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11 December 1984

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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COMMANDER OF 10TH REGION REVIEWS MILITARY SITUATION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview with Major Keba, commander of 10th Military Region, by Aguiar dos Santos]

[Text] "Come in and make yourself at home." On a Wednesday morning, when Saurimo was sweltering under a temperature of around 30 degrees Centigrade, I was received in the office of the commander of the 10th Military Region, which encompasses the two Lundas, North and South, and is the newest one in the country. From the long interview that followed with Major Keba--a calm young man, 33 years of age, who measures his words before speaking--we are publishing the most significant parts below:

[Question] What is the main characteristic of the enemy's action in this region and, in your opinion, what objective is he seeking?

[Answer] I would begin by dividing your question into two parts: first, what is the characteristic of the enemy action in the region; and second, what objectives is the enemy seeking, although the two aspects are interconnected.

Thus, in connection with the first part, I can tell you that the UNITA counterrevolutionary group operates in the 10th Military Region. At the end of 1982 it established itself in the areas of Alto-Chicapa, where it has been unleashing actions against the municipalities of Cacola and Lubalo since the beginning of 1983, that being its main route for the infiltration of its forces further north.

Specifically, the actions of UNITA are characterized by attacks on hamlets, settlements and even municipalities where there are only forces of ODP [People's Defense Organization] detachments; the kidnapping of adults and youths to forcibly incorporate into their ranks; the mining of the people's planted fields in order to hamper their self-sufficiency, cause them fear and terror and force them to adhere to their [UNITA] policy in an attempt to discredit our party. Sporadically, they also attack our columns on the Saurimo-Malanje Road, with greater frequency in the areas of Mon-Kimbundo and Xinge, with the destruction of bridges and massacres.

However, I want to state that as a result of the constant actions of our troops, we can confirm that since July of this year there has not been any ambush action on the Saurimo-Cuango section, that is, a 300-kilometer stretch. On the other hand, another characteristic of the actions is the kidnapping of foreigners, as we remember Cafunfo.

We Are Upgrading the Training of Our Troops

You ask me what objectives the enemy is seeking to achieve? Well, from the strategic point of view, we know what UNITA is seeking. I would go further: UNITA being a counterrevolutionary group substantially supported by certain imperialist powers, we clearly conclude that its main objective is to overthrow the revolutionary government of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola/Workers Party (MPLA/PT).

Naturally, to achieve that strategic objective, it necessarily has to achieve its tactical plans from the diplomatic, political and military point of view and including the economic destabilization of the country.

Well, the territory of the 10th Military Region includes the provinces of South Lunda and North Lunda. We know perfectly well that in Angola we have three essential sources of foreign exchange: oil, coffee and diamonds. Where are the diamonds? In North Lunda, naturally. So, it seeks to strangle, paralyze, diamond exploitation and production. For that very reason, it exerts efforts in that regard at the same time that it seeks to strangle the Malanje-Saurimo-Luena supply route. At this stage, the supplying of the troops and population of Moxico necessarily passes through the territory of South Lunda and for that reason we see the attacks on our road columns and the attempt to destroy the most important bridges on those routes which I mentioned. Therefore, along with striking at the diamonds, the domination or control of Moxico Province is of utmost importance to UNITA, from the military viewpoint. Thus, any action it carries out in the 10th region has repercussions in Moxico Province which it seeks to isolate, to completely impede or block the logistic supplying of our troops.

[Question] Of the provinces that comprise the 10th region, where is the enemy's action most intense and how is it being combatted?

[Answer] If you noticed, I made it understood that UNITA seeks to paralyze diamond operations at the same time that it seeks to strangle the main supply route that connects Malanje-South Lunda-Moxico. In this latter case, the province of South Lunda occupies a very important geographic-military position for the other provinces.

That is why from 1982 until the first half of 1984, the enemy's actions, his main efforts were made in South Lunda Province with emphasis on the destruction of the most important bridges and ambushes against road columns. Fortunately, that situation has been overcome as the bridges are well garrisoned since their reconstruction.

However, since the beginning of August, with the infiltration of new units further north, we noted some action in the territory of North Lunda in the areas defended only by ODP detachments and small units of the TGFA [expansion unknown], as is the case of Camaxilo and Cuilo.

To counteract the enemy's actions, we are carrying our various tasks. Thus, we are engaged first in upgrading the training of our troops, not only the regular and territorial troops but the troops of the ODP detachment, the formation of new units and the improvement of the defense of bridges and other objectives considered important and, finally as is obvious, the conduct of combat actions against the bases located by our reconnaissance or by information received from the people.

Feeling the constant pursuit of our troops, the enemy took refuge in other areas and, to hamper our advance, blocks access to the areas which he occupies by the destruction of bridges and the use of mines. Lately, many compatriots have been turning themselves in, fleeing from the enemy, some with their weapons, and have been giving us an account of the critical situation UNITA is going through.

We have had many successes and the mere fact of maintaining our columns from Malanje to Moxico is a very great victory because as you know, that route is our backbone.

The So-Called 'Cassuala Column' Was Completely Shattered

[Question] According to reports disseminated by UNITA, highway linkage between South Lunda and Moxico is practically impossible due to the action of its forces. Can you comment on those statements?

[Answer] With regard to that, I can say that our people have already become accustomed to the nonsense disseminated by the enemy through a certain capitalist press. The enemy had a regional column on the Moxico-South Lunda road, the so-called Cassuala column whose mission was to strangle that road. That column carried out some ambushes last year but after an operation by our troops, it was completely shattered and there has been no more mention of it for close to 1 year.

However, about 3 months ago, the enemy was reinforced by men and materiel (weapons and food) and thus resumed actions on the Dala-Saurimo section, aimed at some isolated civilian vehicles and the massacre of people. Our columns have passed normally and I believe you remember because the Angola News Agency (ANGOP) reported the recent visit made to the municipality of Dala by the provincial commissioner; that week alone three road columns traveled that route.

In the last year, the only thing UNITA can shamefully boast about on that road was the attack it made against a vehicle belonging to missionaries in the month of August culminating in the kidnapping of a Polish missionary and the death of a Portuguese nun. As can be seen, that enemy propaganda is foolish. We are controlling its movements since, as I said previously, they

have been concentrating in some areas to achieve that objective, which they have not attained.

The Enemy Does Not Control Any Economic or Military Strategic Point

[Question] Is there any strategic point from the military or economic point of view that is under the control of UNITA?

[Answer] The enemy does not control any strategic area or point from an economic point of view.

From a military point of view, it exercises a certain control in the areas of Alto-Chicapa where it even had batallions and its forward command. That was the point of departure for its actions of banditry against our positions and mining areas. We recall the Cafunfo attack, where it kidnapped some foreigners of various nationalities, which the capitalist press gave wide coverage to, as was to be expected.

However, its influence in the area already mentioned (Alto-Chicapa) decreased considerably after the operation carried out by our forces in the months of May, June and July of this year, when we captured various military items, specifically ammunition, mines and explosives.

The enemy does seek to create a climate of instability in North Lunda. Thus, we notice the efforts UNITA is undertaking in an attempt to exercise control in the areas of Lubalo, where it has some forces, and since June it introduced new forces and military material in that area to reinforce a column designated "Lotti," which has been inoperative for 8 months due to munitions difficulties and because of having suffered several losses after successive fights with our troops.

The enemy seeks to exercise control and consolidate its positions in the Caungula-Lubalo-Cuilo triangle.

The Enemy Flees From Contact With the Regular Troops

[Question] Have regular battles been waged against the enemy? What have been the results for the Angolan Army?

[Answer] The last battles between our troops and the enemy--the ene my normally flees from direct contact with the regular troops but in any case he has been the target of constant pursuit--have led to the desertion of considerable numbers of members of UNITA, as occurred last August, when various members, some of them armed, surrendered.

The enemy's morale is very low and as I already said its forces cannot carry out missions in this region due to the confrontations with our troops. It has been a year since the enemy has carried out an action against our troops, who have a very high morale. I can mention an attack it carried out in June against the Peso and Luangue bridges with the objective of destroying them, which was repelled by a much smaller number of our troops.

I can also mention that on 28 September, the enemy attacked the village of Katulumba, northeast of Saurimo, in which our troops who were smaller in number also succeeded in repelling the attack, killing 20 of the enemy, confirmed on the ground.

All of these, we can consider positive factors and maintaining the Malanje-Saurimo-Moxico road reflects well the fact that our troops are fulfilling the missions that are entrusted to them. The participation of the people in reporting and locating the enemy forces and their willingness to defend themselves has also contributed greatly to raising the morale of our troops.

UNITA Is Going To Try To Use Neighboring Territories

[Question] In view of the geographic location of North Lunda and South Lunda provinces, which comprise the 10th Military Region, I would like to know if in addition to the support which UNITA receives from South Africa, there are other countries that are helping it?

[Answer] UNITA is seeking to use other territories to install its bases. This possibility must be admitted because without a secure rearguard its complete defeat will be more rapid. We are informed of the effort that imperialism is making to unify the counterrevolutionary groups, the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC), COMBIRA [Military Committee of the Resistance in Angola] and UNITA.

To underscore my position, I would like to remind you of UNITA's "forcing" against the town of Luau, former Teixeira de Sousa, where it concentrated its best strike units. Well, Luau could be an indication...

[Question] One last question, commander: How are the old facilities of the Saurimo Air Base being utilized?

[Answer] The old installations of the air base were transformed into a soldiers' training center for the regular and specialist troops. In this phase, it has contributed very much to the training of new units and is regarded as one of the best soldiers' training centers, thanks to its excellent facilities.

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CSO: 3442/48

HISTORY OF COUNTRY'S GOLD INDUSTRY REVIEWED; FUTURE PROJECTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 25 Oct 84 p 11

[Article by Cameron Duodu]

[Text]

GHANAIAN newspapers occasionally publish letters from readers asking that the country should return to the pre-independence name of Gold Coast, because the name Ghana has brought "economic hardship" on the people.

Although Gold Coast will not appear on the maps again, an attempt is being made to revive the industry which inspired the name.

Ghanaians mined gold for centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 15th Century. Gold was exported to North Africa, and from there to Europe.

What the Portuguese, the Danes and the British saw, when they began to trade in earnest in West Africa, was enough to justify the name which was to distinguish the tiny West African country from such neighbours as the Ivory Coast.

Organised gold mines were established at the end of the 19th Century, mainly in the Ashanti region.

The mines were owned by expatriate companies until the late 1960s, when the government of the late Dr Kwame Nkrumah — Ghana's first President — acquired some of them to prevent them being flooded by companies which no longer regarded them as viable.

The only mine which remained in private ownership was Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, whose mine at Obuasi had a reputation as the "single richest gold mine in the world".

The Ghana Government acquired a 55% majority shareholding in it in 1972 and currently runs the mine in partnership with the London-based company Lonrho, which owns 45% of the shares.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Ghana's gold production fell drastically: from 970 000 fine ounces in 1960 to 300 000 ounces last year.

Years of mining had exhausted most of the ore reserves, but that was not the only reason for the fall in output.

A chronic shortage of foreign exchange meant that unserviceable machinery could not be replaced, nor new equipment imported to dig up deeper ores which could not be reached by the existing plant.

A further reason for the fall in output was inflation. Although the official exchange rate of the Ghanaian currency — the cedi — was 2,75 to one American dollar, the dollar was exchanging hands on the black market last year for anything up to 10 times its official value, a more accurate reflection of the costs of operating businesses in Ghana.

Yet the government

would not devalue the currency, for political reasons.

Earnings from gold were therefore largely absorbed by local wages, and little revenue was left over to spend on plant rehabilitation and expansion.

In April 1983, however, the government, at the insistence of the International Monetary Fund, heavily devalued the currency and followed up with another devaluation last August.

The dollar is now worth 38,50 cedis officially, which has transformed the profitability of the gold-mining companies.

Whereas in the past earnings from gold of $1-million fetched the companies only 2,75-million cedis, they now get 38,5-million cedis for the same amount of dollars.

This goes a long way in terms of local expenditure, since wage increases have not kept pace with the 1 300% devaluation.

As a result, both Ashanti Goldfields Corporation and the State Gold Mining Corporation (which runs the mines taken over fully by the government) have become creditworthy in the eyes of international lenders. And the money is pouring in.

The International Finance Corporation — an affiliate of the World Bank — is part of a consortium which is to lend Ashanti Goldfields R216-million to finance a rehabilitation and expansion programme.

Over the next five years, if all goes well, Ashanti hopes to increase production from just over 240 000 ounces last year to at least 400 000 ounces.

Similarly, the State Gold Mining Corporation is receiving assistance from the International Development Association to modernise its mines at Prestea and Tarkwa.

The corporation's output, which stood at 210 000 ounces in 1974, had fallen to 40 000 ounces by 1983.

It projects a production increase to 180 000 ounces in the near future, if the current rehabilitation programme is carried through smoothly.

Altogether, Ghana hopes that the injection of capital into the gold industry will raise production to about 1,5-million ounces a year in 1990, and two-million ounces by the year 2000.

At present, the main foreign exchange earner — cocoa — is not a reliable source of income.

Most cocoa trees are old and dying, and so are the farmers who work the cocoa plantations.

Cocoa prices also fluctuate on the international market, with the result that Ghana's import bills are almost always climbing ahead of export earnings, no matter how hard the government tries to curb imports.

This year, for instance, imports will eat up some R1 440-million, while exports are expected to fetch only R1 000-million, leaving a trade gap of R440-million.

If Ghana becomes a major gold-producing country again it will not be because the country hankers sentimentally after the name Gold Coast and wants to go back to it.

Hard business sense is what should get the credit. — Gemini.

CSO: 3400/198

## BRIEFS

PIPES LEAVE BEIRA--After lying stranded for two years in Beira a consignment of 800 tonnes of large cement-based water pipes destined for the Lilongwe Water Project is now being safely delivered to Malawi by the Mitchell Cotts Freight firm of Harare. The pipes were freighted from India as part of an Indian Government aid agreement with Malawi, and the Malawi Government recently asked Mitchell Cotts to arrange for their delivery. [Text] [Harare FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 26 Oct 84 p 3]

CSO: 3400/205

BAMAKO EXAMINES OAU PROBLEMS, ISSUES ON AGENDA

AB101445 Bamako Domestic Service in French 1500 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Station commentary by Baba Daga]

[Text] Will the 20th summit be held or won't it be held? This year, just like last year, optimistic and pessimistic observers have been listing reasons for the holding or non-holding of the 20th OAU summit. Even though the major question--namely the question of the venue, Ethiopia in this case--has been settled, there are other questions over which there are differences.

First of all, Chad: Whether one is for or against Hissein Habre, it is hard to ban his delegation from the OAU summit. Even though some pockets of resistance are fighting this regime, Habre's government is leading the country. Its headquarters is Ndjamena, the capital, where many diplomatic missions have been accredited. It is also admitted at the United Nations, in the Nonaligned Movement, and in many specialized organizations. It will, however, be noted that the withdrawal of French and Libyan troops under an agreement signed by Paris and Tripoli on 16 September has not brought back peace between the fighting Chadian brothers, even though this was a new development in the situation. Three weeks ago, the Brazzaville roundtable talks on national reconciliation failed in the Congolese capital. One can, however, believe that the legitimacy of the Ndjamena regime will not be questioned. Habre's government already took part in the OAU summit in 1983 in Addis Ababa.

But the Western Sahara brain-racking problem remains. The referendum scheduled to have been held next year did not take place, Morocco having rejected direct negotiations with the Polisario Front as stipulated by the resolutions adopted by all African countries. It will be recalled that the admission of the SDAR as OAU's 51st member was disputed by about 20 countries. This sparked an unprecedented crisis in the history of the continental organization. It is expected that the SDAR, which abstained temporarily and freely from the 1983 summit to allow the summit to be held, will claim its seat in the OAU this year. The Moroccan king has already announced that in this case, his country will pull out from the OAU. But will others follow suit? That is the first question.

Anyhow, efforts are underway to design a new compromise based on the commitment to hold the referendum within a fixed deadline--3 months for instance.

This would enable the Polisario to make a fresh goodwill gesture on a provisional basis. This, of course, implies Rabat's agreement to direct talks on a cease-fire. But are the Saharans prepared for this fresh gesture? That is the second question.

These are a few questions on the agenda of the leaders of an Africa deep in crisis, an Africa ravaged by the drought and threatened by starvation. At a time when the continent is going even deeper every day into the economic crisis and when 150 million Africans are threatened by the spectre of famine, the current political issues might once again prevail over the OAU deliberations. These problems, which have threatened the very existence of the OAU since 1982, have diverted it from its primary task, namely the mobilization of all energies in order to get the continent out of poverty and underdevelopment.

These political issues have also diverted attention from the Namibian independence problem and the eradication of apartheid in South Africa. The OAU has witnessed the southern African diplomatic play almost like a spectator. The major actors in that play are South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola, but also Washington. However, it would be wrong for Africans to bury the OAU. In spite of all its shortcomings, the OAU remains a beacon which would be worth creating if it did not exist. In view of their sizes, their economic and financial weaknesses, no single African state can individually carry much weight on the international front. It would simply be dwarf among giants.

So, in spite of the bitterness aroused over the OAU being set adrift, it is necessary to leave no stone unturned to save this ultimate bulwark which protects us from division and disunity and which can lead to new attempts at recolonizing our continent. We must avoid the OAU becoming a ring where heads of state fight while the African people are spectators. The OAU must exist and must be consolidated even if it will only serve as a formal framework for discussions and for attempts to harmonize viewpoints.

CSO: 3419/132

FOUR MNR REPRESENTATIVES IDENTIFY THEMSELVES

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 2 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Jose Caetano]

[Text]

THE South African Government's cancellation of the Press conference called by the Mozambique National Resistance movement in Pretoria yesterday has been interpreted by diplomatic observers as a sign that South Africa is anxious to avoid jeopardising the Mozambique peace negotiations.

The news of the cancellation of the Press conference came at 10.30am when four grim-faced MNR men walked into the conference room of the Boulevard Hotel to break the news to about 30 national and foreign journalists.

The four rebel representatives were Mr Jorge Correia, a white Portuguese citizen who acts as the MNR spokesman in Lisbon, and three black men who identified themselves as Mr Ululu Vicente Zacarias, Mr Gideon Mahluza and Mr Artur Janeiro da Fonseca.

Three black MNR men where taken to the hotel in a blue Toyota, driven by a bespectacled young white man who did not appear to speak Portuguese. At the hotel they were met by Mr Correia, who had arrived shortly before in a different car.

None of the men was present at the Pretoria Declaration last month.

Mr Correia said the conference had been cancelled on orders from the Department of Foreign Affairs, who telephoned at about 9.30am.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, had approved the conference on Wednesday night.

Mr Zacarias said he and Mr Mahluza lived in Kenya while Mr Da Fonseca was resident in West Germany.

Later Mr Mahluza said he had refugee status in Kenya.

Mr Mahluza has had a chequered political career, belonging at various times to nine political parties.

He first surfaced in the early sixties when he joined Udenamo, an early nationalist movement in Mozambique.

In June 1962 he became a founder member of Frelimo.

He failed to win office, and two months later abandoned Frelimo to become a founder member of a string of organisations, among them Papomo, Coremo, Unar, Gumo and Funipamo, before the independence of Mozambique, in June 1975. After that he joined Fumo, a small organisation formed by some Mozambicans living in Portugal, before appearing yesterday as a member of the MNR.

Mr Da Fonseca was a crew member on the Portuguese liner Santa Maria, which was hijacked in January 1961 off the coast of Argentina by a group led by Captain Henrique Galvao, a long-time opponent of the former Portuguese dictator Antonio Salazar.

When Capt Galvao surrendered to Brazil 12 days later, Mr Da Fonseca raised the Portuguese flag on the ship and as a result was later decorated by the Portuguese Government of the time.

In 1965, Mr Da Fonseca surfaced at a meeting of various nationalist organisations from the former Portuguese colonies in Rabat, Morocco. He fell under suspicion as a spy for Pide, the former Portuguese secret police.

Later moves took him to Algeria, East Germany and Czechoslovakia before appearing again in Pretoria yesterday.

CSO: 3400/196

RSA CRACKDOWN ON MNR REBELS EXPECTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Nov 84 p 7

[Article by David Thomas]

[Text] The Mozambique Government is expecting Pretoria to begin a touch crackdown on the Mozambique National Resistance, according to the official newspapers and government sources in Maputo.

This follows Foreign Minister Pik Botha's strong reaction against the MNR's decision last week to pull out of the Pretoria peace talks. Mr Botha's rebuke was vigorously backed by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan a move that Maputo interpreted as the unconditional backing of the South African Defence Force.

Last week the South African Government ordered the MNR to cancel a scheduled Press conference in Pretoria. The order showed a new firmness by Pretoria in dealing with the MNR. A less known clause of the Nkomati Accord forbids the signatories to let any organisation or individual use either country to spread propaganda against the other.

The official Maputo daily newspaper Noticias saw Pretoria's reactions as the start of an authentic campaign against the MNR by the South African Government and the Defence Force. Up to now the Mozambique Government has suspected elements of the SADF of continuing external support for the MNR, which has allowed the rebels to escalate their campaign of terror in all 10 provinces of the country.

On paper the MNR by now should be feeling the pinch of South Africa's withdrawal of support. In terms of the Nkomati Accord, strengthened by a further agreement last month pledging more direct help from Pretoria in ending the bush war, the MNR no longer should be receiving aid from South Africa. Nor should the MNR be using South Africa as a communications link between the external MNR leadership and the men in the bush.

These are specifically prohibited in the Nkomati Accord.

Malawi, the other neighbouring country from which the rebels operated, recently signed a similar non-aggression pact with President Samora Machel. Yet MNR

activity in Mozambique continues to escalate, giving creditibility to a statement released a week ago by the organisation's external wing that the rebels had launched their biggest offensive.

It was reported earlier this year that South Africa had pumped a two-year supply of war provisions through to the MNR inside Mozambique before the Nkomati pact. But even so military sources doubt that the MNR would be in a position to escalate its operations after eight months of intensive activity following the signing of the accord in March.

The Mozambique authorities and some Western observers in the Maputo believe the MNR still has a close external regional link. Furthermore, intelligence sources believe the MNR still has a reasonable communications system. The official position in Maputo is that the aid is being provided by right-wing or freelance elements in South Africa or both.

They cite the evidence of caputred rebels, the latest being a youth who claimed he had seen a parachute supply drop in September in central Mozambique and had helped carry the provisions to the base camp.

The other suspected link is the Comoro Islands at the northern entrance to the Mozambique Channel. Consistent speculation has pinpointed this scattered group of islands as an alternative supply base which might explain the unprecedented escalation of MNR activity in the northern province of Cabo Delgado, traditionally Frelimo's firmest powerbase.

Further afield, the MNR is known to have links in Lisbon from where its main external officials operate.

Last week Mozambique conveyed its grave concern to the Lisbon Government about Portuguese support for the rebels which, a Government communique said, was the main obstacle to a cessation of violence in Mozambique.

According to reports, the MNR also has strong links with West Germany's right-wing Christian Social Union, headed by Mr Franz Josef Strauss.

Several of the MNR's shadow cabinet are using Nairobi as a base. But they are living in the country as registered international refugees, under the auspices of the United Nations and it is considered unlikely that the Kenya Government is aware of their involvement in a political organisation.

Most Western governments are giving the MNR the cold shoulder, despite the organisation's stated anti-Communist line. Although two of the Nairobi-based MNR officials were recently allowed to visit the United States to address the anti-Communist World Conference for Freedom, Washington strongly disapproved. Anxious not to jeopardise its rapidly improving relations with one of Moscow's once firmest allies in Africa, Washington at first refused to grant visas then, when the MNR men were reluctantly allowed in, they were warned not to cause trouble during their stay.

Whatever happens over the impasse in the peace negotiations, it will be a long time before events on the ground demonstrate the extent of MNR support outside and inside Mozambique.

CSO: 3400/205

LIFE IN MAPUTO DESCRIBED AS SPARTAN

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 31 Oct 84 p 20

[Article by David Thomas]

[Text]

MAPUTO — In a 1964 guide book to Lourenco Marques, the town clerk is quoted as saying: "We Portuguese love Lourenco Marques and are proud of what God has given us."

He spoke of the city's beauty, its beaches, gardens and streets lined with blossom-covered trees.

His Lourenco Marques is now Maputo and belongs to the Mozambicans.

The city is still beautiful.

Trees still line the avenues.

No, they were not chopped down for firewood.

Yes, the city is rundown and the shops are empty.

The beaches are still there, though few tourists visit them.

When South Africans begin returning to Maputo in increasing numbers they will find a spartan city.

The streets are delightfully free from noisy, bumper-to-bumper traffic.

There is none of the boa vida (good life) reminiscent of the old Lourenco Marques days.

Maputo has developed a character of its own.

To South Africans Maputo will be exotic in a different sense.

The city is non-racial.

There is no feeling of colour discrimination, even in reverse.

Walls are covered in colourful revolutionary art and Marxist slogans.

Signs of the Russian connection abound . . . Russian-made Niva four-wheel-drive civilian cars, AK47-toting Frelimo soldiers, Russian trawlers in the harbour, Russian script on the sides of containers being transported towards the military barracks.

Anti-apartheid posters look down on streets where Transvaal-registered cars are becoming increasingly evident.

Other posters lauding the Nkomati Accord show President Samora Machel sitting alongside South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, at the border signing ceremony.

Anti-Mozambique national resistance Bandido Armado posters have displaced the Portuguese propaganda against the Frelimo terrorista.

The masses of children playing in the streets appear happy despite the critical food shortages.

Food queues are a part of life in Maputo.

The uniformed soldiers, the legless landmine victims, the military vehicles are very much in evidence in the capital of a country which has been at war for 20 years. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

CSO: 3400/196

BRIEFS

LABOR SECRETARY VISTS RSA MINES--Aguiar Real Mazula, secretary of state for labor, yesterday toured mines near Johannesburg, in South Africa, where Mozambican miners work. According to AIM, Aguiar Mazula has been in Johannesburg since Wednesday at the invitation of the South African Chamber of Mines. The Mozambican Government has a delegation of the Secretariat of State for Labor in South Africa, which gives assistance to the Mozambican miners working in that neighboring country. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 Nov 84 MB]

SOVIET FISHING BOAT--The Joint Mozambique-USSR Fishing Enterprise, MOSOPESCA, yesterday morning, received another fishing boat, which will increase the size of its fishing fleet. The ceremony was attended by Tenreiro de Almeida, secretary of state for fisheries, and Yuriy Sepelev, the Russian ambassador to Maputo. The new fishing boat can land and freeze up to a total of 210 tons of fish. This fishing boat is the second of an order of three units for MOSOPESCA. The first was delivered at the beginning of this year, and the third will be delivered at the end of next year. The boat, which came from the Soviet Union, brought with it a great quantity of spare parts which will be used in the maintenance of MOSOPESCA fishing boats. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 Nov 84 MB]

MAPUTO BANKER WANTS TRADE--Give peace a chance, says the Governor of the Reserve Bank of Mozambique, and Mozambique will be a fruitful investment area and trading partner for South Africa. Mr Prakash Ratilal told Business Times that Mozambique had great agricultural potential, as well as coal, gas and possibly oil. It also had the closest port to the Northern and Eastern Transvaal. In addition, it had tourist potential and South African interests had examined Inhaca Island, the Polana Hotel and the Paradise Islands off Beira. SA chemical interests were looking at a 300 000 tons a year ammonia plant for the gas field. All that was needed for the mutual benefit of SA and Mozambique was peace. The "apparatus" sustaining the "bandits" of the MNR still existed in South Africa. He called on the SA Government to complete the terms of the Nkomati Accord by "dismantling" it. Mr Ratilal said Frelimo was not Marxist, but non-aligned. "We have friendly economic relations with America, Britain and Russia. [Text] [By David Carte] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Nov 84 p 3]

CSO: 3400/205

MPC'S ULTIMATUM FOR SWAPO DISCUSSED

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 1 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] WINDHOEK: The Multi-party conference has issued an ultimatum to Swapo and other political parties--join forces with the MPC before December 31 and thrash out disputes or the MPC will go ahead and negotiate unilaterally with South Africa on Namibia's independence South Africa has indicated in the past that it would give serious consideration to proposals by the MPC.

In a resolution announced at a media conference in Windhoek yesterday, the MPC repeated an invitation to Swapo and other political parties to join the MPC in forming a conference to discuss the Namibian dispute.

"Response to this invitation will be awaited until December 31," the MPC said.

If Swapo and others failed to respond to the call, the MPC would "enter into negotiations with the SA government to discuss the modalities and stages of granting independence to Namibia at the earliest possible date".

Appropriate steps would be taken to seek the support of international community for the implementation of an independence process and the MPC would meet again on January 15 to review progress and "report to the people of Namibia on the steps envisaged to advance their independence."

Appropriate steps would be taken to seek the support of the international community for the implementation of an independence progress text and "report to the people of Namibia on the steps envisaged to advance their independence".

A copy of the resolution was sent to SA before the start of the Cape Verde talks yesterday between the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, and South African officials.

MPC leaders told the media conference yesterday they were particularly dissatisfied and concerned at the continued loss of lives in the Namibian bush war and the extended "bureaucratic rule" of the SA-appointed Aministrator-General, Dr W Van Niekerk.

They also indicated that the MPC was not interested in being granted a form of interim government and would be satisfied with nothing less than independence, with or without international recognition in the immediate future.

Namibia could not wait indefinitely for the requirements of SA and Swapo to be met before independence could be granted.

"If the world can not accept that, then it is too bad," said the Chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge says there can be no implementation of Resolution 435 until the Cuban soldiers leave Angola," said SWA National Party delegate, Mr Eben van Zijl.

On the other hand, Swapo maintained there could be no cessation of hostilities until the United Nations independence blueprint for Namibia was implemented.

"Swapo and SA could carry on this dispute for another decade," Mr Van Zijl said.

"The people of this country are entitled to tell SA or Swapo...that we will not allow them to delay independence for this country any longer."

The MPC said national reconciliation was a prerequisite for peace and stability.

To achieve that goal, the independence process as envisaged in Resolution 435 had to be reversed.

There was a need "to adopt a constitution for the independence of this country before submitting the manifestos of the different parties to the electorate for the exercise of their democratic right of choice," the MPC said in the preamble to its resolution.

Asked whether peace was possible without Swapo's participation in the independence process, MPC leaders said if the fighting continued after independence the MPC would continue its peace efforts.

They referred to Mozambique and Angola as specific examples where negotiations were initiated after independence to end hostilities.

CSO: 3400/197

GOVERNMENT CUTBACKS DUE TO ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 24 Oct 84 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**THE DEPARTMENT of Water Affairs is to lay off more than 200 "temporary" workers over the next two months, as part of the SWA Government Service's campaign to drastically streamline the bureaucracy and cut costs.**

At the same time, heads of other Government Departments have confirmed they were also cutting back by not filling vacancies to comply with current economic conditions.

This is in keeping with the policy announced by the Administrator General, Dr Willie van Niekerk, earlier this month.

At the opening of the Windhoek Show he said 302 vacant Government posts had already been axed and was expected to save R1,9m.

An impeccable government source yesterday confirmed the Department would be laying off "at least" 200 workers "mainly concerned with construction activities".

This was not altogether unusual as these workers were hired on special Government Service conditions applicable only to Water Affairs, however.

They were hired on a 24 hour notice basis for a specific job. When this was completed and another job was available they were kept on, the spokesman added.

However, because of the depressed state of the economy Water Affairs were having to cut back.

"We are busy consolidating our total construction activities because available funds for capital work do not allow for the continuation of our construction activities on the scale we started off in 1978/79," the official told The Advertiser.

"We need to fit in with the needs of the country and comply with existing economic conditions."

The retrenching of people was part of their effort to scale down and consolidate.

"It is not easy to do, but we have to do it," the spokesman said.

Another government official said all infrastructural departments were having to cut back "in one way or another".

"And it is not only happening here, but all over South Africa."

The Regional Manager of the SA Transport Services, Mr Willie Strauss, said the Railways had pursued this policy for 18 months already.

"When somebody retires we do not replace him unless it is absolutely essential," he said.

"We now have approximately 15% less people than 18 months ago. It is part of the programme to save on expenditure."

The Postmaster-General, Mr JPJ Nel, said the Post Office was taking the Government's guidelines "seriously".

"But this has only affected two to three positions so far."

Meanwhile, it was confirmed this morning that only 12 secretaries employed by the Government qualified for a monthly R314 clothes' allowance as reported by The Advertiser last week.

But, according to the Secretary of the Central Personnel Institute, Mr Fanie Gous, only three of the 12 actually receive the allowance — the secretaries of Mr Jan Greebe, the Chief Executive Officer, Mr Danie van Vuuren, the Chairman of the Government Service Commission, and the Auditor General Prof Piet Malherbe.

Others eligible for the allowance are the secretaries of the Chairmen of the Second Tier Authorities.

CSO: 3400/197

RSA DEFENSE ACT AMENDMENTS TO INCREASE CONSCRIPTION IN NAMIBIA

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 23 Oct 84 p 1

[Text] WINDHOEK: Amendments to the South African Defence Act concerning military service would be shortly be made applicable to Namibia, the SWA Territory Force said in a statement in Windhoek yesterday.

The purpose of the amendments to the Act--already in force in South Africa--was to acquire additional skills for the SADF and the SWATF, to eliminate personnel shortages in certain areas, and to ensure a more equitable distribution of the defence load among all the inhabitants of the territory, the statement said.

The SWATF said the implementation of the new legislation would mean all Namibian men between the ages of 17 and 55 years would have to register at venues to be announced "at a later stage."

The registration drive would include South African citizens and non-citizens of SA, as well as all men presently serving in the armed forces in Namibia.

Men who had not yet done military service would be liable to call-up for service in the Area Force (Citizen force Units) which would entail 30 days service in the first year, and 12 days annual service until the age of 55.

Those who had been placed on a reserve list could be called up again after five years for 12 days duty annually, the statement added.

"The implementation of the act does not mean all men between the ages of 17 and 55 years would be called up, but people may be involved at any time according to need," the SWATF said. It added legislation would be promulgated "in due course" to bring Namibian legislation in line with the Defence Act in South Africa.

CSO: 3400/197

PROOF OF IDENTITY TO BE REQUIRED OF ALL INHABITANTS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 19 Oct 84 p 3

[Text]

**TO AVOID prosecution, every inhabitant of Namibia will be compelled to carry an identity document as from March next year.**

According to a statement released yesterday by the Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower, the identity document need not necessarily be the ID issued in this territory.

It could be a passport, reference book, or an official document of identity, issued by the government of the country of which the person is a citizen.

It could also be a document issued by the Security Forces to a refugee or bona fide visitor to the country, the statement added.

The 'Identification of Persons Act' — Act 2 of 1979 — also provides for a fine not exceeding R500, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or both.

Any person failing to comply with the provisions of this Act by not being in possession of an identity document in the territory after March 1985 can be prosecuted in terms of this penalty clause.

It would seem that most people in the territory are already in possession of the Namibian identity document or card.

A total of 547 000 have been issued since 1979.

Approximately 63 000 persons who applied for these identity cards have not yet collected them.

According to the statement it is estimated that a total of 80 000 have not applied for the card.

Some people have evidently experienced difficulty in obtaining their ID cards at smaller centres and anybody with this problem can contact either Mr Zoangara, or Mr Van der Merwe of the Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower, at telephone 38150 in Windhoek.

CSO: 3400/197

AFP ON NIGER FOOD DEFICIT, RELIEF PROGRAMS

AB122100 Paris AFP in French 1141 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Niger is this year faced with an unprecedented gross food deficit of more than 475,000 tons because of a fall of nearly 40 percent in its production of millet and sorghum, the staple food of the people which this year is 665,000 tons less than last year, it was learned from authorized sources in Niamey.

Taking into account the stocks held by the Niger Foodstuffs Office, OPVN, domestic granaries, the purchases that the state and traders have made, and international aid already acquired, the net food deficit to be filled is estimated at 350,000 tons, these sources states. The cause of this situation: Drought, which has hit the whole country including traditionally high producing areas. Rainfall levels everywhere were 30 to 50 percent less than the average levels registered in the last 10 years.

Thus, gross food production had only been 1.02 million tons compared to 1.684 tons in 1983. Even out of this figure, one must subtract the quantity of food lost and the quantity necessary for the reconstruction of domestic granaries, which leaves effective production available for consumption at only 866,000 tons.

To fill part of this food deficit, the state has decided to devote 300 million CFA francs from its own funds to a program of off-season production for which international aid donors and nongovernmental organizations give their technical assistance.

The aim of this program, which aims at developing permanent and nonpermanent water collection points, is to produce 250,000 tons of cassava, potatoes, and sweetpotatoes compared to last year's 200,000 tons. Apart from simply feeding the masses, this program, which has been given high priority in the media, responds to two other preoccupations--keeping the drought-stricken population, nomads and sedentaries, in their places of origin and "to prove to the international community that Niger is not waiting for international aid with its arms folded," it was stressed from the same sources.

CSO: 3419/132

STUDENT UNREST ERUPTS AT UNIVERSITIES

London TALKING DRUMS in English No 49, 10 Sep 84 p 8

[Text] More than 30 persons were injured last weekend at the Ahmadu Bello University main campus in Zaria where anti-riot policemen stormed a delegates' conference of the National Association of Nigeria Students (NANS).

A News Agency of Nigeria correspondent present at the scene said that about five of the persons including two female students, sustained serious injuries. Sources close to the divisional police headquarters in Zaria claimed that more than 55 students, most of whom were believed to be delegates and observers from 25 universities and other institutions of higher learning, were arrested.

The whereabouts of Mr Lanre Arogundade, the National President of NANS, which had been declared illegal by the Federal Government, was unknown.

The correspondent said that the incident happened at about 4.55pm when the NANS president was rounding off his opening address to an audience of about 300 students. Loud shouts and screams were heard from outside the building which caused a wild stampede. Scores of the fleeing students ran into the hands of policemen who had quietly cordoned off the building. Armed with automatic weapons, tear-gas and bludgeons, the police had arrived on the campus in three trucks and two jeeps.

About five hours before then, Mr Arogundade had told NAN in an interview that the Association would disregard a widely publicised police warning that the holding of the conference was unlawful because NANS was not recognised by the Federal Government. His contention was that the police did not communicate their disapproval to the Association officially, saying that they only heard of it through the press.

An eye-witness said that during the 75-minute operation, the police hunted down delegates in their hideouts by questioning every passer-by and conducting a thorough search of vehicles on the campus. The policemen, however, manhandled the NAN correspondent and destroyed his wristwatch, while his driver claimed that he was whipped inside a NAN vehicle with a cane by some of the law enforcement agents.

**A correspondent adds:**

Students in West Africa have invariably been the first on the coup bandwagon and the first to jump off.

When soldiers seize power in any West African country, most people adopt a 'wait and see attitude' partly because they want to be sure that the coup has been successful and the new leaders are firmly in power before they venture lending their support.

Students, however, are not that cautious and if anybody will go on to the streets to demonstrate any support for military takeovers they are the only ones that will dare.

The Nigerian coup was no different and the Nigerian students were the first to welcome the return of the soldiers. As is usual in these circumstances, the soldiers show their gratitude by their early pronouncements. The wonder is that they are taken seriously since their loyalty is so short-lived.

The period of honeymoon in this case however has been shorter than

most, because it did not take very long for the students to become disillusioned with the new military regime.

The disagreements between the students and the Federal Military Government have been on two main issues.

For all their professed dislike for the politicians, the students cherished the atmosphere of freedom that existed under civilian rule and the fact that they could always demonstrate their displeasure about whatever they see wrong with the government.

The military would tolerate demonstrations of support for their overthrow and of the disgust with the deposed politicians but will not tolerate any demonstrations of displeasure against military actions or policies. For students who like to make their feelings known very loudly, a collision was inevitable.

The confrontation was hastened by the decision of the FMG to reintroduce the payment of school fees in all schools, a decision that was loudly decried by the students.

The first rambling of discontent came into the open as early as March when the Bendel Police Command announced that it will not tolerate any form of students demonstrations. The command then said that it was aware that students in the State were planning to demonstrate against the government's decision to reintroduce school fees. The command appealed to the students to heed the warning "in their own interest".

This was followed up in April by the banning of the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) by the Federal Military Government in April.

The Minister of Education, Science and Technology, Alhaji Ibrahim Yarima Abdullahi stated that the NANS was an off-shoot of the National Union of Nigerian Students (NUNS) which had been banned by the Murtala/Obasanjo administration and therefore could not receive the recognition of the present government. The FMG asked the various educational institutions to step up their individual unions.

The students reacted by calling for a boycott of lectures to back up their demands which included a cancellation of school fees at both Federal and State levels, the release of all detained students and the lifting of the ban on all student union activities.

The support for the boycott call was patchy but it was serious enough to have led to the closure of a number of universities.

The Universities of Benin, Ilorin, Jos, Federal Universities of Technology, Makurdi and Bauchi were all closed down as a result of the boycott of lectures by the students.

Two weeks later the NANS announced a temporary suspension of the boycott of lectures.

In a statement issued in Ilorin, the Association said that it had taken the decision because of "pressures from the Nigeria Labour Congress" which had promised to take up its case with the Federal Government.

Since then the students have been playing hide and seek with the authorities on the holding of their delegates conference.

The students had argued all along that their association was a legally constituted body and the FMG had no reason to ban it and were determined to ignore the ban.

This confrontation is bound to lead to even more strained relations between the military and the students and put the students firmly now in the group of "opponents" to the regime.

CSO: 3400/173

AMBASSADOR TO KENYA GIVES VIEW OF ECONOMY

Nairobi SUNDAY NATION in English 23 Sep 84 p 5

[Interview with Ambassador to Kenya Dr Mohmoud Yahya by foreign editor Ben Omoro recently, date and place not given]

[Text] Q. Dr Yahya can you outline your career briefly for us?

A. I started in the fireign service in 1964. My first posting was in Bonn, West Germany. I was there for 2-1/2 years before going to the Soviet Union and then to Canada. Then I was in Niger Republic, I was back again in Russia. Then I went to London and back to West Germany as Consul-General in 1979, and then to Paris as Minister Deputy Chief of Mission until I came here as the High hommissioner of Nigeria to Kenya in August.

Q. Besides your normal diplomatic work here, do you have any special mission or objective you seek to accomplish?

A. Nothing.

Q. Do you want to leave behind any accomplishments?

A. I don't want to do anything that is outside my assignments. Whatever I do her I see it as within the real framework of my assignments. So in private or public life, I would like to see that I promote the interests of my country and the friendship between Kenya and Nigeria. So this is the general framework of my assignment. A diplomat is a diplomat whether in the office or outside.

Q. In what areas do you expect to promote relations between Kenya and Nigeria?

A. My main concern now is the very low level of commercial interaction between the two countries. It is really a pit that nothing is happening right now. I want to see that we do as much as possible between our two governments to promote trade and economic activities between the countries. That is what matters as far as I am concerned.

Q. It is a fact that Kenya and Nigeria were quite close during the tenure of the now ousted President Shehu Shagari. Were the relations affected at all by the takeover by the military government?

A. Not on our part. And I haven't seen any sign here that these relations have changed.

Q. Do you believe the military government's reasons for the takeover and its aims have been well understood outside Nigeria, and here specifically?

A. From the Press reports I have read, it looks like the reasons for the military takeover have not been properly understood. And I can understand why people are sensitive about any change of government, and especially a military government. A country like Kenya which has been running a political democracy is bound to be disappointed. But this disappointment is also shared by us.

Our experience and experiment with democracy which was started in 1979 was prepared over a period of three years. We debated the constitutional draft for a whole year before the constitution was approved. After that the ban on political activity was lifted and political parties were formed.

And they campaigned for one year before elections were held, and we had a new elected government. And many people were proud that we did this peacefully.

But the politicians became their own enemies. They started fighting with each other for selfish reasons. They interfered with a lot of things that should not have been interfered with. Favouritism, partly patronage was done in a way that people lost confidence in our ability to hold the trust that was given to us by the electorate.

For example the debts that people are talking about. How did we incur these debts? The civilian government inherited a healthy balance in our foreign reserves. And within four years all the foreign reserves had been drained. We were owing $3 billion in short-term credits and another $3 billion in long-term loans.

About $6 billion all together. How do you justify that? Now you find a lot of prestige projects were being carried out, not because they were being needed by the country. Because someone wanted to award the contract so that he can get his own cut out of it. As a result, reserves were drained, letters of credit were issued without any regard for the reserves.

I am sure there were cases where officials in the Central Bank were threatened by party officials for not approving letters of credits even though the money was not there and they had been told it was not there.

They would say either you approve it or we will sack you. So they just gave them paper. It came to a point where a government gives a cheque and it bounces. This is the most shameful that could happen to any country. So this is what the politicians led us to. By the time the change of government came everybody in Nigeria was asking for it.

If the change of government had not come, only God knows what would have happened in Nigeria. There would have been total anarchy in the country.

So it is necessary for people to know what is going on, to know the facts and figures to be able to make up their minds whether what we are doing is right or wrong. Nobody wants a military dictatorship anywhere, you see, but when politicians show that they cannot run their own affairs responsibly, somebody has to blow the whistle sometime.

Q. Since the military government took over we have heard a lot about trials and jailings of ex-politicians, some executions of robbers, religious riots and many decrees issued by the military. What can you count as its accomplishments?

A. You see the main purpose of the trials is to show people that you cannot just cheat the country, steal millions or billions. Can you imagine someone banking away $2 billion in a foreign bank account alone. For himself alone, $2 billion. That is the budget of many African countries. I know many countries that cannot budget $200 million a year.

And one man steals $2 billion and he takes it away. Now you must do something to show to the people that you can't do anything and expect to get away with it.

So this is why these trials are going on.

We don't only try them to find them guilty, but we also take away any money we can get that they have taken away from the people.

Highway robberies, that is another case of indiscipline. Most of the people involved, of course, are not Nigerians. You heard about the expulsion of foreigners which we carried out in January-February last year. They are usually people from other parts of West Africa who come in and they do this. That does not mean there are no Nigerians who rob.

To protect people's lives you have to give exemplary punishment to stop this type of banditry we face in Nigeria. I am sure it is quite effective.

Q. What accomplishments could you say have been made in the economic sector?

A. In the economic field, what we have done now first of all is to review the budget which Shagari presented just a few days before the coup. We implemented some of the IMF recommendations. In fact more than what IMF recommended. We cut down the budget by about 50 per cent, cutting off most of the useless projects, white projects that were put in the budget.

We restricted foreign exchange available to the public. We restricted the importation of a lot of unnecessary items, luxury items. All these in an attempt to conserve our foreign reserves. We depend mainly on the export of oil. The price of oil has gone down and we have been restricted down to a quarter of our production by Opec.

The quota allocated to us of 1.3 million barrels a day is certainly not enough for us, a country with a population of 80 million or more.

It is nothing when you compared with a country like Saudi Arabia which has a population of about a quarter of our own, and they have been given a quota of 5 million barrels.

The quota system is not fair. But all the same, we have to manage through that. We are trying to save as much as possible. Our reserves are building up. We are negotiating with companies which we owe some money to reschedule these debts to be payable over a period of three years or so.

We are still negotiating with IMF, although the talks are not all that fruitful at the moment because the fund is insisting on certain conditions which are unacceptable to us.

So we have resorted to going back home using our own resources. This year we are going to have a bumper harvest in Nigeria so that we can reduce food imports. We are trying to get substitutes for raw materials which we have bought abroad. We are trying to get them locally. All these things are part of our efforts to recover the economy.

Q. There have been cases of striking pilots and doctors and students being arrested for being critical of the government. Is that an indication that the honeymoon for military government is over?

A. No, you have got it all wrong. Criticising is not the word. Nobody is arrested for criticising the government. If you read our newspapers, everyday you see people expressing their views even though it is a military government.

The things is we have laws in the country and the people have to obey these laws. In the case of students, these were students who were arrested in Zaria recently. It had something to do with a demo, an illegal gathering without a permit from the police. It had nothing to do with the government.

Q. How about the case of doctors and pilots?

A. The doctors are on strike because there is a shortage of drugs in hospitals, because of the economic measures that have been imposed. There has been a restriction in the award of import licences. And in fact, before they even started the strike they had already been given import licences and they were told that the things were already coming. But they would not wait.

They wanted to sort of to flex their muscles to show they are powerful, especially some of radicals amongst them. To demonstrate because supplies were not adequate is showing total indifference to what is happening in the country because all people are affected.

The fact is that Nigeria is looking for money. We are short of money. We have big debts, and everything has to be rationed as it were. And the doctors and everybody else has to do with what is available.

Q. How much can you say the war against indiscipline launched last March has achieved?

A. It has achieved a lot. In fact, we were going to launch it here on Wednesday (September 19). The war against indiscipline is a very good thing. All these emanated from the activities of politicians. Because if anybody could just steal so much money and get away with it, he has no conscience. He doesn't think of the poor man, our own wananchi. He steals millions of dollars and stached them abroad, buys a big villa and a Rolls Royce therem just for his visit to London once or twice a year, you buy a house worth a million dollars.

This one million, he could have invested in the country and set up a factory. And he could have employed about 300 people to relief unemployment in the country. We are trying to show people that there is no wisdom in this.

We are trying to propagate the national symbols, let them know what the flag stands for, what the court of arms stands for.

Polytechnics are open. A polytechnic graduate will insist that he is an engineer. He would rather have a BSc than a HND. Why? Because he thinks that he is a better person with a tie and so on.

Our main purpose is to train people who will man the industries and manage the low-level cadres instead of bringing in foreigners to do it. But they don't want to do that. Everybody wants a white-collar job. So we want to change all this attitude in our people.

People should just go back to nature and be themselves. We alone can run our country, nobody can do it for us. That is why the war on indiscipline is very important and we are continuing it.

Q. Your small campaign in the embassy, what will it involve? Sacking people?

A. No, not at all. The embassy is a very small institution. But we want to remind our staff here about what is going on.

We want them to behave correctly. Because when they go home--they have not been affected by what is going on in Nigeria--it will remind them of what is happening there. They have to take work much more seriously. It does not mean sacking anybody.

Q. How far do you think the Dikko affair has affected the Nigerian image abroad?

A. It depends on what you mean by the Dikko affair.

Q. The attempt to abdust Mr Dikko from London and the publicity that it triggered.

A. This is rather unfortunate, in the way the British authorities handled the whole matter. They are responsible for Dikko's being in Britain in the first instance. And they are also responsible for the publicity. We expected a more mature approach to it from a fellow Commonwealth country.

If somebody had committed an offence in his own country, he would normally be extradited. Not only that, Dikko did certain things in Britain. If you were political refugee, and that is what he claims he is, there are certain things you are not supposed to do. And that is what he did. He issued statements before the cameras that he was planning to overthrow the Nigerian Government. His status means he doesn't have to do that.

I remember the case of Ojukwu after the Nigerian civil war. He was given asylum in the Invory Coast. And one of the things the Ivorian President insisted on before giving him asylum is that he would not make any political utterances and would have nothing to do with Nigerian politics. He should live peacefully.

But not Dikko. He made those statements. The British Government did not ask him why he made those statements. They did not ask him to leave the country. When some people tried to abduct him out of the country, they, of course, laid the blame squarely on the Nigerian Government even without investigating it.

Even people who went to do consular work were declared as people who were involved with the abduction and they were expelled out of the country. Two of our diplomats were expelled. And they were sent by the High Commissioner following a report of this incident at Stansted Airport. They merely went there to check and they were regarded as the people who went to arrange the exportation of the crate.

All these you don't expect from a friendly country. So the British authorities created the problem and they had their own media of information to disseminate his.

Q. Had the Nigerian Government sought the extradition of Dikko?

A. Of course!

Q. And it was turned down?

A. I don't think there has been any reply. Right now there is a mission in Lagos, a British mission has gone to Lagos trying to find a way for what they call normalising relations between Nigeria and Britain. Of course, since they went to seek to normalise relations, they have now realised that it was their own fault. So the man is in Lagos right now and we are listening to him.

Q. Are you setting any terms for the normalisation of relations?

A. They are searching for the normalisation of relations. They sent somebody to Lagos. We are discussing. They have come to discuss. We are discussing. They are the ones who made the move and they have to tell us what they have in mind when they talk about normalising relations. We will listen to them.

Q. Has Nigeria tried to find out who actually was behind the attempted abduction so as to be clear that its own people were not involved?

A. They are aware a Nigerian was arrested by the British authorities. And we heard that this man was being treated like a spy. He was being tortured in British jails, even though this affair did not involve any British subject.

All the people involved are non-British. No wrong was done against Britain other than to say that an attempt was made to commit a crime on British soil. That is all. But to arrest somebody to treat him like a spy, and torturing him like a spy is the most cruel thing that anybody could do. We did not expect anything like that from a friendly country.

Q. Earlier on, you mentioned that whoever did any wrong will have to be brought for trial. How far is the Nigerian Government ready to get any of the exiles who it feels is subverting it, or has committed a crime?

A. We are working very hard preparing all the cases and seeking their extradition. And we have been assured by some governments that some of these people will be extradited immediately we submit the papers.

Q. Any of them in Africa?

A. Not that I am aware of.

Q. Any word whether Shagari will be taken to court?

A. I don't know. You see the tribunals are still working.

Q. But he will definitely be appearing?

A. I assume so. If all his lieutenants have been taken to court. why not him?

CSO: 3400/173

## KIDNAPPING, RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL EXPLORED

London TALKING DRUMS in English No 1, 17 Sep 84 pp 11-12

[Article by Elizabeth Ohene: "Israel--the Friend Nigeria Cannot Acknowledge"]

[Text] Alhaji Umaru Dikko himself possibly put the idea into the minds of the Nigerians — the idea of the kidnap, that is.

Remember his early interviews in the year when he said that "they have turned me into some kind of a Hitler being sighted at diffrent places at the same time etc. etc." Well if there is a Hitler or Eichmann or Bormann or Klaus Barbie, the people that have specialised in dealing with such former German Nazis are the Israelis.

After all, are the Israelis not known for their dare devil, under cover operations and did they not successfully kidnap Eichmann and most recently the 'Butcher of Lyons'?

To the Israelis therefore the Nigerians went, for the moment it is not yet important to untangle whether it was the Federal Military Government or "patriotic friends of Nigeria" to borrow the words of Maj-Gen. Hannaniya the not-welcome-in-London-Nigerian-High-Commissioner to Britain.

But then the Israelis have always posed a problem to Black Africa. Their rugged individuality and tenacity of purpose have always been admired. Their ablility to make gardens bloom in the desert sends African countries wishing they could also perform the 'Israeli miracle' and turn their own countries into economically viable societies.

And then, of course, all those years of Israel regularly defeating her Arab neighbours in a never ending series of wars; there is nothing like the image of the small outnumbered and persecuted nation beating the bigger nations to bring out sneaky admiration.

But all that was before the 1973 war which led to the ostracization of Israel from black Africa. The unseemly affair between South Africa and Israel also meant that Israel rapidly lost whatever friends she had left in black Africa.

After the diplomatic isolation, no self-respecting African nation could be seen to be openly having dealings with Israel.

Those African nations that either did not break off relations with Israel or later on resumed diplomatic relations are those that have never been counted among the 'progressives".

With Nigeria, however, it is and has been an entirely different kettle of fish altogether. Here is the 'giant of Africa' that pronounces itself the progressive leader and uncompromising on all things Zionist and apartheid.

But even more important was the role of the Arab world in the Nigerian scheme of things.

Apart from the predominantly moslem north of the country identifying more with the Arabs than the Israelis on religious grounds, there is the very strong economic considerations; OPEC after all is Arab dominated and Nigeria has been almost solely dependent on oil for the past dozen years.

While Israeli expertise in agriculture or turning deserts into gardens or road building and security and intelligence work are all definitely welcome to

Nigeria, on the balance, it was more important to keep her oil producing and exporting country friends happy by keeping a posture of public hostility towards Israel than to be friendly with the Zionist state.

Luckily for all concerned, Israel much as she would want to claim the top prize of announcing Nigeria as part of her diplomatic breakthrough in Africa, was quite willing to remain in the background and bid her time. And it was not exactly an uncomfortable time in the shadows either for Israel as business in Nigeria was booming and they could put their famed business skills to work.

And then the coup of December 31, 1983, and Israel knew that things could no longer be left to go on a planned course.

The coup meant that with all political activity having been banned, there was no longer any legal organization that could be lobbied.

Something spectacular was needed to bolster Israeli efforts. It was not difficult to evaluate the new military regime and conclude that since the soldiers appeared to have no clue to the nation's problems, and this had become obvious to the public within weeks of the takeover, retributive measures on the former leaders could at least be guaranteed to keep public hysteria going for a while.

Had the Dikko kidnap succeeded, of course, there would have been no word of Israeli involvement even if suspicions would have been high and their trademark would have been only too visible.

Of all the various theories that have been advanced for the Israeli role in the Dikko kidnap, none sounds as plausible as the holding out of a promise by Nigeria of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel should the kidnap succeed. As the impending trial will doubtless reveal, the money motive was always the secondary consideration.

But then the kidnap did not go according to plan and it is being said among knowledgeable circles that the Israelis feel it was not their fault that things did not work.

In other words, if they had been given a free hand to do things their own way, and if all the back up measures they had requested had been provided, the kidnap would have had a different ending.

Things being as they were, however, strenuous denials of government involvement necessarily had to be issued and damage limitation procedures set in motion.

It was while these were going on that the visit of the two Nigerian traditional rulers to Israel hit the headlines.

It is being suggested here that like the Dikko case, the Federal Military Government has protested too loudly and reacted far out of proportion to what is required of the innocent or aggrieved party it claims to be, and as a consequence, gives the impression that it has something to hide.

The break in diplomatic relations between Nigeria and Israel has never interfered with Nigerians paying a pilgimage to Jerusalem, the christian section that is, while the moslems regularly made their pilgrimage to Mecca.

Such pilgrimages to Jerusalem have been widely advertised in the Nigerian press and no suggestion has ever been made that there was anything improper about such visits.

The Ooni of Ife on his return to Nigeria made a statement that has not been contradicted in any substance. The traditional ruler has said that he paid a private visit to Israel for religious purposes and claimed as much for the Emir of Kano.

The FMG's reaction has been to announce the suspension of the two rulers from their duties, the seizure of their passports and their confinement to their hometowns. Drastic measures those, and hardly called for unless the suggestion is that both the Emir of Kano and Ooni of Ife are not telling the truth and were up to some sinister things in Israel which have not been disclosed, rather than a harmless prayer journey. In which case the onus surely is on the FMG to show that the two leaders were in Israel for purposes other than private or religious ones.

The Ooni of Ife has stated categorically that the two state governors — Oyo and Kano — were well aware of the visits. An assertion that is quite contrary to the claims of Foreign Minister Gambari.

Why then should the two rulers be punished drastically when they have not been shown to have committed any crimes.

All this is giving a lot of credence to the other highly placed rumour that, in fact, the two traditional rulers also fall into "the patriotic friends of Nigeria" Hannaniya-style category and their only crime is that they were unfortunately exposed before being able to pull off their coup.

The FMG statement that spelt out the punishment for the rulers said that the Emir of Kano ought to have known better, having been an Ambassador of the country and should have avoided potentially embarrassing diplomatic incidents.

Well, the suggestion is that precisely because these two traditional rulers are such diplomatically sophisticated people and not at all like your average traditional ruler, they were in fact the bearers of a letter from the highest source.

Obviously not all members of the FMG were privy to the delicate negotiations and decision which accounted for the initial hue and cry that greeted the visit from government circles and has meant the necessity of a public denunciation of the two ambassadors.

It is known for example that since the coup, it is not only the Emir of Kano and the Ooni of Ife who are highly placed Nigerians that have paid 'private' visits to Israel — why have they been the only ones to be punished?

The next episode in the intricate Nigerian-Israeli relations is being watched with a lot of attention. There is no doubt that only so many denials can be issued. But maybe the day is coming when Nigeria might decide that she is better off discarding her "progressive" cloak to take full advantage of whatever Israel has to offer and damn the consequences.

The Arab members of OPEC who recently gave Nigeria an increase in her oil quota are said to be watching all of it with very keen interest.

CSO: 3400/173

THINK TANKS REPORTEDLY SET UP TO RESTRUCTURE ECONOMY

Lagos CONCORD WEEKLY in English 5-12 Oct 84 pp 7-9

[Article by Sonni Anyang: "Byhari Calls in the Experts"]

[Text] Since it came to power, economic policy-making for the Buhari administration has been essentially what one newspaper leader writer has described as a 'fire brigade exercise'. The contradictions in the government's hastily revised 1984 budget and its obvious indecision over what to do about Nigeria's external debts, bear out this assertion. Mostly concerned as it has understandably been, with establishing its legitimacy, the regime has had precious little time left for reflecting on, and formulating, consistent and thorough-going policies for the country.

Recent indications, however, are that the administration is now set to shred its fire-fighters' uniform and settle down to serious policy-making. One such indication is the recent establishment by the Federal Military Government, of seven study groups to examine "various aspects of the administration's activities to facilitate, in the short and long term, the process of a continuing review of its policies and programmes in the light of changing circumstances and the requirements of the nation".

Made up of what the government statement described as 'experts', the study groups have been given specific terms of reference and are expected to submit their findings and recommendations to the government not later than 31st October, 1984. The areas to be covered by the study groups are:

. Financial management - Chairman: Chief S.O. Adebo; (CFR);

. Customs and Smuggling - Chairman: Alhaji Yahaya Gusau;

. Problems of Commercialisation, Profitability and efficiency in statutory corporations and government-owned corporations - Chairman: Mr Ali Al-Hakim;

. Maintenance of public institutions, especially electricity, telephones, water, public buildings, etc. - Chairman: Mr M. T. Usman

. Industrial Policy - Chairman: Chief C.O. Ogunbanjo (OFR)

. Food Production - Chairman: Dr T.S.B. Aribisala; and

. Funding Education - Chairman: Professor Babs Fafunwa

Although the Cabinet Office statement that announced the establishment of the study groups did not say so explicitly, it would appear that in setting up the panels, the government has taken a crucial first step towards evolving its basic policies for the future. It is to be expected therefore that some of the study group's findings and recommendations will find their way not only into the next (1985) annual budget, but also into the next development plan which, if the five-year planning period is followed, ought to come into effect in 1986.

The choice of areas to be studied is also indicative of the policy priorities of the government; priorities which appear to have been shaped by recent events in the country. The on-going probes into and scandalous revelations about the conduct of public financial affairs for instance, suggest that there are, in this area, serious lapses that need to be urgently remedied; hence the selection of financial management as one of the areas to be studied by one of the panels.

The country's recent experience with smuggling and the activities of the Customs Department also make it necessary that the government take a special look at that area.

**Smugglers and traffickers**

In particular, the persistence of smuggling and currency trafficking in spite of the closure of land borders since April and

the renewed vigilance at seaports and airports by Customs Department really effective and to contain the problem of smuggling. One issue that is likely therefore to attract the attention of the panel on Customs and Smuggling is the desirability of employing currency devaluation as a disincentive for smuggling. One school of thought on the issue believes that as long as the naira remains so over-valued against other currencies; smuggling will remain too profitable for those who engage in it to give up. Professor Ayo Ogunseye, President of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry is one of those who hold this view and recently went on network television to argue his case for a devaluation on the basis of the 'smuggling hypothesis'. It is not clear what impression this kind of argument will make on the government.

Finance Minister Onaolapo Soleye for one, is not overly taken by it. He rather attributes the persistence of smuggling and curreny trafficking to the high premium Nigerians place on imported goods. Also, recently, at about the same time as when the study groups were settling down to tackle their assignments, another high-level government official, Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon, the No. 2 man, spoke on the issue of the IMF loan and listed devaluation as one of the conditions for the loan that the government finds unacceptable.

It came as something of a surprise that the government should commission a fresh study on statutory corporations and state-owned companies when the report of the Onosode Commission on the same issue, submitted in 1981, is yet to be reflected in government policy. Perhaps the government felt it should start afresh since the earlier commission on the issue was set up by the ousted Shagari administration.

Whatever the FMG motivation was, the terms of reference given to the study groups on parastatals reveal that the government is far from deciding on whether or not to take the IMF loan since privatisation of some state-owned corporations - the desirability of which the government is only now beginning to study - is known to be one of the conditions stipulated by the Fund for a loan deal with Nigeria.

Given the rapidity with which infrastructural facilities fall into disrepair in the country; the obvious lack of funds for the construction of new ones; and the perennial problem of undependable public utilities; the decision to study the problem of maintenance of public utilities and infrastructural facilities is a timely one. It is equally timely to re-think the country's industrial policies although it cannot be said that there is a dearth of ideas in that respect. There would appear to be a general consensus that import substitution industrialisation has exhausted whatever possibilities it ever held for the country and that the emphasis of industrial policies should now be on local raw materials sourcing, export promotion, the development of indigenous technology and the creation of domestic capacity for capital and intermediate goods production. The task before Chief Ogunbanjo's study group therefore seems clear cut. What it probably now needs to do is work out the details of some of the more useful ideas that have been advanced; rationalise them and present some to government as a unified, logically-consistent policy package.

### Food Production

It was only to be expected that in setting up panels to review various aspects of government policy, the problem of food production would come in for some consideration. The problems of food shortages together with the hike in import bills for food and the consequent inflation in food prices that have plagued the country for some time now made the establishment of the Aribisala panel more or less mandatory. Its terms of reference apart, one of the specific issues that the panel must help resolve is whether the emphasis of future strategies for increased food production should be on the small or large scale farmer.

Also, if its recommendations are to be really useful, it seems obvious that the panel must go beyond food production to tackle not only agriculture in general; but the problem of rural development as well. Further, it must consider how the bureaucratisation that evidently characterised both the 'Operation Feed the Nation' and Shagari's 'Green Revolution' programmes can be minimised in whatever food production scheme the government comes up with in the future.

### Education

If any policy area calls for the present government to go back to its drawing board; that policy area is the funding of education. For, so far, it is one area in which the regime has failed most in meeting the expectations of Nigerians. Since they came to power, the military have been pursuing rather revisionist policies in this area - introducing school fees where none existed before and increasing them, sometimes astronomically, where only token fees were paid in the

past. The general expectation, however, is that it is the responsibility of government to provide education either 'free' or at minimum direct cost to the individual.

How it can strike an acceptable balance between the sharp fall in government revenues occasioned by the current economic crisis and the expectations of Nigerians is the task that faces Professor Fafunwa's panel. It is by no means an easy task; possibly it is the most exacting of the assignments that have been given to the policy think tanks. If the panel succeeds in helping government resolve the dilemma in a politically acceptable yet economically feasible manner, it would have, in so doing, ensured that there will be a measure of peace on the country's university and polytechnic campuses in the days ahead. If it fails however, the mood within the students' movement indicates that in the not-too-distant future, the country could witness a re-run of the 'Ali Must Go' crisis that the Obasanjo government had to cope with in 1978.

Apart from indicating that the regime is ready for business, the establishment of the study groups has also been seen as signifying its increased preparedness to open up to advise from outside the armed forces and the civil service. As a top bank executive put it to *Concord Weekly:* "At least, we now know that the military do not consider all civilians so bad that their views must be banished even from the advisory stage of policy formulation".

If the commissioning of the policy studies has generally been welcomed; certain aspects of their operation have not escaped criticism. One of such criticisms is that the period under which the think-tanks must work is much too short to enable them do a thorough job. This criticism is not without some justification. For instance, one of the policy panels advertised in a national daily for memoranda on the 24th of September but said that the deadline for acceptance of such memoranda would be the 28th of the same month. It is anybody's guess how many useful memoranda that panel will get. Also, the preparedness of government to actually make use of the findings and recommendations of the study groups in policy forumulation has been questioned. After all, as Nigerians know too well, governments in the country have commissioned studies, the report of which they could not make public, let alone incorporate into policy.□

CSO: 3400/173

SECURITY AT KANO AIRPORT REPORTEDLY TIGHTER NOW

Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 7 Oct 84 p 1

[Article by Alache M. Ode]

[Text] SECURITY at the Aminu Kano International Airport and the Bugauda Lake Hotel Kano, is now very tight, as a result of the presence of the monitoring group on the witdrawal of French and Libyan troops from Chad. Any threat to the Nigerian security could be seen to have been checked by the amount of securitymen milling around Bagauda and the airport.

At the Bagauda camp, only accredited officials with a pass, inscribed with TWMG (Troops Withdrawal Monitoring Group) bearing a serial number with a passport sized photograph of the holder are allowed in while at the Aminu Kano Airport, all entrances were heavily guarded by combat-ready looking soldiers.

Contrary to reports in some newspapers that troops withdrawn from Chad were kept in Kano, we were informed that only troops involved in the monitoring excercise are currently in Kano.

Withdrawing troops leave Chad for their home countries straight without coming through Nigeria, though it is learnt that France has requested Cameroun to allow some French troops withdrawing to pass through its territory.

Mr. Christian Nucci, French Cooperation Minister told reporters in Younde, after meeting with President Paul Biya, that he made the request to ensure that the evacuation of its 3,200 troops took place in a conductive atmosphere.

But in spite of heated talks from representatives of the two sides, the withdrawal is still going on without any major hitch, though it has been said that both Libya and France tend to wait for the withdrawal of one another before withdrawing its own troops.

Meanwhile, the Libyan monitoring troops in Bagauda camp are said to have made their own feeding arrangements and as such do not eat food prepared by camp cooks. Plausible reasons given for this bordered on mistrust of rival troops.

CSO: 3400/174

ELECTRICITY FLUCTUATION CAUSES DAMAGE IN KADUNA

Kaduna THE DEMOCRAT WEEKLY in English 7 Oct 84 pp 1, 10

[Article by Phil Osagie]

[Text] KADUNA--Electronics and domestic appliances worth thousands of naira have been destroyed in some areas of Kaduna due to power fluctuations. The damages were caused by excessively high current from NEPA's transformers.

The abnormally high voltage and consequent damages to electrical sets occured mainly in some parts of Barnawa. Kakuri and Tudun Wada, Chanes Uko one of the victims whose colour TV and video sets were blown said he had never experienced such a high current before. Musa Usman who lives at Barnawa lamented that his hi-fi sets and table fan were blown despite the fact that he uses a stabilizer.

The power fluctuation is most unusual. Each residential house is supposed to have a mini current breaker (MCB) which cuts off power automatically in case of overloading or electrical danger.

Electricity is supplied by distribution transformers which are in turn fed by a power house through various power lines. If many houses are overloaded, a system in the distribution transformer automatically disconnects all the houses in that line.

According to the PRO of NEPA in Kaduna, Mr Sylvanus Onoguwe, it is only when the fault affects many transformers that the monitoring control is alerted. "So it is very important for consumers to complain to NEPA whenever any fault occurs because NEPA's patrol team cannot discover all faults as most transformers have their own safety and automatic control devices".

Mr Onoguwe pointed out that power fluctuations are caused by overloading due to illegal connections, mechanical faults in the distribution transformers or friction between two supply lines.

The recent fluctuations in Kaduna and consequent damages revive the legal question of whether public utilities should be held liable for their inefficiency. Mr Gbenga Atoki, a legal practitioner said "the law establishing NEPA exempts them from liability for non-supply, suspension or disruption of power.

"Even when a damage is caused by deliberate or common negligence by NEPA officials, they are further protected by the Public Officers Protection Ordinance".

Mr Atoki opined that because of such adequate protection by the law, there has been a general apathy in NEPA and other public utilities towards carrying out their statutory duties.

"notwithstanding, the statutory provisions, NEPA can be sued in contract and on the grounds of criminal negligence".

However another Kaduna based legal practitioner, Mr Ayodeji Ani countered that it would be premature at this stage to lift the protection in view of the constraints under which they operate.

CSO: 3400/175

BRIEFS

RELIGIOUS FANATICS SAID GAINING--A New wave of religious fanaticism is fast gaining grounds in Bauchi. Reports reaching the state government, said that some fanatics are carrying out illegal religious activities, contrary to the rules and regulations laid down by the committee on religious preaching in the state. The Military Governor, Brigadier Mohammed Sani Sami, on receiving these reports, warned that the ban on open air religious preaching was still in force. He emphasized that the government would not abdicate its responsibility to the people of the state at the expense of irresponsible behaviour of a few. The governor further warned that all those who plan to cause trouble in the name of religious fanaticism would have themselves to blame. In a related development, Christians belonging to the Catholic Church in the state expressed their dissatisfaction with the government's order to demolish churches situated in an area where the state Development Board had already maped out for the construction of a ring-road. The governor in his response to the Christian delegates who went to see him on the issue, explained that the action was not meant to molest or intimidate any religious group; rather, it was in the interest of the people of Bauchi State. The government however, has provided an alternative piece of land to the Catholic mission for the construction of another Church. [Abunakar Buhari] [Text] Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 14 Oct 84 p 1]

NEWSPRINT SHORTAGE--The Nigeria Standard daily newspaper and its sister paper, the Sunday Standard may cease publication anytime from now because of a very serious shortage of newsprint. Although the number of pages of these newspapers has been reduced within the last few weeks, sources close to the company said that the present stock of newsprint would not in any way make the two publications survive the week. The company's Sole Administrator also confirmed the situation to our reporter during an interview. He however disclosed that the company's expected consignment would arrive in the country next month. He said efforts were underway to secure adequate reels of newsprint to sustain the two tabloids until the company takes delivery of its newsprint. Other publishing houses are also facing problems caused by the newsprint shortage, and many are forced to print fewer pages than normal. [Text] [Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 14 Oct 84 p 2]

RUSH FOR IMPORT LICENSES--About 1.5 million applications for the 1985 General Goods Import Licences are now awaiting processing in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. A spot check as at the close of business on Friday revealed that more and more applications were pouring in but the figure of those

acknowledged so far stood at about one and a half million. For the past two weeks, company executives and importers kept besieging the ministry to collect their acknowledgement receipts for the submitted 1985 applications. So far, all applications received were known to have come from all the 19 states of the Federation as well as the Federal Capital Territory of Abujia. The applications received were more than last year's figures, officials said. The rise in this year's import applications, the biggest in recent years was attributed to the impartial, straight-forward and foolproof machinery of the government on the issue. Actual processing of the licences is expected to begin tomorrow, officials said. Officials of the ministry, although overworked, have been coping with the volume of applications in the big rush. Sources close to the ministry hinted that the processing exercise would take some months to conclude even if additional hands were brought in. The applications are mainly for raw materials for starving industries. According to application guidelines for the 1985 Import Licence, each application must contain only allied products. As at June 30, this year, the Federal Government issued import licences involving total foreign exchange distribution of ₦2.83 billion, giving a monthly average of ₦472 million. [Odafe Othihiwa] [Text] [Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Oct 84 p 24]

NEWSPRINT SHORTAGE CALLED DANGER--DECREE No. 4 Public Officers (Protection against False Accusation) may not be the greatest danger to press freedom in the country after all. The real threat to freedom of expression and the press is the restriction of import licences to newspapers to procure newsprint. These were the views of Concord Chief executive, Chier M. K. O. Abiola, when he lunched the special edition of the NUJ journal "The Nigerian Journalist" yesterday in Lagos. The special edition of the Journal was dedicated to two Nigerian journalists, Tunde Thompson and Nduka Iraboh of the Guardian Newspapers, jailed last July 4 for offences under decree No. 4. Chief Abiola said that the restriction of newsprint to some newspapers meant that "some newspapers would have to close down." "If that happens, many people will be out of job while only newspapers that sing the praises of government, publishing the photographs of government officials while they are laughing will be allowed to be published." Also speaking, fire-brand former NLC president Hassan Sunmou said decree No. 4 has eroded the most precious thing to Nigerians--their freedom. "Except members of this administration, I have not seen any group in Nigeria that likes Decree 4." "Decree 4 is not right; it is not proper and it should be expunged from our law because the moment a man has no right to speak out his mind he is dead," he added. [Tony Masha] [Text] [Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Oct 84 p 24]

LUBRICANT SHORTAGE EXPECTED--KADUNA--The lubricating oil section of the NNPC refinery here has been closed down, leading to widespread speculation of another impending engine oil scarcity. The lube section of the ₦80 million refinery was shut down because of the inability of NNPC to market its asphalt, the principal by-product derived from the refining process of lube. The closure was confirmed on Thursday by the Refinery Manager, Dr S. T. John during the Kaduna State Governor's visit there. Asphalt and other bitumenous products are used by construction companies for road surface dressings, construction projects, road works and maintenance. The economic recession and lack of new contracts have led to a sharp fall in the demand for bitumenous products. The

NNPC was then left with a stockpile of asphalt. The only alternative left the company was to stop the production of lubes altogether. Waxes and Sulphur are other relevant by-products from lube which would also be affected by the stoppage. A source at NNPC pointed out that NNPC is intensifying efforts to sell its asphalt abroad and might even cut down the prices to attract buyers. However, the lube plant closure is likely to have a harmful long term effect on the availability of engine oil. Until recently, the product had been scarce and outrageously expensive. [Phil Osagie] [Text] [Kaduna THE DEMOCRAT WEEKLY in English 21 Oct 84 p 1]

BANK JOBS ENDANGERED--TENSION is mounting at the secretariat of the National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions Employees over retrenchment news. Top union officials were seen up and down holding hush hush meetings with a view to "forestalling" the impending retrenchment threat hanging over their members. Contacted over the general unease pervading the atmosphere at the secretariat the president of the union, Mr Ibrahim Halilu, said that the bank employees have been reliably informed that approval from the government to go ahead with the retrenchment exercise has reached several banks. He said all the meetings going on were in preparation for a Press conference scheduled for Friday. Asked to comment on what the reaction of the union was going to be in the event of the banks carrying out the directive from the government, he said he would not want to pre-empt the central working committee but added "for sure the CWC would not like it". The union would not take kindly to the retrenchment. "It is an open fact that companies in the industry (banking and financial houses) every year declare enormous profits that make them not only buoyant but also more than able to carry their existing work force. It is also an open fact that these companies control fantastic reserves that have accumulated over the years; and which they do not have the need to touch. Retrenchment, he said was "unwarranted and has led to wide-spread witch-hunting and generated strong feelings of insecurity among workers, dampened their morale, instilled in them fears and has badly battered their confidence in an industry where job security, confidence, strong morale and peace are indispensable for desired result". He said that speculations were that about 10,000 may have to go but that definitely about 2,000 are going to lose their jobs in African Continental Bank alone. Mr. Halilu said to avoid an unpleasant situation, his personal advice to the Government was to call off the exercise. [Abu Isa] [Text] [Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Oct 84 p 24]

TRADE WITH INDIA--THE president of the Nigeria-American Chamber of Commerce, Chier Dotun Okubanjo, has attributed the low volume of trade between Nigeria and India to inadequate flow of information between the two countries. Chief Okubanjo's observation is contained in the current edition of the "business India" a fortnightly magazine published in Bombay the new Delhi correspondent of the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) reported. He said that to avoid a one-way flow of information, "discussions, especially at the bilateral level" were necessary to help identify and promote viable exports from Nigerian to India. Chief Okubanjo expressed the view that India could help Nigeria in the establishment and running of agro-based and infrastructural industries, which, he said, should take priority position in the development of the Nigerian economy. "The choice is not that of concentrating on essentials rather than luxuries, but of choosing which essentials are more urgent", he said. Chief Olubano was in India to attend the just-concluded Indo Agrican seminar on trade, economic and technical co-operation. [Text] [Enugu DAILY STAR in English 9 Oct 84 p 10]

CSO: 3400/175

NEL GIVES VIEWS ON FREEDOM, COOPERATION

Bonn DIE WELT in German 31 Oct 84 p III

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel: "Wish for More Peace and Cooperation in Africa"]

[Text] The elections for Indians and Coloreds in South Africa were seen by skeptics in the West as an attempt to enlarge the base of whites in that country without granting the largest population segment, the Blacks, their long-demanded right of representation. The low voter participation may indicate that this attempt was unsuccessful. H.-H. Holzamer asked Louis Nel if he, notwithstanding, sees positive effects in South African relations with the West.

[Answer] It is clear that a process of expanding democracy is taking place in South Africa. Never before have Indians and colored people had a say in the central government of this country, and now they can elect their own representatives to parliament. Apart from the fact that four ministers will be concerned with the affairs of the colored and Indian population, we also have one Colored, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and one Indian, A. Rajbansi, as members of the South African cabinet. This means that the colored people and the Indian population are directly represented in the government of South Africa.

A number of Western countries have welcomed the enactment of the new constitution. It remains to be seen to what degree the long-standing prejudices of various countries vis-a-vis South Africa will permit them to recognize and acknowledge the significance of the new development process.

[Question] After the visit by President Botha, will there be a change in South Africa's foreign policy?

[Answer] The object of the journey, when P. W. Botha was still prime minister, was not to gain the approval of European governments or their leaders for the policy of South Africa.

The purpose was rather to inform the European heads of state of developments in South Africa and in the southern part of Africa.

South Africa does not shape its policy in order to please some other country in the world. Rather, South Africa's domestic policy is carried out on the basis of the unique situation existing there, in accordance with the requirements and needs which we ourselves have defined. We shall not permit outsiders to dictate to us how we must conduct our own affairs.

[Question] Progress has been made in recent months concerning political cooperation in southern Africa. Does your government plan concrete steps in order to increase political stability in that region?

[Answer] It has always been our most ardent wish that South Africa could live in peace and a state of mutual cooperation with its neighboring countries.

For we are aware that our future, our well-being and our development are inextricably tied to other countries in southern Africa.

It is also true that political stability is practically impossible without security and economic development. Our attitude toward cooperation in our mutual interest with our neighbors has always been emphasized by joint projects beyond our borders.

But economic stability is threatened, and economic development is impossible, in an environment where security cannot be guaranteed.

In view of these requirements, South Africa has begun a policy of cooperation in the area of security also with neighboring countries. It has reached a high point, for instance, in the security agreements with Mozambique and Swaziland. The commission which was established as a consequence of the Pretoria Declaration of 3 October 1984, includes delegations of the governments of Mozambique, South Africa and RENAMO and is further proof of the South African desire to play a constructive role in the attempt to attain peace and security on the subcontinent.

[Question] Are you of the opinion that the contacts with the various black African states just mentioned are also capable of finding a solution for Namibia?

[Answer] The solution of the South-West Africa/Namibia issue does not depend entirely on South Africa; on the contrary, South Africa's attitude toward South-West Africa is clear. The people of South-West Africa/Namibia have to decide their own future. The statement is correct that contact with various black African states, which we have had over a long period of time and have strengthened in recent months, is very well capable of speeding up a solution to the South-West Africa/Namibia question.

[Question] The strong economic decline in some neighboring states has led to mass emigration to South Africa and problems for the labor market in your country. What measures will your government take?

[Answer] We have "soft" borders with our neighbors; it is very difficult for South Africa to prevent the influx of people who come to earn their living. South Africa will make its contribution to stimulating the economic development in the neighboring countries.

[Question] There seems to be a general lack of understanding of the policy of your government.

[Answer] The West does not understand the complexity of the South African situation. I consider it extremely important for the entire world to understand that South African society is more heterogeneous than any other society in the world today, that our society is made up of broad elements of the First and Third Worlds.

The world must realize that we are all working together to ensure peace in southern Africa.

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CSO: 3420/16

COLUMNIST SCORES USE OF TROOPS

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 28 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by Percy Qoboza in the "Percy's Itch" column: "You've Got a Friend in the Peace-Keeping Business...?"]

[Text] THERE you have it right in front of your eyes--the typical South African solution to solving problems. Just surround them with the SA Defence Force and cover the police, while they conduct a scandalous house-to-house search at the most scandalous of hours.

Since time immemorial, there has been no substitute, it seems, for the doctrine of kragdadigheid. What started off, as we are told by the police, as an act of eradicating "revolutionaries and criminal elements", has as usual ended up as a massive pass-raid.

I suspect most of the people arrested fell under that category.

I want to know under what authority of law the Defence Force and the police were acting.

To enter any man's yard without his permission constitutes illegal entry. To force him to wake up at an ungodly hour against his will constitutes assault.

To get into the house without producing a warrant that specifically gives the police the right to conduct a search of the premises, is a violation of a man's sacred right to privacy.

And to wake up his children at that hour constitutes cruelty to a minor. Instructing those children to go to school in the morning after subjecting them to such mental anguish at such an hour, must rank as the most cynical exercise of power.

At the same time it undermines the authority of the parent in front of his or her children. Can you think of a more humiliating experience?

And to add insult to injury, you then dip the man, woman and child's figures in red dye to show they have been cleared--an assault out of all proportions.

To try, as the Government's media attempted, to say that the residents of Sebokeng and Sharpeville were "delighted" is a monumental lie.

To humiliate, harass and browbeat people--and then pretend that they are "delighted"--is the usual head-in-the-sand attitude that continues to blind people from the realities of black anger in this country.

We have found no evidence of "delight". We have merely found anger, frustration and a sense of hopelessness.

People are getting extremely discouraged about the prospects of this Government facing the true realities of our existence in this country.

People are getting extremely discouraged about the prospects of this Government facing the true realities of our existence in this country.

Even more serious is the involvement of the army in these operations. This spells out a declaration of war by the authorities. The use of the Defence Force can only leave people with the impression that war has been declared--and that they are regarded as the enemy.

I must repeat what I have always said--that there is an alternative to all this violence and the unnecessary show of force.

That alternative lies in the realisation that this old and sterile political order must give way to a new, dynamic tackling of our problems in a realistic manner.

That does not include sham political experiments such as president councils, tricameral parliaments and irrelevant bantustan institutions.

It lies in realising that no matter how hard they try, the Government cannot destroy the leadership of people such as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and a host of others.

They remain the custodians of our people's aspirations and values. Their stature has not diminished--it has grown to incredible proportions.

The people who the Government has elected to speak to, do not represent the leadership of our people. Events in the last few years have clearly demonstrated this.

They remain bent on political opportunism for no reason but serving self-interests. When problems arise, they just disappear into thin air--unable to intervene in a way that leaders should.

We are not kids to be fed with the poisoned milk of apartheid. Nor are we lunatics who do not know what we want.

It would be an act of stupidity for anybody to have any illusions about that. Our people know that they will be free one day. About this they have no doubts.

Often they have demonstrated their determination to achieve that freedom in a non-violent and peaceful manner.

Tragically, the Government continues to reject that hand of peace and opts for acts such as those we saw in Sebokeng and Sharpeville this week.

They only serve to alienate our people further and to compound the already polarised situation.

Are they so blind to these realities?

CSO: 3400/194

CP AIDE IN USSR JOURNAL: POLITICAL SITUATION, PARTY ACTIVITIES

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 17, Sep 84 pp 75-79

[Article by Moses Mabhida, general secretary of the South African Communist Party: "In the Struggle Against the Forces of Imperialism and Apartheid"]

[Text] Today, mankind is faced with the most serious threat in all of history -- a threat which has been engendered by imperialism's aggressive policy, especially the militaristic policy of the Reagan administration, and which is shoving the world into the abyss of nuclear war. The strategic goal of imperialism, headed by the United States, is to slow down and turn back social development. Modern day capitalism is primarily directing all of its efforts toward the struggle against the three main revolutionary forces of today -- world socialism, the international workers movement and the national liberation movement.

The reliance on militarism and the use of brute force to achieve military superiority is a characteristic feature of the policy of U. S. imperialism. A graphic manifestation of this was the deployment by Washington of cruise missiles and Pershing-II missiles in Western Europe. The United States is nurturing far-reaching plans to spread the arms race into space. It is creating an interventionist "rapid deployment force", and it is expanding the network of its military bases. The military activity of the United States in Asia and in the Pacific Ocean has grown, and plans are being developed to involve Japan and South Korea very deeply in the Pentagon's orbit. Washington's aggressive actions are being intensified in Latin America, the area of the Caribbean basin, and in the Persian Gulf zone. All of this reflects the militaristic essence and lack of morals of imperialism.

Our country -- South Africa -- belongs to a region which American imperialism has declared to be an "area of its vital interests". With the help of various machinations and by means of direct interference, Washington is trying to solidify its positions here and to guarantee the privileges of the monopolistic capital of the United States and other western countries as well as those of transnational companies. The Pentagon and NATO see in South Africa the key to controlling the waters of the southern portion of the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean and the international waterway around the Cape of Good Hope.

In an economic regard, the African south long ago won fame for itself as the "Persian Gulf of minerals". The U.S. military industrial complex receives a significant portion of its strategic raw materials, including titanium, cobalt, chrome and diamonds, from here. Namibia, which is occupied by Pretoria, possesses enormous reserves of uranium. More than 1,800 foreign monopolies operate in South Africa. Among them, 400 American ones play the leading role. The capital, which is invested by foreign companies in the South African economy, does not know of any profit equal to it in the world.

South Africa is an important bridgehead for American imperialism in its military, political, economic and ideological expansion against the liberated African states. In trying to make their enormous investments and dividends secure, the imperialist states and international monopolies are doing everything to strengthen their "strategic ally". Getting around the embargo that has been declared by the United Nations on military and other cooperation with the racists, they are continuing to deliver weapons and military equipment to them and are offering them production technology. Annually, the Republic of South Africa purchases abroad weapons worth more than 685 million American dollars. The imperialist West, especially the United States and Israel, are directly contributing to Pretoria's building of a nuclear weapon and its delivery systems. With the coming to power of Reagan, American and South African contacts were strengthened along all lines, and the Republic of South Africa regime was openly reckoned among "states friendly to the United States".

Despite the reactionary efforts to perpetuate the racist regime, South Africa is today undergoing a time of serious changes. The ratio of forces is steadily changing in favor of the fighters for freedom and independence. Mozambique and Angola have cast off the chains of colonialism and have already achieved significant successes in the struggle for their economic liberation -- they have selected a path of socialist orientation. The people of Zimbabwe have won a victory in the anticolonial war. All of this did not fundamentally change the situation only in those countries which have broken out from under the unlimited domination of imperialism. The "buffer zone", which protected the Republic of South Africa regime from free Africa, was eliminated. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia received an inspiring example.

A deepening of the internal crisis, which embraced South Africa in the middle Seventies, is taking place. Mass antiracist demonstrations are continuing to gather strength. The workers have intensified the strike movement and its nature, and the slogans have acquired a new and more mature and profound content. They are demanding not only an increase in wages and an improvement in working conditions but also changes in the racist work laws in general. The number of independent trade unions, in which hundreds of thousands of people are now united, has grown.

The demonstrations of the workers have acquired more and more a political coloring: At the call of the liberation organizations, they are conducting general strikes and mass actions of solidarity with political prisoners and they are coming out against torture and killings in the prisons and against racist laws. The democratically attuned representatives of the different population groups, including the whites, are displaying more and more activity.

They are protesting against the racist educational and taxation system, discrimination against women, forced resettlement in Bantustans, and unfair wages and communal services.

All of this reflects the growing scope and level of the organization of the struggle against apartheid and the increasing unity of action between the different detachments of the protesting forces. The vanguard role of the African National Congress (ANC), which is the leading mass liberation movement in the country and which is strengthening its resistence to the regime under underground conditions, is increasing. The armed struggle of our people has been made significantly more active. The military wing of the liberation movement -- "Umkhonto we siswe"("Spear of the Nation") -- has been strengthened. Its detachments are inflicting successful blows against military and power installations and police stations, and they are disrupting transportation and communication lines.

The racists,who are trying to maintain themselves in power, are searching for a way out of the situation which has been created by attempting to combine force and terror with political maneuvering. Having verbally proclaimed a "new" and more "liberal" course in its foreign and domestic policy and widely advertising scanty apartheid reforms, the nationalist party, which has seized power in South Africa, is trying, however, to maintain inviolate the essence and content of the system -- national oppression as the source of super-exploitation and super-profits, and in the final analysis, the class domination of the South African bourgeoisie and international monopolies, especially American ones, that is based on them. In other words, it is trying to save with all its strength that same apartheid. Simultaneously, the build-up of the repression aparatus and the militarization of the economy and the country are occurring at unprecedented rates in the name of this same goal.

Today, another trend in the policy of the racists is being quite clearly demonstrated: Having completely placed their economic and military potential at the service of world imperialism, they are trying to obtain for themselves its complete support. Their common class roots, ideological kinship, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and a hatred for everything progressive and truly democratic contribute to an enormous degree to this. From this comes the sharply growing aggressiveness of Pretoria with respect to neighboring independent countries and its outspoken wish to join the system of imperialist military blocs and its readiness to be included in the policy of "global confrontation", defending the interests of the West.

The Reagan administration supports and encourages in every way possible this position of Pretoria. The goals of Washington and Pretoria in the south of Africa completely coincide. They consist of isolating and suppressing the liberation revolutionary movement in South Africa and Namibia; tearing it and the countries with a socialist orientation from their natural allies, especially the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist commonwealth; transforming the region into the private domain of the Republic of South Africa regime and world imperialism; and not allowing the strengthening of the sovereignty and development of the people, populating it, along an independent path.

In trying to destabilize the situation on the subcontinent in order to prevent progressive changes there, Pretoria with the help of the United States is using different methods -- from diplomatic to military ones, including large scale aggressions against Angola. Practically all "front-line states" have become to some degree or other victims of the racists' armed provocations. Subversive activity, in which dissident groups and openly bandit groups are being more and more involved, is being intensified against them. The U. S. Central Intelligence Agency and the regime's special services have taken upon themselves their equipping, training, and general direction. The UNITA organization of Angola counterrevolutionaries is being maintained by them, for example.

The situation, which has taken shape in the south of Africa, poses extremely difficult and multi-plan tasks for the national liberation and revolutionary movements in our country. They are defined by the very nature of our revolutionary struggle, by the distinctive features of the specific historical situation, by the direct interference of U. S. imperialism on the side of the racist regime, and by the close and exceptionally complicated interlacing of national and class items. Under these conditions, an accurate and scientifically sound analysis of the situation and the arrangement of forces and a determination of the primary and decisive directions in the struggle have a fundamentally important significance in the development of strategic and tactical aims. It is possible to do this only on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist methodology. The South African Communist Party (SACP) -- the first Marxist-Leninist party on the African continent -- is guided by this methodology. The SACP program says that South Africa is a special type of colony where "the white nation, which is doing the oppressing, occupies the same territory as the people who are being oppressed; and lives side by side with them". However, their interrelationships are the relations between colonialists and a colonial people in light of the laws and practices of apartheid. Liberation from "internal colonialism" can occur only by means of a national democratic revolution. This revolution is aimed at overthrowing the minority regime and breaking up its political system. It has also been called upon to solve the tasks which are connected with preparing for the shift from capitalism to socialism. In other words, waging the struggle for socialism during the present stage of development means struggling against racism and national oppression.

Infinite devotion to the cause of liberation and the courage and heroism of its members have won for our party solid authority and respect. Representatives of different nationalities have joined together in its ranks. By consistently defending the fundamental interests of the workers and by coming out in favor of a democratic republic under the power of the majority, the party has acquired a mass base and the support of the proletariat, peasants and intelligentsia who form the overwhelming majority of the population in our country. The colonialists and racists have taken from them land and political and social rights, even the right to an existence worthy of man.

Our Marxist-Leninist party has always been a political organization in South Africa demanding the complete destruction of the system of racial superiority and privileges. The entire activity and struggle of South African communists

has been devoted without reservation to this goal up till now. The names of (A. Nzul),(M. Kotane), J. Marks , Yu. Dadoo, and other leaders of our party have been enshrined forever in the history of the national liberation movement in South Africa-- the history of the struggle of the working class and all workers.

"People, who are prepared to sacrifice unselfishly the very dearest thing and to meet the greatest danger face to face, have always been in the ranks of the communist party during the struggle for freedom and equal rights for everyone." These words of our comrade (Bram Fisher), which were spoken in a racist court, can rightfully be applied to this man himself. Coming from a family that belonged to the ruling class, he selected the path of justice and struggle. Comrade (Fisher) was sentenced to life imprisonment and died in jail, having spent nine years in torture chambers. Natalya Johannes Nkosi , a veteran of the trade union movement and a party organization secretary, was wounded during a protest demonstration in 1930 and was subsequently tortured by the police. (Linda Dzhubane) a young communist member of "Umkhonto we siswe fell in battle 50 years ago. He defended himself [sic] until the last bullet in Soweto.

It is impossible to list all of the patriots who gave their life for the just cause. In the history of our party and people, they -- young and old, men and women, workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, Africans, and representatives of other groups -- will always remain heroes who fought and perished for the noble ideals of freedom and socialism. Their sacrifices were not in vain. Today, new warriors are rising in place of the fallen ones.

During the present stage of our revolutionary struggle, the task is to unite all the oppressed and all anti-racist forces in the ranks of the national liberation movement, to raise the level of consciousness of the masses, to strengthen their organizations, and to combine political demonstrations and the strike and youth protest movement with the partisan struggle. The party does not have its own armed detachments. We actively support "Umkhonto we siswe" whose detachments are fighting under the common political leadership of the African National Congress. There are communists among the fighters and commanders.

Armed actions are a necessary instrument which we will use as long as the racist regime replies to our demands with violence and tyranny. We are devoting our main attention to the political struggle and to strengthening the unity of the democratic anti-racist forces. Our party fully supports the establishment of the United Democratic Front which includes organizations and individual patriots. The range of its participants is broad -- from trade unions to religious organizations.

However, the African working class always has been and remains the main motive force in the struggle for the national and social liberation of South Africa. It has been called upon to speak the decisive word in eliminating apartheid and to free the people from all forms of social and national oppression.

To be among the workers, to insure the leading role of the working class in the South African revolution, to attach purposefulness, organization and conscientiousness to its demonstrations -- this is where our party sees its duty and its primary task. In order to solve it successfully, it is important today to unite the trade unions in the interest of the cause of national liberation, to raise their militancy, and to see to it that the peasants and other layers of society become reliable allies of the proletariat. The historical experience of the international communist and worker movement is reflected in the tactical goals of the South African Communist Party. In strengthening the party and the unity of the workers in every way possible, we are guided by the well-known Leninist proposition that has been repeatedly confirmed in practice: "The proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power except organization".

South African communists are devoting the most intense attention to the theoretical understanding of the nature of our revolution and cherish the ideological purity of Marxism-Leninism as the apple of their eye. We will always remember V. I. Lenin's thesis that only a party, which has mastered progressive theory, can assume the role of the vanguard for itself. Our party relies on the well known Marxist proposition that scientific theory can become an effective revolutionary force only when it has been mastered by the masses.

Under deep underground conditions where profascist laws operate in the country in the spirit of a notorious "law on suppressing communism", our party is performing relentless work to publicize the ideas of scientific socialism. AFRICAN COMMUNIST, the journal of the South African Communist Party, has become the leading Marxist-Leninist publication not only in South Africa but also on the continent. The party has published and distributed within the country many works by the classic writers of Marxism-Leninism, including the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by K. Marx and F. Engels and "Leftwing Communism, and Infantile Disorder" by V. I. Lenin, translated into African languages. The political decisions of the party and its appraisals of events, that are occurring, are relayed to the population through the (INKULULEKO)(FREEDOM) newspaper and with the help of leaflets that are disseminated illegally in factories, housing areas and trade centers.

Our struggle against the ideologies and practices of racism and reaction are inseparably linked with the struggle against world imperialism and for peace and the happiness and bright future of all humanity.

The South African Communist Party is a proletarian internationalist party. As one of the detachments of the international communist movement, it carries high the banner of proletarian internationalism in South Africa-- the citadel of racism and apartheid. Being today such a detachment means not only making one's contribution to the cause of the struggle for the interest of the workers of one's country but also consistently defending and protecting the ideals of socialism and communism in the international arena. In practice, it means giving a decisive rebuff to any demonstrations of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism and publicizing in every way possible the accomplishments of real socialism which has become the greatest magnetic force in the eyes of millions of people in the most different corners of the world.

The example of the Soviet Union -- the first state of workers and peasants in the world -- and the foreign and domestic policy of the CPSU are inspiring the people of the planet in their struggle against imperialism and reaction. The experience in resolving the nationality question in the USSR has special importance for us in South Africa. The Soviet country is a model of the fraternal cooperation and selfless work of all the people who inhabit it -- both large and small. We well know that the cornerstone of the policy of the CPSU and the country of the Soviets is proletarian internationalism. The Leninist policy of peace, which has been followed by the USSR in the international arena, is responsive to the vital interests of all peoples on earth.

The most aggressive and adventuristic circles of world imperialism, especially those of the United States, have pounced upon this policy. Washington has declared a "crusade" against communism, is heating up international tensions, and has adopted a policy of preparing for a nuclear war. Disrupting the plans of reactionary forces means removing the deadly threat from humanity and insuring favorable opportunities for social progress.

Our struggle in the south of Africa against Pretoria's racist regime and against imperialist expansion in the region is a contribution to the common cause of the people's struggle. The national liberation movement in our country is growing. Ever newer masses of workers are being included in it. Our struggle enjoys complete support and solidarity with world socialism; the international communist and worker movement; independent countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America; and "front-line states" in the region.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has pointed out, the unfailing fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union supports the fighters for the liberation of the south of Africa from colonialism and racism.

Imperialism was forced to retreat step by step from its positions after the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The area of its domination, which is based on political and social oppression, is steadily narrowing. Today, a third of the world's population has done away with the abominable system of exploitation of man by man. The absolute majority in the former colonial countries have acquired freedom and many of them are today successfully moving forward along the path of strengthening economic independence and social progress. Stormy events and processes are occurring where capital is reigning as before, shaking its foundations. The general crisis of capitalism is intensifying.

The spread of the liberation struggle inside our country will permit victory to be assured for our people. The communists of South Africa are prepared to give all of their experience, energy and strength for this noble goal.

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CSO: 1807/25

IMPORTANCE OF PRIMROSE BY-ELECTION NOTED

'Political Tinderbox'

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 9 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Chris Freimond]

[Text]

THE Primrose by-election campaign conjures up a strong mental image. It is one of firemen rushing around on a tinder-dry veld beating out bush fires.

Ironically, the people lighting the fires used to be part of the fire brigade and the tinder-dry conditions were created by the firemen themselves.

The fire brigade is, of course, the National Party and the fire starters the Conservative Party.

The dry conditions could be ascribed to 36 years of apartheid.

The Nationalist candidate, Dr Piet Welgemoed, does not see himself as the fireman in this picture, but from the way he describes the campaign he seems to fit the description.

On the other hand, the CP candidate, Mr Schalk Pienaar, clearly does not see his party as a gang of political arsonists, but merely intent on highlighting what they see as contradictory and deceptive NP policy — the implication being that they cannot be held responsible for the consequences to the NP of voter reaction.

Primrose, a constituency of about 21 000 voters in the north-eartern area of Germiston, is by far the most important by-election of the series to be contested on November 29.

It will be a key test for both the CP and the NP.

The seat was vacated by a former Cabinet Minister, Dr Piet Koornhof, earlier this year. It had been regarded for years as a Nationalist stronghold.

The voters are mainly middle and lower-middle class with a fairly even balance between blue and white collar workers.

About 35% of the electorate is English speaking, and both sides are laying claim to their majority support.

They could be a key factor in the outcome.

Within the context of the by-election, both candidates are equally impressive.

Dr Welgemoed, 41, a former Professor of Transport Economics at the Rand Afrikaans University, was one of the bright young men taken into Parliament in 1981 by the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

He is regarded politically as one of the NP's true "verligtes" and is expected to have a rapid rise in the party's current "reformist" era — if he can survive Primrose.

Mr Pienaar, 31, a lawyer, is a former assistent private secretary to Dr Koornhof and was private secretary to another former Cabinet Minister, Mr Braam Raubenheimer.

He is obviously one of the young intellectuals shaping the CP's course. He has a clear vision of where he wants the country to go and how to get it there.

Both men are highly articulate and are able to put across their party's policies in what could be regarded as reasonably convincing style.

As is to be expected, both candidates are confident of victory. However, one cannot help feeling that Mr Pienaar is just a bit more confident than Dr Welgemoed.

The NP has reason for concern. A loss in Primrose would be a major disaster and could put a whole range of urban seats within the CP's easy reach — not to mention nearly every Transvaal rural area.

To continue its growth the CP needs a significant urban breakthrough, which it has not been able to achieve since the emotion-charged first months of its existence when it came within a hair's breadth of winning the Germistion District by-election.

With so much at stake for both sides, an intense and bitter campaign was not unexpected.

Dr Welgemoed believes the CP is fighting a malicious and misleading campaign and deliberately using racist "swart gevaar" tactics to frighten voters.

Much of the time of his campaigners is taken up by countering what they describe as deceitful CP propoganda.

But Mr Pienaar believes he is conducting a completely honest campaign and charges that it is the NP that is practicing a policy of "concealment and deceit".

He claims that voters have been mislead by the NP and that many of those who supported the new Constitution in last year's referendum, have turned against the Government.

Mr Pienaar denies the CP is racist. The party believes in separate development

and is determined to take the policy to its final conclusion, a course he accuses the NP of having abandoned.

But Dr Welgemoed sees the CP campaign as based strongly on an anti-black sentiment.

He says he has been sickened by some of the "scandal stories" spread by the CP in the constituency, but refuses to be drawn into a racial debate with the CP other than to stress the NP's commitment to maintaining white self determination in matters affecting their lives.

In spite of Mr Pienaar's attitude, the CP is clearly relying heavily on racial issues as the mainstay of its campaign.

The party's election propoganda is heavily weighted with "evidence" of how the NP is supporting and even encouraging intergration, particularly in "white" residential areas.

There are pictures and aricles of blacks "swamping" whites in parks, on trains and in "white" city areas, and articles implying anti-white attutudes of the coloured and Indian Cabinet Minister's, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and an "exposé" of a black Mozambican diplomat living in a "white" suburb of Germiston. (Ironically he is permitted to live in a "white" area under a law piloted through Parliament in 1952 by the NP under one of the CP's gurus, Dr D F Malan).

Many of the NP's obvious problems in countering the CP campaign stem from what a number of the Nationalist's critics have warned would happen when the apartheid chickens came to roost.

The NP, in trying to move away from years of strictly enforced racial divisions, is finding it increasingly difficult to take its followers with it, particularly in an area like Primrose.

The apartheid bushveld is dry. It is an easy task for the CP to move around dropping lighted matches.

It is far more difficult to put out the fires.

(Report by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg).

## Editorial on By-Election

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 9 Nov 84 p 8

[Editorial: "We Say: Out With It All"]

[Text]

THE most astonishing thing about the salaries, pensions and gratuities row between the National Party and the Conservative Party in the Primrose by-election is that there is any kind of secrecy at all. In any democratic society — and South Africa is supposed to be democratic, at least for whites, coloureds and Indians — all this information would be public knowledge published annually in the Budget's estimates of expenditure.

But no. Ever since the Government decided to hide the salaries, pensions and other financial benefits politicians vote for themselves every year in complicated formulae and figures, the taxpayer, who foots the bill and to whom the Government is supposed to be held accountable, has been left in the dark. Expediency is the reason — to minimise embarrassing questions by way of a clever device.

Now some of the participants have fallen out. As a result we have the unsavoury public squabble about who gets what. The CP claims the State President was paid almost R250 000 as a cash gratuity for his services as Prime Minister after the constitutional switch-over. The NP's Transvaal leader and Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, has countered by revealing what the CP leaders — and his former comrades in the Cabinet — received by way of gratuities and pensions when they left the Cabinet and the Party. The State President, he said, had also turned down a R78 000 annual pension to which he was entitled as part of the Prime Minister's package deal.

Unsavoury the spectacle might be, but nevertheless it is a healthy one. It exposes for the first time hitherto secret information.

We say: out with it. The voter has the democratic right to know all, every little detail. We are not saying politicians should not be adequately paid for their services. Some of them work extremely hard and have forfeited lucrative positions to be of service to their country.

But what we do say is that voters should be able to decide for themselves whether or not they approve the amounts which politicians decide to pay themselves. Some may not be too happy about the large sums of money which, it is transpiring, have been passed around.

It is also worth noting that, up to this point, we are dealing only with payments involving five politicians. Heaven knows what the total will amount to if all is revealed.

We might add that we are not overly impressed with the appeal by the PFP's financial spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz MP, to the Government to make a full disclosure on the earnings of the country's public representatives. While it is known that he is personally unhappy about the situation, all the parties in Parliament have been partners in this conspiracy of silence.

CSO: 3400/194

BLACK TALKS WITH GOVERNMENT HIT TRICKY STAGE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Brian Pottinger]

[Text] THE Government's cautious progress towards constitutional change for black South Africans is entering its trickiest stage--the debate with black leaders who have rejected Government institutions altogether.

And as part of the initiative to maintain momentum, the Government is prepared to engage prominent black figures in freeranging and informal talks on constitutional issues outside the confines of the Cabinet committee on urban blacks.

Threaten

This move towards the "informal negotiating sector" has been prompted by the Government's acceptance that prominent and respected members of the black community will not give evidence to the Cabinet sub-committee.

The black leaders have rejected the sub-committee as a forum for the debate, and threaten to thwart Government hopes to attract a wide range of black political opinion--including those from outside the Government-created platforms.

The broad strategy is to encourage individual ministers, or their representatives, to initiate informal talks with community leaders on specific issues.

Input from independently-established talk-shops will also be considered.

Conclusions from these talks will then be channelled to the sub-committee, which is already in possession of a mass of evidence from establishment black political leaders and other organisations concerned with constitutional and social change.

The willingness to explore alternative forums for the black political debate indicates the Government's acceptance that for many blacks the instruments used for the debate are at least as important as the content of the debate.

The Cabinet sub-committee has heard evidence from a range of establishment leaders--self-governing homelands, independent homelands and black local authorities.

Last week, for example, it solidified its standing with the leaders of the self-governing homelands by suggesting permanent joint Cabinet committees be established to liaise on common socio-political issues.

Rigid

The committee has also taken evidence from constitutional and political experts, community groups, the Urban Foundation, and other organisations involved with black issues.

But now comes the hardest part--the debate with anti-establishment figures who enjoy support in their communities, and whose contributions are critical to the work of the sub-committee.

At this sensitive stage in the work of the Cabinet sub-committee, there appears a tacit acceptance that much of the work will initially have to be done outside the rigid framework of the committee on a more person-to-person basis.

Problem

The question of the right forum for the black constitutional debate to take place has dogged the work of the Cabinet committee since its formation more than a year ago.

When it was initially formed, prominent members of the committee felt it was urgent for the black community itself to establish their own forums through which they could give evidence to the Cabinet committee.

CSO: 3400/194

GOVERNMENT'S FISCAL POLICY OPTIONS EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Nov 84 p 13

[Article in "The Rex Column": "Heads You Lose, Tails I Win"]

[Text]

IT is now two months since the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Gerhard de Kock, spelled out what he thought was necessary to cure South Africa's economic ills.

He prescribed a better balance between monetary and fiscal policy to cause a downturn. This, he hoped, would correct the balance of payments deficit and reduce inflation.

That remains no more than a plea and is likely to remain one next year.

Simply put, monetary policy affects most strongly the private sector through money-supply growth and the interest rate it imposes. It has only a limited effect on the Government's actions.

## Small item

Directly, it affects the interest rate the Government must pay on new borrowing. This is a small component of overall Goverment outlays.

Indirectly, it influences overall activity and income in the economy, and thereby the amount of tax revenue available from existing taxes.

But, on the whole, the Government is isolated from the effects of a stringent monetary policy.

Politically, of course, as the howls of anguish in recent months have borne out, it is another matter. But the next general election is as much as five years away, so the political effect does not at present add up to much more than a fleabite (albeit an itchy one).

Again simply put, fiscal policy determines the burden imposed by the Government on the private sector by way of taxes and borrowing for its spending priorities.

## Willingness

Taxation, borrowing and spending that the Government should undertake are interactive.

On the one hand, there is the private sector's willingness and capacity to allow a burden be levied on it for the common good. On the other hand, the Goverment may be faced, as it sees it, by priorities that must be met.

I think it is a fair comment that these two sides are no longer seeing eye to eye. The Government's spending momentum has been well documented, as has been the excruciating squeeze on the individual and corporate taxpayers' capacity to contribute to something that has increasingly taken on the appearance of the unreal.

## Two ways

Into this bullring steps Dr De Kock with his demand that the Government, through fiscal policy, should contribute to correcting major imbalances pretty quickly if something more unfortunate is not to befall us.

Unhappily, the Government can oblige Dr de Kock in two ways. Overall demand in the economy can be reduced by cutting spending — and appeasing every taxpayer.

Alternatively, it can be done by maintaining spending and increasing taxes and borrowing — passing on to the private sector the contribution to adjustment that should be made by the public sector.

## Gap closed

This second option, of increasing taxes and borrowing instead of reducing spending, may rightly become known as De Kock and Botha's double whammy — monetary policy strikes through high interest rates, and fiscal policy hits taxpayers and crowds out private borrowers.

The new Minister of Finance has justified this year's 9% real increase in Government spending by saying that it will not be the 12% real increase that was

on the cards.

So far, borrowing has closed the gap between the spending momentum and revenue that the various taxes are bringing in. But in a slowing economy, the amount of tax income is likely to lag worringly behind the growth in spending.

Although the Government will rely on borrowing to the maximum extent possible (implying a thing or two about long-term interest rates), there is a limit to which such borrowing can be accommodated.

Therefore, the pressure of new tax increases is likely to grow stronger, especially as the pointers for next year are to a host of new spending priorities.

## Gory detail

It is, of course, unthinkable that the 1985 Budget will spell out in all its gory detail what is wrong with the economy and what king-size tax increase is required to adjust to the new reality: a public-sector share of gross domestic product considerably larger than the historic norm and likely to grow larger, instead of a decline from present levels — as most of us seem to hope for.

There are so many wrongs to be righted — in black education, in black urban areas, in economic decentralisation on and across our borders — that it could keep at least three generations of us working full time to correct them all. Instead, our political leadership appears to want to do it in five years.

## Same again

So 1985 is likely to be much like 1984: a pre-Budget tax increase — probably GST — a stiff Budget tax increase and another GST lift after the Budget.

After all, the present 10% GST is indecently low compared with foreign rates of up to 20% — with 33% on luxuries! We have some way to go before the Treasury has exhausted this potential gold mine that levies tax so effectively on the black population, which so far has kept mostly outside the direct tax system because of low incomes.

Fred du Plessis, chairman of Sanlam, says we do not need a 25% prime overdraft rate to induce companies to cut costs, employment, investment, stocks — in fact, anything that can be cut — until ultimately going out of business.

If they last long enough, interest rates of 20% do that effectively.

## Wrong signals

For the Reserve Bank to reduce interest rates now, while credit demand remains strong, could send out the wrong signals to a financial community ready to start the next speculative cycle.

Interest rates will therefore stay high as a show of strength. Consumers are cutting back, while companies are increasing their borrowing to finance growing stock positions because of sluggish sales. Neither of these developments is a good reason to maintain a 25% prime rate.

High overall demand through excessive Government spending should not levy an unduly large interest-rate burden on productive private companies. If the Government had taken direct measures — higher HP deposits and reduced instalment periods — much earlier than it did, credit demand would have petered out more quickly.

## Adequate

Dr de Kock would not have needed to increase prime to 25% and would not now be stuck with something he does not really want but cannot be seen to be easing prematurely.

Although overall demand in the economy remains adequate to ensure 2% to 3% GDP growth — admittedly helped by growth in export volume — some individuals and companies are being murdered by a 25% prime and its attendant interest rates, courtesy of the Government.

To work for this Government by way of taxes is one thing, to bleed for it through unnecessarily high interest rates is another.

CSO: 3400/194

TOP OFFICIALS' SALARIES EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Nov 84 p 21

[Article by David Breier]

[Text] **PRESIDENT Botha and his Ministers are doing very nicely, thank you, when it comes to raking in the shekels, compared to the man-in-the-street.**

Since 1970, the income of the Prime Minister (now the State President) has increased by a cool 55O percent and that of his Ministers by 500 percent.

And they score additionally since much of their income is in tax-free allowances.

The average annual pay for all races has increased by 460 percent since 1970. The higher pay means a higher tax bracket, which has reduced disposable income.

In 1964 the Prime Minister, Dr H F Verwoerd, made do with an annual salary of R13 000 plus R2 000 in reimbursements.

By 1970 his successor, Mr John Vorster, was receiving R17 500 in total.

Mr P W Botha is now receiving R114 200 a year of which R78 000 is salary and R36 200 in reimbursements.

Cabinet Ministers received a total of R11 500 in 1964. This went up to R13 000 by 1970 and now stands at R78 000.

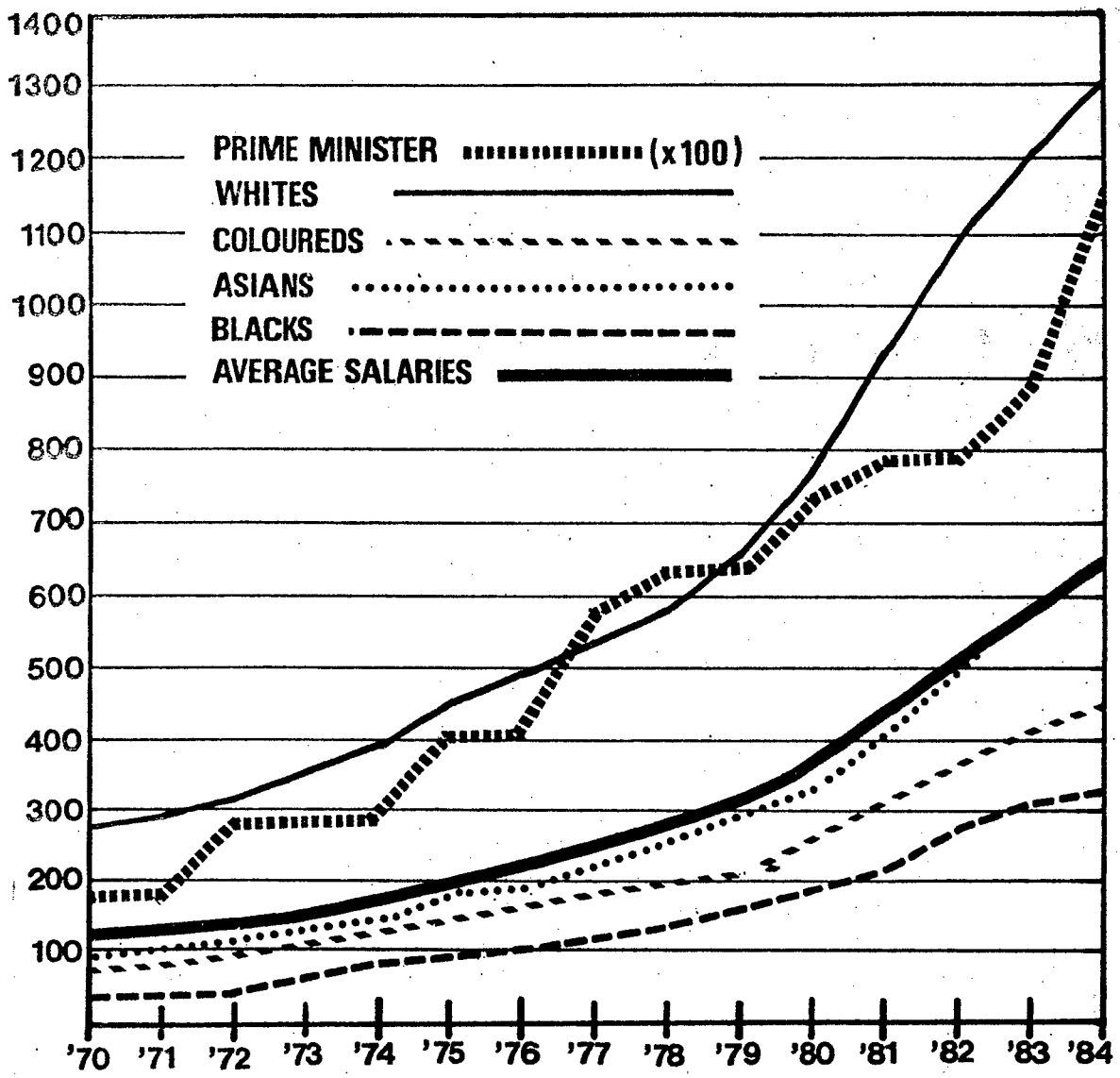
According to Central Statistical Services, the present system of calculating average wages dates back to 1970 and previous statistics are not comparable.

In 1970, the average annual pay packet was R1 356 for all races. For whites it was R3 252, for coloured people it was R936, for Indians it was R1 044 and for blacks it was R480.

By the beginning of this year, the total average annual pay for all races had increased to R7 584 or an increase of 460 percent.

For whites it went up to R15 660 or 380 percent, for coloured people it increased to R5 328 or 470 percent, for Indians it was R7 572 or an increase of 630 percent and for blacks it was R3 996 or an increase of 730 percent.

This means that the white pay increase over the past 14 years was 380 percent compared to their white political leaders who voted themselves increases of 500 or 550 percent.



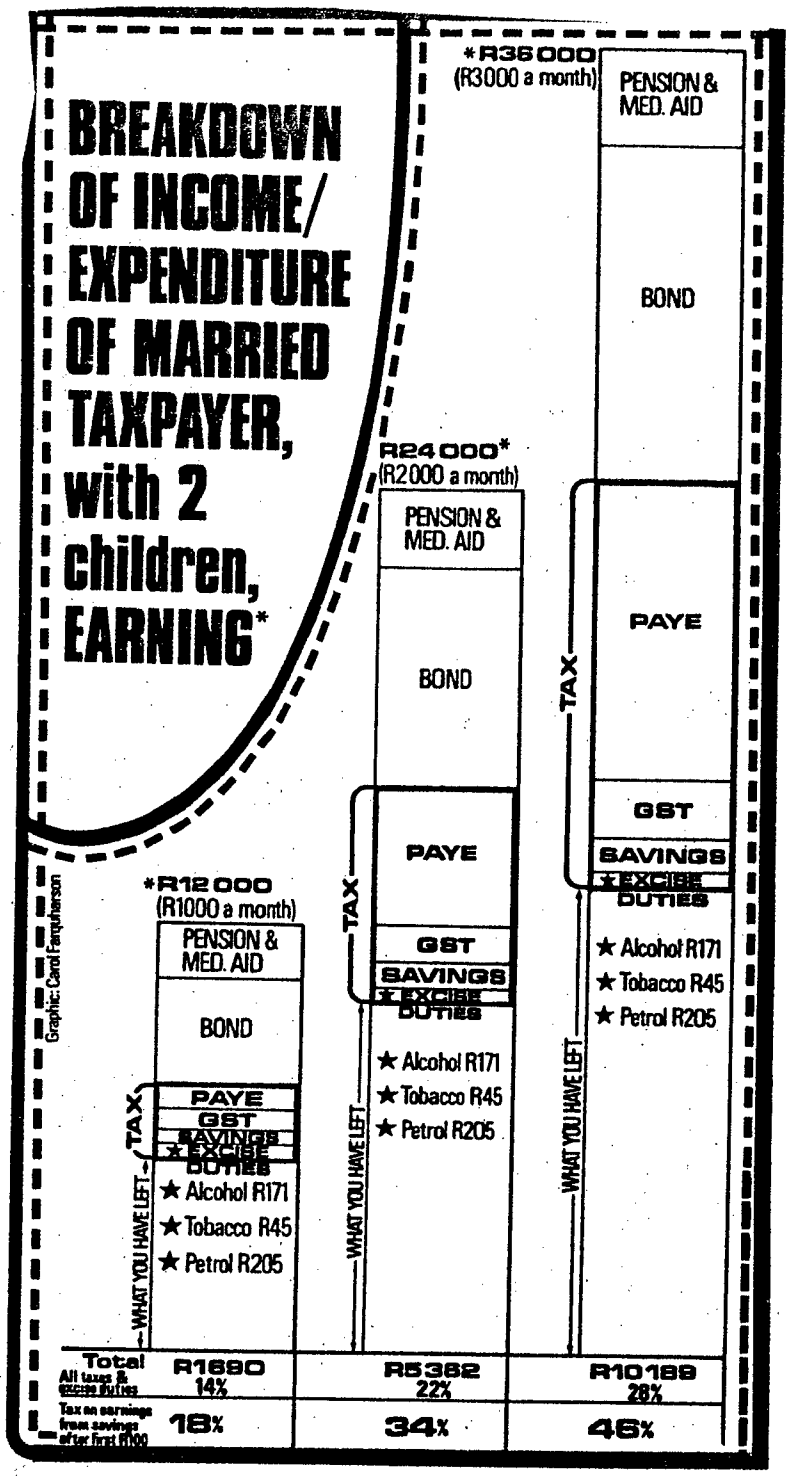

**UP, UP AND AWAY: The Prime Minister earns 100 times more than the average South African, black or white, as our graphic shows. To fit his salary on the graph we have divided it by 100; other salaries are in rands per month.**

## And This Is How Much We Pay

SOUTH Africa's average taxpayer, who already carries the major portion of the country's total personal income tax burden, may be shocked to learn that his total contribution to the voracious State coffers is far more than double what is reflected on his monthly pay slip.

According to the profile of the average white taxpayer married with two children, his income is between R1 000 and R2 000 a month.

But despite generous rebates on his direct taxation, he may pay substantially more in indirect taxation, by way of general sales tax (GST)




and excise duty on petrol, tobacco, alcohol and other luxury items.

Higher income earners, who presumably do not consume measurably more petrol and luxury items than Mr Average, in turn have to cough up far more in direct taxation.

The accompanying table shows just how much the average taxpayer must contribute to keep the wheels of government turning, which at last count employed one in three economically active whites and one in five gainfully employed blacks.

From the table it is clear that the lower the taxpayer's gross monthly income, the greater is the percentage of his overall contribution to State revenue by way of indirect taxes.

The taxpayer who earns R1 000 a month pays only about R50 a month in direct taxes, after allowing for tax-deductible medical expenses and pension contributions, and the various rebates he is entitled to for being married with two children.

But if the same category earner saves five percent of his disposable income (after paying 25 percent of gross income for bond repayments), and he consumes a litre of wine or spirits a week, smokes 10 cigarettes a day and uses a tankful of petrol a week, he contributes at least another R90 a month by way of GST and customs and excise duties.

The higher-income bracket earners pay proportionately less in indirect taxation, but vastly more in the progressive-scale income tax system.

A sting in the tail is that even if taxpayers do manage to save some proportion of their income, they are taxed on the interest of those savings (except for the first R100).

This, in the case of the R1 000-a-month earner, is at the marginal tax rate of 14 percent of every R1 earned.

In the case of the R3 000-a-month earner it is 28 percent.

CSO: 3400/194

PFP SILENCE OVER VAAL RAIDS SCORED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Allister Sparks]

[Text]

It is a matter for reproach that the Progressive Federal Party has had so little to say about that massive armed search of the black inhabitants of the Vaal Triangle two weeks ago.

None of the party's public representatives has gone on record condemning what was one of the most grotesque acts of political intimidation undertaken in this country.

Indeed, the only one to speak out at all on the subject was the party's defence spokesman, Mr Philip Myburgh, who rather half-heartedly questioned the use of troops in the operation. He left the impression that if different personnel had been used, he would have been quite happy with the whole affair.

In mitigation, it must be noted that the PFP's Southern Transvaal region issued a Press statement condemning the exercise in unequivocal terms, but the statement didn't make the papers — and none of the party's leadership felt constrained to make sure that South Africa, particularly black South Africa, was not left with the impression that the PFP didn't care.

As things stand, black South Africans are to be forgiven if they do have that impression.

Put yourself in their position. Seven thousand armed men, backed by heavy armoured vehicles, throw a cordon around three towns with a combined population of a quarter of a million, which is equal to the white populations of Germiston, Benoni, Brakpan, Boksburg and Springs combined.

They then begin knocking on doors at two in the morning, waking the bewildered residents and searching their homes, pawing through their most private and intimate possessions. After which these citizens must present their hands to be stained with a red dye, like the ghetto-dwellers of another place at another time, to show that they have been checked and may pass without further molestation.

The people who are subjected to this crass intrusion are not criminals, mark you. Nor even selected suspects. It is everybody. The entire white populations of Germiston, Benoni, Brakpan, Boksburg and Springs.

Intermittently over the next 17 hours, people are hauled from their homes to be locked in police trucks and driven away. It goes on and on until the total number hauled away reaches 358, which is one arrest every three minutes through this long day. Again not hardened criminals or "revolutionary elements", mark you, but petty offenders who have to spend one or more nights in the cells because they had a copy of *Playboy*, or something equivalent, in the house.

Then a week later it all happens again, only this time the raiding force includes Nigel too, just for good measure.

Imagine that happening and not a word of condemnation being heard about it from any of the country's recognised political parties! Except this one peep from one spokesman for the one party which claims to

care about such things, suggesting that maybe it would have been better if the job had been done by someone else.

This is not good enough. The PFP has a vital role to play. It stands at the vulnerable centre of our rapidly polarising society and is the only political party capable of maintaining some degree of communication and understanding across the widening gap.

If it fails to do that then it will be failing South Africa and rendering itself historically irrelevant.

An appropriate gesture after the Sebokeng raid would have been for Dr van Zyl Slabbert to fly immediately to the township and make contact with community leaders there.

There is a body of men called the Vaal Ministers' Solidarity Committee who have assumed a role in the triangle townships similar to that which the Committee of Ten held in Soweto in 1975. They are solid, sensible men and it is soon evident to any visitor that they are held in high regard by ordinary members of the community as well as by the militant students. The Red Cross, among others, is working through them in bringing relief to the shattered townships.

It would have been a gesture of considerable importance to black-white relations if Dr Slabbert, perhaps accompanied by other PFP leaders, had met with this committee in Sebokeng to hear its version of events and express to it his party's dissociation from the act of mass intimidation to which the community was subjected.

That is the kind of gesture that can forge bonds of goodwill despite policy differences. By the same token, a silence that gives the impression of indifference can cause deep resentment.

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● *Allister Sparks, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, writes this regular column and reports for several overseas newspapers.*

CSO: 3400/194

WORK STAYAWAY ORGANIZER INTERVIEWED BEFORE ARREST

'I Am a Revolutionary'

Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 11 Nov 84 p 11

[Interview with Thami Mali by Graham Watts, date, place not given]

[Text] Thami Mali leaned forward and looked over the top of his glasses. He wasn't being hesitatnt. He just wanted to make sure he was understood.

It was a simple thing he wanted to say: "Exactly."

I had just accused him, if I based my judgment purely on what he had said to me, of being a revolutionary.

"Exactly," he repeated. "And we make no escuses for it."

I recalled that, as with all interviews, I had offered to turn off the tape recorder at any stage should he ask me to go "off the record."

As it turned out, nothing was said off the record.

Thami Mali--and his "comrade", Siphiwe Thusi--had agreed to an interview on the second day of a two-day work stayaway in the Transvaal this week which had seen industry and commerce wracked by 65% to 90% absenteeism.

Mr Thusi is an organiser for the General and Allied Workers Union, one of the participating unions.

Outside, as we spoke, the country was torn by conflict. The police and army were in the townships. Seventeen people had died already and the financial cost was still being estimated. Railway coaches smouldered, Putco buses stood wrecked at the sides of the roads they had dared to enter.

If Messrs Mali and Thusi had helped to organise the stayaway, what were they doing with me on its second day drinking coffee in the centre of Johannesburg and talking revolution?

They explained it quite simply: the "people" run their own stayaways. Messrs Mali, Thusi and others just do the organising groundwork. Though later, when

they left, they told me with a youthful enthusiasm that they were "returning to the people".

Who are these men who admit, even claim, to be revolutionaries?

Infiltrated

Mr Mali has the credentials, and very African they are too. Five years on the Island for harbouring terrorists. He gave shelter to two ANC men who had infiltrated the South African Police in the Seventies and he was put away for it. They got 20 years.

Mr Thusi has been in and out of detention--once after helping organise a service to erect a commemoration stone at the grave of executed ANC guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu.

Mr Mali says it quite frankly: "Our intention is to make this country ungovernable."

It was like undergraduate bravado. Mr Mali sometimes sounded like a bad movie script, all that talk of the masses and the will of the people and bringing Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order "to his senses".

But I had to take these two men seriously, Mr Mali in his blue track suit with the natty red trimmings and his trendy glasses, Mr Thusi in his simple checked Cassidy shirt that looked borrowed. South African revolutionaries don't wear fatigues and berets nor do they smoke cigars. (Mr Mali smokes Periliys. Mr Thusi smokes other people's.)

Mr Mali has a matric and a teacher's certificate through his politics makes him, as he puts it, "unemployed and highly unemployable". Mr Thusi has the same problem, made worse by his limited education.

They live off handouts from their "comrades" and friends.

[Portion omitted] of an appeal against conviction and a five-year sentence for furthering the aims of the ANC.

These are formidable men. But anyone who wishes to see here the agitator, the instigator, the intimidator, forget it. I'm sorry, but the Thami Mali and Siphiwe Thusi I met this week couldn't, no matter how much they might want to, agitate, instigate or intimidate 6 000 Sasol workers to make the sacrifice they did this week.

The Sasol workers are mostly migrants, live in hostels and therefore control their own "picket line". These two city men are disqualified by their dress and accents from telling them what to do.

And that goes for their relationship with tens of thousands of other workers on the East Rand and in the Vaal Triangle who stayed away on Monday and Tuesday in the biggest political strike since the weapon was first used by Nelson Mandela in 1950.

Something else is going on out there. If it wasn't, Messrs Mali and Thusi wouldn't be inside here.

But since they are, I ask what it is they want. Is it one-man-one-vote in a unitary South Africa?

Yes, but that's not enough. It must be a "workers' state", based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, which they call "a set of minimum demands".

The Freedom Charter is a document that in 1955 was drawn up and signed by an alliance of organisations under the 'congress' banner, including the African National Congress before it was banned.

It's all about how "the people shall govern" and how the land "shall belong to all those who work it".

So you want a socialist South Africa?

"Exactly."

What had they hoped to achieve with the two-day stayaway?

Mr Mali: "We wanted to bring the government to its senses. We as oppressed and struggling masses have power and we can use it the way we like. And we wanted to prove to the government that what it thinks is the will of the people is not true."

He speaks not of aims or intentions. He speaks of demands.

These demands were sent in telegrams before the stayaway to Mr le Grange and the Minister of Co-operation and Development and of Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

They included the astonishing call to scrap GST and "unfair taxation". One is prepared to concede that this government might one day somehow find its way clear to meet one of the other demands, to release all political prisoners for instance, but scrap taxes?

There is no compromise, said Mr Mali.

"We can determine the future of this country's economy. And the economy of a country is its backbone, no matter how powerful it might be politically.

"It depends on the working class which comes predominantly from the African areas in which the stayaway was called."

Can a stayaway be sustained?

Suffer

Mr Mali again: "Our people have learned to suffer and to sacrifice. Look at the poverty of our people. Even from the poorest areas, such as White City

(Soweto) where I come from, the resistance of the people is non-stop, even without the participation of us activists.

"The most poverty-stricken man is the man who understands."

Mr Thusi: "What is two day's pay? The people don't even see it. It goes on transport to get to work, on school fees and uniforms for their children in inferior schools. They are used to having no money."

Mr Mali: "We are aware that a longer stayaway will cause suffering. But if that shortens our moment of sorrow and which we already experience then it is accepted, as it has been a tradition of the liberation struggle all over Africa."

This country's history, I tell them, is littered with the lives and imprisonment of people who say what you are saying.

Mr Mali: "We are determined more than ever before that we will be free."

Not once during the interview did either man use the word "whites". The enemy, they said when asked why, was "the state."

When he was last inside, Mr Thusi tried to persuade his interrogators that they were oppressed.

"I asked them if they owned any means of production, any land," he said. "I asked them who were they defending. They were also members of the working class. They owned nothing. I am also fighting to liberate them."

## Future of Tactics

Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 11 Nov 84 p 11

[Text] THERE were a few jests doing the rounds this week that the two-day work stayaway in the Transvaal inconvenienced white employers because they had to make their own tea.

Economists say this is not far off the mark. They warned, however, that in different circumstances the consequences could be more serious.

Not that the organisers of the stayaway intended it to make a substantial impression on the country's economy. But as a show of strength it was founded on the premise that the withdrawal of labour can be a powerful political weapon because of the damge it can cause.

It was the first time in South Africa that trade unions and militant organisations have acted in such dramatic concert.

But, says Dr Johan van Zyl, director of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), "in view of the recessionary circumstances in which it came it is

possible that some industrialists may even have welcomed the stay-away".

"Many have serious financial problems and are looking for shortened working weeks," he said.

Mr van Zyl warned, however, that now that the organizers of the stayaway had demonstrated their ability to do it, "they could repeat it during an upswing in the economy which would have much more serious consequences".

Damage

"The stayaway organisers intended to make a political point, which is to say they can cause damage to the South African economy--and they can," said Dr van Zyl.

The question arises whether, during a recession or upswing, a politically-motivated strike on the proportions seen this week could force the country into a political crisis.

The consensus is that it could.

It is common cause amongst economists and academics that the South African economy is sufficiently dependent on black labour for its use as a political weapon to be effective.

Dr Charles Simkins of the University of Cape Town's department of economics said it depended on how long the strike weapon could be wielded.

"If there was a national stayaway for two or three weeks it could be a massive shock to the system and could bring about a political crisis," said Dr Simkins.

"But there are few reserves in the black community to sustain such a stayaway. The question is the extent of organisational power of the black working class.

"What is important about this week's stayaway is the extent to which groups that have not worked together before were involved in its organisation," said Dr Simkins.

He referred to the co-operation between trade union groups such as the powerful Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) on the one hand and United Democratic Front affiliated organisations on the other.

Professor Mike Hough of the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies, said stayaways such as this week's served a variety of political functions.

Weakened

"There is the intended breakdown in external confidence in the country's economy, resultant disinvestment and weakened production, all of which are emphasised in revolutionary literature," said Prof Hough.

This was coupled with widespread intimidation, "a variation of the picket line".

Prof Hough doubted, however, whether the black community had the resources to pursue a sustained general strike.

"They have little funding, there are organisational problems and, in the light of existing unemployment, dismissal is a real fear.

"There are also none of the social welfare benefits enjoyed by unemployed and strikers alike in countries such as Britain," said Prof Hough.

Economists said one of the root causes of the politically-related industrial unrest was the dire economic circumstances in the black community. This allowed radical appeals to fall on more willing ears.

But the unrest could, in a vicious circle, exacerbate the causes of hard times amongst both employed and unemployed by fuelling the increasing tendency amongst industrialists to go for capital rather than labour intensive investment.

One of the chief reasons for this was the wage demands of the workers themselves, particularly since the early 1970s.

CSO: 3400/195

## SUCCESS OF WORK BOYCOTT REPORTED

### Ninety-five Percent Effective

Johannesburg THE STAR REVIEW in English 10 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by David Braun]

[Text]

THERE has been much concern in several quarters over the mass stayaway of up to 95 percent of black workers in certain industries for two days this week.

For employers there was the loss of production and the worry of future, similar campaigns at a critical phase of the economic cycle.

The Government is faced with its long-held fear that the successful collective boycott of black labour can strike effectively at the soft underbelly of the South African State — the economy, which is so dependent on its unskilled labour.

And for the workers involved there is the real threat that if they stay away again they face losing jobs, pensions and other employment benefits, at a time of high unemployment in most economic sectors. The sacking of 6 000 Sasol workers who failed to defy the stayaway demand underscrores this danger.

For South Africa the stayaway — with its accompanying violence, arson, looting and the death of more than 20 people — heralds a futher dangerous move towards the destabilisation of society.

The boycott was co-ordinated mainly by the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee (TRSC) representing a number of trade unions, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Students.

Its aim was to protest against Government response to recent student, civic and worker grievances, "to shake the Government into answering student and worker demands".

According to TRSC chairman Mr Thami Mali, the boycott was an overwhelming success.

"Our duty is to step up resistance and create an ungovernable situation and force the State to declare some of the area as liberated zones," he is reported to have said.

Strong language of this kind is certain to provoke tough reaction from the authorities, but privately, senior Government sources are worried.

The problem facing the Government is that clearly what it considers to be major and maximum concessions already given to students and workers are not enough to prevent the further politicisation of the labour force.

The Government has been given little credit for its liberal labour laws and recent concessions to school pupils, including the relaxation of age limits, the introduction of democratic student representative councils and strict guidelines on corporal punishment.

There is an increasing sense of urgency, now that the cabinet committee investigating the accommodation of urban blacks in the political system must come up with something good and fast.

But at the same time there is also the sentiment that workers should unite to prevent further intimidation and exploitation for ulterior political purposes.

Manpower Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis summed up this view when he told *The Star* that workers should unite to "sweep away these troublemakers."

"The fact that there has been such widespread intimidation and victimisation to force people to stay away from work proves that certain revolutionary and political cowboys do not have the popular support they claim.

"Often the people involved in intimidation have not had the best interest of the workers at heart. They have on the contrary caused heavy and widespread suffering and may have endangered the livelyhood, pension and sick fund benefits and education of thousands of people," he said.

His views are echoed in certain sectors of industry. One management consultant told *The Star* that the Government and private enterprise expected workers to organise themselves to overcome intimidation.

A snap survey of several large firms found, however, that there was some sympathy for the plight of workers too scared to be seen going to work during the boycott.

Two large trucking companies reported that employees arrived for work very early and asked to sleep on the premises during the stayaway. Other firms said that staff had telephoned to say it was too dangerous to leave their homes for fear that their families would be vicitmised and their houses burnt down.

Managers of these companies said they were concerned for their staff, but there clearly was a limit to how much any business could take.

The chief executive of a large East Rand transport undertaking said that the loss of two days production was equal to 10 percent of one month's output.

"And in these times we aren't able to afford such losses," he said.

Bank economist Mr Louis Geldenhuys said he regarded as more serious than the loss of production the impact a massive stayaway had on the economy in terms of overseas and local investor confidence.

"If we are going to have an increased occurrence of this we are going to see a change of sentiment both inside and outside the country," he remarked.

The impact of the events of the past week may not be fully known for many months, but clearly there is no room for complacency for anyone involved or affected by the stayaway.

The implications of future similar strike actions raise many more questions than answers. Government workers and strike organisers would do well to consider carefully their next actions.

## Repression of Blacks

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Sullivan]

[Text]

This was the week of the big stayaway, an event most whites looked upon with some amusement, some sympathy, some irritation and virtually no comprehension at all.

Let me tell you a story about the man who moved my furniture on Monday, the first day of the stayaway.

As usual, the movers were late so off I went to a nearby hotel to telephone the company to find out if the lateness was due to tradition or to the stayaway.

At the hotel I found an irate manager berating a maid who was late for work.

"You are late," he said, "remember this at the end of the month. Remember you were late and don't expect me to forget."

"I could not help it," she said. "There were roadblocks. It was terrible. What was I supposed to do, I could do nothing."

"No excuses: go and do your work," he said angrily and turned to me with an exasperated expression as if he knew he could count on a fellow-white's sympathy.

He was lucky his maid bothered to come to work at all. I doubt she made the effort the next day.

When my mover arrived with the furniture I asked whether he had problems getting to work.

"Oh yes," he said in his African accent, "there is big stayaway today and I had trouble getting to the train. When this job is finished, we can go home. I must go to make sure my house she is not burnt down because I come to work."

After the morning's moving he stood in the kitchen and talked about the unrest. He lives in Shoshanguve, a Pretoria township.

"You know," he said, "I do not understand these people. What are they doing to blacks and whites? They want for us to fight each other.

"Today I wake up, open the curtains to look outside and there is the police, white police in my township. In two

minutes they are in my house, early this morning, they want to know why I look at them!"

The moving man looks at me as if I could explain the police intrusion. I shake my head and he continues: "I have two children," he says, "the boy she is only seven-years-old, the girl she is in Standard 5. They are not naughty children, they are ordinary, perhaps sometimes naughty.

"But this I can not understand: my boy, she is only seven, she comes home with the sjambok mark across the back. It is terrible this. I say to him: 'What are you doing that you get punished?'

"He say to me: 'Nothing. We do nothing. The police they hit us because we are standing watching.' I say to my son he must not worry, but me, I am worried.

"My son he say to me: 'Father, I hate the police. I hate them.' What can I say to him.

"Perhaps it is better I send him to school in Botswana, otherwise there is no future. But I do not understand the Government.

"They are making it too easy for us to be communist. Why is that. It is too stupid. The people are angry, so angry. Not just the students, all the people, even the ones who come to work on the days of the stayaway.

"Why the police must come into my house today? All I do is look out the window in the morning and then they are in my house, me still in the bed clothes.

"And my son she is hit with the sjambok. Why?"

Why indeed. And this from a man who came to work despite calls to stay at home. How much longer can black patience last?

CSO: 3400/195

BLOOM: BUSINESS NOT GUILTLESS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Paul Bell]

[Text]

IT HAS become fashionable to blame the nation's poor economic health on Government policy and overspending, says Mr Tony Bloom.

He adds that on the political front it must deal with black leaders — including Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo — provided the ANC renounces violence.

The chairman of Premier Milling told a Wits Business School award dinner this week that the private sector, while it increasingly regarded itself simply as the victim of Government policy, had also been involved in the management of the economy.

The private sector had not been sufficiently introspective nor critical of its role in economic management and would have to accept that it bore partial responsibility for the present parlous state of affairs.

Mr Bloom said the private sector had been too:

- Quick to overborrow to finance expansion;
- Inclined to lure customers — often relatively unsophisticated people — into dangerously high levels of debt they could ill afford;
- Intent on promoting extravagant lifestyles;
- Lax about productivity;
- Willing to tolerate sub-standard practices.

He said the private sector would have to tighten its belt and simultaneously raise standards if the economy were to survive in an increasingly competitive world.

On the political front, Mr Bloom said he had sensed a feeling among his colleagues that the wheels were, as he put it, falling off after the post-Nkomati euphoria.

He criticised the Government's handling of the Durban consulate affair as grossly inept, defying prediction and explanation.

Blacks needed a signal that the process of reform was soundly based and included them but meaningful discussion would have to take place outside the constitutional structure.

Talking to coloured and Indian parliamentarians — whose lack of credibility was, he said, abysmal — or homeland leaders was not enough.

Dialogue would need to embrace, at the very least, the Soweto Committee of Ten and, almost certainly, leaders with the black political credibility of people like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

"It may well be that leaders such as President Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, should be included in that dialogue, but their inclusion should come at the behest of blacks and not through the imposition of a desire for homeland recognition," Mr Bloom said.

He made the proviso that talks with the ANC leadership should be contingent on the movement's renunciation of violence as an instrument of policy.

He said that talking to the ANC was a matter of when, not if.

Mr Bloom referred to five other areas which needed urgent attention and reform — education, the citizenship issue, influx control, forced removals and detention without trial.

He said he knew he was considered to be on the "lunatic left" of the business establishment but pointed out that what was considered radical 15 years ago was now political reality.

CSO: 3400/194

WHITE FOREMEN OBSTRUCT ADVANCEMENT OF BLACKS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Angus Macmillan]

[Text]

**THE clash between white foremen and aspirant black workers is one of the biggest barriers to black advancement in industry.**

Lack of training is problem No 1, but black-white confrontation fills second spot, says John Burns, executive director of the Manpower and Management Foundation.

He pinpoints retraining of white managers and foremen, and an assurance by employers that their jobs are not threatened, as essential steps to defuse tension.

## Group Areas

Dr Burns says: "Whites who impede this process do not belong in their particular positions.

"Although the Group Areas Act is the most comprehensive stumbling block for black advancement, it is not one which industry can overcome.

"It all but prevents development of black managers because no company is encouraged to advance staff who are geographically static. Few, if any, of the laws that have been changed have encouraged the private sector to advance blacks."

Dr Burns bases much of his argument on the inadequacy of basic education for blacks and gives some figures on the lack of education of South Africa's economically active population.

## Vary

According to Central Statistical Services, there were 6 030 000 economically active blacks in SA and the national states in June this year.

It estimates the total black population at 18 255 000, of whom 22 225 000 — 66% — are not economically active.

Various government and private organisations give different numbers of the economically active population.

## Twice as high

Dr Burns quotes 11-million as the total economically active population — including the other population groups — and says 30% of these people have no education, 36% have only completed primary school, and 4-million in the work force are illiterate.

Central Statistical Services puts black unemployment in June at 488 000. This figure is only 5 000 up on June 1983 and 0,5% down as a percentage of economically active blacks.

The Cape Town-based Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit says the figure is more like 2-million.

The University of South Africa's Nic Wiehahn talks of a percentage about twice as high as the Government's 8% estimate.

Unlike Britain or the United States where unemployment figures are reasonably accurate, South Africa's figures are always questionable.

Unemployment benefit payments do not reflect the number of jobless workers as many do not register. Unemployment statistics in rural areas and the national states are often way off the mark.

## Surveys

Central Statistical Services draws its information from monthly population surveys. Its quarterly releases provide comparative figures back to January 1980.

The latest release, whether its figures are accurate or not, gives an indication of the effects of the recession in rural areas of the national states.

It puts unemployment in these areas at 18,1% in June, the highest since June 1983.

Next worse off are blacks in towns in the Cape who average a 17,3% unemployment rate. Cape cities fare worse than those in the other provinces with black unemployment above 12%.

## Rights lost

Dr Burns adds an interesting observation on black unemployment and the effects of drought and recession.

He says: "Being laid off is devastating enough for whites. For blacks it is often the end of the line. Unemployed whites can move around the country job-hunting, but unemployed blacks invariably lose their rights to remain in the job market area and are forced to return to a homeland."

It has been estimated that by the year 2000, only one in 10 of SA's work force will be white and about 1-million blacks will be in managerial positions traditionally filled by whites.

Although most whites are employed, about 50% of the black population has yet to enter the job market and will comprise 80% of the labour supply in the next 20 years.

CSO: 3400/194

COST-EFFECTIVENESS OF BLACK COALMINERS NOTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Roy Bennetts]

[Text]

**THE South African black coal-miner is worth his weight in gold compared with his counterparts in Britain, America and Germany.**

In spite of his limited education and poor productivity, the black miner is good value to his employers.

His wage and other benefits cost R3,90 a ton of coal produced against R4,22 in the UK, R4,41 in Germany and R3,93 in the US.

The British coalface miner earns about R1 665 for producing 394 tons of coal a month. The German miner earns R1 696 for 384 tons a month and the American R1 443 for 367 tons.

## Weak rand

The black worker on a South African mine may produce only 120 tons of coal a month, but his low cost factor of R369 a month in wages, plus free bed and board, estimated at R100 a month, makes him best value for money.

The weak rand has been a major factor in making the black miner so cost-effective. Had the rand still been worth $1,35, the American miner would have made the SA black look expensive.

But what makes the SA black miner an irresistible proposition is that he can be employed in large numbers and this saves enormous amounts of capital investment.

## Training bill

Mine managers claim that switching to more capital-intensive European and American mining methods would increase capital costs by 30% and add millions of rands to the training bill.

Some mining experts say SA underground mining methods are 20 years behind the rest of the world.

South African mining houses have long preferred to employ people instead of machines — as long as they remain cost effective.

Germany mines its coal at twice the depth of South African deposits, but produces soft lignite coal. South African mines tend to be no deeper than 500m, but most produce hard, low-sulphur anthracite.

## Compounds

Much has changed since Sir Percy Fitzatrick wrote letters to The Times in London condemning the compound system of South African mines.

The contracted black worker still lives in a compound, but his food and clothing are free. Most major mines provide free television, and in some instances video.

The black workers' hostels on most mines have four beds to a room for the ordinary worker, and single bedrooms for senior black miners. Each group has a lounge and laundry area, with a washing machine provided.

## Marriage

After deductions by the Chamber of Mines Employment Bureau to provide for his family in the homelands, most of a black miner's wages are disposable. This could give him more discretionary income than his British counterpart.

The major disadvantage black miners face is a legal limitation on married quarters. The miner is expected to lead a celibate life for the duration of his contract, which does not induce him to return to the mine too quickly.

This delay in returning means retraining which costs the mining houses several millions of rands a year.

CSO: 3400/194

COAL OWNERS CHIEF 'QUIETLY OPTIMISTIC'

Johannesburg MINING WEEK in English 24 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] THE outlook for the coal industry in 1985 is "quietly optimistic," the managing director of the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association, Mr Les Weiss, told Mining Week.

"Steel production in Japan looks as though it will increase four to five percent this year and we expect this trend to continue into the next fiscal year," he said.

"Japan is committed to a number of coal supply contracts for next year and also has several of its own mining investments in Australia and Canada coming on stream, which will mean that the country probably has more metallurgical coal than it needs.

"However, the tonnage exported to Japan from South Africa is relatively small--about three percent of its total imports--and it is likely that, if cutbacks are necessary, Japan will negotiate them with its larger suppliers.

"South Africa, in fact, can look forward to slightly improved prices."

Turning to steam coal, Mr Weiss said there had been a worldwide increase in demands for electrical power but a number of factors mitigated against any dramatic price increase.

Firstly, he said, the coalminers' strike which had been anticipated in the US for some 18 months had failed to occur last month as expected, with the result that both US and Japanese users had larger stockpiles than they would normally require.

"Consequently, US producers are likely to enter the export market.

"Their capacity to penetrate to any large degree will be limited by their high operating costs.

"Many US collieries are still small concerns and not many of these will be able to afford the 10 to 15 US dollars price cutback necessary to bring them to a competitive level," Mr Weiss said.

Another big factor to take into account was the new project in Colombia, which was expected to put two to three million tons of good quality coal on to the market next year, he said.

"By 1986, the Colombia mine's port facilities will be complete and it should be running at least 10 million tons a year--a significant slice of the 90 to 100 million tons a year total seaborne steamcoal market.

"However, the US is likely to lose more to Colombia than South Africa due to the comparatively high US prices," he said.

Among the other issues worth considering, Mr Weiss listed the Foles, the Australians and the UK.

"Developments on the Polish front are unpredictable. They have placed a record quantity of coal on the international market this year but there are no indications that this is likely to increase further.

"Pricing in the Polish context is difficult to determine, since the Poles appear to be more interested in receiving foreign currency than in the profit aspect.

"They will pitch their prices whereever they have to, although I doubt if they'ss repeat their mistake of 1983, when they over-reacted and cut prices far more than was necessary," said Mr Weiss.

He said Australia would be able to compete in the European market only as long as freight rates remained depressed.

"Even with depressed freight rates, the Australians are at a two to three-dollar freight disadvantage compared with South Africa. If the freigh market picked up this could increase to six or seven dollars."

Mr Weiss said that Australia exported an estimated 50 percent of its coal production to Japan and a further 10 percent to other European countries.

"I sense that the Australians are concerned about this state of affairs and are trying to break into the European market.

"They have had some success this year, largely because European consumers refused to pay US prices and everybody else was sold out," he said.

CSO: 3400/194

COST OF FOOD HITTING BLACKS HARD SURVEY SHOWS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text] The cost of food to blacks rose markedly between March and September despite the decision to exempt basic foodstuffs from GST in July, the latest Household Subsistence Level (HSL) Survey conducted by the University of Port Elizabeth reveals.

Since food items exempted from GST accounted for three-quarters of the food bought by blacks, the expectation was that food prices would remain more or less at the level recorded in March, Professor J F Potgieter, director of the university's Institute for Planning Research, said in his introduction.

But an analysis of actual food prices "proved to be most disturbing," with increases of up to 14% being recorded in South Africa's major urban areas.

GST was increased generally from seven to 10% on July 1. But on a wide range of stable foods it was scrapped altogether--meaning, in effect, that there was, or should have been, a 7% fall in the price of many non-luxury food items for the three months July, August and September.

Professor Potgieter conceded that the increase raised questions as to the manner in which the benefits was passed on to the consumer.

Mrs Sheena Duncan, of the Black Sash, said yesterday: "It is evidence that the benefits of GST exemptions are not passed onto the consumer. Retailers must share the burden of responsibility for the planned consumer boycott by black consumers over Christmas."

Professor Potgieter's comparison between the household subsistence levels of blacks and coloureds showed that food prices rose more sharply for blacks than for coloureds.

Professor Potgieter's findings showed that the Vaal Triangle--scene of the most violent disturbances in the current unrest--was the most expensive urban area for blacks in South Africa. The HSL of a family of six in the Vaal Triangle was R330,25, against R327,11 for Johannesburg, the next highest area.

The reason why the HSL for the Vaal Triangle is higher than Johannesburg's is that rentals are higher.

The HSL consists of three items: a Primary Household Subsistence Level (PHSL), made up of food, clothing and cleaning materials; rentals, including service charges; and transport costs.

The PHSL was slightly higher for Johannesburg than the Vaal Triangle, R257,46 against R254,26.

Rentals in the Vaal Triangle were higher, R61,70 against R57,19. The unrest in the Vaal Triangle was ignited by protests against attempts to raise rentals still further.

CSO: 3400/194

AGGRAVATED JOB CRISIS SITUATION DESCRIBED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Nov 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Angus Macmillan]

[Text]

**ABOUT 300 000 school-leavers, graduates and returning national servicemen will battle to find jobs next year.**

The Government has frozen many job vacancies and big private employers are reducing their intake of green workers.

About 570 000 South Africans are registered as unemployed. According to the SA Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town, the true unemployment figure is close to 2-million.

New work-seekers will add to the job queues.

## Hardest

The less skilled will battle hardest to find work and only highly qualified professionals are assured of employment.

Unemployment is most acute in the economically devastated Eastern Cape, but jobs will also be hard to find at most coastal cities. Even on the relatively high-growth Reef, jobs will be difficult to find.

More than 139 000 matriculation pupils are writing their final examinations. Breathing down their necks are 195 991 pupils in standard nine and 293 456 in standard eight. Many of them will enter the job market next year.

There are 33 000 more pupils in these standards this year than last year.

The number of black pupils in standard eight, nine and 10 is a serious problem. A large proportion of more than 54 000 black matrics, 86 274 standard nines and 163 000 standard eight pupils are on the verge of looking for work.

## On ice

The Commission for Administration, the Government's personnel department, says many vacancies have been put on ice. Its seven regional offices have few openings.

According to the commission's assistant director of personnel management, Etienne van Rensburg, there are some administrative jobs for matriculants on the Reef. At the coast, there is nothing.

Few jobs are available for most graduates. Many BA, BComm and BSc graduates will may have to settle for jobs beneath their skills.

Starting salary for a BComm in the public service is R13 500, for a BSc about R16 000 and for a BA about R10 700.

Mr van Rensburg says: "A lot of matrics and students have applied for jobs and we have plenty of applications in the pipeline. Many of them then wait to see their results."

## Technikons

About 30 000 of 180 000 students enrolled at universities will look for work next year.

National service will take many of the 60 000 white male matriculants and graduates, but the Defence Force will release almost as many national servicemen on the completion of their two-year terms.

There are also more than 50 000 students at technikons this year, about a third of them in their final year.

Barclays, a large employer of matriculants and graduates, will turn down thousands of applicants for 1985.

June Wands, of the bank's personnel selection centre, says: "In normal times we have a flood of matriculants in December and January. This year, applications have poured in since July."

Barclays executive development programme for graduates received 900 applications this year, but only 15, or 3%, were taken on.

## Computers

Construction giant Murray & Roberts will reduce its graduate and matriculant intake by about 16%.

Computer science graduates, engineers and accountants are among the few graduates who will not battle to find work.

A young CA commands R30 000 plus a car, computer graduates start around R24 000 and engineers at R15 000-R18 000.

Between March and May this year, employment in the mining industry fell by 5 600. Hotel employment was down by 1 000 in the year to March, and the transport industry employed 6 100 fewer workers in the year to May.

The retail trade's work force was down by 1 400 in the first three months of the year and the construction work force shrank by 1 600 between March and May.

A recruitment consultant says: "Employers are unwilling to train — and young whites in particular are unwilling to be trained."

CSO: 3400/194

'BLACK BOOM' FOR DURBAN FORECAST

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Nov 84 p 5M

[Text]

DURBAN — This city's tourists of the future will be black. They will come from all parts of Southern Africa and Durban's citizens will have to adjust.

This forecast was given by Durban City Councillor Peter Mansfield when he addressed the Durban branch of the Southern African Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators last week.

Mr Mansfield said that if local people did not find an answer to the coming influx of black tourists the city would be the poorer.

"By the turn of the century tourism will be the biggest industry in the world. Durban is dependent on its visitors."

The city council was doing its best to make Durban a more attractive place. It was for this reason that the railway site was being developed.

"You will see significant changes in the central business district soon, but improvements to Smith and West Streets are not sufficient.

"We have a development plan for the railway site including a park. My hope is that Durban will be reborn.

"The plan should speed up completion of the new road system and leave behind an exhibition centre. I hope it will be a milestone in the city's progress."

Mr Mansfield said that the beachfront as a holiday area had been neglected for two decades.

"We are now getting improvements going. We want the beaches to be put to better use and that there should be more sand and grass. Our sand-pumping schemes are an example of what is being done."

There were also plans afoot to develop the area between Addington and the Point. This offered a calm beach and beautiful harbour views.

"We must learn to love our city."

CSO: 3400/194

MARAIS REPORT 'SPELLS DOOM FOR THE BUSHMEN'

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Tony Weaver]

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — A top anthropologist has sent the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Dr Willie van Niekerk, a bombshell response to the official report on the Bushman people.

Mr John Marshall said the report, commissioned by the Central Government of SWA, justified the complete dispossession of the Bushman people.

Mr Marshall, who has lived with the Ju/wa Bushman people on and off for 30 years, is recognised as the world expert on their culture.

The official report was commissioned by Dr Van Niekerk's office, and was drawn up by a firm of Landscape Architects from South Africa, Francois Marais and Associates.

The Marais Report recommends and approves of plans to set up a nature reserve in eastern Bushmanland.

But, says Mr Marshall, should the recommendations of the report be put into practice, the Ju/wa and other Bushman people would be stripped of their last access to land, would be doomed to spend their lives as farm labourers, and will rapidly die out because of grinding poverty.

Mr Marshall also accused the authors of the official report of distorting the facts about the Ju/wa people.

"The authors fabricate an abstraction called the 'the hunting and gathering culture' that never existed," he said, "and they ascribe its attributes to all Bushman people".

The distortions in the report, Mr Marshall says, are used to justify the ends of the report — namely the recommendation that the Ju/wa people be stripped of their land and trained as farm labourers.

"Even if the description of Ju/wa culture in the report was accurate, it would be a serious distortion to extrapolate the social rules and values of 1 000 people who hunted and gathered for a living 25 years ago, (and extend this) to 29 000 people classified as 'Bushmen' who have not hunted and gathered for three to four generations.

"The authors of the report ignore the process of acculturation and assimilation Bushman people have experienced in Owambo, Kavango and throughout Botswana — in some places for at least 1 400 years — and simply forget the entire history of extermination, disposession and expropriation that has reduced Bushman people to landless poverty and, until recently, virtual slavery in most of SWA in this century."

Mr Marshall says that the "most destructive aspect of the fabricated 'culture' which the Marais Report 'invents' is "its denial that Bushmen peoples have developed subsistence farming to augment or replace hunting and gathering".

Mr Marshall has recommended that the Ju/wa people be allowed to keep their land and further develop their mixed economy.

CSO: 3400/194

COLOUREDS PUSH AHEAD IN OWN AFFAIRS POSTS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Norman West]

[Text]

MINISTERS in the House of Representatives have introduced affirmative action programmes in which coloured people will be given preferential treatment when public-service jobs in "own affairs" departments are allocated.

And the coloured Ministers have won praise from their peers for quickly dealing with social issues that have been previously bogged down in red tape for months.

On accepting conditional participation in the tricameral system, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who is chairman of the Ministers' Council and a Cabinet Minister without a specific portfolio, made it clear that if the system was not seen to be able to "deliver the goods" within the first five years, "we will have to go back to our people for a fresh mandate".

## Teachers

This week saw the five coloured Ministers settling in and coming to grips with their new powers.

The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, last week announced a new deal for married women teachers, which puts them immediately on a par with their male counterparts and with unmarried teachers — a move hailed by the teacher corps.

And this week he earned further praise from top educationist and president of the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa (Utasa) Mr Franklin Sonn for scrapping the old practice whereby teachers were summoned to appear before magistrates to answer allegations of maladministration and misconduct.

Mr Ebrahim resolved an issue "within an hour" which, Mr Sonn said, had come to nothing after "literally months of fruitless and frustrated negotiation with the Director of Education, Mr A J Arendse".

Mr Ebrahim, after discussions with Utasa officials, has agreed to a committee consisting of their peers to hear accusations against colleagues.

Mr Hendrickse this week turned his attention to the interests of tens of thousands of public servants when he announced a Ministers' Council policy decision to give coloured public servants priority in appointments to "own affairs" posts.

This policy, said Mr Hendrickse, would be followed in cases where both white and coloured applicants were equal on merit.

Mr Hendrickse, however, dispelled scepticism that he was busy with a "colouredinisation" programme, or intended to embark on a purge of serving white officials.

He described the new policy — formally submitted this week to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and to Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Home Affairs, in the House of Assembly — as "affirmative action".

"Affirmative action," explained Mr Hendrickse, "meant placing coloured civil servants in a better position to make themselves available for merit promotions to top posts by giving them the opportunity to gain experience or qualifications.

"We have already appointed a number of white officials and our policy must not be seen as depriving them in any way or as a rejection of what they have already achieved.

" There will be no witchhunt. We do give this assurance to our white officials," Mr Hendrickse said.

On the other flank, Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, has reiterated his uncompromising stand against separate municipalities.

## His vow

He has vowed to demand funds from government coffers to rescue the broke coloured town of Pacaltsdorp, 15km from George, which he called "a failed government experiment with an apartheid local authority".

Mr Chris April, Minister of Health and Welfare, has also made his debut to executive-level politics with a policy of social upliftment at grassroots level.

He has declared "war" on poverty and made a public commitment to its eradication, and to bridge the gap between white and coloured old-age pensions "within five years".

After discussions with Cape Provincial Administration officials and certain Cabinet Ministers this week, Mr April announced that he had successfully negotiated for funds totalling R8,5-million to build three badly needed medical centres.

CSO: 3400/194

AFRIKANER VOKSWAG SEEKS TO SHED NEO-NAZI IMAGE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Andrew Beattie]

[Text]

After the drubbing the Afrikaner Volkswag received from the media following its founding earlier this year, it was hardly surprising at the weekend that the movement made an earnest attempt to shed its neo-Nazi image at its first formal congress.

Security seemed almost non-existent in and around the Hartbees Youth Centre, and many delegates took their families to the resort in the Magaliesberg habitually used also for Broederbond meetings.

The armed and jack-booted guards of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who added a strong undertone of neo-Nazism to the founding meeting, were conspicuously absent.

And about 350 delegates, mostly sporting shorts and veldskoene, mingled informally around campfires by night enjoying the traditional braaivleis under the summer sky.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche did not attend, nor were any Conservative Party leaders there.

Herstigte Nationale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais was, but kept a low profile, leaving Volkswag founder and chairman Professor Carel Boshoff and his wife Anna (who is Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's daughter and one of the spiritual leaders of the far right) to steal the limelight.

Rhetoric used by speakers at the congress leant heavily on the theme of an intrepid Afrikaner battling against all odds in a totally hostile world.

The preservation of Voortrekker culture in the face of the neo-Marxist media onslaught was deemed all-important and the retention of a strong family unit bound to its exclusive cultural heritage was seen as the best way of keeping "die witman" in power.

Professor Boshoff held his partisan audience spellbound during his emotive inaugural address on Friday night.

He was heartily cheered as he declared that, for the Afrikaner, culture and politics have always been the same thing.

Hence the Volkswag, ostensibly a cultural organisation, had every right to step into the realm of politics by criticising the Government and accusing it of playing into the hands of its enemies.

STRUGGLE

It was decided that the movement would be applying to the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge for membership.

The Volkswag, hand-in-hand with the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs and the Voortrekkers (of which Professor Boshoff is leader) would continue the cultural struggle of the Afrikaner, despite the odds.

CSO: 3400/194

ANTHROPOLOGIST SAYS WHITES ARE SHIFTING RIGHT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge]

[Text]

The last year has seen a groundswell shift to the right in white politics, argues Witwatersrand University anthropologist Dr David Webster.

The shift, he says, has New Republic Party members leaning and sometimes defecting to the Nationalists and sections of the Progressive Federal Party moving into positions which were comfortably occupied by the NRP.

This was the view he put this weekend at the first annual general meeting of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC).

JODAC is one of several organisations which have sprung up to accommodate white South Africans to the left of parliamentary parties.

Dr Webster said the PFP had sold its dignity and legitimacy by participating in the tricameral Parliament after campaigning against it.

He warned that changes under the new constitution were far more than just a layer of powder on apartheid's ugly face.

Faced in recent years with the erosion of NP support in the Free State and Transvaal, the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had tried to form a new power bloc encompassing white English-speakers and members of coloured and Indian groups, he said.

"It's a different kind of apartheid," said Dr Webster. "Let's not fool ourselves."

Against this, he asked, what was the purpose of a white left organisation which could not hope to mobilise mass support?

At the most obvious level it provided an identity and sense of unity for individuals in the white community committed to the struggle for majority rule, said Dr Webster.

JODAC was an attempt to draw together many levels of the white left, pool knowledge and skills and guard members against isolation and State attacks.

The white left was often accused of being out of touch with reality, he said. "We are out of touch with white South Africa but we are in touch with what is going on for the majority of South Africans."

More broadly, organisations such as JODAC found meaning in alliances with like-minded groups, he said. Affiliation to the United Democratic Front had been an obvious move.

Although the committee was overwhelmingly white, it could be seen as an organic part of the UDF, argued Dr Webster.

"The fact is, we are working in a non-racial and progressive way," he said.

Among JODAC's more significant organisational links was with the End Conscription Campaign, he said.

This campaign came at a time when people were beginning to realise they might end up policing their township neighbours.

Dr Webster said that like other groups, white democrats had paid a price through State detentions and bannings, and being the victims of politically motivated vandalism.

"But the price we are paying is one we willingly pay."

CSO: 3400/194

VERWOERD'S APARTHEID DREAM EXAMINED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Nov 84 p 10

[Article by Herman Giliomee]

[Text]

**IN ITS search for ways to accommodate blacks in a new constitutional arrangement the Government has indicated specifically that it seeks solution for the 10-million blacks settled permanently in "white" SA.**

It considers the constitutional position of blacks living in the dependent and self-governing homelands to be irreversible. But are the homelands viable political entities?

In popular and academic circles there is a strong tendency to dismiss the homelands as corrupt and inefficient failures. The time has come to take a close look at its political progress in the 25 years since 1959 when Dr H F Verwoerd gave new impetus to the homeland policy.

Dr Verwoerd's policy had three objectives. The first and most important goal was safeguarding white rule over a "white" SA. He presented the development of black homelands as the only alternative to integration: the choice, in his words, was either "an assured white state in SA", geographically smaller than the one before, and an integrated state in which the black man would eventually dominate.

Today President Botha remains equally committed to the policy of maintaining separate homelands for the designated black ethnic groups and retaining white control over the remainder of the country.

The second goal of the Verwoerdian policy was to provide a political outlet for blacks. The development of the political and administrative structures of the homelands can undoubtedly be considered as a form of political decentralisation.

But two caveats should be added: All the homelands (with the possible exception of Bophuthatswana) are so greatly dependent on SA economic aid that they enjoy little more than the degree of political freedom the South African Government wants them to enjoy.

Moreover, political decentralisation has greatly strengthened the power of the conservative elements in the homelands — the chiefs. Nancy Charton, has made this apt comment: "The chief has emerged from the semi-obscurity of the colonial period to inherit the post-colonial kingdom."

Dr Verwoerd also had a third purpose in mind with the homeland policy. Having just removed the last vestiges of black representation in Parliament he needed a bold political alternative in order to deflect mounting world pressure against apartheid.

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was premised heavily on the principle of the self-determination of nations, a principle enshrined in the Charter of the UN and revered at that time by the powerful decolonisation movement.

In introducing the act in 1959 Dr Verwoerd informed Parliament that "separate Bantu development was in line with the objects of the world at large".

Today it sounds incredible that Dr Verwoerd could have thought that the homelands would win international acceptance. Yet in its early days the policy did not meet with blanket rejection.

In a recent biography, Brian Urquhart reports on a conversation that Dag Hammerskjold, Secretary-General of the UN, had with Dr Verwoerd in 1961. Mr Hammerskjold declared that the homeland policy had to meet four requirements if it was to be considered by the world as a "competitive alternative" to integration.

Firstly, a sufficient and coherent territory had to be set aside for a black state. Secondly the South African Government would have to lay down a plan for radical economic development providing for industries and economic growth within a black state.

Thirdly the South African Government would have to produce a schedule for the establishment of such political institutions necessary for self-government and independence.

Lastly, blacks working outside the homelands should have their political and other human rights as normally recognised.

As Mr Hammerskjold phrased it in his memorandum: "Prolonged residence and integration in the society where they were working should entitle them to acquire citizenship with full civic rights."

Mr Hammerskjold noted afterwards that if these requirements were not met "it would put in question the homeland concept itself and the sincerity of the theory put forward in its defence". It is doubtful whether Dr Verwoerd and his successors even contemplated meeting Mr Hammerskjold's criteria.

There has been little progress towards carving out "sufficient and coherent territories" or of embarking on "radical economic development". It was really only with the Good Hope proposals of 1982 that the

Government started to put muscle behind industrial decentralisation. But this effort is still far from sufficient to address the unemployment and suffering in the homelands.

It is significant that when SA in 1976 came to actually granting independence for the Transkei the consideration of Western acceptance of this procedure took the back seat. Professor John Dugard argues that if SA had any hope to gain international recognition for an independent Transkei and the other which followed her it was imperative that Xhosa-speaking blacks living in the urban areas of SA should not lose their South African citizenship.

However, by 1976 perhaps the main aim of the South African Government in granting independence was to eliminate as many blacks as possible from citizenship of SA. In the classic exposition of this policy goal — one which has not yet been repudiated — Dr Connie Mulder stated: "If your policy is taken to its logical conclusion as far as black people are concerned, there will not be one black man with South African citizenship . . ."

This policy line, more than anything else, is responsible for the fact that no country, except the RSA, has recognised the independence of the homelands.

In spite of such pronouncements there has always been a tendency in National Party thinking not to regard homeland independence as a goal in itself. Dr Verwoerd, Mr John Vorster and Mr Botha all mooted the idea of a "commonwealth", "constellation" or "confederation" in which independent black states would enter into an association with the "white" state.

Behind this lay the idea that once ethnic and constitutional fragmentation of the black population had progressed far enough whites would feel sufficiently secure to address the problem of white-black power-sharing in a federal arrangement.

In this the special category of "qualified" urban blacks could somehow be treated as a separate entity.

How does the political balance sheet of the homelands read today? From the Government's point of view the homeland policy can hardly be regarded as an unmitigated failure. Through rigid influx controls and massive relocation programmes (occuring at huge human costs) the proportion of blacks living in homelands has risen from 40% in 1960 to 54% in 1980.

If one takes only the *de facto* population of the independent homelands about a fifth of South African blacks has been denationalised and put out of the political game. The economic development of the homelands has been by and large a failure.

Some would say that the R2,2 000-million (almost 9% of the South African budget) spent on homelands in 1983 is a complete waste of money. But this sum meets the Government's political objectives at not too prohibitive a cost, and it should be remembered that in the case of a homeland like Ciskei about 60% of the current annual budget is "normal" expenditure in that it goes into education, health, agriculture and industrial infrastructure.

From the black point of view the picture is complex. The pass laws and denationalisation policy, both tied to the homelands, are among the greatest grievances of urban blacks.

Another major grievance is the state's woeful neglect of urban infrastructure and housing for Africans becaused of its preoccupation with the homelands.

As far as homeland blacks are concerned there is obviously a difference between the views of those living in political hallucinations like KwaNdebele or Quaqua and more meaningful entities like Transkei or Kwazulu. It is nevertheless interesting to note the findings of the Buthelezi Commission which indicated that nearly half of the Kwazulu population saw some positive value in the homelands provided they could seek work freely in "white" SA.

Whether the homelands are building blocks or stumbling blocks in the search for a new political accommodation between whites and blacks is difficult to say. One can only note that the homelands have become a fixture in the political landscape of SA that cannot be wished away.

CSO: 3400/194

SCRAPPING OF INFLUX CONTROL URGED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Nov 84 p 20

[Article by Dr Zac de Beer: "Why Influx Control Has Got To Go"]

[Text]

WE SOUTH Africans are quite naturally conscious of the fact that our society is a unique one.

But all too often we allow that consciousness to grow into an obsessional belief that everything in South Africa is different from everything in the rest of the world. That is nonsense.

Urbanisation is a world-wide phenomenon.

There is nothing to be done to stop this process. Furthermore, the evidence is accumulating that one shouldn't do anything to stop it, because the quality of life is not adversely affected by the size of cities as such.

It depends on proper planning and management of the urbanisation process.

Now, I believe I have prepared the ground for the major proposition I have to put to you today. It is this:

**Influx control in South Africa is discriminatory and offensive to human dignity.**

**It negates the basic principles of free enterprise and interferes with economic progress.**

**It obscures the facts that are essential to proper planning. Moreover, it is a spectacular failure here, as it is elsewhere.**

We who are private sector employees have a special involvement, and a special responsibility. Because our employees are directly affected, we ourselves are indirectly — but profoundly — affected also.

Increasingly, as trade unions and other organs of industrial relations develop, we shall find ourselves discussing influx control and related matters with our people — and we shall have to know what to say to them.

I put it to you that the only thing we should, can or dare say to them is that influx control must go.

As to how it goes, there is room for debate. That it has to go, seems to me incontrovertible.

As an urgent priority, it must be replaced by a well-planned and thoroughly structured urbanisation policy.

This is what some major business leaders in South Africa have said recently:

**Advocate D P de Villiers**, recently retired chief executive of Nasionale Pers: "An overwhelming case seems to be building up for a fundamental rethink, with a view possibly to the phasing out of influx control and the substitution for it of better balanced policies for coping with the inevitable processes of urbanisation."

**Basil Hersov**, chairman of Anglo-Vaal: "Urbanisation is an inevitable and irreversible process, requiring carefully considered initiatives rather than futile and expensive attempts to counter its progress.

"Urbanisation must be accepted and converted into a positive element in our situation."

**Gavin Relly**, Anglo American chairman: "We tend to think that towns somehow lend themselves to riot and revolution, but I suspect that this is because towns by definition are where the bulk of the people are.

"I very much doubt whether, in the long run, the creation of impoverished, excluded rural populations is less dangerous than urbanisation. Indeed it is probably more so."

**Mike Rosholt**, Barlow Rand chairman: "South Africa must produce a well-reasoned and fully articulated state urbanisation strategy; and the private sector must be made aware of its role in carrying out this strategy and must express willingness to play that role."

**Dr Albert Wessels**, chairman of Toyota: "I regard the influx to the cities, and the contribution that it made to the solution of the poor-white issue as one of the most important economical developments in my time.

"And that has an important social and political message for present leaders: Urbanisation is not an evil, and it is not a problem either.

"The problem is that the cities are not equipped to accommodate black urbanisation. The solution is therefore not influx control, but the quicker development of new cities."

The hour has come for the idea that influx control must be reviewed and phased out.

As South Africans wishing to reduce tensions in our society, we must go this way.

As businessmen who wish to see free enterprise principles rule our economy, we must go this way.

CSO: 3400/194

MINTEK PRESIDENT: RSA WASTES ITS CHROME POTENTIAL

Johannesburg MINING WEEK in English 24 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Val Pienaar]

[Text] SOUTH Africa is wasting the income potential of its chromium reserves by exporting its production as concentrate or at other low levels of beneficiation, Mintek president Dr Aidan Edwards told Mining Week.

"About 4 percent of South Africa's foreign exchange revenue--some R1 billion--comes from chrome.

"Yet we earn only R66 million from our exports of chrome concentrate which accounts for six percent of our total chromium earnings--50 percent of total production," he said.

Dr Edwards pointed out that South Africa could virtually double its earnings from chrome within the foreseeable future if it moved into high-technology development of the metal at a realistic level.

"Only 10 years ago a major European buyer told me South Africa should leave the "high-tech" production of ferro-chrome to other countries.

"At the time I was pressing for increased local production of ferro-chrome. South Africa is now the world's prime ferro-chrome producer--this year we will earn about R700 million from ferrochrome alone.

"All we lack to move into high-tech fields is skilled manpower--and this would be available on the international market," he said.

Dr Edwards pointed out that South African production of stainless steels, other irons and steels and sodium dichromate was still carried out on a relatively small scale.

Stainless steel production alone could, realistically, be more than doubled, to give an extra income of R216 million in foreign exchange.

He said that South Africa had the potential to extend into the production of chromium chemicals.

At present, South Africa produced only two percent of the world's production, and supplied 50 percent of the ore used in overseas chemical production.

South Africa could increase its chemical production more than eight-fold, giving a total potential revenue of R347 million.

Chromium metal production was another field which Dr Edwards considered well worth further development.

The 15 000-tons-a-year world market could, potentially, supply South Africa with a slice earning R191 million.

Dr Edwards said that the development of these fields extended beyond earning of foreign exchange in their value to the country, in that they could pave the way to a solution of South Africa's vast unemployment problem.

"Mintek is increasing the emphasis of its research on the development of areas of high technology processes, as well as in fields where South Africa has already established itself.

"This is in line with our function--namely, to explore the potentials of local industry in the metallurgical field, with a view to increasing South African prosperity and the employment of its full population," he said.

CSO: 3400/194

'TREMENDOUS FUTURE' FOR PLATINUM FORECAST

Johannesburg MINING WEEK in English 24 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Val Pienaar]

[Text] PLATINUM has a "tremendous future" as a foreign exchange earner for South Africa, according to Dr Adan Edwards, the newly-appointed president of the Council for Mineral Technology (Mintek).

"South Africa's reserves of the platinum group sales are twice the size of its gold reserves.

"Already we produce some two million ounces of the world's approximately three-million-ounces-a-year platinum consumption--and we have the capacity to increase production to whatever the market will bear," he told Mining Week.

Dr Edwards explained that platinum was still a relative newcomer to the industrial scene in that, although many of its valuable properties had long been recognised, their potential had yet to be fully realised.

This, he said, was one of Mintek's prime concerns at present.

"The most astonishing feature of platinum is its enormous diversity," he said.

"This is also one of its most valuable features. Although alternatives may be found to platinum in many of its applications, it is unlikely that they will match it for performance and, once it is established, they will have difficulty shaking its market standing due to the broad base on which it can rest."

He said Mintek was currently investigating the industrial potential of the metal's corrosion-resistant properties.

"By adding small quantities of selected platinum group metals--specifically, ruthenium and palladium--to chromium-bearing steels, their corrosion-resistance may be greatly enhanced, at a cost competitive with other corrosion-resistant steels.

"Although specialised, the market for this is potentially enormous.

"For example, if the world's total ruthenium production was used to manufacture this type of commodity, it would produce some 10 000 tons of highly sophisticated, high-quality steel a year," he said.

Another facet of Mintek's research in this field is in the creation of a fusion-bonded platinum skin on to steel, also to increase its corrosion-resistance.

However, Dr Edwards said that despite its chemical properties, platinum's greatest market penetration to date has been in the field of jewellery manufacture.

"Japan takes some 25 to 33 percent of the world's platinum production for jewellery, but in the Western World the metal is not popular in jewellery.

"It's too dull and insignificant-looking to appeal to Western tastes. Clearly, in the longer term, its prime potential is an industrial metal."

Dr Edwards pointed out that platinum's potential as a catalyst for converting nitrous gases and carbon monoxide into non-toxic gases was already being recognised by car exhaust manufacturers overseas.

However, he said the potential size of this market was limited by the ability to regenerate the metal.

"In time this facet of the market will have a fairly large recycled component. It's not likely to exceed one million ounces of unused platinum a year."

"One of the most exciting applications of platinum is the fuel cell, which converts hydrogen and carbon monoxide gases directly into electricity.

"This is still at the testing stage in the US, where further power stations are planned in the 10 MW range, but it has great potential, being virtually pollution-free and with a total energy utilisation of about 80 percent."

Dr Edwards said platinum was also used in chemotherapy, although this market was very small, and added that Mintek was investigating its potential in a variety of other fields which he was unable to disclose.

"Finally, there is the possibility of using it in coinage. I believe the Noble, which is produced on the Isle of Mann, is currently selling well," he said.

"The main advantage of a platinum coin is that it would provide an ideal dumping ground for metals in the group that are selling less well in industry.

"Clearly, with six metals in the group it is inevitable that some of them will tend to be out of phase with the others."

CSO: 3400/194

MIDRAND: NEW HIGH-TECH COMMERCIAL TOWNSHIP

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 2 Nov 84 p 15

[Article by Mervyn Harris]

[Text]

A NEW upmarket, high-tech commercial township is to be built on ground at Grand Central Airport, Midrand, between Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The latest boost to the area follows the purchase in December last year of the airport and 40ha of surrounding ground by a private consortium headed by Downtown Real Estate.

The township, Grand Central Industrial Park, will include an office building for those engaged in activities related to the airport which will continue to operate.

Customs and passport control facilities will be established and plans are in hand to develop the airport's facilities under its general manager, Mr Denham Rodwell, a member of the consortium.

Sole letting agent for the township is the Boksburg office of J H Isaacs. Some 27 stands of 2 000m² and upwards are being offered for sale at between R65m² and R80m².

Mr Harold Kimmel of J H Isaacs says total building packages will be on offer. The township is suitable for laboratories, distribution centres, warehouses and offices.

"The focus will be on clean, high-technology businesses, service industries and those companies needing immediate access to an airport," he says.

The project is part of the continuing brisk industrial and business development in the Halfway House area between the N1 Ben Schoeman highway and the old Pretoria Road.

Among the industries and headquarters already established there are Johnson & Johnson, Technical Publications, Stuttafords, Estee Lauder and MSD.

Building is in progress for BMW, Alfa Romeo, Federated Insurance's industrial park, Nashua Panasonic, S M Goldstein, Delta G, Checkers, Adcock Ingram, Consolidated Glass and Imperial Cold Storage.

The growth rate in Midrahd has jumped to nearly 19% in the last six months after an average rate of 10% over the last 10 years, says town council spokesman.

Council returns show that for the 12 months from September 1983 to August 1984, plans for new industrial business buildings and improvements to existing industrial buildings totalled more than R59m.

CSO: 3400/194

DETAILS ON SATS' SERVICE, EQUIPMENT GIVEN

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Nov 84 p 2M

[Article by Kashvina Jaga]

[Text]

The Minister of Transport Services, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, launched 121 new buses on behalf of SA Transport Services (SATS) at a function in Johannesburg held at the Paul Kruger Building yesterday.

The function was attended by officials from several homelands, Swaziland, Johannesburg, the SATS and bus manufacturing companies.

The buses costing R152 000 each, seating 70 passengers and known as the Transtate, will be used to transport passengers from Johannesburg to the homeland areas.

Mr Schoeman said the buses were essential for passengers and also showed that the SA road transport network was expanding.

"Although SATS is a multimodal transport organisation, road transport will continue to play an important role in transporting goods and passengers as it is not always economically feasible to have a rail network in all areas," explained Mr Schoeman.

He said SATS transported 1,5 million people in one month over 4,5 million kilometres. He said the SATS had stringent training standards where drivers had to be thoroughly tested.

"Nearly 22,5 million accident free kilometres have been completed since 1980. This can only be attributed to the standard of training," he said.

The managing director of one of the bus companies, Mr W D Meurer, said the buses were "a combination of new technological ideas".

Some of the features on the buses include:

- A comfortable temperature is maintained by a fan-boosted cool air and heating system.
- The luggage space is 8 cubic metres. Abnormal luggage will be carried in a luggage trailer behind the bus.
- The buses are based on a model which was designed and tested for the Australian Outback where conditions are comparable with the worst in South Africa.
- Higher mounted seats giving passengers a better view and tinted windows to counteract glare.
- Air suspension ensures better road holding and a smoother, more pleasant journey.

CSO: 3400/194

## BRIEFS

MATIMBA CONTRACT--SIMON-CARVES has won a second multi-million rand contract for the new Matimba power station near Ellisras in the north-western Transvaal. The contract, for the installation of an R11,5-million water-treatment plant, is in addition to the R40-million contract for precipitators. The process design and technology for the latest facility is provided by Portals Water Treatment. Simon-Carves brief includes all civils, vessels, piping, pumps, motors and primary installation and commissioning. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Nov 84 p 11]

AID FOR ILLITERATE--ABOUT 8 000 000 people in South Africa--58% of the total population over 18 years--are not fully literate, according to a Human Sciences Research Council study. In a study on the use of radio and television in education, the HSRC says 4 000 000 people in SA over the age of 19 had received no formal education and that the education level of 3 800 000 was Standard 5 and lower. It was clear there was a pressing need for general literacy. An HSRC work committee has found there were numerous learning needs that could be satisfied by educational radio and television. The provision of education in South Africa was hampered by many problems--large classes, a shortage of teachers and insufficient trained teachers among some population groups. The work committee found educational broadcasts covering a wide geographical area could help promote renewal in education to enable adequately qualified teachers to improve their qualifications and eliminate shortages of teachers in specialist fields. Because of the increasing school population many teachers would have to be trained or retrained within the next few years and the utilisation of the mass media could play an important role in this. Through television, too, many learners could be reached simultaneously. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 10 Nov 84 p 5]

GEC TRACTION--has won a R59 m contract from Sats to supply 50 heavy freight class 10e chopper locomotives. Delivery of the locomotives, which will have 68% local content, will begin at the end of 1986. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Nov 84 p 12]

PALABORWA Mining--is to pack its cathode copper exports in Johannesburg. The 3 600 tons of cathode copper exported each month were previously containerised in Durban. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Nov 84 p 12]

UNREST HITS RECRUITMENT--CAPETOWN.--The wave of unrest is hindering the recruitment of skilled workers from Britain, West Germany and the US, says a businessman. Mr Alex Anderson, managing director of Mill & Industrial Services, criticised the Government for allowing the situation to deteriorate. In many cases the harm done is irreparable, he says. His company had been negotiating with several specialised engineers and metallurgists whose skills, he says, would have been a boon to industry. Negotiations over many months had come to nothing. "The unsettled political situation in SA led to an immediate cooling off of negotiations when people had second thoughts about moving to a country that was getting such adverse publicity in the overseas media. "We in commerce and industry are forced to cope with not only an ailing economy, but an extremely sensitive political climate thrust upon us by sometimes unfortunate decisions made and carried out by Government departments." Mr Anderson knew of several other companies that had been negotiating contracts with overseas personnel and run into the same problem. A Cape clothing exporter Serdel Investment, is reported to have lost a lucrative foreign contract apparently because of a "growing climate of mistrust of South Africa" in the wake of the Government's decision not to send back four South Africans to stand trial in England on arms dealing charges. The executive director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Dr J van Zyl, says the FCI has not received reports from companies whose recruitment of foreign staff has been hurt by the political climate. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Nov 84 p 7]

IDENTITY BOOKS--STARTING next year, the same identity book will be issued to South Africans of all races. This means also that the Department of Home Affairs will become solely responsible for the registration of births, marriages and deaths for all race groups. The new system flows from the investigation which a special Cabinet committee is doing into the political future of black citizens. With this falls another visible sign of "difference" and resultant feelings of inferiority between races and citizens. As far as the population register is concerned, from now on no distinctions will be made between South Africans on the basis of race and colour. This should remove a considerable amount of suspicion and friction, as the "dompas" was the prime symbol of discrimination for blacks. Whether the new identity book will be generally acceptable will depend on how it is used. While whites only need their books on special occasions, it has always been a criminal offence for blacks not to carry it with them, because it has been used as a control measure over black urbanisation. For blacks a "pass" in a new form will make little difference to their quality of life. Therefore one hopes that the new document will be followed swiftly by a well thought out urbanisation policy which removes the bitterness from black city living. [Text] [Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Nov 84 p 20]

DE HOOP TESTING--THE long-awaited establishment of an environmental committee to monitor activities at Armscor's missile-testing range in the De Hoop area has been appointed by the Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr John Wiley. The committee will not be a watchdog committee made up of independent ecologists as originally called for by conservationists, but a revue committee of the government-appointed Council for the Environment. A spokesman for the Department of Environment Affairs said yesterday that the committee would report on

the implementation of the Jey Report (which investigated the impact of Armscor's missile-testing range in the area) and any subsequent developments which might affect the ecology of the area. The spokesman said two other committees consisting of officials of the two controlling bodies in the De Hoop area--Armscor and the Cape Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation (CDNEC)--had also been established. They were: A technical working committee consisting of officials active at the site, to ensure that ecological disturbances were limited to an absolute minimum. An umbrella committee consisting of Armscor management and senior CDNEC officials to resolve conflicts that might arise and to supervise the necessful execution of the project. [Text] [Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 30 Oct 84 p 13]

LOW LANASIA POLL TIC 'VICTORY'--The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has hailed the result of this week's Lenasia Management Committee elections as a "massive victory", and yesterday called on those elected to resign immediately. In a statement, the TIC said only 0,28% of the more than 45 000 eligible voters had shown support for those elected. The results showed the massive rejection of the management committee and the Government's local government system as a whole, it said. Only two of the seven seats on the management committee were contested after two candidates pulled out on the eve of the elections. Those who were elected unopposed included a number of people who were recently defeated in the parliamentary elections. These include Mrs Rashida Ebrahim, who polled 35 votes in the parliamentary election, and Mr Ram Pillay. In the contested seats Mr Ram Mohabeer won Ward Two with 34 of the 35 votes cast and Mr Y Mia won Ward Five with 87 of the 97 votes cast. A TIC spokesman said yesterday that the TIC had been campaigning door-to-door, calling on people to stay away from the polls. It was clear that those elected had won only because their immediate families had voted for them, he said. The new management committee will consist of Mr Harry Behare, Mr Ram Mohabeer, Mr J. Jhina, Mr Ram Pillay, Mr Y Mia, Mr M Khan and Mrs Rashida Ebrahim. [Text] [By Anton Harber] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 2 Nov 84 p 4]

CSO: 3400/194

DVOKOLWAKO DIAMOND MINE SET FOR OPERATIONS IN JUNE 1985

Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 2 Nov 84 p 3

[Text]

**THE Dvokolwako Diamond Mines which started prospecting operations last November, is just finishing off the first prospecting operations, the chairman of the mine Mr F Hoffman said in an interview on Wednesday.**

He said his company is now evaluating the results of the prospection which will determine the future of the mine.

"While we are still not sure of the size of the mine, one thing for sure is that we are establishing a mine and we expect to start mining operations in June next year," Mr Hoffman said.

He said the actual date to start full operations will also be determined by the availability and delivery of mining equipment.

He said the diamond at KaDvokolwako will be mainly of "industrial quality, small in size with a percentage of a near-gem quality."

He said there will also be a small percentage of good quality gem stone.

The stone will mainly be exported to Antwerp, Belgium, one of the world's major trading centres for diamond.

Yesterday the chief of the area Chief Malamulela held consultations with management of Dvokolwako Diamond Mines, in order to define the area where the mine will be established and mark the security area.

About 80 to a 100 people are expected to be employed at the mine together with 15 to 20 expatriates.

"The reason for this is that diamond mining is a highly mechanised process and security also plays a major role," Mr Hoffman said.

The Swazi nation through the Queen Regent will own 50 percent of the mine, he said.

The mine is going to have Mr Hoffman as its chairman, who is also chairman of Trans Hex Group Ltd in Cape Town. There will be two Swazi directors.

CSO: 3400/197

ZCCM RECEIVES INTERNATIONAL FINANCING TO REHABILITATE MINING

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 2 Nov 84 p 1

[Text]

ZAMBIA Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) has received about K600 million from international financiers to carry out a major rehabilitation progamme of the mining industry.

The programme, which will involve replacement of equipment, renovation of plant and training, will cover the whole company and its subsidiaries.

The project is being financed by the World Bank, European Economic Community (EEC) and the African Development Bank (ADB).

Under the programme, 13 technical and social studies are being done by the company in collaboration with international consultants and will be completed by early next year.

ZCCM chairman and chief executive Mr Francis Kaunda said yesterday that these studies would enable the company to come up with a comprehensive investment programme aimed at optimising production.

Consultants from overseas, Bechtel, are looking at ZCCM's metallurgical operations, while those from Fluor Engineers are examining mining while SRI International experts are analysing the company's corporate planning, supply and services management.

"I must point out that under this programme, the welfare of employees will not be overlooked. The Mineworkers Union of Zambia will be fully briefed on the outcome of these studies and the measures to be recommended," Mr Kaunda said.

Because of the nature of the industry, it was inevitable that the mines would close eventually, but this would happen gradually.

CSO: 3400/191

LINTCO STARTS BIG COFFEE EXPORT DRIVE

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 5 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] THE Lint Company of Zambia has drawn up an ambitious programme to bolster the production of high quality exportable coffee which would earn Zambia foreign exchange.

Lintco coffee development and marketing division manager Mr Fek Kabwe said in Lusaka yesterday through the attractive incentives which had been introduced, it was estimated that the present 1,039 small holder farmers would increase to 4,395 by 1988.

Coffee production is expected to increase to 2,000 tonnes from the present 30 tonnes by 1988.

He said it was the company's aim to increase coffee production because it was now fetching high prices on the international market.

The division would encourage rural people to grow coffee to get them into the cash economy and provide technical staff for extension services.

The division would give coffee farmers credit facilities in form of inputs as per loan policy of Lintco.

According to research carried out by the division, Zambia was capable of satisfying the local demand for coffee.

To streamline the production of the crop, coffee growers would be registered.

Under this rule no person would plant or maintain a plantation without following Lintco's conditions.

The division would ensure that all coffee nurseries were registered with Lintco to regulate the amount of planting and use of the right varieties as recommended by experts.

Those wishing to sell their seedlings would be required to get permission from Lintco.

Lintco and Zambia Coffee Company would recommend to the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development grades and producer prices and the methods of payment to farmers.

"Extension services will be the responsibility of Lintco and this is aimed at maximising high quality coffee production using the present approach to coffee production," said Mr Kabwe.

He was confident that Zambia would be able to meet the export quotas as set out by the International Coffee Organisation to which the country had just been admitted.

CSO: 3400/191

NDOLA MULTI-CROP PROGRAM LAUNCHED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 27 Oct 84 p 5

[Text]

NCHANGA Farms — a subsidiary of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines has embarked on an ambitious agricultural scheme in Ndola aimed at growing various crops under irrigation.

The scheme — the Munkumpu Agricultural Development Project — is in an advanced stage with dam and canal designs already completed. Tree felling for an initial 2,000 hectares is in progress.

The establishment of the project on which wheat and soyabeans would be grown has been announced in the latest annual ZCCM report.

It is planned that 5,000 hectares would be for wheat and 7,000 hectares for soyabeans and other crops. In addition to growing various crops, the project had earmarked 21,000 hectares for ranching.

Irrigated wheat would be grown in winter in rotation with soya beans in summer Summer crops would be grown ahead of irrigation each time a field was ready.

The first 1,120 hectares of wheat would be planted in May 1986.

The Munkumpu project initiated last year was the sixth farming project Nchanga Farms had embarked on since ZCCM diversified into agriculture, says the report.

Others are Twin Rivers in Chililabombwe, Margam Valley in Kalulushi, Mufulira, Chambeshi, Luanshya Farms which are engaged in dairy, ranching and wheat farming.

Since last year ZCCM had been rationalising the activities of each of the farms from being multi-product to specialised units.

Now Twin Rivers and Margam Valley have an average monthly milk production of 150,000 litres one third of the Copperbelt production.

"These measures resulted in a reduction in losses from K1.1 million to K620,000," says the report.

Nchanga Farms was formed when the former Roan Consolidated Mines and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines amalgamated to form ZCCM to develop a large-scale agricultural scheme.

In January ZCCM was loaned K5 million by the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) to improve the farms.

CDC took up nearly K1.5 million in shares in the venture, managed it and provided experts to get it going.

But the Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ) Mukuba Farm has been facing serious operational problems.

In July MUZ chairman Mr Timothy Walamba lamented that members of the Central Committee, Cabinet ministers and other top Party and Government leaders who had visited the ranch had done nothing to help it obtain the simplest services from the Government.

Mr Walamba said the ranch was unable to provide water to the 838 head of cattle nor start a garden because of lack of water pumps.

The farm also had staffing problems, he said.

CSO: 3400/191

GEM DIGGERS FLOOD CHOMA

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 4 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] MANY Zambian "freelance geologists" are flocking to Choma in the Southern Province where they have discovered semi-precious stones, Minister of Mines Mr Basil Kabwe said in Lusaka yesterday.

There were many applicants to him for mining of the stones in the area from local people--among them a chief.

He was commenting on reports from Jusuku area residents that foreigners had started mining tin there illegally.

Mr Kabwe said there had been a lot of interest expressed by many people to carry out mining operations around Choma.

"We have received many applications from Zambians including one of the local chiefs to mine tin and other minerals in the area," Mr Kabwe said.

The ministry had not yet dealt with the applications which had just been pouring in.

But Mr Kabwe said there were some companies which had been given licences to mine tin. The minister said new applicants also wanted to mine amethyst.

"There are many free-lance geologists these days who go around to look for precious stones. They bring many kinds of stones to the ministry and ask whether they were precious or not," he said.

The "freelance" geologists have also moved to the Northern Province along the Chambishi River where they were searching for "stones".

The minister appealed to Zambians to form cooperatives to mine precious and semi-precious stones.

But he warned Zambians against being used by foreigners to get mining licenses. "The trouble is that some Zambians are not honest in their applications for mining licences," he said. It was difficult to refuse giving a Zambian a mining licence on suspicion of being used by aliens. It became difficult to prove that, he said.

CSO: 3400/191

DEBTS EXPECTED TO SOAR

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 2 Nov 84 p 1

[Text]

**ZAMBIA's external debt might soar to an alarming K12 billion within the next two years if the rescheduling of loans does not bear any results.**

The debt which at last December stood at K2.6 billion is rising rapidly because of the declining value of the Kwacha and the stalling on payments of interest rates.

According to the latest **Financial Report** for 1983 the combined interest rates and management expenses ration completely outstrip the principal loans.

Zambia is not paying more than 50 per cent servicing the external loans. This meant with the declining value of the Kwacha by the time the rescheduled loans will be due for payment the figure is expected to be even higher.

This is despite the low interest rates which the creditors may be giving Zambia.

According to the report loans from the African Development Bank (ADB) carry a low rate of four per cent interest.

But while during 1983 Zambia paid K588,188 towards repayment of the principal loan from the ADB, a total of K665,495 was paid in interest and management fees.

Government economists have described this as "frightening" and said it would lead to debt servicing problems.

The report shows that this is evident in almost all the loans Zambia has secured from abroad.

During the financial year under review Zambia paid to the United States K355,592 towards repaying the principal loan. But the added sum of interest and management fee of that same loan amounted to K1,582,295.

And towards servicing loans from Britain, Zambia paid K5.1 million in interest rates and management fees after paying K13.4 million for the loan. Both loans from Washing-

ton and London were for commodity facilities with little variation.

As for the Soviet Union no management fees were charged but for the K1.3 million which Zambia paid last year towards disposing of the principal loan an interest fee of K508,840 was levied.

The loans from Moscow were for the electrification of rural areas, construction of roads and special equipment.

Another interesting feature is on the loans from the International Monetary Trust Fund. While Zambia paid nothing towards repaying a loan the country released K15.68 million for interest rates and K135,798 for management fees.

This underlines fears that the loans on which principal payments had been stalled would be even more expensive.

Following the rescheduling of loans by the Government a complete halt to funds movement from Zambia to the creditor countries was effected to give the country some breathing space.

But this does not mean that the periods during which the loans would be "forgiven" will not be charged interest.

"At this rate," said Government economists, "Zambia would be ten times more in debt to her creditors in three years time than now. There is no way out."

CSO: 3400/191

TAZARA TRAFFIC HALTED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Patu Simoko]

[Text]

**THE Tanzania Zambia Railway (Tazara) will grind to a halt today because of serious cash problems.**

Tazara general manager Major-General Charles Nyirenda has confirmed that passenger traffic between Tanzania and Zambia has already been cancelled.

The company was urgently looking for money to meet operational costs and settle bills which were piling up in Dar es Salaam.

It was reported that a huge amount of the money was being held up in Zambia as the Bank of Zambia was not remitting it as previously arranged.

The Bank of Zambia on Thursday sent an emergency K300,000 to Tazara headquarters in Dar es Salaam but this was inadequate.

The rail line needs K8.7 million immediately for fuel and other expenses incurred in Tanzania.

Zambia is required to send K1.5 million each month to Dar es Salaam for the company's operations.

Gen Nyirenda said: "We desperately need funds in Tanzania to meet our debts with fuel suppliers. Our funds are held up in Zambia because of lack of foreign exchange as we are made to understand.

"To avoid closure of the entire operations we have suspended passenger services. Mbeya and Mlimba depots along the line have completely no fuel as at now."

## SETTLED

The general added that Tanzania BP had agreed to advance Tazara fuel for K700,000 on condition that the bill was settled as soon as money was received from Lusaka. By yesterday it was still not known when this would be done.

The loading of Zambia-bound cargo was going on "smoothly" but there is no confirmation that it will arrive.

Gen Nyirenda said the only solution to the problem would be for the Bank of Zambia to honour in full an agreement signed between the two central banks.

He said Tazara had K8 million debts in Tanzania which must be settled immediately.

The general did not indicate how much money was being held up at the Bank of Zambia.

Asked for a comment, Bank of Zambia general manager Mr Michael Mwape said the central bank had on Thursday this week authorised K300,000 to be externalised to Dar es Salaam.

He said this brought the total amount externalised for fuel expenses to K600,000 but did not say when the other allocation was remitted.

The imminent closure of the Tazara comes only less than a month after it was announced the company was introducing an express train service to East Africa.

Tazara board chairman Mr Odira Ongara said at the time that in addition to the express passenger service a fleet of 32 locomotives had been acquired.

And because of improved operations the line had scooped K6 million profit during the 1983 financial year.

Revenue from cargo and passenger haulage had risen to an all time level of K16 million during the past year.

It was envisaged that 1.1 million tonnes of goods would this year be handled by Tazara as opposed to 946,000 tonnes in 1983.

## NEEDS

Commenting on Tazara's problems, Power, Transport and Communications permanent secretary Mr Nedson Nyoni said the Bank of Zamba had released K300,000 for the line's immediate needs on October 31.

This followed "useful and helpful" discussions with the ministry and Mr Mwape, he said.

The money had already been remitted to Dar es Salaam and Mr Mwape had assured the ministry that a further K300,000 was to be sent by Thursday.

Mr Nyoni said the ministry was concerned over the affairs of the railway and it had always availed itself of the opportunity to discuss the grave financial matters facing the "Uhuru" railway with the central bank whenever there was need.

"The bank is always helpful whenever it has money and our ministry is doing its best to accommodate the needs of Tazara since it is the lifeline of Zambia as far as transportation of exports and imports are concerned," said Mr Nyoni.

CSO: 3400/191

SAUDI ARABIA GIVES MEDICINES

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 27 Oct 84 p 1

[Text] SAUDI Arabia yesterday donated nine tonnes of medical equipment and drugs to the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka through President Kaunda at State House.

The presentation was made by charge d'affaires Mr Yasser Samman at a ceremony which was attended by Secretary of State for Defence and Security Zulu and permanent secretary in the Ministry of Health Mr Mwiche Siwale.

Referring to the donation, Dr Kaunda said it was a reflection of the depth of friendship between Zambia and Saudi Arabia.

Zambia has "a grave shortage" of medical equipment and medicines and the Saudi gift would go a long way in alleviating the problem.

He thanked King Fahd for the equipment and medicines which were air-freighted into the country during the tripartite celebrations.

Dr Kaunda instructed Chairman of the Social and Cultural Sub-Committee, Mr Bob Litana who was present that he should ensure that the drugs were taken to the "right places quickly".

Mr Samman said he hoped the drugs and equipment would be of use to the UTH.

--Zambia is happy to note "with deep appreciation" the role Austria continues to play in helping the country's development efforts.

"We are happy that Austria and Zambia share a profound commitment to the ideas of freedom and justice for mankind, irrespective of colour, creed, or status in life," Dr Kaunda said in a message of congratulations to President Rudolf Kircheschlager on Austria's independence day.

CSO: 3400/191

## GOVERNMENT GIVES EX-RESIDENTS MORE TIME ON BLOCKED FUNDS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Nov 84 p 9

[Text]

HARARE — Financial circles have welcomed the Zimbabwe Government's decision to give former residents more time to decide how to dispose of their blocked funds.

The October deadline was extended to the end of the year in a move which *The Financial Gazette* newspaper described as very welcome.

People outside Zimbabwe with funds here have until December 31 to decide on their future course.

They can transfer this money to four percent government bonds, which will enable the capital to be remitted outside the country in full in 12 years for individuals and 20 years for companies; or to leave it in higher interest paying investments with no likelihood of payment of income or capital outside Zimbabwe.

It has also been established, says *The Financial Gazette* that former residents who are at least 64 years old and whose total blocked assets are worth about Zim$30 000 may retain these in blocked funds in banks or building societies for future repayments on the anniversary of their departure and for local use.

Former residents whose total blocked assets are less than Zim$6 000 may choose to retain these for local use and to pay for air tickets to and from Zimbabwe on Air Zimbabwe flights.

But former residents are not not allowed to retain a portion of their blocked funds for local use and invest the balance in external bonds.

It is all or nothing, if they do qualify for the concessions.

If a local resident dies, non-resident heirs will be permitted to receive their entire share of any inheritance abroad by way of 12-year four percent external bonds. The old limit of Zim$25 000 has been removed.

If a former resident dies abroad, non-resident heirs will inherit the existing bonds into which the blocked funds were placed.

Interest and eventual remittance of capital will be remitted to non-resident heirs.

The clampdown on the outflow of funds was imposed in March this year along with a temporary ban on the remittance of dividends and a ban on rent payments outside the country.

Drastic action to boost foreign currency resources included the seizure of externally quoted shares.

The government said the measures were necessary to pay for food imports and to enable Zimbabwe to meet its international debt obligations.

CSO: 3400/205

PROVINCE LAUNCHES $1-MILLION GUM PLANTATION

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 3 Nov 84 p 5

[Text] The Forestry Commission has begun a massive gum plantation in Matabeleland which will total 2 000 ha and cost more than $1 million during the next few years.

A total of 500 ha each will be developed at Chesa Forest area near Nyamandlovu, Gwaai forest area in Lupane, Fuller forest area in the Victoria Falls and Mafungabusi between Kana and Gokwe.

The divisional manager (indigenous forests), Mr Gavin Judge said the programme was the Commission's answer to the depletion of indigenous forests in the Kalahari sand (magusu) areas of Matabeleland resulting from over-exploitation by lumber companies during the last 20 years.

It was hoped that the programme--the first major one every undertaken in Matabeleland--would be incentive enough to district councils for them to launch similar programmes of their own in communal areas.

The indigenous timber forests of Matabeleland were running out as a result of indiscriminate felling of trees to clear land for agricultural purposes, Mr Judge said.

"Time will come when Government must control this by regulating the clearing of land for agriculture in the interest of conserving our forests."

It was difficult to put a time scale when the timber forests would be exhausted, as this depended largely on the rate at which forests were being exploited.

"It's up to the district councils to see that what is left of the resources is conserved to last as long as possible," Mr Judge said.

The commission had already taken steps to conserve the timber resources in these areas.

"We have stopped cutting the teak forests as we did in the past, concentrating our logging operations to mature mukwa only," he said.

It took hundreds of years for a teak tree to mature and great care must be exercised to ensure that immature trees were left alone to grow.

The mukwa tree was much more vulnerable to destruction, especially in communal areas where the tradition required that fire be used to clear land for crops.

Mr Judge said the capital outlay required to develop the gum plantation worked out at $600 per hectare or $55 or 1 000 seedlings.

To provide poles or domestic and other needs, district councils must consider seriously budgeting for afforestation in their areas every year to halt the tradition of indiscriminate felling of trees.

Time must come when the communal people must be told they cannot go on moving from one piece of land to another, a system which destroyed an ever-increasing volume of forests, he said.

"Gum trees grow very well in the Kalahari sand areas."

Mr Judge said 20 ha of gum trees were planted when the project started last year and another 100 ha would be planted this season, continuing with the programme until the 2000 ha were completed.

"We are examining the possibilities of obtaining a drought-resisting strain of the gum tree for poor rainfall areas of Matabeleland South," he said.

There were varieties of the gum tree that grew in very harsh conditions and the commission had people in Australia who were collecting seed of this strain of the gum tree.

"We have planted some of them at Chesa Forest and trials are being carried out at Matopos Research Station to see what results they get," Mr Judge said.

In Masvingo where the rainfall is better than in most areas of Matabeleland, 30 nurseries had been established to provide seedlings to the communal people.

"This is part of the Commisson's rural afforestation project."

Mr Judge said Zimbabwe's timber industry began at the turn of the century with the exploitation of indigenous hardwood forests in western Matabeleland.

The last 20 years had seen a lot of over-exploitation of the resources which had drastically reduced reserves for future use, he said.

Today, only the Commission at Sawmills and three co-operatives in neighbouring communal areas were engaged in logging and processing the timber.

Logging in communal areas was by concession for which the district councils issued a licence.

The commission surveyed the area and advised the council which then called for tenders. The successful application was issued with a licence whose duration depended on the volume of timber resources in the concession area.

During the life of the concession, the loggers paid royalties to the council.

The area in Matabeleland North in which teak and mukwa grow totals 1.5 million hectares of which 800 000 ha is controlled by the State.

Mr Judge said of the area controlled by the State, 568 000 ha was in the national parklands of Hwange and Victoria Falls.

"Timber in the national parks cannot be exploited," he said.

State timber operations at Sawmills were "on a sustained basis in accordance with what the forest can yield."

On average this worked out about 500 cubic metres of processed timber per month, and gumtree plantations were being developed where indigenous timber resources have been depleted.

Mr Judge said the commission had 2 200 ha under gum trees at Mtao near Mvuma, where treated power transmission poles fencing posts and mining timber are produced on a large scale.

Mtao poles were also exported to countries like Botswana.

A new treating plant was being installed at Mtao, which will produce four times more than its present output.

But by far the largest exotic (pine, wattle and gum) plantations are in the Eastern Highlands, where the Commission controls large areas, most of it owned by private enterprise.

CSO: 3400/205

PTA CONFERENCE AGREES ON NEW DEVELOPMENT BANK

MB170709 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 17 Nov 84

[Text] The minister of trade and commerce, Comrade Richard Hove, says ministers of the Preferential Trade Area [PTA] conference which ended in the capital yesterday have agreed on the establishment of a trade and development bank with an initial capital of 400 million dollars.

Speaking to newsmen after the meeting, Comrade Hove, who is also the current chairman of the PTA Council of Ministers, said the meeting also agreed that the lending and borrowing of the bank must be based on sound banking systems. He said the headquarters of the bank will be decided on at a future meeting of the PTA Ministerial Council next year.

Under the members' agreement, every PTA member country will pay 10 percent of its initial capital towards the bank within 3 months of the launching of the bank.

CSO: 3400/207

MILITARY POLICE 'EMERGENCY PLATOON' GRADUATES

MB162030 Harare Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 16 Nov 84

[Text] The first Zimbabwe military police emergency platoon graduated at the army headquarters in Harare today. The 60 members of the platoon went through a 3-month stiff defensive training course in (?controlling) riots, mass dispersions, elements of rescue operation, covering hijacking, and national developments. Speaking at the passing out parade, the reviewing officer, Brigadier Benjamin (Mabenge), said the training of the emergency platoon was the beginning of a concerted effort to transform the army into a multipurpose force capable of handling socioeconomic or military issues, which may try to destabilize the nation. Brig (Mabenge) warned the graduates not to use their newly acquired skills for the purpose of violating dignity of citizens, but for the purpose of ensuring national [word indistinct]. He also warned disloyal citizens, who are bent on destabilization, that the platoon has been trained to ensure their effective detention.

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