutions to do anything about them.

Bangladesh

Biafra

Ethiopia

Look at the facts.

The disasters shouldn't have happened in these countries. After all, they had good subsistence economies. Then development reduced the death rate. But not the birth rate. And the population started to outstrip available resources.

The governments had to import food. The economies slowly crumbled. And food riots, labour unrest and political turmoil took over.

South Africa?

Are you sure it can't happen here?

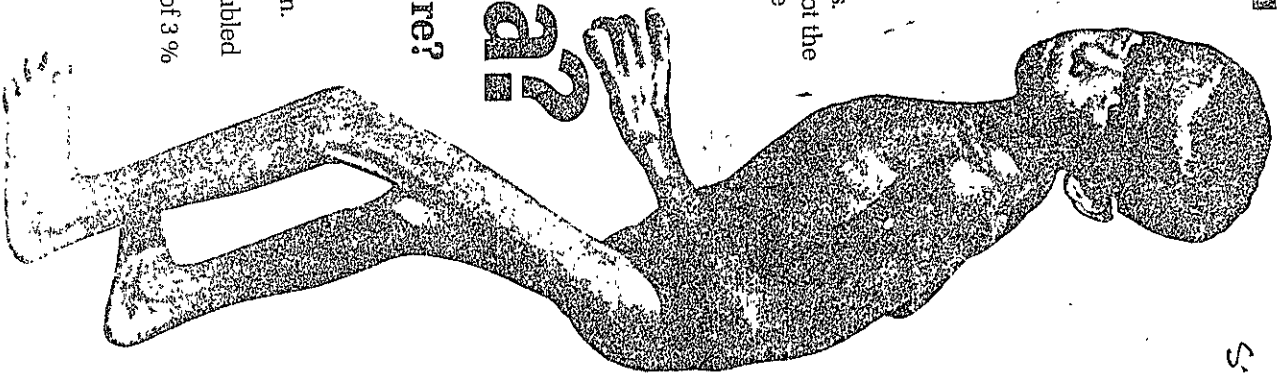
Of course South Africa is the richest country in Africa. And the most advanced.

But will we stay that way?

We too face a serious population growth problem.

So that in just 13 years (when a child born today becomes a teenager) our population will have almost doubled to 47 million.

And even if we attain an economic growth rate of 3% per year, 8 million of these will be unemployed by the year 2000.



S. Turner
11/11/81



Even more will be homeless. And hungry. And angry. Sound familiar?

Can a South African disaster be averted?

Yes. But we must act together before it's too late. It won't be easy. Worldwide experience

shows that threats and promises do not reduce the birth rate.

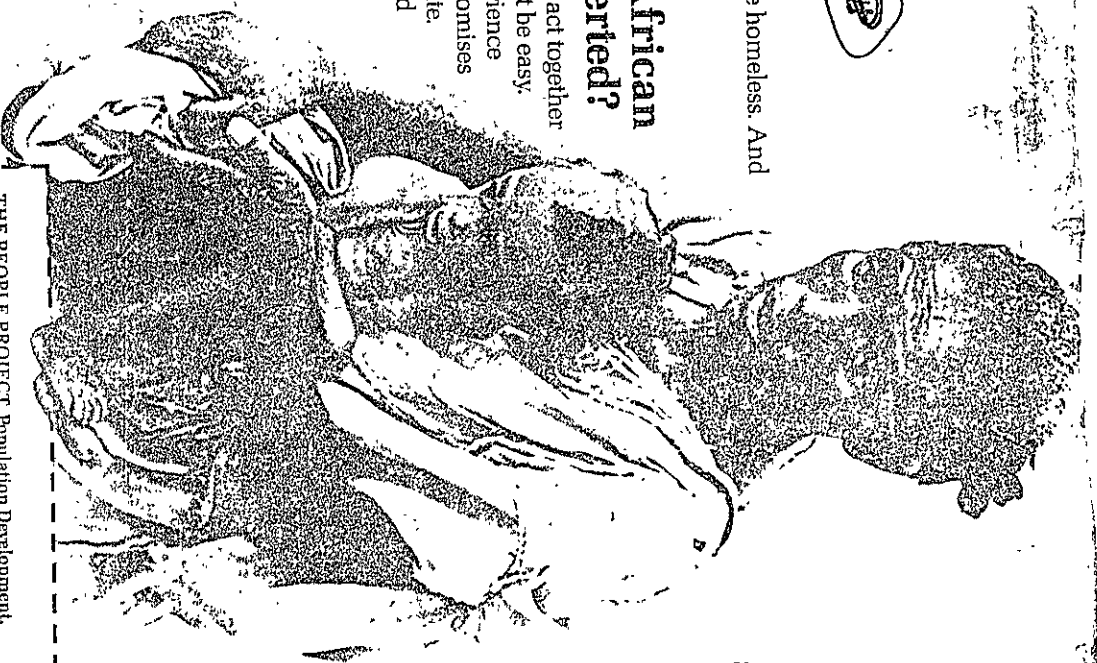
What does, is an improved standard of living.

This is what we must work towards.

We are the last generation who can.

What can you do?

Contact us without delay for your free copy of "POPULATION GROWTH: SOUTH AFRICA'S TICKING TIME BOMB". And find out what role you can play in making sure it doesn't happen here.



THE PEOPLE PROJECT

It's in your hands

THE PEOPLE PROJECT, Population Development, Private Bag X63, Pretoria, 0001. Telex number 321366. I understand the need to improve the standard of living of South Africa's people. Please let me know what role I can play.

Name _____
Company/Other Institution _____
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Code _____ Date _____
Signature _____

A man whose intellect shaped the movement

RARE — Whereas Oliver Tambo was the meticulous organiser who could hold together the African National Congress's "broad church" and Nelson Mandela was the bulldozing action-man, Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki were the intellectual and theoretical luminaries of the ANC in the 1950s and 1960s.

This is a characterisation of the ANC leadership at that time often heard from exiles.

Mr Mbeki is generally identified with the hard left of the ANC and is believed to be a long-standing member of the outlawed South African Communist Party as well as its predecessor, the Communist Party of South Africa. Those who have known him during his years of imprisonment on Robben Island say there is no likelihood that he will have altered his commitment to the ANC's armed struggle.

It is known Mr Mbeki sought the ANC's guidance on all aspects of his release.

But the Government can afford to ignore his views about armed struggle as he is unlikely to be able to play any significant activist role.

For exiles the most intriguing aspect of Mr Mbeki's release is that it will provide the Government with a testing ground for the release of the big one: Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

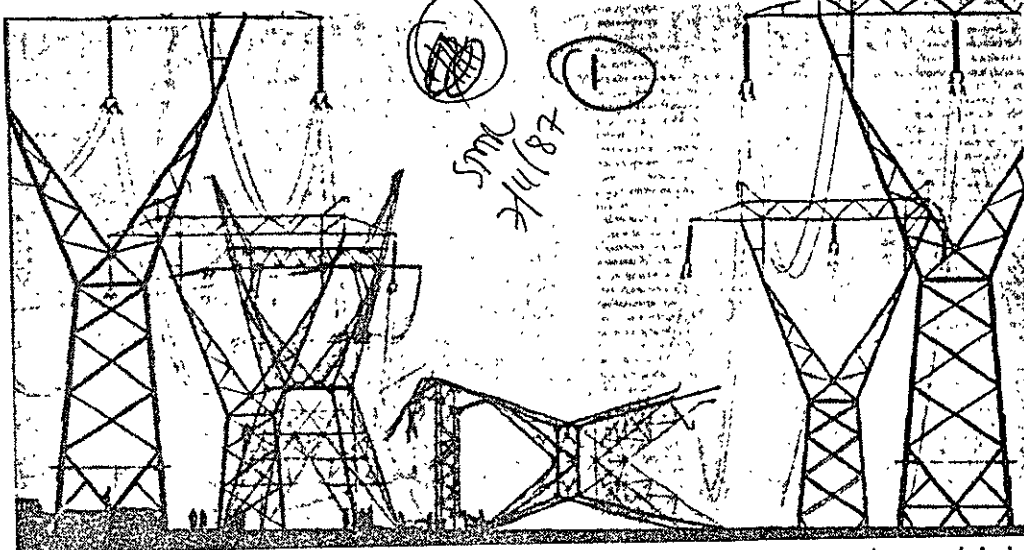
The ANC views Mr Mbeki's freedom as a vic-

Saturday Star Africa News Service

tory for its campaign for the release of political prisoners. The outlawed movement believes that, when all is said and done, the Government is freeing Mr Mbeki only to take the international heat off a bit. The organisation does not believe his release springs from any new-found humanitarianism in Pretoria.

Mandela's pre-eminence, dynamism and charisma have made him the main focus of the political prisoners campaign, but he has never been the sole intended beneficiary of it.

A warm welcome will await Mr Mbeki from the ANC. His memory commands reverence, he is sometimes referred to as



FLASHBACK: Powerlines sabotaged by Umkhonto we Sizwe after the ANC went underground. Incidents such as this formed the focal point of the Rivonia trial.



Mbeki, in disguise, at the time of his arrest... a far cry from the dignified man freed this week.

being "intellectually gifted", and a number of his young proteges have risen to prominence.

These include the highly popular Umkhonto we Sizwe commissar Mr Chris Hani and the ANC's chief representative in Tanzania, Mr Stanley Mabilela. In addition, Mr Govan Mbeki's one son, Thabo, has emerged as a key player in the ANC and a member of the national executive committee, its top political organ.

Mr Govan Mbeki was one of the pivots in the transformation of the ANC in the late 1940s and early 1950s from a somewhat passive body into a combative, campaigning organisation.

He was a key figure in strengthening the marriage of nationalist and working class constitu-

ties that stand at the heart of the ANC.

And later, with the ANC's banning in 1960, he was central in attempts to transform the ANC from a mass legal organisation into one employing the politics of conspiracy necessary in an underground situation.

In 1956, he was elected the ANC's national chairman and he also served on the Joint Committee of the Congress Alliance, which brought together the ANC, South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organisation and the (white) Congress of Democrats. At the time of his arrest in June 1963 at Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, he was secretary of the high command of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Born at Ngqamakwe in

the Transkei in 1910, he was educated at Healdtown and Fort Hare, getting both a BA and diploma in education and, later, a B.Econ through Unisa. He involved himself in politics in the Transkei, becoming chief organiser of the Transkei Organised Bodies, which co-ordinated a number of African organisations.

He joined the ANC in 1935 and, in succeeding years, played an important role in building the ANC branch in the Eastern Cape into its most effective of any in the country — the results of which are still evident today. In 1943, he was among the leading ANC and Communist Party members to produce "African Claims", subsequently adopted as a basic policy document of the ANC.

When he was dismissed for political activities shortly after taking up a teaching post in Ladysmith, Natal in 1954, he returned to Port Elizabeth to become local editor of the leftwing newspapers, "New Age" and "Spark" until they were banned, and continued organising for the ANC in the region. Among those Mr Mbeki was ordering around at this time was King Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembu tribe.

After the Sharpeville shootings, Mr Mbeki was among the thousands detained, spending five months behind bars. After Umkhonto we Sizwe announced its birth on December 16 1961 with a spate of bombings, he was among those arrested. But the State did not succeed in getting a conviction under the Ex-

plosives Act and he was released.

During these periods of imprisonment he wrote much of the manuscript, later published as "The Peasants Revolt", which dealt with the uprising in Pondoland in 1960. Parts of it were written on toilet paper smuggled out of his cell. He also authored a second book, "The Transkei in the Making". Rather than tolerate the house-arrest order imposed on him in 1963, he moved underground at the behest of the ANC national executive and then, after his capture at Rivonia, was sentenced to life imprisonment with Mandela, Sisulu and five others. The charges were attempting to overthrow the state by violent revolution.

In 1970, he gained an honours degree in eco-

nomics through study whilst in prison. And, in 1978, the University of Amsterdam awarded him an honorary doctorate and established the Govan Mbeki Foundation. In 1981, the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) awarded Mr Mbeki the Julius Fucik medal, named after an East European communist journalist brutally tortured and then murdered by the Nazis.

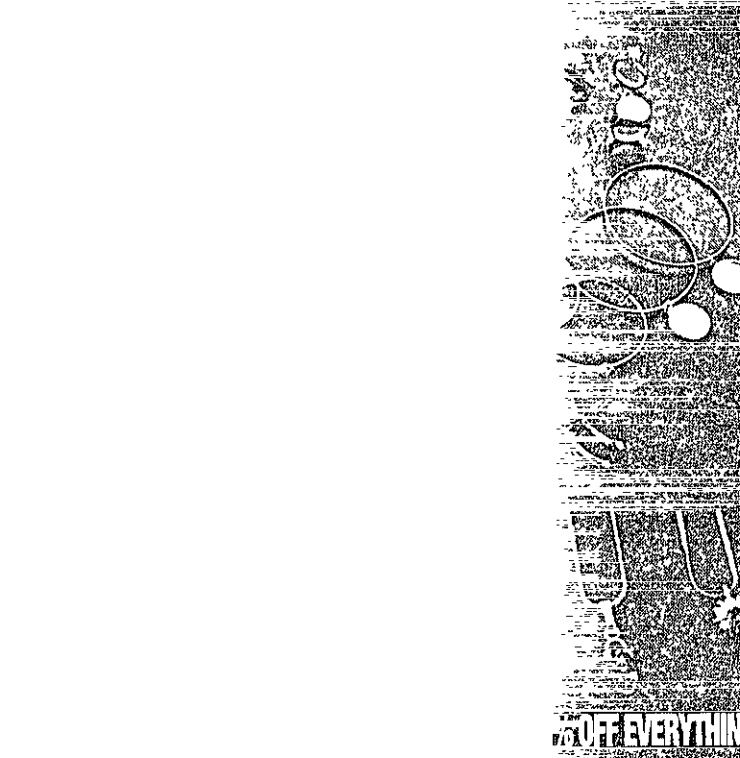
ANC spokesman Mr Victor Moché is reported to have said in a radio interview monitored in London that he foresaw an active role for Mr Mbeki in the organisation following his release.

"Most certainly, yes," he said when asked about the possibility of an active role. "He will resume his leadership of the ANC."

FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER



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Everything



33 1/3%
FF
Everything

Govt's act can 'only promote peace'

The reaction to the release of Mr Govan Mbeki and four other political prisoners was generally welcomed in South Africa and around the world.

Zambia's Mr Daniel Lisulo, chairman of the political subcommittee of the ruling United National Independence Party central committee, said Zambia hoped the State President, Mr P W Botha, would go further and free other political prisoners.

While welcoming the releases, the Azanian Youth Congress said: "The black community accepts this supposedly bold action by the Government, but we are perturbed and disgusted by the release of the AWB members."

Lebowa's new Chief Minister, Mr Mogoboya Noko Nelson Ramodike, said: "I hope other prisoners, like Nelson Mandela will be released, so that everybody can participate in drawing up a

constitution for one South Africa."

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said it was "proof the Government had capitulated to the ANC and the Communist Party".

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said: "The release of a leader who challengingly says he is still a Communist, supports the ANC, and does not forswear violence is not an act of compassion, rather one of repudiation of our sons on the border."

United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) president Mr Tom Boya said no political dispensation or forum — including the National Council — would get off the ground unless it had been "negotiated" with "national heroes" like Mbeki, Mandela and Sisulu.

The Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said: "This conciliatory move will undoubtedly indicate not only to all South Africans but to the international community a willingness on the part of the Government to make a real move towards negotiated reform."

The president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Dr Khoza Mgojo, said the government's "statesmanlike act" could "only promote goodwill and peace in our land".

Mrs Rebecca Matsobane said the release of her husband, Pan Africanist Congress member Mr Sello Matsobane, would end years of loneliness.

The right wing International Freedom Foundation's Southern African director, Mr Russell Crystal, said: "If Mr Mbeki takes this opportunity to renounce violence and engage in peaceful ne-

gotiations with the Government, we will have come a long way towards real and lasting reform."

The British government said it "wholeheartedly welcomed" the release.

In British Press reaction, *The Independent* said the Government had moved decisively to break the logjam in apartheid politics. The release was interpreted as the first step in a new approach that might lead to freedom for Mandela.

The Financial Times said the release was "widely seen as a test of the likely reaction within the black community and among right-wing whites before the possible release of Mandela and leaders of other organisations".

The Guardian said the releases would inevitably give rise to further speculation that Mandela and others may be released in the coming months.

Times have changed since the Rivonia trial

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

CAPE TOWN — It was the swinging Sixties. Back in 1964 the Beatles were conquering the pop world, England was two years away from winning the soccer World Cup — and in South Africa eight men were appearing in the sensational Rivonia treason trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Accused number four was journalist Govan Archibald Mbeki, then 54, who was released last night after serving 23 years of a life sentence on Robben Island.

The world Mbeki left then is vastly different from the world he returned to on Thursday, white-haired and now a venerable 77.

It will take him some time to adjust to the 1980s.

Life was cheaper, different and more laid back in 1964 according to dusty, yellowing newspapers in The Star archives.

On June 12 1964 The Star reported in banner headlines on the front page that the Rivonia treason trialists had been sentenced to life imprisonment.

On the same day the Select Committee on Coinage recommended that the ticky — worth 2½c — should remain in circulation and that a new gold coin, the Trojan, be struck. The ticky has since disappeared. So has the ½c coin. The Trojan never saw the light of day and the Krugerrand is still going strong.

Milk was sold for an unbelievable 6c a pint over the counter, and home deliveries cost

6½c a pint.

The newspaper advertisements of those times are enough to make a grown man cry. Amid stock market crashes, the seemingly constant dwindling of the buying power of the rand, it is heartbreaking to note that in 1964 furniture stores offered a three-piece lounge suite for R128,50 cash or R1,29 weekly.

Remember those good times? Clothes were marvellously cheap. Anyone with R10,25 in his pocket could buy a three-piece men's suit or a dress from R4,50.

The Fab Four from Liverpool never toured South Africa, but their South African fans could buy Beatles sweaters and dresses, and a Beatles seven-single cost you 79c.

Petty apartheid was still rife and more noticeable than it is today. Benches with "Whites Only — Slegs vir Blankes" were everywhere.

Best-selling author Wilbur Smith had just written his first best-seller. "When the Lion Feeds" was one of the five most popular books (fiction), according to leading booksellers.

Another was John le Carre's spy classic, "The Spy Who Came In From The Cold". Richard Burton, now two years dead, had no idea then that he would play the lead in the movie version of the novel.

On the day the Rivonia plotters were arrested — July 11 1963 — His Majesty's theatre, celebrating its 50th anniversary, was showing "Lawrence of Arabia" introducing a young virtual "unknown" named Peter O'Toole.

"Pyjama Tops" was at the Brooke Theatre and at another Johannesburg cinema Elvis Presley was starring in "It Happened at the World's Fair".

Jazz musician Chris McGregor — he was no veteran then — and his Blue Notes played their farewell concert at the Weizmann Hall, Sea Point, while Jean Rockwell, the Falcons, and the Flames played at a concert at the Luxurama Theatre in Wynberg. Tickets were 50c for adults and 35c for children.

Newspaper subscribers could have the paper delivered at their homes — including Saturdays — for R3,04 for three months, R6 for six months and R12 for a year's subscription.

Newspapers, following the official line, called a coloured a coloured, a black a native and a white a white.

The Right Reverend Selby Taylor (54), formerly Bishop of Grahamstown, was elected head of the Anglican Church in South Africa.

On the international front, France established links with Communist China, Mr Lyndon Johnson was president of the United States, and the Cuban leader Fidel Castro visited the Soviet Union.

TUNISIA

Retirement plan

Africa is accustomed to coups, but not to the kind of coup that has just taken place in Tunisia. Never before has someone walked into a presidential palace, served a medical



Ex-president Bourguiba in tow ...
a firm shove from office

certificate on the president notifying him of his senility and inability to govern, and then quietly packed him off to his country residence to spend the rest of his years receiving only "authorised visitors," reading newspapers, watching television and reciting poetry. And all without firing a shot.

Tanks ringed the palace for two days, but that was all that was needed.

President Habib Bourguiba had ruled Tunisia since independence in 1956. Latterly, his physical ailments had increased, and when he returned from his summer holidays his mental condition seemed to deteriorate rapidly. At times he was incoherent and his decisions were becoming increasingly capricious. On several occasions different people were appointed to the same government post

— at one stage there were two ambassadors at the UN and on another occasion his new Minister of Culture lasted exactly 30 minutes.

The breaking point came when Bourguiba clamped down on the Islamic fundamentalists in Tunisia. He wanted tougher sentences on them and was preparing a show trial (which has now been postponed). His worried colleagues decided the time had come for him to go. The new regime, under Zine el Abidine Ben-Ali, has announced a liberalisation programme: the fundamentalists will be allowed to form legal parties and there will be greater press freedom. Foreign policy will not change and the French-educated Ben-Ali will retain the country's close links with France and the US. But there are economic problems — unemployment and falling living standards — which will have to be tackled. The last elections were held in November last year (boycotted by all the opposition parties) and Ben-Ali has given no hint that the next elections — due in 1991 — will be advanced to an earlier date. ■

20/11/87

D. J. ...

Devastation ahead for Ethiopia

ONLY two years after an estimated one million Ethiopians died during the drought of 1984/85, famine has struck again. And in London Bob Geldof, the power behind Band Aid, is planning to return to Ethiopia.

The rains fell late and for not long enough over the great expanses of the country in August and September and harvests have failed in the regions of Tigre, Eritrea, Wollo, Shoa and the highlands of Hararghe, where the majority of Ethiopia's 47 million people live.

Already, in parts of Eritrea and Tigre, hundreds of children have died from malnutrition-related diseases such as pneumonia, and others have begun to show signs of scurvy and blindness.

Tens of thousands of peasants have abandoned their barren farms and started the long walk towards emergency food centres.

This time round, the Ethiopians have not had time to build up reserves, either of grain in their homes or strength in their bodies. And the drought itself is worse than it was two years ago. Relief officials say the lives of five million people are in danger.

The tragedy is that, once again, politics has intruded into the work of saving lives. Early warning systems put in last year were sounding loudly as soon as it was clear that the August rains were late. The Ethiopian government appealed for 950 000 tonnes of relief food and more than a third of that has already been pledged. No doubt more will be promised. But while there is food in the Red Sea port of Massawa and in Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, relief agencies are afraid to move it.

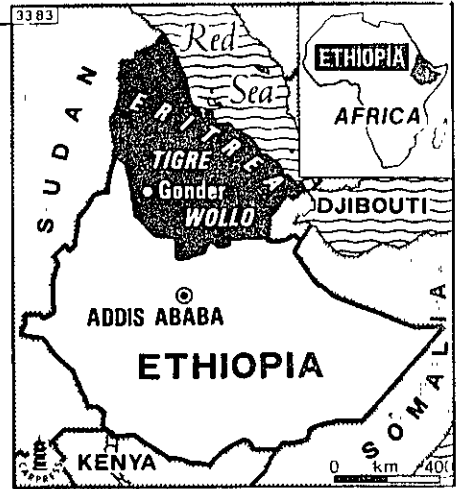
Relief convoy hijacked

On October 23, a United Nations relief convoy of 23 trucks, carrying 400 tonnes of grain from Asmara into Tigray, was hijacked by Eritrean rebels and set on fire. Earlier this month, another convoy was attacked and destroyed. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front, which has been fighting for Eritrean independence for more than 25 years, says it ambushed the convoys because they were being used for military purposes by the Ethiopian army.

Despairing relief officials deny the charge — but the threat of further EPLF attacks has massively reduced the flow of food from the coast into the drought-ridden areas of northern Ethiopia. "The consequences are catastrophic," said Mr David Morton, head of the World Food Programme in Addis Ababa.

Some food has been trucked through into the worst-hit areas, and the UN is trying to organize an emergency airlift, using Hercules transport aeroplanes. But these cost 300 000 a month merely to operate, and a whole fleet would be needed to match the amount of food trucks can carry.

Among the agencies providing food and money in recent days has been Band Aid, which with its records and Live Aid concert raised nearly \$140-million to combat the effects of the last famine. However, Bob Geldof's return to Ethiopia next Monday does not, as some reports have suggested, signal the launch of a new appeal by Band Aid. Any



As BOB GELDOLF returns to drought-stricken Africa, JEREMY GAVRON and HUGO DAVENPORT report on the famine that will not go away



VICTIMS OF FAMINE . . . An Ethiopian mother holds her severely malnourished child.

call to relieve the current famine will be on behalf of the Disasters Emergency Committee, a consortium of five major British agencies.

They include the British Red Cross, Christian Aid, the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (Cafod), Oxfam and Save the Children. A Red Cross representative said the agency was "in contact with Mr Geldof." She declined to say whether this meant that the singer would be asked to take a leading role.

The committee has to decide whether the gravity of the situation in Ethiopia warrants a full-scale money-raising exercise. It must also determine whether political and logistical problems within the country will enable them to deliver help where it is needed and it must persuade the IBA and BBC to provide free air time.

Band Aid actually stopped collecting money at the end of last year. It has since concentrated on long-term development projects, including a wide range of agricultural, re-forestation, sanitation and training programmes. The charity plans to wind down by the end of next year.

It still has some \$30-million remaining in its coffers and its director, Ms Penny Jenden, said Tuesday that the aim was to spend this on long-

term development, as well as providing a flexible response to immediate needs in Ethiopia. The charity has allocated almost \$4-million to the current emergency during the last three weeks.

It has also promised \$2-million to buy 20 trucks for the UN following the recent ambush — as soon as safe passage can be guaranteed.

Asked why all the money was not being put into immediate relief, Ms Penny Jenden said: "Even if the whole \$30-million was spent tomorrow, the total relief needs of Ethiopia wouldn't be met. It is important that the distribution of food does not interrupt the development activities which have been going on since the last famine."

She added that Band Aid would continue to pass money to other agencies, and was now working on programmes to provide milk powder and biscuits and supplement grain supplies donated by the UN and the EEC.

The tragic bad luck of failed rains is not the only reason for the looming famine. Ethiopia has developed into a state uniquely vulnerable to drought. Bad farming techniques and misguided government policies have devastated the country's agriculture. Few farmers use basic techniques such as contour ploughing. "Ethiopia was the first country in Africa to use the ox-drawn plough and little has changed since," said Mr Michael Priestley, head of the UN mission in Addis Ababa.

Collectivised villages

The Ethiopian Government has also practised over the last few years an agricultural policy that smacks of Stalinism. Millions of Ethiopians have been taken from their family farms, which they have built up over generations to survive the age-old variable climate, and moved to collectivised villages where there are few of the promised facilities. They have little chance to grow enough food to feed themselves.

These policies have also driven away despairing Western donors, such as Britain and America, which are not prepared to support a system they consider is destroying the country's agricultural base. According to the World Bank, Ethiopia receives less than \$4 a head of development aid a year, compared to an African average of \$12 a head.

Thousands are already sure to die. Only extraordinary measures can prevent the numbers rising into the tens and even hundreds of thousands.

Kaunda talks about foreign debt

Countries must 'ease Africa's growing burden'

LUSAKA — Dr Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), said yesterday he hoped Africa could unite to persuade the industrialised nations to ease its growing foreign debt burden and pay fair prices for its commodities.

Dr Kaunda said in an interview with Reuters that the continent, already struggling with poverty and drought, also had to contend with heavy debt payments and low prices for its commodity exports.

Speaking before leaving for a 10-day trip which will take him first to Moscow for a visit and then to Addis Ababa to attend an OAU summit on Africa's debt, Dr Kaunda said he hoped the OAU members could find a common platform to tackle the issue.

Commodity prices

He urged Africa's creditors to transform loans into grants or to abolish the loan interest and extend the repayment period.

"Such an approach would help to relieve our burden," he said.

Dr Kaunda noted that some countries like Canada and the Nordic states had already turned some of their loans into grants and he called on others to do the same to reduce Africa's estimated \$200-billion (about R400-billion) foreign debt.

Dr Kaunda strongly attacked the existing capitalist system in the West which he said placed speculation at the heart of the economy.

It was this which determined the prices for the Third World's commodity exports, he said.

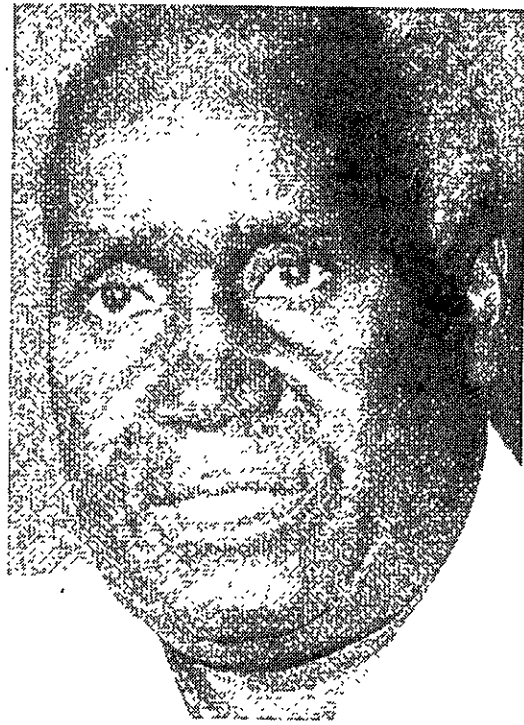
He said commodity prices should be established on the basis of costs of production and profit and that this should be negotiated between producers and consumers. The issue would also be raised at the summit, Dr Kaunda added.

Africa also urgently needed more investment to develop its technology, he said.

Sudan yesterday also called on creditors to write off foreign loans or agree to easy repayment terms in a new bid to tackle its \$11-billion (about R22-billion) debt burden and a growing threat of starvation.

Sudan's Finance Minister, Mr Beshir Omar, said in Khartoum that Sudan, which has been unable to meet debt repayments in full since the early 1980s, wanted all government-to-government loans cancelled.

Failing that, he told state radio, Sudan would demand it should be freed from paying interest or allowed to stretch repayments over longer periods on softer terms.



Dr Kenneth Kaunda . . . Africa has a heavy burden of debt.

Mr Omar said Sudan's decision to call for loan write-offs or reschedulings stemmed from problems caused by drought in 1984 to 1985 and the influx of nearly two million refugees.

Earlier this month relief workers said there was a threat of mass starvation next year and an estimated three million of Sudan's 23-million population would need emergency food aid.

Paris Club

Mr Omar called for a political effort to persuade Arab states to write off debts, but said loans to communist states should be rescheduled on terms similar to those hoped for with Western government creditors grouped in the so-called "Paris Club".

Western economists in Khartoum say 23 percent of Sudan's total foreign debt is owed to Paris Club members, while 15 percent is owed to commercial banks grouped in the "London Club".

Governments of Eastern bloc and Arab countries, not in the Paris Club, are owed 32 percent and most of the rest is owed to multilateral agencies. — Sapa-Reuter.

Ethiopia is starving again. The rains have failed in many districts and tens of thousands of people are condemned to death unless they get help.

Ethiopia's last televised famine, only two years ago, haunts the memory. Decent people in the rich democracies will want something done and their politicians will not wish to stand accused of callous indifference, for lack of a few shiploads of the surplus grain that the United States and the European Community want to give away. Amid self-congratulation and backbiting, the Ethiopians will probably get some of the help they need, in the wrong form and too late.

What will aid do? It will strengthen the dominion of Ethiopia's ignorant rulers. The weather is the only calamity not directly caused by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam and his cronies.

Their Russian advisers have taught them to run vast state farms that produce no food. Imitating Stalin's anti-kulak terror, they have shot "hoarders and saboteurs" prudent enough to store grain against a bad year and forbidden merchants and truck-owners to make profits by shifting food to dry districts from the lucky ones where it has rained.

Hopes spurned

They have driven out their relatively competent fellow-countrymen who ran the last aid effort, spurned the hopes of Ethiopia's ethnic regions and fostered civil war.

Free foreign food will further drive down the prices paid to farmers in the districts where it rained. Next time they will grow no more than their own household needs and take care not to keep stocks. Most Ethiopian villages are far from any road and can be reached only by mules, most of which have been eaten, or aircraft, which carry small loads at enormous cost.

Relief has to be handed out from central dumps in market towns and at crossroads. Dumped alongside will be the starving, the old, the very young and the pregnant women, while the fit men follow the brutal law of survival and stay with their land and their livestock.

The aid agencies know, and reluctantly exploit, the power of television images to jerk tears and cash. In the Biafra war of the late 1960s, so did both government and rebels. They used photographs of dying children to arouse anger against those they wished to blame. In Ethi-

Nightmare returns, and Ethiopia must be helped

1/20/85
78/11/85
A policy of providing food handouts in Africa for the indefinite future — a workhouse policy — would be wrong, argues *The Economist*. Yet at moments of vast desperation and many deaths, the world cannot pass by on the other side.



opia's capital now, and in the rebel provinces of the north, the death of the weak, the division of families, the spread of disease, have become weapons for winning friends and cursing enemies.

What if there were no free food, no camps, no dedicated nurses and improvising administrators from Stockholm or Salford or Strasbourg? Many poor people would die in scattered settlements, forgotten by the world. But mankind is a startlingly resilient species. People rooted in their own family places can defy outsiders' logic, survive and rebuild communities that the cargo-cult of aid would have destroyed.

Perhaps the strip of Africa from Ethiopia across the southern fringe

of the Sahara desert already holds more people than its fragile soil can sustain — its underground water drunk up, its grass and fuel-wood consumed. People helped to survive by aid may merely face a repeated calamity in the next dry year. The Ethiopian government thinks so, and wants to relocate the people of its arid districts to places that are potentially more fertile. But Western partners cannot join in a human experiment so brutally and incompetently enforced.

The arguments for doing nothing are therefore endless, and intolerable. Help for the starving may make some of them suffer more, and reinforce the grip of the government that caused them to starve. Yet something must be done.

The rich world's charitable outburst in 1985-86 saved fewer people than its promoters wished and did nothing to avert famine's recurrence. But the altruism of Mr Bob Geldof and others made unselfishness fashionable for a moment, even among politicians.

This proved useful as well as virtuous. It launched a campaign of public discussion that enlightened many leaders in the poor countries too. For a moment they reconsidered their knee-jerk denunciations of the selfish rich and opened their minds to reform of their own self-starving policies. Partly for that reason, economic enlightenment has crept across Africa, offering its peoples some chance to rescue themselves.

If Africa comes to expect to be fed, it will never feed itself. A policy of providing food into the indefinite future — a workhouse policy — would be wrong. Yet at moments of vast desperation and many deaths, the world cannot pass by on the other side. Ethiopia is the extreme case, and so must be faced. Even its benighted government will change its mind, or be thrown out, one day.

There are glimmers of hope, for those who seek hard, in Africa's other stricken countries — Sudan, Mozambique, for a start. But without a fight against famine, there will be fewer people to hope for.

Wentzel: people outstripping food in Africa

PRETORIA — Africa was the only region where food production per capita was decreasing while its population growth was accelerating Minister of Agriculture Greyling Wentzel said at the weekend.

Wentzel said the importation of staple foods to the continent seemed set to

reach 40-million tons a year by the end of the century.

It was unfortunate that barriers existed which prevented South Africa — which was improving its agricultural productivity — from contributing to the continent's agricultural production challenges. — Sapa.

blat



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Africa wants help on its debts as crops fail

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Leaders of 50 African countries with estimated foreign debts of more than R330 000-million have met in Addis Ababa to consider ways out of their plight, which threatens to get worse as crops fail and their export markets face recession.

The summit was told that it was up to the international community to take action to prevent Africa being forced "to choose between honouring its commitments and stopping payments".

There have been calls for a three-year moratorium on debt servicing and rescheduling terms of up to 50 years.

But most participants at the conference are unlikely to echo the frequent threats of Latin America's big borrowers to repudiate debts or impose repayment ceilings.

Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda, who proposed the special debt summit at this year's Organisation of African Unity meeting, appealed to Western creditors last week to turn loans into grants or to abolish interest.

Donor countries are unlikely to go as far as this, but the World Bank hoped to get about R6 000-million in pledges to subSaharan Africa at meetings in Paris this week.

Industrial nations will be asked to cofinance the World Bank's adjustment loans to "debt-distressed" African countries.

Britain has taken a leading role in seeking ways to relieve the debt burden of the poorest countries by proposing the conversion of aid into outright gifts, rescheduling debts over longer periods and reducing interest rates to below commercial levels. — Independent Foreign News Service.

Ethiopian children sing in face of famine

MRS + 8/11/85

WUKRO (Ethiopia) — Children sang as their parents sat quietly in the dusty haze of a northern Ethiopian plain waiting for food rations that aid workers fear could be their last before a major famine.

Drought has hit war-torn Tigray province for the second time in three years. But the smiling figures, some with their faces strangely blanched from carrying bags of flour, do not seem to share foreign aid workers' worst forebodings.

"Unless more grain gets through in two weeks, it could be a disaster here. People will leave their villages and they'll start dying like in 1983," said Mrs Claire Fresard, who heads the International Committee of the Red Cross relief programme in the area.

"They're so passive and obviously feel secure when they come to us. But we don't tell them we might not have any food to come back for the next time," Mrs Fresard told Irish



FAMINE THREAT: children wait for food as drought takes its toll.

rock star Bob Geldof.

Geldof, who organised the Band Aid campaign which raised \$140 million (about £280 million) for famine relief at the time of the 1985 famine in Ethiopia, has returned to the country to see the effects of renewed drought and crop failure.

The Wukro Distribution Centre is

set up for one week each month by the British-based charity, Oxfam, which then breaks camp and moves to other areas.

About 6 000 people a day arrive at the camp to pick up their monthly food supply. But any attempts to slay are headed off by aid workers who fear hungry peo-

ple will set up a permanent camp.

Military installations in the towering, yellow-grey mountains enveloping this dust bowl are a reminder that government troops are fighting a war against Tigrayan separatists.

Asked if rebel action to seal off roads was a major factor in slowing deliveries of food aid to about half of what is needed, Mrs Fresard smiled, and held out her hands in apparent affirmation.

Foreign aid officials must play a delicate diplomatic game in a country where food is power, retaining government support while coping with the realities of rebel control over major roads.

But not Geldof who has used his one-week visit to denounce the government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam and the rebels for blocking aid.

Jeldof's Band Aid charity, which raised money through a rock concert, appeals and a record, still has millions of dollars it could use to buy supplies for Ethiopia.

Mr Habtu Tewolde, the head of the government Relief and Rehabilitation Commission in nearby Mekele, appealed at a press conference for more aid to help about one million people needing everything from clothes to food and trucks to stay alive.

"The international community has responded much earlier than it did in 1985. The angels are coming," he said. "But if nothing improves significantly now, you know what is to be expected."

Mr Habtu denied there were any serious problems in keeping roads free from guerilla attacks by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front. But another Ethiopian official said privately that the road was sometimes closed for a week.

After a convoy of 23 United Nations trucks was attacked in October food distribution was suspended for several weeks.

Only kilometres away, 2 000 people swam to a giant earthwork dam that by April should irrigate land for 25 000. Thirty more dams are planned this year to fight the drought. — Sapa-Reuter.

SOUTH AFRICA is understandably sensitive to foreign states and outsiders making broad generalisations on the country's problems and proposing their own solutions.

But, in turn, one would expect the same sensitivity to be applied elsewhere, for, if South Africa is complex, so are other African states.

Two themes which are often raised when referring to Africa's predicament are worth exploring — the question of Africa's orientation towards socialism and the question of national integration.

Africa is often seen as a vulnerable and gullible continent, at the crossroads of the ideological war between East and West. But is it?

In Africa there is no united theory of what African socialism means, although one can discern certain features.

Regarding external contacts, Africa's historical and economic links are predominantly with the West.

Soviet foreign policy has tended to focus on aid and the decolonisation process. The Soviet Union has been the greatest supporter of Africa's liberation movements.

However, Eastern bloc/Soviet involvement has tended to follow only when Western support was not forthcoming.

Attempts to forge cultural and social links with Africa have as a rule been unsuccessful.

Many Africans have been educated in the East, but it has almost without exception been a second choice. Funds are much more forthcoming, but the lifestyle and conditions make it a lonely sojourn.

I ran into a Zimbabwean in the Night Bar of the Cosmos Hotel in Moscow who was studying at Moscow University.

He recounted an experience of being beaten up in the city for having a Russian girlfriend, and was drawing the parallel that he'd had a similar experience in Salisbury prior to independence.

Zimbabwe provides an interesting example of East and West. During the post-UDI period, an enormous

The question of African socialism and national integration

JOHN BLOOMFIELD, a Canadian economist with wide experience in Africa, takes up the cudgels in defence of black Africa — its problems, solutions and lessons

number of Zimbabweans were educated all over the world, as has happened to South Africans.

Upon returning after independence they found a distinct Western-education bias in recruitment for senior positions in the government and private sector. Those educated in the East did not receive the plum jobs.

On the question of the type of education received, part of the skills problem plaguing independent Africa today originates in the tradition of providing a generalist education for civil service positions.

Post-independent Africa witnessed an upsurge in career opportunities in a growing state apparatus. Power, job security, status, remuneration were identified with the state to the detriment of other existing and potential wealth-creating sectors of the economy.

The net result has often been a parasitic bureaucracy acting as a drain and dis-incentive to the productive sectors in the economy.

Reading the 1932 First

● Harald Pakendorf will be on holiday during December. His column will be resumed next year

power — with disputes over rules of the game and the allocation of rewards.

Where, then, do the main problems lie in political integration of African states?

There are a number of stumbling-blocks: tensions due to uneven development and acculturation; conflicts between a new Westernised élite and traditions and traditional leaders; tensions over the question of élite/mass integration and the role of foreign capital.

A neutral European presence tended to work in favour of the forces of stability, placing a premium on order and support for existing élites, whatever the cost in terms of popular political participation.

The response to the problems of national integration has ranged from the revolutionary one-party states like Guinea, which sought to cleanse itself of its past and impose a rigid new order on the people based on the perceived "classlessness of Africa", to the other end of the spectrum — South Africa's separate development.

In between there is a variety of pluralist states all aiming at some degree of assimilation.

Clear parallels exist between South Africa and the methods used by other African states to overcome the problem of national integration.

These include: indoctrination to transcend any regional, class or ethnic particularism; decisive and charismatic leadership; the prestige and authority of leaders used to submerge other tensions; balanced regional development; creation of past culture; a uniform language policy; the use of Press, mass media, the arts; and the use of external scapegoats to deflect internal problems.

South Africa is an integral part of Africa and has a critical part to play in assisting to develop the continent, particularly in the area of technical expertise and capital. This role is likely to escalate substantially in the future.

We must learn from, and about, Africa, wars and all.

Smuth

Famine stalks Africa again

NAIROBI — Only three years after Africa's great drought, rains have failed again and hunger once more stalks the world's poorest continent.

Villagers trek for days in Ethiopia to get foreign food handouts and children are already dying of diseases brought on by malnutrition, relief officials say.

There and elsewhere the landscape is devastated. Cattle have died, crops withered and rivers dried up. Relief workers are battling to stop the ranks of refugees growing.

Mortality

Irish pop star Bob Geldof, of Band Aid fame, is trying again to focus world attention on Ethiopia where five million people face starvation, and war-torn Mozambique where malnutrition and infant mortality rates among the world's highest.

But fears that Ethiopia's plight might not evoke the public concern shown in 1985 raise a question over how 18 other African nations facing food shortages might fare.

"Compassion fatigue is setting in," said Zia Rizvi, secretary-general of the Geneva-based independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, of Ethiopia's new plague.

"The second crisis has already started and it comes at a time when people are already sick of listening to horror stories in Ethiopia," he said last week.

Up to one million Ethiopians died in the 1984-85 famine, according to



THE children of hunger . . . Ethiopian children with bowls of food they were given by relief agencies.

FOCUS

estimates of the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef)

Relief agencies have identified 18 other African countries in need of food because of crop failure resulting from drought, locusts and war

Crops

Starting with Mauritania in the west, the drought belt, shaped like a question mark, stretches east across the continent to Somalia then south to Swaziland.

It sweeps through Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zaire, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana, gripped by drought for the sixth year in a row.

The Rome-based World Food Programme (WFP) said last month that 15 sub-Saharan countries needed 2.7 million tonnes of relief food. Foreign donors had then pledged only 1.3 million.

In West Africa, the nine Sahelian countries have grown 45 percent more food than in 1984 but 12 percent less than last year, leaving a 630 000 tonne shortfall.

Severity

Africa expects rain failure periodically. But what surprised experts was the way drought returned so quickly, and with such severity.

A World Bank report for the year ended last June 30 and published in September gave no hint of the problems then already looming in eastern and southern Africa.

"The end of the severe drought in most coun-

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Strife

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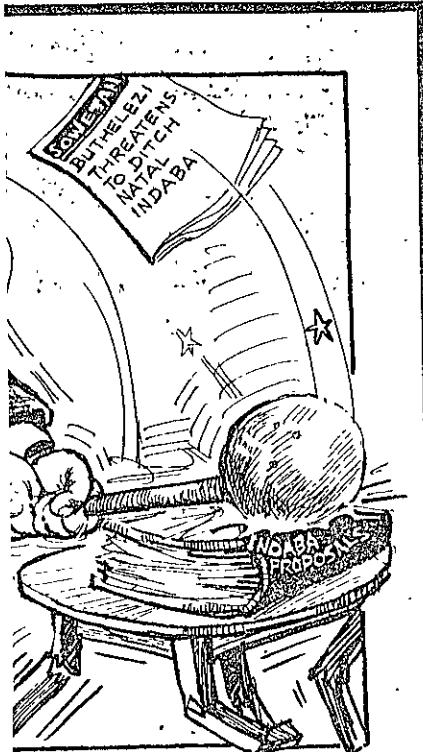
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The UN warned last month that sub-Saharan Africa would remain "trapped in a deteriorating spiral of poverty" unless by 1995 it could find some 700 million dollars it won't itself be able to afford for machinery, fertilisers, improved seeds and farm tools needed to grow its crops. — Sapa-Reuters



Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing headlines and posters by S Matibaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Land where the babies die first

Ethiopia's war: 5-m at risk in the second drought in five years

GARNER THOMSON

LONDON — This past growing season in Ethiopia, the rains were too sparse, and came too late. The country is dying once again.

Already in the provinces of Tigre and Eritrea, hundreds of children have perished, victims of malnutrition. Others are succumbing to scurvy, or slowly becoming blind.

Elsewhere, in Wollo, Shoa and the highlands of Hararaghe, the long, pitiless march in search of food has begun.

None of this is entirely unexpected. As long ago as August, relief agencies were warning that Ethiopia was about to be devastated by its second major drought in less than five years. The Ethiopian government estimated that about 950 000 tons of food were needed simply to stave off imminent disaster. This time, more than 5 million people are at risk.

The major relief agencies are there, battling against unimaginable odds to do what they can.

A succession of celebrities, including pop star and veteran fund-raiser Bob Geldof, has been shuttling back and forth in an effort to focus world attention on this hopelessly crippled region.

But, for many, the question has to be asked. After the death of more than one million people brought hundreds of millions of dollars worth of aid to Ethiopia in 1985, how can this have happened again? The answer — like most of what happens in Africa — is not simple.

The rains, of course, were vital to the recovery of the country. Their failure to appear on time and in sufficient quantities was a devastating blow. But, Ethiopia is a country uniquely vulnerable to drought — and much of what is happening even now makes it increasingly so.

First, its peasants have clung resolutely to outdated, and often frankly damaging, agricultural techniques.



THE DICTATOR: Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam.

But, added to this is a battery of government policies which, at best, are misguided, and, at worst, frankly disruptive, all of which further erode the situation.

Perhaps the most damaging official policy has been that of collectivisation. Thousands of peasant farmers are being resettled in communal areas where, theoretically at least, they may be better administered.

The process, however, is



ANOTHER CASUALTY: This mother's hands are helpless as she tries to keep her three-day-old infant alive, while the government spends 75 percent of the national budget on supporting the biggest army in Africa.

breaking up the traditional family farms, which evolved as a means of coping with the country's variable weather conditions.

And, on their arrival at the new sites, the farmers are all too often finding that few, if any, facilities exist.

This has had its effect on international aid, and several countries — not least Britain and the United States — refuse to bolster a system which is seen as effectively destroy-

ing the country's agricultural base.

As a result, Ethiopia struggles along on international aid of less than \$4 (about R2) a person a year, compared with an average of the rest of Africa of twice that amount.

Ironically, 90 percent of the aid that is given to this Marxist country comes from its ideological opponents, the West, whereas Moscow's assistance amounts to a \$4 billion (about R8 billion) credit for the

purchase of arms.

This money is duly spent on military hardware. The dictatorship of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam spends 75 percent of the national budget on supporting the biggest army in Africa.

A mere pittance is set aside for agricultural development or famine relief.

But, the spectre of famine is perceived in different ways by different interests. Both the Mengistu

regime and the Eritrean rebels regard food convoys as legitimate weapons, withholding permission to enter certain territories, or attacking them when they do.

Two convoys have been attacked in the past two months, and relief workers know with a chilling certainty that they are not the last.

The immediate losers in this cold-blooded game of manipulative strategy are, of course, the peasants in

the stricken provinces — but, in the eyes of both adversaries, there are plenty of those to go around.

At this very moment, thousands of tons of food and supplies are waiting in the port of Massana and the Eritrean capital of Asmara. The agencies need lorries and official co-operation to move these supplies, and they need the assistance of the rebels that they will be allowed to do so safely.

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Bob Geldof's transformation from Boomtown Rat to food aid saint (the knighthood was an optional extra) has proved a time-consuming, money-gobbling, nervously exhausting process.

Which makes his return to Ethiopia in the vanguard of the high-powered agitators for more immediate aid for starving Ethiopia an even more admirable event.

Geldof, as his friends are quick to confirm, is nobody's fool. "He has a colossal ego and more than a touch of blarney," says one. "He is really better as a personality than as a performer."

That is his present strength. His founding and tireless promotion of 1985's Band Aid and various related fund-raising charters was alternately praised and put down as a publicity gimmick to help his career.

But, if — as this is more than unlikely — it was the latter, it was singularly unsuccessful. Geldof's subsequent musical offerings have been awarded none of the adulation of his brilliantly produced, multi-star charity record, *Feed the World*. And, just to see him sloping, sloppy and unshaven, self-contained and almost incognito, around the streets of Chelsea where he lives, is almost to prove he wasn't in it for the money.

In fact, he still retains all the symptoms of a powerful religious conversion. Nothing fires him quite as much as starvation in Ethiopia; he has to all accounts virtually bankrupted himself in the cause, and he clings single-mindedly to a central belief — that the West still cannot sit back and watch it get worse.

And, like a conversion, Geldof can trace his decision to get involved to a single, dazzling moment, following a report on BBC

Bob still leads the endless fight against famine



SAINT BOB: Huge ego with lots of blarney

television on Ethiopia in 1984. "I sat there," he says, "feeling horrified, ashamed and disgusted. What could I do personally? Doing something with music seemed the logical area."

The famous Band Aid concert and *Feed the World* followed, then the international Run the World marathon. Since then, he has taken more of a back seat but remains active as a co-ordinator of several major charities.

His greatest gift to the world was not merely food for the starving, but the realisation that individuals can do something where their leaders fail them.

His present visit to Ethiopia is no pop star's tax deductible vac. He has trekked across the highlands of Gondar province, slept in family huts and spoken to the people about their plight. He has also spoken out fearlessly about the need for the Mengistu government to co-operate with the distribution of aid.

Whether he will be as successful as last time

has yet to be determined. There is no doubt he will try.

And if there is any doubt that he is still doing it for publicity, he certainly won't find that in Ethiopia.

Witness the local dignitary in a Tigre province who made a speech profusely thanking the pop star for all the aid he had organised. Throughout, he addressed Geldof as "Michael Jackson".

● INHAMINCA (Mozambique) — Geldof expressed shock after his arrival in Mozambique on Wednesday.

He was visiting the Red Cross reception centre at Inhaminga where he saw 800 starving people sitting silently in the shade of a line of trees on Thursday.

"My God, it's like Ethiopia all over again," he said. The 800 were the latest arrivals at the centre here which has been helping thousands of refugees for many months. Several of the children in the new group were clearly on the point of death.

Geldof said later: "It is particularly distressing to come here after Ethiopia. There, of course, there are political factors which aggravate the famine. But 80 percent of the problem there is the weather. Here weather is only five per cent of the problem."

"The real cause of all this is barbaric thuggery. To call those responsible 'bandits' is to grace them with more than they deserve."

It was his first visit to the war-torn, drought-stricken country where government officials estimate that some 4.5 million of the country's 14.5 million people are in need of foreign food assistance.

FAMINE IS STILL AFRICA'S NO 1 ENEMY AFTER GREAT DROUGHT

UPPER
12/12/87



Three years after ... civil war compounds Africa's famine problem.

ONLY three years after Africa's great drought, rains have failed again and, once more, hunger stalks the world's poorest continent.

Villagers trek for days in Ethiopia to get foreign food handouts and children are already dying of diseases brought on by malnutrition, relief officials say.

There and elsewhere the landscape is devastated, cattle have died, crops withered and rivers dried up. Relief workers are battling to stop the ranks of refugees growing.

Irish pop star Bob Geldof, of Band Aid fame, is trying again to focus world attention on Ethiopia where malnutrition and infant mortality rates are among the world's highest.

But fears that Ethiopia's plight might not evoke the public concern shown in 1985 raises a question over how 18 other African nations facing food shortages might fare.

"Compassion fatigue is setting in," said Zia Rizvi, secretary-general of the Geneva-based independent commission on international humanitarian issues, of Ethiopia's new plague.

"The second crisis has already started and it comes at a time when people are already sick of listening to horror stories about Ethiopia," he said last week.

Up to one million Ethiopians died in the 1984-85 famine, according to estimates of the United Nations Children's Fund.

Relief agencies have identified 18 other African countries in need of food because of crop failure resulting from drought, locusts and war.

Starting with Mauritania in the west, the drought belt, shaped like a question mark, stretches east across

the continent to Somalia, then bends south to Swaziland.

It sweeps throughout Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zaire, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana, gripped by drought for the sixth year in a row.

The Rome-based World Food Program said last month that 15 sub-Saharan countries needed 2.7-million tons of relief food. Foreign donors had pledged only 1.3-million.

In West Africa, the nine Sahelian countries have grown 45 percent more food than in 1984 but 12 percent less than last year, leaving a 630 000 tons shortfall.

Africa expects rain failure periodically. But what surprised experts was the way drought returned so quickly, and with such severity.

A World Bank report for the year ended last June 30 and published in September gave no hint of the problems then already looming in Eastern and Southern Africa.

"The end of the severe drought in most countries was followed by such a surge in food production that food shortages have become the exception rather than the rule," it observed.

Last month the WFP said conditions in sub-Saharan Africa had deteriorated so rapidly and unexpectedly that it was running short of emergency food stocks.

The lesson of the last drought - the need to improve watering systems and build adequate food reserves - had yet to bear fruit.

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But independent aid agencies may have to scratch harder for money this year as other countries like India, also hit by a punishing drought, compete for funds.

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Costly airlifts in three weeks, destroying 23 United Nations trucks carrying 450 tons of food in the first raid, and 32 vehicles in the second.

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The pain and suffering of a mother.

ern government participation, donors buy grain from countries with surplus crops to help others in need.

Yet no matter how well donors answer current emergency food needs, or what future rains are like, many of Africa's 600-million people face a long struggle for survival.

The UN warned last month that sub-Saharan Africa would remain "trapped in a deteriorating spiral of poverty" unless by 1995 it could find some R1.4-billion it won't itself be able to afford machinery, fertilisers, improved seeds and farm tools needed to grow its crops Sapa.

Has drought become Africa's normal lot?

A Reuter correspondent reports from Nairobi

① MAY 15/85

IN a grim year for African rainmakers, Uganda's Festo Kazarwa stamped his mark as a tragic over-achiever.

Enraged villagers beat him to death for, they said, causing torrential rains and hailstorms which devastated the Kabale district on Uganda's Southwestern border with Rwanda.

The widespread drought again this year in Africa, so soon after the Great Drought of 1984/85, and Kabale-type climatic upheavals worldwide, have weather experts searching for answers.

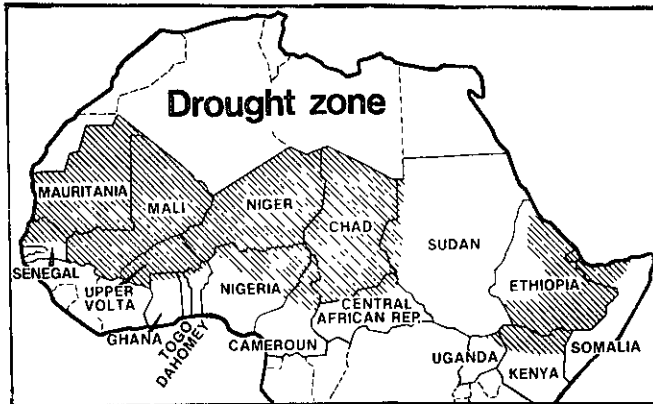
Peter Usher, a meteorological expert with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in Nairobi, says there are many possible reasons, including the "greenhouse effect."

"The greenhouse effect may be starting to operate. One of the manifestations of the green-house effect is the increased variability and larger extremes of weather.

Certainly the weather in a lot of the world recently has exhibited extremes," he said.

Industrial wastes are building up in the Earth's atmosphere, slowing the dispersal of heat into space threat of a global warm-up.

This is what scientists call the "greenhouse effect", which they say results in



greater evaporation and drier soils.

But Usher's UNEP colleague, physicist Monique Mainguet, and a top American Africa-watcher Michael Glantz, also link the drought to deep-rooted socio-economic deficiencies.

"The drought and famines that ravish Africa are not sudden natural disasters. They are not caused simply by a lack of rain," says Mainguet.

"In order to survive, African farmers have been forced to extract more and more resources out of the forests, soils and rivers.

Haemorrhage

"The result is a haemorrhage leading to continuous degradation of the continent's natural resources, plant cover, soils, water resources, animal life and climate," she adds.

Glantz, a social scientist who heads the Environmental and Societal Impacts Group at the National Centre for Atmospheric Research in Colorado, wants more attention paid to the socio-economic needs of Africa's fast growing population.

"As populations increase, they move into marginal areas, and the marginal areas are more drought-prone. They tend to want to grow the same things. Well they can't," he said.

"Instead of having one out of four year's drought, they're going to have two out of four years, then say: 'We're being screwed by Nature.' But they're not. It's bad planning."

Effectiveness

Glantz, during a stopover in Nairobi after a visit to Ethiopia, also questioned the effectiveness of early warning systems developed in Africa since the last drought.

Relief workers have identified 19 countries in need of food aid again, because of crop failure due to drought, locusts and war.

Starting with Mauritania in the West, the crescent-shaped drought belt stretches across to Somalia on the East coast then bends South through sub-Saharan Africa to Swaziland.

"One of the things we're concerned about are these early warning systems," he said, and laid part of the blame for their failure on the

agencies that operate them.

"They're all allies on one level, but on the other hand they've all got their intelligence networks and they don't really trust anybody else's information

"The public health people say nutrition, with, say, weight to height ratios for five-year-old children in the villages, is the most important indicator.

"Meteorologists say it's rainfall. The economists say its grain prices in the market. Other people say its migration," he said.

Predict

Satellite and remote sensing operations are now also used. But Usher said accurate early warning data did not guarantee an adequate response. "The ability to respond is so low."

He said it should have been possible to predict this year's drought months before it started — the inter-tropical convergence zone, a pressure belt which moves North and South causing seasonal rains, was obviously weak.

"It looked wrong, even during the end of last season when you had an enormous drought in India," he said. "It was a fairly easy bet that as the rains moved Southwards they would be unsatisfactory."

Both Usher and Glantz warned that, as in 1984 and 1985, the drought in Africa could repeat itself next year.

"There's a fair chance it's going to persist, and whether (this is) right or wrong, that's what people should be preparing for," declares Usher.

As famine once more closes in on the world's poorest country, **JEREMY GAVRON** in Addis Ababa argues that without the reform of rigid farming policies the blight will be perennial.

① Eric Mico
19/12/89



PRESIDENT MENGISTU:
People's lives second to national security.

Ethiopian drought: It's time to break the cycle of death

There are three immediate rea-

sons.

The first is that no-one predicted how badly the harvests would fail. In most of Tigre and Eritrea the fields are completely barren and crops have been seriously affected in Wollo, Gonder, Hararge and parts of northern Shoa.

Intruded

Peasants in the highlands say it is the worst harvest they have ever seen.

Secondly, war has intruded once again into the process of bringing food to hungry people. Spurred on by a new Ethiopian constitution that ignores their claims to self-government, separatist rebels in Eritrea and Tigre have begun major offensives.

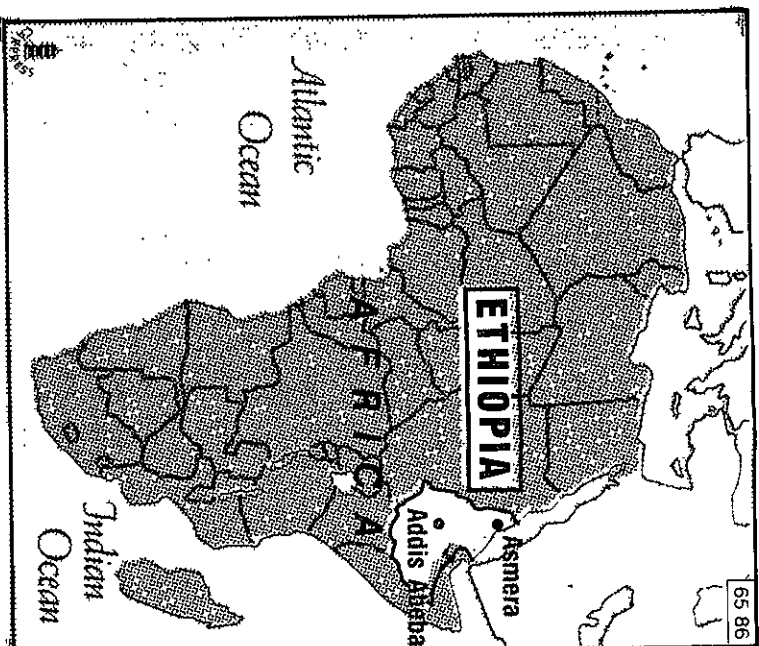
On October 23 the rebels blew up a UN food convoy in Eritrea and since then have repeatedly mined the roads and attacked towns such as Rama and Adigrat through which food convoys must pass to reach the drought-hit areas.

Partly true

In Tigre, relief agencies have hundreds of thousands of people to feed and are running out of grain. Relief officials, angry and frustrated, talk about "food weapons" and "using the drought for political advantage".

This is at least partly true. The Eritrean rebels have shown a callous hand and lost much of their sympathy worldwide.

Government troops have been



mostly on the defensive and Ethiopia's leaders, all ex-army men, put military matters before humanitarian ones.

The evidence is there: in the trouble three years ago that relief agencies had in getting food through the ports ahead of guns; in the refusal of the army to allow the "open roads, own risk" policy the United Nations and other agencies want; in the 17 brand new army trucks I saw drive empty past the distribution centre at Wukro while agencies are crying out for food.

To blame

I doubt that President Mengistu would deny that he puts the security of his lands before the lives of his people. For thousands of years the emperors of Abyssinia have done just that and, though he is now officially called president, Mengistu is just as much an emperor as Haile Selassie and the 220 or so emperors before him.

Yet history or no history, the government is to blame for the fate of the highland peasants.

The West itself is also not without blame. Western donors have not yet been as generous as relief agencies had hoped. Six weeks ago the UN asked for trucks; only 20 were forthcoming — and those from Bob Geldof's Band Aid.

European and North American countries have pledged nearly 300 000 tons of food for next year but it is not enough. And while the airlift has now begun, with four Western Hercules planes

and three Russian Antonovs, relief officials say that unless more planes come within a few weeks then the awful shelters, where thousand died of disease in 1984-85, will be seen again.

Guarantee

Ethiopia's maddening bureaucracy and suspicion of foreigners do not make it easy for donors to help. The sight of the world's poorest country spending money to keep up black Africa's biggest army is not the best way to encourage Washington, with budget cuts on its mind, to spend hundreds of millions of dollars.

But Europe and America, or Russia for that matter, could almost guarantee that drought in Ethiopia in 1987 does not become famine in 1988.

Europe and America — if not Russia, which gives guns but little food — will probably do just enough to prevent a repeat of 1984-85.

That will solve the short-term problems but will leave massive long-term ones. The rains have fallen over wide expanses of Ethiopia three times in the past four years and, ecologically, there is no reason to expect rain next year.

Hard farming

Ethiopia is more vulnerable to famine than any other country in the world — but it is not a hopeless case.

Ethiopia's agriculture is in a desperately poor state. Most Ethi-

opians live in the northern highlands where centuries of hard farming have eroded the soil on the flats and slopes where in many places it is only a few inches deep.

Only two percent of the peasants use improved seeds and only seven percent have ever spread fertiliser on their worn-out soil. As Michael Priestley, head of the UN emergency operation in Addis Ababa, is fond of saying: "Ethiopia was the first country in Africa to use the ox-drawn plough and not much has changed since."

At the same time, the government follows an agricultural policy modelled on the failed socialist farms of Eastern Europe in the 1950s. The peasants do not own their farms and are forced to sell any surplus at fixed low prices to the government.

As a result, they grow no more than they can eat so there is never any surplus to guard against drought.

Even the policies that everyone agrees are necessary, such as resettlement from the degraded highland areas to the empty, fertile lands of the west, have been carried out with such Stalin-like disregard for the individual that they have had little success.

While these policies persist, Western countries are not prepared to give any development aid. Ethiopia, the poorest country

in the world, gets less help from the developed world than any other nation.

Technology

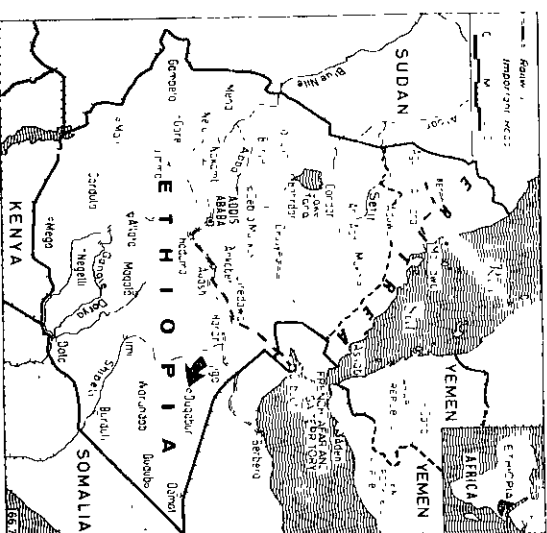
Even the Russians have advised the government that it should liberalize its farm policies. Such a move, plus aid from the West, would improve Ethiopia's farming considerably.

Trials over the last 15 years have shown that the use of pesticides, better seeds and fertiliser can double yields.

Unless Ethiopia encourages the farmer to produce more and the West to provide seed, fertiliser and green revolution technology there will be disaster year after year.

US Aid, the American aid agency, suggests that by 1990 Ethiopia will have a natural food shortfall of two million tonnes compared with an expected 1.2 million tonnes shortfall in drought-affected 1988.

If that is going to be the case then, as Rick Machmer of US Aid says: "I don't want to be around in 1990."



NORTHERN Ethiopia is one of the most desolate and beautiful areas on earth. Flying over its moonscape mountains, which stretch up into the clouds or fall from table top plateaux down thousands of feet of cliff-face to the river beds below, it is hard to believe that people can live here.

Yet almost 40 million peasant farmers inhabit these highlands. When the rains come, they harvest their wheat, beans and left but when the rains fail the earth cracks and turns to dust and the seeds refuse to grow.

It has become a cliché in Ethiopia to say that the weather makes drought while man makes famine.

It is also not quite true. For thousands of years, these highland peasants have lived by the rains and died in the droughts.

Difference

In the great famine of 1888-1892 one-third of the population of Ethiopia perished when drought and rinderpest swept the country.

Today, just as 100 years ago, it is a natural disaster that threatens the peasants, the difference being that man can now prevent the drought turning into famine.

This year also, unlike 1984, both the Ethiopian and international relief agencies saw it coming. By mid-August they all knew that another drought was inevitable and requests for almost a million tons of food were made to the world.

Why then, four months later, is Ethiopia still balanced on the edge of another famine?

The spectacular but barren highlands of northern Ethiopia are busy with movement on a scale seen only too recently. Despite the efforts to beat the famine of 1985-86, hundreds of thousands of peasants, their harvest a failure, have resumed their long marches for food.

The great cargo planes are back too, kicking up long plumes of dust from the gravel airstrip at nearby Mekelle as they bring grain to the feeding station at Asmera and for other centres in central Tigray. The supply line is stretched tight and in danger of breaking.

Neither planes nor marches should be needed to feed the 2-3 million people threatened with starvation in Tigray and neighbouring Eritrea since the July and August rains failed. But in the last three to four months rebels in both provinces have escalated their long-running war with the government and made some roads impassable for grain convoys. The relief effort, already short of trucks, has been forced to resort to expensive airlifts and has no means to carry food to remote villages.

Often disrupted

The problem is especially acute in central Tigray which, according to Mr David Morton, the country director for the United Nations' World Food Programme, is "feeding hand to mouth". The supply road into the region, which runs some 300 km south from warehouses in Asmera, is open up to 13 days a month and the average one-way trip takes up to five days.

But even that erratic schedule is frequently disrupted, notably by an attack on October 23 by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front that destroyed 23 trucks in a supply convoy. There have been no such attacks since, but the tenuous security of the road means most of central Tigray's grain is now shipped from

Asmara by C-130 Hercules and three Soviet Antonov transport planes. Four Hercules backed by Western funds are operating now.

The seven planes can carry up to 13,000 tons a month — more than the Mekelle region's requirement of about 8,500 tons a month. The surplus will build up stocks depleted while the relief effort relied on uncertain road shipments and awaited the late November advent of the airlift.

In the meantime the region's subsistence farmers have been pushed closer to starvation. Mr Hailu Taka

Rebels pose problems for food relief effort

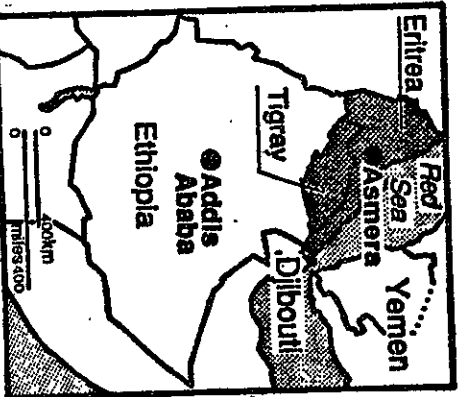
Roads have been made impassable, preventing supply trucks from reaching remote Ethiopian villages, reports Todd Shields of the Financial Times, London.

and his family of seven walked four hours to reach the Wukro feeding station, where about 6,000 people receive grain each day.

On a small plain surrounded by hills, a half-dozen stacks of 50 kg grain bags sat in a long row, with a distribution worker standing atop each pile. Peasant families massed on the far side of the piles, as groups of 10 to 15 were called forward to receive their ration.

Mr Hailu sat with his ration, waiting in the fading evening sun to begin the trip back home. He said his family last ate the day before and that he had sold his four oxen and 20 sheep to buy food. Animal prices had dropped as food became more scarce, he said.

Mass starvation has been avoided so far. Relief workers say malnutrition levels are about normal for this time of year and the families streaming into the distribution centres are animated. But officials in Addis Ababa warn of severe supply problems ahead, as food runs out in areas with less disastrous harvests. Eritrea suffered 100 percent crop failure and in Tigray 80 to 100 percent of the harvest was lost over most of the province.



The government estimates that 1.05 million tons of food is needed next year to feed 5.2 million people at risk in Eritrea, Tigray and other provinces — a figure most donors consider conservative — yet even the government estimate calls for distribution of more than 80,000 tons of food each month. It is a tall order that level was only reached during two months of the last massive relief effort which delivered 1.5 million tons of food in two years of concerted effort.

Ethiopia's primitive infrastructure is one problem — another is interruptions in the flow of supplies. Relief officials say they now have enough food pledged — 272,000 tons — to last until the end of April.

It takes about five months for food to arrive after being pledged, so more pledges must be made within weeks to avoid a break in supplies in late April or early May.

Disease danger

Should such a break occur, relief officials fear, peasants would walk to the distribution centres, find no food there and stay to await deliveries. That would re-create the massive camps of the 1984-85 famine, where communicable diseases raged, killing almost as many as did starvation.

"It's right on the edge," said Mr Frederick Machner, the head of Ethiopian operations for the US Agency for International Development, the relief arm of the US Government. "Things have to go very smoothly every day and every week to keep things from sliding."

AND JUST before the December sun-
set it had risen to 54°C. Immed-

of five CIA agents and Iranian
arms dealers

Shin His presidency virtually ends
in February when the primaries

staff has been found guilty of
perjury

American politics — The Daily
Telegraph

NORTHERN Ethiopia is one of the
most desolate and beautiful areas
on earth.

Flying over these moon-
scape mountains, which stretch up into
the clouds or fall from table-top
plateaux down thousands of
metres of cliff-face to the river
beds below, it is hard to believe
people can live here.

Yet almost 40-million peasant
farmers inhabit these highlands.
When the rains come, they harvest
their wheat, beans and teff. But
when the rains fail, the earth
cracks and turns to dust and the
seeds refuse to grow.

It has become a cliché in Ethio-
pia to say that the weather makes
drought while man makes famine.
It is also not quite true. For thou-
sands of years, these highland
peasants have lived by the rains
and died in the droughts. In the
great famine of 1888-1892, a third
of the population of Ethiopia per-
ished when drought and rinderpest
swept the country.

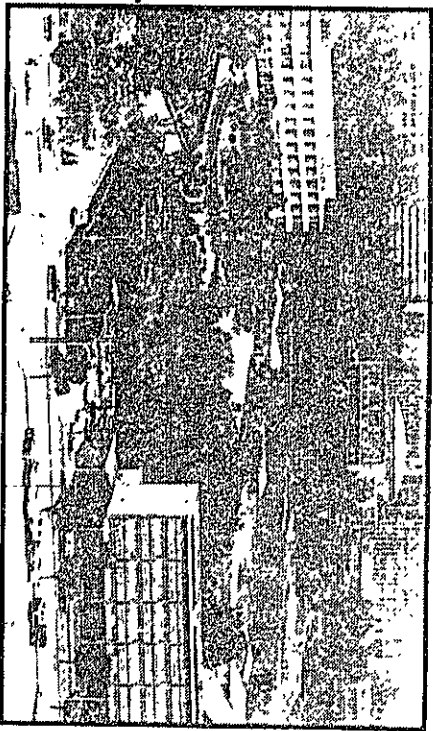
Today, just as 100 years later, it
is a natural disaster that threatens
the peasants, the difference being
that man can now prevent the
drought turning into famine.

This year also, unlike 1984, both
the Ethiopian and international re-
lief agencies saw it coming. By
mid-August, they all knew another
drought was inevitable and re-
quests for almost a million tons of
food were made to the world. Why
then, four months later, is Ethiopia
still balanced on the edge of an-
other famine?

There are three immediate rea-
sons. The first is that no-one pre-
dicted how badly the harvests
would fall. In most of Tigre and
Eritrea, the fields are completely
barren and crops have been seri-
ously affected in Wollo, Gonder,
Hararge and parts of northern
Shoa. Peasants in the highlands say
it is the worst harvest they have
ever seen.

Secondly, war has intruded once
again into the process of bringing
food to hungry people. Spurred on
by a new Ethiopian constitution
that ignores their claims to self-

Seasons of suffering for Ethiopians



□ A view of Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa

government, separatist rebels in
Eritrea and Tigre have begun
major offensives. On October 23,
the rebels blew up a UN food con-
voy in Eritrea and since then have
repeatedly mined the roads and at-
tacked towns like Rama and Ad-
grat, through which food convoys
must pass to reach the drought-hit
areas.

In Tigre, relief agencies have
hundreds of thousands of people to
feed and are running out of grain.
Relief officials, angry and frus-
trated, talk about "food weapons"
and "using the drought for political
advantage". This is at least partly
true. The Eritrean rebels have
shown a callous hand and lost
much of their sympathy world-
wide.

Government troops have been
mostly on the defensive and Ethio-
pia's leaders, all ex-army men, put
military matters before humani-
tarian ones. The evidence is there:
In the trouble three years ago that
relief agencies had in getting food
through the ports ahead of guns; in
the refusal of the army to allow the
"open roads, own risk" policy the
UN and other agencies want; in the
17 brand new army trucks I saw

drive empty past the distribution
centre at Wukro while agencies
are crying out for food.

I doubt that President Mengistu
would deny that he puts the secur-
ity of his lands before the lives of
his people. For thousands of years,
the emperors of Abyssinia have
done just that and though he is now
officially called president, Men-
gistu is just as much an emperor as
Haile Selassie and the 220 or so em-
perors before him.

Yet, history or no history, the
government is to blame for the
fate of the highland peasants.
The West itself is also not with-
out blame. Western donors have
not yet been as generous as relief
agencies had hoped. Six weeks ago
the UN asked for trucks, only 20
were forthcoming — and those
from Bob Geldof's Band Aid. Euro-
peans and North American coun-
tries have pledged nearly 300,000 t
of food for next year, but it is not
enough.

And while the airlift has now be-
gun, with four Western Hercules
planes and three Russian Anton-
ovs, relief officials say that unless
more planes come within a few

weeks, the awful shelters where
thousands died of disease in 1984-
85, will be seen again.

Ethiopia's maddening bureauc-
racy and suspicion of foreigners do
not make it easy for donors to help.
The sight of this land spending its
money to keep up black Africa's
biggest army is not the best way to
encourage Washington, with bud-
get cuts on its mind, to fork out
hundreds of millions of dollars.

But Europe and America,
Russia for that matter, could pre-
tly much guarantee that drought in
Ethiopia in 1987 does not become
famine in 1988.

Europe and America — if not
Russia, which gives guns but little
food — will probably do just
enough to prevent a repeat of 1984-
85. That will solve the short-term
problems but will leave massive
long-term ones. The rains have
failed over wide expanses of Ethio-
pia three times in the last four
years and, ecologically, there is no
reason to expect rain next year.

Ethiopia is more vulnerable to
famine than any other country in
the world — but it is not a hopeless
case.

Ethiopia's agriculture is in a
desperately poor state. Most Ethio-
pians live in the northern high-
lands, where centuries of hard
farming have eroded the soil on the
flats and slopes where in many
places it is only a few inches deep.
Only 2% of the peasants use im-
proved seeds and only 7% have
ever spread fertiliser on their
worn-out soil. As Michael Priest-
ley, head of the UN emergency
operation in Addis Ababa, is fond
of saying: "Ethiopia was the first
country in Africa to use the ox-
drawn plough and not much has
changed since."

At the same time, the Govern-

JEREMY GAVRON in Addis Ababa

ment follows an agricultural poli-
cy modelled on the failed socialist
farms of Eastern Europe in the
1950s. The peasants do not own
their farms and are forced to sell
any surpluses at fixed low prices to
the government.

As a result, they grow no more
than they can eat so there is never
any surplus to guard against
drought. Even the policies that ev-
eryone agrees are necessary, like
resettlement from the degraded
highland areas to the empty, fer-
tile lands of the west, have been
carried out with such Stalin-like
disregard for the individual that
they have had little success.

While these policies persist,
Western countries are not pre-
pared to give any development aid.
Ethiopia, the poorest country in
the world, gets less help from the
developed world than any other
nation.

Even the Russians have advised
the government it should liberalise
its farm policies. Such a move, plus
aid from the West, would improve
Ethiopia's farming considerably.
Trials over the last 15 years have
shown that the use of pesticide,
better seeds and fertiliser can
raise yields in the highlands by be-
tween 45% and 100%.

Unless Ethiopia encourages the
farmer to produce more and the
West to provide seed, fertiliser and
green revolution technology, there
will be disaster year after year.

US Aid, the American aid agen-
cy, suggests that by 1990 Ethiopia
will have a natural food shortfall
of 2-million tons, compared with
an expected 1.2-million-ton short-
fall in drought-affected 1988.

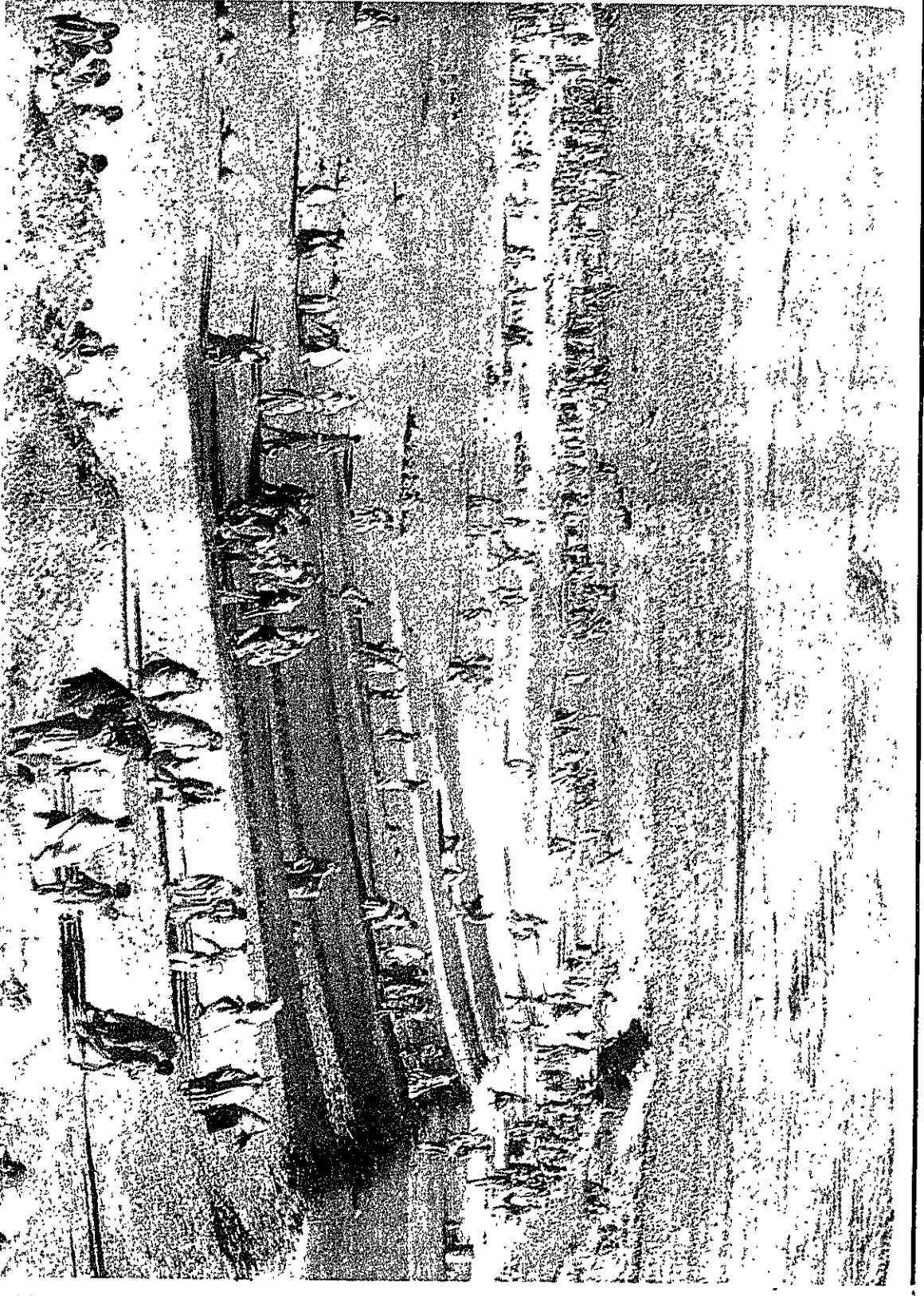
If that is going to be the case
then, as Rich Machmer of US Aid
says, "I don't want to be around in
1990."

9/10/87
31/10/87

Wide Page



Pictures: HUDSON/SYGMA



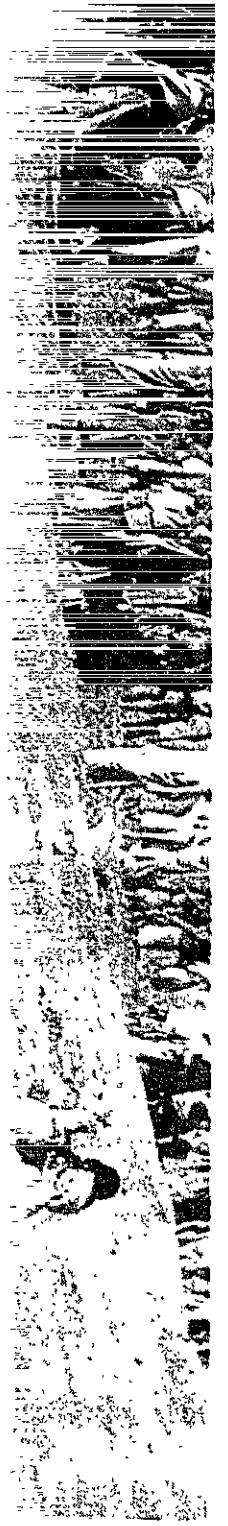
The government has launched a program to build 46 dams in drought-threatened northern Ethiopia.

In an effort to secure their agriculture-based livelihoods, peasants work on one of the dams.

ETHIOPIA AND THAT GOOD FORTUNE

FAMINE is increasingly becoming a synonym for Ethiopia — the country once again faces the possibility of a drought of similar proportions to its last disaster. Historians estimate that local droughts in Ethiopia can be expected each year, regional droughts every three to four years, and widespread drought every eight to 10 years.

Ethiopia's famine and drought history dates back to 253 BC. Since the...



23:3 BC. Since then, historians have counted 23 major drought and famine disasters each time affecting more areas and more people.

After all this time, a solution ought to have been found to the recurring problem. But even as this article was being written, relief agencies were warning that the current famine looming over the country was as alarming as the last one in 1984-85. Over a million people died in those years.

By the end of last year, thousands of people in the north of the country had already abandoned their homes in search of food as the drought in the region worsened.

Relief agencies have warned that unless a major airlift of food was immediately started, hundreds of thousands of people were going to face starvation. "If no food arrives within a week, picks and shovels should be sent instead to bury the dead," said one relief worker.

According to estimates, at least five large transport planes were needed to cart food and other relief items to difficult and inaccessible areas of the seven most affected places - Eritrea, Tigre, Wollo, Shoa, Arussi, Gondar and Hararge. Some 70 percent of the country's 42-million population live in these areas.

Conservative estimates put the drought-stricken figure at five-million people. However, there are fears that the number could jump to about seven-million.

Fortunately, latest reports say a major operation is underway to feed 70 000 affected people.

What is intriguing is why the international community did not react quickly and positively to repeated appeals made in August by relief organisations, and in September by the Ethiopian government, for food aid.

The government appealed for 950 000 metric tons of grain to make up for the shortfall in local production. All it got was pledges from donor countries.

That figure, however, would not have been enough.

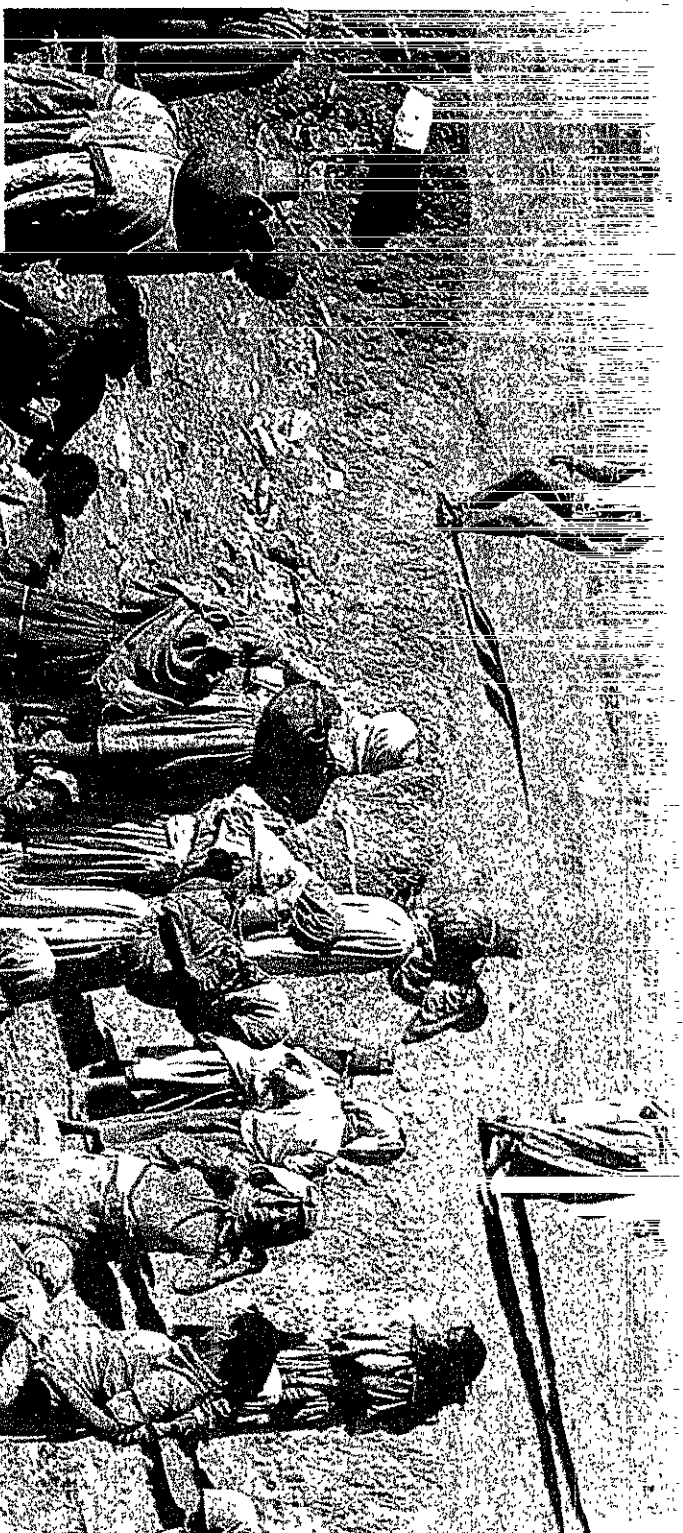
The annual food requirement for the country, according to Ethiopia's Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, is 105-million metric tons.

International donors have pledged only 200 000 metric tons. The RRC itself has 90 000 metric tons, out of which 46 000 have already been consumed.

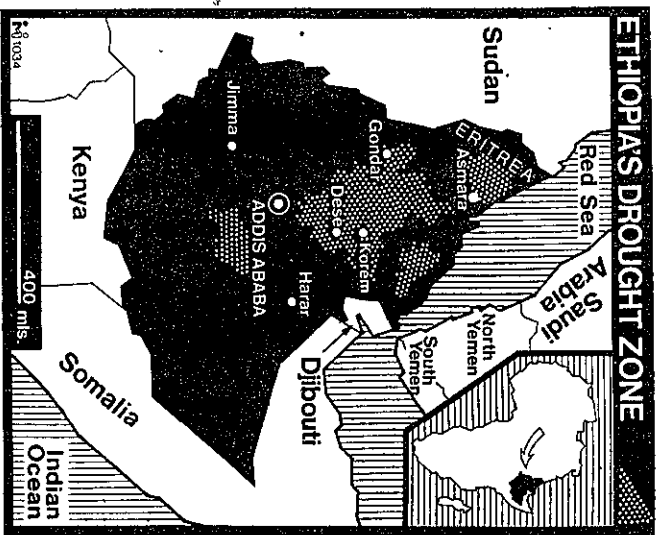
British Minister for Overseas Development Christopher Patten has, however, criticised the Ethiopian government for not doing enough to alleviate the suffering of its own people.

More than R450-million was donated by international donors in 1986 to improve agricultural methods in the country. But the Minister said the Ethiopians had very little to show for this.

The European Economic Community also responded to the urgent call by sending 100 000 tons of food.



Clinging to the hope that rain will fall, the peasants each day gather like ants to work on the dams.



But it was also unhappy with the government's policies in tackling the recurring famine - especially the country's inability to pay farmers adequate prices for their crops to encourage them to produce more. Payment of farmers and, therefore, increased local production, was a condition laid down in an aid agreement with the EEC.

EEC officials said in Brussels: "We have arrived at a point where we cannot proceed with aid if the government does not take decisions which conform with its commitments to the EEC."

More accusing fingers were pointed at the Ethiopian government at a

lecture in London in late November. Entitled "The recurring famine in Ethiopia - the real story", the lecture was jointly organised by the Institute for African Alternatives and the African Centre.

Two "well-informed" Ethiopian officials - Tamerat Kabede, head of the international department of the RRC, and his colleague, Tameru Fayesa were flown from Addis Ababa to speak on the topic, but they seemed tongue-tied.

Questions like why the Ethiopian government was not doing much to solve the problem itself instead of, "coming to the West to beg for food

to supplement Russian guns", were answered with the excuse that the question was "political" and therefore "not constructive" to the evening's discussions.

The two would not even respond to any questions about the government's agricultural policies - those, too, were political.

At one point, a young British woman in the audience asked Kabede how much his government was spending on guns and bullets compared with hoes for peasant farmers. Obviously angered, Tamerat blurted out in a high-pitched voice: "I'm not working for the Budget Department or the Ministry of Defence."

Curiously, Tamerat and his colleague found solace in blaming the de-throned government of Haile Selassie for insensitivity during the famine years of 1964-65 and 1973-74.

"Our new government has set up relief organisations. Over the years, this responsibility has been expanded."

But when a delegate asked him to reconcile how an unprepared-for famine in 1973-74 could kill 200 000 people and a prepared-for famine in 1984-85 could claim over one-million lives, the two speakers - supported by the high table at the lecture - contemptuously refused to answer the question. "Next question please," was the response from Stephanie Simons, the World Health Organisation's senior health co-ordinator for emergency relief in Ethiopia who chaired the lecture.

Tamerat and Fayesa even pretended there were no local objections to the government's controversial resettlement program which has moved some 600 000 people from northern to southern Ethiopia.

An Ethiopian in the audience challenged them to clarify the issue because he had facts pointing to the contrary. His queries received a muffled response, with the added bonus that a high-level Ethiopian delegation was coming to London at the end of De-

ember and those questions should be addressed to them.

One golden admission by Fayesa that evening concerned population control. The government had no such policy, he said, because "there are plenty of fertile lands in the south of the country to take in any number of people."

Strangely, the same Fayesa had told the audience 30 minutes earlier that Ethiopia had no food reserves to sustain the population in any emergency food crisis.

Fortunately, this time around - unlike the 1984-85 famine - the outside world was getting its act together to save the day before the first pictures of death popped up on the TV screens.

On November 12, the international committee of the Red Cross launched an appeal to the international community for immediate action to transport large amounts of food to Ethiopia to prevent hundreds of thousands from dying.

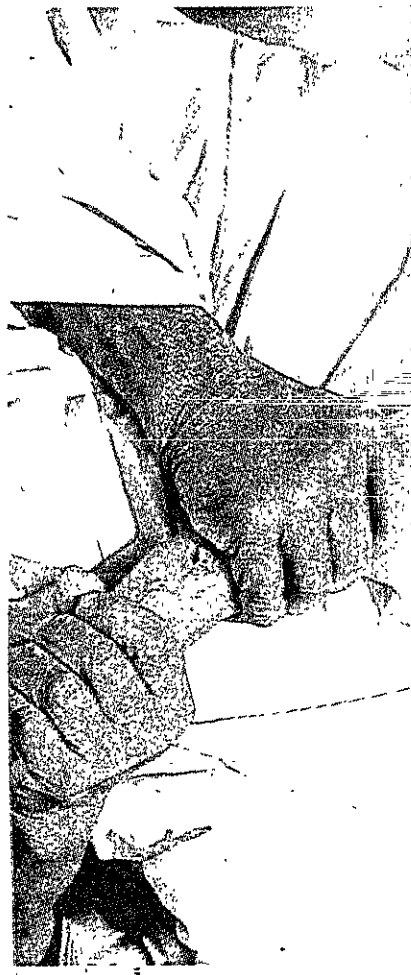
Announcing the appeal, code-named "Open Roads for Survival" in Geneva, ICRC president Cornelio Sommaruga said time was extremely short.

Because of the magnitude of the potential disaster in the northern provinces, a fast and efficient operation by road was the only way to reach the population with enough food.

"The necessary infrastructure and the logistical means are available. But due to the security situation, a relief operation by road is only possible with a de facto commitment by the warring factions not to attack food convoys."

Around the same time as the Geneva appeal, the United Nations was appealing for R44-million for non-food aid activities.

OFF PRESS
3/1/88



...and what if the rains don't come ...

DRUM
AFRICA'S LEADING MAGAZINE

JANUARY DRUM ON SALE NOW

READ THESE STORIES:

THE FALL OF THE MIGHTY MATANZIMA

A HOBO TAKES OVER HOME AND WIFE

MONKEYS ADOPT ORPHAN CHILD

WHORES INVAD "HOLY GROUND" IN PRETORIA

THE NSL IN A CLEFT STICK

HARARE — About
13 000 children in Africa
died every day of com-
mon and preventable
diseases, the Zimbabwe
first lady, Mrs Sally Mu-
gabe, said this weekend.

Opening a workshop
for writers and artists at
the University of Zim-
babwe, Mrs Mugabe,
who is chairman of the
Zimbabwe Committee
for Child Survival and
Development, said 90 of
those who died were
Zimbabwean children.

"We must say, this le-
vel of waste of chil-
dren's lives is totally un-
acceptable.

D/D 25/1/88 (1)
Disease:
13 000
children
die daily

"This death toll is like
50 airline crashes every
day killing everyone on
board," she said.

Mrs Mugabe said low-
cost technology and sim-
ple measures could re-
duce the high death rate
of children in Africa. —
Sapa

Tunisia's new broom tackles ^{Stu of 2/88} bad old ways ①

Each evening, as the mild rays of the winter sun give way to twilight, thousands of birds flutter above a canopy of trees along the principal boulevard in Tunis, wheeling and banking in endlessly changing formations before vanishing at the onset of darkness.

So it once was with Tunisia's Islamic fundamentalists, who would assemble swiftly beneath those same trees, provoke brief and pugnacious clashes with the riot police and then disperse amid the white shacco avenues built by the French.

Today, such demonstrations are unheard of — a sign that the country's new ruler, President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, has firmly clamped the lid upon internal dissent.

President Ben Ali ousted the decrepit and capricious Habib Bourguiba in a bloodless coup last November. Formerly the Interior Minister, Mr Ben Ali's power base lay in the security services. He trained in France and the United States, where he took a course in intelligence. He masterminded Bourguiba's campaign against the clandestine structure of the main Islamic party, the Mouvement du Tendance Islamique (MTI). Within a month of his takeover, Mr Ben Ali's security apparatus broke an alleged plot involving low-ranking officers in the army, the police, the national guard and the customs service, who sympathised with radical Islamic ideas.

Military trial?

Interrogation of the 73 arrested is nearing completion and is said to have yielded material for indictments at a possible military trial.

Mr Ben Ali and the ruling elite appear determined to combat fundamentalism with both repressive and conciliatory means. There has been no doubt about their repression: torture, excessive pre-trial detention and hearings conducted with scant regard for legality marked the Bourguiba period.

The new President has abolished the notorious State Security Court and a somewhat cowed Tunisian judiciary is groping its way towards greater independence. Many prisoners have been released. The security forces are still noted for their heavy-handed methods, but these are said to have been curbed.

In more subtle ways, Mr Ben Ali has sought to cut the ground from under the *Islamistes*. He begins and ends public speeches with devout phrases. Newspapers and broadcast media have taken to publicising the correct times of the five daily Muslim prayers. The government is generous with its subsidies to mosques

Ben Ali's brisk management and technocratic approach are in sharp contrast to the leisurely, often corrupt, behaviour of the former regime, writes Michael Sheridan of The Independent, London.

and schools, mindful that a stipend can also gain influence over the crucial Friday prayer sermons.

Tunisians have seen their leader embrace Yasser Arafat and pledge support for the PLO, which maintains political offices in Tunis. Foreign Ministers from all over the Arab world paid him visits this week: foreign policy is set on a more pronounced par-Arab alignment than was the case under Bourguiba.

"I think these are superficial changes," said a young Tunisian professional. "It is partly cosmetic."

Another, older, administrator said: "The real problem is the economy. We have a very young population, many of them with good education, no work, no prospects of anything beyond menial employment — and of course, the Islamic message is a simple one."

Mr Ben Ali's inintelligence men may have broken the MTI's underground apparatus. His propagandists eagerly tout the "new democratic era" at every opportunity (and many Tunisians wish to believe in it). Yet certain facts are unchallengeable.

In recent university faculty elections, fundamentalist students established a strong presence, displacing the traditional leftists. Parents tell of educated sons and daughters, often bilingual in French and Arabic, turning to a version of religion that to most of the middle-aged middle class appears obscurantist.

The government has pledged that the Personal Status Code, by which

Bourguiba gave Tunisian women the most liberated status in the Arab world, will not be tampered with. Yet many career women are worried for the future.

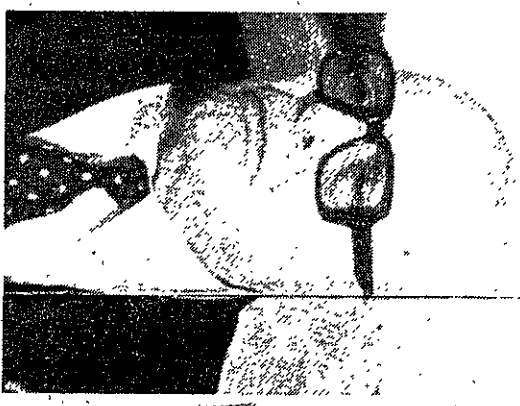
Like Mr Gorbachev, the Tunisian President has taken to impromptu calls on schools, offices and people's homes in pursuit of greater public awareness of his commitment to change. Like the Soviet leader, he is encountering resistance within his own ruling group, the Destourien Socialist Party (PSD).

Mr Ben Ali's brisk management and technocratic approach are anathema to the leisurely, often corrupt, ways of the *ancien regime*. And the fact that he promptly disbanded the party's goon squads did not endear him to some elements.

On the cocktail circuit around the jasmine-scented villas of Tunis, one of Mr Ben Ali's shocked ministers has been heard to relate: "When I went to see Bourguiba it was to be lectured at, ordered about or shouted at. Now I'm expected to make a presentation and he takes notes on everything."

By-elections held this week, supposedly the first test of the new democracy, yielded a familiar picture: The PSD made a clean sweep and the opposition candidates cried fraud. The campaign, though, was vigorous and open even if the results were predictable.

Some suggest that Mr Ben Ali was furious with the PSD old guard for failing to cure their old electoral



Ex-President Bourguiba ... all but forgotten.

habits. He plans to "renew" the party.

The government is pressing on with plans to "liberalise" the economy and expand the private sector. Last year was excellent for tourism and 1988 may better it, but unemployment, especially among young people, is grotesque, the country's modest oil exports attract low prices, its phosphates are unprofitable and worst of all, it looks as if the country-side is in for a bad harvest.

Wheat crops could be hewn by some 50 percent on last year's bumper crop. Tunisia has already bought 225 000 tons of wheat from the United States. Mr Ben Ali does not want to see a repeat of the 1983 bread riots.

Meanwhile, all but forgotten, the deposed Bourguiba lives out his days in enforced residence at his palace at Monastir, a pleasure dome set amid gardens south of the capital. Attended by a reduced entourage, the old man listens to readers of Arabic poetry, for his eyes are growing dim.

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17/6/85 3/2/88 (1) (25)

Africa economic decline seen as chance for SA

GERALD L'ANGE of The Argus Africa News Service reports

AFRICA'S calamitous economic decline has undermined its will and capacity to continue fighting apartheid with the same dedication as in the past, says a leading Africanist, Dr Erich Leistner.

He believes the changed conditions "open up opportunities for South Africa to forge mutually beneficial infrastructural as well as other bonds with neighbouring states".

Dr Leistner, director of the Pretoria-based Africa Institute, writing in the institute's latest bulletin, says: "As the growth of South Africa's trade relations in recent years has shown, practically no African state allows its political dislike of South Africa to stand in the way of commercial common sense.

"And to the extent that worldwide economic difficulties, combined with Africa's domestic problems, compel African governments to rely more on their own resources and less on outside aid, their readiness to put national economic interest above political principle may be expected to increase."

He says that while South Africa's relations with Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique became more strained last year, economic developments have continued to erode both the will and the capacity of states in the region and throughout the continent to pursue their struggle against South Africa.

He believes that "in the face of mounting problems with external debts, foreign exchange, food, unemployment and urban growth, Africa's solidarity and sense of purpose are faltering".

This was illustrated last year, he says, by the low turnout of heads of state (19 out of 50) at the annual Organisation of African Unity summit, the even lower attendance (nine heads of state) at the special summit on Africa's foreign debt problems in December, Zimbabwe's termination of electricity purchases from Zambia and the ending of its 31-year-old customs agreement with Botswana.

The expulsion of foreign workers from Nigeria a few years ago, the growing tension between Mozambique and Zimbabwe over traffic and security in the Beira corridor and the problems besetting the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and regional co-operation schemes show "how national self-interest tends to prevail over common objectives in adversity. African states obviously are not unique in this regard".

Dr Leistner says the Nkomati Accord, the Lesotho Highlands water scheme, South African participation in the proposed Sua Pan soda-ash project in Botswana, South African aid for the modernisation of Maputo harbour, South African aid projects in Swaziland

and other examples of co-operation "are difficult to reconcile with the popular belief that the Republic is bent on destabilising and impoverishing its neighbours".

He adds: "In view of South Africa's trade surplus with all African countries (which in 1985 was of the order of R3 000-million), economic relations with neighbouring and more distant African countries are patently of such major importance that official spokesmen refer to Africa as the Republic's economic hinterland and emphasise the country's interest in being surrounded by prosperous neighbours (and trading partners).

"In this respect the growing number of African countries in which the RSA is represented, mostly by trade missions, may be noted: Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique, Lesotho, Mauritius, Seychelles, Comores, Reunion, Ivory Coast, Equatorial Guinea as well as one or two more in West Africa."

However, shortages of foreign exchange hamper the expansion of South African imports, says Dr Leistner, as does the limited range of goods, mostly raw materials, which African countries can sell to the Republic in return.

Dr Leistner says more African countries are unable to meet their debt obligations. At the same time, the Western countries' own economic difficulties lessen their ability and willingness to help these states.

He also says that "ironically, just as African countries are increasingly embracing private enterprise, private capital is fleeing the continent".

"Horrendous future"

If present trends continue, says Dr Leistner, Africa's future — to quote the Economic Commission for Africa — is "horrendous". There is little hope that the adverse trends will be reversed, however.

"Very high population growth rates are largely responsible for the increasingly grave imbalances between supply and demand in respect of food, education, health care, housing and employment, not to mention the frightening rate of deforestation and desertification due to the imbalance between land usage and ecology."

These imbalances might be redressed to some extent by the relentless spread of Aids.

"However, for a realistic understanding of Africa's economic — and hence human — calamities it has to be realised that high population growth per se is only a manifestation of a fundamental polarity.

"That is the polarity between the world-views, value systems, social practices and levels of scientific and technological skills that prevail in Africa today on the one hand, and those that are essential for the functioning of present-day industrial societies on the other.

"The inability of Westerners to grasp the nature of this polarity, and their consequential attempts to engineer 'development' by injecting 'aid' funds, goes a long way to explain Africa's growing predicament.

"The primary other causes are Africa's inadequate political leadership, the operation of the world economic system and drought."

Africa's scourge: poachers

AFRICA's ivory poachers have moved on to new ground after almost wiping out the elephant population of several countries. Conservation authorities say numbers continue to decline by 65 000 a year or more and the total African herd is now estimated at less than a million.

Only three countries — Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa — report stable or increasing numbers.

John Caldwell, of the Conservation Monitoring Unit in Cambridge, said poachers have moved on from Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic "simply because there are very few elephants left".

He said the worst poaching areas are now in Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia, Zaire and the Congo, despite official protection programmes.

Conservation efforts are being defeated by the high price of ivory and, inadvertently, commercial expansion which leads to the destruction of forests, reducing the availability of fodder to elephants.

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and the United Nations Environment Programme both offer gloomy reports on the future of the elephant.

On Mount Cameroon, where ele-

Elephant numbers dwindle as ivory poachers continue the slaughter in new areas,
DEOGRATIAS BYABAFUMU reports 5-11/2/88

phants lived in large numbers in the 1960's, huge tracts of secondary forests and tropical rain forest have been opened up for timber and road construction, exposing the elephant to poachers and hunters.

Some elephants in the Congo remain in uncleared swamp areas away from hunters, but authorities there too are opening up forests to improve communications and trade.

In Gabon there is fear that the animals may soon disappear completely. Gabon's economy became heavily dependent on oil exports until the price plunge of recent years. Now it is trying to regain its feet by opening unexploited areas to the mining and forest industries.

In the dense jungles of Zaire poachers armed with automatic weapons reportedly get help from soldiers and some government officials in their illegal hunt. Others continue to use such crude methods as littering elephant tracks with wooden boards inlaid with nails, or baiting animals with pawpaws laced with poison.

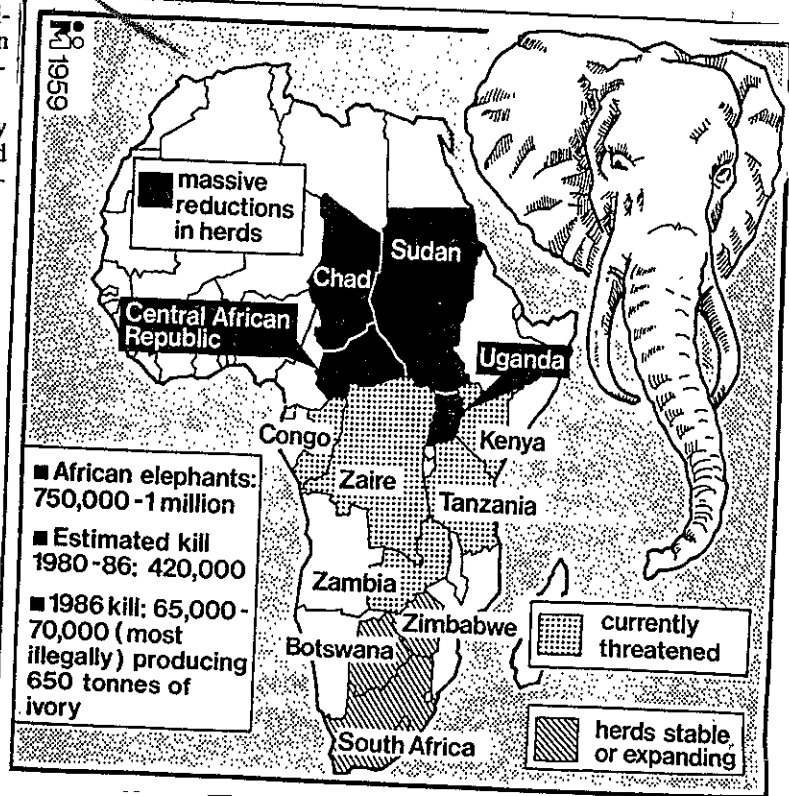
Reports say that over the past 12 years Zaire's elephant population has declined by 64 percent, especially in the Garamba National Park.

Caldwell says the ivory trade is still by far the biggest reason elephants are hunted. He said estimates putting annual ivory shipments at 950 tons would mean 75 000 to 100 000 animals a year are being killed.

But Caldwell's own figures indicate ivory shipments have declined steadily since 1980 to 650 tons a year in 1986, meaning 65 000 to 70 000 elephants killed.

One reason for the slowdown may be the ivory quota system introduced two years ago to help African governments control the slaughter. —

Gemini News



SA sets out to woo Equatorial Guinea

Star 9/2/88

MALABO (Equatorial Guinea) — South Africa's campaign to win friends and influence in black Africa has spread to Equatorial Guinea, the tiny island in the backwaters of staunchly anti-apartheid Nigeria.

Now Nigeria, the regional power, is sending clear signals that it will not allow the flirtation on its doorstep to turn into a serious affair.

The South African presence so far is tiny, amounting to precisely three residents on the volcanic island of Bioko, formerly the Spanish colony of Fernando Po.

But, contrary to the claim of President Teodoro Obiang Nguema that they are private investors, the South Africans have come with the full backing of the Government.

Nigeria's ambassador, Captain Festus Porbeni, said: "At the moment, we say the threat to us is only perceived. But we are worried because it could build up to something else."

Central to the fears of the military government in Lagos is the island's strategic location in the Bight of Biafra, 15 minutes by air from Nigeria's vital oilfields.

The depressing poverty of Equatorial Guinea, a curiously constituted nation of 300 000 people made up of the island and a slice of the central African mainland 700 km away, makes it hard to reject help from any quarter.

"Los Sudafricanos" are well-known and liked on the island where, with a population of only 60 000, there are no secrets.

They arrived in 1986 with 150 head of cattle and set up a mountain-top farm with the goal of ending Guinea's total dependency on imported red meat.

Less than two years later, the herd has more than doubled and the South Africans have built a thriving vegetable business. In the run-down capital of Malabo they have joined President Obiang's wife, Constanza, in a luxury leisure complex where the restaurant serves Cape wines.

Mr Hilton Lack, spokesman for the three South Africans, said: "What we are looking for is friends. The success of practical projects will be a window for us in Africa."

"The only thing we are looking to get out of Equatorial Guinea is that important countries like Nigeria will see that we are doing a good job."

Mr Lack says he is a career public servant who is working for the Foreign Ministry's technical aid agency.

His status contradicted recent remarks by President Obiang when he conceded publicly for the first time that a South African connection existed.

But Captain Porbeni, a naval officer, is sceptical. He said the livestock farm is now closed to visitors without a permit and alleged that the South Africans are supplied from home by a C-130 transport plane, normally used by air forces.

Mr Lack, who formerly served in South America, said he planned to send 20 Guineans for technical training in South Africa and to bring a doctor to treat people living near the farm at Moka.

The South African "hearts and minds" campaign in Equatorial Guinea reflects a policy shift in Pretoria which was endorsed by President Botha when he opened Parliament last week. — Sapa-Reuter.

maintaining is

A few metres from deserted Eritrean trenches, skulls and spent Kalashnikov magazines protrude from the barren earth, sickening reminders of one of Africa's longest wars.

For 26 years, Eritrea has been trying to break away from Ethiopia. For the past nine years their two armies have faced each other on two fronts, Halhal and Nakfa. Near Nakfa, the only town controlled by the Eritreans and now reduced to rubble, they confront one another across a narrow valley.

The fighting has been almost continuous. In December, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front said it had made a breakthrough on the Nakfa front and driven the Ethiopians 26 km back. With Nakfa freed from the threat of ground attack, the Eritreans believe they can move on to the offensive.

Garrisons raided

Here, among the steep valleys and craggy ridges, it is trench warfare. Further south and in the central highlands, the EPLF acts as a guerrilla army, raiding Ethiopian garrisons to divert their forces away from the main defence lines. Elsewhere they have seized towns briefly, carried off material and other equipment and sabotaged installations.

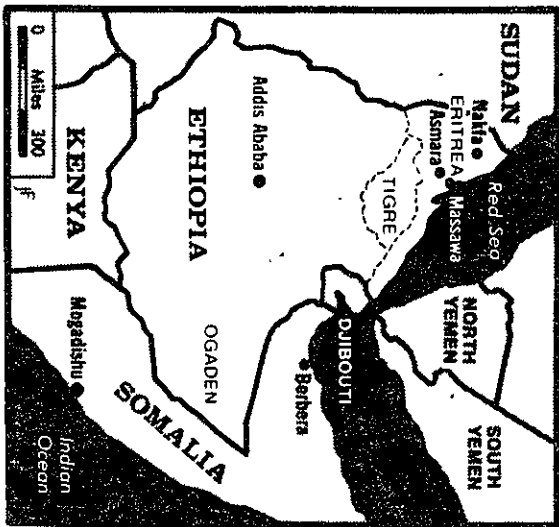
The Eritreans nearly succeeded in taking the towns 15 years ago, when Emperor Haile Selassie was losing power. Three years after his overthrow, the Soviet Union stepped in as the ally of the new military rulers and supplied tanks and advisers, and the EPLF was forced back into the hills.

Both sides have used food as a weapon. The government refuses to allow food distribution in areas controlled by the rebels and the rebels attack government food convoys, which they say are used to transport arms. The government and UN officials in Addis Ababa deny this.

After 26 years, Eritrea is still a battleground

Star 10/21/88

Were it not for Ethiopia's decisive superiority in the air, some observers believe the EPLF would now have the military capacity to recapture all the towns in the province, says Dede Esi Amanor in this report from Nakfa.



International outrage at the EPLF's recent attacks on food convoys has caused another setback for the Eritreans' diplomatic efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement. In private some of them admit the attacks are a political mistake, but they are nevertheless continuing.

GOOD SENSE

The government refuses to recognise the challenge it faces in Eritrea. The war started in 1961, a year before Haile Selassie annexed Eritrea. A former Italian colony, it was federated with Ethiopia when the British withdrew in 1952. The Eritreans regard their country as a colony which has never been given self-determination.

The EPLF demands as a condition for a ceasefire that a referendum should be held, allowing Eritreans to choose between regional autonomy, federation or independence. With the Organisation of African Unity based at Addis Ababa, the idea has received little support in Africa, or at the UN.

The government cannot afford to let Eritrea go. If it became independent, Ethiopia would have no access to the sea and its ally, the Soviet Union, would be deprived of Red Sea ports.

The EPLF has been extraordinarily ingenious in making up for its lack of outside help. In and around its mountainous stronghold the rebels have built an intricate network of

roads, schools, hospitals and workshops, all heavily camouflaged. They operate mainly at night, to avert Ethiopian air attacks.

Orota central hospital cares for civilians and fighters and also trains an army of "barefoot" doctors, who trek by foot or by camel to remote areas. The hospital also provides staff for regional hospitals and trains operating theatre assistants, laboratory technicians and pharmacists.

Relatively sophisticated operations, including plastic surgery, are performed regularly. In the pharmaceutical department, tablets and intravenous solutions are produced.

The Eritreans waste nothing. Much of their equipment is captured from the Ethiopian army, but even shell casings and bomb fragments are collected and taken to the workshops which refit vehicles, repair watches and make simple machinery.

But it is the high morale of the Eritrean fighters which is their most impressive and probably most vital quality. "See you in Asmara" — Eritrea's Ethiopian-occupied capital — is the common parting salute. An estimated 40 000 to 50 000 fighters have now held off offensives by the second largest army in Africa, backed first by one and then the other superpower.

In the air, Ethiopia still maintains a decisive superiority. Were it not for that, some observers believe, the EPLF would now have the military capacity to recapture all the towns in the province. — *Independent News Service.*

In the broad, dry valley outside Mekelle, the capital of Tigré in Ethiopia, on the site of the camp where tens of thousands died in the famine of 1984-5, Brother Caesare Boulos of the Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat has organised the planting of 30 000 trees. Watered by dams constructed by the camp's inmates, the once-arid soil supports mimosas, acacias and thriving eucalyptus, guava and red-currant trees heavy with fruit. "If you have four dams, it makes no difference to the agriculture of the region," Brother Boulos says, "but if you have 400, and then 4 000, it will make a great deal of difference."

Similar projects are underway throughout the drought-stricken northern provinces of Tigré, Wollo and Eritrea.

If all goes to plan, there should be

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the highlands cut down the forests.

At Edeghamus in Tigré, where the Red Cross has set up a food distribution centre at the bottom of the valley, erosion can go no further. The thousands waiting to be fed sit on the flat, sandstone bedrock.

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Like Brother Boulos, Michael Payson, the World Bank representative in Addis Ababa, has a vision of Ethiopia's future: a four-point development strategy, based on a survey published by the bank last year.

The first step is a reform of marketing policies announced by the Government in January. Until now the price set by the Agricultural Marketing Corporation, to which all farmers must sell a proportion of their surplus, has been as little as a third of the open market value. The free movement of grain from the areas of surplus in the south and west of the country had been illegal and traders were liable to search and confiscation at the roadblocks outside every town.

Under the reforms, the AMC prices are to rise by 10 percent. More importantly, traders are to be given licences and will be able to reduce their margins because they will no longer be operating under threat of arrest.

Because of the reforms, the World Bank is about to release R300-million frozen since 1986.

Second, Payson says, international donors must continue to supply relief to the north after the present drought ends, to allow land rehabilitation. The point is illustrated along the 20 miles of vertiginous hairpin bends in Wollo, now as in 1984-5, the scene of the deepest crisis in the famine relief effort.

For miles on each side of the road, dense forest planted since the last famine is thriving with long, thick grass between the trees. For the project to succeed, the peasants of the surrounding area have been forbidden to graze their cattle there: the animals are fed with foreign grain.

Third, comes research. In Ethiopia, the innumerable microclimates created by the country's mountainous topography make a "green revolution", based on a few improved varieties of seeds, impossible. The World Bank funds a government institute that is developing new strains, although with a 10-year time-lag between laboratory and production, there is no prospect of immediate success.

Finally is the vexed question of resettling people from drought areas to the underpopulated and fertile regions between the mountains and the Sudanese border. The drought-affected highlands cover only a fifth of Ethiopia, but contain 88 percent of its population and almost all of its farmland.

"If it's done right," says Payson, "it is plausible and essential strategy."

Arid Ethiopia fights back but victory against famine is slim

46 dams in Tigré by the end of next year, built by peasants using soil and stones and the odd bulldozer, paid 2kg of grain a day.

But Brother Boulos' vision of a regenerated landscape is many years from realisation, the tracts of arid land between pockets of development awesomely vast.

When news of the new drought began to break last autumn, the Western media stridently demanded to know why, after so much aid in 1985, fa-

Drought has returned to Ethiopia. But since the last catastrophe, things have changed — a little.
DAVID ROSE reports

mine again threatened Ethiopia. But the scale of the country's long-term agricultural crisis is such as to render the question virtually meaningless. In some areas of the north, soil erosion reduces productivity by 10 per-

cent a year, even when rainfall is entirely normal. In parts of Wollo, 150 tons of soil per hectare are washed into the rivers.

Despite numerous reforestation projects, a net 200 000 hectares of forest are lost annually. In 1900, 40 percent of Ethiopia was tree-covered; the figure now is less than 4 percent.

Ethiopia's inexorably rising population — which now stands at about 48 million — is to blame: with no alternative sources of fuel, the farmers of

But Payson's vision is tempered with some sobering statistics. Ethiopia's population grows at about three percent a year. In years of good rainfall, the country's "structural deficit" in grain production amounts to about 500 000 tons. Even assuming the successful implementation of all four points, he says drily: "No country has yet managed four percent growth over a long period — and that's the kind of rate we need to see." — The Guardian, London.

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Troops gun down 20 drought victims

NAIROBI — Ethiopian troops killed at least 20 civilians when they opened fire on thousands of drought victims at a food relief centre, sources said yesterday.


The victims were resisting forced resettlement. *Star 12/2/88*

The shooting occurred on Monday, 840 km north of Addis Ababa.

Troops apparently surrounded the centre and opened fire when people ran away from the trucks. Twenty died and many were wounded.— Sapa-AP. ①

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Star 12/2/88



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VOID REEL CITY, YOU WILL BE

After 27 years, the hopefuls are jockeying for position

ABIDJAN — President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, of the Ivory Coast, Africa's oldest and longest-serving leader, will step down later this year, according to high-level sources in the country's ruling Democratic Party.

His forthcoming departure after 27 years has triggered a bitter battle for the succession, exposing deep-seated ethnic and personal rivalries within a government that only the president's unique brand of paternalistic authoritarianism could hold together.

President Houphouët, who is officially 82 but widely believed to be nearer 90, served as a Minister in six French governments before independence in 1960 and is known in Paris as "Le Sage".

He became the doyen of African leaders after the overthrow of Tunisia's President Bourguiba last October.

But poor health in recent months has obliged him to postpone or cancel numerous official engagements. More and more of his people are concealing, privately, that the president they have learnt to refer to only in the most reverential terms

Ivory Coast patriarchy to end his reign

should move on.

But some senior Ministers are urging him to stay put. They dislike the heir apparent, the National Assembly leader, Mr Henri Konan Bedie, who, like the president, is a member of the Baoule tribe, the most powerful of the 60 ethnic groups.

Rumours are rife that Mr Bedie sympathises with communist groups — a serious political crime in the ultra-conservative Ivory Coast — and even that he was behind an alleged attempt to remove Mr Houphouët.

That allegation has a hollow ring, Mr Bedie has everything to gain by biding his time and seeing the president out. According to a 1985 constitutional amend-

ment — made at Mr Houphouët's behest — the leader of the National Assembly would, in the event of a sudden presidential vacancy, become interim head of state.

UNASSAILABLE

He would also become the interim chairman of the only political party. Such a position would be virtually unassailable in the subsequent presidential sweepstakes, especially in view of the African taboo against challenging incumbent leaders.

While the latest allegations against Mr Bedie are probably trumped up, he is far from being a saint. An 11-year stint as Finance Minister came to an

abrupt end in 1977 when he was implicated in a widely-publicised financial scandal.

After spending four years in Washington as an adviser to the World Bank, he was elected a deputy on his return home in 1980 elected president of the National Assembly in that year.

Despite Mr Bedie's apparent position of strength, Mr Houphouët, who, some say, is his natural father, has never formally endorsed him as his successor.

Indeed, explaining the 1985 constitutional amendment to foreign journalists, Mr Houphouët gave the example of Mr Alain Pothier, the former leader of the French Senate, who failed in his bid for the presidency, de-

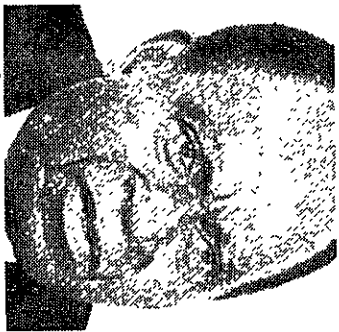
spite having the advantage of being interim head of state after the death of Mr Georges Pompidou in 1974.

Nor has he moved to stamp out the rampant rumours about Mr Bedie.

The presidential aspirations of other senior party members are perfectly legitimate, he believes, and anything done to damage the credibility of a perceived No 2 keeps punters guessing about who will succeed him. Baoule tradition requires that chiefs carry the identity of their chosen ones to the grave.

Nevertheless, if Mr Houphouët does indeed bow out before the end of 1988 — two years before his sixth five-year mandate expires — he will be seeking to head off the power struggle which could, if allowed to develop, damage the Ivory Coast's cherished reputation as one of Africa's few oases of political stability.

Meanwhile, Mr Bedie, hoping the air will clear, has retired to his home village. His French public relations company has consistently advised him to keep a low profile so as not to antagonise other contenders. — The Independent News Service.



President Felix Houphouët-Boigny... end of the line.

Each year at this time, the State Department publishes its annual country-by-country report on human rights practices. A quick flip through its 1500 or so densely-packed pages indicates that practitioners are rare.

Every American schoolchild is familiar, or supposed to be, with the immortal phrase "give me liberty or give me death" uttered by that icon of the War of Independence, Patrick Henry. In much of the world, Henry would be a dead man, or, at best, a detainee.

Take sub-Saharan Africa (please). Of the 47 countries the report includes in this category, just four, Botswana, Senegal, Mauritius, and The Gambia, technically speaking, afford their citizens "the right to change the government" without resort to the death option.

Not to pick exclusively on Africa, the region the State Department designates "Near East, North Africa and South Asia" contains only one fully functioning democracy, India; two if you count Israel without the occupied territories. Lebanon? In what sense, beyond the purely geographic, does Lebanon actually exist?

Essentially, then, the report reminds us the rest of the planet is a pretty un-Jeffersonian place. Quite what this reminder is supposed to achieve is unclear. In theory, its purpose is to help Congress to evaluate who (other than

Egypt and Israel) should receive American aid and who should not. As a practical matter, the thing is largely ignored.

Which, in a way, is sad. There are by now more than ten years' worth of the tomes and it should be a condition of being permitted to serve on Capitol Hill that every congressman be made to read and inwardly digest all of them, down to the last comma.

Should he survive the ordeal (the prose is very dry and clinical), the aspiring legislator would learn that any dream he might have had of recreating the world, even a fraction of it, in America's image, is puerile. The concept of good government that the US shares with a handful of its allies may be worthy, but it is profoundly abnormal.

Pretoria, on the other hand, is almost pedestrian in its normalcy, especially when placed alongside most of its neighbours. It differs chiefly from the latter in that its power is considerably more efficient, self-confident, and broadly based (some people do occasionally get asked their opinion). Oh yes, and on the apparent premise that whites are more interesting, not to say candid, than blacks, the State Department accords South Africa a rather longer chapter.

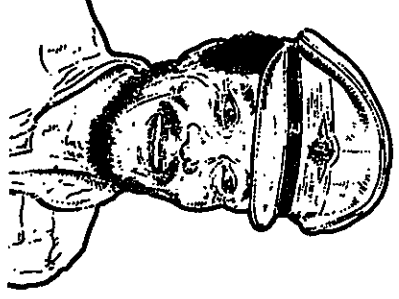
The reason for the similarity is scarcely startling. Most states, especially the more recent ones, and therefore, obviously, most of Africa,

Human rights and the changing face of Africa

17/2188

are the virtual property of elites for whom the devolution of power on anything but their own terms holds absolutely no thrill.

This is a very simple point and it should not be necessary, even for a US congressman, to have to sweat through the human rights report to grasp it. To save time, the congressman might



RAWLINGS ... seized power in Ghana.

simply read the opening paragraphs of the Africa chapters. Here are a few, picked at random.

GABON: "Gabon has a single-party political system in which effective political power is concentrated in the presidency. A March 1983 amendment to the party constitution re-

strict candidacy in future presidential elections to the president-founder of the Democratic Party of Gabon, thus reserving candidacy for President Bongo."

GHANA: "Ghana is governed by the national defence council under the chairmanship of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, who seized power from the previous government on December 31, 1981. Under the Establishment Proclamation issued on January 11, 1982, the council exercises all powers of government."

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: "General Andre Diouf has headed the government since his accession to power in a bloodless coup on September 1, 1981. He holds all political power and is the final arbiter on all government matters."

TANZANIA: "In 1985 President Julius Nyerere voluntarily retired and sanctioned the election of Ali Hassan Mwinyi. Nyerere remains as before the chairman of the Chama Chas Mapinduzi, the sole legal political party. The party attempts to control activity at all levels of society through its system of 10 family cells."

The standard excuse for this state of affairs can be roughly summarized thus: African countries are the artificial creations of the former colonial powers who, having raped the indigenes, then gave them arbitrary borders, lumping large numbers of people who did not necessarily want to live with one another.

Strong central authority, to coin a euphemism, was (a) traditional and/or inculcated by the ex-colonisers, (b) necessary for development and (c) the only way to hold the newly independent nations together as they transitioned to the glories of freedom and prosperity.

Now (a) makes a some sense, (c) might be less dubious had the posited transit actually occurred in more than a tiny minority of usually Francophone countries, and as for (b), well, far from developing, most of Africa's autocracies are returning fast to the middle ages.

There is a connection here, as even the Soviet Union is gradually learning. Unless they are very small and blessed with oil or some other valuable commodity for which there is fairly inelastic demand, countries run as the private fiefdoms of a party

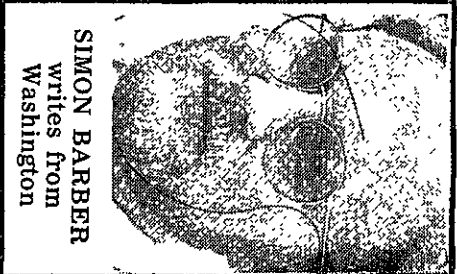
or some other narrow political elite cannot hope to be economically successful.

To begin with, the allocation of resources and capital must inherently be inefficient if the main criterion is to maintain and perquisiters and to fulfil his absurd ideology or grandiose dreams. Nor will such



NYERERE ... retired but in control in Tanzania.

allocators attract new capital, since, unless it is development aid or Bank capital tends to flow to where it will make the most profit. Only in rare instances is subsidising tyrannies profitable. Then there is the matter of what economic expansion does to auto-



SIMON BARBER writes from Washington

crats. As the Shah of Iran discovered, it can be downright dangerous. It has the unhappy habit of creating new centres of power making their own decisions based on interests that do not necessarily square with those of the regime. No totalitarian, of the left or right, wants to see the rise of a middle or entrepreneurial class or of an independent trade union movement made powerful by a surging demand for labour.

This leads, in southern Africa, to an interesting thought about the interdependency of SA's and the region's ruling elites. Very bluntly, to survive they need each other remain in precisely the form they are now.

Every member of the frontlines, except the successful open Botswana, uses SA as a crutch upon which to justify, both to their own populations and the oh-so-guilt-ridden West, their chronic and, pace the destabilisation theorists, very self-induced economic and political ruin — ruin which they could not reverse without putting themselves out of power.

For example: aside from an improbable outright victory by Unita, the most terrifying thing that could happen to the Angolan regime would be peace. It would mean some form of settlement with the "SA-backed bandits" and at best a dilution of the MPLA's hitherto total control. Without SA, the "inter-nationalist" allies would be gone and the revolution over. A luta must continua, else farewell Dos Santos, it was fun while it lasted.

On other side of the coin, a vibrant frontline made up of real countries (Mozambique and Angola are just as much fictions as Lebanon), would be extremely bad news for Pretoria, and not only from the standpoint of their being able to lend genuine support to its opponents. The last thing SA's autocrats need is a stirring example on their border of how the future might work without them.

In sum, instead of trying to proselytise their very excellent system in the region, it would be nice if America's policymakers went back to their human rights report and gave some consideration to why its findings are so dreary. For the most part, they might discover, the people they are trying to change have nothing to gain by being anything other than what they are.

SA under attack ^{Sowetan} 8/7/88

HARARE — South Africa came under blistering attack at last week's gathering of writers, artists and intellectuals to debate the threat to the children of Southern Africa from poverty, disease, ignorance and war. ①

Children maimed in Angola and Mozambique, some with arms or legs missing, some blind, told of losing their families, of being blown up by mines or caught in the crossfire of opposing ideologies.

But African Governments from black-run Africa did not escape altogether.

Professor Ali Mazrui, the Kenyan writer and historian whose television documentary on Africa's past drew vigorous condemnation and praise internationally, said Africa was caught up between the abyss of anarchy and the chasm of tyranny.

It was caught between the curse of too much government and the chill of too little. ②

He told the symposium: "Our political institutions are still fragile, our sense of national identity is weak.— *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

AUCKLAND — Reports that, at the instance of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, Zambia intends to withdraw from the World Cross-Country Championships on March 26 because of the inclusion of Zola Budd in the British team have yet to be confirmed to the organising committee.

Executive director Jerry Fletcher acknowledged that Zambia's withdrawal would be extremely embarrassing if it promoted an African boycott of the events on Auckland's famed Ellerslie racecourse.

Champion

But, said Fletcher, as the champion nations of recent years, Kenya and Ethiopia, were known to be deadly keen to win. What was more, Nigeria, whence came the Supreme Council's appeal, or direction, had never yet competed in the championships and its

Zola: Boycott fear

Sweden 10/3/88
prestige, or standing, could thereby be lessened.

War ①

Budd or not, entries continue to climb. Though they were supposed to be filed by January 31, with an understanding that members of the teams were to be confirmed by

March 16, many nations had recently lodged formal entries.

These even include Iran, despite its war with Iraq. The latest entry is from Sweden. About half of the 56 teams will be lodged at a hotel fewer than two kilometres distance from the course.

At least 12 other hotels or motels will be required to house the other teams.



ZOLA Budd

GENEVA — The health of people in northern Ethiopia, ravaged by drought

bloody 15/3/88
①
Food help blocked

and civil war, is deteriorating sharply because food supplies cannot get through, says the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

"International aid for people threatened by famine has been largely paralysed during recent weeks, while the nutritional state of the population is deteriorating at an alarming rate," the ICRC said in a Press statement yesterday.

"Fewer and fewer convoys have been able to get through. Most of the time they are held up for reasons which cannot be justified by the military situation alone," said the Geneva-based humanitarian body.

It gave no details of the obstacles, but a report from Nairobi at the weekend said movement of emergency relief supplies was being blocked by an upsurge in fighting between rebel guerrillas and Ethiopian troops, and the army's refusal to let food convoys move freely in contested areas.

The ICRC recalled that it had appealed last November to the Ethiopian authorities and the rebels to allow food supplies organised by humanitarian aid bodies to pass safely.

Because convoys were being stopped, many regional warehouses were empty. — Sapa-Reuter.

\$26m wanted to improve agency ①

DID 7/4/82

DAR ES SALAAM — Tanzania, Senegal and Nigeria had asked the European Community (EC) for \$26 million to improve the Pan-African News Agency (Pana), the acting EC delegate in Dar es Salaam said yesterday.

Mr Karl-Heinz Bode told Reuters that Tanzania's minister of state for finance, economic affairs and planning, Mr Damas Mbogoro, submitted the request on behalf of the 45 countries which contribute to Pana.

Pana, set up in 1979 because African governments felt the big international agencies were giving them a distorted version of African events, would spend the money on training new staff and buying new equipment to improve its service, he added.

Mr Bode said the request would go to the European Development Fund committee in Brussels and would probably win approval.

The grant would come out of money allocated to Africa under the Lome III convention, he added. — Sapa-RNS

D/D 7/4/88
Producers
hold onto
cocoa ① ②

LONDON — Cocoa has dipped to its lowest price in nearly six years here because of a world glut of supplies and slack demand.

Dealers said West African producers were reluctant to sell their cocoa because prices were so low but would eventually be forced to release consignments onto the market.

The price of cocoa for July shipment slipped to a low of £895 a ton in London, down from the previous close before the long Easter holiday weekend of £920.

The strength of sterling against the dollar contributed to the market's weakness and dealers said they expected prices to continue to fall over the next few days.

Business was largely confined to the trade, with little industry or producer activity, they added. —Sapa.Rns

10-14-88
**Star appeals
for food aid** (1)

GENEVA — A former filmstar has appealed for emergency aid for more than two million children facing starvation in drought-stricken Ethiopia.

Audrey Hepburn made the appeal for the emergency aid.

She also urged a truce in the civil war between rebels and the Ethiopian Government.

The civil war has led to the destruction of many relief trucks. — Sapa-RNS

'Bandits' give Addis Ababa a bloody nose

A journey to Afabet, in the Eritrean highlands, confirms rebel claims of an important victory in the region against Ethiopian forces. It is the first time foreign journalists have been able to visit the town since it was seized from the Soviet-backed Ethiopians after recent heavy fighting there.

On the drive to Afabet you meet streams of captured Ethiopian trucks coming the other way. Some are piled high with ammunition, others tow artillery pieces. "Stalin organ" rocket launchers, 130 mm howitzers and T-55 tanks are just some of the weaponry which can be seen scattered across the battlefield. And this is 10 days after the fighting. Most of the weapons and equipment have already been moved. The rebels of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front claim, for example, that they captured 60 tanks in the offensive.

The scene on a hillside a few kilometres outside Afabet bears macabre and vivid witness to the scale of the rout of the Ethiopians on this one battlefield alone. Dozens of burnt-out trucks, tanks and guns litter the side of the road among the blackened trees.

Not admitted

Many bodies have been removed, but some remain, so badly burnt as to bear little resemblance to human corpses. The remains of five Ethiopians can be seen clutching the sides of their truck, apparently burnt alive as they tried to claw their way out of the inferno.

It is a rout which the Ethiopians are unwilling to admit. Although their leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, has said there had been "grim battles", the Ethiopians have still not conceded the scale of their defeat. Ethiopian radio carried the result of a purported football match in Afabet several days after the town was seized.

The Eritreans admit that Afabet does not at first glance look like a glittering prize. It is an unremarkable town of 10 000 people, with a church, a main street, a few rows of one-storey houses. But its importance for the Ethiopians can hardly be overstated: this was their regional army headquarters.

The country's crack troops were based here, including the "Nado" or "Destroy" division. In the event, it was not the most happily chosen of names: in the battle for Afabet, the Destroy division was virtually wiped out. The EPLF claims to have destroyed three Ethiopian divisions. It says 18 000 men were captured, killed or wounded.

Steve Crawshaw of The Independent, London, reports from Afabet, Eritrea, on a major victory for the rebels in the 26-year-old independence war.

In Afabet itself, everything bears the mark of the Ethiopians who left in such a hurry. A discarded calendar commemorates the "reuniting" of Eritrea with the motherland — a reference to the annexation by Ethiopia of Eritrea in 1962.

In the former police headquarters, a small room proclaiming itself to be the Lenin Library contains piles of books, including army propaganda on uprooting the Eritrean "bandits", and some of Stalin's works. Pictures of Marx, Engels and Lenin greet the visitor at every turn inside the abandoned army headquarters.

An EPLF soldier, sitting in the shade under a wall in the police headquarters, amuses himself by reading a "Know Your Enemy" manual for the Ethiopian army. The Eritrean rebels, it declares, are bandits. They are said to be badly organised, dominated by despots, and have low morale.

The reality is rather different. As one might expect in the circumstances, it is the Ethiopian soldiers whose morale is low. Ethiopia's army is the second-largest on the continent; only South Africa's is better equipped. Billions of rands of military aid have been pumped in over the years, first by the United States and then by the Soviet Union, after the Ethiopian revolution of 1974.

Despite that, the EPLF's com-



"bandits" has been counterproductive. Again and again, recently-captured prisoners in Afabet had they never realised the Eritreans were such a powerful fighting force. Their accounts confirm the story told by the EPLF's own battle videos: many soldiers simply ran away when they realised the strength of the Eritrean attack.

Meanwhile, the fighting continues. In Afabet, the exchange of artillery fire can be heard from the new front line 50 km to the south. Ethiopian MiGs fly high overhead. Very occasionally they drop bombs.

The Eritreans are pressing on with their attack to the west of Afabet. They claim to have taken Agordat, capital of Barka province and to have shelled the outskirts of Keren, the most important town after Asmara, the Eritrean capital.

Far from over

The Ethiopians seem certain to counter-attack in due course, but their ability to do so is being reduced by the day. They have had to bring up reinforcements from Tigre, where rebels are fighting a separate war. They can ill afford the reinforcements: the Tigrean rebels themselves becoming bolder have recently seized two important towns.

The Eritreans claim that the Ethiopian commander responsible for the Afabet front was recently executed, even before the latest offensive, in a move to "encourage the others". Certainly, it seems that several senior officers have been dismissed in recent months for alleged incompetence, although the Ethiopians have not admitted this officially. After the loss of Afabet, one must assume that the search for scapegoats will continue.

The official talk of disorganised

The Eritreans' 26-year-old independence war is far from over. The EPLF still occupies less territory than before it made a "strategic withdrawal" in 1978, though it has made extraordinary achievements in building a viable society in the areas which it does hold. Diplomatically, it remains as isolated as ever. The Eritreans hope that their recent success could help to gain them some badly needed recognition worldwide.

8/day 19/4/88

WOI

Ethiopian govt to launch offensive

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Thousands of Ethiopian troops, some of them young untrained recruits, are being airlifted into Eritrea to launch a mass offensive during the next few weeks in an all-out attempt to end Africa's longest-running guerrilla war.

Western diplomats estimate 70 000 men have been flown to the garrison city of Asmara or moved north in road convoys from Addis Ababa to reinforce more than 60 000 troops and People's Militia who are being driven out of strategic cities and strongholds by guerrilla units.

An Ethiopian army ground assault, using hundreds of Russian-built tanks backed by squadrons of MiG fighter-bombers dropping napalm and probably nerve gas, is expected to send several hundred thousand refugees trekking to the Sudanese border for food.

Western relief agencies are concerned that more than three-million people are already at risk across northern Ethiopia because of droughts in the last few years and failure of spring rains.

They are planning to switch emergency supplies from Ethiopia to Port Sudan and

Khartoum to try to avert the new crisis. But Western observers believe the crunch is coming at last in the 26-year guerrilla war seeking self-government for Eritrea.

Thousands are likely to die quickly unless the Ethiopian army is routed after a series of defeats by the guerrillas during the last two months.

Guerrilla units equipped with large stocks of captured weapons were threatening the ancient fortress city of Keren at the weekend, reported to be only lightly defended. The Eritrean Liberation Front claimed 1 800 troops had been killed so far in the fighting for Keren.

If Keren falls, the guerrillas will drive 150km south to threaten Asmara where 3 000 Russian troops, military instructors and advisers are waiting to direct the Ethiopian offensive.

A team of 11 senior Soviet military advisers, who have just flown into Addis Ababa from Moscow, are believed by Western observers to include chemical-warfare experts. R

Algeria: soother of the Muslim brow

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Algeria prides itself on being the agony aunt of the Muslim world, waiting in the wings to soothe, advise and mediate.

For the hijackers of the Kuwaiti jumbo jet which landed there last Wednesday, it was the only country to which they were prepared to fly.

Algeria's intervention is the latest in a series of conciliation missions.

In 1981 it acted as an intermediary between the US and Iran during the Teheran embassy siege, and received

the hostages when they were freed. Algeria was involved in the ending of the 17-day TWA hijack in 1985, and Algiers was the venue for the 1987 Palestinian National Council meeting which reconciled the fractious elements of the PLO under the leadership of Yasser Arafat.

The country has taken on the role of conciliator because it is geographically and historically suited to it, and

because it enjoys and benefits from it.

Distant from the battle zones of the Middle East, yet firmly a part of the Muslim world, it is ideally placed to take a detached view of its interne-cine conflicts.

Most of all, Algeria benefits from its history. The war of independence, which cost the lives of perhaps one in 10 of the population, has given it impeccable revolutionary credentials with radical states throughout the Third World.

Don't feed this cruel dictatorship

From The Economist

Ethiopia's incompetent army has taken a beating from the raggle-taggle Eritrean rebels. In much of northern Ethiopia, regional grievances have become dug-in national insurrections against the oppression of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime.

Colonel Mengistu's reaction is to make oppression worse, both in Eritrea and in the even more wretched neighbouring province of Tigre. The beaten Ethiopians have now banned all foreign humanitarian agencies from sending food and medicine to the affected areas.

The people there will grow hungrier still. Their famine has been caused partly by drought, partly by Colonel Mengistu's Leninist economic policies, partly by civil wars whose combatants do not want to see their enemies get the credit for feeding the starving.

Western aid agencies precariously ride the tightrope between charity and neutrality. They have sent in food under Ethiopian army "protection"; the rebels have occasionally attacked such convoys.

The charities have also given help, through Sudan, to the Eritrean and Tigrean relief societies run by the two regions' rebels; the Ethiopians have sometimes attacked these convoys. The Eritrean rebels claim that

Star 22/4/88
Ethiopia's Russian-supplied aircraft have just dropped napalm on a convoy of trucks carrying grain.

The relief agencies cannot knowingly put their people in the front line. How should they respond to Colonel Mengistu's ban? On both sides charity has kept people alive, the moral imperative. But aid has also helped the rebellions to survive, and thrown a lifeline to the Ethiopian regime.

The West gives the regime food and a little money, the Russians give it guns. Take away the food and people starve. Take away the guns and Ethiopia's rebellious provinces win their separatist fight.

The Russians hint that they would like to shift from giving weapons to giving food; since they have guns but no food to

spare, it is hard to see how they can. Were the Western donors to withhold all food they would make mass starvation even worse. But the alternative is to accept the Mengistu government's ban on help for Eritrea and Tigre, while continuing to feed the army that grips the rest of Ethiopia's straggling empire.

By helping the government and not the rebels, Western charities would perpetuate a cruel dictatorship which, under its present leaders, is probably too incompetent to do better even if it tried. Of the two evils, pulling the rug from under Colonel Mengistu is the less appalling. There is at least a chance that, squeezed from outside, the junta would throw the colonel out and take a new course under a new chief.

Were the Ethiopians defeated,

the probable result would be the creation of two more mini-states in the Horn of Africa, both even weaker than tiny Djibouti and sprawling Somalia.

Most African leaders would be horrified by such a change in the boundaries the European empires left behind. But tiny client-states in Africa often do better than larger ones which try to manage on their own.

Ethiopia gets less aid than any other African country because it was never properly swept into anybody's empire, so it does not benefit from the post-imperial guilt that produces present-day largesse. There is no reason why the peoples it has incorporated, but failed to absorb, should suffer for that historical accident - and no reason why Western charity should help perpetuate the evil of Colonel Mengistu's rule

Export credits and bank loans to Africa are drying up

Star 24/185



NAIROBI — Foreign banks have curbed loans to Africa despite efforts by multilateral donors like the World Bank to generate more aid to the continent.

Export credits too have been drying up, according to the Abidjan-based African Development Bank (ADB) and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), based in Addis Ababa.

A joint economic review by the continent's top financial institutions welcomed steps taken by major multilateral agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, to mobilise increased funds for Africa.

But sums received in 1987 continued to fall short of expectations raised by a UN-sponsored, 1986-90 programme for recovery adopted by African heads of state in July 1985.

"A key factor in this development is the drying up of export credits and bank loans as the debt servicing problems of the region continue," the report said.

African nations envisaged \$128 billion in new funds — 65 per cent to be raised from domestic resources — would be needed for the UN-sponsored economic programme.

The ADB-ECA report did not say how far behind expectations the funding drive was. But, highlighting Africa's cash woes, it said: "In fact, on the one hand major Western banks have begun to limit their exposure on loans to Africa, while the various debt rescheduling exercises on the other hand tend merely to postpone the problem and increase the debt burden over the longer term."

The report said Africa's foreign debt totalled \$218 billion last year. Other continents owe more.

Yet, it added: "It is the size of debt obligations in relation to available resources that renders African debt the most critical."

The debt was equal to 70 per cent of Africa's gross domestic product, and triple its export earnings in 1987. Some 35,8 per cent of export income was needed just to service this.

Growing repayment bills were falling due at a time Africa's export earnings, hit by a slump in world commodity prices, were shrinking and capital inflows were stagnating in real terms.

"Further, as countries find it increasingly difficult to meet outstanding commitments, the deterioration in their creditworthiness limits new borrowing and even the

disbursement of agreed loans," it declared.

The report portrayed the debt as a major obstacle to developing Africa's economies, which it said grew only 0,8 per cent last year after 0,5 per cent in 1986.

It called for more realistic repayment terms, based on the real capacity of African nations to settle obligations along with their development needs.

It said sluggish growth had increased pressure on governments to adjust policies giving momentum to the pace of reforms. Some 28 countries were reported to have started programmes to restructure their economies.

But while a consensus had emerged since 1986 on the need for reforms there were still serious problems over how to enact these.

There was almost unanimous agreement on the need to give priority to agriculture, giving farmers adequate incentives by way of prices, inputs, and technical and financial support.

"By contrast, there is still serious debate regarding the role of the public sector, while the social impact of adjustment measures has become a very contentious issue," it added. — Sapa-Reuter

Europe put us in this shambles

Sowetan 25/4/88

Dear Mr Valberg — I read your article in the *Sowetan* on April 7, with keen interest. From your experiences and observations you have concluded that we are just not cut out to run a country. We are corrupt, greedy, incompetent, etc. You have also spoken to a few black South Africans who prefer to live in perpetual servitude than live under a black government. Well, that is a mouthful, isn't it?

First, let me grant that your observations are not far-fetched. Corruption and greed? Yes sir, I can quote you a few examples myself. Incompetence? Yes indeed. But perpetual servitude? No sir. There is no argument in the world to justify racial oppression and exploitation. And any attempt as such an argument is bound to have serious flaws.

Your argument is quite academic (not surprising, you are a philosopher). But, sadly your poverty in facts persuades me to believe that the twelve years you have spent in Africa have been in vain. You looked but you haven't seen. You claim to know Africa and the Africans. Believe me, you don't. Africa is of academic interest to you.

I assume, albeit with some caution, that you are not saying that there is something intrinsic in

our blackness which renders us incompetent, corrupt and greedy. In other words, we are capable of displaying the noble traits that have so far been a monopoly of your white race.

My other assumption is that there are external factors which have caused Africa to be what she is. And these, of course, you choose to ignore. Instead you jump to the old conclusion that racists have been preaching to the world down the centuries and which some Africans have come to accept as the absolute truth.

Slavery

When the white man came to Africa he had a threefold mission, as historians put, namely: to bring us God, gold and glory. He brought God for us "savages" in return for our mineral resources which in turn gave glory to the white race. He is now enjoying the glory of his conquest and subjugation of Africa. The legacy of slavery which was followed by the partitioning and colonisation in Africa is the most cardinal sin that Europe ever committed in Africa. But today it is the same Europe that is standing in self-righteousness and pointing an accusing finger at Africa. The socio-cultural

condition of Africa cannot be fully understood if it is not viewed from an historic perspective. There are volumes and volumes of historical facts which can be referred to by anyone seeking to understand how Africa came to be what she is.

A good study of the aftermath and effects of slavery and colonisation reveals a very tragic economic set-up. Africa was the main supplier of raw materials to Europe at virtually no cost. Ghana became the major exporter of raw cocoa the profits of which did not end in Ghana.

King Leopold II of Belgium claimed the whole of Congo as his farm! I mean the whole Congo became a rubber plantation for King Leopold II. Again the livelihood of the people of the Congo had little or no place in the scheme.

In all the colonies there was one common philosophy: The economy of the colony should only be developed to supplement that of the colonising country, but definitely not to render the colony self-sufficient. Even today the free African states have not succeeded in untangling the mess of the colonial era. The situation is further exacerbated by the fact when the Europeans leave they make it a point to render

the economy completely unmanageable thus undermining the newly-attained independence of the people.

In short, when the colonies attained their independence the Africans were faced with a non-sustaining economy. Now that is a necessary condition for greed and corruption. A few individuals find themselves in a position of advantage in relation to the masses and thus tend to acquire as much wealth for themselves as they can. What with the ex-colonialists' promise of rewards and "aid".

Those few states who opt for a different way towards economic independence often fall foul to the covert activities of the CIA and other European organisations. When Tanzania opted for a socialist solution to her problems she was not left alone (to let her commit suicide, so to speak). Instead, very clandestine and unscrupulous measures were employed to ensure Tanzania's downfall. In a year when Tanzania had a good rainfall the crops were suddenly attacked by a mysterious virus.

When this virus was tested in the labs it was found to be synthetic! And some researchers later claimed that it was produced and kept by the CIA. But who gets the blame for your types when the "socialist option is not working"? It is the Africans.

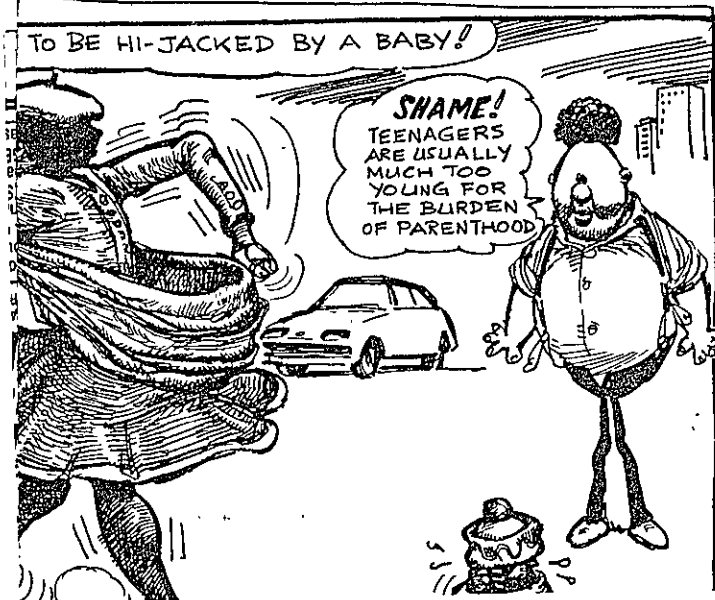
The International Monetary Fund is another tool used by the West to retard the progress of development in Africa. An IMF loan is not given on humanitarian grounds. Stringent conditions are imposed on the recipient of the loan so that repayment of the loan simply becomes an impossible task.

It is well known that South Africa has been engaged in destabilisation activities in the whole of Southern Africa.

So what has all this got to do with your argument? Simply this: you can't use Africa as a case for your argument. What you see in Africa today is nothing of African creation.

FRANK TALK

Protea North.



DID 2714186

Locust invasion threatens to destroy North African crops ①

Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

LONDON — The worst invasion of locusts for 30 years is threatening the crops and economies of North Africa.

Officials speak of "billions blackening the skies".

"We are in a state of general alert," the director of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, Dr Edward Saouma, said.

"Swift action, which may cost more than R325 million, is needed to avoid a major food crisis in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco."

The cause of the plague is the tremendous rainfall in usually arid areas.

This has caused plentiful vegetation and vastly increased the number of locusts.

There is an immediate threat to the city of Tunis, where millions of the insects are within a few miles.

The three North African countries have mobilised their armies to fight the threat.

"Their principal weapon will be insecticide spray", the Overseas Development Agency in London said.

"The best technique is to attack them from the air in the early morning, before they rise to form a swarm.

"They can also be attacked from ground vehicles."

A Tunisian army officer remarked: "We have enough equipment to stop them at present but there may be new concentrations."

Nearly 20 000 square kilometres of land in North Africa needs treatment during the next six weeks.

This would limit the spread of swarms which can each cover up to 300 square kilometres.

A square kilometre of a swarm contains 50 million animals which can eat 100 000 tons of vegetation in a single night.

It is reported that swarms have reached southern Mauritania, Mali and Senegal.

Stars 28 (4) 68

Emergency food centre bombed

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopian aircraft bombed an emergency food distribution centre earlier this month minutes after a food handout to thousands of famine victims had ended, Western sources said yesterday.

The April 8 attack on the relief centre, just outside rebel-held Wukro in the northern province of Tigre, left 50 or more people dead, the sources said. Thousands receive grain at the Wukro centre daily. — The Independent News Service.

Ethiopia set to hit back at rebels ①

The Star's Foreign News Service
ADDIS ABABA — After five weeks of intensive — and heavily advertised — preparation, the Ethiopian government's counter-offensive against secessionist movements in Eritrea is believed to be imminent.

Aid agencies fear that it will force huge numbers of people, already weakened by hunger, to flee.

Emergency food distribution has been cut by fighting and government restrictions, and could

collapse. Mass movements of population were a contributory cause of the high death toll in the 1984 famine.

But Western diplomatic sources believe that President Mengistu cannot delay. An estimated 150 000 government troops in the north have been waiting for weeks and he cannot allow morale to slip.

The president's speeches, coupled with radio broadcasts, have created a climate of anticipation.

Diplomatic moves on two fronts

Star 74/5708
have freed the government to commit more forces to the counter-offensive. A reconciliation between Ethiopia and Sudan could also be in the making.

But Western diplomats emphasise that it will not be easy for the president to defeat the Tigre People's Liberation Front. And they suggest that his political future could be in question if the counter-offensive achieves less than the "once-and-for-all" solution that he wants.

Russia 'still probing for advantage in Africa'

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The rise of a pro-Soviet regime in South Africa remains Moscow's principal long-term aim in sub-Saharan Africa. America's military chiefs have warned in a report just published.

The study, an annual assessment of the Soviet Union's global military power, is the first to be issued under the name of the new US Secretary of Defence, Mr Frank Carlucci.

It contests the view of some American analysts that Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, determined to create a peaceful international climate that would be favourable for his programme of difficult domestic reforms, may be eager to scale down military support for distant Third World clients.

CHANGE OF STYLE

"Moscow's continuous probing for advantage in sub-Saharan Africa suggests that Gorbachev's concentration on domestic economic reform in the Soviet Union does not preclude an active foreign policy, even in areas such as southern Africa that are of peripheral strategic concern to the Kremlin," the report says. "This probing can be expected to continue."

It warns that Mr Gorbachev's "new thinking" reflects a change of style but that by cultivating a less threatening international image, Moscow's aims to deflect attention away from Soviet milita-

An American study challenges the view that Mikhail Gorbachev is keen to reduce military aid to Third World nations, reports Neil Lurssen.

rism and adventurism in its foreign policy.

The report claims that while the Soviets continue to create and exploit opportunities to extend their presence in the Africa region, an equally important objective is to undermine the influence of the West.

By gaining access to naval and air bases, the Soviets could be in a position to cut sea lines of communications in the event of a global crisis or an outbreak of hostilities.

"Moscow also is positioning itself to play a dominant role in southern Africa in a transition (whether peaceful or violent) from the apartheid regime to black majority rule in South Africa," the report says.

Its efforts to cultivate the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe indicate a striving for closer links with southern African countries that are unaligned or have historical ties with the West.

"The consummation of a Soviet-Zimbabwean arms deal — the first ever between the two countries — would bring a boost to stagnant Soviet fortunes in the region, even if

it does not immediately endanger the influence of the West or the dominant regional position of South Africa," the report says.

"The Soviet Union, which already is providing substantial political and propaganda support and some indirect military assistance to the African National Congress, probably would raise the ante further of a war of 'national liberation' erupts.

"The ascension to power of a pro-Soviet regime in South Africa remains Moscow's principal long-

term objective."
The study notes that in contrast to the dramatic expansion of Soviet power in sub-Saharan Africa in the late 1970s, the 1980s have seen the Soviets trying to consolidate their gains.

"This consolidation has been hampered, however, by the insurgency of Unita against the regime in Angola and by Mozambique's gradual turn toward the West."

The Unita rebellion and the insurgency against Ethiopia's Marxist government enable Moscow to increase its influence by serving as the main source of military assistance for the threatened regimes.

The study, based on the latest US intelligence assessments, says that since 1980 the Soviets have sent about \$15 billion worth of increasingly sophisticated weapons to the

sub-Saharan region.

It lists the following military equipment delivered to Africa up to the end of 1987 (with the figures taken from last year's report in brackets): tanks and self-propelled guns, 635 (585); light armour, 1 160 (1 050); artillery, 2 880 (1 825); major surface combatant ships, 3 (4); minor surface combatant ships, 22 (18); missile attack boats, 6 (8); surface-to-air missile launchers, 230 (185); other aircraft, 65 (70); surface-to-air missiles, 4 920 (2 300).

The figures show clearly that US intelligence agencies have scaled down some of their previous assessments. But they also show a sharp increase in the number of missiles and helicopters sent to the region — probably a reflection of the heightened conflict in Angola. — The Star's Washington Bureau.

Huge locust swarms threaten north Africa's food supplies

The Star's Africa News Service

PORT LOUIS — An appeal for international help against Africa's locust plague has been made by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), which has warned that it might cause serious food shortages.

"There is no question that the new plague which has swooped down upon the continent is exceptionally vast," FAO director-general Mr. Edouard Saouma said at the FAO's regional conference in Port Louis, Mauritius.

An FAO document said the fast-growing locust infestation in north-western Africa and the Sahel region threatened crops not only in these regions but the entire northern part of Africa.

Latest reports said huge swarms covering an area of 100 km by 150 km appeared last

week in Mali.

Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco have mobilised to fight the most serious infestation of locusts in more than 30 years.

Billions of the insects have caused extensive damage to crops and are threatening to inflict great harm to the delicate economies of north Africa.

The invasion is causing increasing worry in southern European countries, which fear that the highly unpredictable and mobile insects will be carried across the Mediterranean.

Millions of locusts are concentrated in the Atlas mountains in Morocco, where high peaks have acted as a barrier to their advance towards the country's breadbasket and the cities of Casablanca, Rabat, Fez and Marrakesh.

There are also high concentrations of the locusts in the desert of Algeria.

Ethiopia threatens to cut ties in ICRC's 125th year

DDP 9/588

DAI

GENEVA — The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is celebrating its 125th birthday with no sign it will ever be out of a job.

The clean-cut wars of 19th-century Europe have been replaced by more shadowy conflicts but the need for an impartial agency to protect the victims of armed struggle has never been more real.

It all started when a Swiss businessman, Mr Jean-Henry Dunant, witnessed in horror the sight of French, Austrian and Sardinian dead and wounded littering the battlefield at Solferino.

In 1862 he published a book, A Memory of Solferino, which pricked the public conscience about the human indignities of war.

Mr Dunant proposed every country should set up a voluntary aid corps to support its army medical units, with all nations adopting certain inviolable principles — later to be enshrined in the Geneva Conventions.

On 29 October 1863, delegates from 16 states attended a ceremony at Geneva's Palais de l'Athlétisme at which the Red Cross was born.

In its 125th birthday year, the ICRC has the sup-

port of 146 countries. Its aims remain virtually unchanged.

At the ICRC's headquarters, the director-general, Mr Jacques Moreillon, said: "If you have a helpless individual, wounded or imprisoned, who has lost his natural protector, his own state, you have to find a substitute."

"If he needs medical attention, you provide it in proportion to his need with no discrimination, irrespective of race or creed."

● Meanwhile Ethiopia's Red Cross Society yesterday threatened to cut ties with the ICRC unless the committee hands over drought-relief supplies it locked up in the war-torn north.

The ICRC president in Geneva said: "They wanted to go on with the joint agreement only if we handed over all our supplies."

"We couldn't do that. It's general policy."

"Supplies are never handed over... without having our expatriate presence to monitor and control the operation."

ICRC put about 53 000 tons of emergency relief food and equipment, including approximately 40 trucks, under lock and key after the government

last month ordered all expatriate relief workers to leave the northern provinces of Eritrea and Tigre for reasons of "personnel security".

About half of the approximately 60 foreign aid workers expelled from Eritrea and Tigre were employed by ICRC, which vehemently opposed the evacuation order and asked the government to allow it to return a skeleton staff of foreign employees to the region where it was supplying food to an estimated 500 000 people.

The government has not officially rejected the request, but has said it would not allow expatriate relief workers to return to the north en masse until rebel insurgencies in both provinces are wiped out.

An estimated 3.2 million people are threatened with starvation in the Eritrea and Tigre areas.

A government pullback from much of both provinces in the face of rebel offensives in March and its expulsion of expatriate relief workers has left an estimated 2 million people beyond the reach of emergency supplies, say Western relief officials.

Crop failures nationwide threaten another 4 million people nationwide, who are the subject of a largely uninterrupted relief effort. — Sapa-AP

War cuts aid to millions ①

ADDIS ABABA — A sharp escalation of Ethiopia's long-running civil war is creating a man-made catastrophe in the north of the country, where two million or more people are suddenly beyond the reach of relief.

The relief effort is well organised and well supplied. The problem is war. The outlook is mass starvation and mass migrations to crowded hunger camps like those seen during the 1984-85 famine.

Until recently, the people in the northern provinces of Eritrea and Tigre were helped by a relief effort under pressure from the effects of rebel action, such as roads being closed and relief lorries destroyed.

But these problems are dwarfed by the new twin rebel offensives launched in March, says a US official.

Secessionist rebels of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) scored large gains, including the destruction of three government divisions

at the important garrison town of Afabet. Rebels in Tigre spread across much of their province.

The government, faced with a real possibility of losing control of the north, withdrew from parts of the two provinces to concentrate forces against the powerful EPLF.

As the government withdrew, it took with it its own relief commission, previously an important provider of food in the provinces. Last month it forbade non-government food relief trucks to move beyond its lines, and it ejected relief workers — half of them from the Red Cross — from the provinces.

That move halted operations by the Red Cross, which together with other organisations was giving aid to about one million people in the north.

It is estimated that 3.2 million people in this region face starvation.

Unless the situation changes, they will not receive food. — The Independent News Service.

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War cuts aid to millions ①

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SA will talk peace in land where Cubans are also a headache

By Ken Vernon, The Star's Africa News Service

When the South African delegation arrives in the Congolese Republic today for talks on Angola, it will be in a country where a part of the population shares a similar preoccupation — how to get rid of the Cubans.

Since independence from France in 1960, the Congo has adopted a radical Marxist ideology that last year spawned a rebel movement committed to abolition of the one-party system, restoration of political pluralism and the removal of a 2 000-strong Cuban military contingent.

But the South Africans will most likely be spared having to be guarded by Cubans, because they will discuss the "withdrawal with honour" of the larger Cuban contingent in Angola in Brazzaville. Most of the Congo Cubans are based at the coastal town of Pointe Noire.

Brazzaville is a sprawling city of 450 000 people — almost a third of the population of the country — nestled cheek by jowl with Kinshasa, capital of Zaire.

The Congo is run by a rare combination of military and one-party Marxist rule.

Its leader, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, came to power in 1979 by overthrowing his commanding officer, General Joachim Yhombi-Opango, because he was considered to be too Western oriented.

The leadership's consistent commitment to socialist-oriented economic policies and state nationalisation of industry has — as elsewhere in Africa — ruined the economy and led to increased dependence on Western companies running extraction industries, and on Western aid, mainly from France.

Exploitation of off-shore and on-shore oil fields, run by French and Italian companies, makes up 70 percent of the Congo's income for a budget that topped R2 000 million this year. Other income is derived mainly from mining ventures.

Since the beginning of the decline in oil prices in the mid-1980s, the Congo's gross national product has also declined, so that this year's budget was described as a "crisis budget" by Prime Minister Ange Pongui, who said that balancing the budget was "attempting the impossible".

Debt repayments take up 44,8 percent of the country's income, and it has had to submit itself to a stringent economic-recovery programme imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

Why has Brazzaville been chosen to host the next round of Angolan peace talks? asks Peter Fabricius.

South African diplomats are not forthcoming with answers. They remain as mysterious on this point as they do about other vital questions concerning the talks, such as who will be there.

Several reasons might have contributed to the choice of this steamy equatorial country, which inspired Joseph Conrad's novel "Heart of Darkness".

The Marxism of President Sassou-Nguesso also seems to be of the pragmatic variety.

A FEW TENUOUS LINKS

In foreign policy, the Congo has moved out of the Soviet sphere of influence, fostering links with France, the United States and China.

Western nations, especially the old colonial power, France, are the chief source of foreign aid, although Eastern bloc countries also contribute.

Another reason for the venue might be that South Africa welcomes the opportunity of increasing its influence in West Africa, where it already has a few tenuous links with countries, such as the Ivory Coast, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea.

South Africa might also have some interest in Congo oil, which has helped to give it one of the highest GNPs per capita in sub-Saharan Africa.

Despite this shot in the arm to the economy, the Congo's average rate of adult literacy was only 37,1 percent in 1985 — one of the lowest in Africa.

Since the drop in the oil price, the Congo — like other new oil producers — has struggled to pay for oil infrastructure and is repaying a large foreign debt.

The country's political history since independence from France in 1960 reveals many of the common features of post-colonial Africa, with a series of coups and assassinations.

But President Sassou-Nguesso has remained in power since March 1979. He has survived a certain amount of unrest and at least one attempted coup.

aining 40 percent.

Black Africa gives Olympics the nod

Ste 12/5788
YAOUNDE (Cameroon) — Zola Budd's withdrawal from competitive sport has lifted doubt over the Seoul Olympics, the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA) said yesterday.

"Whatever the reasons given, the withdrawal removes the doubt which overshadowed the organisation of the Olympic Games in Seoul," the council said in a statement.

Budd returned to Johannesburg on Tuesday after announcing she was quitting international athletics because of pressure caused by charges she had broken international boycotts by attending track events in South Africa as a spectator.

The statement by the Yaoude-based SCSA stopped short of saying Budd's

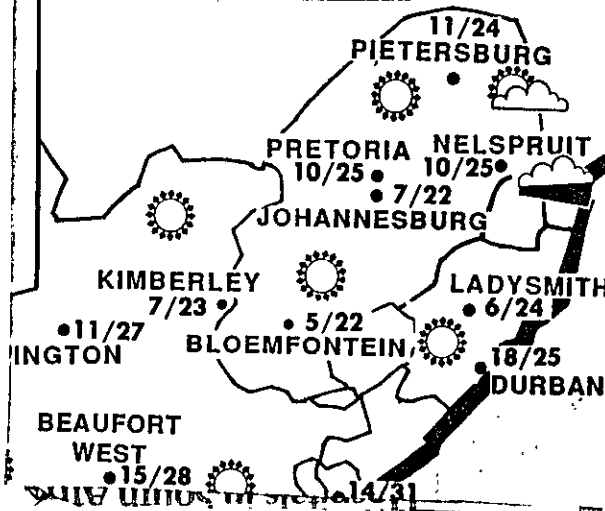
decision had ended all possibilities of an African boycott of the Games.

The SCSA and other African sport authorities have expressed concern about participation in the Games by other native South Africans who, like Budd, have changed their citizenship, or by athletes who have appeared in South Africa.

The Yaoude statement said it "welcomed Miss Zola Budd's decision voluntarily to withdraw from international competition".

The SCSA communique said it hoped the Budd affair would serve as example to others, an apparent reference to other South Africans who had obtained different citizenship.

THE WEATHER



In a recent interview, Mr Lamine Ba, head of the SCSA, expressed concern about "passports of convenience" granted to other South African nationals and said Budd was not alone in jeopardising African participation in the Games.

Mr Lamine Diack, a vice-president of the IAAF and head of the Dakar-based African Athletics Confederation, said the IAAF was considering rule changes requiring athletes from a suspended federation to reside at least two years in their adopted country before competing. — Sapa

Africa high on Geneva agenda

The Star's
Foreign News Service ①

GENEVA — Southern Africa is the main regional issue at the current pre-summit talks between US Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, officials confirmed yesterday. SK 12/188

Nuclear arms control will be the main agenda item.

While a treaty on reducing strategic nuclear arms cannot be completed in time for the May 29-June 3 summit in Moscow, President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev want to issue a "summary" of progress so far made in the negotiations.

Mr Shultz and Mr Shevardnadze then have to clear up nine technical points concerning verification which are holding up US Senate ratification of the December agreement on ground-launched medium and shorter range nuclear missile elimination.

Regional issues would be the main agenda subjects after arms control.

Star ① 12/5/88

Making the medicine more palatable for Africa's debtors

Star ①
12/5/88

Britain has Margaret Thatcher, and Africa has the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In the past decade, both the Prime Minister and the fund have prescribed stern financial discipline for their respective charges. Both have been accused of cruelty and shortsightedness for increasing unemployment and undermining social services.

The difference is that Africa is much poorer and politically more unstable, its economies are in much greater disarray and it seems to have failed to respond adequately, or quickly, to the monetary medicine doled out by the IMF and its allies, the World Bank and the bilateral donors.

Realising this and fearing another upsurge of African anti-capitalism, those who bankroll Africa's efforts to bring about economic recovery are engaged in a gradual but remarkable shift in thinking.

For the 25 or more African countries implementing donor-funded Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), the benefits of this change of heart should come in the form of more donor money on easier terms and a series of special projects designed to alleviate the initial pain caused to the poor by economic adjustment.

Africa's politically vocal citydwellers, including unwanted civil servants who may be pruned from bloated administrations on the advice of the IMF, are always capable of staging food riots and destroying the reform effort, as they helped to do in Zambia in 1986. Henceforth they will be coddled in the early stages of adjustment.

In Guinea-Bissau, this means that civil servants on fixed incomes, who would suffer particularly from price increases associated with devaluation, will receive subsidised food on a declining basis over three years. In Senegal, sacked civil servants will be retrained and resettled as farmers in rural areas. In Mauritania, redundant workers from the iron ore industry will be helped to go into agriculture.

Ghana, which faced economic collapse

in the early 1980s, is now regarded as one of the IMF's few success stories in Africa. But even there recovery is fragile and the poor have suffered, especially the urban population unable to benefit from higher producer prices for cocoa and food crops. Although the emphasis on agriculture is long overdue, urban discontent remains a threat.

"That is why the politics of stabilisation is so often also the politics of destabilisation," Mr Tsatsu Tsikata, adviser to the Ghana government, told a recent UN conference in Khartoum on African economic recovery.

"A government determined to effect these transformations will face attempts to overthrow it," he said.

"We should have been moving faster on these social dimensions," World Bank representative Dr Stephen O'Brien said at the Khartoum conference, which focused on the human costs of economic adjustment. "We've been groping towards a better understanding."

Above all, it is the African governments themselves, not the IMF, which ultimately decide where to make the required budget cuts. They often reduce spending on health rather than on defence or government bureaucracy.

Mr Ismail Serageldin of the World Bank put the problem like this: "Under the pressure of the present crisis, a number of governments have succumbed to the tendency to cut back on social spending at the basic and preventative levels in favour of sustained spending in some other areas whose political constituencies are more powerful."

African countries and their allies have accused the Western donors, sometimes with great bitterness, of failing to keep a bargain made at a special UN session in 1986, whereby donors would be generous with aid money in exchange for African perseverance with economic reform.

Certainly, the continent's unmanageable \$200 billion external debt and the low world prices for most of its commodity exports have placed formidable obstacles in the way of recovery. But the IMF, the World Bank and individual donors are making attempts to ease Afri-

AFRICAN DEBT source: EIU Country Risk Service

	Total debt (\$ bn)	Total debt (a) service ratio (%)	GDP growth (%)	Per capita	
				GDP (\$)	debt (\$)
Sudan	8.3 (b)	10.0 (b)	3.5	250 (b)	373 (b)
Gabon	2.2	18.1	(-3.8)	2,823	2,052
Senegal	3.7	23.8	4.1	699	532
Liberia	1.4	7.6	(-2.4)	355	631
S. Africa	21.1	12.9	2.2	2,383	615
Nigeria	25.2	22.5	1.2	233	249
Congo	3.8	14.2	(-4.0)	1,783	2,072
Ghana	2.7	29.1 (c)	4.1	317	186
Kenya	4.7	29.7	5.2	345	213
Zimbabwe	2.7	40.0	(-2.0)	730	320
Cameroon	3.9	22.0	2.3	1,300	362
Zaire	8.2	10.0 (d)	2.0	76	254
Zambia	5.7	14.9 (e)	(-2.0)	192	779
Ivory Coast	8.9 (d)	22.0 (e)	0.5	1,156	857

a - total debt service as a % of exports of goods and services
 b - 1986 estimates
 c - if IMF charges and arrears payment included, the ratio rises to 57%
 d - refers to medium and long term only
 e - refers to public medium and long term only

ca's peculiar difficulties.

Under Mr Michel Camdessus, the IMF is imposing softer conditions and targets for run down African economies and providing balance of payments support with longer-term standby arrangements.

World Bank figures show that annual per capita growth in gross domestic product in African countries with sustained adjustment programmes was 0.8 percent between 1984 and 1986, compared with a fall of 2.5 percent for those without. The Food and Agriculture Organisa-

tion says that in the same period per capita food production rose annually by 4.2 percent in countries with structural adjustment, against only 2.4 percent for those without.

The SAFs do not seem to be "tearing apart the fabric of African society," as claimed by Professor Adebayo Adedeji, who heads the UN Economic Commission for Africa. But none of the figures are particularly impressive and Africa still has a long way to go. — Financial Times.

S Africans may have to leave black state

54-1315786
Discussions between South Africa and Equatorial Guinea over the future of seven South Africans working on aid projects are to continue.

Nigeria claims their presence on Bioko Island, working on a cattle-breeding ranch and also involved in road building and medical assistance, poses a security threat.

Nigeria and Swapo claim that South Africa is building a satellite relay station on Bioko as well

as expanding an airfield.

Equatorial Guinea's ambassador in Lagos, Mr Fortunatus Okenve, said the South African agricultural experts would leave as soon as specific projects were completed.

A South African Department of Foreign Affairs statement issued yesterday said the South African projects were the most successful yet to have been launched in Equatorial Guinea.

Congo safari filled with irony

Star 16/5/88

(1)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Staff

Mr Pik Botha's fleeting safari to Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, last week was an occasion full of bitter irony.

The Congo oozes the essence of Africa. It lies almost astride the equator, alongside the continent's mightiest river, and most of its surface is covered with tropical forest.

Politically, too, the name Congo evokes powerful memories of the turbulent early days of independence and of the mercenaries, many of them South African.

Much of that was in the old Belgian Congo, now Zaire, that lies just across the river.

Into this most African of African countries stepped Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan, Ministers in the hated government of South Africa.

From the way Mr Botha carried it off, you would think he had dropped in for a friendly chat with old pals and not an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with bitter enemies in a bloody war. Mr Botha milked the occasion of its full potential.

From the moment he stepped on to the tarmac at the airport, dressed in an African chief's hat and carrying a staff, he lost no opportunity to play the part of an African leader meeting other African leaders.

He told the Congo Minister of External Affairs, Mr Antoine Edinga Oba, that he appreciated Mr Oba's hosting the talks as "African problems should be solved by Africans".

Mr Oba, more bluntly, said the Congo had hosted the talks "to save Cuban lives". It was also possible, as the South Africans believed, that the Congo was flattered by all the publicity.

Mr Botha also let on that he had very useful talks with "Congolese friends" about the problems of Africa and about trade links.

His people underlined the point that it was something of a coup for South Africa to have

been received in a Marxist African state while the liberal West was shunning us.

Certainly it was an appealing idea for South Africans to be let back into the part of their continent from which they had so long been excluded.

Did Mr Botha nearly give the game away in his first remarks at Maya-Maya Airport?

Asked how he felt about meeting the Angolans for the first time, he said this was not the first time and he had met them in Cape Verde, Ilha do Sal and Lusaka.

This was the first meeting in Brazzaville "and maybe it would be a good idea to meet them in every African capital".

It almost sounded as though the whole thing was merely designed to show off South Africa being received by Africa.

There did not seem to be an earnest desire to end a war. Of the actual reason for the meeting very little was said.

The South Africans also revealed that they had taken the opportunity to castigate the Angolans for harbouring the African National Congress and had demanded that they stop the current Cuban southward advance or risk jeopardising the peace talks and provoking a bloody battle.

Observers had expected that at the heart of the matter, was some sort of compromise on the central issue of synchronising Cuban withdrawal and independence for Namibia under United Nations Resolution 435.

It had seemed that the seven-month period for the transition to independence, written into 435, might be extended to give the Cubans more time to pull out, a fairly reasonable-sounding proposition.

Afterwards, senior sources said that South Africa had not budged an inch on this point although it would be formulating "some proposals" to be put at the next round of talks.

Gentle fleece the price of peace ①

Political Staff

Stew 16/5/88
"Je suis Sud Africain," one of the journalists covering Mr Pik Botha's visit to the Congo ventured to a curious local and we braced ourselves for a tirade about apartheid.

Instead the enthusiastic response was: "Ah, Afrique du Sud, that is a rich country."

That remark seemed to typify the Republic of Congo today. The fervour of the official policy of Marxist-Leninism (if ever there was much) is giving way to healthy respect for the dollar.

Rather too healthy, we were to discover.

Along the boulevards, the "brave new world" bravado of Marxist slogans is still visible but the paintwork is peeling.

And the fresher paintwork is to be seen on new signs proclaiming private enterprises popping up on the roadsides. We came expecting doctrinaire disapproval. Instead the Congolese were model capitalists. They disarmed us with smiles — and fleeced us.

If Afrique du Sud was a rich country when it arrived, it was

destitute when it left — bereft of wads of French franc travellers cheques — and desperately hauling out cash cards.

Two days accommodation at the Le Meridien Hotel — an establishment with five-star pretensions and slightly less than three-star service (still very comfortable compared to what we had expected) — cost thousands of rands, mainly because of the astronomical price of foreign phone calls.

The currency is CFA francs (called cefas) which can be used throughout the old French West African colonies.

Fifty cefas are equal to one French franc and 2.55 of these in turn equal one rand.

An indifferent steak in the hotel's restaurant Le Flamboyant sets you back 3 900 CFA or R30 and a salad R21.

A beer starts at about R9 for the local brew — not too bad — and goes up to R12 or so for imported Heineken.

The next morning a cup of tea will set you back R7,80.

The Congolese haggle about everything. In the local tourist craft market — which sells

ivory, malachite, copper, brass and ebony curios — the price of an ivory trinket starts at say, R100 and may eventually get down to R30 or less, depending on your bargaining skills.

It was difficult to say how locals get by as we had little chance to check the price of basic goods in shops, although it was apparent there wasn't much.

A teacher earns about 80 000 cefas a month, to give some idea of relative values.

Fishermen in dugout canoes plied the waters but what most impressed our guide was the huge palace of Zaire President Mobutu Sese-Seko just across the river.

The profligate Mobutu — reputedly one of the richest men in the world — must set a tantalising example to his more austere neighbours.

If we were surprised when Mr Pik Botha announced that the Congo had offered to host this round of Angola peace talks, we were not surprised that it had kindly offered to host the next round too.

Who would turn down another windfall like that?

17/5/88

THE Brazzaville negotiations have reinforced impressions that South Africa's relations with black Africa have entered a new and possibly constructive phase.

While opposition to apartheid and demands for sanctions are as strong as ever, a sense of pragmatism is increasingly evident in African attitudes to South Africa.

This was demonstrated last week when on the one hand Nigeria increased its pressure on Equatorial Guinea to expel the South African aid teams there and on the other hand South African delegates held peace talks with Angola in the Congo capital of Brazzaville — and then went on to talk with the Congolese about trade possibilities.

That South Africa should be talking trade with the Congolese Government, which recently was following radical Marxist policies, is surprising in itself. What is more surprising, in the view of knowledgeable analysts, is that the fact should be made public.

The disclosure of the trade talks may have been precipitated by the warmth generated during the Angola negotiations. But there was more than spontaneity behind the disclosure. South African diplomats, notably Mr Glenn Babb, the deputy director general of foreign affairs, had visited Brazzaville to promote trade and other contacts before the Angola talks ever materialised.

This was done as part of diligent and wide-ranging diplomacy that the South African Department of Foreign Affairs has long conducted in Africa.

Since few states are willing to be seen openly dealing with Pretoria, most of this activity was carried out in secret, like the technical aid given to Equatorial Guinea for the past few years.

According to some sources, South Africa has had secret dealings with a surprisingly large number of African countries. And most member states of the Organisation of African Unity are said to have had clandestine trade with the republic in varying degrees.

If these accounts are accurate, it may be that what was revealed at Brazzaville was something like the tip of an iceberg.

The Brazzaville disclosure comes at a time when international pressure for sanctions against South Africa has become more intense than ever, with a measure successfully launched in the United States Congress that would virtually bar all American trade with the republic.

But at the same time the South African

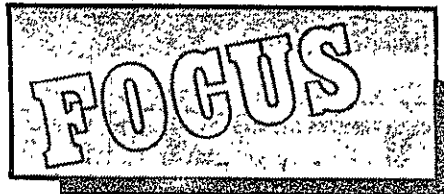
SA getting closer to black Africa?



MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

Government is increasingly turning away from its former allies in the West and seeking a new road to acceptance in black Africa.

Analysts believe these efforts have been greatly encouraged not only by what happened at Brazzaville but by the



SOWETAN Africa News Service

conducted without the Americans, who have been dismissed by South African political leaders as "irrelevant".

The next round of talks are due to be held again in Brazzaville and some reports have suggested the Americans will participate. Observers will be watching with interest to see whether they do or whether it will be an all-Africa affair.



recent approaches by Mozambique to improve relations with South Africa under the umbrella of a revitalised Nkomati Accord.

The very fact that South Africa and Angola are engaging in negotiation is in itself seen as an important step away from the confrontation that has long characterised relations.

Rebels

It is recognised that the Angolans may be acting out of harsh necessity as both their economy and their ability to defeat the Unita rebels continue to

decline. Nevertheless, analysts believe the political spin-off from the negotiations could be considerable, provided the South African Government is seen to be acting in good faith.

In contrast to the previous Angolan negotiations in London, there was no United States delegation at the Brazzaville. The South Africans have characterised the Brazzaville talks as "complimentary" to those in London. At the same time the Congo meeting has raised the question of whether it and subsequent negotiations might not be



THE Sowetan today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention: • Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the New Nation, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 516 days; • Brian Sokutu, Eastern Cape freelance

Mr. Tim's 19/88

Africa: ① The gutter continent?

Financial Editor

AFRICA is referred to overseas as "the gutter continent" and there has been massive disinvestment from it, Rias van Wyk, professor of business economics at Stellenbosch University, said yesterday.

He told a human resources conference organized by the Contact Group that "the world has given up on Africa".

It was only disinvestment from SA that was publicized, in order to obtain credit. The nations and international companies which disinvested from other parts of Africa did not publish the fact.

Discussing SA's future, Van Wyk stressed the need for technological education which, he said, had contributed greatly to the success of the Far Eastern nations.

New artificial materials were replacing natural commodities such as copper. Technology was an ongoing force which it was essential to master and use.

Van Wyk said it was essential for SA managers to become familiar with new technology and learn how to use it. Inventors must be encouraged and this country should become an exporter of technology.

Brazzaville and the Africa Connection

Political correspondent BARRY STREEK accompanied the South African delegation to Brazzaville last week for talks on the Angola situation. In this report he illustrates how South Africa is spreading its relationships in Africa.

South Africa's clandestine relationships with the rest of Africa are slowly coming out of the closet—a development which was graphically illustrated last week in Brazzaville, the capital of the People's Republic of Congo.

Not only were the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, involved in direct negotiations with the Marxist MPLA government in Angola, but they also held publicly-disclosed discussions with Congolese businessmen and met with the president of Congo, Denis Sasson-Nguesso.

At present, Malawi is the only country in Africa to have diplomatic relations with South Africa.

But Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Ivory Coast maintain links through 'trade' offices. Trade between Mauritius and South Africa is flourishing.

South Africa also has direct air links with these countries, as well as Botswana, Zambia and the Cape Verde islands. Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe use South African harbours extensively.

It is developing an airstrip in the Comoro islands and South African companies are involved in building and managing two new hotels, both clearly aimed at exploiting the South African market.

Details about trade between South Africa and the rest of the country are not disclosed, but it is known the Republic trades with the vast majority, if not all, African countries. For instance, South African beer is served on Air Tanzania flights in style of Tanzania's official support for sanctions and the liberation movements.

South Africa has also quickly extended its involvement in developmental projects in a number of countries in West Africa, including Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Togo, Sierra Leone and the Central African Republic.

There are also rumours of involvement in other African countries, such as Somalia.

Slowly but surely these links with Africa are coming out into the open, as the Brazzaville talks demonstrated.

These developments are in direct line with

the only country in Africa to have diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Mr Pik Botha's often-stated view that whether South Africa likes it or not, it is part of the African continent and it is high time the Republic came to terms with that.

Mr Botha repeatedly stressed in Brazzaville that South Africa was an African country and the delegates were participating as Africans.

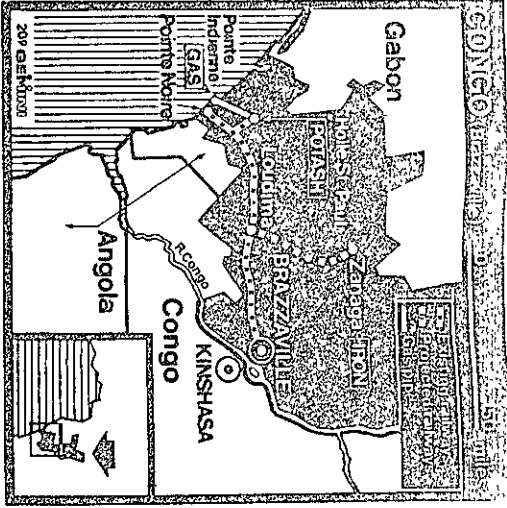
He also believes it is ironic that while hostility and sanctions in Western countries, particularly the United States, are hotting up, South Africa's relations with Africa are improving.

This development, particularly as it becomes more and more into the open, could have significant implications for Western strategies both in Africa and towards South Africa.

Certainly, African hostility towards apartheid and its support for the liberation movements has not changed, nor is it likely to change, but the realities and needs of Africa, as well as the South African Government's determination to develop links with countries to the north, do seem to indicate that a new phase in South African foreign policy has begun.

A revived Nkomati Accord and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops, not to mention increased trade with Africa, could be the first results of this new approach.

Particularly for a white South African, Brazzaville, a city with half a million people on



the Congo River, all seems very improbable.

On the one hand, there is Nelson Mandela Avenue, posters demanding the ANC leadership's release and pictures of Karl Marx and Lenin.

On the other hand, there are well-run luxury hotels with excellent French or local cuisine.

And prices to match: R7 for a bottle of coke, R16 for a bottle of beer and, in the case of one journalist, a bottle of Burgundy wine at R160.

The cost of telephone calls outside the Republic of Congo, as South African visitors and journalists discovered, is particularly exorbitant, but last week was remarkably direct with London and Paris can be called direct with ease. If you can get a line through, you can also call South Africa direct, at a price.

The hotels, clearly, are for the wealthy and the elite but the fact that French-run hotel chains find it worthwhile to operate in Brazzaville demonstrate that the city and the country has a degree of economic viability and wealth.

Outside the hotels, one gains an impression by African standards anyway, of a reasonably well run if slightly run-down city which needs a coat of paint.

But then the embassies, ranging from China, Soviet bloc countries, many African and Arab countries to most Western states, also look shabby, indicating the heat and humidity of the Congo, and the northern part of which is located on the Equator, make it difficult to keep buildings clean.

Almost all buildings, some of which were half-finished, were constructed out of cement blocks. Some buildings, particularly flats, looked overcrowded, but there were no shacks to be seen.

The commercial areas are largely composed of that would be called in South Africa the informal sector. There seemed to be no large shopping centres, but the existence of numerous small shops indicated that a free enterprise system competed for consumer spending, in spite of the Congolese Government's official commitment to Marxism-Leninism. The number of newish cars, mostly Japanese and French, also indicated some economic prosperity. A large taxi service, in green, older cars, confirmed this impression.

With the gross national product at an average of 1 230 US dollars a head, the Republic of Congo is certainly not among the poor countries in Africa and Brazzaville, its capital, reinforces this impression.

What made it all seem so improbable is the Congolese Government is regarded as one of the more radical countries on the African continent and is officially committed to socialism. It also has close ties with Soviet bloc countries, Cuba and Angola.

Yet, Brazzaville, did not seem like the capital city of a dedicated socialist state.

Certainly, Congo also has close ties with France, from whom it has received substantial economic aid. The cars and hotels confirm its financial links with Western countries.

President Sasson-Nguesso, who came to power after a coup in 1979, clearly impressed Mr Botha and General Malan, during their two-hour meeting and they discussed, in some detail, the South African Government's reform policies.

President Sasson-Nguesso's willingness to host the Angola-South Africa talks and to meet the two South African cabinet ministers demonstrated the pragmatism which has characterized his government's economic policies.

It was this approach that enabled the improbable venue of Brazzaville to become the site of the talks which may possibly lead to peace in Angola, the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the independence of Namibia.

Congo's Foreign Minister, Mr Antonine Ndinga-Oba, also played a significant role throughout the South African visit; he not only met the South Africans on their arrival at Mayaya-Maya airport in Brazzaville, but he also welcomed delegates to the discussions and was present at their conclusion.

Judging by the warm way in which Mr Ndinga-Oba said farewell to General Malan and Mr Botha at Mayaya-Maya airport on their departure, relations between South Africa and Congo have not only improved but have come out into the open.



Pik Botha and Magnus Malan with the Congo Foreign Minister Antonine Ndinga-Oba in Brazzaville.

South Africa's clandestine relationships with the rest of Africa are slowly coming out of the closet — a development which was graphically illustrated last week in Brazzaville, the capital of the People's Republic of Congo.

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Moreover, one other African government offered to host the talks and was upset when Brazzaville was agreed upon as the venue for last week's discussions.

When one considers that the programme of the ruling Parti Congolais du Travail (PTC), the Congo Workers' Party, is officially Marxist-Leninist and the government has long-standing ties with the Soviet bloc, Cuba and Angola, the significance of the Brazzaville site becomes more apparent.

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There are also rumours of involvement in other African countries, such as Somalia.

Slowly but surely these links with Africa are coming out into the open, as the Brazzaville talks demonstrated.

These developments are in direct line with

Brazzaville and the Africa connection

DD
18/1/88

Political correspondent BARRY STREEK accompanied the South African delegation to Brazzaville last week for talks on the Angola situation. In this report he illustrates how South Africa is spreading its relationships in Africa.

Mr Pik Botha's oft-stated view that whether South Africa likes it or not, it is part of the African continent and it is high time the Republic came to terms with that.

Mr Botha repeatedly stressed in Brazzaville that South Africa was an African country and the delegates were participating as Africans.

He also believes it is ironic that while hostility and sanctions in Western countries, particularly the United States, are hotting up, South Africa's relations

with Africa are improving.

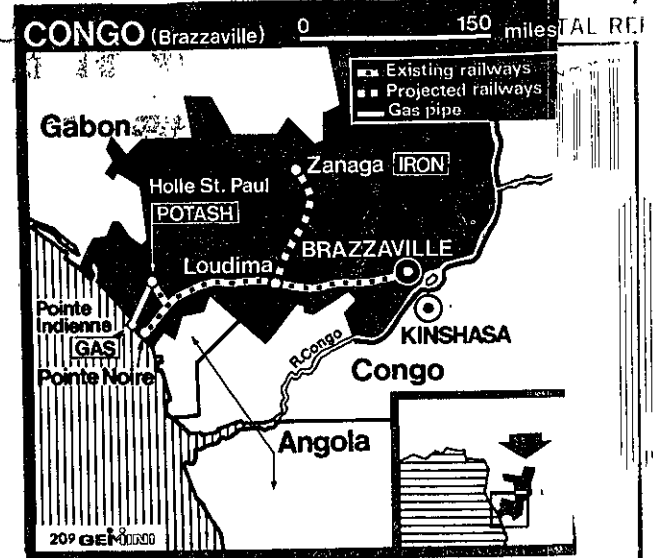
This development, particularly as it becomes more and more into the open, could have significant implications for Western strategies both in Africa and towards South Africa.

Certainly, African hostility towards apartheid and its support for the liberation movements has not changed, nor is it likely to change, but the realities and needs of Africa, as well as the South African Government's determi-

nation to develop links with countries to the north, do seem to indicate that a new phase in South African foreign policy has begun.

A revived Nkomati Accord and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops, not to mention increased trade with Africa, could be the first results of this new approach.

● Particularly for a white South African, Brazzaville, a city with half a million people on



the Congo River, all seems very improbable.

On the one hand, there is Nelson Mandela Avenue, posters demanding the ANC leader's release and pictures of Karl Marx and Lenin.

On the other hand, there are well-run luxury hotels with excellent French or local cuisine.

And prices to match: R7 for a bottle of coke, R16 for a bottle of beer and, in the case of one journalist, a bottle of Burgundy wine at R160.

The cost of telephone calls outside the Republic of Congo, as South African visitors and journalists discovered last week, was remarkably exorbitant, but London and Paris can be called direct with ease. If you can get a line through, you can also call South Africa direct, at a price.

The hotels, clearly, are for the wealthy and the elite but the fact that French-run hotel chains find it worthwhile to operate in Brazzaville demonstrate that the city and the country has a degree of economic viability and wealth.

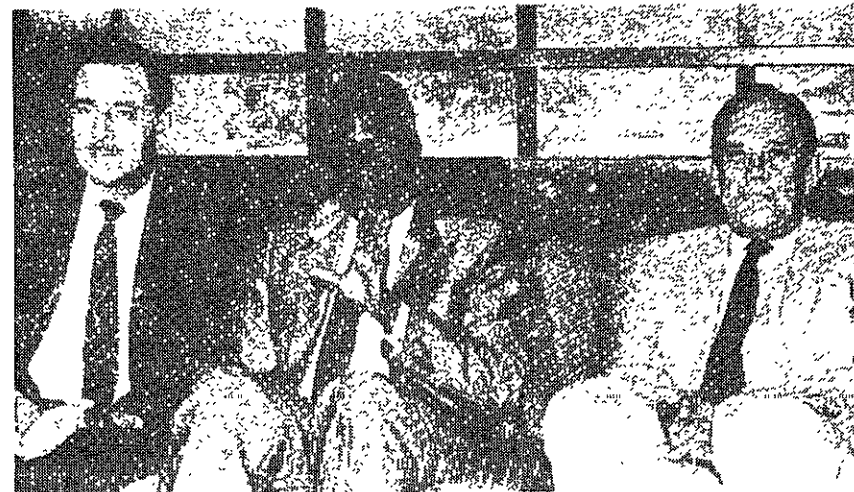
Outside the hotels, one gains an impression,

by African standard anyway, of a reasonable well run if slightly run down city which needs a coat of paint.

But then the embassies, ranging from China, Soviet bloc countries, many African and Arab countries to most Western states, also look shabby, indicating the heat and humidity of the Congo, the northern part of which is located on the Equator, make it difficult to keep buildings clean.

Almost all buildings, some of which were half-finished, were constructed out of cement blocks. Some buildings, particularly flats, looked overcrowded, but there were no shacks to be seen.

The commercial area are largely composed of that would be called in South Africa the informal sector. There seemed to be no large shopping centres, but the existence of numerous small shops indicate that a free enterprise system competed for consumer spending, in spite of the Congolese Government's official commitment to Marxism-Leninism. The number of newish



Pik Botha and Magnus Malan with the Congo Foreign Minister Antoine Ndinga-Oba in Brazzaville.

head. / Total were / brochures

SA men out of Equatorial Guinea

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

South Africa had withdrawn seven aid workers from Equatorial Guinea at the "reluctant request" of the west African state, the deputy-director of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glenn Babb, said today. The R1,4 million aid project in Equatorial Guinea, started three years ago, involved road building, medical aid and the establishment of a cattle ranch on the island of Bioko, where the capital Malabo is situated. South Africa hoped that the Granja de los Ganaderos cattle ranch would

continue to operate "to the benefit of west Africa in general", even though the South Africans had left, Mr Babb said. Equatorial Guinea's neighbour, Nigeria, recently stepped up pressure for the expulsion of the South Africans, despite the fact that the island state had insisted that they posed no threat to Nigeria and were involved in humanitarian work. Malabo is only 40 minutes by air from Nigeria's oilfields, and that country has accused South Africa and Equatorial Guinea of using the ranch as a cover for a planned air strike.

 SUNNY
 PARTLY CLOUDY
 CLOUDY

THE WEATHER

PIETERSBURG
9/23

SA aid workers quit Equatorial Guinea

By Claire Robertson
Pretoria Bureau

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FEARED AIR STRIKE

Malabo is only 40 minutes by air from Nigeria's oilfields and that country accused South Africa and Equatorial Guinea of using the ranch as a cover for a planned air strike.

Claims that South Africa was extending the airport and building a satellite station on Bioko have been denied.

SA helps Mauritian 'miracle' economy

Star 21/5/86
Star 21/5/86
①

LONDON — Mauritius has emerged as the country with the fastest-growing economy in the Third World.

A report in the *Guardian* yesterday says a "Mauritian miracle" is evolving from an average annual growth rate over the past four years of six percent, and an annual rate of price increases that has fallen from 6,7 percent three years ago to an expected 0,6 percent this year.

The report says: "In spite of the world-wide depression in the sugar industry — which in the past provided virtually all of the Mauritian income, and remains vital to the economy — the island's exports

continue to rise in real terms at more than 20 percent a year.

"The physical results can be seen throughout the island with the construction of new textile, leather, light engineering and some higher-tech industries."

While the politics of this Indian Ocean island has a strongly and almost exclusively socialist flavour, the economy is avowedly capitalist and is becoming ever more so, the report says.

Foreign investment is being supplemented by capital from Hong Kong and — more discreetly — from South African business. — Saturday Star's Foreign News Service.

Ethiopian princesses released

8/23/58 The Star's Foreign News Service (1)

ADDIS ABABA — Seven Ethiopian princesses jailed without trial during the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie have been released after 14 years.

The princesses, all related to the late emperor, were unaware that their release was imminent. It is believed that the Soviets brought pressure to bear on Ethiopia's Marxist regime as part of their revamp of their foreign policy image.

The women — including Haile Selassie's 79-year-old daughter, her four daughters and two daughters-in-law — are all said to be in good health.

Toxic waste is dumped in Africa

ster 23/5/88

LONDON — Millions of tons of toxic chemical waste which cannot be easily disposed of in Europe or America is being secretly dumped in west African states in exchange for large payments, according to reports in Strasbourg and Nairobi.

In the European Parliament in Strasbourg today, the British government will be accused of turning a blind eye to the illegal export of toxic waste to Guinea Bissau.

Reports from Nairobi say 15 000 tons of dangerous waste from Philadelphia is already poisoning flora and fauna near the island of Kassa, near the capital of Guinea, Conakry.

Described as "construction materials", it was sold for £63 500 (R640 000) to a Guinean company early this year.

RADIOACTIVE

And two shiploads of radioactive French waste have been recently dumped in Benin, according to *Africa Analysis*, a Londonbased journal.

In exchange, Benin will receive 30 years of special financial assistance.

Euro MPs from across the political spectrum are expected to condemn the large-scale sales of dangerous waste to Guinea Bissau.

Allegations made yesterday by a member of Belgium's Greens Party, Mr Francis Roelants du Vivier, state that Guinea Bissau has agreed to receive from 1 million to 3 million tons of chemical waste a year for five years from Hobday Ltd, based on the Isle of Man, and Empresa Bis Import Export Ltd, based in London. — The Independent News Service.

Malaria deaths may number thousands

26/5/88
The Star's Africa News Service

Several thousand people are believed to have died in the malaria epidemic that has been sweeping southern Africa in the past months, says a Zimbabwean expert in the field.

The expert, who prefers to remain anonymous for professional reasons, says the official death toll is far less.

He says the deaths in the area could be as high as 5 000, more than three times the usual annual death toll from the crippling illness.

The outbreak comes after the series of disastrous floods that hit the area late last year, creating perfect conditions for the breeding of the parasite-carrying mosquitoes that harbour and spread the killer disease.

But the lack of death toll figures for countries such as Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, countries that have no operating preventive programmes, or Zimbabwe, where figures for the outbreak have not yet been tallied, makes an accurate assessment of the total death toll almost impossible to calculate.

In South Africa, where an efficient health service acts to prevent large-scale outbreaks, reported cases are also more than three times higher than previous years. If this scenario has been repeated in neighbouring countries, then the death toll could easily reach the thousands.

The expert says the "usual" annual death toll in Zimbabwe is between 200 and 300.

In Botswana this year, 181 people have died of malaria, while the death toll last year was just 15.

In Namibia, where malaria is almost unheard of, the official death toll has risen to 95, while the unofficial toll, taking into account people in outlying areas, reaches into the hundreds.

Africa still pushing for international debt talks

Star 3/6/88

ABIDJAN — African nations are pressing on with efforts to stage an international conference on their crushing foreign debt despite a cool response from creditors.

"It's a very, very live initiative," Zambian Finance Minister Gibson Chigaga told Reuters in an interview yesterday.

The proposal, first floated three years ago, was revived by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) last December under the chairmanship of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Kaunda, whose country abandoned an IMF-sponsored programme of economic reforms a year ago in favour of a go-it-alone policy, ended his term as OAU leader last month.

Chigaga, who is attending the annual meeting of the Abidjan-based African Development Bank, said the OAU was still pushing the initiative for international talks despite repeated signals from major creditors like the IMF that they preferred a case-by-case approach.

US Treasury Secretary James Baker, who is also at the Bank talks, stressed this policy on

Wednesday

He also announced a new initiative under which the US, which cannot legally write off debts or cut interest rates on official loans, cleared the way for its partners in the Paris Club of creditor nations to adopt such measures for Africa's "poorest of the poor".

Washington is prepared to go along with any other Paris Club members that want to stretch repayment periods to help them.

Uniform terms

The Paris Club governments had previously set uniform terms on bilateral loans for each debtor but Britain has pushed recently for borrowers' interest burdens to be eased.

"I welcome that wholeheartedly," said Chigaga of the US decision, which Baker said could open the taps to substantial new relief.

"It is a good move, and it confirms what we have been saying as Zambia, as in Africa, that there is no one solution to the problem," Chigaga added.

Chigaga, criticising the inflexible nature of Paris Club negotia-

tions in the past, said last February borrowers had the role merely of "an unaccompanied debtor to stand trial before a council of creditors ... like a client unaccompanied by a lawyer."

The case-by-case strategy favoured by top lenders should not rule out an international conference on Africa's \$220 billion debt which he portrayed as a brainstorming session.

"The most important thing is to exchange ideas ... to understand the debt crisis and how effective current initiatives have been, and to appreciate that in that context more ideas come up so we can solve the problem.

"Naturally when it comes to the actual requirements of, say, Zambia, then we get the case-by-case issue."

He said a 12-nation ministerial panel set up to lobby support for a conference from creditors, multilateral donor institutions and Latin American borrowers, had started contacts.

"Unfortunately we have yet to hear from the international community how they would like to respond to that call."—Sapa-Reuter.

Catholics in Africa agree to observe June 16, Namibia Day

1
~~2~~
Sowetan
8/6/88

HARARE — Catholic bishops, clergy and laity from throughout Africa agreed to observe South Africa day on June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprisings, and Namibia Day on May 4, the anniversary of the Kassinga Massacre, when they met in Lesotho last week.

The occasion was the first Catholic Pan-African seminar on justice and peace, arranged by the Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar, which groups together bishops conferences throughout the continent, Ziana

news agency reports.

Seventy bishops, priests, religious sisters and laypeople attended the seminar, according to a Press release issued in Harare yesterday by the Catholic church.

The delegation from Zimbabwe was led by Bishop Patrick Mutume. Other members were Fr John Coleman, Fr Frans Timmermans, Sr Marlene Scholz, Fr Ted Rogers, Justice and Peace Commission chairman Mike Auret and Justice and Peace Commission director Nicholas Ndebele.

"A very positive note was struck when the

situation in Zimbabwe since independence was brought to the attention of the delegates.

"They appreciated the programme of reconciliation introduced at independence and, even more, the fact that it was still holding and that new initiatives had been taken recently in this area.

Deplore

"They also appreciated the fact that Zimbabwe was very concerned about rights and justice for its people and especially that women's rights were being strengthened," the

statement said.

The meeting took place in Roma from May 29 to June 3 and deplored the injustice, violence, exploitation, misery and poverty it said were prevalent in many parts of Africa.

Delegates resolved to work against all forms of racialism, particularly apartheid in South Africa, and with this in mind undertook to observe Namibia Day and South Africa Day.

They resolved to "develop a church that addressed itself effectively to issues of justice and peace in Africa." — Sapa.

Arabs hold first summit talks after 12 years

Sowefem
14/6/88

ALGIERS — Algeria and Morocco have held their first summit since renewing diplomatic ties last month after a 12-year break, the Algerian news agency APS said at the weekend.

King Hassan of Morocco, who sailed to Algiers on Tuesday in a luxury ship to attend the current summit of the 21-member Arab League, and Algerian president Chadli Benjedid held talks last Wednesday night at the Moroccan monarch's residence in Algiers, APS said. It gave no details of their talks.

Their meeting came

amid predictions that the first summit of the five Maghreb states could take place on Friday.

Senior diplomats of the states concerned — Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania — have said that talks between Chadli and Hassan could prepare the way for such a meeting, the first in their countries' history.

They say the meeting, long sought but blocked by regional disputes, could pave the way towards the creation of a north African common market.

Algeria and Morocco restored diplomatic ties

①
on May 16, but the Western Sahara war which caused the rift between them remains unresolved.

Polisario guerillas, who have been backed by Algiers in their fight for the independence of the Western Sahara from Morocco, said just hours before Hassan and Chadli met that they had launched an attack in which eight Moroccan soldiers were killed.

Moroccan Crown Prince Sidi Mohamed, Foreign Minister Abdelatif Filali and King Hassan's adviser, Ahmed Guedira, also attended Wednesday's talks, APS said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Headlines
around the world

THE STAR TIMES

TUC vote will force out the electricians (row over no-strike deals).

Daily Mail

The Royal Family feud (Duke of Windsor's letters to his family about its treatment of his wife).

BBB

Deposed army commander in Haiti appears to have mounted a coup.

The New York Times

Experts warn of gridlock at airports — US airports will be some jammed within 5 years.

President

Aid plans for debt-crippled Africa

TORONTO — The world's seven richest countries agreed yesterday in principle to grant wide-ranging debt relief measures to Africa's poorest countries.

A British official, saying the United States had softened its position, said the leaders reached a "general agreement to action" based on a mixture of loan write-offs, debt rescheduling and concessional interest rates.

"The Americans at this Group of 7 summit have shown they are willing to go further than they had previously," said an aide to British Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr. Nigel Lawson.

Canada, the host, said the leaders of the United States, Britain, France, Italy, West Germany and Japan agreed they have a responsibility to develop nations to find a solution to the overwhelming debt problem.

The British official said the leaders' agreement meant that creditor nations "could choose from a menu of options" outlined in separate, but overlapping initiatives, put forward by Mr. Lawson and President Francois Mitterrand.

The British plan calls for a three-pronged approach of write-offs, rescheduling and concessional interest

Relief menu from richest 7

Rates: The French proposal allows creditor nations a choice of options.

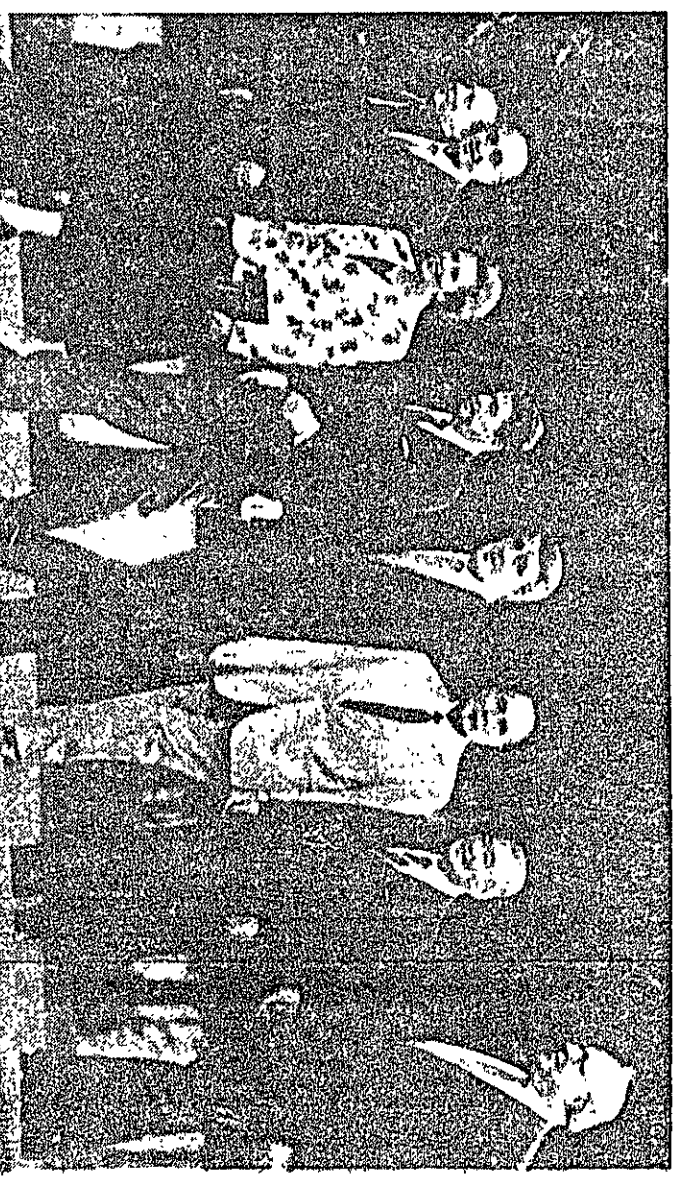
The United States has said it cannot legally write off loans or grant concessional interest rates, but can grant extended interest repayment periods.

● One divisive note is the the apparent determination of Canada to push for cuts in farm subsidies. This is certain to annoy France and West Germany.

● Some 2,000 protesters burned the American flag and caricatures of the seven world leaders attending the economic summit. Police said more than 100 were arrested by the time authorities cleared the streets.

Their intent was to deliver a citizens' warrant for the arrest of the seven leaders for "crimes against humanity".

The demonstrators espoused a host of causes, ranging from opposition to US aid to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels to calls for more help for victims of the deadly AIDS disease and measures to save tropical rain forests. — Sapa-AP, The Independent News Service.



Strolling before the opening of the Toronto economic summit yesterday were (from left) European Community President Jacques Delors, Italian Prime Minister Ciriaco de Mita, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, US President Ronald Reagan, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, French President Francois Mitterrand, Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

THE STAR 20/6/88



to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as she reads the final communique ending the summit.

WORLD COMMUNITIES
 itself to aid for
 African nations

TORONTO — The Toronto economic summit has produced a helping hand for the poorest of the poor and bouquets for US President Ronald Reagan.

A modest programme of debt relief for sub-Saharan Africa was the only major economic decision taken at the three-day annual summit of the United States, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan that ended yesterday.

Nostalgic farewells and rhetorical pats on the back for Mr Reagan added flourishes to mark the end of an era and the departure of a man whose free-market conservative ideas and policies have influenced the last eight of these summits.

"He has been to all of us at this table a gracious friend and a trusted ally," host Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney said.

The 77-year-old Mr Reagan, who leaves office next January 20, walked off the stage to thunderous applause as the summit ended. He gave the thumbs-up salute as he left.

The summit had been carefully orchestrated to mark time until the November US elec-

tion — and to avoid disputes that might upset financial markets.

The summit's big problem was how to provide joint relief for the poorest nations of sub-Saharan Africa when legal or political problems prohibited some forms of aid for some of the seven summit partners.

The answer was agreement on three options or any combination of them: Cancellation of a portion of debt, as France among others has already done; reduction of interest rates; or lengthening of repayment periods, the only option currently available to the United States.

The scope of prospective relief was tiny considering the estimated R2.5 trillion in debt burdening the entire Third World. The 20 to 30 African nations covered hold less than 10 per cent of that and summit officials estimated no more than R34 billion in debt would be covered.

Other summit actions included statements opposing any further reduction in the value of the dollar, expressing concern on environmental issues and hailing improvements in East-West relations. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 14.

Crisis as toxic waste explodes

LONDON — An explosion and fire ripped through a chemical processing plant in the southern England seaport of Poole yesterday, injuring at least 14 people and forcing the evacuation of more than 2 000 residents, police said.

A police spokesman said 14 people were treated in hospital after inhaling fumes and were later released.

Police ordered the mass move after a series of explosions at the Bristol Drug Houses complex

close to the centre of the town.

The neighbouring Queen Mary pub was badly damaged and a couple passing the factory in their car had a narrow escape when an explosion ripped through a side wall and blew them across the street.

FIREMEN

More than 120 firemen were called in to tackle the blaze on the West Quay Road as drums of waste chemicals were thrown 20 m into the air.

Within minutes of the blaze starting, a huge pall of smoke drifted towards houses. It rose quickly to 150 m and was expected to stretch 24 km into the English Channel.

Schools and community centres north of Poole were opened to take the evacuees.

A police spokesman said: "We know of at least 11 different chemicals that have gone up in the explosions. The chances are that some of them are toxic. This is a full-scale emergency operation." — The Star Bureau, Sapa-AP.

of Britons

of Canterbury, Dr Robert P, which says its goal is to with Iran, will return home spokesman said.

Iran was drawing up the able because it was delight-agreement with Britain on nge compensation for da-buildings.

it will net Tehran about 22/6/85. Provisional timetable, the report st Mr Nicholas Nicola (23), nber 1986 on charges of fir-kpoint on the Iran-Pakistan the first to be freed. —

Police are investigating

Four men granted stay of execution

Pretoria Correspondent

Four men who were due to be hanged today were granted a stay of execution by the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice O'Donovan granted Sipho Mjetwa (32), Jeffrey Tsotetsi (21), Richard Mbuli (35) and Isaac Tsotetsi (51) a stay of execution for a month, in order for them to petition the Chief Justice for leave to appeal against their double death sentences.

Serviceman dies in crash, 54 hurt

Pretoria Correspondent

A member of the South African Defence Force died in a military vehicle accident in the operational area on Monday night, a SADF spokesman said.

He was Rifleman Ian Michael Webb (20) of 25 Frere Road, Glenwood, Durban.

Fifty-four other servicemen were injured in the accident, two of them seriously, the spokesman said.

Angolan leaders cautious

US welcomes Govt national forum plan

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The South African Government's plan for a new multiracial national forum, announced by President Botha this week, has been conditionally welcomed in the United States.

"We welcome any development whose goal is further democratisation of South Africa," a spokesman for the US State Department said yesterday.

US officials have been super cautious in their comments on constitutional proposals and initiatives in the Republic

ever since they ran into a firestorm of criticism when they welcomed South Africa's current tricameral parliamentary system as a "step in the right direction".

Angry denunciations of the US by black SA leaders who rejected the tricameral plan stung Reagan administration officials who felt their attitude toward reform in South Africa had been misunderstood.

As a result, the Americans have been careful to note that their ultimate aim is to see an end to apartheid and the full participation of all South Africans in a new system of government.

No Olympic boycott by black Africa

LAUSANNE — The International Olympic Committee's first special meeting on apartheid was "a show of unity with black African nations" which earlier had threatened to boycott the Seoul Games.

Black African sports officials said after the meeting yesterday at IOC headquarters here that they currently see no reason for staying away.

The IOC reaffirmed its opposition to apartheid as a "scourge in sport" and urged further action to freeze South Africa out of international competition — AP.

Dunem said his impression at recent meetings with South African officials in London and Brazzaville was that they wanted America out of the process.

He and Mr Pedro de Castro van-Dunem, Angola's Economics Minister, expressed outright distrust of South Africa in the peace talks. They wanted the United States involved as a mediator, they said.

They alleged South African breaches of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, and efforts to sabotage Angola's oilfields days after a top-level South African assurance that Pretoria wanted peace, made them want a witness to the negotiations.

Angola's priority was to get South Africa out of Angola before all else, the two leaders noted.

Mr Pedro van-Dunem doused any hopes of direct settlement talks between his government and Unita. Once foreign forces were off their soil, he said, Angolans could sit down as individuals to talk of the country's future. He seemed to rule out such talks with Unita.

Methodist Church

The Star Wednesday June 22 1988

Debt relief offered to Third World

Leading industrial nations wrapped up the summit yesterday with an accord offering some debt relief to the poorest Third World nations but no major new proposals to ease other stresses in the world economy. *Star 22/6/84*

But the US and some others at the summit gave only a cautious response to a bold Japanese initiative to extend debt relief to bigger, middle-income debtors, like Brazil, Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Japan's proposal will not be adopted in Toronto, leaving help on the debt owed to governments by the poorest of the poor as the signal achievement from three days of talks.

French Finance Minister Pierre Berégovoy called it "a message of hope" and said that 20 sub-Saharan African nations would initially be eligible for relief, and 10 other countries might be added later.

To qualify, nations must be very poor indeed, with annual per capita income of \$425 (about R950) or less.

Debt repayments must exceed 30 percent of export earnings and they must adopt International Monetary Fund belt-tightening policies.

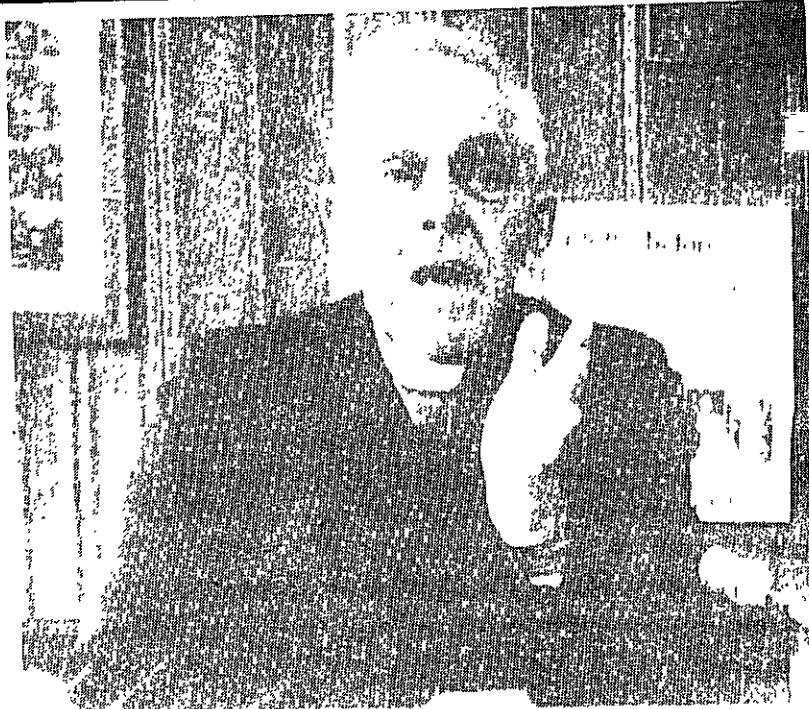
Creditor nations will choose from a menu of options — straight forgiving of debt, concessionary interest rates or extended repayment terms.

Delegates said the final communique would renew pledges to hold the dollar steady and to co-operate to continue the low-inflation global growth on which new jobs, living standards and any eventual end of the debt problem hang. — Sapa-Reuter.

Serving the world's oppressed

South 30/6 - 4/7/80

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston describes his relationship with South Africa as a 25-year love affair. Thirteen of those years were spent ministering in this country. He heads the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London



ARCHBISHOP TREVOR HUDDLESTON

From **JOIRA LEVY**

LONDON. — Wherever Archbishop Trevor Huddleston goes, "race riots" and clashes with the police seem to follow.

He is amused when you point this out. "It's just a coincidence", he laughs.

The Most Rev Huddleston, or Father Trevor as he is known to most South Africans, was at the forefront of the Congress Alliance campaigns of the 1950s; he is remembered for the part he played in the struggle against Bantu Education, the Western Areas Removals and the bus boycotts.

What is not so well known is that he was there when "Paki-bashing" — racial attacks on London's East Pakistan community — reached a high point.

And the day he began serving the west London parish of Nottinghill, some of Britain's worst racial clashes between black youths and police broke out.

Now 75 and "officially retired", Huddleston agreed to break into a packed daily schedule to reminisce about his years spent serving communities of oppressed and struggling people in various settings around the world.

'Nightmare'

Dressed in his archbishop robes bearing not one, but two "Free Nelson Mandela badges", he looked out of his central London flat over streets packed and bustling, and spoke of the "nightmare" years when he longed to return to his beloved Africa.

Its a love affair that goes back a long way, totalling nearly 25 years. But the honeymoon years, he says, were the 13 he spent in South Africa.

He arrived when "the grand apartheid scheme was being launched". Father Huddleston has been fighting apartheid longer than the present government has been in power.

In 1943 he was appointed priest-in-charge of the Sophiatown mission of the Community of the Resurrection.

Huddleston remembers being on platforms and at packed City Hall and Grand Parade meetings where voices were raised against the racism that was becoming law in South Africa.

In 1949 he was appointed Provincial of the Community and head of St

Peter's School, where Oliver Tambo was a teacher.

Huddleston was there when the Group Areas Act was introduced, the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act.

He was at the forefront of the campaign against forced removals from Sophiatown, now the white Johannesburg suburb of Triomf.

His neighbours included ANC president Dr A B Xuma. Among his friends he counts Nelson Mandela, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Robert Resha, Anthony Sampson, former editor of Drum magazine.

ANC

Huddleston cannot remember the exact date when he decided the ANC could not be written off.

He was at a public meeting — he cannot recall what it was about, but he clearly remembers deciding that day that "it was time choose, to come off the fence".

He speaks now with passion: "I could see what apartheid was doing to the people I was there to serve. It was totally evil and destructive. It was destroying their hopes and plans of fulfillment."

If he could point to one aspect of apartheid that angered him more than any other, it would be the Bantu Education Act; at the time he warned it was apartheid's "most vicious law".

He was one of only two church leaders who closed their schools rather than implement Bantu Education, and, "for as long as funds lasted", he held alternative classes run by volunteer teachers in disused halls and under trees in the open.

Pretoria

In 1955, at the Kliptown Congress of the People, he was honoured.

And then a year later he was ordered to return to England by his superiors, a move regarded at the time as the result of pressure from Pretoria.

These, however, are the facts that are well-known and revered about Father Trevor Huddleston.

What few know is that he was behind the building of the first public swimming pools in the townships and the introduction of the African Childrens' Feeding Scheme, which at one point provided the daily bread of 100 000 children and that still continues today.

But when quizzed on

these things, Huddleston turns the talk to "the marvellous people who helped me". He pays tribute to the women missionaries who preceded him and established the community in Johannesburg.

This is the humility of Trevor Huddleston. There is so much more to hear about his interesting and varied life, but time is short. He speaks of his return to Africa in 1960 as Bishop of Masai in what was then Tanganyika. He was there through the transition to independence, at a time when all of Africa was experiencing dramatic post-colonial changes.

Huddleston talks with fervour of all he learnt during that time from the people he got to know, including President Julius Nyerere and Mozambique's Eduardo Mondlane. Samora Machel, he says, was one of his parishioners.

His role there was "Africanise" the church and prepare a black bishop to take his place.

Retirement

It was meant to take 10 years. His job was done in just over seven, and it was back to England, this time to serve the badly impoverished, mostly immigrant population of Stepney, in east London.

Later, he was sent to Mauritius as Archbishop of the Anglican Province of the Indian Ocean.

"I have always liked that title," he says. He enjoyed working in the "multi-cultural, mixed-faith" community, but you get the impression he wasn't happy being away from Africa, his spiritual home.

Retirement in 1983 soon set that straight. Since then, he has thrown himself wholeheartedly into the South African struggle as President of the Anti Apartheid Movement and Chairman of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

His task — to maximise world support for the fight against apartheid.

"When I arrived back in Britain in 1956 no-one knew anything about South Africa, except that it was a nation of rugby and cricket players."

"Today, especially after last week's pop festival (the giant Free Mandela tribute) we can safely say there is not a person in the world who has not heard of Nelson Mandela."



Archbishop Trevor Huddleston

Ghana on the road

From the 15th century onwards Ghana was fabled in the European mind as the Gold Coast. But the gold mining industry for a variety of reasons fell upon hard times, almost to the point of extinction. Now, miraculously, the Gold Coast of yore is enjoying a renaissance. JOHN WOODSWORTH reports. *J. to editor*

Ghana to recapturing its golden age

ABIDJAN — Like Alice's fall down the hole at the bottom of the garden, the descent of the George Cappellet Shaft in the green Ashanti hills of southern Ghana is somewhat dreamlike.

Leaving clanging bells and whirling winding-drums far above on the surface, the suspended cage as it plunges into the earth falls smoothly and silently.

There is little sensation of plummeting or even movement. Odd scenes flash past as the cage drops. Dimly lit galleries full of sweaty, half-naked figures, monstrously-shaped pieces of machinery whose valves and pipes hum to unknown purpose, and rumbling underground railways that vanish into the murk.

One is tempted to look for Alice's bookshelves whistling by or Bottles with Drink Me written on them. What awaits the traveller more than 800 metres underground, however, is not a tea party, but one of the richest gold mines in Africa.

Compared with the aged and shuddering equipment that in the recent past has characterised the mining operations of the 91-year-old Ashanti Goldfields Corporation (AGC), the Cappellet Shaft, operational since the end of 1987, is indeed an Alice-like wonder.

Using the latest technology and machinery and

porting and equipment, the \$33 million shaft will be responsible this year for 40 percent of AGC output. Its construction typifies the boom now taking place in Ghana's once-flagging gold mining industry.

It was only after implementation of a stringent World Bank-approved economic recovery programme in 1983 that Ghana, and AGC, once again became eligible for development finance.

A subsequent government decision to encourage exports by allowing companies to retain at least 25 percent of foreign earnings made new capital imports feasible.

Because of AGC's position as a foreign-exchange earner, it was allowed 45 percent retention.

With \$45 million from the World Bank-affiliated International Finance Corporation (IFC) and \$32 million from the Standard Chartered Merchant Bank, the AGC in 1985 launched its own five-year, \$160 million rehabilitation and expansion programme.

Results so far have been impressive. Apart from the Cappellet Shaft, older shafts have been deepened and re-equipped, new underground and treatment plant machinery has been brought in and many labour-intensive jobs have been mechanised.

About \$13 million is

being spent on a housing project to accommodate 3,000 of the mine's 12,000 miners. A new \$8 million tailings retreatment plant regaining 40,000 ounces of gold a year from ore processed in the 1930s came into production this year.

Sinking began last December on the \$27 million Kwesi Mensah Shaft, which when completed in 1991 will be the largest in West Africa.

As a result of the programme, gold production increased from 242,000 ounces in 1985 to an estimated 316,000 ounces last year, with 400,000 ounces projected for 1990.

The biggest recent development has been the decision to begin operations at Sansu, about 16km south of Obuasi, where geological surveys indicate large deposits of ore on the surface and at depth.

AGC will be sinking a shaft and building a \$16 million processing plant at Sansu to treat its gold-bearing sulphide and oxide ores.

Discussions are now under way with the IFC for the financing of the project, and AGC is confident of its backing.

Foreign exchange retention measures and a 1986 Minerals and Mining Law providing incentives for new investment have made for a gold boom outside AGC.

Profiting from these new policies and from streamlined procedures

for the acquisition of mining rights, there are currently about 30 foreign and joint-venture companies prospecting for gold.

Three small state-owned mines, badly neglected in the past, will shortly be receiving a \$110 million injection of refurbishment funding from multilateral agencies.

The government is also considering legalising small-scale surface mining operations carried out illicitly by Ashanti villagers.

So numerous are their trench and tunneling activities that they pose a serious environmental threat. Paid just \$96 a pound by middlemen for their hard-earned gold, they are fueling an uncontrollable black market.

Ghana's Geological Survey Department puts estimated gold deposits at over 1.8 billion ounces. They have always been there, of course. What has radically changed interest in their existence, says Sam Jonah, AGC's managing director, is the relaxation of a fiscal regime that featured high front-end charges and low capital allowances.

Now characterised by incentive policies and an openness to foreign investment, one of Africa's premier mining industries seems to be heading into a golden age. — Financial Times

Tetanus kills 200 000 babies a year — report

HARARE — Health officials from across Africa are meeting in Harare to find ways to accelerate the control of neo-natal tetanus, a killer of more than 200 000 newly-born

babies in Africa every year, *Ziana*, the national news agency reports.

A week-long workshop of health specialists from nine countries in Africa and representa-

tives from international organisations, which began this morning will address themselves to creating specific action plans to accelerate the reduction of morbidity and mortality from neo-natal tetanus by immunisation of women at risk.

The director of the WHO sub-regional development office, Dr Umaru Shehu, who officially opened the workshop, said neo-natal tetanus, was one of the six vaccine-preventable

diseases covered by the expanded programme on immunisation.

Delivery

“Such deaths largely occur in the rural areas where the delivery is often attended by a family member or traditional birth attendant who is often a person without formal training. These deaths are very often not reported to the health authorities,” said Dr Shehu.

He said data on the extent of the problem had come largely from community-based surveys, the results of which have shown that the problem was widespread.

A representative of the workshop funding organisation, Resources for Child Health, Mr Robert Steinglass, said the disease was contracted immediately after birth due to unhygienic cutting or dressing of the umbilical cord. — Sapa.

CPA - 7/18/85 23/7/88

Idasa's African tours in demand

Political Correspondent

IDASA's fact-finding tours for South African opinion leaders to the frontline states have become so popular that the organization is battling to keep up with the demand.

According to Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine: "Every time we send a specialized group of 20 or so over, 50 more people say they also want to go and see for themselves." However, Idasa is planning to keep up its busy programme of sending influential young South Africans, particularly young Afrikaners, to obtain first-hand experience of conditions and people in neighbouring countries.

Following the successful Idasa-sponsored trip to Zimbabwe by senior journalists last year and student leaders earlier this month, the organization plans to assist another group of 20 young Afrikaans student leaders to visit Mozambique in September.

Dr Boraine said: "At the heart of Idasa's work is the objective of helping bring people together in Southern Africa who may have different 'starting points'."

Dr Boraine said Idasa was trying to expose South Africans, particularly whites, to what was really going on in countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

"This is all the more necessary to counter the excessive propaganda put out by the government and its media which often reinforces opposition to change among whites. There is a genuine hunger for hard news and first-hand information."

Talk is key to SA future

Star 26/7/88

Six months in solitary confinement during a prison term on Robben Island for working for the Pan Africanist Congress made the Reverend Stanley Mogoba re-commit his life to Christianity. Our Durban Correspondent reports.



The Rev Stanley Mogoba.

The traditional training school for black leaders — education, jail and the Church — has produced another graduate destined to play a major role in the next few years.

The Reverend Stanley Mogoba (55) will be the first person to serve as president of the Methodist Conference for three years, a post he takes up in October. The term for president used to be one year, but it was decided last year that this be extended to three years.

This is in addition to his current two-year reign as president of the Institute of Race Relations.

A man whose friendly manner endures even as he speaks with passion about South Africa today, Mr Mogoba's achievement is a milestone on a road travelled by many in South Africa.

He was born to religious parents in Sekhukhune-land and studied at the Pretoria Bantu Normal College, before working as a history teacher for nine years.

Hard experience

Mr Mogoba served as an executive member of a teachers association before being jailed for three years on Robben Island for working for the Pan Africanist Congress. Six months were spent in a solitary confinement cell and it was there that Mr Mogoba re-committed his life to Christianity.

"There was a lot of growth experience that people normally do not know about. It was a very hard experience, very tough and traumatic." While waiting in a Pretoria cell to appear in court, his wife and the headmaster of the school he taught at visited him to say his five-year-old daughter had died.

"I was alone in a cell that usually housed 20 people. It was cold the whole day. To be alone and have to carry a bereavement like that; it was very painful. It also brought home the importance of family."

He left Robben Island to study and teach at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice before studying overseas. Mr Mogoba serves on the World Methodist Council's Social and International Affairs Committee and on the South African Council of Churches' Dependents' Conference.

In addition, he is chairman of the African Enterprise Board.

Mr Mogoba knows he is to lead the Church at a critical time. Outright antagonism has developed between churches and State. This could peak in a few months over municipal elections.

The two-million-strong Methodist Church brings together people from the conservative right to the extreme left. Mr Mogoba sees his task as ensuring they are not torn apart by the political winds that blow in the country. "It is trying to solve a problem when you are not really the cause of it," he said.

Colleagues said that theologically Mr Mogoba was deeply rooted in Methodist tradition. He combined this with a deep pride of being a son of Africa. While he would not bow down to foreign pressure, he would also not bow down to the National Party. While he was widely respected within the liberation movements, he was his own man and promoted the politics of mediation, colleagues said.

"I would think at this time of our history it helps to have somebody in leadership who has gone through what I have gone through because that enables me to accept what people are going through when they are hurting.

Role of Church

"And if I say to the people we ought to forgive one another and be reconciled I am not speaking as somebody who does not understand the full extent of the hurting in the people, but somebody who has himself experienced some of this."

The role of the Church was to be a mouthpiece of the people who were silenced. "It is to give prophetic words but it is also to try bring about reconciliation. I believe that there is no institution better equipped for the role of reconciliation.

"I believe the Government should be prepared to do business with Mandela, Tambo and Zeph Mothopeng; people of that seniority and maturity, in whom I have full confidence, rather than rendering them useless and wanting to look for people without integrity."

Tutu pushes African issues

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu is helping to lead a drive by African bishops attending the Lambeth Conference for a greater conference focus on crucial African issues. Star 26/7/88

Archbishop Tutu says he wants the conference to pursue more fully issues such as hunger and poverty, international debt, refugees and human rights, Aids and polygamy.

The African contingent, numbering 129 bishops, has been expressing its unhappiness at the way the issue of the ordination of women dominated the

first week of the conference. In most of their churches, it is not yet a big issue.

Many were put off by the rather Anglo-Saxon tone of the opening conference service at Canterbury Cathedral. Similar comments have been made about the conference's daily act of worship.

One of the more difficult questions which has always faced Christian missionaries in Africa is polygamy. Potential converts with more than one wife are told that the Christian religion insists on monogamy. However, the social consequences have been found to be painful.

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Cam Trans 27/7/88 @ 10:00

No show if Biko movie is censored

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The nationwide premiere in 40 South African cinemas on Friday of the Steve Biko epic "Cry Freedom" will be stopped if the censors cut a single centimetre from the film.

The ultimatum was issued yesterday by the world-wide distributors, United International Pictures (UIP), in response to Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha's decision to refer the film back to the censors.

"The ball is now entirely in the court of the South African authorities. But if they cut a single centimetre, we will pull it out of South Africa immediately," said Mr Michael Williams-Jones, UIP's South African-born head of distribution.

Mr Williams-Jones, who was by coincidence raised in "Biko country" in East London, said UIP was standing unshakably by its own stand against censorship and the wishes of "Cry Freedom's" maker Sir Richard Attenborough and the exiled Eastern Cape author Donald Woods, that

there must be no cuts.

Donald Woods's wife, Wendy, who worked on the film, yesterday said she had feared for some time that the government would take last-minute action to prevent the film being shown.

"I feel they don't want white South Africans to see such a straightforward, uncomplicated account of what is happening around them, to decent people. There is too much fundamental truth in Cry Freedom for them to tolerate.

"I hope they don't sabotage it, but I suspect they will, and decent South Africans will be the losers again if they do."

Mr Williams-Jones said: "I am obviously disturbed that Mr Botha has referred the film back to the appellate division of the Publications Control Board just a few days before the premiere in 40 cinemas.

"We have declared our position from the outset. What happens now is beyond our control. It is over to the South African authorities concerned.

"I personally feel it would be a tragedy if South Africans were

not allowed to see this most eloquent film. It is, after all, their story.

"Cry Freedom is a reality. It has been seen uncut by dozens of millions of people in 45 countries around the world. It has been endlessly discussed, debated, criticized and applauded in the international arena in the year since its release.

"It received seven British Academy nominations and three Oscar nominations. All it needs is to be seen uncensored in the country it is based on."

Mr Williams-Jones, who has become one of the most influential figures in world film distribution, said it was an "astonishing coincidence" that he had become a central figure in the efforts to have "Cry Freedom" seen uncensored in South Africa.

His father, a vet, had known the Woods family well and even treated their pets.

A spokeswoman for Sir Richard Attenborough said he would regard it as one of the greatest achievements of his career if South Africans were allowed to see the film.

Film faces banning under emergency laws

Political Staff

"CRY FREEDOM", the controversial film on the life of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko, may never be free in this country, even if the Publications Appeal Board says it is.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha's request that the board reconsider a committee decision to clear the film for screening is to be heard tomorrow, but a final decision may only be known late on Friday, the film's release date.

This means that theatres with morning shows may have time to put the film on the screen before the Appeal

Board's decision is known.

Theatre chains might have to decide whether or not the film contravenes two other laws — the Internal Security Act and the emergency regulations.

Scenes in the film could also be construed to contravene the emergency regulations because the SA police are not shown in a favourable light.

The film also contains quotes by the banned former East London editor, Mr Donald Woods, a firm friend of Mr Biko's.

It is thought that theatres will have to take legal opinion on whether the go-ahead by the

Appeal Board will allow them to get around provisions of the Internal Security Act.

Though Mr Botha has declined to comment on his reasons for appealing against the film, there was speculation yesterday that there were fears in some government circles that the film could spark further unrest.

● The Azania Co-ordinating Committee said yesterday that the problem with the government was that it was afraid to face reality, Sapa reports.

A statement said that Mr Woods "in his ways and prejudices should be a mirror to South African whites".

Africa silent on butchery

ARCUS
30/10/77
1

From STEPHEN NISBET of Reuters in Nairobi

THE spectacle of inter-tribal butchery in Burundi taking thousands of lives is straining the usual reticence of African countries to speak out about the sins of their neighbours.

"Africa is definitely sick," said the Abidjan daily *Ivoir-soir* in an editorial about the killings. Senegal's pro-government newspaper *Le Soleil* spoke of "unacceptable barbarism caused by outdated quarrels."

Tribalism — which Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi once called a cancer threatening to destroy his country — has returned to the headlines once more to haunt black Africa's politicians.

While most governments throughout the continent stayed silent about the mutual massacring of Burundi's majority Hutu and dominant Tutsi tribes in the past two weeks, a notable exception was Nigeria.

"We are in touch with the government and trying to stop

them," Jide Osuntokun, special adviser to External Affairs Minister Ike Nwachukwu, said after many refugees told of a wave of reprisal killings by Burundi's Tutsi armed forces.

Mr Osuntokun, whose country has its own vivid memories of tribal conflict from the 1967-70 Biafran war, gave a rare hint of exasperation by threatening further public statements if the slaughter continued.

"It's a tragedy when Africa has been trying to move away from tribal conflict," said a government official in Tanzania, one of two countries (Zaire is the other) which Mr Osuntokun said were best able to influence Burundi.

Tiny, overcrowded Rwanda, host to about 5 000 refugees from Burundi, has avoided any open criticism of its sensitive neighbour, which accuses Burundian emigres of having sparked the killing spree. Also silent has been Uganda,

whose President Yoweri Museveni is from a Tutsi-related tribe. Uganda shelters Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, a Tutsi overthrown as Burundi's president last September.

"It is too early to say where the blame lies," said a Kenyan Foreign Ministry spokesman. It was up to Burundi or Rwanda to decide whether to raise the recent events at the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

A Zambian State House spokesman declined to comment, saying it was up to the OAU to do so. But officials at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa also refused to comment in the absence of secretary-general Ide Oummarou.

Any move to have the OAU point a finger at one of its member governments would run counter to the organisation's charter and record of avoiding such controversy. Tutsis last ran amok against

Hutus in 1972, killing more than 150 000 in what the American State Department called a government-sanctioned massacre. An OAU representative flew to Burundi's capital of Bujumbura at the height of the killings and congratulated the president on the way he was running the country, it was reported at the time.

"No black African government likes to point at another's faults over tribal excesses for fear of drawing attention to its own," said a Western diplomat in Nairobi.

Even after a quarter of a century or more of independent statehood, tribal identity still counts for more than nationality in the daily lives of many Africans. It can open or close the door to job preferment as well as providing a social network and some security in times of hardship.

Powerful tribes can still amass influence and privilege, and the

process is encouraged where economic resources are scant and the struggle for survival is sharpest. Constitutional safeguards may give little protection when tribalism's demons are loose.

A United Nations report said Africa's economic development throughout the 1980s had failed to keep pace with population growth and the trend toward greater poverty was continuing.

Looking on Burundi's torment from a different perspective is the South African Press, which has given wide publicity to the massacres.

Pro-government news media always highlight reports of mayhem in black Africa as justification for not allowing black majority rule at home.

Burundi television returned the compliment on its Saturday night news programme. The announcer ignored reports from Burundi massacre survivors that tens of thousands had died — leading the bulletin instead with news that one black man had been killed in South Africa.

8 000 ①

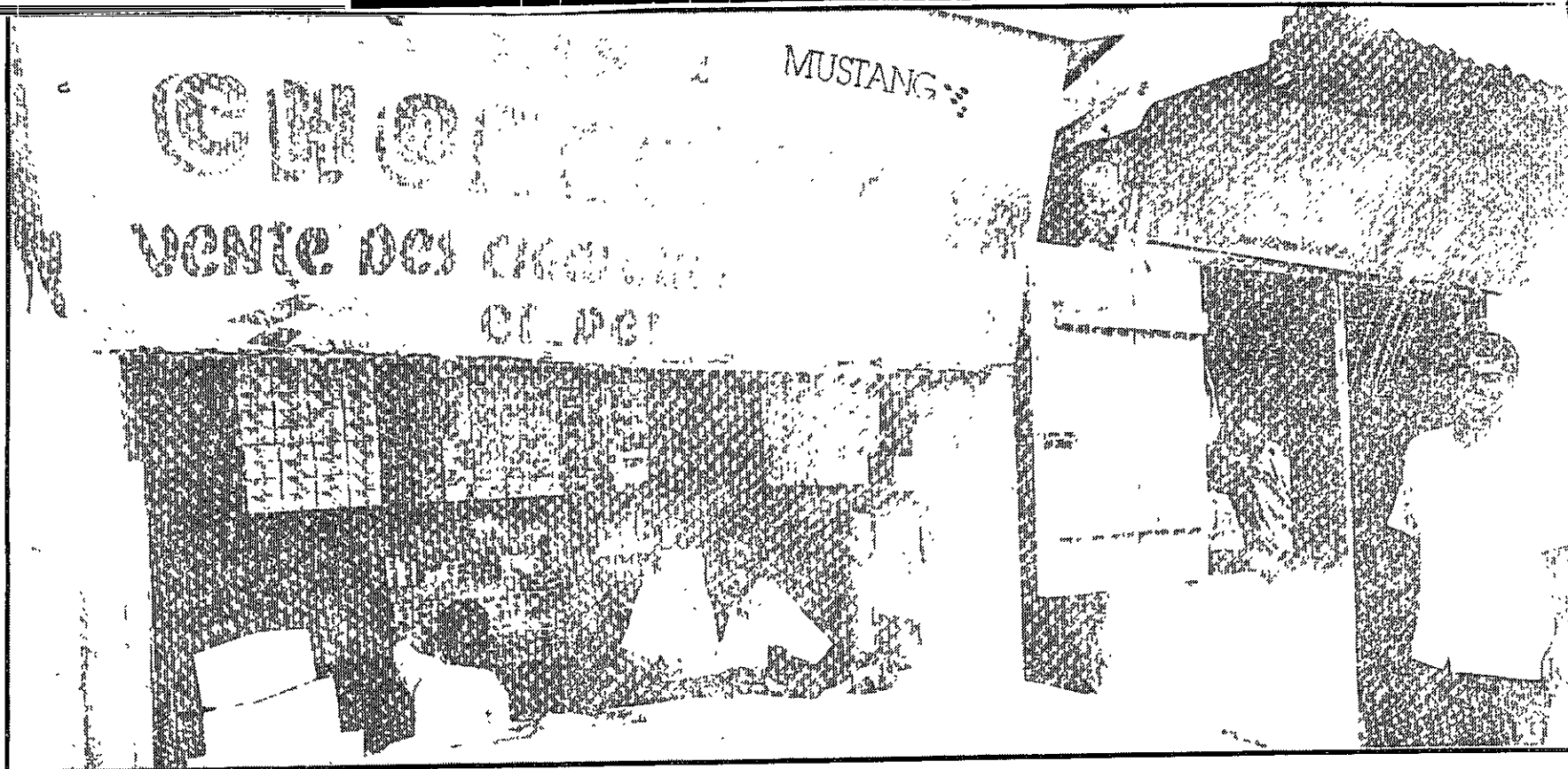
Sudanese
die of ^{5/9/88}
starvation

KHARTOUM — A Sudanese newspaper said yesterday that 8 000 people had starved to death in the southern town of Aweil, most victims being women and children.

The Khartoum daily *Al-Ayam* gave its source as official reports reaching the capital from the town, which it said had been cut off by floods.

This was the first official indication of starvation in the town, which is in a region where the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army has been fighting a five-year-long bush war against the Khartoum government.

In the past few weeks Sudan has been hit by the worst floods in memory. More than 2 million people have been made homeless. The government has struggled to mount relief efforts, but does not have the resources. — Sapa-Reuter.



Picture: PETER MOREY, the Argus Group

A wholesale and retail cigarette dealer in Brazzaville's main market. He is one of many would-be capitalists struggling to gain a foothold in the marketplace.

Brazzaville puts on gladdest rags

AR645 7/9/88 (1)

PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff reports from Brazzaville

THE South African party visiting the Congo capital of Brazzaville for the Angola and SWA/Namibia peace talks noticed one obvious difference in the city they had left after the first round of talks in May.

Then everyone remarked that the city could do with a coat of paint. This time it had received it.

Brazzaville had put on its gladdest rags to commemorate the 25th anniversary of "les trois glorieuses" — the three glorious days of "revolution", August 13 to 15, 1963 — which brought in the present Marxist-Leninist dictatorship.

All the main buildings had been painted and they and the traffic intersections were festooned with necklaces of coloured lights and new banners brightly proclaiming the same old revolutionary slogans.

Another difference was less apparent. On the first visit South Africa was an unheard of place. In the meantime Nelson Mandela had celebrated his 70th birthday in prison

and it was clear that the Congo government had beamed some powerful "release Mandela" propaganda at its population.

In the foyer of the smart M'Bamou Palace Hotel where the official South African delegation stayed were several books on sale about Mandela and a special publication by the Congo's anti-apartheid committee, proclaiming its strong ties with the African National Congress.

And in the tourist marketplace young Congolese implored the party to "tell Pieter Botha to release Mandela" (pronounced rather quaintly with the accent on the first syllable).

But beneath the brave refurbished rhetoric, life goes on in much the same way as in any other black African state. Next to the youth calling for Mandela's release was an older and shrewder trader — no doubt observing the capitalist dictum that the customer is always right — who

said, "Mandela?" and made a cut-throat gesture.

Struggling private cottage industries blossom where they can and commentators say that the Marxist rhetoric is but a thin veneer masking the fact that the economy is still dominated by pre-colonial French expatriate enterprise.

In an economy which offers few opportunities for locals, competition for civil service jobs is high and official corruption is endemic, here as elsewhere. This was illustrated when one of the many-tiered ferries plying the Congo River to the Zairian capital of Kinshasha docked on the Brazzaville side.

In the bows a uniformed official lounged on a sack of grain — in a caricatured cameo of corruption — while hordes of Congolese leapt off the ferry into the shallow water, heaving sacks of produce and scaling the tall quayside to avoid Customs.

Poverty was more evident on this longer trip and we also became aware of the prevalence of a unique Congo mode of transport — the hand-pedalled tricycle propelled by cripples.

But the population did not seem to be starving, an impression confirmed by the international physical quality of life index (PQLI) derived from the adult literacy rate, infant mortality rate and life expectancy at one year.

The Congo's PQLI of 65 in 1980-1982 — probably boosted by offshore oil revenue — was one of the highest in Africa, trailing only Mauritius (84), Seychelles (79), South Africa (75), Tunisia, (68), Sao Tome, (68) and Botswana, (67).

And, significantly, equaling Bophuthatswana (65) and topping Ciskei (64) and Transkei (61).

However, the semblance of unity and order, according to political commentators, is

just a thin crust, covering a seething cauldron of conflicting personal, tribal and ideological interests.

Since "les trois glorieuses" (apparently just a large strike and some rioting in the streets) toppled the profligate regime of the first post-independence leader, Abbe Fulbert Youlou, there have been another three forced or violent changes of government.

In 1968, Major Marien Nguabi wrested power from the Congo's last civilian leader, President Alphonse Massemba-Debat. In 1977, Nguabi was assassinated in the grounds of the presidential palace and Colonel Yhombi-Opango took over after Massemba-Debat had been yanked from retirement in his tribal village and executed, although apparently innocent.

Opango was forced to resign in 1979 in favour of his Minister of Defence, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the present president whose grip on power is believed to be no firmer than that of any of his predecessors.

Debt spiralling, infant mortality rising

Africa heading for the plughole

5/12/88
12/9/88

UNITED NATIONS — Africa's financial plight worsened in the last two years despite "courageous" political and economic reforms adopted by African governments, United Nations secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar reported yesterday.

The secretary-general's review, presented at the opening of a two-week review of the UN Africa Recovery Programme, documents the "continuing deterioration in the overall economic situation in Africa," and the human suffering that it causes.

Child mortality

Infant and child mortality are rising, debt is overtaking export income, per capita income is dropping and agricultural growth continues to be slow.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's report marks the midway point of the 1986-1990 Africa Recovery Programme, which came out of the first special General Assembly session ever held focusing on one continent, in May 1986.

Infant and child mortality is expected to reach 50 million in the period

1985-2000. In every other world region, infant and child mortality is rapidly decreasing.

By the year 2010, Africa's debt will be over 280 percent of its total export income.

Per capita income on the continent fell 2 percent in 1986 and 2,2 percent in 1987, and today is lower than it was in 1980.

Agricultural production improved by 3,8 percent in 1986 but only by 1,1 percent in 1987, despite agricultural policy reforms.

The programme began with high hopes that it would reverse Africa's fiscal decline, but external problems have blocked substantial progress, the secretary-general said.

The three key problems cited by Dr Perez de Cuellar are Africa's depressed export earnings, its debt-servicing costs, and insufficient financing.

Although Africa paid almost R2,5 billion a year to the International Monetary Fund in loan costs in 1986 and 1987, overall net resource flows to Africa fell by 2,2 percent dur-

ing that time, export credits declined and private loans have been negligible, the report says.

Africa's debt burden "has become one of the most important factors constraining recovery and development on the continent, and unless urgent action is taken, the situation will worsen," said Dr Perez de Cuellar.

Africa's total external debt is estimated by the UN at R540 billion by the end of 1987, almost triple the continent's export earnings. — Sapa-AP

Dhaka monsoon's 'last slap'

DHAKA — A tidal wave swept at least 30 people to their death and flattened 500 houses in Bangladesh on Saturday in what one weather forecaster said might be the "last slap" from monsoons that have killed hundreds.

"This was possibly the last slap of the monsoon," a Dhaka weather office spokesman said.

At least 900 people have died in more than three weeks of flooding and 25 million have been made homeless, according to official statistics. Unofficial sources put the death toll from floods, disease and snake-bites as high as 1 600.

● Bangladesh has received the equivalent of R600 million in foreign aid to fight the flooding, Information Minister Mr Mahbubur Rahman said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Africa summit for PW on cards

ARGUS 20/9/88 (1)

From DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Africa's most important leaders are taking the initiative to end the civil war in Angola and give Namibia its independence.

President Botha may soon take part in a summit meeting of several major African leaders.

This meeting, announced by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko in an interview with the New York Times, would be the culmination of many months' negotiations between African leaders to restore peace to south-western Africa.

President Mobutu said talks at head-of-state level had been agreed by South Africa, Angola, Zaire and "its neighbours". Timing and venue still had to be negotiated.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs today said it could not confirm that such a meeting was due.

Diplomatic sources in South Africa have, however, confirmed that high-level talks have taken already place at the initiative of important African leaders who now believe the time has come for a pan-African approach to resolving the continent's most pressing problems.

Secret visits

Senior South African leaders are understood to have made secret visits to African capitals in recent months, including Kinshasa.

At least one head of state is known to have visited Pretoria this year.

There is also the possibility of a meeting between President Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to discuss recent Southern African peace initiatives, writes Tos Wentzel, The Argus Political Correspondent.

One source close to Mr Botha said the situation in Southern Africa was so fluid that "anything is possible".

Want Cubans out

President Botha's recent visit to Mozambique and Malawi and the possibility of one or two more such trips to other African states in the near future are all related to these developments.

The African leaders involved represent a dozen states. They include Kenya, Egypt, Zambia and Morocco — "the heart of the Organisation for African Unity", as one local diplomatic source put it.

The Africans want the 50 000

(Turn to page 3, col 6)

Africa leaders may meet PW

ARGUS 20/9/88 (1)
(Continued from page 1)
Congo revolution, in Brazzaville, 11 African heads of state are understood to have confronted Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos and told him the time had come for him to start talking to Unita.

The Angolan president is understood to have since written to several African colleagues to say he would be in favour of talks with Unita.

According to diplomatic sources President Mobutu recently sent his emissaries to Zambia, Kenya and Nigeria to whip up support for the concept of national reconciliation in Angola and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Africa.

Cuban soldiers in the region to go home.

They want the South Africans out of Namibia and they want that territory to get its independence.

Most significantly, the African leaders want the Luanda government to settle its differences with Unita, especially now the South Africans have withdrawn from Angola.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, has substantial support in many parts of Africa, especially Zaire.

At a recent celebration of the 25th anniversary of the

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AS United Nations secretary-general Mr Javier Perez De Cuellar heads for Pretoria tonight for talks with President P W Botha on Angola-Namibia, intense diplomatic activity in the region erupted on the eve of the resumption of the Brazzaville peace talks.

Speculation continued that a meeting between Mr Botha and a number of African leaders would take place in the next few weeks to discuss the peace initiative.

Mr Botha's office dismissed the reports — in the London Financial Times and the New York Times — as "speculative".

Neither the Department of Foreign Affairs nor the British Foreign Office could confirm that a meeting was on the cards between Mr Botha and various African heads of state on ways to end the civil war in Angola and bring independence to Namibia.

Surprise visit

However, South African government sources were not prepared to rule out the possibility of further talks between Mr Botha and other African leaders, particularly after his successful safari earlier this month to Mozambique and Malawi.

Diplomats and officials in London were commenting yesterday on "the great deal of fluidity in the region" and the general desire among African states for national reconciliation in Angola. They said there were a number of visits and discussions taking place.

Observers yesterday noted that Mr Botha had been due to pay a surprise visit to Brazzaville earlier this year when a team of South African diplomats were in the Congolese capital for negotiations about Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence. The trip was eventually called off after the Cubans complained that South Africa

was attempting to extract political capital out of regional peace initiatives.

It is also known that a number of senior African politicians have made secret trips to the Republic in recent years for talks with top government officials.

Pretoria has been using a number of highly successful aid programmes as a means of extending its contacts with states to the north and SA government offi-

To page 3

PW's peace summit soon?

Mr. Botha
21/9/88
(1)

Headlines Around the world



On 20th anniversary of Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, thousands march in Prague.

The New York Times

IRA claims responsibility for killing eight soldiers as it steps up attacks on British.



Iran and Iraq officially begin an uneasy peace as a UN-brokered ceasefire goes into effect.



Security to be reviewed — The security review

Govt version of events challenged by refugees

LONDON — Some of the worst killings that have ever taken place in Africa seem to be happening in the tiny central African republic of Burundi where at least 24 000 were massacred last week, according to government sources there.

Three thousand families, all of them from the ruling minority Tutsi people, have been axed, speared or beaten to death, according to an unnamed government official quoted by Agence France-Presse.

But the government's figures and version of events have been challenged by accounts from refugees in Rwanda and independent observers.

According to the Burundi government, the slaughter began on August 14 at Ntega in northern Burundi when Hutus — the dominated majority — attacked Tutsi homes with spears, machetes and clubs, killing men, women and children indiscriminately.

But some observers said this account was put out by the government to justify reprisals against the Hutu people, who make up nearly 85 percent of the

R1 000-m in

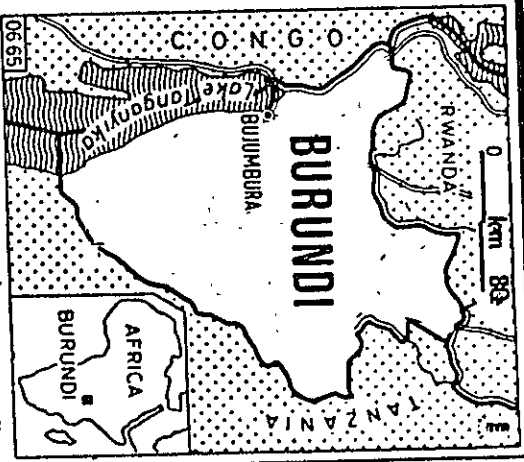
Massacre in Burundi: 24 000 reported killed

08/22/88

population but have no political power. Accounts from some refugees — most of them Hutu — who are arriving in Rwanda at the rate of 5 000 a day, do not support the government's claims. Many of them say that the almost exclusively Tutsi army has been bombing and burning Hutu villages and that hundreds of battered bodies have been floating down the Akanyaru River. One woman survivor interviewed by a Reuters correspondent at the border

said three of her children had been bayoneted to death by government soldiers. In a mission station near the border another woman with neck wounds, Mrs Angele Barbaranburu, said soldiers had forced her and her nine children to lie down outside their home and then bayoneted them. She had been left for dead but managed to escape. The government has imposed a dawn-to-dusk nationwide curfew and

banned all meetings of more than five people. The cattle-keeping Tutsi, who migrated from north-east Africa to the lush green hills of central Africa, three or four hundred years ago, have dominated the peasant Hutu ever since. As a Belgian colony, a monarchy and a republic, Burundi has been ruled by the Tutsi, who make up less than 15 percent of the population. — The Independent News Service.



British

Soviets say 'no' again on anti-SA action

Black states step back on N-squeeze

VIENNA — Black African states yesterday backed down from a bid to oust South Africa from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) after the Soviet Union failed to support the move for the second year running.

African diplomats said the Nigerian-led group withdrew a call to delegates at the IAEA's general conference to suspend Pretoria after Moscow indicated it wished to keep South Africa in the United Nations body.

"We expected to get support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but in the end we didn't get it," a spokesman for the group said. "If they had given us their support, the resolution would easily have sailed through."

Military purposes

The group said it had withdrawn its resolution until next year's conference after Soviet delegates indicated that they believed Pretoria would soon sign the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This would oblige South Africa to open its nuclear plants to regular inspection by IAEA experts to ensure that material was not being diverted for military purposes.

South Africa at present permits inspection of its Koeberg power station and one of two re-

search centres, but a second research centre at Valindaba, believed to be capable of making weapons-grade plutonium, remains top secret.

Last month South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, admitted that South Africa could make nuclear weapons, but refused to say if it had already done so.

At last year's IAEA conference, the Soviet Union failed to support a similar move by black African states after President P W Botha said his Government hoped to sign the NPT soon.

Pretoria has still not signed the treaty, but a statement at this week's conference by the NPT's three guarantor states — the Soviet Union, United States and Britain — said they believed South Africa was considering it.

"The Soviet Union was hardly going to be party to that kind of statement and then turn around and vote for the expulsion of South Africa," an African diplomat said.

Black African delegates dismissed as diversionary tactics a South African statement that it wished to negotiate the terms for signing the NPT. "We are confident that by next year's conference South Africa will have shown its true colours, and those countries who had hopes of their signing the NPT will realise they have miscalculated," a spokesman for the group said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mentally ill Tyson chased wife out of suite

103m Africans malnourished (1) — World Bank

BERLIN. — More than 103 million Africans are undernourished, nearly one in every four on the world's second-largest continent, and the number is on the rise, the World Bank has warned.

"Both the proportion and the total number of Africans with deficient diets have climbed and will continue to rise unless special action is taken," the World Bank said in a report.

Edward Jaycox, World Bank vice president for Africa, released the report at the annual conference of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

He said at a news conference that production of food grains had been declining for two decades and while shortages occurred, Africans often simply could not afford to buy enough food.

"Fundamentally hunger is a poverty problem," Jaycox declared.

The reported states: "Barely a quarter of Africans lived in countries where food consumption was increasing in the 1980s, down considerably from about two-thirds in the 1970s."

It said communist-led Ethiopia, scarred by civil war and drought, recorded the largest number of undernourished or what the World Bank calls the "food insecure" — 14.7 million, or nearly half its population.

Next was Nigeria with 13.7 million and Zaire with 12 million, both countries with close ties to the United States, the report said.

More incentives

Of 36 African nations, Egypt had the lowest percentage among the "food insecure."

Other Egyptians got at least 2200 calories a day, a figure Mr Jaycox said was the minimum for a person to perform an active day's work.

He said it would be futile to propose a specific plan for eradicating hunger "by the year X."

But the report calls for action within the next five years, especially among half to two-thirds of the countries below the Sahara Desert. A major recommendation is for African governments to pay higher prices to its farmers.

He said billions had been spent on aid for Africa but the programmes have not worked well. "We are not calling for a massive new injection of financial resources here," he said.

Mr Jaycox said the World Bank had completed negotiations with Ethiopia this week that would give farmers more incentives and reduce the practice of the state confiscating crops.

Ethiopia was the poorest country on the World Bank's list, with average income estimated at 120 US dollars a year, less than 35 cents a day.

He was careful to explain that food security did not mean that every African country should grow all its own food. — Saapa-AP.

Barend appeals to IMF for aid to Africa

WEST BERLIN. — South Africa, appealing yesterday for more economic support for black Africa, said its ability to help its neighbours was limited by the impact of anti-apartheid sanctions and its own debt-service burden.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis told the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank that South Africa would seek greater co-operation within the region to increase trade and the exchange of technical know-how.

But he added: "Because it has large internal economic needs to address and because it has become subject to abnormal external constraints, South Africa's ability to provide economic support to neighbouring countries is regrettably limited."

Sources in the South African delegation said he was referring to both the impact of sanctions and the need to make foreign debt repayments under an accord reached with creditor banks in 1986.

Mr Du Plessis called on industrial countries to reverse what he termed the ever-increasing trend towards greater protectionism.

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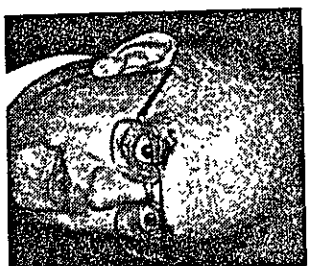
IMF
"The world must guard against the unwarranted extension of restrictions on trade and capital flows," he said.

Mr Du Plessis said Pretoria fully backed IMF and World Bank efforts to ease the debt crisis in sub-Saharan Africa, but he was cautious on plans to cancel or "forgive" foreign debt.

"The private banks of the world or their shareholders cannot be expected to write off lightly by decree debts against hard-earned profits," he said.

"Likewise, it cannot unreservedly be expected of taxpayers in creditor countries to foot the bill through additional allocations made for this purpose in the budgets of their governments." — Sapa-Reuter

PWA OFF TO



President Botha



President Mobutu

SALE TIMES 30/9/88

1 ¹ jungle summit

PRESIDENT P W Botha leaves tonight for his historic weekend jungle summit with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The summit will be held deep in Zaire's north-western jungle at President Mobutu's ancestral home at Gbadolite.

President Botha is expected to arrive at the luxury lodge tomorrow morning and leave by early evening, although a Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that Mr Botha had yet to confirm that the visit was on.

However, a Zairean official was quoted on the national radio yesterday as saying the meeting would go ahead.

The summit will be the culmination of months of top-secret diplomatic activity and comes after a week of intense negotiations in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville. The negotiations are aimed at reaching a peace accord for southern western Africa between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

Although the US-mediated talks, which began on Monday amid high expectations, ended in disappointment.



Political correspondent **ANTHONY JOHNSON** will be the Cape Times man-on-the-spot the





President Botha



President Mobutu

Cape Times 30/9/88

Summit

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Although the US-mediated talks, which began on Monday amid high expectations, ended yesterday without agreement, all parties involved said they would meet again in Brazzaville to break the deadlock on the timetable for a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa's director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said that progress made yesterday had exceeded expectations.

Sources at the talks, who declined to be identified, said the South African and Angolan delegations appeared to have accepted a compromise proposal for a phased withdrawal over 24 months. Cuban diplomats had, however, demanded more time, the sources said.

The talks almost broke down at one point when the Cuban delegation accused the South Africans of delaying tactics, but the crisis passed with all sides recommitting themselves to a peace accord.

As the negotiations drew to a close, Pretoria's diplomatic foray into Africa reached the Central African Republic with two South African Foreign Affairs officials meeting President Andre Kolingba to brief him on progress made in Brazzaville.

It was the first official visit by South Africans to the central African state since the fall of Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa in 1980. Ties between that country and South Africa were good under Bokassa.

The Botha-Mobutu summit will be

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Cape Times 30/9/88

the first meeting between the two leaders and Mr Botha's third trip this month to a black state, following his meetings with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano and Malawi's President Hastings Banda.

Mr Botha is likely to use the initiative to underline South Africa's role as a regional power and as a key player on the sub-continent.

Apart from cementing the already strong, although largely secret, economic and military relations between the two countries, the meeting is expected to focus on regional peace.

Top of the agenda will be the need to encourage African moves towards promoting reconciliation between the warring parties in Angola.

Both South Africa and Zaire have been backers of Unita and supporters of the rebel movement's bid to become part of the government in Luanda.

It is not clear at this stage whether any other African leaders will be attending the Zaire summit.

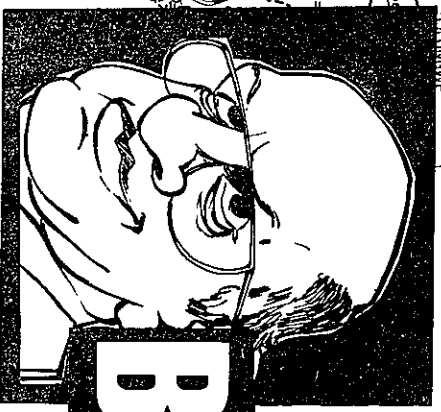
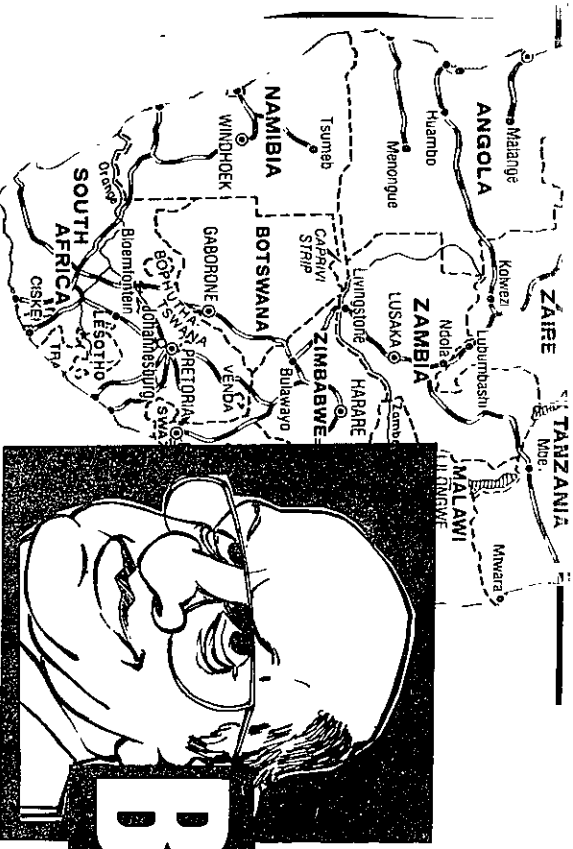
However, the prospects for a broad African peace and development summit — along the lines proposed by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, this week — will also come up for discussion.

Zairean officials said the visit would lay the groundwork for the bigger meeting of African leaders to discuss Southern Africa issues. — Own Correspondent, AP and Sapa-Reuter

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State President's Botha's initiatives in Africa is a "positive sign" and could result in a larger measure of involvement by African states in seeking a peaceful solution

w/c Mrs W 1/10/88 (1)



BOTHA'S BUNDU BASH

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

PRESIDENT Botha's chances of a significant breakthrough in Africa may hinge on Cuba's role in Angola and growing fears that Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita will be wiped out.

Africa experts say these are issues that loom large over Mr Botha's talks this weekend with President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire.

And they are seen as issues on which he can find common ground with various African leaders threatened by instability as a result of the Angolan war and a calamitous economic decline in Africa. Some analysts believe that if he plays his cards right, his influence could help to achieve a potentially powerful line-up of moderate African states opposed to foreign interference, with "Africa for the Africans" as the likely theme.

A favourable factor for Mr Botha, according to experts, is that the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) is seriously divided on the Angolan issue, with a significant section against the Cuban presence.

But there are doubts about the chances of any spectacular success for his Africa diplomacy while he labours under the stigma of continuing apartheid practices.

On the other hand, this negative factor may not be crucial when seen against the background of economic conditions which are said to have undermined the will and capacity of many impoverished African states to continue fighting apartheid.

ZAIRE is seen by African affairs specialists as a poverty-stricken country ruled with an iron

grip by one of the richest men in the world.

Over the years the infra-structure left by Zaire's former Belgian colonial rulers has decayed. In parts of the country roads have been taken over by the jungle, leaving some regions virtually without overland communications.

Meanwhile President Mobutu is reputed to have amassed a personal fortune worth more than \$1-billion, part of which is said to be stashed away in a Swiss bank. His image abroad is that of one of Africa's big spenders.

On one of his overseas trips he caused a stir in New York by taking over the Waldorf-Astoria hotel's entire 37th floor for his family and entourage.

A three-day jaunt in a Swiss mountain resort was estimated at the time to have cost him \$40 000, including more than \$5000 spent by aides on silk and leather clothes.

Claims have been made that American support for Unita has been channelled through Zaire, and earlier this year Zaire denied Angolan allegations that it was providing bases and support for Unita.

Analysts say a problem for Zaire is its sense of insecurity as a result of fears that an escalation of the Angolan war could spill over into Zaire.

Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute, sees a distinct possibility of co-operation among certain African states in a move to get the Cubans out of Angola.

He said Zaire, Zambia and Congo were among states that would have a strong interest in such a move.

President Mobutu felt directly threatened by the Cubans and the continuing conflict in Angola. Zambia also felt uneasy, and for some time there had been talk in diplomatic circles about wider support in Africa for the idea of getting the Cubans out.

For South Africa an obstacle to better relations with Africa was the impression among black states that blacks were "second-class citizens" in South Africa. Despite this, there had been many contacts between South Africa and African states.

"The more we progress towards an acceptable internal dispensation, the more acceptable we will become in Africa. We have a stigma which is difficult to get away from."

If South Africa could find common ground with countries like Mozambique, Zaire, Zambia and Congo at a summit meeting, it would be significant progress. But the possibilities should be seen in perspective — African countries were under some pressure from the West and the UN not to cooperate with South Africa.

Dr Leistner sees President Mobutu as "an odd man out" in Africa — a leader who does not pay much attention to the OAU and who does not enjoy much popularity. He trades openly with South Africa and has open links with the US.

Mobutu is also seen by Dr Leistner as a leader who is not strong on ideology, and yet he is regarded as a strong man by virtue of his ability "to keep a chaotic country together."

PROFESSOR Mike Hough, director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, also sees a possibility of a joint effort by African states to get Angola to move towards peace with Unita.

President Botha's initiatives in Africa is a "positive sign" and could result in a larger measure of involvement by African states in seeking a peaceful solution, he says.

An important factor is the long-standing sympathy for Unita among Africa states, especially in West Africa. The extent of this sympathy is shown

by a 50-50 division in the OAU on the issue of recognising Unita.

The threatened instability caused in neighbouring states by the Angolan conflict is said to be a key consideration.

A significant development reported this week was a move by the Angolan government to allow a Zairian rebel guerrilla group to start operating from Angolan territory in apparent retaliation for Zaire's alleged support of Unita.

Professor Hough sees it as important that more African states, including countries like Nigeria, should be drawn into any joint peace moves aimed at seeking the withdrawal of the Cubans and settlement inside Angola.

AN uncertain factor in the latest moves is Russia's role behind the scenes. Because of the large-scale supply of Soviet arms and military advisers in Africa, the question is whether the Soviet Union really wants peace in this part of the world. And how strong is Russia's influence in Africa?

Mrs S Roothman, acting director of Stellenbosch University's Institute for Soviet Studies, said there appeared to have been a cooling off of relations between Zaire and the Soviet Union in the last two years.

Previously — up to 1986 — there had been increasing contact, mainly in the economic field, between the two. The contacts appeared to decrease after an incident in 1987 which resulted in the expulsion of some Soviet diplomats from Zaire and similar action by the Soviet Union against Zairian diplomats.

She said the impression was that Zaire was not a country that leaned towards the Soviets, but on the other hand the Soviets sought good relations with virtually all states in Africa.

AFRICA is a resource-rich continent that by all rights should be economically prosperous, ZB MOLEFE reports.

Yet Africa is the poorest continent on earth, with millions of its inhabitants facing malnutrition and starvation.

Why is Africa so poor today? Is it the fault of colonialism? Of the post-colonial world economic system?

One theory, widely held, is that colonialism is the root of Africa's current poverty.

According to this theory, Africans enjoyed a benevolent tribal communalism that allowed the natives to survive without exploiting each other.

When Africa finally gained independence from its colonial masters, according to this theory, modern socialism was the only system suited to Africa's traditional institutions.

Poverty is said to persist because of the tremendous difficulties the continent's new leaders have had in overcoming the damage caused by colonialism.

THE view that colonialism is the root of Africa's poverty is a myth, says George Ayittey, a Ghanaian who is associate professor of economics at Bloomsbury University, Pennsylvania, in the US.

He says before European colonial rule most of Africa had local free markets where goods were sold.

It is from this premise that Ayittey concludes that foreign aid money has been wasted in Africa on money-losing state enterprises or stolen outright by corrupt politicians.

"Today," says Ayittey, who holds a PhD from the University of Manitoba, "the most effective aid that the US and the world can give Africa is help to rebuild, reinstitute and modernise Africa's indigenous institutions of political and economic freedom."

These now-tattered institutions have demonstrated in the past that Africans are as capable as any people of earning their own living and trading freely with others.

Points out Ayittey: "Paternalistic controls that treat Africans like children only serve to continue the worst aspects of the colonial attitude towards that continent.

"If Western nations truly wish to eliminate poverty and misery that is the lot of Africans today, they must insist that Africa's leaders begin pursuing policies to restore Africa's traditional economic and political freedoms."

Economic progress, in a sense, requires Africans to be allowed to be Africans, to return to their free market traditions, points out Ayittey.

"If the US and other industrial nations

genuinely want to help lift Africa out of poverty, they will devise policies that resuscitate indigenous African market economies," he says.

The importance of trade was long recognised by the traditional rulers of Africa, asserts Ayittey.

One of the chief's traditional responsibilities was not only to seek greater opportunities for trade but also to provide a peaceful atmosphere for his people to engage in it

Trade as the engine of economic growth was also recognised.

Even after the arrival of the Europeans, Africans turned more

African 'myth' exposed

Old way of life must be rebuilt

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2/10/88

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the late 19th century that Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain divided up the the continent.

Ayittey says: "While the Europeans often sought to control indigenous economic activities to their advantage, they failed as often as they succeeded."

In any event, asserts this scholar, Africa's vast distances and underdeveloped communications and transportation networks would have made complete control of native economic activities by any colonial administrator impossible.

The extraordinary cost in time and money for any sort of control was a main reason that the British adopted the colonial policy of indirect rule, says Ayittey.

"This generally left intact the indigenous economic activities," he adds

He goes on: "One reason colonialism lasted so long in Africa was that it did little to upset violently the traditional way of life. Had it done so, its demise would have come sooner. Resistance to colonialism came largely from the educated class in the urban areas where economic disparities and discrimination were more glaring."

● This article is adapted from the Washington-based The Heritage Foundation Centre for International Economic Growth's backgrounder paper, Restoring Africa's Free Market Tradition

● NEXT FRIDAY: Dr Ayittey looks at a number of economic African problems from post-colonial socialism, self-inflicted economic wounds to the present.

on their own initiative, not at the behest of their chiefs, says Ayittey. "Nor did the chiefs operate tribal government farms and fishing boats, the equivalent of the modern state enterprises."

Under the abuse system among Ghana cocoa farmers, a third of any profit went to the owner of the farm, another third went to hired labour, and the remaining third was set aside for farm maintenance and expansion.

European countries began to trade with Africa in the 15th century. While some colonies were established early on, notably the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, it was not until

Mampong.

The chiefs granted mining concessions to enterprising subjects, points out Ayittey.

In such fields as agriculture and fishing, the practice was essentially free enterprise, he argues.

Africa's native fishermen and farmers were free entrepreneurs who went about their activities

to production for trade and commerce, says Ayittey.

He makes another observation when he says during this period "there was a notable absence of state controls and ownership."

For example, writes Ayittey, in the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana), gold mining was open to all subjects of the states of Adanse, Assin, Denkyria and

SA's diplomacy starts paying off

PW: Regional

Star. 3/10/88

peace summit

a step nearer

The State President, Mr PW Botha's outward thrust into Africa is set to start paying handsome dividends for years of patient behind-the-scenes work.

The glittering prize which Mr Botha now believes is within reach, following several meetings with his regional counterparts, is a summit of all southern Africa's leaders to discuss the region's problems and potential for development.

However, such a summit, repeatedly mooted by Mr Botha in recent years, is not considered an imminent possibility.

Several other bilateral meetings are likely to precede it, including visits to South Africa in coming months by President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

Mr Botha believes the African climate is slowly changing in favour of a top level meeting of regional leaders, which would include him.

A lot now depends on the successful conclusion of the peace talks between South Africa and Angola-Cuba, as well as the granting of independence to Namibia.

Mr Botha was in a triumphant mood following a successful day-long meeting on Saturday with President Mobutu at the Zairean leader's jungle palace.

Dream

Asked by The Star, on board his aircraft returning from Zaire, if his meeting with President Mobutu would contribute to his long cherished dream of a meeting of southern African leaders, Mr Botha said: "That is the next step."

Mr Botha said he would talk to any southern African leader any time in the interests of regional peace.

He said he had not been invited to the summit meeting of southern African leaders to be held in Lusaka later this week. South Africa would be watching the meeting with interest, he said.

The summit, which has nothing to do with South Africa's own African initiative, will be a meeting of the presidents of

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Zaire, Zambia, Angola, Congo and Gabon.

Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Mali will send observers.

The African leaders will be discussing ways of ending the civil war in Angola, something which is also of great interest to South Africa.

Mr Botha said he had always said South Africa had something to convey to Africa, especially southern Africa.

His meeting with President Mobutu and others recently indicated that southern African leaders were coming to grips with this idea.

Mr Botha said South Africa's Africa initiative would continue this year and next year.

Other countries would be visited.

The South African delegation to Zaire was elated with the apparent sympathy President Mobutu had for South Africa's current domestic situation.

Senior South African diplomats said it was highly significant that President Chissano of Mozambique and President Mobutu had taken cognisance of changes in South Africa in recent years.

Mr Botha said his recent visits to African leaders must take the wind out of the sails of those who favoured sanctions.

Southern African countries realised they had to talk to and trade with South Africa if there was to be joint development of the region.

One spin-off of the Botha-Mobutu summit for South Africa is the possible exchange of trade representatives.

Exchange

Trade representatives have become a euphemism for ambassadors in South Africa's formal relations with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Mr Botha was cautious when asked for comment on the possible exchange of trade representatives, however, saying such a decision required careful consideration, but that eventually he believed it would come.

A more certain spin-off is a return visit by President Mobutu to South Africa.

President Mobutu has accepted the invitation in principle.

● Zaire was claiming a diplomatic triumph yesterday after President Mobutu's summit with Mr Botha.

Zaire Radio described the meeting as a further step in President Mobutu's efforts to bring peace to southern Africa.

● See Page 11.



Miners th over fatal

Miners throughout the country, siding with the union, are considering stopping work every time a miner dies in an accident, the Union of Mineworkers (NUM) secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said at the weekend.

Addressing a memorial service to commemorate the death of 177 miners in the Kinross disaster of September, Ramaphosa said "the time has come for the union to show management

Frost wins at last



COLUMBUS (Georgia) — South African golf ace David Frost edged out Bob Tway in a sudden-death play-off to capture the US Tour's \$400 000 (about R1 million) Southern Open championship yesterday.

Frost earned the equivalent of R180 000 for his win, boosting his earnings in America this year to nearly R1,25 million.

A perennial runner-up, the South African joined the US Tour four years ago and had been runner-up in nine tournaments. Until yesterday victory had always eluded him.

● See Page 24.

THE profligate eccentricities and grandiose schemes that are hallmarks of some of South Africa's homeland leaders pale into insignificance when measured against the free-spending exploits of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

But then again, President Mobutu is one of the world's wealthiest men, having amassed a personal fortune of more than \$10 billion during his 23 years since seizing power of what is now the fifth-poorest nation on earth. Perhaps one of the most ostentatious symbols of this enigmatic ruler's stupendous extravagance is his marbled jungle palace, set in the north of country not far from the equator.

Here, amid artificial lakes, glittering fountains and carefully manicured rolling gardens designed by Johannesburg horticulturalist Keith Kirsten, it is always summertime and the living is most assuredly easy.

One of the South African visitors dazzled at the weekend by the sheer grandeur and overstated lavishness of the complex remarked: "This place make Sun City look like an outback kava."

The president — otherwise known as Field-Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, founder of the Popular Revolutionary Movement of Zaire — certainly needs no lessons in how to have a good time if the banquet he laid on for the visiting South Africans is anything to go by.

As peacocks and security personnel strutted about the lush grounds outside, the South Africans tucked into the finest French champagnes and wines, crayfish, shrimp, salmon, stuffed pigeon and several other more traditional, but equally mouthwatering, dishes.

The expensive, heavily mirrored banquet hall, resplendent in gold,

Mobutu jungle palace a shrine to opulence

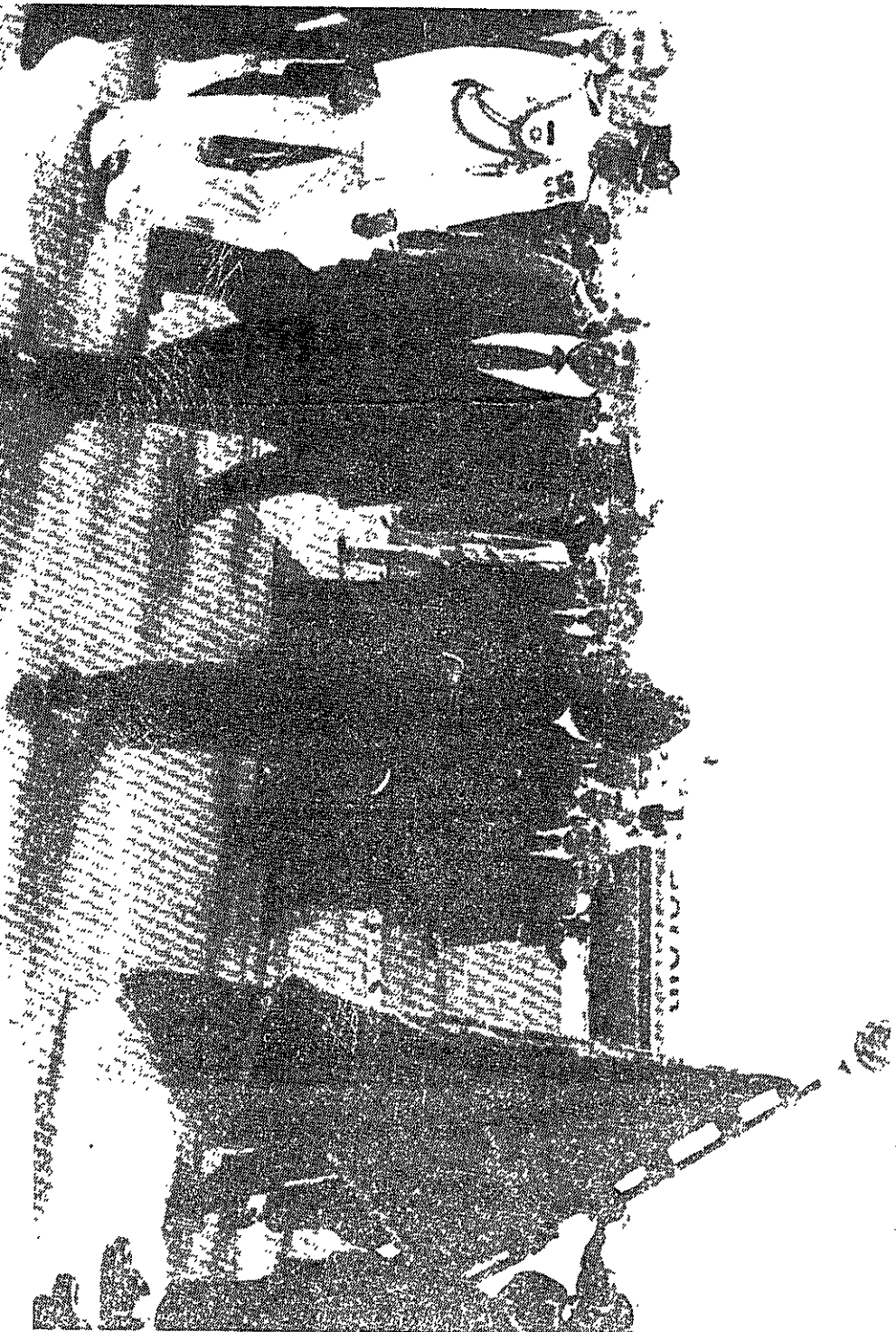
black, red and white, is a monument to opulent living. It is little wonder that this country retreat has been dubbed "the Versailles in the jungle".

Although a man of considerable means, the president insists on driving his own vehicle, on one occasion with a clearly tickled President P W Botha sitting next to him.

Among the president's collection of cars are dozens of late-model Mercedes Benzes.

The president's hospitality was reciprocated with various gifts from the South African party, including some gold medallions worth an estimated \$4 000.

Among the other South African gifts was a colourfully wrapped present containing ammunition — for the hunting rifle which completed the gift list for the president who has everything, in material terms anyway.



RED CARPET TREATMENT... President P W Botha and President Mobutu Sese Seko leave the airport for the first summit meeting at the Zaire leader's mansion in the jungle.

African 'breakthrough'

PRESIDENT P W Botha's latest flurry of summits with African leaders is just the tip of the iceberg — and a major breakthrough in relations with Africa, including more high-profile visits and co-operation agreements, appears to be in the pipeline.

The South African government believes that this new era in diplomacy can help "liquidate" sanctions drives, and appears fully prepared to forego the traditionally closer links it has historically had with the West in favour of closer contact with African states.

Speaking on his way back from his highly cordial summit with President Mobutu Sese Seko — which produced the promise of a reciprocal visit to SA — Mr Botha said the next step in the Africa outreach programme was a summit conference of heads of state of the subcontinent.

And highly-placed sources at the Gbadolite meeting disclosed that Mr Botha had undertaken at least four "secret summits" with African leaders in recent years — two with President Omar Bongo of Gabon and two with President Felix Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast. Mr Botha said he had not been

Reports from Zaire summit by ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent



invited to the five-nation two-day summit in Lusaka at the end of this week, but Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said South Africa would be "interested bystanders, or observers on the sidelines" at the event. The conference, primarily aimed at ending the civil war between the

MPLA and Unita, will be attended by Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Zaire and Zambia. Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Mali and the Organization of African Unity will attend as observers.

A senior South African diplomat said at the weekend that South Africa would not heighten African sensitivities by insisting on attending all regional peace initiatives, but would instead follow a parallel track of concentrating on regional meetings focusing principally on development, aid and trade issues. President Botha described the meeting with his Zairean counterpart as "a further step in the resto-

ration of good relations between South Africa and its neighbours". "But this is a very important step, because Zaire is a key country and President Mobutu is a respected statesman with influence."

Mr Botha told journalists on the way back to South Africa that the Republic would pay further official visits to African states this year and again next year, but he would not be drawn on details.

"I always said... that South Africa has something to convey to Africa. "It seems that Southern Africa is coming to grips with this..."

Key issues at Zaire summit

THE four-and-a-half-hour weekend summit in Gbadolite between Zaire and SA covered a wide range of topics of vital concern to both countries.

The range of topics discussed was reflected in the Gbadolite communiqué issued at the conclusion of the talks at the steamy tropical jungle retreat.

One of the major longer-term issues dealt with was the "development situation" in Central and Southern Africa "after peace had been restored to Angola and independence to Namibia".

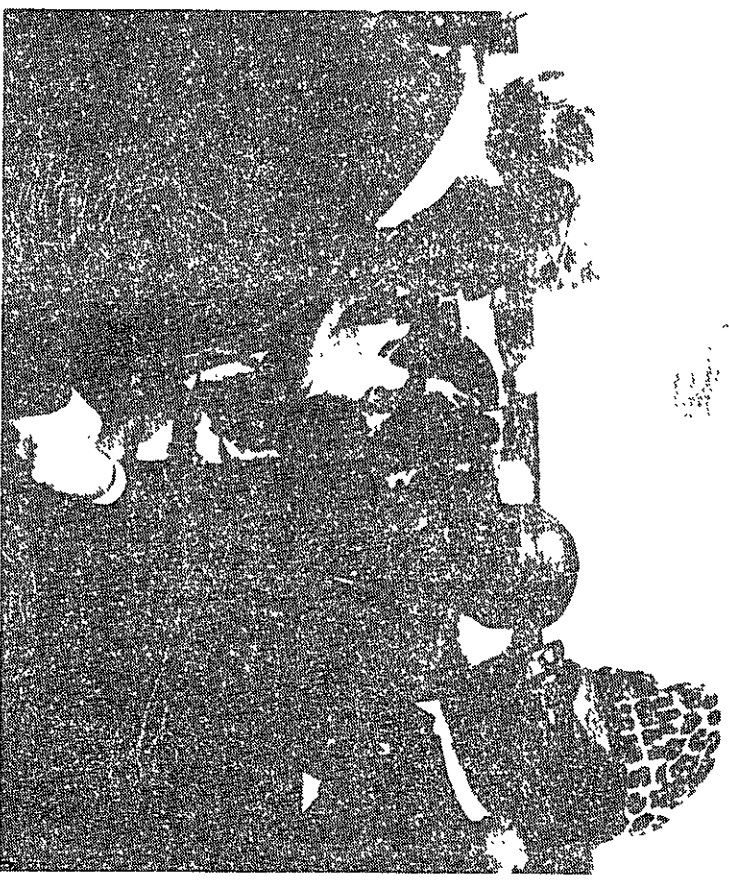
The communiqué noted: "As arch-future developers in the Southern and Central African region of the continent, the two delegations expressed the hope that they will see all the states of this part of Africa maintain peaceful relations in order to promote economic, social and cultural development."

Another theme that received attention was the peace negotiations and national reconciliation between the ruling MPLA and Unita in Angola.

The South Africans informed their Zairean counterparts about progress at the tripartite negotiations being conducted at Brazzaville.

The third major topic concerned Namibia. Zaire reiterated its support for UN Resolution 435, while the South Africans informed their Zairean hosts on the contents of recent talks with the UN Secretary-General in Pretoria.

The fourth major topic area concerned the situation surrounding Mr Nelson Mandela and the Sharpeville Six. "The talks between the two delegations were conducted in a frank and calm fashion," the communiqué said in conclusion.





Botha moves closer to Southern Africa summit

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Staff

PRESIDENT Botha's thrust into Africa is set to start paying handsome dividends after years of patient behind-the-scenes work.

The glittering prize which Mr Botha now believes is within reach following a series of meetings with his regional counterparts is a summit of all Southern Africa's leaders to discuss the region's problems and potential for development.

Such a summit, repeatedly suggested by Mr Botha in recent years, is not considered imminent. Several bilateral meetings are likely to precede it, including visits to South Africa by President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

Peace talks

However, Mr Botha believes the African climate is slowly changing in favour of a top-level meeting of regional leaders, which would include him.

A lot now depends on the successful conclusion of the peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba as well as the granting of independence for Namibia.

Mr Botha was in a triumphant mood after a successful day-long meeting on Saturday with President Mobutu at the Zairean leader's jungle palace north of the equator.

Asked on board his aircraft returning from Zaire if his meeting with President Mobutu would contribute to his long-cherished dream of a meeting of Southern African leaders, Mr Botha said: "That is the next step."



ARRIVAL: The UN team at Windhoek's J G Strijdom airport after flying in from Frankfurt.

Such a conference would take much organising, he said, because an agenda had to be drawn up and decisions made on the subjects to be discussed. It also had to be decided who would attend.

His meeting with President Mobutu and others recently indicated Southern African leaders were coming to grips with the idea that South Africa had something to convey to Africa.

"They are rather disenchanted with many European and other countries, and they know they cannot exclude South Africa from the development of the sub-continent," Mr Botha said.

The South African delegation to Zaire was elated with the apparent sympathy President Mobutu had for South Africa's domestic situation.

Senior South African diplomats said it was highly significant that both President Chis-

sano and President Mobutu had taken cognisance of changes in South Africa in recent years.

Mr Botha remarked that President Chissano, for example, had given more recognition for this process than many leaders in Europe and in the US.

In Harare the African National Congress condemned President Mobutu's meeting, saying no black leader should have contact with Mr Botha while his government hanged "political opponents", reports Sapa-AP.

An ANC spokesman in Zimbabwe said in an interview with the Sunday Mail newspaper that the day before their summit in northern Zaire seven men were executed in Pretoria and four political prisoners were due to hang tomorrow.

UN team arrives in Namibia

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A 23-member United Nations technical team has arrived in Windhoek on a two-week mission to study the Namibian infrastructure and identify possible logistical problems in the deployment of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) as envisioned in the Resolution 435 peace plan.

The team, led by the UN's Director for Administration and Management, Mr Cedric Thornberry, was met at the airport by an official of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Thornberry said the arrival of the team followed discussions last month in Pretoria between UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and President Botha.

REPATRIATE

The UN team will look at the Namibian infrastructure with particular emphasis on transport, medical and accommodation facilities.

A number of officials of the UN's High Commission for Refugees will also try to identify possible problems in the repatriation of tens of thousands of Namibian exiles before independence.

The team will be in Namibia for between 10 and 14 days, and will later report on their mission to the office of the Secretary-General.

day October 3 1988

Comoros leader admits to close ties with S Africa

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By James Tomlins, The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — President Ahmed Abdallah of the Comoros yesterday publicly admitted that while he was firmly opposed to apartheid, his country maintains close ties with South Africa.

The weekly magazine *Jeune Afrique* asked him during a private visit to Paris: "Although the Comoros are far from South Africa, you have close ties with this country where apartheid is rampant. Can you tell us why?"

The president answered: "I will never defend apartheid. I am profoundly opposed to it, but I do not like playing hide-and-seek. Numerous African countries have relations with South Africa, that is well known. Not only its immediate neighbours, but many others. But they do so secretly.

"But I don't hide anything. I am frank. Like Mozambique, I do not deny the presence of South Africans in the Comoros."

Asked why he was defying a UN resolution banning ties with Pretoria,

he replied: "One simply has to be realistic. How can a country ignore South Africa, which is so rich and produces everything."

He denied that the MNR was supplied with arms which transited through the Comoros, and also said that so far as he was aware, Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan had never visited Comoros.

He stated that while SA tourists often visited his country "no Pretoria officials have ever done so".

President Abdallah was ousted by a coup in August 1975 but returned three years later with the help of French mercenary leader Colonel Bob Denard.

Ever since, Comoros has retained close links with South Africa, and has been publicly attacked for this by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

It is clear from this interview that President Abdallah is prepared to join other moderate African leaders in dialogue with the President, Mr P W Botha.

Botha 'flexible'

from DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

GBADOLITE (Zaire). — President Botha has given Zaire's resident Mubutu Sese Seko a clear indication that he is flexible on the release from prison of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

And he has assured President Mubutu that he has an open mind on the death sentences for the Sharpeville Six.

This emerged in the formal joint communiqué by the two African leaders after more than four hours of talks at resident Mubutu's country

palace at Gbadolite, his birth town.

The communiqué said they had discussed four topics:

- The Brazzaville peace talks and national reconciliation in Angola;

- Namibia's independence;

- Development of central and Southern Africa after Namibia's independence; and

- The position of Mr. Mandela and the Sharpeville Six.

The communiqué said "President Botha's flexible approach concerning the release of Nelson Mandela was a source of

encouragement to President Mubutu."

On the Sharpeville Six, who have been sentenced to hang for their complicity in the mob-killing of a Lekoa civic official, the communiqué said: "President Botha indicated that this question would be examined after judicial processes which had not been resolved had come to an end."

On the other three points dealt with the communiqué said the South African delegation had told the Zairean delegation of the present state of the peace discussions in Braz-

zaville. They exchanged views on national reconciliation in Angola.

The communiqué said Zaire reiterated its support for United Nations Resolution 435. The South African delegation told its Zairean hosts of the contents of the recent discussions that South Africa had with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

It is reported from London that President Botha's African foray and the renewed speculation on the status of Mr Mandela have been featured prominently in newspapers and on television.

On releasing Mandela

The London Times, in an analysis by its Johannesburg correspondent, Michael Hornsby, says that if Mr Botha can persuade other African heads of state to meet him around the conference table it would put pressure on the ANC to drop its armed struggle and negotiate.

Sapa-AP reports from Johannesburg that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday he would neither confirm nor deny reports that President Botha has promised the unconditional release of Mr Mandela.

Demand for goods and services increasing

'SA links with Africa growing'

Star 4/10/68
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GEORGE — Africa was inextricably linked to South Africa by a growing web of commercial, economic, health and other ties.

This was the thrust of a lengthy list of links South Africa has with countries to its immediate north which the State President, Mr P W Botha, detailed last night when opening the Cape National Party congress at George.

Mr Botha said South Africa, with 4 percent of the total African population, accounted for 20 percent of its gross national product.

Investment, development aid and loans by the South African private sector made a substantial contribution to the economies of many countries in the region.

Many development projects in Africa were financed by credit and loans provided by the South African private and public sectors.

South Africa provided transport and harbour facilities to many states so they could conduct their international trade.

The country had 27 percent of the total length of railways on the continent and it carried 81 percent of railway freight transported in Africa.

Seven landlocked states made extensive use of the South African transport and ports system.

There were more than 10 000 carriages, steam and diesel locomotives of the SA Transport Services in use on the railway systems of neighbouring countries — Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire and Namibia.

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

South Africa was also involved in the maintenance of the port of Maputo.

South Africa provided job opportunities for many workers from neighbouring countries — 300 000 official migrant workers at the latest count and, perhaps, just as many illegal workers.

Two million people derived benefit from the employment of migrant workers in South Africa.

South Africa's Eskom was a source of energy for five states in the region — Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

South Africa was the leading factor in the development of the R4 billion Lesotho highland water and hydro-electric scheme.

South Africa was also involved with Mozambique in the Cahora Bassa scheme and with Angola in the Ruacana and Calueque schemes.

South Africa was the major market for hydro-electric power and water from its neighbouring states.

Despite the threat of sanctions, the demand for South African goods was constantly increasing in Africa.

Not only did South Africa supply food to the region, it was involved in agricultural development of the various countries.

Next step southern African summit

P W makes plea for peace, development

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

GEORGE — The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night appealed to the leaders of southern Africa to come together to bring about peace and development in a region racked by conflict and poverty.

"South Africa has an important role to play in the region.

"Ideological differences cannot be allowed to thwart attempts at peace and co-operation," he said.

Mr Botha made his latest call for a summit of southern African leaders during his speech at the opening of the Cape National Party congress in George.

The two-day congress, starting today, is likely to focus sharply on President Botha's vigorous diplomatic thrust into Africa of recent months.

Mr Botha said after his weekend meeting with the President of Zaire, Field Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, that a conference of all the leaders of southern Africa would be the next step in his Africa initiative.

The State President devoted most of his speech to this theme last night, underlying the high priority he has given it.

He said the perception for years had been that South Africa was a belligerent power in a region of conflict. Events of recent months had, however, placed a serious question mark over this notion.

Made call

Mr Botha said he called for closer co-operation in southern Africa throughout the 10 years he had been South Africa's leader. In 1979, at the Carlton conference with business leaders, he had called for a constellation of southern African states.

At the signing of the Nkomati Accord he had again called for regional co-operation.

Since then, the Government had taken a number of concrete steps, such as establishing the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Two years ago, Mr Botha said, he had at the Free State NP congress called for co-operation in southern Africa in the following

areas: military security and stability; economic development, support and mutual co-operation; agricultural and industrial development and the creation of jobs; and the conservation and supply of water.

Mr Botha said: "Allegations that South Africa is a destabilising and disruptive force in southern Africa are therefore not true. South Africa is the single most important stabilising factor in the region."

Mr Botha said there were encouraging signs of greater co-operation and understanding in the region. However, the leaders of southern Africa still had to take the big step of coming together.

"Our attempts at peace are based on principles we strive for.

These include:

- That countries do not interfere in the domestic affairs of others.
- That alien forces are not utilised in southern Africa for military purposes.
- That countries do not accommodate international terror organisations which act against other countries."

'All Africa is deteriorating'

By Helen Grange

British author and journalist Denis Montgomery recently arrived in Johannesburg to launch his book, "The Reflected Face of Africa", a story of a trans-Africa journey undertaken twice in 20 years. *Star 4/10/88*

Born in Natal and educated at Natal University, Mr Montgomery travelled through Africa in 1965, when most countries were just emerging from European colonialism, and again in 1985.

He found that many African countries had regressed politically and economically in that time, and that travel had become more hazardous.

ZAMBIA WORST

"Zambia is the country which has changed the most in the last 20 years. Not only has its once-thriving copper mining industry deteriorated, but the country is steeped in massive foreign debt. It is run according to a kind of socialism that hasn't worked," Mr Montgomery said.

Mr Montgomery added that the problems of urbanisation and deteriorating socio-economic standards experienced throughout Africa were a "reflection of South Africa".

"Punitive economic sanctions only make things worse, as can be observed in Zimbabwe. The whole southern African region was affected.

"It is up to the youth of Africa to face an ever deteriorating continent and solutions probably won't materialise during their lifetime," he said.



Denis Montgomery ... sanctions only make things worse. All of southern Africa is affected.

Botha holds talks with Kohl

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BONN. — West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl and President P W Botha held brief talks after memorial services for Dr Franz Josef Strauss.

Mr Kohl and Mr Botha met for about 15 minutes, a government spokesman said.

Details of the talks were not immediately available.

Mr Kohl also scheduled political meetings with other foreign politicians who came to West Germany for the funeral.

The anti-establishment Greens party boycotted the service and about 200 people demonstrated in a central Munich square, in protest against Mr Botha's presence.

Avoided

One protester unfurled a banner which read: "Are you also mourning those South Africans shot dead by your police, Mr Botha?"

When Mr Botha and his wife sat down in Munich's cathedral to hear the requiem mass, they were initially avoided by other mourners.

President Gnassingbe Eyadema, leader of the African state of Togo, later sat in the second-row pew close to Mr Botha. He greeted the State President only after Mr Botha proffered his hand.

Mr Botha and the SA delegation arrived in Zurich last night to prepare for two days of official business.

Mr Botha was scheduled to address the Swiss-SA Friendship Association on Monday and attend a meeting of SA ambassadors on Tuesday. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-AP and Reuter

The Poisonings of Africa

From RICHARD DOWDEN in London
GIANFRANCO AMBROSINI makes no apologies for sending toxic waste to Africa.

The French have been sending it to Morocco for years, says the Italian owner of Intercontract SA of Fribourg, Switzerland, which was recently identified as the company that secured a contract to dump 50 000 tons of waste a year for 10 years in the tiny state of Guinea-Bissau.

It is just one of many European companies which are exporting toxic chemical and industrial waste from Europe to Africa. In Europe it can cost up to R1 000 a ton to dispose of; in Africa it can cost as little as R5 a ton.

Poverty makes African countries, or their officials, vulnerable to lucrative contracts from European companies eager to cut the costs of disposing of hazardous waste.

Recently, nearly a dozen cases have come to light in which African countries have been offered or have accepted toxic waste which could not easily be disposed of in Europe and America.

The payments made to African companies or individuals are sometimes bigger than the entire gross national product of those countries. An African diplomat in London said he was offered R12-million by a company dealing in toxic waste for an introduction to his country's president.

When these reports became

"It's simple — you go to Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Djibouti or somewhere like Mauritania, all poor and semi-desert countries.

"You contact the local authorities and they take you somewhere really crazy, out in the middle of nowhere,

just scorpions and snakes.

"You pay well, and then you start to dig your pit, some 30 metres down, all waterproof and according to the US, Swiss and EC regulations. Finally, you can start your shipments."

public, Nigeria led the attack on the countries involved, but was then embarrassed by reports that more than 1 000 tons of toxic waste had arrived in Nigeria itself. The government has threatened to shoot those involved.

Guinea-Bissau has arrested the Norwegian honorary consul and says he has confessed to forging documents relating to the import of toxic waste. Norway is sending a ship to Guinea-Bissau to collect the waste.

Intercontract is unique in that it is an identifiable company with an owner who is prepared publicly to justify the business. Most of it is conducted by companies registered in countries where owners do not have to be named.

"Quite a lot of the business is going on somewhere in the twilight," said Jan Huismans, director of the International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals, an arm of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

According to Unep, Africa has become the new dumping ground as more and more stringent laws raise the price of toxic waste disposal in industrialised countries.

Nearly a dozen African countries have been approached recently and the details of seven cases have come to light.

In Nigeria, documents have disclosed that government departments were fully aware of the import of toxic waste.

The Irukepen Construction Company was registered to "import residues of several industrial processes". Taking advantage of this, several Italian companies started exporting the waste legally. Nevertheless a number of Italians have been arrested in Lagos.

The waste was disposed of at Koko, a small port in Benin State. Drums of it became so hot that dockworkers could not handle them.

Nigeria has seized an Ital-

ian ship in Lagos harbour and insisted that it removes the waste.

Benin signed a 10-year deal with Sesco Ltd, a Gibraltar-registered company, in January to store up to one million tons of industrial waste a year from several European countries.

The price was R5 a ton plus a 50 percent bonus in investment in local agriculture, mining and industry. Sesco was to be granted a 10-year monopoly for waste shipments.

Benin is also reported to have received two shiploads of radioactive waste from France in return for 30 years' economic assistance. Reports that it has been buried near Abomey, an area known for its opposition to the government, have been denied by President Mathieu Kerekou.

Congo signed a R170-million deal with Van Santen, a Dutch transport firm, to store one million tons of chemical waste in the Congo.

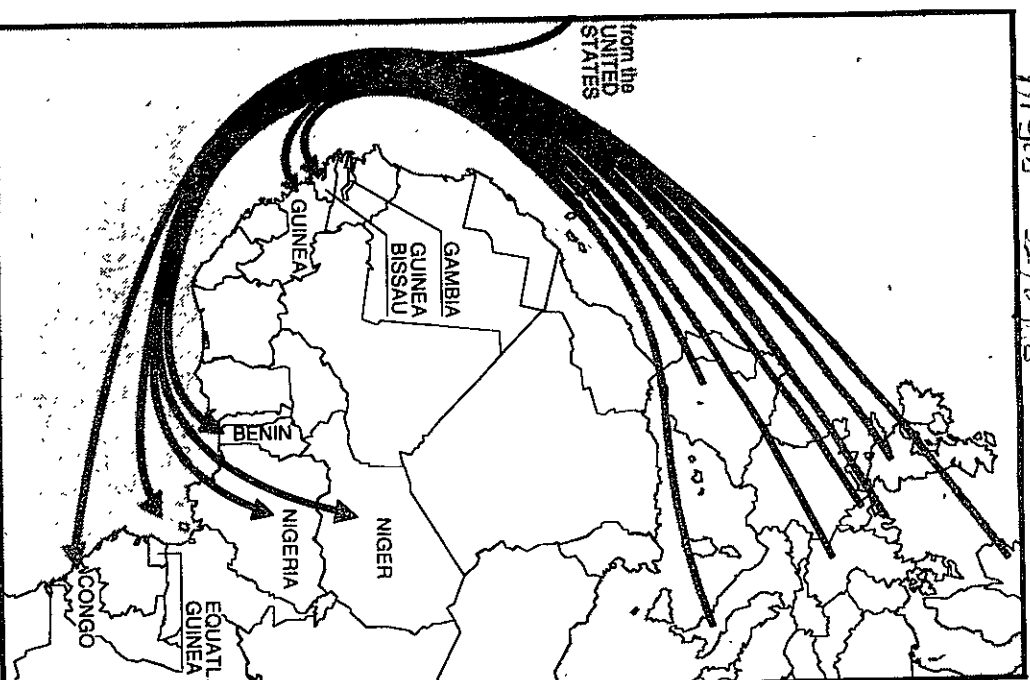
Van Santen said it had been negotiating a similar deal with Niger.

On Kassa Island off Guinea, incinerator ash from Philadelphia, described as "building materials" has been dumped. It was brought by the Bark, a Norwegian-owned ship which left the United States on February 4 and arrived at Kassa 12 days later.

According to Guinea Radio, the arrested Norwegian consul has confessed to forging documents so that 15 000 tons of industrial ash containing toxic chemicals could be stored on Kassa. Five Guineans have been arrested.

Equatorial Guinea has signed a 10-year contract with a company in Buckingham, England, for at least five million tons of waste from Europe. The deal is worth up to R2-million a year for the British company.

Guinea-Bissau has said it has dropped plans to take 15 million tons of toxic waste from Western countries. — The Independent, London.



How European and American toxic waste finds its way to Africa.

After African independence, free markets and free trade were viewed by African leaders – educated in the West and influenced by socialistic and Marxist ideology – as alien institutions imported by the colonial powers as a means to exploit the natives.

ZB MOLEFE reports on Ghanaian scholar George Ayittey's study of post-colonial economics in Africa.

AFTER the decline of the 19th Century slave trade, colonialists introduced plantations and cash-cropping, which were essentially a departure from traditional African agriculture, according to Dr George Ayittey.

But, points out this scholar, traditional African economic activities such as peasant agriculture and fishing went on as before. The village markets survived.

At the same time, attempts by colonial powers to exclude natives from newer forms of economic activity encountered problems. For instance, in the then Gold Coast (now Ghana), European mining companies sought, without success, legislation from the British government to curtail native mining operations.

As a result, the two systems operated side-by-side throughout the colonial era. This era also resulted in the emergence of small village shopkeepers. They competed with European firms and were successful, adds Ayittey.

This, according to Ayittey – who is associate professor of economics at Bloomsbury University, Pennsylvania in the US – proved that the natives could compete with foreigners.

"In fact, the success of native Africans was one reason why South African whites favoured apartheid," says Ayittey.

"One reason colonialism lasted so long in Africa was that it did little to upset violently the traditional way of life.

"Had it done so, its demise would have come sooner. Resistance to colonialism came largely from the educated class in the urban areas where economic disparities and discrimination were more glaring."

Then political independence came to Africa.

Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, widely regarded as the "father of African socialism", was convinced that "only a socialistic form of society can assure Ghana of a rapid rate of economic progress without destroying that social justice, that

freedom and equality which are a central feature of our traditional life".

Nkrumah added "Socialistic transformation would eradicate completely the colonial structure of our economy."

Ayittey points out that Nkrumah believed "capitalism is too complicated for a newly independent state; hence the need for a socialist society".

On the other hand, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere misread the African tradition of helping family and friends as an indigenous socialism. This was a philosophy to which he was first exposed during his schooling in Scotland.

In the main, State control of the

economy was usually accompanied by one-man dictatorships in Africa. There was also the rule by a small elite that soon became corrupt, says Ayittey.

Often an "ideology" was invented, centred on the country's leader, to give rhetoric support to his denial of democracy, individual rights and the rule of law.

Ayittey illustrates this state of affairs thus. Nyerere's Ujamaa (a Swahili word for familyhood or socialism) is a vague amalgam of Marxism, Christian socialism and humanitarianism.

Leopold Senghor of the Senegal called



Most African states worse off now than ever

his rule Negritude. Kenneth Kaunda expropriated the word humanism to justify dictatorship in Zambia.

Marcin N'Gouabi of the Congo (Brazzaville) decreed "scientific socialist policies. The Nkrumahism (consciousness) of Ghana's Nkrumah, whose fall called him the Redeemer, and Mobutuism of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko attempted to buttress personality cults.

Malawi's Hastings Banda preferred to be called conqueror or saviour. Only black African country, Botswana, currently has a democratic, multiparty system.

There were also leaders like Guinea's President Ahmed Sekou Toure, who proclaimed a "Marxism in African clothes" – where unauthorised trading became a crime. Police road blocks were set up to control internal trade, the State set up a monopoly of foreign trade and smuggling became punishable by death.

The freedoms that characterised traditional Africa vanished in many countries, Ayittey says. This led then Bishop (now Archbishop) Desmond Tutu complain bitterly to the 1987 All-African Conference of Churches in Kenya about this African loss of freedom.

Ayittey is blunt: "The results of socialism for Africa's economic development have been disastrous. African countries have progressed little since independence. Most are actually worse off."

Ayittey then quotes extensively from World Bank studies and the International Monetary Fund to back his argument.

It is sombre and uncomfortable reading.

● This article is adapted from the Washington-based Heritage Foundation's Centre for International Economic Growth's backgrounder paper, *Restoring Africa's Free Market Tradition*.

Sudan gets 'reform for aid' ultimatum from West

Star 10/10/88



KHARTOUM — Crippling debts, war and the slow pace of economic reforms are undermining Sudan's efforts to rebuild its shattered towns and villages nearly two months after floods and torrential rain made millions homeless.

Foreign diplomats and economists said some Western donors were unwilling to lend Sudan large amounts of money without economic reforms demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Sudan has foreign debts of \$12 billion (R30 billion).

"There is a tendency in some government circles to get as much funding as possible without having to implement reforms," said one economist.

HELPING POOR

"We have made it clear there will only be a flood recovery programme aimed mainly at assisting the poor."

A Western diplomat said would-be donors were anxious to see their money spent on genuine disaster relief.

"We shall have to draw the fine line between what was actually damaged by the floods and what has been damaged by years of neglect," he said.

"Humanitarian needs must be met," said Mr Bryan Wannop, the Sudan representative of the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP).

The IMF wants Sudan to further devalue its currency, cut government spending and remove subsidies on basic foodstuffs.

But government officials have said the social and political costs of the IMF reforms have dramatically increased since the August floods hit the country, increasing the hardships faced by many of Sudan's 23 million people.

Sudan has been unable fully to service its foreign debt since the early 1980s and is now around \$1 billion (R2.5 billion) in arrears.

A costly civil war in the south, which has been raging since 1983, famine and swarms of desert locusts threatening

crops have all added to the country's misery.

In addition to making about two million homeless, the torrential rains and floods destroyed houses, schools, power stations, roads and agricultural machinery.

A team from the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has already surveyed the damage to Sudan's agriculture, the country's economic backbone. But its findings have still to be released.

A 22-member team from the World Bank, which has pledged \$75 million (R188 million) in flood recovery loans, is expected in Sudan by the middle of October to review the government assessment of the flood damage.

The government devalued the Sudanese pound by 44 percent a year ago. Further talks in Washington on the issue were fruitless.

Economists said future talks with the IMF would be even tougher, following a controversial government decision to double the ceiling set by the Sudanese Central Bank for government borrowing to finance budget deficits.

The increase, from 10 to 20 percent of forecast government spending, was likely to further push up Sudan's inflation rate, already estimated at 50 percent, they said.

NOTHING PAID

They said there was nothing to show the government had paid back money borrowed from the bank in recent years.

Diplomats said Sudan's hopes for large amounts of relief were diminished by floods in Bangladesh and devastation in Jamaica, which was hit by Hurricane Gilbert last month.

"The events in the two countries have certainly eaten into Sudan's share of international sympathy and attention. Consequently there will be less available to Sudan," one diplomat said. — Reuter.

Death toll rises as Algerian riots continue

AP 10/10/88
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ALGIERS — Diplomats and hospital sources in the Algerian capital said yesterday that at least 50 people could have died in the protests that have swept the country in the past five days. Other unofficial estimates put the death toll at more than 100.

In Tiaret, 250 km from the capital, protesters caused massive damage to government property yesterday.

Security forces sent to protect the town clashed with rioters and residents described the encounter as very violent.

In the western town of Oran, residents reported gunfire and explosions yesterday and sources at the main hospital said it had taken in 18 dead and 100 wounded since the protests began there on Friday.

DEFYING NIGHT CURFEW

The death toll rose in Algiers, where troops opened fire on Saturday night to disperse hundreds of youths and Islamic militants defying a night curfew.

A hospital source said that 17 bodies were taken to Mustapha Civil Hospital yesterday after a night of heavy gunfire.

Witnesses reported seeing bodies dragged through the streets of the capital's poorer districts after the army action.

Residents in the western town of Mascara said four people were killed and 10 wounded in clashes there on Saturday.

The protests are believed to have been sparked by rising food prices. — Sapa-AP.

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Army kills 12 in Algerian demos

ALGIERS — The army opened fire on unruly demonstrators in the Bab-el-Oued district yesterday, killing at least 12 people and wounding many more, witnesses said. *SWC 11/10/88*

The week-long protests against high prices and the economic policies of President Chadli Bendjedid had already taken at least 200 lives, according to unofficial sources.

Other witnesses spoke of dead and injured being "piled into trucks and ambulances," and it was difficult to es-

establish a clear casualty count.

President Benjedid last night on TV pledged far-reaching political reform but has given no specific hint of any relaxation in severe austerity measures, widely blamed for the country's worst riots since independence from France in 1962.

He has been the main advocate of an economic austerity programme aimed at forcing Algeria to live within its means in the face of falling oil and gas prices which constitute 97 percent of export earnings. — Sapa-AP-Reuter.

Sudan: the land where the Four Horsemen ride

Star 11/10/87
①

By RICHARD DOWDEN

A protracted civil war and a series of natural disasters are turning Sudan into a wasteland. The country is being slowly dismembered and millions could die in the process — but the rift between the warring sides does not appear to be unbridgeable.

Nothing we have ever seen or heard from Africa — not from Biafra, not from Ethiopia in the famine or from Uganda under Amin and Obote — is as bad as what is happening now in Sudan.

It is not, as Ethiopia was in 1984, an unknown apocalypse waiting to be discovered by the media. Nor are the people there dying in their thousands because we are doing nothing to help them — the Sudan Emergency Appeal raised nearly R30 million in six weeks.

Biblical curse

The horrors that have been visited on Sudan seem like a biblical curse. Drought in 1984 and 1985, floods in August this year — only now are we learning of the thousands who died outside the capital — and a locust plague which last week brought darkness at noon to the capital.

But Sudan can cope with natural calamities, provided it has peace. It is war that is slowly dismembering Sudan and millions will die in the process.

Southern Sudan is like a wasteland, a no-go area for outsiders, cut off by land and air by the rebels. We know what is happening there only from the accounts of those who escape to the camps for displaced people on the fringes. Occasionally a television crew or a photographer brings back a picture of a hopeless child, pot belly, huge head, stick limbs, dead eyes. These are the lucky ones who have made it to a camp and may survive. But for every one who reaches a camp, scores die on the way.

Each camp is a microcosm of the country. By collecting the reports from aid workers and others who have visited the various camps over the past

month, one can accumulate a picture of what must be happening inside southern Sudan. That picture is one of total disintegration and slow death.

A recent report from the isolated town of al-Meir-am, 800 km south-west of the capital, Khartoum, said the camp there had grown from 4 000 people in June to 26 000 in July. By that time one percent of the camp's population was dying every week from starvation or related illnesses.

The Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) claims to be fighting against the domination of the south by the north, against the imposition of Sharia Islamic law, and for greater autonomy for the regions. The destruction of this war far outweighs any benefit that could ever be achieved by victory. Although the cultural differences between north and south in Sudan are huge, the political differences between the government and the rebels do not appear unbridgeable.

The only powers that can bring the two sides together are Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union. It is Saudi Arabia which provides Khartoum with most of its aid and promotes its Islamic cause. The Soviets back the Ethiopian government which, in turn, provides the SPLA with its rear base, its mines and weapons.

If Mr Gorbachev is really looking for political solutions to Africa's problems, he could demonstrate this without political risk by co-operating with the Saudis and using Soviet influence in Ethiopia to deliver the two sides to the conference table. If it is not done soon, they will find that the body being fought over is no more than a corpse. — The Independent, London.

ZURICH. — President Botha has made a strong appeal to European bankers to reject sanctions and to support the infusion of capital into South Africa as part of a type of Marshall Plan alternative.

In a speech to the Swiss-South African Association last night, he also reiterated his view that he would not like to see ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela return to prison, saying that Mr Mandela was still co-operating with the authorities.

Earlier, about 200 protesters demonstrated against his presence in Switzerland, attracting headline news on both Swiss radio and television.

In his speech, Mr Botha appealed for South Africa to be given time to develop constitutionally in its unique way, pointing to the European Parliament as an example of government being possible without interference with, or the destruction of, the distinctive character of the co-operating communities.

He also gave the Swiss-South African Association assurances that Pretoria was managing the South African economy in a way which enabled it to meet its international commitments.

Poverty and hunger

South Africa had two strategies to increase growth performance and employment.

The first was the process of deregulating the economy by removing unnecessary rules and regulations and by promoting the free operation of market forces.

The second was a shift to national industrialisation, which meant concentrating on economic activity with little or no imported content.

It should be obvious by now, he said, that sanctions simply furthered the interests of left and right radicals in South Africa.

President Botha added: "Sanctions are aimed at the destruction of the free enterprise system which in turn would lead to increased unemployment, lower standards of living, poverty and hunger.

"European powers should recognise two factors, if they agree to sanctions. Firstly, they are furthering the objectives of powers hostile both to themselves and to democracy in South Africa. Secondly, they misjudge the people of South Africa if

they believe that pressure will influence them to deviate from their course.

"The way to rapid economic and political development and renewal is to ensure that South Africa's economy flourishes.

"It will afford the government the necessary scope to improve social services for all communities. If South Africa is allowed to reach its natural potential, the whole region will benefit.

"With the necessary infusion of capital, a result similar to that achieved by the Marshall Plan in Europe could be realised. I ask you to pass this message on to political leaders."

On Mr Mandela, Mr Botha said there was a misconception about the ANC leader's position.

"The truth is the ANC does not want Mr Mandela out of prison because it suits them to project him as a martyr. The ANC also fears that the release of Mr Mandela might lead to pressure on them for peaceful negotiations," he said.

"If I had my choice, I would not put old people in jail. I would prefer them to be on the outside, but I also have to get some co-operation."

Night-life

As President Botha spoke to an audience composed almost entirely of businessmen, his wife, Mrs Elize Botha, accompanied by Mrs Helena Botha, wife of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, and a party of South African diplomats, took off on their own to sample Swiss night-life.

The two women and their entourage headed off to one of Zurich's most famous night-spots, the Kindli restaurant.

They joined in heartily with the singing, swaying and clapping in time to the music and waving table napkins. The restaurant featured a large band which played jazz and traditional Swiss music.

At one stage in the evening the band played Sarie Marais, to roars of approval from the South Africans.

Mrs Elize Botha signalled her appreciation by pinning miniature South African flags on the band leader, the lead singer and a young child.

● The Mandela family attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, said there was "nothing significant" in the rumours of the possible release of the ANC leader.

and time — Give us money

The Argus Foreign Service

ARC 5
11/10/88

TOWN HOURS: MONDAY TO FRIDAY 10.00 AM TO 5.00 PM

Agency calls for committed action from UN

'Now 13-m refugees'

LONDON — Refugees are now more numerous than ever before. According to the aid agency, Save The Children Fund, they total 13 million people, more than half of them children.

Many are starving and facing death, others are rotting in inhuman conditions. Yet often their plight goes "virtually unnoticed", said the Fund. The chronic refugee population in Ethiopia and Malawi has had little media attention, it says.

The Fund calls for committed action from United Nations agencies to avert the "poverty, disease and death currently facing millions of refugee children".

Save The Children Fund's director Mr Nicholas Hinton says: "Reports from our field staff indi-

cate appalling levels of malnutrition, mistreatment and international apathy."

Last week, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN body that assists refugees, assembled in Geneva to assess the state of the world's refugees, who it describes as a "mirror image of world events".

Armed conflicts

Armed conflicts are overwhelmingly responsible for most of today's refugees. As victims of political disputes, refugees are frequently mistreated as they move out of their own land. Southern Africa has become a region full of refugees.

Nearly 1 million Mozambicans have been forced to flee their

homes to escape the terror campaign waged by MNR guerrillas. The destruction of homes, schools, roads, agriculture and health centres has uprooted one in seven of Mozambique's population.

Most people — nearly 800 000 — have fled to neighbouring Malawi. And still the trek goes on. Every week another 4 000 Mozambicans take the heart-rending decision to abandon their homes and cross the border.

Zimbabwe has become the temporary home for 166 000 Mozambican refugees, Tanzania has 72 000, Zambia 30 000 and Swaziland 20 000.

Zambia is also home to a larger number of Angolans, about 97 000. Angola is itself looking after 69 000 displaced Namibians and 10 000 South Africans. Botswana has refugees from Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

The total number of refugees in Africa is about 5 million, according to estimates by the UNHCR. This does not include people who are displaced from their homes but who stay in their own country.

Civil strife in Somalia has caused 300 000 people to seek refugee status in the neighbouring Haraghe region of Ethiopia. The number is still rising and there are fears it could soon reach 500 000. Again 300 000 of southern Sudan's Dinka have fled civil war and crossed over the border into Ethiopia.

Reverse flow

From northern Ethiopia there has been a reverse flow. About 500 000 people from Eritrea and Tigre have been driven by armed conflict into the Sudan.

Around 5 million people have been displaced as refugees from the war in Afghanistan.

In addition, there are refugees from Kampuchea and Laos who have crossed into Thailand, Vietnamese who have fled to Hong Kong, refugees in the Palestinian camps and people in central America who have again been driven from their homes and countries by armed conflicts.

Camps run by the UNHCR and voluntary agencies such as the Save The Children Fund help refugees to survive by providing food and, if the refugees are lucky, health, education facilities and work.

The more fortunate have been given land and materials to build their own homes and are thus able to stay out of camps. — The Observer News Service.

Scientific 'team' ¹ can benefit Africa

By pooling their experience and expertise to find solutions to the economic and social problems of southern Africa, South African and Portuguese scientists could make "a meaningful contribution to raising the standard of living of every inhabitant of the sub-continent".

This is the view of Dr John Garbers, president of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), who announced that five internationally recognised Portuguese academics would present papers at a conference on "The Portuguese in Southern Africa" to be hosted by the council in Pretoria today.

Dr Garbers said the purpose of the conference was to provide a forum for examining the historical, cultural, economic and scientific contributions the Portuguese had made in southern Africa.

"One tends to underestimate the enormous formative influence that the Portuguese have had on southern Africa.

"The truth of the matter is they provide a common cultural bridge between South Africa and neighbouring states such as Angola and Mozambique, and they have conducted research in tropical areas for more than a century," he added. — Sapa.

Calm restored in Algeria after riots

SAW (3/10/88)

ALGIERS — President Chadli Benjedid has restored calm to his country after a week of anti-government riots by announcing far-reaching political reforms to promote greater democracy.

He pledged the changes after lifting a six-day state of siege in Algiers — imposed to quell riots sparked by falling living standards and rising prices.

About 250 people were killed and hundreds injured in street clashes with troops, hospital sources said.

Mr Benjedid (59) said yesterday that the Prime Minister, now appointed by the president, would in future be answerable to the national assembly and Algerians could vote on the measure in a referendum on November 3. — Sapa-Reuter.

how | Dinebat left

ALGIERS — The typical Algerian youth is poor and angry and is behind the worst violence in the country since independence from France in 1962.

He is working class, most likely unemployed and lives in the teeming slums on the edge of central Algiers, where on average nine people share two rooms.

In the central Casbah district, the old Turkish-built quarter, families of 15 are often crammed into the crumbling old

The angry young men of Algiers

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dwellings.

The rioting has not yet hit the Casbah, with its zig-zag alleys. "If it starts here, then it will never end," one resident said.

Neighbouring Bab el-Oued has witnessed much of the worst violence and has become a no-go area for the security forces.

Muslim fundamentalist Ali bel Hadj, emerging as a key fig-

ure in the unrest, has his mosque in the area. The local police station is a burned-out shell.

The authorities are bracing for more trouble at the funerals of demonstrators shot dead by the army.

"We have had enough and we want to get rid of this government and this stinking party," a 20-year-old protester said.

Rubbish stands high in the streets, the stench is often overwhelming. Shabby buildings are crumbling and the local municipality cannot afford the necessary large-scale renovations.

In 1966, Algeria's population was around 12 million. Today it stands at almost 25 million. Two-thirds are under 25 — and they want jobs. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA diplomats ecstatic over success of European mission

PW plans Ivory Coast visit

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Geneva

The State President, Mr P W Botha, is likely to visit an African country on his way back to South Africa at the weekend.

Diplomatic sources last night revealed that negotiations were under way to allow for a brief stop-over in the Ivory Coast.

Mr Botha is expected to meet the president of the Ivory Coast, Dr Felix Houphouët-Boigny, for about three hours tomorrow evening.

The Ivory Coast has for several years maintained discreet but cordial relations with South Africa.

Its possible inclusion in Mr Botha's current foreign tour is being seen by South African diplomats as the cherry on top of a highly successful diplomatic exercise.

The current diplomatic foray by Mr Botha has, according to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, exceeded all expectations.

What started as largely a private visit to Switzerland by the State President has broadened considerably and now includes Germany, Portugal and the Ivory Coast.

Mr Pik Botha has also included other countries on a top secret basis.

He left President Botha for two days in Switzerland, visiting other capitals.

Mr Botha said on his return to Geneva last night: "I am not prepared to say publicly exactly where I was, except to say I visited one or two countries in the East or in Africa."

It was not in South Africa's interests to disclose this information, he said.

Much was at stake for South Africa in the negotiations he had held in the past two days, he said.

Mr Botha's visit to Europe is being seen by South African diplomats as a major triumph.

A senior South African diplomat in Geneva said that the visit was a triumph for South Africa.

Star 14/10/88

Message

Southern Africa was sending a message to Europe of a region that was getting to grips with its differences, the diplomat said.

President Botha continued to meet several European businessmen and bankers while in Switzerland yesterday.

Sources said there were highly encouraging signs that foreign investment could again start to flow to South Africa, particularly for joint projects between South Africa and its neighbouring states.

Such projects, it is believed, would be less politically objectionable than investing in South Africa alone.

President Botha, it is understood, is expected to meet a senior member of the Swiss government later today.

This follows successful informal meetings in Germany last week with the Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, and the heads of state of Togo and Niger.

Mr Botha also had a brief discussion with the Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr Turgut Ozal.

President Botha is expected to meet the Prime Minister of Portugal, Professor Annibal Cavaco Silva tomorrow.

● Sapa reports that yesterday President Botha addressed the heads of South African missions in Europe.

State President enthroned among splendours of Black Africa

Royal welcome from Ivory Coast

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

FAMOUSSOKRO — The State President Mr P W Botha, received a formal and friendly welcome during his five-hour, five-night visit to the Ivory Coast at the weekend.

His chartered South African Airways Boeing 747 touched down at Yamoussoukro, the birthplace of Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouët-Boigny and designated capital of this West African state, 6 km inland from Abidjan, shortly before 11 pm South African time on Saturday night.

Mr Botha and his entourage were returning from a nine-day visit to Europe, where he had met several political and business leaders as well as taking a brief walk with friends at a resort on the Geneva.

President Houphouët-Boigny as the fourth African leader resident Botha had met in as many weeks.

It was the first visit to the Ivory Coast by a South African head of government since Prime Minister P John Vorster went there more than a decade ago.

The South African aircraft was met at Yamoussoukro airfield by Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast Mr Simon Ake.

A mass band of more than 200

players, including several bongo drummers, greeted the South Africans.

A young girl presented Mrs Botha with a bunch of flowers, and received in return a toy panda and a hug.

The State President was ushered past a guard of honour, members of the Ivory Coast presidential guard who wore thigh-high black boots, Roman centurion-type gold helmets and full-length scarlet-and-white capes.

Each pair of soldiers Mr Botha passed raised long curved swords in salute.

Mr Botha was then driven to a Government guest house in the grounds of the palace of President Houphouët-Boigny.

15 km of armed troops

The 15 km from the airport to the palace was lined with armed soldiers.

President Houphouët-Boigny's palace is a most impressive complex. It comprises several marble buildings set in vast grounds which are surrounded by a four-metre-high white wall.

Huge ornate gates bear the initials HB in an imposing archway.

Inside the guest house, in a room which was easily more than 800 sq m and hung with French tapestries and massive oil paintings,

President Houphouët-Boigny received Mr Botha.

After welcoming the Bothas to his house, the Ivory Coast leader departed for his own residence, about 2 km away in the palace grounds.

Mr P W Botha and Mrs Botha sat on chairs in the room which were more like thrones.

They were told the room had been built so that state guests could take their tea in it.

There was much joking in Afrikaans among the South Africans about the relative squalid conditions of the State President and Foreign Minister lived and worked in South African journalists quipped that the politicians should not get any ideas.

President Botha and his entourage then left for President Houphouët-Boigny's residence, a labyrinth of wood-paneled rooms and showcases of jades, ivories, Chinese porcelain and other magnificent treasures.

President Houphouët-Boigny took President Botha on a tour of his most precious treasures which included a huge jade carving and a 1 000-year-old Chinese sculpture.

The two presidents and the foreign ministers then took dinner separately so as to be able to discuss matters of state in private.

Their wives sat in another room while the rest of the South African

party, including the media, dined with the Ivory Coast Cabinet in a mirrored salon.

A sumptuous four-course meal was served on gold-leaf crockery, again bearing the initials HB.

The dinner and discussions between the two presidents went on for so long that the rest of the South African party and the Ivory Coast Cabinet retired to the large reception room to wait for them.

Several Ministers told the South Africans that President Botha's new policy to reach out to Africa was the best thing that South Africa had done for a long time.

One Minister told The Star that it was time all African countries settled their differences so that the continent could develop as a whole and compete effectively against Europe and America.

Accepted as equals

Another said South Africans were welcome to holiday in the Ivory Coast and they should be encouraged to do so so that they could see how a black capitalist country operated.

He said it was with great pleasure that his Government had received the South Africans. The fact that the South Africans wanted to come to Ivory Coast was proof that they had accepted black Africans as equals, he said.

"You must realise that when

people are stupid they are stupid regardless of their colour. Black and white stupid people are all the same, just stupid," he said.

The talks between the two heads of state over, President Houphouët-Boigny greeted his guests, saying he was so sorry they could not stay the night.

President Botha then went through various departure ceremonies.

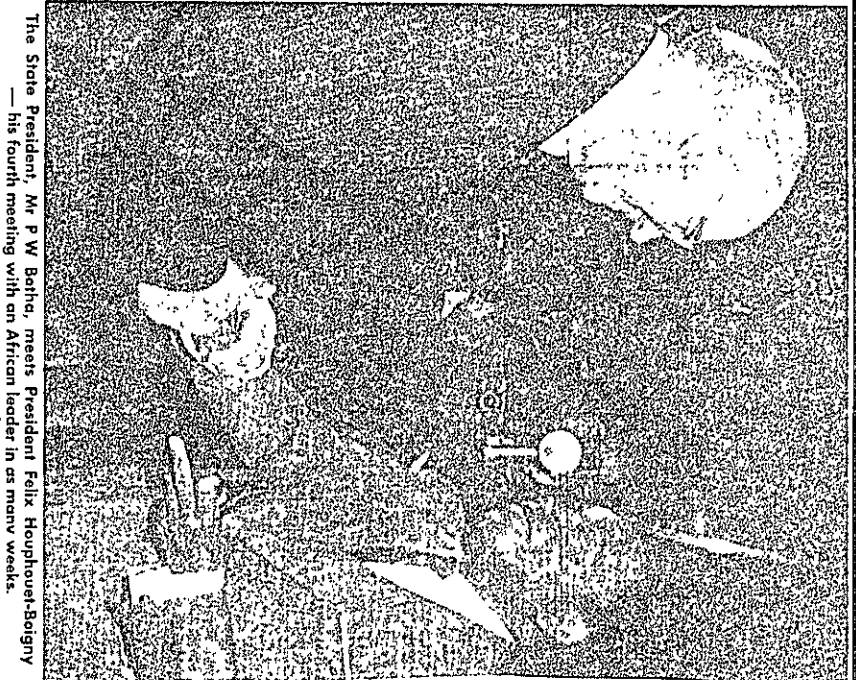
At the airport he told the media he and his host had agreed not to make a substantial statement on their discussions.

He said he had come to Yamoussoukro because the goodwill that existed between him and the Ivory Coast leader did not allow him to bypass the country on the way home.

President Houphouët-Boigny was one of Africa's wise elder statesmen and it was always a privilege to meet with him, he said.

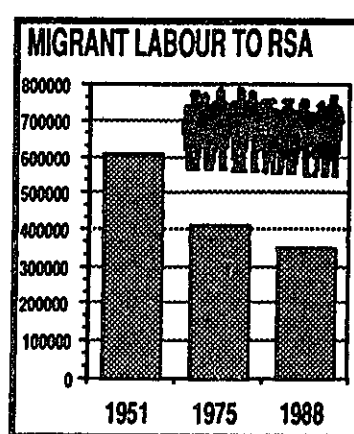
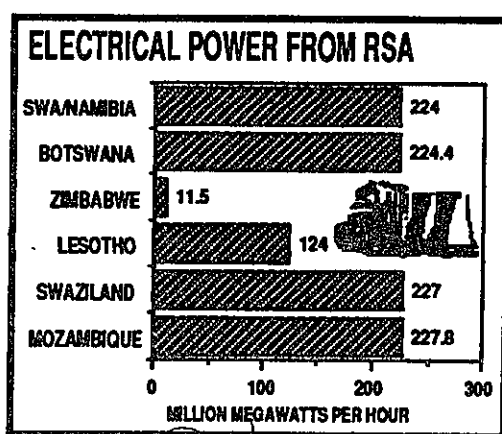
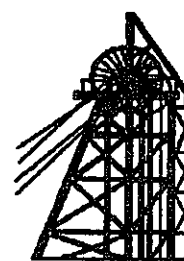
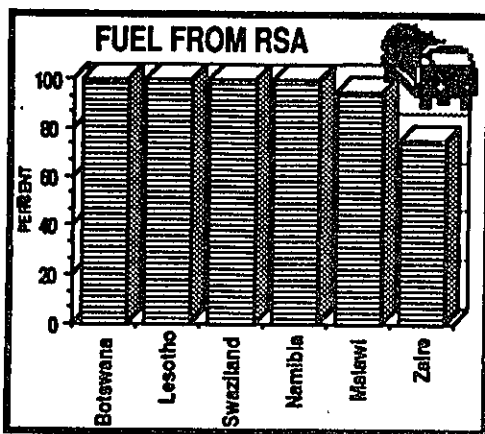
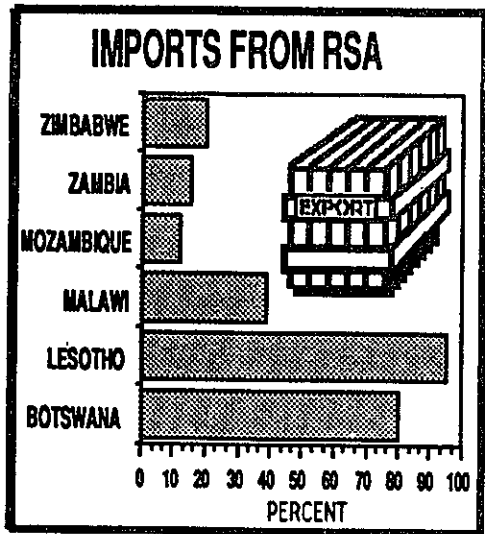
Mr Botha said they had discussed in general terms various matters concerning Africa, and particularly southern Africa.

The visit over, an obviously extremely satisfied Mr Botha boarded the aircraft for his return home.



The State President, Mr P W Botha, meets President Felix Houphouët-Boigny — his fourth meeting with an African leader in as many weeks.

Where South Africa trades



Graphic by Liz Warder

Black Africa and the SA connection

THE State President's recent statement that South Africa is the dominant economic power in Africa is borne out by statistics.

Without its products, its power and transport facilities, numerous countries would collapse.

The Africa Institute, based in Pretoria, is convinced that the survival of South Africa's role as the economic power of much of the sub-continent, in spite of political turmoil, stands as a sharp reminder of the potential benefits to be reaped from co-operation rather than conflict.

"The manifold economic interests that South Africa shares with its neighbours are so strong that even vehement anti-South African sentiments are not readily allowed to disturb them," says Dr Erich Leistner, director of the institute.

"International boycotts and efforts to isolate us have reminded South Africans that their destiny is inextricably tied with Africa — not so much by the accident of geography but rather by the complex commercial, financial, infrastructural and technological network that joins South Africa with most of sub-equatorial Africa."

Events have prompted the institute to compile a review of the sort of links that form the basis of interaction.

The South African government drew a curtain across precise details of its two-way trade with the rest of the continent in the mid-1980s, not only as a screen to keep information away from hostile sanctions lobbies but also to defend trade partners from embarrassment in the political arena. But sources say the flow of exports and imports has grown to R5-billion a year.

The Africa Institute finds that exports are being shipped to most black African countries with the bulk going to the frontline states.

Leaving aside trade with the BLS nations (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland), which account for about half the total, South African exports to the rest of Africa more than doubled between 1984 and 1986 to R2-billion. The reverse flow of imports came to not far short of R500-million at the last published count in 1985.

The bulk of exports went to member nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, including Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi — and even Angola.

According to the African Institute, with the sole exception of Tanzania, all SADC members trade with South Africa. The main South African exports are food, machinery, chemical products, fuel, building materials and medical supplies.

A recent Canadian study found that Botswana relied on South Africa for no less than 80 percent of all its imports, Lesotho 95 percent, Malawi 39 percent, Mozambique 12 percent, Swaziland 90 percent, Zambia 15 percent and Zimbabwe 20 percent.

But two-way trade stretches far beyond the

Statistics show that the frontline states have great economic dependence on South Africa and that anti-apartheid campaigns will not change this situation. MICHAEL CHESTER reports.

frontline states. South African fresh fruit goes to West Africa and Central Africa. Maize shipments have gone to Zaire, the Ivory Coast and Mauritius.

In the 1984-85 financial year, South African Transport Services conveyed 5.6 million tons of freight to and from the seven SADC states via its rail, road and harbour network — including many of their exports and imports for overseas.

The hiring of Sats locomotives and trucks by neighbouring states has become routine. South African rolling stock can be found as far north as Zaire and even Dar es Salaam.

Apart from about 50 steam and diesel locomotives out on hire, more than 10 000 railway trucks are at present in use by neighbours under agreements in which Sats handles even repair and maintenance services.

Not widely known, South Africa is now also lending a hand in the maintenance of the port of Maputo, which a year or two ago seemed to be under virtual Soviet control.

South African Airways, apart from handling heavy passenger and freight traffic, also runs extensive special services with its technical know-how. It has maintenance contracts with Air Mauritius, Royal Swazi Air, Linhas Aereas de Mozambique, Air Comoros and Air Zimbabwe.

Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and SWA/Namibia obtain all their petroleum products from South Africa. Malawi gets about 95 percent of its oil from South Africa; Zaire about 75 percent of its needs.

Zimbabwe says it can meet most of its petroleum requirements through the Beira-Feruka pipeline. But Zimbabwe last year had to place orders worth R2-million to R3-million with South Africa for 5 000 tons of diesel and 3 000 tons of petrol because of sabotage in the Beira corridor.

At a count taken by the Africa Institute on the situation in 1985, the Eskom electricity grid supplied Mozambique with 227,8 GWh (227,8 million megawatts) of its power needs, Swaziland 227 GWh, Lesotho 124 GWh, Zimbabwe 11,5 GWh, Botswana 224,4 GWh and SWA/Namibia 224 GWh.

Power supplies from the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme were hit by waves of sabotage that finally caused a total breakdown until recent initiatives were taken in talks between South Africa and Mozambique and Portugal.

Eskom, cock-a-hoop over tripartite agree-

ments on the restoration of Cahora Bassa supplies, is convinced that the spread of international power grids across frontiers will be a key factor in bringing about economic unity in the sub-continent in time.

Armed conflict in Angola has also crippled supplies from the Ruacana Falls scheme on the Cunene River because work on a crucial dam at Calueque has been hit. Here, too, recent peace initiatives have rekindled optimism about a return to normal.

Migrant labour has been flowing into South Africa from neighbouring countries for more than a century.

The flow has been striking. From a total of 606 000 recorded in 1951, the number of foreign workers coming in slowed to little above 410 000 in 1975. And today it is put at around 350 000 — although government sources insist this can be doubled if one counts the number of workers coming in illegally.

The Africa Institute blames economic factors as the main cause of the decline: the high technology needs for skilled and more permanent labour, and South Africa needs to tackle its own internal unemployment problems. But politics have also played a crucial role.

The wage remittance system has had huge financial implications for South Africa's neighbours. The institute estimates that 65 000 workers from Mozambique still in South Africa, at a count taken in October, 1986, sent back home about R202-million — equal to no less than one third of Mozambique's foreign exchange income.

It believes that, all in all, more than R1-billion out of earnings was remitted back to neighbouring countries in 1985 — more than three times the total in 1980.

The South African private sector has ploughed millions of rands into business ventures in black Africa — much of it in mining but also in agricultural and manufacturing operations.

South Africa keeps a low profile with its flow of credit assistance but by mid-1985 the government had provided development funds totalling R214-million to countries in Southern and Central Africa and the Credit Guarantee Corporation, based in Johannesburg, is also busy with long-term and short-term credits.

The Africa Institute estimates that long-term credit guarantees now stand at more than R350-million, with short-term credits running at about R250-million a year.

South Africa, with its sophisticated medical facilities and expertise in tropical diseases in particular, has sponsored numerous medical assistance programmes and handled thousands of vaccinations of patients as far distant as Zaire.

Patients arrive for treatment at South African hospitals from as far afield as Kenya.

There is also widespread assistance for veterinary research programmes tackled by northern neighbours and for the supply of animal vaccines.

Star 3/11/88

Poachers do it to survive, says author

By Melanie Gosling

Poverty, not greed, was the cause of much of the poaching problem in Africa where a poacher could earn three months' salary from the sale of one rhino horn, conservationist and author Mr Ron Thomson said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at the Endangered Wildlife Trust's 15th anniversary symposium on "National Parks and Neighbours", the former director of Bophuthatswana National Parks said rhino and elephant poaching had provided the rural black with a way to satisfy his basic physiological needs.

"In rural Zambia today cash is very scarce and so are jobs but people still need cash for their basic needs to survive. Therefore, you can be sure that poaching will continue until the last saleable wild animal has been killed in all the countries where poverty reigns," he said.

Zambia's Luangwa Valley had contained 35 000 elephants 101 years ago. Today there were 15 000. The thousands of black rhino which had lived in the valley were now down to a mere handful.

"First World aesthetic values are not enough to maintain game reserves and national parks in Africa. The rural people will only permit these sanctuaries to survive if they positively contribute to the satisfaction of their physiological needs."

This did not just mean money from tourism, but included hunting, culling and the sale of animal products, he said.

'Africans now worse off than in 1980'

For every mouth Africa will be able to feed in 10 years time, it will have two more that it cannot feed, unless it can breathe life into its ailing economies. Reuter reports.

ADDIS ABABA — One of Africa's top economists, Mr Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the Addis Ababa-based United Nations Economic Commission for Africa says the challenge of meeting the continent's food cannot be met without greater foreign aid.

With the continent's economies sapped by crushing foreign debt, poverty, hunger, civil strife, disease, locust invasions and in turn drought or floods, Africans on average are now worse off than in 1980, he told Reuter.

Sluggish economic growth, expected this year to improve to 2.0 to 2.5 percent with the help of good rains and crops, from 0.5 percent in 1987, has lagged for a decade behind Africa's rapid population growth estimated at 3 percent.

"If this continues for another decade this continent will have to feed almost one billion people with resources inadequate for 500 million," he said.

About 550 million people now live on the world's poorest continent.

Mr Adedeji's warning coincides with a mid-term review of an ambitious UN-sponsored five-year plan implemented in 1986 to revive African economies.

African nations felt they needed US\$128 billion (at today's rate of exchange about R320 billion) in new funds, of which two-thirds was to be raised from local resources. The rest was pledged as foreign aid.

But neither side has met the targets laid down in the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery, Mr Adedeji said.

Raise funds

Africa's efforts to raise funds, he said, had suffered from persistently weak prices for its mineral and agricultural exports, the main source of self-produced income.

In 1986 alone their commodity earnings fell US\$19 billion, and receipts in 1987 remained below their level in 1985 just before the UN plan was set in motion.

UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, in a mid-term report on the economic plan to the General Assembly last September, said that despite the recent recovery in prices for some metals, such as copper, there was little chance of a major upturn in real terms in commodity prices before the year 2000.

The report has been referred to an UN ad-hoc committee for study until November 18 when the review ends.

The net flow of financial resources to Africa, mainly in the form of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), had risen from US\$17.9 billion in 1985 to US\$22.9 billion in 1987 in nominal terms, but in real terms had stagnated, Mr Adedeji said.

Nordic countries, France and West Germany had stepped up their assistance to Africa, but in the case of Britain it had stagnated and contributions from the United States had fallen appreciably, he said.

The shortfall in resources, he warned, threatened to derail African economic reforms which form part of the plan.

Japan raises African profile

STAN HILLIS

NAIROBI — Every day Tatsuhide Hamasaki, a Japanese volunteer, changes into his oil-stained overalls to teach Kenyan students how to repair motor vehicles.

At 24, he gave up a lucrative job as a mechanic with Toyota in Japan because he was fed up with never repairing engines, but simply replacing broken parts with new ones. He wanted to use his imagination and initiative and get wider experience of the world.

Now he earns \$345 a month with the Japanese Overseas Co-operation Volunteers as part of Japanese technical assistance to Kenya, teaching mechanics at Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology.

Last year, Kenya received more money from Japan for volunteers than any other country in the world and was the eighth-largest recipient of technical assistance.

Tatsuhide is typical of the 93 Japanese volunteers working as technicians, mechanics, science teachers and civil engineers throughout the country: young, diligent and practical.

Until fairly recently, the Japanese were a rare breed in Africa, identified exclusively with high-quality brand names such as Mitsubishi and Sony. But in the last five years, Japanese money and personnel have been pouring into the continent. Between 1983 and 1987, Japanese overseas development assistance (ODA) to sub-Saharan Africa more than doubled from \$286 million to \$593 million, making Japan the fifth-largest bilateral donor to the region. By 1986, Tokyo was the largest single bilateral donor in Zambia, Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria.

Last year, Japan, already the largest international donor after the US worldwide, responded to increasing calls

Until fairly recently, the Japanese were a rare breed in Africa, but now things are changing, says JULIAN OZANNE, who describes Tokyo's growing development assistance programme.

made by the West to recycle more of its burgeoning trade surpluses to developing countries. At the time, Japan's overseas development aid was only 0.31 percent of gross national product (GNP) — one of the lowest of the 18 Development Assistance Committee countries (DAC).

Proposals were announced by the then prime minister, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, in what became called the economic emergency measures. These included:

- Advancing the original seven-year ODA target doubling by two years to 1990. The target was reached last year.
- Recycling \$20 billion in new and untied funds over the next three years. For the first time, Japan announced it would provide concessional bilateral loans for economic policy support, as well as promoting co-financing with multilateral agencies.
- Recognising special consideration was needed for sub-Saharan Africa by expanding grant assistance generally and including the provision of \$500 million in non-project grant assistance over the next three years.

Although Japan is markedly increasing the volume of aid it gives Africa, the continent's percentage share of total ODA is relatively small — 11.3 percent, compared with 70 percent for Asia. This has been the focus of some criticism among Western donors whose average share for Africa of total ODA is about 30 percent.

Mr Takashi Sengoku, Japan's Ambassador to Kenya, believes this is inevitable. When you consider that sub-Saharan Africa has one percent of Japan's total world trade, that the Japanese population in Africa is negligible and, on top of that, Japan has no historic, cultural or religious ties with Africa, 11 percent is a pretty big figure.

However, Africa does receive 35 percent of total Japanese grant aid, almost a third of Japanese aid workers, and Japan has been the largest contributor to the World Bank's special facility for sub-Saharan Africa. Fifteen African countries have benefited from Japanese initiatives to relieve the debt burden of lesser-developed countries.

However, Japan's rapid expansion of ODA in Africa is critically constrained by a shortage of qualified staff and a lack of knowledge and experience in Africa. At the Overseas Economic Co-operation Fund office in Nairobi, the Japanese organisation, which accounts for the bulk of its ODA loan programme, there are two people in charge of disbursing all Japanese loans to eastern and southern Africa.

Concern has been expressed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that Japanese bilateral aid is provided on the hardest terms. The grant share of the programme and the average concessionality of loans are the lowest among the DAC countries. Compared

with Asia, however, Africa does quite well: Asia receives more than two-thirds of its Japanese ODA in terms of loans, whereas Africa receives three-quarters of its ODA in the form of grants.

Japanese loans are not soft, Mr Sengoku acknowledges, but in Kenya, for example, interest is three percent, payable over 30 years with 10 years' grace. That is pretty soft compared with many other loans.

The area which appears beyond the influence of the Japanese is trade. In 1987, Japan had trade surpluses with 35 out of 48 sub-Saharan African countries which, although small in terms of Japan's world trade, are large for the African states.

Mr Koichi Omura, deputy executive director of the Japanese External Trade Organisation (Jetro) in Nairobi, says his government is trying to discourage more exports into sub-Saharan Africa, but it cannot control the activities of private companies in meeting the huge demand for Japanese goods.

All the leading Japanese trading houses have offices in Nairobi, but they say it is difficult to find goods to export to Japan. Japan's largest import from Kenya is macadamia nuts. A lack of aggressive marketing by African nations in Japan has not helped the problem.

Not surprisingly, trade and aid are closely linked. Japan gives the largest amounts of ODA to its biggest trading partners in Africa and gives little to countries at war.

"The Japanese are allergic to war and many of our people believe our aid is wasted in countries torn by civil wars. This reflects our own experience," says Mr Sengoku. — Financial Times.

Africa up in arms over white air boss

The Star's Foreign News Service (1)

Star 14/11/88
PARIS — The choice of a white man to head the bankrupt 12-nation Air Afrique company has resurrected old fears by blacks of a colonialist comeback.

The multi-national airline, which has its headquarters in Abidjan, is owned by a cartel of a dozen French-speaking African states.

But black administrative mismanagement, corruption, and failure to pay bills by member countries, has resulted in the airline having a debt of over R1 billion.

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny intervened recently by requesting Paris to appoint a French administrator as head of Air Afrique.

This situation has caused an outburst of anger by African intellectuals, quoted in the current issue of the Paris-based weekly magazine *Jeune Afrique*.

But Malagasy journalist Sennen Andriamirado wrote: "I am more ashamed than angered. A white is chosen because blacks are unable to run their own airline. But the fact is, we are ourselves responsible for this state of affairs, and dare not say so."

Star 15/11/88

Now Reds take closer look at N Africa

The Soviet Union has shifted the focus of its attention from southern Africa to north Africa, reports **The Star's Africa News Service**. And a change in its overall foreign policy philosophy has had a marked effect on its military strategy on the continent.

Soviet involvement in Africa is increasing as a result of a more dynamic and realistic foreign policy, Ms Susan Roothman of the Institute for Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch University has said.

In a statistical study of the Soviet Union's dealings with Africa from 1985 to 1987, Ms Roothman said there had been a remarkable increase in Soviet-African contacts for Africa as a whole.

However, the study showed that Soviet concerns in north Africa were increasing at a faster rate than in southern Africa.

"North Africa is more important to the USSR than southern Africa because this region of Africa forms part of the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

"The Middle East is not only close to the USSR's borders but the revival of Islamic extremism in this region has a direct influence on the USSR's Islamic population."

The study showed that there had been a radical change in the position of countries in the hierarchy of contacts from 1985 to 1986.

Egypt had moved up from position four to one and Libya, which did not feature at all in the 1985 hierarchy, had position two in 1986. Angola and Mozambique had moved down from 1985 to 1986.

In 1987 the upper hierarchies remained the same, although Mozambique had moved up two positions.

Ms Roothman said that the Soviet Union was now diversifying its contacts with Africa, but stressed that this new "dynamic and vigorous" policy did not pose a threat to western interests in Africa.

The Soviet Union was re-evaluating its methods and goals because it had understood the ineffectiveness of a purely military approach to Third World conflicts.

In addition, involvement in military conflicts drained Soviet resources and there had been an overall change in the international political atmosphere.

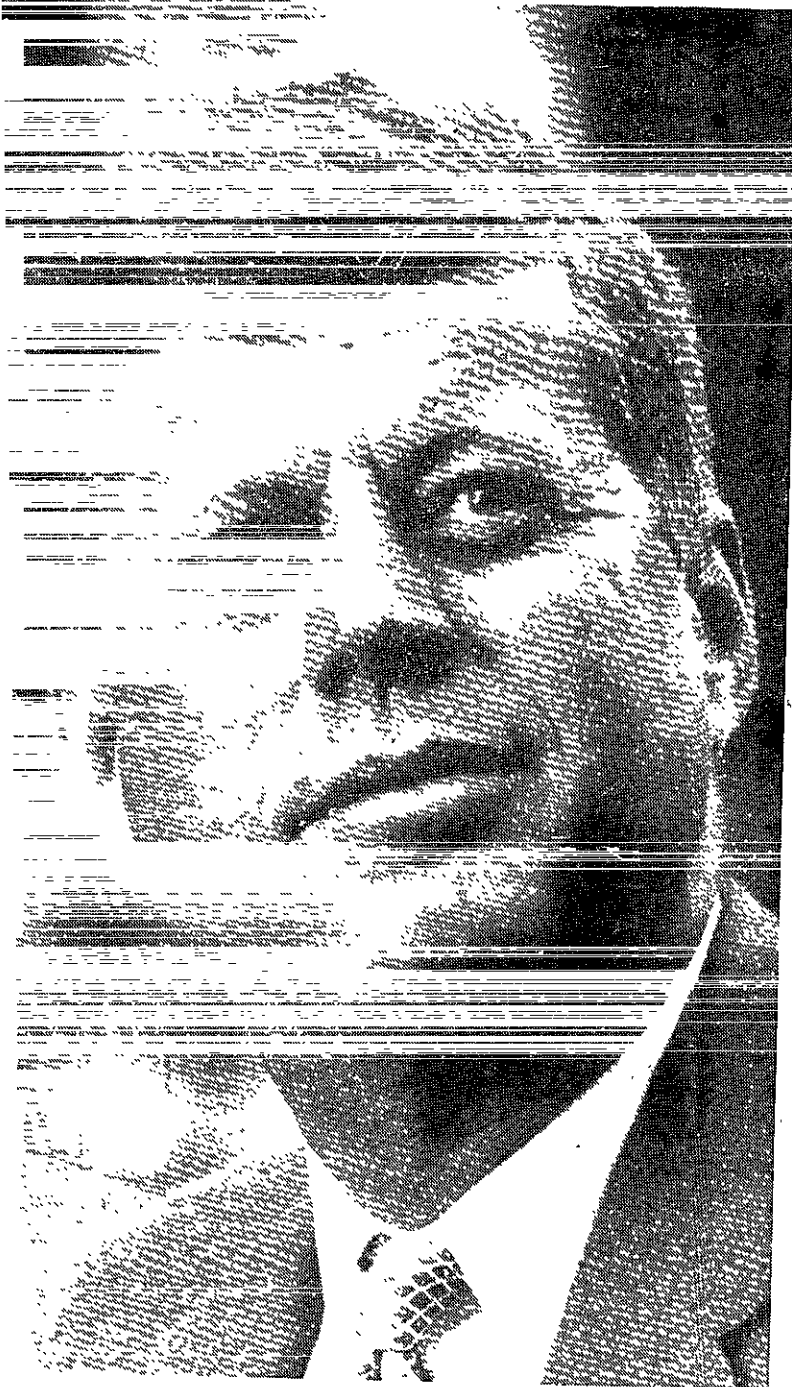
The Soviet Union was serious about finding political solutions to regional conflicts in Africa as could be seen from its support of the Angola peace initiatives, the re-establishment of relations with Somalia and the normalisation of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia and between Libya and Tunisia.

The USSR was still the main arms supplier to a number of African countries, including Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Algeria, Libya, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde and Nigeria.

Plea for aid to refugees

Star 21/11/88
MAPUTO — An international youth conference in solidarity with the victims of apartheid ended here during the weekend with a plea for international assistance for refugees in southern Africa.

The conference, attended by youth organisations from 30 African, European and Asian countries, called for supplies of basic goods such as blankets, clothing and medicines. — The Star's Africa News Service.



JOHN F Kennedy . . . killed by an assassin's bullet.

KENNEDY

KENNEDY: AFRICA REMEMBERS

LAGOS — To an African growing up in the early 1960s, the late American President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a hero. Africa equated him with compassion.

Two initiatives we readily identified with his short but indelible term were the Peace Corps and food aid. These were part of an unprecedented humanitarian assistance package that came into being just nine months into his presidency.

The young American university-trained graduates serving in the far-flung areas of our continent with little material reward, promoting education, technical know-how and development projects, were indeed fired by Kennedy's dynamism and compassion.

We in Africa heard that call in his January 1961 inaugural address, in which he exhorted young Americans, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

I can attest to those far-sighted programmes. Just five years after the birth of the Peace Corps, my maths teacher in secondary school was an American Peace Corps volunteer (one of three in the school), Kenneth Schumann.

He exhibited a spirit of service and sharing even outside the classroom, paying our school fees, buying us books and even giving up his pocket money.

Kindness

Ken's "milk of human kindness" still flowed after his return to the United States. He sent me money through another volunteer, which came in handy in later secondary school years.

American food aid supplemented our school lunches. I drank powdered milk from the United States and ate pancakes and bread made from free American wheat flour.

It was a period when most newly independent African countries were embarking upon their first development plans and found a helping hand

American

president

Sowetan 22/11/88

who won

the hearts

of Africa

By **MICHAEL CHUKWU**
a Nigerian journalist based
in Lagos

candidates, which first brought Kennedy and Richard Nixon into American living rooms in 1960, now are the high point of election campaigns.

But more important from our perspective, Kennedy defused religion as an issue of race.

It will be 25 years today since Kennedy was

mowed down by an assassin's bullet in a motorcade in Dallas, Texas.

Nonetheless, every American who lived through that day can recall what he or she was doing when that shot rang out.

Kennedy's assassination and his funeral were described at the time as

"the greatest simultaneous experience in American history"

The immediacy of television played a role of course, but people watched because of the kind of president Kennedy had been. And Africa watched with equal attention mourning his loss.

John Kennedy was cut down in his prime, but he definitely "left his footprints in the sands of time"

in Kennedy. Africa was young, humanism was on the march, and the continent indeed caught his eye.

His vision of humanity also found expression in the creation of the US Agency for International Development (USAID), which came to direct official US bilateral aid to developing countries.

Nigeria was one of the early beneficiaries of President Kennedy's vision. In 1962, two years after independence, Nigeria received 225 million dollars in support of its development plan. It was one of the largest US aid recipients in the world.

In his race for the White House, Kennedy brought glamour to presidential politics, and we thrilled to it, as we did to the innovation of television campaigning. Television debates between presidential

Africa's problems highlighted

In Africa, the problem at present was not one of democracy but of under-development, illiteracy and over-population, said Prof Robert Schrire of the University of Cape Town.

Speaking on "Is Western Democracy The Right Road?" Prof Schrire said if economic development was Africa's economic goal then political accountability should be its political goal.

Political accountability was one of the three steps of ideas in democracy to which there was no alternative, he said.

Leaders of democracies should be accountable to their people, there should be political equality and both government and citizens should have rights and obligations to each other.

Democracy was primarily the most effective mechanism for regulating conflict. He pointed to the Soviet Union which had for years hidden its ethnic conflicts yet now, with glasnost, they had emerged.

Secondly, democracy was the only effective system to create change in leadership.

Thirdly, democracy was the only way to legitimise the political system.

In Africa, as in the rest of the world, non-democratic states were inevitably conservative and corrupt, he said.

● If South Africa turned to the right as seen

912w 20/11/88
from results in recent municipal elections, the pro-sanctions lobby in the United States would strengthen its efforts next year, said Dr J Denison of All Points International USA.

There was general optimism in the US about the possible settlement in Angola and Namibia and the election of Mr George Bush would ensure the future of the constructive engagement policy.

● Mr M Spicer, personal assistant to the chairman of Anglo American, gave possible alternative futures for the world and South Africa. He saw two shaping sources — armed control and trade protectionism.

There would be a return to a strong growth rate of 5 percent. South Africa could become a winning nation in world estimation by broadening the base of the economy, by de-regulating and privatising and by changing political policies.

● If Boputhatswana was internationally recognised and became a member of the UN and OAU, it would not be guaranteed protection against the effect of sanctions against South Africa, said Mr M Leoka of Dempers, Leoka and Kevany.

There was a need for black and white leaders to speak with one voice against disinvestment and sanctions, he said.

AMONG my colleagues when I worked in the Department of Economics at the University of Ghana in the late Fifties was Emil Rado. In March 1986, Rado visited Ghana for the first time since 1960. Looking at Ghana in 1986 from the standpoint of 1960, he wrote:

"I saw an economy and society in a state of near collapse. Water ran in the taps for five to six hours a day, and there were two days during the month with no water at all. Electricity was liable to break down any day, and did so five or six times a week. Perhaps 5% of telephones worked in Accra (none in Kumasi as far as I could see).

"A letter posted in Kumasi took three to four weeks to reach Accra. Public transport within the main cities was non-existent... Inter-city 'state transport' coaches were the only public transport I saw. There was no refuse collection; I saw smouldering piles of rubbish everywhere."

Rado went on to write of the loss of manpower: between a half and two-thirds of top-level professional manpower had left the country; during the oil boom in Nigeria, perhaps 1.5-million Ghanaians had migrated to that country.

F or those who stayed behind, a monthly wage covered barely more than a week's living costs. Industry operated at less than a quarter of its capacity. The shops were bare, and even "respectable" Ghanaians were wearing the cast-off clothing and footwear of Europeans and Americans.

Bad as conditions were in 1986, it must be added that they had been much worse. The nadir was 1983, when corpses lay in the streets of the cities.

From the standpoint of 1960, this descent into penury was almost incredible. Ghana had been the first of the black African countries to become politically independent, because it had long been among the most commercialised parts of tropical Africa, its physical infrastructure had been built up rapidly in the recent past, it was relatively well endowed, both financially and in terms of exploitable resources, and it had a competent administration and, by African standards, a substantial stock of well-educated and professionally experienced people.

Disenchantment soon appeared. The reasons were partly political. Government showed itself increasingly intolerant of opposition, or even criticism. The economic conditions also deteriorated.

The Fifties had been economically buoyant. In the Sixties, GNP averaged over population was roughly constant, according to the official



□ NKRUMAH... before smiles turned sour

Ghana's drastic slide to economic death

① B/day 2/12/88

One school of economic thought in SA urges controls as a means of overcoming the country's current difficulties. This account by DOUGLAS RIMMER of Ghana's decline traces the effects of such policies on a situation that evinced some worrying similarities to SA's recent condition

estimates, and shortages appeared of both imported and home-produced varieties of such essentials as food, medicines, spare parts and agricultural implements.

These misfortunes were only a foretaste of what was to come. The shortages of goods became more pronounced and GNP per head trended down from 1970.

Inflation had caused much distress in the early Sixties, but the rates then were modest compared with those experienced after 1974 — in two years (1977 and 1981) the index of consumer prices was reported as rising by more than 100%.

People whose money/incomes were inflexible suffered accordingly; it became impossible for anyone to survive on wage or salary earnings alone. In spite of exchange rate devaluations of 30% in 1967, 20% in 1972 and 58% in 1978, the black market value of Ghanaian currency in 1982 was only one-tenth of the official value.

Nothing is more revealing of the decline in Ghana's fortunes than the state of migration. In the Fifties, it was believed that 300 000 to 400 000 workers entered Ghana annually from the surrounding French territories. By the Seventies, huge num-

bers of Ghanaians were emigrating. A Ghanaian's most precious possession, it was said, was now his passport. There are now Ghanaian communities to be found all over the world; I was told recently of one in Port Moresby, New Guinea.

Nkrumah's aspirations of Ghanaian leadership in Africa now seem absurd. The country that was once an inspiration has become a symbol of what has gone wrong in Africa.

In 1961 the Nkrumah government took a series of measures intended to release the Ghanaian economy from the colonial mould in which it had hitherto been held. Imports were discouraged by high tariffs, and their total composition and provenance were regulated by administrative licensing. The banks were obliged to repatriate their assets held abroad and to invest locally, mostly in government securities.

Controls on prices were introduced. Many new manufacturing industries were established as state corporations, and large-scale mechanised farming was also initiated as a public enterprise.

As the official financial reserves were drawn down, government increasingly met its local obligations by printing money and its external obligations by borrowing from foreign contractors and suppliers.

There was failure to recognise that increased export earnings mattered more than greater domestic savings. Short-run efficiency in the use of resources was unduly neglected in favour of creating problematic dynamic nexuses.

The flexibility of the economic structure was overestimated, as was the effectiveness of official direction. The appeal of modernity led to a choice of techniques in manufacturing and agriculture that were inappropriate to Ghanaian conditions.

State enterprises floundered under the weight of the conflicting objectives enjoined upon them. Attempts at economic regulation — for example, in licensing imports and controlling prices — made impossible demands on administrative capacity and political probity.

From 1972 to 1982, economic life was heavily administered. Imports and other uses of foreign exchange were strictly licensed. The exchange

rate was officially fixed and changed only once, in 1978.

Import, ex-factory and retail prices were controlled, as were interest rates in the organised credit market. Since official prices were generally much below market-clearing prices, windfall profits were available to whoever secured price-controlled goods and was prepared to sell them for whatever they would fetch; there was consequently a strong shift of enterprise away from production and towards trade.

From 1974, government spending far outstripped the totals of revenues, aid and non-inflationary borrowing. Deficit financing grew to become the major source of government funding. One cause was rising expenditure to support a public sector growing to meet the needs of patronage. Another was falling revenues through erosion of the tax base.

The tax base contracted for several reasons. Export volumes and exporting profitability fell as the currency became increasingly overvalued. This overvaluation also held down revenue from import duties, since it made the cedi prices of imports artificially low. Controls on prices similarly held down the revenues from excises and sales taxation.

Import licensing, price controls and the monopolisation of cocoa purchases all increased the attractiveness of illegal transactions at uncontrolled prices, from which government derived no revenue.

The public administration buckled under the strain. By the late Seventies, the structure had collapsed. No one could afford any longer to be a dedicated public servant. The increasing lag of salaries behind escalating prices drove public employees to find multiple employments — in trading and farming as well as in their offices — and to exploit for their own advantage, and as far as they could, the powers of their appointments.

The increasing shortages of material inputs crippled the capacity to deliver public services. These factors, together with an antagonism between the military government and the professional classes that had become violent by 1978, led to the emigration of a large fraction of better-educated and trained manpower.

By the early Eighties, Ghana as a territorial unit was disintegrating. It had become one of those African states whose identity owes more to international recognition than to empirical fact.

□ Rimmer is a former director of the Centre for West African Studies at the University of Birmingham. This is an extract from an article by Rimmer in *Africa Insight*

Toxic waste disposal crisis looms

CP Press 4/12/88
Africans become aware of environmental dangers

CP Correspondent

EIGHTY-seven people were poisoned and a fire brigade officer was hospitalised with a nervous breakdown as a result of the illegal storage of toxic wastes in the Nigerian port of Koko. Experts estimate that the crisis is not yet over, for the long-term results could be cancer and genetic mutations.

Other consequences are difficult to predict.

This is just one example of the tragic effects of the import of toxic industrial wastes to Africa.

In the past years France, the United States, Italy and some other industrially developed countries began burying their industrial wastes in the developing countries, including Africa.

This is a result of the overproduction of wastes and a lack of facilities for

their processing or utilisation in the developed world.

Besides, detoxification of one ton of industrial waste costs nearly R5 000 while the storage price is just over R280.

"Waste exporters" count on the financial difficulties of the developing countries, which sometimes cannot reject the dangerous, but profitable threats posed by toxic waste.

But some African countries looked past the financial benefits and realised the danger such waste dumps hold in for the environment and the people.

Guinea Bissau, for example, annulled a contract on the burial of 15 million tons of highly-toxic pharmaceutical wastes at R80 per ton.

The cost of the destruction of such wastes in European Economic Community countries varies from R320 to R2 4000.

The sum offered to Bissau was twice as bit as the country's foreign debt and 25 times larger than annual export receipts. Yet Guinea Bissau annulled the deal.

Conflict situations, which this year developed in several African countries in connection with the import of toxic wastes, called the attention of the countries concerned to the lack of or the shortcomings in the national laws on the industrial wastes problem.

As a result, Nigeria has banned the imports of industrial waste and the Liberian Senate discussed a draft law on capital punishment for those

guilty of unloading toxic wastes in the country.

African politicians are coming to realise the threat posed to their countries and neighbouring territories by the burial of toxic wastes, which include radioactive wastes.

This problem was discussed at international forums, for example at the Addis Ababa session of the assembly of the heads of state and government of the OAU countries in May 1988, and the fifth session of the leading committee of the Convention for the Protection of the Environment and talks on the use of coastal waters and territories of western and central Africa.

The 11th summit session of the Economic

Community of West African States held earlier this year in Lome, established a committee to control the burial of wastes. The participants called for immediate adoption of legislation which would proclaim the burial of toxic wastes in their territories a criminal offence.

A new element in Africa is the moulding of public opinion against making the continent a dumping ground for toxic materials.

The problem is becoming global and hence must be solved globally, above all in the framework of the United Nations, which has been working for an ecologically-pure Africa.

A UN General Assembly resolution in Decem-

ber last year on the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development points to the necessity for the developed countries and respective UN bodies and organisations to promote technological co-operation with the aim of recognising, monitoring and analysing ecological problems and for averting them.

At the 43rd General Assembly, the Soviet Union suggested an international ecological security fund, financed partly by money diverted from military programmes. The Soviet Union believes - and its view is supported by a number of states - that an international system or mechanism to draft decisions on ecological problems must be part of the United Nations.

The representative of Nigeria said at the session that the international conference on the inter-relationship between disarmament and development should be given a mandate for drafting a convention regulating the burial of radioactive materials and the dumping of toxic materials that do irreparable damage to the environment.

In 1992 (or earlier), the UN will hold an international conference on the environment, a follow-up of the 1972 Stockholm conference.

There is a great need that the world should start preparations for protecting the environment today.

Politicians, diplomats, scientists, economists, economic managers and the public must pool efforts to take immediate, well-substantiated measures to protect the environment. - Ano

Jan. 1989

Debtor nations told to toe line

LONDON — International financial bodies should not help debtor nations finance their debts without demanding economic reforms in return, says British Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr Nigel Lawson.

He was speaking at a conference in London yesterday devoted to reviewing progress on the world debt crisis.

Responding to a question, Mr Lawson said the Washington-based International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank had a very clear role in insisting as a condition of financing that countries pursue economic policies which turned their economies around.

He added: "It is essential that this hard conditionality remain."

Inadequate economic adjustment programmes helped neither debtors nor creditors, he said.

Mr Lawson reaffirmed his belief in tackling the debt problem on a case-by-case basis.

"The search for global solutions distracts attention from the tasks which do matter: managing the debt that remains and helping the debtor countries to restructure their economies in a way that will improve their performance in the future," he said.

While the resolution of the debt problem was neither quick nor easy, he said, cautious optimism over the debt crisis was justified, provided all countries involved played their parts.

Britain was ready to contribute \$100 million in exceptional assistance to Nigeria's debt financing package, provided other donors made adequate contributions, he said.

The world economy was in better shape and an important range of new debt reduction measures was now in place, he said.

Under a debt plan for sub-Saharan Africa launched by Mr Lawson last year, more aid loans had been written off, longer repayment and grace periods were allowed and other official loans were being rescheduled.

Alternative approaches

Creditor nations had agreed to three alternative approaches to reducing interest payment burdens.

Mali and Madagascar had accepted such terms as part of their debt rescheduling exercises.

Other borrowers, including some Commonwealth members, were likely to follow.

Mr Lawson said industrialised countries could help debtor nations by keeping the world economy steadily moving ahead and ensuring their markets were open to exports from developing countries.

He encouraged more private investment in developing countries to help them with economic adjustment. — Sapa-Reuter.

The Brazzaville Protocol

Pik gets praise on race stance

CMK Links 14/12/88

BRAZZAVILLE. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday drew two sustained ovations when he told the Congolese president the South African government was removing racial discrimination and wanted to be accepted by its "African brothers".

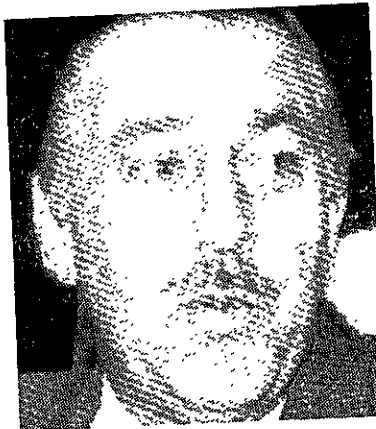
He drew the applause from a large gathering of African dignitaries who attended the official signing of the Brazzaville Protocol in the Palais de Peuple.

He was one of the four delegation leaders to address President Denis Sassou Nguesso after the signing, following immediately after the US mediator and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr Botha repeated his analogy of a zebra and said it was futile to think that if one shot the animal in the white stripes it would not die.

"A new era has begun," he said. "We are removing race discrimination." (Loud applause).

"We want to be accepted by our



Mr Pik Botha

African brothers (more applause). We need each other," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha spoke at length on the difficulties which had faced the negotiators and praised Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko for having encouraged him and General Magnus Malan to sign the accord for Africa's sake.

"I am not sure what role the Soviet Union played... but whatever it was, it was not disturb-

ing," he said.

Mr Botha said African countries had to stand together economically and South Africa stood ready to play its role.

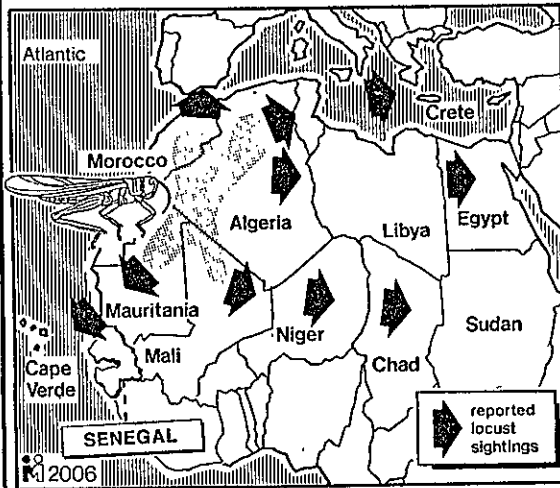
"Africa needs peace and understanding. We were never given the opportunity to catch up with the industrialised powers."

He said the industrialised powers had determined the prices of Africa's commodities and products and made Africa pay for technology.

"The time has come to stand together economically... if we don't we will never catch up with the industrialised nations, who will not worry about us either."

"I appeal to you as a brother," he said.

Mr Botha, who as a young advocate helped fight South Africa's case on its League of Nations mandate over South-West Africa in the World Court 30 years ago, said that experience had now proved that "might was right". He said though South Africa had won its case legally, world opinion and politics had decided the matter against it.— Sapa-Reuter



Paths of destruction ... a sub-continent under siege
MAP: GEMINI NEWS

The last frontier in the war of the pests

TWO small yellow planes swooped low over the fields, trailing diaphanous plumes across the valley before pulling up, circling and diving again. Beneath the gently settling gauze of the pesticides, goats grazed and women washed clothes in the riverbed.

Around them, clouds of locusts munched on the foliage produced by recent rains or flew about with apparent aimlessness, their crusty bodies tapping against the windshield of a bus going down the road.

Senegal is on the frontline of a fierce battle against ravaging swarms of locusts that have blanketed a swath of north-west Africa and now extends as far east as the Arabian Gulf. At least 12 African countries are affected so far. Officials regard Senegal as a crucial buffer; if the crop-eating pests are not stopped here they could menace other nations to the south and west.

As many as five million acres are infested in Senegal alone, compared with about 100 000 acres that see some locust activity in more normal years. The government estimates that 10 percent of this year's crops have been lost already. But in the most heavily affected areas, the losses of individual farmers range as high as 100 percent.

Experts say the locust infestation is the worst to hit West Africa in 30 years. Coming just as the arid Sahel region — a zone between the Sahara Desert to the north and the fertile lands to the south — is emerging from years of drought, the swarms are a blow to this year's hopes for a bumper harvest.

Although international environmental recommendations rule out the use of the highly toxic pesticide, dieldrin, in most circumstances, officials here are beginning to question whether the less potent chemicals such as malathion can do the job.

The United Nations development programme has launched a research project into biological controls, but development of an alternative to to-

Another African war. So far, the winners are small creatures with six legs. But, the humans are making a last-ditch stand in the West African country of Senegal. TAMI HULTMAN reports

day's hazardous chemicals will take time. Meanwhile, the locusts are spreading

"We are in the course of a real new plague," said Dr Rafik Skaf, West African regional co-ordinator for the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation, "and it may endure for several more years."

The command centre for the battle against the locusts is Dakar, Senegal's capital, at the headquarters of what is called Oclalav — French initials for the Co-operative Organisation for Locust and Bird Control. The organisation was established in 1965 with the goal of preventing locust plagues before they happen by monitoring conditions favourable to locust development and attacking potential swarms before they mature.

Oclalav's director general, Dr Abdallah Ould Soueid Ahmed, is clearly frustrated at the outbreaks this year. "Unfortunately," he said, "we somewhat reduced the pace of the control, because the resources were missing both at the international and the sub-regional level."

The organisation owns only one plane and less than 100 vehicles to cover its 10-country area, and funds for training and hiring scouts to track locust development across the region have been in short supply. So when the right combination of temperature, humidity and wind direction favoured locust development, Oclalav was ill-prepared to meet the threat.

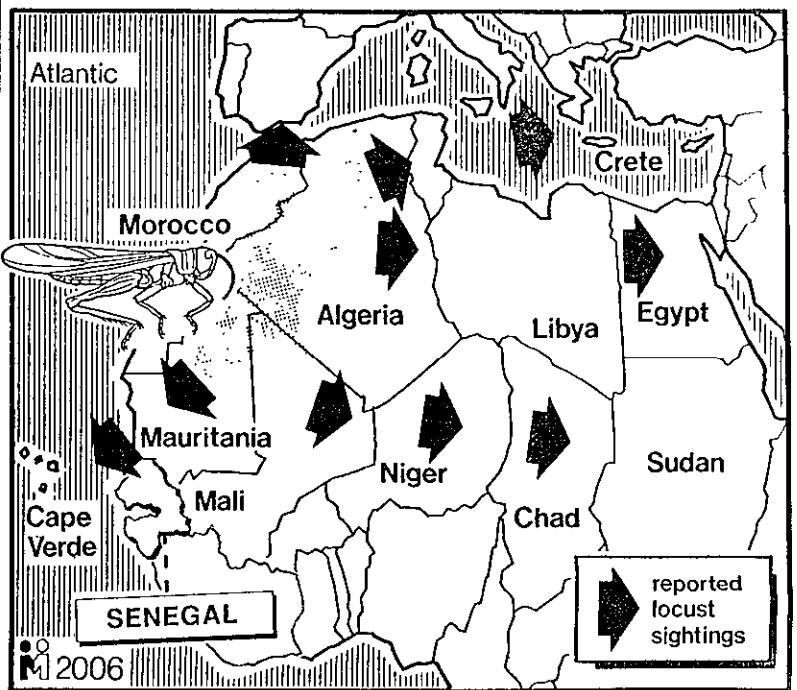
The biggest problem, though has been the many regional conflicts in northern Africa, which have hampered both monitoring and control efforts. In the Horn of Africa to the east — an area encompassing Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan — fighting has prevented surveillance teams from moving in and out of the infested regions in recent years. In central north Africa, the war between Chad and Libya was a similar barrier to effective action. And in the north-west, the battle between Morocco and the Polisario independence movement over the future of Western Sahara continues to block control efforts.

"The issue of control is important," said Soueid Ahmed, in a pointed complaint about the failure of Senegal's neighbours to halve the locusts' southwards advance. "It's not just a matter of controlling locusts at home. You have to make sure that the swarms don't leave your country."

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15-22/12/88

THE WORLD



Paths of destruction ... a sub-continent under siege

MAP: GEMINI NEWS

The last frontier in the war of the pests

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— Africa News

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Tuskers return to Ivory Coast ①

By GERALD BOURKE

ABIDJAN — A cargo plane bearing six elephants from Natal National Park touched down at Abidjan International Airport this week.

That the Ivory Coast has once again broken its self-imposed ban on trade with South Africa is hardly news.

As Pretoria's staunchest ally in black Africa, clandestine consignments of Cape fruit and wine wing their way to Abidjan on scheduled flights at least twice a week.

What is surprising is that Ivory Coast should be importing a species that not only gave the country its name, but also its identity.

Mention Ivory Coast and the mind's eye of many a would-be visitor will conjure up images of an exotic paradise where elephants meander through tropical forests fronting white, palm-fringed beaches.

Colonial hunting parties and present-day poachers have helped transform that reality into a myth — the country's elephant population is all but extinct.

The six sedated but nonetheless bewildered beasts caged in the cargo depot at Abidjan International might not be the original of the species, but they are to be the basis for moves to bring that mind's-eye image back to reality.

Yesterday they were loaded on to lorries and transported 250 km northwards to what, according to government officials, will ultimately become the world's biggest wildlife park.

Abokouamekro Park — brainchild of 83-year-old President Felix Houphouet-Boigny — will cover 625 sq km and be completely enclosed by a 2.7 m-high fence.

While the plan might be admirable on paper, many of its detractors dismiss it as too ambitious.

They argue that thousands of the animals, to be imported from South Africa and elsewhere in the coming months, will either die out or be slaughtered by poachers who in the past have made such easy work of the area's fauna. — The Independent News Service.

Africa could storm world, says SA cleric

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CAC-7-115 21/12/88

AFRICA could become a major economic force in the world if a Lagos-Pretoria-Nairobi economic axis could be developed, says the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Rev Stanley Mogoba.

He said it was significant that African states were looking at South Africa, "believing that if we can solve our problems in this land and create a non-racial state, Africa will become an even more exciting place in which to live".

Mr Mogoba, who is also president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, published his impressions in the latest issue of Race Relations News of a two-week conference in Nigeria on the political and strategic issues confronting Africa.

While the conference recognised that apartheid was destructive, it also acknowledged that issues "closer to home" which impeded progress should be confronted and dealt with.

"We could see that as the rest of the world appears to be moving forward economically, we are moving backwards.

But there was a strong commitment to the creation of economic communities that could provide muscle for Africa in world markets, Mr Mogoba said.

"For example, there was talk of the strength which a Lagos-Pretoria-Nairobi economic axis could have, and one does not have to stretch one's imagination to release that Africa could become a major economic force in the world if its leaders should work out a programme of economic co-operation."