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STATUS OF OAU IN 1985 EXAMINED

Paris AFRIQUE CONTEMPORAINE in French Apr-May-Jun 85 pp 21-15

[Article by Edmond Jouve]

[Text] Founded in 1963 in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia under the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, the OAU will be 22 years old in May of 1985. Although it has attained full maturity, the pan-African organization has not yet completed its growth crises. On the occasion of its 20th summit conference, 12-15 November 1984, it admitted into its family a 51st member, the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR). And two other nations have manifested their desire to leave the organization: Morocco and Zaire.

During the same conference of heads of state and government, the president in power, Haile Mariam Mengistu, yielded his seat to the Tanzanian, Julius Nyerere. On the other hand, the term of interim Secretary General Peter Onu was renewed, since none of the candidates for the post of secretary general had received the required majority of two thirds of the member nations' votes.

This episode reveals the nature of the institutional crisis in which the OAU has been floundering for many years. But that is not its only deficiency. Since the African nations know that South Africa has a nuclear arsenal at its disposition, they have a heightened awareness of their weakness in matters of security. They are also sensitive to the reproaches made to them to the effect that the fruit, that is, the concrete actions, does not always correspond to the promise of the flowers, that is the texts, as far as actual cooperation is concerned.

It remains no less true that the balance sheet of the OAU is far from being purely negative. In the first place, the organization has stood up to both winds and tides. It could very well adopt the famous motto: "I bend but do not break." In the second place, the OAU has revealed itself to be a good instrument for the handling of the lesser crises of Africa. It has been instrumental in preventing certain of them and in resolving others, even if its role has been reduced as far as settling major conflicts is concerned. In the third place, lastly, the OAU has been an effective builder of unity in Africa.

By promoting the struggles for freedom, it has allowed this continent to regain part of its lost identity and dignity. By setting norms, the OAU has allowed
it to show that it was giving the children and the peoples of Africa a central place in its concerns. By adopting, on 27-28 April 1981 the Lagos plan of action for the economic development of Africa (1980-2000) and the final transactions of Lagos, it has shown that Africa also knew how to turn itself toward its future.

But if the OAU wants to continue to make progress, it has to correct the deficiencies already noted. Even then, three imperatives should guide the OAU along its path toward the horizon of the year 2000:
1) To resolve the institutional crisis;
2) To promote the collective defense of the continent; and
3) To organize cooperation in a practical way.

Some ground has been broken in these three directions. The OAU will have to give them priority as spheres of action if it does not want to disappear, or at least to face an inexorable decline.

I. The Need To Resolve the Institutional Crisis

What is the situation today? The Addis Ababa Charter organizes the Africa of nations, not the Africa of peoples. The administrative bodies of the OAU respond to this concern. This is true of the conferences of the heads of state and government, also called summits, as well as of the ministerial councils.

In 1963 there was no talk of searching for a "first among equals." At the very most an administrative secretary general of the organization was to be selected; he would be charged with directing the services of the secretariat. As for the rest, various commissions had the function of either settling the differences that arose between member states or making proposals which would then be examined by the decision-making bodies.

In 22 years this plan has been somewhat modified. The OAU has not escaped the more general phenomenon of personalization of power. This has become manifest in two ways. In the first place, the OAU has given substance to the role of one organ which was barely mentioned in the charter: the president in power. According to the internal by-laws of the conference, he fulfills the most important duties at the time of the holding of summits; but by making profitable use of his powers, he can put his stamp on events. Thus the action taken by Julius Nyerere had not a little to do with the renewal of Peter Onu's term as interim secretary general in November 1984.

But the functions of the president in power do not stop even there. In fact, he can exercise a continuous and decisive role between summit conferences. He is the personification of the organization and may serve as its privileged spokesman or even as its permanent and active CEO. Even then, the president in power acts on a scale that the regulations do not foresee.

In this respect it is possible for him to come into conflict with another organ of the OAU, its secretariat general, as was the case regarding the admission of the SDAR to the OAU.

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And that is all the more true in that the secretariat general in turn has undergone a change which the charter did not a priori provide. The personality of the successive elected secretaries general, Diallo Telli, Nzo Ekangaki, William Mbounona and Edem Kodjo, as well as the role they played in coordinating, encouraging and following up measures that they had initiated, have contributed to make of them an essential part of the machinery of the organization.

Thus personalization, but also complexification, of the power. First, the multiplication of regional offices gives evidence of the numerous activities of the organization: the soils office in Bangui, the office of African languages and oral traditions in Niamey, the inter-African office of animal resources in Nairobi, etc. Then, specialized agencies of the OAU were born and grew: the African Civil Aviation Commission (CAFAC), the Pan-African Postal Union (UPAP), the Pan-African Union of Telecommunications (UPAT), the African Union of Railroads (UACF) and the Pan-African News Agency (PANA). In the third place, other organizations saw the light of day, among them the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the Pan-African Youth Movement (PAYM). Finally, the ad hoc committees have multiplied.

On the other hand, certain institutions for which provision was made in the charter have become obsolete or have been struck with anemia. This is the case of the Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and several other specialized commissions.

Even then, if the OAU wants to continue to grow under good conditions, it must soon revise its charter, so as to bring the law into agreement with the facts. Thus it would have to make official provision for the president in power, the specialized institutions and the ad hoc committees. Their statute must be defined and their duties made specific. The functions of the secretary general would also have to be more clearly defined. And it would perhaps also be suitable to create a court of law.

Of course, the statutes of the OAU were already reformed once, in July 1979, but a further step would now have to be taken by endowing the organization with institutions better adapted to its mission. Thus the first goal would be attained: the settlement of the institutional crisis. And there is a second goal that concerns the collective defense of Africa.

II. The Need To Promote a Collective Defense

The situation of Africa in matters of defense leaves a great deal to be desired. Of course, a defense commission has been in existence since 1963. But this authority could hardly have been considered active. It has met only eight times in 21 years. Within the secretariat general there is no department of defense (on a par with the department of finances or that of education, science and culture, for example).

The problem of defense and security come within the province of the political department department and more particularly within that of its division of general affairs, defense and security. Practically speaking, it is a section of defense and security which has the competence to deal with these matters, under the authority of the assistant secretary general for political affairs.
Nonetheless, the OAU charter is quite clear on this subject. According to its second article, the member nations must coordinate and harmonize "their general policies," particularly in matters of "defense and security." In reality, the OAU has not dissociated itself from these problems. On several occasions, the secretaries general proposed to put in place what Edem Kodjo called a "crisis structure." But the "African Council," the "Political and Security Council" and the "Permanent Force for the Maintenance of Peace" have all remained in the planning stages. The nations, jealous of their sovereignty, hardly wish to divest themselves of their powers in this area, even in a very limited way. Such is the first element of the official statement.

There is a second, which concerns nuclear weapons. Here again, Africa has come a long way. As early as the constitutional conference of the OAU, which met from 23 to 25 May 1963, there was a resolution declaring Africa a "denuclearized zone." In 1984 at Lagos, the member nations of the OAU adopted a "declaration on the denuclearization of Africa." Today this position is in great measure being questioned.

In his political testament of 10 June 1983, Mr Edem Kodjo, the outgoing secretary general of the OAU, proposed to the African heads of state and government to modify their attitude regarding nuclear matters. And especially let no one come to tell us about the denuclearization of Africa, he declared, when South Africa has a nuclear arsenal at its disposition. Against whom are they building these atomic bombs? Against us, of course; and the duty of any African nation capable of doing so is to launch itself boldly into the nuclear camp.  

Already several African countries are carrying on considerable activity in this area. One may think that in the years to come, the OAU will have to change directions in such a way as to satisfy the aspirations of an ever growing number of African authorities. The day is near, without doubt, when the OAU will feel that the collective defense of the continent will depend on its supply of nuclear weapons.

Such is the second imperative that thrusts itself on the OAU today. There is a third one whose urgent nature no one fails to see: the need to organize concretely the cooperation of the African continent.

III. The Need To Organize Cooperation on a Practical Level

The OAU is often reproached for adopting texts that are certainly innovative but all too frequently short-lived and at times without practical importance. If it wishes to escape this criticism, it must take steps aimed on the one hand at implementing the commitments it has made and on the other at furnishing a remedy for the financial crisis which is undermining it.

The commitments the OAU has made are of two types. Certain are of a contractual nature (such as the agreement concerning refugees of 1969). Others take the form of statements or plans. The Lagos plan of action illustrates this first category. It contains a profession of faith in autonomous and indigenous development. It admits the urgent need to adopt specific measures in favor of the least advanced nations (there are 26 of them in Africa). These measures include
in particular the strengthening of the efforts being exerted with an eye toward preparations for the consequences of the drought and the struggle against desertification.

The member nations of the OAU are currently willing to exceed these theoretical statements of need.

The accomplishments of the latest summit give evidence of this. It was thus that, at the suggestion of Algeria, by the vote of President Chadli, a special emergency aid fund was created to assist the victims of the drought. This organization, intended to supply aid to 27 countries and their 150 million inhabitants, is already in operation. It approved loans of 751,000 dollars (for Ethiopia), 110,000 dollars (for the Sahel countries), 50,000 dollars (for Mozambique) and 50,000 dollars (for Chad).

Everything leads one to believe that the OAU will continue to move in this direction, so as to bring to realization what it defines in its entreaties. If there were need of yet another illustration of this tendency, one could cite the appeal made to African countries on 28 December 1984 by Mr Peter Onu, that they should increase their aid to the most impoverished countries and should supply them with medical assistance. Another example of this willingness to embrace the problems faced by Africa: in 1985 an economic summit should be convoked to size up the situation, particularly as concerns the indebtedness of African countries.

It is clear that the implementation of these measures requires a rehabilitation of OAU finances. There again, the situation leaves something to be desired; first, by reason of the modest size of the OAU budget, which is presently on the order of 25 million dollars. But there is worse: in effect, the rate of assessments collected from the member nations each fiscal year is only between 30 and 40 percent. Thus on the eve of the 20th summit, the cumulative deficit of the organization rose to some 43 million dollars. Only 30 nations were in the black on the OAU ledgers.

The OAU will probably not be able to sustain itself much longer with these deficiencies, the factors of paralysis.

The OAU is thus faced with serious problems which need an urgent solution. At the same time, however, this pan-African organization is giving a thousand signs of life, such as the creation of PANA and the adoption of the African cultural charter and the African agreement on the rights of men and peoples.

The difficulties faced by the OAU could thus be the result of a growth crisis, all in all a healthy one which, once surmounted, should allow it to face the next millennium under the best possible conditions.

FOOTNOTES


5. The contract bearing the creation of PANA was published by this magazine, in its issue No. 104, (July-August 1979, p 30). Issue No. 128 of the same periodical (October-November-December 1983), published a column on "The Pan-African Agency: the News a Reality," p 55.


8117
CSO: 3419/446
BRIEFS

MANO RIVER UNION DEBT--Freetown, 22 Aug (AFP)--The three member-states of the Mano River Union, the economic organization linking Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, together owe nearly 6 million dollars to it in arrears, Secretary General Augustine Caine said here last night. Guinea owed 2.5 million dollars, Sierra Leone 2 million and Liberia 1.5 million dollars, he told a new conference. He said that if the ministerial council accepted a recent recommendation to trim the cost of the Union's staff by having fewer but better-trained people, nearly 250,000 dollars could be saved. Sierra Leoneans make up 40 percent of the professional staff while the remaining 60 percent is shared between Guinea and Liberia, he said. /Text/ /Paris AFP in English 0730 GMT 22 Aug 85/

CSO: 3400/965
NEW OMA LEADERS ELECTED IN HUAMBO PROVINCE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Huambo—The third provincial assembly of the OMA [Organization of Angolan Women], which has been taking place from 12 to 13 June in this city, ended its work with the election of new members of the Provincial Committee as well as for the organization's Secretariat.

Thus, Aurora Junju, member of the party's Provincial Committee, was elected provincial secretary of OMA, replacing Joana Chitomba, who was named to join the organization's executive body during the electoral process, in which 173 delegates from all of this province's municipalities participated.

This third assembly, whose work was done under the guidance of Rosalia Pacavira, member of the OMA's National Committee and secretary for the Productive Work Department, also approved the report on the assessment of the outgoing Provincial Committee, with amendments.

At the conclusion of the work, motions were approved to back Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the party's Central Committee.

Similarly, the delegations to the assembly expressed their sincere condolences at the death of Comrade Manuel Augusto Alfredo (Orlog), member of the party's Central Committee and commander of the Angolan People's Navy.

In her closing speech, Joana Junqueira, member of the Department for Support to Mass and Social Organizations of the party's Central Committee, expressed delight at the dynamic and militant manner in which new members were elected, both for the Provincial Committee and the Secretariat.

However, during a portion of her address, that official called upon the newly elected leaders to make maximum use of the outgoing body's experience, in order to comply with the instructions outlined by the historic First Party Congress.

Taking part in the closing ceremony, which enthusiastically recorded the messages from the party's youth organization, UNTA [National Union of Workers of Angola] and the defense and security forces, were Lt Col Joao Ernesto dos Santos Liberdade, provincial commissar; Lopo Bravo, coordinator of the Organization Department of the party's Provincial Committee; and Rosalia Pacavira, representing the National OMA.

2909
CSO: 3442/372
CMR FIFTH REGIONAL PRESIDENT VISITS NAMIBE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 20 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Namibe--Last Monday, the president of the Regional Military Council of the fifth region, Lt Col Rafael Sapilinha (Sambalanga) paid a visit to Namibe Province, at the conclusion of which he noted inadequacies in the supply of goods of prime necessity by the central agencies.

That leader, who visited at length some departments of the Ministry of Home Trade provincial delegation, specifically the EDIMBA warehouses and the consumer registration center, observed at the latter the proper fulfillment of the first phase of the new supply system, consisting of associating the card with the shop closest to the place of residence.

On this occasion, the president of the Regional Military Council (CMR) was informed that, by the end of July, the second phase of the supply system will be ended, with the start of the family group. Also, the facilities of Esfera de Gas, Commercial Port, Barreiras Salt Works, and the ARAN and SOMAR fishing centers received a visit from Lt Col Rafael Sambalanga.

It should be mentioned that, at the Barreiras Salt Works, the supreme head of the CMR expressed satisfaction with the salt production; whereas SONANGOL's [National Angolan Fuel Company]Esfera de Gas in operation since April, undertook to fill 42,000 butane gas cylinders by the end of the first half of this month, and is currently facing difficulties with transportation to distribute the product to the population.

Assessment of the 11th Phase of Literacy Instruction

Meanwhile, the Namibe Municipal Committee on Literacy Instruction assessed the activities carried out during the 11th phase of the literacy campaign, at a meeting held recently in this city.

The meeting, which took place under the guidance of the municipal coordinator, Armando Matias, found positive results accrued during this phase to eradicate illiteracy, and planned the distribution of incentives to the literacy instructors and teachers who expended the greatest effort on this important task.

The recommendation to assign zonal coordinators and educational workers in areas where the highest index of this evil left by colonialism exists was viewed as an issue deserving immediate measures.

2909
CSO: 3442/372
CMR FOURTH REGION PRESIDENT VISITS BIE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 22 Jun 85 p 12

[Text] Bie—In connection with the work on assistance and inspection, Lt Col Joao Ernesto dos Santos (Liberdade), president of the Fourth Region Military Council, engaged in intensive activity yesterday in Bie Province, first meeting in the municipality of Kuito with members of the Regional Military Council.

During the course of the meeting, in which Lt Col Marques Monakapui Bassovava, provincial commissar of Bie, Maj Eusebio Teixeira de Brito, assistant commander of the Fourth Military Region, as well as members of the defense and security forces participated, matters relating to the region's politico-military situation were discussed, and on this occasion the combat readiness of the Armed Forces detailed to this region which have inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy in several military operations, was praised.

Continuing his work program, Lt Col Joao Ernesto dos Santos went to the commune of Jamba, in the municipality of Chitembo. On that site, the president of the Fourth Region Military Council was informed of the success achieved by the fifth battalion of the FAPLA's 48th Brigade, which at dawn on 2 June, in nearly 4 hours of heavy combat, killed 50 bandits who were attempting to attack the commune.

During that attack, as we were told by Inocencio Cangongue, the battalion's chief of staff, 18 weapons were seized from the enemy, including an RPG-7.

Speaking during the rally held in that locality in the presence of hundreds of people, Lt Col Liberdade called attention to the need for redoubling the vigilance, so as to neutralize the puppet gangs, which, under orders from the South African racists, are attempting to destabilize the revolutionary process that is under way in our country.

In addition to this meeting with the population, the provincial commissar of Huambo presented material incentives such as bicycles and television sets to the combatants assigned to that battalion who, with courage and determination, managed to repel the onslaughts of the enemy.
REINTEGRATION OF FORMER COMBATANTS INTO PRODUCTION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 20 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Lubango—Over 400 former combatants have already been reintegrated into the production process in Huila Province, with plans calling for the reintegration of another 60 individuals during the coming months.

In an interview granted to our newspaper, the provincial agent of the State Secretariat of Former Combatants, Gaspar Lopes, stressed that the organization of those assisted into some production units is due mainly to the local officials' understanding of the need to comply with the instructions from the superior echelons, stipulating assistance for former combatants, those physically disabled in war, and the orphans and widows of veterans.

Commenting on the physical rehabilitation of the veterans, Gaspar Lopez noted that this task depends on the provisions existing in the National Social Projects Department; and that under the control of his agency, among other things, are 58 parts for the supplying of prostheses for both high and low-ranking members.

The Huila provincial agency for former combatants, which currently controls nearly 1,250 persons, has a temporary dwelling with the capacity to house 80 guests, and a social and recreational center to occupy the free time of the veterans, and also for exchanges of views and intensifying the unity among all those assisted.

That official also disclosed that a certain number of motorcycles have already been acquired, which will minimize the lack of transportation facilities besetting the veterans; noting that, this year, the agency which he heads has no prospects of expanding its municipal structures, owing to the current difficulties.

In conclusion, Gaspar Lopes emphasized that the State Secretariat of Former Combatants in Huila is aiming to improve the social conditions of those it is assisting, as well as to enhance their political level.
PARTY COMMITTEE MEETING HELD IN BENGEULA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 19 Jun 85 p 10

[Excerpt] Benguela--Last Monday, the sixth plenary meeting of the party's Provincial Committee in this province concluded its work, in the conference room of its building.

During the course of the work which started early in the day and which was directed by the member of the Politbureau of the MPLA-Labor Party's Central Committee, Kundi Payama, the committee analyzed, among other matters, the province's organizational situation, the degree of fulfillment of the previous decisions and the socioeconomic and politico-military situation.

The meeting, which was attended by the majority of the members, analyzed and approved the reports from the Executive Commission and the Provincial Inspection Commission, discussing the operation of the MPLA-Labor Party's municipal committees and the mass and social organizations.

In the political and organizational area, an analysis was made of the party's second campaign for growth, and there was a discussion of the composition of the provincial preparatory commission for the Second Party Congress, which will be held in Luanda next December.

As for the socioeconomic problem, the committee carefully analyzed the activities of the agricultural cooperatives in the municipalities, and reviewed the report containing information on the devastation brought by the rain early this year, which caused damage not only from the floods at the Biopio hydroelectric dam and in the commune of Catumbela, but also to some grain plantations in the producing municipalities.

At its conclusion, the participants severely condemned the action taken by the South African Army, in collusion with its servants in UNITA. On the other hand, they congratulated the glorious FAPLA, particularly the forces of the second politico-military region, which managed to repel the group of mercenaries attempting to sabotage the Malongo oil facilities last month. They ended by expressing their condolences to the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee and the bereaved family at the loss of Lt Col Manuel Augusto Alfredo, Orlog.

2909
CSO: 3442/371
WHEAT FLOUR DONATION DELIVERED BY CHINESE AMBASSADOR

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Jul 85 p.3

[Text] Yesterday, in the commercial port of Luanda, Zhao Zhenkui, ambassador of the People's Republic of China accredited to our country, made the delivery of 2,000 tons of wheat flour donated by his government to the Angolan people.

Carlos Fernandes, state secretary of cooperation, attended the ceremony, and in his remarks described the Chinese Government's gesture as one of solidarity toward the Angolan people in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, affirming the new atmosphere of good friendship and cooperation that prevails between the two states and governments.

The Angolan official remarked: "This generous gesture has contributed greatly to the reinforcement of the bilateral relations between our countries, and is also a response and proof of the Chinese Government's sensitivity to the many appeals from the Angolan Government to the international community"; expressing in conclusion the RPA's desire to expand its economic relations with all the nations of the world.

Zhao Zhenkui, in turn, cited his government's endeavor to intensify the friendship and cooperation between the two states, and voiced optimism regarding the increase in cooperation between both countries. The Chinese ambassador underscored the efforts made by our country's government to solve its economic problems.

The many donations that have been benefiting our country prove that our voice has now met with an echo and solidarity from the international community. Moreover, it should be noted that another donation of 1,000 tons of wheat is enroute to Angola, and plans also call for the signing of various agreements in different areas between the two countries.

The ceremony was also witnessed by officials from the Ministries of External Affairs and Foreign Trade, and from the Secretariat of Cooperation.

2909
CSO: 3442/371
ELECTRICITY PROBLEMS IN BENGUELA PROVINCE DESCRIBED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 20 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Benguela—"The lack of power that has occurred this year in Benguela Province is due to vibration problems in a bearing which required the replacement of some of its components," as JORNAL DE ANGOLA was told in Benguela by the central region director of the National Electricity Company (ENE) and agent of the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum, Reis Esteves.

According to the head of the National Electricity Company's central region, Benguela and Huambo Provinces and the municipality of Chinguari, in Bie Province, are currently experiencing great problems with electric power, owing to the shutdown of the Lumauam hydroelectric power plant, which was sabotaged on 17 January 1983 by a racist commando group, and of the Alto Catumbela sub-station, also damaged on 12 February of the same year.

With the inoperativeness of these two major power producing centers, the central region was left with Biopio, consisting of four hydroelectric generating sets, each with 3.6 megawatts (MW) and a 21.8 MW gas turbine, while the supply of power to the Kubal, Ganda and Alto Catumbela areas had been made impossible earlier.

Because of the long life of the Biopio hydroelectric power plant, new problems started to crop up. It could only be kept in service until 1983, thanks to the efforts and sacrifices undertaken by the ENE personnel; which to some extent mitigated the effects of the stoppage of Lumauam.

In its final conclusions, the First Congress of the MPLA-Labor Party called for the renovation of this producing center and, in March 1984, the work was started, with the equipment confined merely to a hydroelectric generating set and the thermal power plant.

However, this power plant had its problems as well, which, according to the ENE regional director, occurred at the outset. It remained virtually inoperative from 1973 until 1980, the date on which "it was put into continuous operation again with our electricity company's own facilities, producing enough to meet nearly 85 percent of the demand." As has already been noted, this power plant
had serious problems, requiring many hours of stoppage for maintenance and repair of the damage; which has jeopardized the power supply to the central region.

According to the regional director of ENE, the repair of the damage has had the assistance of three technicians provided by the manufacturer, in the first phase of the work, and the rest has been ensured by Angolan personnel. In the operation use was made of surplus materials found, with a certain amount of difficulty, in a company which operates with SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company] in Soyo; and some work was also done with facilities from the port of Lobito and other repair firms in that city.

The costs of the repairs are not yet known, according to Reis Esteves, because of the fact that the contacts with the manufacturer and the purchase of surplus materials have been made by the general management, and the latter has not yet sent the bills to the central regional management.

Huambo Connection Impossible Without Biopio No 1 Generating Set in Service

In response to a question as to when the connection of Huambo Province will be made, the central region director of the National Electricity Company claimed that this connection will not be possible until one of the Biopio hydroelectric power plant's generating sets goes into operation, because of technical factors; more precisely, the reactive power occurring on the line, in view of the distance from the central plateau, without the aid of the Alto Catumbela sub-station.

However, the work on renovating the Biopio hydroelectric power plant is continuing and, at the present time, tests are being made of the No 1 set, by the manufacturer's specialized technicians who came from France precisely for this purpose.

Company Organization

The National Electricity Company's central regional management comes directly under this firm's general management, and covers Benguela, Huambo, Bie and Moxico Provinces. It has its own table of organization, with a regional director who has several support organs under him, such as the secretary's office and records, human resources, accounting and finance, supplies, statistics and transportation; in addition to a technical section, that of production, transportation and distribution, to which the Biopio and Lumaun power plants, the transportation lines and the sub-stations are subordinate.

The central regional management also has a cadre training center known as the "Comandante Kassange," in which technical cadres are trained for the company.

The number of workers included is 412, 25 of whom are women and 387 men; and their occupational training level is quite low, which causes the firm to struggle with a lack of specialized personnel to ensure its operation on satisfactory levels.
Social Conditions

The standard of living of that company's workers, according to its director, belongs "on the medium level of workers in the People's Republic of Angola, based on the existing conditions." The measures adopted to raise it are, among others, the opening of mess halls in the work centers, managed by the workers themselves, who are backed by the company's management.

According to Reis Esteves, at the latest Consultative Council Meeting of the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum, the problem of the workers' social conditions was debated, and important resolutions were passed regarding food, housing, medical assistance and medicines, child day care centers, nurseries, dining halls, social security, etc., which that entity and the companies in the industry are attempting to implement as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile, there are already first aid stations at the production centers in Lumaun and Biopio, which give assistance not only to the workers, but also to the population living in and around the development.

Insofar as working mothers are concerned, according to its director, the company is complying with the stipulations in the legislation pertaining to this matter.

Literacy instruction, as important as it is, also exists in the company, which "provides everything to the workers to make them literate," according to its director. However, it has not yet been possible to organize a sports or cultural group at the company, owing to "the difficulties that we are experiencing," remarks Reis Esteves; but the central regional management sponsors the Lobito Independent Electro Club, "which has its doors open to all workers," and which has held several meetings, "on the initiative of the workers themselves, with some backing from the management."

Workers' Social and Political Organization

According to the central region director, "there are party and union agencies in the company, of a general type," which, as we know, serve to organize and protect the workers, as well as mobilizing them for their participation in the tasks of the revolution and national reconstruction.

Thus, the workers' participation in the May Day activities this year was quite positive, because most of them were recruited into the provincial events and others took part in the work to repair the Biopio hydroelectric power plant.

2909
CSO: 3442/371
RESERVE POWER STATION TO BE INSTALLED IN LOBITO

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 20 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Our newspaper was informed by the National Electricity Company's central region director, Reis Esteves, that a reserve diesel power plant will be built in Benguela Province, or more precisely, in the city of Lobito, next year.

The power plant, consisting of four 5 MW batteries, providing a total power of 20 MW, is of French origin, and will constitute a national power reserve.

According to Reis Esteves, the small power plants are on wagons, which will make it possible to move them to the areas stricken by a loss of electric power, benefiting from the railroad lines.

The date set for the arrival of the power plant, which is currently still in the construction phase, has not yet been made official; and it is anticipated that it may arrive after the first quarter of 1986.

However, the prospects of the central regional management for next year are encouraging, because this power plant will start operating based on the supply of power to Benguela Province, and the Biopio thermal power plant will begin operating as a reserve, or vice versa, depending on the status of damages and scheduled overhaulings.

Nevertheless, the regional director claimed that this management's difficulties involving the electric power supply will not be surmounted until after the Lumaun hydroelectric power plant goes into service.

That official also noted that the prospects until the end of this year are bright as well, with the exception of the month of October when, because of a major overhauling at the Biopio thermal power plant, a system of restrictions will begin.

2909
CSO: 3442/371
LUMBER ENTERPRISE TO SUPPLY DOMESTIC MARKET, EXPORTS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Jun 85 p 12

[Text] Cabinda--The 17 September Lumber Enterprise, founded in 1983 for the primary purpose of forest exploitation and semi-processing of lumber, is the most influential enterprise in the municipality of Buco-Zau; and for this reason, on 30 May, it received a visit from the president of the party and the People's Republic of Angola, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, during his trip to Cabinda.

The Lumber Enterprise, in addition to continuing to meet the domestic needs, has exported to date 35,000 cubic meters of lumber in the form of logs, with nearly 50,000 cubic meters of last year's production still available in lumber yards.

Although it is in a difficult situation because of the meager managing capacity in its administration and the shortage of material needed on the domestic market for technical assistance, the aforementioned enterprise managed to efficiently fulfill its production plan of 100,000 cubic meters of lumber in the form of logs last year, the first year of its activity.

The enterprise, the creation of which cost 150 million kwanzas, has annual receipts of 600 million, expenses totaling 400 million and a positive balance of 200 million kwanzas. There are 636 Angolans and 500 Cuban collaborators working in it.

The new period for this enterprise's extraction of lumber began on 13 May, with a 90 percent level of intervention, and it will end in October of this year.

With the Cuban technical assistance, this local enterprise has 11 brigades, four of which are engaged in forest exploitation and seven others are specialized, namely, for clearing trails, short distance lumber transportation, treating lumber, semi-processing of products, agriculture and livestock for food self-sufficiency and also reforestation and silvicultural treatment, respectively.

Operating over an area of 100,000 hectares, this enterprise and others of its kind now created in the country, as a result of the recent forest restructuring, are now specializing in the execution of integral projects, that is, forest exploitation and reforestation.
Specifically in the silvicultural area, the action already begun on experimental lumber has shown quite encouraging accomplishments with local native species. The experiment has already resulted in the growing of 1,527 limba, livuile, tola-chinwuta and rosewood plants over an area of 22 hectares.

Over the short term, its activities will involve essentially the study of projects for industrial utilization of lumber, with a view toward producing simple social items and making total use of the ligneous products, based on the proposals already in existence.

The materialization of the reforestation project stems from the results already experienced, calling for the installation of five new lumber processing units, whose projects are part of the special socioeconomic program of this province, the construction of a forest research center and the purchase of the material necessary for it; these being some of the activities scheduled.

The massive training of cadres for the forest sector, the implementation of the project involving the construction of 200 dwellings to house the workers and the studies relating to the possibilities of acquiring a suitable processing technology, because the present one is not economically advisable,are also included in the 17 September Lumber Enterprise's plan for execution.

Insofar as lumber is concerned, Cabinda Province has had an increase in this product of about 112,309 cubic meters per year; thereby allowing for a maximum exploitation of 120,000 cubic meters per year, which represents approximately 140 percent of the total exploited in 1973.

It is noteworthy that the 17 September Lumber Enterprise is located in the municipality of Buco-Zau, with an area of 1,866 square kilometers, of the 7,000 comprising the province, which has 17,355 inhabitants.

The fundamental activity of the population in this municipality is agriculture, primarily the growing of bananas, malanga, potatoes and yams. As for the state's activities, concurrently with the forest (lumber) exploitation, the development of large areas for growing coffee and cacao should be emphasized.

2909
CSO: 3442/372
PARTY MEMBERS AT COFFEE ENTERPRISES——The zonal action official of the municipality of Nambuangongo, Jacinto Joao Antonio (Toneno), member of the MPLA-Labor Party's Central Committee, recently traveled to this locality, where he paid a series of visits for assistance and inspection to the Territorial Coffee Enterprises located there. For 5 days, that leader, who was accompanied by members of the municipal party and government leadership, had an opportunity to visit the Maria Fernandes, Bombo, Mucondo and Sande Enterprises, as well as meeting with the population in that area. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Jun 85 p 3] 2909

VISITS TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES——Today, Jose Domingos Francisco Tuta (Ouro de Angola), state secretary of former combatants, begins working visits to three socialist countries, in response to the invitations tendered him by similar agencies and organizations in the respective countries. Hence, the Angolan governor will first visit the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at the invitation of the Central Committee Against Fascism and Capitalism; then continuing to the Soviet Union, this time in response to the invitation sent by the Soviet War Veterans Committee. The Republic of Vietnam will be the final leg of the journey, at the invitation of the Ministry of Former Combatants and Social Affairs. In each country, the talks will pertain to the exchange of views in the area of social assistance to veterans and victims of war, and in addition visits will be made to physical rehabilitation centers and to view the socioeconomic achievements for the veterans of those countries. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Jun 85 p 3] 2909

UNITA MEMBER CONFESSES CRIMES——At a press conference held on Monday in the city of Malange, Maj Cesar Augusto Pugliese, commander of the ninth politico-military region, introduced to the native and foreign news media the UNITA "candidate" who made it possible to seize and confiscate the weapons storage places which that puppet group has in the areas of the municipalities of Marimba and Kunda-Dia-Base (in Malange Province). The aforementioned "candidate," named Domingos Hequel, aged 32, joined that counterrevolutionary group in the pay of the Pretoria racist regime in 1975, and until the date of his capture by the glorious FAPLA, was discharging the duties of "logistical chief." On this occasion, Domingos Hequel claimed that the 40 tons of weapons captured by the defense and security forces had been thrown on parachutes by four South African planes. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Jun 85 p 12] 2909

CSO: 3442/371/372
FINANCIAL AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN--The exchange of notes for a financial assistance of Y545 million, that is 1.90 billion CFA francs, took place today, Tuesday, 20 August, at the Ministry of External Relations and Cooperation. Under the agreement, the Japanese Government is giving the money to Burkina Faso as a subsidy. The first note signed stipulates that the Japanese Government will grant our country the sum of Y500 million, that is about 1 billion CFA francs, to be used to purchase the equipment and vehicles to maintain roads. The second note signed bore on Y45 million, that is 90 million CFA francs, to be used for the purchase of vehicles equipped with audiovisual teaching aids. /Excerpts/ /Ouagadougou Domestic Service in French 1900 GMT 20 Aug 85/

CSO: 3400/985
ARREST OF PRIESTS FOR PAMPHLETING EXPLAINED

EA111704 Bujumbura Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 11 Aug 85

[Text] A number of people, including priests, were recently arrested in our country. Many people wondered, or are still wondering, why.

To avert the possibility of erroneous interpretation, the Interior Ministry has issued the following details to inform the Burundi people and the external world as to what occasioned these measures.

First--As regard the priests of the Gitega [Central Burundi FBIS] Diocese, who have been imprisoned, the Government of the Republic of Burundi, wishing to regulate social, religious, cultural and other activities, decreed a (12)-hour day from Monday to Saturday, Sunday being considered a day of rest for all and generally a day when religious services can take place at any time.

This rule was communicated to all the bishops and legal representatives of all the churches and sects. It was agreed that on weekdays, services would commence from 1700 when everyone is supposed to have finished work. It was also agreed that all religious officials would freely fulfill their mission in close cooperation with the civilian authorities for the realization of all aspects of the Burundi peoples' social welfare. Regrettably, a number of the priests of the Gitega Diocese refused to comply with what had been agreed upon.

This prompted the government to take the required steps, notably the imprison-ment of those priests. The latter are accordingly imprisoned, not as priests, as some people and the individuals involved might consider, but because they have violated the standing laws of an independent and sovereign country.

Religious freedom, just like any other freedom under fundamental laws, is respected and protected all over the republic. On the other hand, such as hide behind so-called religious good intentions and seek to sow disorder in our country, cannot be tolerated. In Burundi everyone is equal before the law, and whoever tries to evade it will be punished accordingly.

Second--Concerning the authors of the pamphlet sent on behalf of the Christians of the Bujumbura Diocese, it is about 2 weeks since a group of Bujumbura people, who are not even members of the clergy, encouraged and instructed by certain priests, embarked on the composition of a letter, which they unscrupulously
sent in the name of all the Christians of the Bujumbura Diocese. The letter comprised a number of distortions aimed at stirring up confusion and disorder and discrediting the authorities before the people. The pamphlet, which the authors were not courageous enough to sign, but listed their names, was addressed to the bishop of the Bujumbura Diocese, who officially disapproved of it through his letter of 2 August 1985. The pamphlet was to be distributed to all the parishes and houses of the Burundi religious congregations.

The authorities were duly informed. All the pamphlets were seized and their authors arrested in conformity with the dispositions of the penal code. These individuals will, just like any other citizen, be charged for their misdeeds. Therefore, we call on the whole population, including the clergy, to shun such people whose sole aim is to stir up division, confusion, and ill feelings, and denounce them everytime they try their deceptive tactics, regardless of what mask they hide behind.

The government is not forbidding anybody to pray, to attend mass or fulfill any other religious obligation, or to offer free services to his neighbor when he wishes. All this exists in the [word indistinct] of the law and current regulations. All over the world development is achieved by adhering to a code of conduct and discipline which the whole population must respect, observing regulations and the collectivity accruing from the particular situation obtained in each country.

We believe that this explanation will avert erroneous interpretations.
UNIR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ON YEAR'S PROGRESS

Ndjamena AL-WATAN in French 28 Jun 85 pp 3-5

[Interview with Gouara Lassou, executive secretary of the National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR); date, place not specified]

[Text] In its year of existence our great national movement has achieved more than a positive balance: massive support, collective or individual, opening up to the world, etc. To learn more, we met with Comrade Gouara Lassou, executive secretary of the UNIR.

Question: Comrade Executive Secretary, would you summarize for us in a few words the events and actions during a year of existence of our great movement?

Gouara Lassou: To relate to you the events in the current phase would be very difficult, because we are in a phase of structuring our movement. We have undertaken the establishment of the various basic organs of our movement, beginning with the Ndjamena regional committee. We have also established the various mass organizations, such as the UNIR Youth Assembly (RAJEUNIR), the UNIR Organization of Women (OFUNIR), and the National Union of Chadian Businessmen (UNACOT), and we have carried out a tour of the provinces to establish the regional committees in the prefectures. Throughout these tours, your comrades have covered the activities. The prefectures of Moyen-Chari, Logone Oriental, Logone Occidental, Tandjile, Mayo-Kebbi, Salamat, Guera, Batha, and Biltine already have their regional committee bureaus. Still to be covered are the other prefectures, Kanem, Lac, and the B.E.T. out of the 14. I mentioned earlier RAJEUNIR, OFUNIR and UNACOT; you have followed the establishment of these various mass organizations, and each now has a national council with a steering committee. I should remind you that this is temporary, because since the UNIR is a democratic movement there must be congresses to make legal these various national councils and steering committees.

Question: Comrade Executive Secretary, you mentioned the establishment of the temporary committees for RAJEUNIR, OFUNIR and UNACOT. Have you already decided on a date for election of the final bureaus?
G. L.: I should tell you that even though the mass organizations derive from the UNIR, we leave them entirely responsible, free in their activities. We should not dictate the attitudes of these various bodies. Thus, it is up to the national councils to look at the financial and material possibilities for convening a general assembly to confirm or elect the national councils and steering committees of their organizations. The leaders are there, and we can only encourage them to rapidly convene their general assembly, indeed to legalize the existence of their leading bodies.

Question: Has the UNIR established contacts with other movements or parties of the friendly and fraternal countries? If so, what lessons has it derived from these relations?

G. L.: We have contacted foreign political movements and parties. First, we visited the French Socialist Party (PS) at its headquarters, and we also invited the members of its foreign department to visit us. They thus did visit Chad and the UNIR members talked to them. We were also invited by the National Cameroonian Union (UNC) to its congress, which gave birth to a new party, the Cameroonian People's Democratic Assembly (RDPC). We delivered a message in the name of the UNIR to the congress. We were also invited by the Socialist Inter African (IAS), which held its conference on Mauritius. Two comrades attended, and we were admitted as observer members. Those have been the main activities on the foreign level.

However, whenever there has been travel either by the executive bureau or central committee leaders, or by members individually, there have been contacts with movements, and the UNIR ideals are always defended. At this very time, a central committee member is in the United States, invited by American political leaders to attend a seminar on political institutions. This is simply to tell you that our movement that was born is learning to walk and will inevitably grow. It is up to each of us to make it an effective instrument for unity, for assembly, as its name indicates, an instrument of our country. An instrument that should prove to those abroad that Chadians are capable of talking and discussing to find solutions to the political problems that may arise in our country. We are working at this, and we think that if each of us bends the shoulder to the task that we shall succeed.

Question: What are the movement's future prospects?

G. L.: As you know, the UNIR was born of the will of the Chadians. The UNIR was born out of the ashes of several political movements. It was the Chadians who demanded its birth so that each one could not only express his political ideas but also defend the country. Thus, the UNIR was born of the popular will, and all Chadians are participating in the restructuring of the UNIR. They are in the process of assimilating and studying the UNIR principles, in fact strengthening their political awareness and continuing the struggle for defense of our country.

There is a general and undoubted increased awareness, and the travel of the comrade president of the republic showed us that it is not only the adults and the youth who are involved, but also the children 3 or 4 years old through their slogans. And that is the goal that the UNIR has set: to encourage
Chadians to express themselves on the problems, which are theirs. The portions of the speeches by the president-founder of the UNIR broadcast by the national radio stress the unity and concord among Chadians.

There must be discussion within the UNIR, and I believe that internally that is already being done. We cannot say that all is perfect, because when men are involved there is never perfection, but we believe that if each makes his contribution we will succeed in perfecting our methods, our work, and finally the movement itself. In regard to the future prospects of the UNIR, that is simply application of the movement's program contained in the rose-colored brochure recently issued by the executive bureau. Each member has this document and can implement the program.

9920
CSO: 3419/486
NATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS SCHOOL TO REOPEN

Ndjamena AL-WATAN in French 8 Jun 85 p 25

[Text] The National Telecommunications School (ENT), whose activities have been suspended since 1981, will reopen its doors for the next academic term. The facilities, which suffered in the war, have been restored through assistance from the UN Development Program. Pending the official reopening of that establishment, the new director, Djassibe Tingabye and the coordinating expert, Komou Mama, with the support of the Posts and Telecommunications Ministry, organized a refresher course for telecommunications supervisors and operators who were trained at the school a few years previously. The goal of this retraining is to communicate to these staff members the concepts that are constantly enriching technology, in this case telecommunications.

The opening ceremony for the retraining course was attended by the director general, Serry Ndina Hadou, and the representatives of several ministries. Soumaila Mahamat, minister delegate to the presidency in charge of information, acting for his counterpart in posts and telecommunications, stressed the importance of telecommunications in the nation's socio-economic life. In this connection, the minister recalled the efforts made by the international organizations for development of this sector. The head of the P&T Ministry mentioned the UN General Assembly, which, by declaring 1979-1988 as the decade of transport and communications, placed emphasis on training of telecommunications staff. "The main obstacle to development is shortage of qualified workers. The lack of staff seriously limits the effectiveness of planning and the financial accounting of the governments." The United Nations also proclaimed 1983 as World Communications Year with the main theme: "Development of communications infrastructure."

For its part, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), in 1982 at Nairobi, Kenya, established an independent committee for world development of telecommunications. The committee has produced a report titled "The Missing Link" recommending methods for establishing development of telecommunications throughout the world. In celebration on 17 May this year of its 120th anniversary, the ITU has chosen as its theme: "Telecommunications for development."

In order for all the projects to succeed, there have to be highly qualified, competent technicians. In Chad, only the Sarh National Telecommunications School is capable of training these needed operators. This school, established in 1963, has trained more than 100 technicians and technical operators of national radio communications, four Congolese technicians and eight technical operators, two Gabonese technicians, and 42 Central Africans.
SEMINAR DISCUSSES WAYS TO REVITALIZE NATIONAL HERD

Ndjamena AL-WATAN in French 28 Jun 85 pp 20-21

[Article by R.M.N.: "Toward Rapid Recovery of Chadian Livestock"]

[Text] The think session of officials of the Ministry of Livestock and Pastoral Water Supply that began on 10 June ended on 17 June on a note of satisfaction for all the participants. For a week, the cattle-breeding specialists from all parts of the country studied the ways and means to enable Chad to reconstitute the livestock largely decimated by rinderpest and climatic disasters, particularly drought and desertification. The discussions focused on seven topics: types of cattle breeding to recommend; the pastoral sociology and economy; the factors of production (animal health, stock feeding, stock water supply, etc.); the service structures for cattle raising; stock production and marketing; and the drawing up and preparation of numerous resolutions and recommendations that when carried out would respond to the expectations of the cattle breeders and consumers of animal products.

Recommendations

With the idea of a new method for rapid recovery of Chadian livestock, the participants recommended establishment of an agro-pastoral code toward better management of the rural environment; the setting up of pastoral units for more active participation by cattle breeders toward rational use of their grazing areas; and subregional cooperation in zoo-sanitary conditions and border control legislation.

In the field of the pastoral economy, the participants recommended a census of livestock as soon as possible; and support of actions benefiting the cattle breeder by parastatal corporations and socio-occupational cattle breeding organizations.

In regard to the human factors and logistical means, the seminar called for rational management by officials and establishment of a special committee to concentrate on the problem. Improvement of animal production is an obvious necessity, and thus the veterinary officials propose reorganization of the
animal health service and provision to the veterinary sectors of the needed equipment and infrastructure; systematic vacination of all kinds of domestic animals against anthrax; and establishment of a national water fund and a land development structure.

In order to make livestock marketing profitable, the meeting of cattle breeding experts recommended that the government take energetic measures to halt the illegal trade in livestock on the hoof and end the exclusive monopoly of this trade by the shareholders in the Chadian Corporation for Production from Animal Resources (SOTERA); organize and improve the livestock marketing network; and that the abattoir be given the resources to make its current facilities operational. In regard to training and research, the conferees stressed the need to restore all the activities of the Farcha laboratory; train national specialists in all fields; and step up zoo-technical research.

The conferees, benefiting from the opportunity of their meeting, addressed to President of the Republic Hisssein Habre a special motion of support for his efforts toward the ultimate goal of restoring peace in Chad.

Closing the proceedings of the think seminar, the minister of livestock and pastoral water supply, Taher Guinassou, made a speech in which he thanked the government, the subregional organizations, in this case the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS) and the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa (UDEAC), and the conferees for the material and technical organization of the session. The minister emphasized: this first meeting of its kind under the livestock department has enabled the participants to think about the problems that our cattle breeding is facing and to outline solutions. The conclusions of these days of reflection show the seriousness and sense of responsibility that motivated the discussions, ending in broad guidelines. Approval of a new strategy will certainly make cattle breeding more productive, to the well being of the immediate producer— the cattle breeder. [Words missing] of the drought, Minister Taher Guinassou recommended good use of the stock raising area and rational management of the pasturage. This involves keeping a close watch over our natural resources. To this end, the distribution of water sources must be carefully studied, taking into account the migration routes and the marketing network.

As for existing types of cattle breeding, the head of the livestock department indicated that special emphasis must be placed on raising animal species other than cattle. Terming the existing procedure for marketing Chadian livestock as wrong, Taher Guinassou recommended to those responsible that it be changed by reorganizing the network, while protecting the cattle breeder from all speculation, and maintaining close and good cooperation with the consumer countries.

In conclusion, the minister assured humanitarian organizations and the conferees that the government of the Third Republic would consider their observations and that the recommendations that had been developed would not be ignored.

9920
CSO: 3419/487
BRIEFS

AID AGREEMENT--The Relief and Rehabilitation Commission today signed an agreement for aid worth $8,608,400 with World Vision International. The agreement is in two parts: The first will provide emergency food aid and medical care for 100,000 drought affected compatriots in Shire Province in Tigray region for 6 months; the second is for similar aid for 170,000 compatriots in provinces in the region following implementation of the first part. /Excerpt/ /Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Oromo 1600 22 Aug 85/

CSO: 3400/985
MEASURES ADOPTED TO NATIONALIZE WORK FORCE

Paris AFRICA in French Jun 85 pp 18-21, 90

[Article by Jean-Pierre Challard: "Bongo's Gabon"]

[Text] President Omar Bongo, who spoke publicly to the press in Libreville on 11 May 1985, sometimes states frank truths which are surprising. Bypassing the usual formulas, he speaks plainly about his problems as chief of state. With such burdensome responsibilities, it is surprising that he says that he is happy despite everything.

The Gabonese journalists kept up a running fire of questions dealing with the usual evils of favoritism, regionalism and nepotism. Africa is so constituted that the criteria for selection in ministerial cabinets and state companies come down basically to what we might call "family choices."

The security posts by right go to close family members, and Ahmed Sekou Toure's Guinea has provided us with an enlightening example. The chiefs of the national police, the presidential guard and the intelligence services are carefully chosen from among the leading ethnic group.

This is a precaution which requires that whenever the chief of state changes, all of the top leadership automatically and inevitably change too. Basically, this system is not confined to the developing countries. American politicians are very familiar with the "spoils system," which involves sweeping out the old administration (Democratic or Republican) whenever a new president is elected, in order to install those loyal to the new chief.

In this connection, the Gabonese chief of state assured reporters that certain members of the cabinet, beginning with Prime Minister Leon Mebiame, have "now recruited their staff members from among all the ethnic groups." In fact, we have already seen some ministers close to each other simply switch secretaries, or simply parachute their chiefs of staff into the legislative elections, thus killing two birds with one stone. In any case, there is one respect in which this chief of state cannot be criticized: he has set an example of eclecticism by recruiting his direct associates from the nine provinces of the country. If one follows the development of directorial appointments to the presidential staff, it is evident that the Aduma, Myene, Eshira, Pounou, Bandzabi, Fang, and other ethnic groups have been represented each in its turn. But it would seem that the trend is currently toward technocratic choices more than ethnic preferences, the latter having sometimes led to bitter deception.
The contemporary issue which is causing the Gabonese young people anguish involves incorporation in active life. Now two basic factors are contributing to the development of this bottleneck: the raising of the educational level and the migration from the countryside to the cities.

We might add that the surplus of foreign workers is, as usual, but an illusory argument without real foundation, because these minorities generally accept posts, responsibilities and salaries which the local population, for various reasons, rejects.

It is true that the foreign-owned enterprises favor the hiring of their compatriots to the detriment of native citizens. However, the problem often lies elsewhere: the gap between educational qualifications and the positions or the issuance of fake diplomas, as the special commission established earlier by the government to deal with the complaints of the young people discovered.

This year, if we are to believe the guarantees given by the office of the presidency and the government, there has been a better understanding of the obstacle. A Ministry of Human Resources has been established, by a decree dated 22 March 1984, to take over formally from the special commission. Thus the authorities have come to grips with training and the job issue, as Minister Valentin Mihindou Mizamba was pleased to announce.

This former teacher of technical subjects who switched to politics is very familiar with this sector, because he was formerly in vocational training. The new ministry created from scratch has only really been in operation in Libreville since February 1985. In collecting the statistics developed by the Ministry of Planning, it has "discovered" certain truths in the labor world.

For example, the famous cases of those of pensionable age who hang onto their posts after the age of 55 are not as numerous as was believed: only 590 jobs would be freed in the civil service if these aged servants of the state were definitively retired. The statistical survey also brought out that there are in the civil service 610 expatriates, but it is not necessarily possible to fill their posts with Gabonese citizens, in the sense that with their departure, the jobs would likely be eliminated pure and simple.

In the private and parapublic sectors, Minister Valentin Mihindou Mizamba further told us, there might be, although the figure is not definitive, 1,472 positions whose incumbents have reached the age limit. But if the retirement of these individuals were fully implemented, would the problem of the unemployment of young Gabonese workers be resolved thereby?
President Omar Bongo, in discussing employment problems at his press conference, criticized the spirit of least effort and the easy path pursued by some of his compatriots. "Since Gabon is a mining country, it needs scientists and technicians, and not just literary types and low-level civil servants.

The current construction of the Masuku Polytechnical School in Haut-Ogooue, following the commissioning of the Basile Odimba Basic and Advanced Vocational Training Center in Libreville, will meet these urgent needs. The gap between the labor supply and real qualification of applicants represents an insurmountable barrier, both for the employer and for the applicant.

Taking up the matter of the numerous foreigners working in Gabon, President Omar Bongo made some statements which, within the context of the expulsion of the "undocumented" to Nigeria, sent a shiver down the spines of many immigrant workers watching their television screens.

"The Ministry of Labor and Employment must undertake a survey in all the large enterprises functioning in Gabon" in order to establish the exact number of foreigners, to verify their qualifications and to replace them, as needed, with similarly qualified Gabonese workers.

The public at large always tends to focus on the critical aspects of such statements, forgetting that the speaker takes care to respect certain rules. For example, President Omar Bongo said, and we quote, that "there are countries with which we have agreements," and that the means of persuasion, indeed dissuasion, with regard to enterprises reluctant to implement government directives are not arbitrary.

For example, he recommended to the Ministry of Public Works, Equipment and Construction that "all the enterprise benefitting from state orders should be the first to hire Gabonese citizens." Addressing himself to the foreign merchants who have proliferated in Gabon, he asked that "all those who have small shops and stores hire Gabonese citizens."

Indeed, it is more attractive for an owner to hire a foreigner, without declaring it officially. The advantages of this fraudulent practice are obvious: no national employment premium (20,000 CFA francs) needs to be paid for foreigners, no wage scale need be respected, and there are no social charges if these employees are not declared.

When Gabon expelled the citizens of Benin and then Cameroon and when it blocked the bank accounts of the Lebanese merchants, the international press made the most of it. With regard to Nigeria, President Omar Bongo protested, terms were manipulated shamelessly: What does "undocumented" mean, if not clandestine immigration?

He was also concerned about the ever more noticeable flow of clandestine crossings of the Gabonese frontier from Nigeria (by canoe) and from Chad, not to mention the frontier countries which are traditional sources of migration—Congo, Cameroon and Guinea.
In this connection, he asked the security forces to implement stricter identity controls and requested that foreign embassies register their citizens. These verbal instructions have once again been bypassed by profiteers who have gone into the neighborhoods to harass the little people, confiscating goods and searching homes after dark, in violation of the most basic regulations.

The instructions of the Gabonese chief of state were followed to the letter by the members of the government and the security forces. A few days after his press conference, a flood of ministers came together and established a permanent commission, of which Minister of Human Resources Valentin Mihindou Mizamba was appointed president.

On 24 May 1985, General Jean-Boniface Assele Onteinte, in his capacity as commander in chief of the national police forces, summoned "all of the company directors and enterprise heads in the whole of the territory employing foreign manpower" to a meeting, to notify them of the priority assigned hiring citizens and the reorganization of the system of issuing visitors' visas.

With Colonel Leon Ossiali Ongaye, head of the General Documentation Office, which checks on foreigners in Gabon, at his side, General Assele warned that there would henceforth be a stricter check on the fate of workers in an irregular situation.

For example, the visitors' visas issued for workers employed in Libreville will no longer be valid for other cities. Moreover, such cards will correspond exactly to the length of the labor contract, and when a worker's contract expires, his employer must inform the immigration police of that fact. All of these measures are designed to reduce the clandestine or irregular presence of tens of thousands of foreigners, in violation of the law.

However, General Jean-Boniface Assele made it clear, "it is not a question of chasing foreigners out." All of the small merchants who have licenses and all of the authorized taxi drivers, all of the craftsmen who can provide evidence of their activity can remain in Gabon undisturbed. This was a prefatory remark which was not at all superfluous.

In fact, the heads of Gabonese enterprises came to the meeting to find out about the true intentions of the authorities. Deputy Delphine Yeyet complained of administrative annoyances. Her Gabonese compatriots detest farmwork and she is forced to use foreign workers on her plantations. She raised her voice to ask whether, with the exclusion of this manpower, the intention is to starve the people.

Mrs Nyingone, the proprietor of an industrial cleaning enterprise, has tried in vain to hire Gabonese employees. They do a half-day's work and then leave without collecting their pay, because they find the work too hard. Thus this enterprise, which provides hospitals and schools with cleaning services, uses 90 percent foreign workers.
Edouard Mbadou, the owner of a large industrial woodworking shop, complained of how very slowly the immigration departments work. One must wait 3, 6 or 9 months, or indeed 2 or 3 years, for a resident's card. The result is that the card comes just as the worker is leaving the territory. And this means that he must avoid police checks throughout his stay. In this connection, Mr Mbadou asked that the Ministry of Labor and the immigration services coordinate their efforts better.

There was another element which was not directly involved in this meeting. Air Gabon held a meeting on its commercial policy the same week, and the participants spoke of the sometimes regrettable attitude of the air and frontier police with regard to transit passengers. Ordinary travelers have sometimes been placed under house arrest, not to say incarcerated, because they lacked some document. The instances in which passengers have been turned back although they had visas are legion, the agents of the airline have complained, and the reputation of Gabon has thereby been dealt a harsh blow.

Whatever the case, General Assele announced, all the employers and foreigners will have 2 weeks to legalize their situations. After the 30 June 1985 deadline, "undocumented persons," as they are called in Nigeria, "whatever their nationality," will be rounded up in unannounced operations.

The citizens of Benin, who were in a special situation following their expulsion manu militari in 1979, and then their return (after the friendly accommodation reached by Presidents Mathieu Kerekou and Omar Bongo), will be regularly registered like all other foreigners in the future. The same will be the case for young people 16 years of age or older, who will be registered by their parents.

The commotion which might have proved worrisome is offset by the guarantees provided by the chief of police. In fact, the automation of the card-issuing departments will make this process easier. The new computerized cards will be issued speedily.

What is the proportion of foreigners in the labor sector? In the absence of statistical data, it is unofficially estimated that there is one foreigner for every two citizens in Gabon, a tremendous proportion. In Libreville, it is said at the ministry, 60 to 80 percent of the employees at some enterprises are foreigners, and this is in the service sector where no special qualifications are required. In other words, this means that these workers could readily be replaced by Gabonese employees.

Bad faith on the part of employers is generally found in small enterprises, while the large companies like ELP [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France], COMUF [Franceville Uranium Mining Company], SOCOBA, COMILOG [Ogooue Mining Company] and the CPG [Gabonese Forestry Company] have very high-level Gabonese cadres. Is it not precisely because, the objection is raised, these giant companies drain off the best employees that the marginal ones are left for the small companies?
Mr Alexandre Sambat says no. The Gabonese Forestry Company, which produces plywood, has among its 2,310 employees, who are however workers with low-level skills, only 7 percent foreigners. This example, he says, is typical of the situation.

A journalist took the microphone to ask if local products are being effectively protected. Losing patience, President Omar Bongo mentioned a specific case of the misuse of funds involving the Ministry of Commerce. The director general of that ministry, Mr Etienne Janvier Mba, issued a license to import sugar to a fishing company in which he was a stockholder.

This fact was rather bizarre in itself, because the Haut-Ogooue Sugar Company (SOSUHO) refinery produces this product from its own sugar cane plantations, but cannot make its oversize installations profitable. Now because of a particularly difficult dry season last year, the SOSUHO was unable to meet contract commitments to American clients.

In order to honor its contract and retain a good client, the SOSUHO asked for a special license to import a shipment of sugar. Mr Etienne Mba rejected the application, while the other sugar was resold at a double rate to a brewery in the capital city.

The head of the SOSUHO board of directors, none other than Minister of Economy and Finance Jean-Pierre Lemboumba-Lepandou, raised a furor. The sectorial director was personally summoned to an audience with the chief of state at the palace, and he was turned over to investigators, who will demand an accounting of him while he is in prison.

There are violations of proper conduct which cannot be excused. For example those of the network of officials, again at the Ministry of Commerce, who issued licenses of convenience against monetary compensation from the beneficiaries. A swift purge emptied a number of these departments, while the investigators sorted suspiciously through all the old licenses, to the detriment of the honest merchants. It was a nightmarish time for the Ministry of Commerce.

Taking up the crucial issue of finance and income from "black gold," the chief of state responded indirectly to an African press colleague who voiced the fear that the oil might run out.

In fact, less than 2 weeks later, the leading company in the country, ELF-Gabon, announced the discovery of major deposits at the Grand Anguille-Roussette Marine I site. The test well was yielding up to 4,320 barrels per day. Other companies, like Amoco, Tenneco, Conoco and Lasmo, are steadily exploiting this raw material, not to forget Shell, whose production is stabilizing but not dwindling.

According to Minister Delegate to the Ministry of Economy and Finance Mamadou Diop, there are tensions in connection with Gabonese budget resources because in particular of a decline in income. Because of this fact, it is impossible to increase operational expenditures without recourse to foreign loans.
The amount of the outstanding public debt remains high. Thus in 1984, the debt service came to 146 billion CFA francs, of which 119 came from the Autonomous Sinking Fund, Mr Obame Ndong, one of the officials of that body, told us. Repayment of the public debt in 1985 will reduce the potential of the state by 135 billion CFA francs.

The debt level ceiling advised by the International Monetary Fund nonetheless allowed Gabon to embark upon a loan effort involving $60 million on 14 February 1985. The Citicorp bank will provide the first $33.5 million, while a consortium of banks headed by the National Bank of Paris will obtain the remaining $26.5 million, to be made available in ECU [European currency units]. This Eurocredit is the first Gabonese loan since 1980, it is interesting to note, despite the solid reputation of this country on the foreign financial markets.

The financial philosophy of Gabon since the harsh years between 1978 and 1980, the plan for which was extended until 1982, Minister Mamadou Diop explained to us recently, involves assigning resources other than from oil to operational expenditures. This safeguard makes it possible to maintain the vital rhythm of the administration even if the flow of wealth from oil were to dwindle drastically. Oil income goes to amortize the debt and for investments, and thus the formidable infrastructure and equipment expenditures can be modulated more flexibly.

However, a slight slippage in operational expenditures has been noted in recent times, thus making oil financing necessary. Since the state had set up warning mechanisms, the Ministry of Finance sounded the alarm and advised a return to the austerity and orthodoxy which guarantee economic stability. When the Agence France-Press correspondent raised the question of the political opposition, President Omar Bongo did not conceal his irritation with the "stillborn" (the MORENA, or National Recovery Movement). There are four or five individuals still being held, after the public trial which took place, and they too will be "released soon," the chief of state added.

The MORENA falls far short of internal harmony, because at least three separatist factions can be observed, with one of the leaders having returned to Libreville. He is Mr Parfait Anotho, who has now been appointed deputy director general of PETROGAGAB, the national oil company. He lived in France for some 20 years.

However tracts continue to flood the country, the Gabonese chief of state admitted. Two other opponents, Andre Mba Obame and Francois Ntoutoume, have joined forces, but the indomitable Paul Mba Abessolo, a native of Koulamoutou, continues his clandestine struggle from Paris, President Omar Bongo stressed, with the insinuation that France might perhaps be financing the MORENA.

This massive press conference, which lasted 3.5 hours, throws interesting light on a plain-speaking chief of state who likes direct contact. Too often, protocol and his environment limit these bursts of sincerity and truthfulness, but his next tour of the provinces will, one can wager, once again provide the public with revelations of prime importance.

5170
CSO: 3419/475
PLAN FOR BUILDING POLYTECHNICAL SCHOOL IN MASUKU DETAILED

Paris AFRICA in French Jun 1985 pp 77-79

[Article by Jean-Pierre Challard: "Masuku Prepares for the Year 2000"]

[Text] The plans, modest in origin, date back to 1978. It was a question of building a simple school of mines in the province which contains the manganese deposits, in Moanda, and the uranium deposits, in Mounana. Along with the offshore oil, these two minerals bring in the principal income of the Gabonese state, relegating okoume and various other species of wood to the role of archaic bit players.

As of 1979, the Gabonese authorities commissioned the General Business and Technical Studies Company (SODETEG) to undertake a statistical research study on the imbalance between two professional categories: those educated in the arts, on the one hand, and scientists and technicians, on the other. This is a disparity from which all of the French-speaking African countries, unfortunately, suffer.

The preliminary results of this study showed that in 1979, there were 701 engineers employed in Gabon, only 21 percent of whom were Gabonese nationals, along with 1,165 higher-level technicians, only 30 percent of whom were Gabonese. An effective takeover of the economy by our citizens, as could be seen, would require a tremendous pedagogical and vocational training effort.

This shortage of middle- and higher-level cadres, according to the SODETEG estimates, would come to 1,662 engineers and 3,795 higher-level technicians by the year 2000. Now at the rate our citizens were being educated, the proportion they represented would fall still lower, and this was the reason for the concern of the authorities in the universities and ministries.

On the basis of the requirements of its client, the SODETEG proposed a training schedule in the various technical disciplines involving 400 students in 1986, the year the establishment would begin operation, 942 students 5 years later, and 1,284 young people in the year 2000, which would perfectly meet the needs of the labor market in Gabon and the neighboring countries.

In March of 1982, the Gabonese government solicited bids and, from among the five qualifying enterprises which responded, the General Business Company
(SGE-Gabon) was selected to do the work on the school in Franceville. It was originally named Masuku, but for Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, the landscape there was reminiscent of that of the Ile de France.

The initial cost of construction was estimated at 17,452 trillion CFA francs, including buildings, teaching equipment and school furnishings. In other words, an institution ready to function. The financing sources were not long in appearing. The Saudi Development Fund underwrote 34.7 percent of the total, the Islamic Development Bank (Dar Al Mal Al Islam) 8.7 percent, and the Gabonese state 23.8 percent, while 32.8 percent was accounted for by purchasing credit provided by various French partners.

The period for the completion of the establishment by the SGE-Gabon was set at 30 months, and that enterprise established a vast 28,000-square meter work site. Ground was broken on 20 March 1984, and the last coat of paint is scheduled to be applied on 19 September 1986, according to Mr Jean-Pierre Bontoux, the director at the work site.

In order to honor its contract, the SGE-Gabon is currently employing 230 people in Franceville, and has 70 subcontractors, including the Seteg, Tibe, Bourdin and Chausse companies, while also using local jobbers whose rates are still reasonable.

An enthusiastic advocate of prefabricated construction, Mr Jean-Pierre Bontoux explained that since last April, the "concrete" portion, including the preliminary foundations, has been practically completed. The work site needed to use 18,000 cubic meters of concrete, 1,000 tons of reinforcing steel, 500 cubic meters of wood and 6,000 tons of cement. It should be noted that such a project has a beneficial effect on all of the industries and craft enterprises in the country, because the CFG in Port-Gentil is obtaining plywood and rafters for it, the Franceville cement plant is delivering sacks of cement, and transport companies are bringing it raw materials.

More than 6,000 parts will be prefabricated, ranging from the ceiling, foundation and floor panels to the acroteria and the window casings. The advantage of prefabricated components, Jean-Pierre Bontoux further stressed, is that they require only unskilled manpower with a minimum of training producing a given number of identical parts per day. The repetitive movement results in greater efficiency and limits accidents causing injury.

In order to complete this giant project on time, SGE-Gabon has hired a number of African workers, in addition to Gabonese citizens, including masons, carpenters, tile layers, and concrete and metal reinforcement workers.

Before continuing with this description, it should be explained that in June 1984, when the work site had already begun operation, the Council of Ministers decided to convert the establishment into a science and technology university. This polytechnical school would become a part of the Higher National Engineering School in Libreville, previously based in the capital, although with the addition of supplementary sections, such as that for agronomical studies.
Thus, with this in view, the needs increased. With the revision of the plans, the need for a staff of 66 teachers and 15 administrators was established, for whom the problem of housing then arose.

The mayor of Franceville, Jean-Pierre Lendoye, proposed that these teachers be lodged in the residential neighborhoods, which would obviously have desirable effects on his town. But since the housing capacity was too limited, it was decided to build 80 units on the campus for the staffing personnel.

According to SGE-Gabon Director General Jacques Guyon, the plans call for three zones: the teaching zone, including the areas to be used for teaching civil, agricultural and mechanical engineering, and finally the data processing-language section; the service zone, including the restaurant, administrative offices, a multipurpose hall, general services (laundry, cleaning, workshop), and, finally, a medical center with a dentist and X-ray facilities; and a residential zone for the personnel and the students, with rooms for 340 young men and women. When it is completed, this institution will be able to accommodate up to 1,000 students, whether single or married, every year.

These three zones, in fact, make up the first phase of the project. The initial plans call for a second phase involving the completion or addition of four supplementary zones. They include a teaching zone, with a building for the preparatory year and the mining and geology section; a service zone, including an expansion of the restaurant, a children's nursery for married students, and a university projects center which will provide the usual social services; a residential zone with housing for the teachers; and finally, an athletic zone, a facility insistently urged by the Gabonese chief of state, it is said, so that the students there can be provided with the most favorable environment for their physical and intellectual development.

The overseer for the polytechnical school is the minister of state for higher education, while the supervising foreman is the minister of public works, equipment and construction. The SGE-Gabon is executing this project, which will establish a landmark in the history of the province, with the SODETEG, which designed the project, serving as the representative of the supervising foreman.
BRIEFS

NEW QUARTERLY JOURNAL LAUNCHED--A quarterly journal, the VERDICT, to serve as the mouthpiece of organs under the coordinator for revenue commissioners, investigations, and tribunals, (?CORSET), was launched in Accra today. The journal will examine revolutionary situations in Ghana and Africa and support trends which will accelerate progress. In an address, the coordinator for revenue commissioners, investigations, and tribunals, Mr Kwamina Ahwoi, said the organs under his office are performing important functions and roles which ought to be understood and appreciated by the public. The VERDICT, Mr Ahwoi said, is to be devoted substantially to activities of the organs under his office, which go behind the headline. /sentence as heard/ He said in future, the journal will publish in detail reports of judgments of all the public tribunals. /Excerpts/ /Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 20 Aug 85/
NEED TO REPLACE SEKOU TOURE'S SYMBOLS OF POWER

Paris AFRIQUE NOUVELLE in French 3-9 Jul 85 pp 18, 19

[Article by Sory Balde: "The Elephant or the Horse"]

[Text] For the second consecutive year, the holiday of 14 May, the anniversary date of birth of the Democratic Party of Guinea, was not celebrated. This is because the Guinean "Father of Independence" is no more and the system he instituted is adrift. There is nothing surprising in Sekou Toure's third death. The new phase of the recovery in Guinea is "de-Sekoutoureization".

On 26 March 1984, in a hospital in New York, Ahmed Sekou Toure died. One week later, on 3 April, the national army ended 20 years of dictatorial government, overthrowing the different clans who were fighting among themselves over the succession to the deceased president. For the last several weeks, there have been very visible signs that Sekou Toure is dead for the third time. The symbol of his power, the elephant ("syli" in the Soussou language), being perceived as a bad-luck omen, is being fought against by everyone.

But it is a hard battle. Because in 26 years of power, Sekou Toure had called everything syli. The currency, the national teams in all sports disciplines, the national choosing of musicians, etc. Was not he himself the "Grand Syli"? Moreover, everywhere one saw that symbol of the power of the first Guinean head of state: on the army's insignia, on the party's membership cards—every Guinean was from birth a member of the Democratic Party of Guinea (the PDG, the only party---, on the main facades of several buildings such as the Palace of the People, the party's national headquarters, etc.

Since last March, workmen have been ready to take down these insignia. The caps of the military have already had a change of emblem. The elephant has disappeared, having yielded its place to the gun and the sword. A musical organization that not long ago was calling itself "authentically Syli" has now become "authentically from the capital". There is no longer even a national syli (the name for the national football selection). Also, a number of soccer fans still maintain that if the national team lost to Ghana's Black Stars in the final of the African nations, it was because of the fact that some sports commentators made the mistake of saying "national syli" rather than national team of Guinea.
Seventeenth Century

The history of the syli, said a high-school philosophy teacher in Mamou, a city about 270 km from Conakry, in 1972, goes back to the 17th century. The teacher, who was for a long time close to Sekou Toure as a party ideologue, taught a course in "ideology-philosophy". A few years afterwards his pupils themselves transmitted the lesson they had learned to the graduates of recent years. Thus, more than one Guinean today knows why the "supreme leader" of the Guinean revolution wanted everything to be named syli or decorated with the party symbol, the syli.

In the 17th century, one learns two generations later, in a Mamou subprefecture, Timbo, the ancient capital of the Foutah of the Almamys and therefore rich in Guinean history, wise men predicted the present-day evolution of Guinea. They said, "One day, toward the country's Southwest, a strong wind is going to shake a locality. Several moments after that, a woman will give birth to a boy out in open country. She will abandon that child in that spot and there will be an elephant that watches over the newborn for a certain time. That child will be feared, respected or loved everywhere in the whole world. On the condition that it always remembers that the symbol of its power is the elephant.

"That child," added the wise men of Timbo, "is going to distinguish himself in the border countries before making himself known elsewhere. Several years later, on returning to his home, he will play a high-level role in his own country. And the day when an elephant shall leave the Eastern part of the country to go West, there will be nothing to prevent that child from becoming the man who will accede to his country's highest political and administrative responsibilities. But once the power is acquired, he will have to prevent another elephant, who is to come from the country's North, from arriving on the shores of the Atlantic, because he would then lose his power. Finally, he will have to do everything possible so that everyone everywhere will have the syli on his person." It is said today that this could only refer to money. And in October 1972, the "great syli" changed the banknotes to put the syli into circulation.

The Mayorality

It all really began in 1957. It is true that Sekou Toure, before that year, had already made a name as a trade unionist. But on the political level, he did not have a monopoly. Other parties, such as the African Bloc of Guinea (BAG) or the Guinean Socialist Democracy (DSG), were very much present on the political scene, even though the PDG seemed to be the political organization for the peasant masses and the workers.

In 1957, on the occasion of the voting on the "cadre law", Sekou Toure's party scored a genuine triumph, which carried him, its leader, to the mayoralty of Conakry and opened a big political door for him. But the wise men of today maintain that some time before those elections an elephant had come from the country's interior to march along the Atlantic shores. A great festival was organized to honor the pachyderm. An historic and very famous song was composed for the occasion. And up to the time of Sekou Toure's death, many Guineans who were familiar with the legend believed in their president's invincibility. And today, because they want to forget everything, they are in a hurry to change everything that has a syli connection.
But the task that awaits them is far from easy: changing the currency and the "Sekou Toure system", which today are the only elements to have survived their creator, is almost tantamount to moving a mountain. At the risk of taking part in a monetary exchange transaction every time, the new administration knows that it must operate on the bases dictated by the financiers and other specialists in economics. But the most difficult task, without a doubt, is what amounts to changing the Guineans' habits, or certainly those that are most entrenched, in order to maintain the "D System".

The Horse

This new phase of "de-Sekoutoureization" is said to be irreversible. A soldier even explains that "horses, the totem of Sekou Toure's PDG, were imported from Mali for the purpose." They were said to be a gift from President Moussa Traore to Conakry's new administration. In any case, at all the national demonstrations of recent months, the inhabitants of the capital were always treated to an equestrian spectacle.

But will this be enough to attain the desired goal? In Mamou, they remember that in 1957 the militants and friends of the PDG helped the leaders of Sekou Toure's party to lead the elephant to the shore of the Atlantic. Seven years later, another elephant (which came, it seems, from the Northern part of the country) was brought down at Km 4, on the road to Dalaba. They say that that elephant, if it had reached Conakry, would have precipitated the fall of Sekou Toure. A group of soldiers was dispatched to prevent the animal, so the story goes, from continuing its march.

But the "supreme leader of the revolution" himself would not have behaved in every way as this account would have it. In fact, if Mamou, the principal scene of this long series of preachings, suffered less from the purges of the continuous plot, it was because Guinea's number one man ordered that no blood was to be spilled in that city. But on two occasions (June 1981 and March 1984), Ahmed Sekou Toure exceeded that measure. The last public executions in Mamou (and in the rest of the country) ended it.

One of the condemned men, a muezzin who lived a few meters from where in 1964 the elephant that came from the North was brought down, predicted at the stake that Sekou Toure would never again sign a death decree and that his wife would be a widow at the same time as those of the condemned men (he and his four companions in misfortune). Less than 24 hours later, the revolution's "guide" was brought low by a crisis. What followed is well known.

Will Guinea's salvation be the elephant that will come from the North? Or will it be in the horses from the Northeast? Better still, perhaps someone will invent a story honoring the country's new masters.
BRIEFS

FORMER FINANCE MINISTER'S TRIAL--The trial of former Finance Minister Mrs Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf has commenced at the special supreme military tribunal in Monrovia. The FOOTPRINTS newspaper today disclosed that the trial of Mrs Sirleaf, which commenced yesterday, was held behind closed doors and that journalists were stopped from covering the trial. The FOOTPRINTS said all efforts made by journalists to solicit information following the adjournment of trial, which lasted for nearly 4 hours, was to no avail. It said both the defense and prosecution counsels were tight-lipped and instead referred members of the press to the tribunal chairman, Maj Gen Alfred Gayflor. The FOOTPRINTS said the chairman of the tribunal, Major General Gayflor, had earlier reportedly given orders to soldiers not to allow journalists on the fourth floor of the Temple of Justice Building where his office is located. The paper said Mrs Sirleaf arrived yesterday at the Temple of Justice in a pink hat, red shirt and (?brown) blouse, and blue jeans trousers with slippers and she was quickly escorted from a minibus to the tribunal with two armed soldiers. Mrs Sirleaf, who was charged with sedition, criminal malevolence, and violation of Secs 88 and 94 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, is being represented by Capt (Georges Touray) while the state is represented by Col (James Doe Gibson).

[Text] [Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 1710 GMT 21 Aug 85]

CSO: 3400/966
DELEGATION IN MALAWI URGES INCREASE IN BORDER TRADE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Jul 85 p 8

[Text] On Friday, in Malawi, the Niassa provincial director of finance, Carlos Manuel, said that there is a great demand for Malawi's products in Mozambique, and that the businessmen from both countries should take advantage of this opportunity to export the maximum amount possible, as the Malawi News Agency (MANA) reports.

A few days ago, Carlos Manuel spoke to the members of the Malawi Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

He said that he would like to see a larger volume of trade between Niassa Province and the region located in the southern part of Malawi.

Carlos Manuel headed a delegation consisting of four members. Its visit to Malawi follows the commercial agreement arrived at during President Samora Machel's visit to Malawi last October, at the invitation of his counterpart, Kamuzu Banda.

Carlos Manuel listed several Mozambican products that could be exported to Malawi. As for the Malawi products that could be exported to Mozambique, he listed products such as animal feed, toiletries, cement, zinc plate and a varied range of consumer goods.

He added that, in addition to the export and import trade, there is also a place for those who would like to set up mixed enterprises, noting: "We are ready to receive other investors who would like to exploit our natural resources."

The Niassa finance director also remarked that the constant movement of individuals on the common border has played a crucial role in the development of intense cooperation; because it has helped to implement the goals of economic integration advocated by the Preferential Trade Area organization (PTA) and by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

Speaking on behalf of the Malawi Chamber, the chairman of the Malawi Commercial Committee, W. C. Salima, praised the Mozambican delegation for its great concern over activating the terms of the commercial agreement, adding that the two
countries should "develop a genuine trade among them, in the spirit of SADCC and PTA, thereby formalizing the commercial exchanges."

Salima stressed the need for developing practical cooperation, especially in the technical and commercial sectors.

To facilitate the commercial exchanges, he also claimed that the two countries should consider the establishment of reciprocal accounts in the pertinent banks, between several provinces in our country and banking institutions in Malawi.

In this connection, it was disclosed during the meeting that Mozambican bank officials are in Malawi to hold meetings aimed at facilitating the bilateral exchange.

During its visit to Malawi, the Mozambican delegation visited various commercial and industrial sectors in the country.
GDR TRADE COUNSELOR SAYS FACIM STIMULATES COOPERATION

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 26 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The trade counselor of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic in Mozambique, Gunther Maltz, expressed the view that the Maputo International Fair [FACIM] constitutes a firm foundation for economic relations, in particular, between his country and Mozambique. At the 21st edition of FACIM, the GDR will be represented by seven enterprises, and its exhibit will include primarily items from the GDR which Mozambique has been using.

At the 21st edition of the Maputo International Fair, the German Democratic Republic will present an exhibit on the process of assembling the apparatus of the "Xirico" radio, which is a program included in the cooperation between Mozambique and the GDR. Other items will also be displayed, and there will be demonstrations of work included in the bilateral cooperation.

This year, the German Democratic Republic will display in its booth (the same one that it occupied a few years ago) a photographic exhibit and some graphics showing the development of the major textile complex in Mocuba, in Zambezia Province. [words missing from text] Center for Occupational Training will start operating within a few months. This is the most important project in the economic cooperation between Mozambique and the GDR, which provided that enterprise with various machinery and technical equipment.

Gunther Maltz remarked: "This factory has been devised to give an impetus to the region's economic and social development."

The trade counselor of the GDR's embassy disclosed that his country would supply Mozambique with nearly 180,000 sets of parts per year for assembling the "Xirico" radio. At the present time, the Electronic Apparatus Factory which is part of ELECTROMOC is engaged in the daily assembly of at least 1,000 radio sets. The GDR will also provide construction materials.

Increasing Imports

As Gunther Maltz claimed, the German Democratic Republic is interested in importing from Mozambique, on what he considered a large scale, certain traditional native export products, such as cashew nuts, hemp fiber, cotton and arts and
crafts items. In addition to these products, the GDR is an importer of citrus fruit, marble and wooden furniture; and one of the items that it wishes to import is the wooden structural part of electric lamps, produced in Mozambique by FADII, another manufacturing unit benefiting from GDR assistance.

He remarked: "This is the tenth time that the GDR is participating in FACIM, with which the Leipzig Fair has cooperative relations. It is through FACIM that we have also created the firm foundation for the economic and trade relations between Mozambique and the GDR. We wish to import from Mozambique other products besides the ones that we normally purchase here."

However, Gunther Maltz thinks that the agreement signed between Mozambique and the German Democratic Republic relating to the general terms for the delivery of the goods, the execution of which begins this month, is the essential basis for an entire trade relationship between the businessmen of both countries. It will also facilitate the commercial operations of the enterprises in the two countries.

During the 21st edition of the Maputo International Fair, the GDR will show in its booth a variety of films on features of this socialist country. Visitors to the booth will be able to receive offers, including plastics, hats, catalogs and other advertising material.

However, it should be stressed that Mozambique, in addition to participating in the Leipzig Fair in September, will be present in an exhibition of arts and crafts items to be held in Berlin. For nearly 3 weeks, this exhibition will enable our country to seek partners for the exporting of such items. This sample is considered an important and necessary promotion for commercial exchanges in the area of arts and crafts.

Gunther Maltz commented: "The relations that exist between Mozambique and the German Democratic Republic were based essentially on the fighting spirit that our two countries have in common; for the maintenance of peace. They are cooperative relations which have been intensifying increasingly."

2909
CSO: 3442/373
REHABILITATION OF BOROR ENTERPRISE IN ZAMBEZIA UNDER WAY

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 4 Jul 85 pp 8-9

[Text] The project to rehabilitate the BOROR state enterprise in Zambezia, the erstwhile Swiss multinational company which had been engaged primarily, since 1898, in extracting copra from the well-known largest palm grove in the world (constructed with forced labor by Mozambican manpower) started this year with a major impetus, with all the facilities and resources within the reach of the country mobilized. Immediately, to execute the aforementioned project, which constitutes the greatest accomplishment of BOROR's workers during the post-independence period, it had the cooperation of France, through its state agency (the SATEC group), which financed 200,000 contos used to purchase equipment, nevertheless, without commitments for replacements, not even in terms of reconversion at the same price; which would mean, for example, the sale of the copra to the financier. The responsibility on the Mozambican side requires only the payment of wages (in foreign currency) to the technicians who will soon arrive in the country, covered by a 1-year contract.

The rehabilitation of BOROR (with headquarters in Macuse) is an initiative involving preliminary studies by Mozambique and France in 1983, in which an analysis was made of the economic viability and bilateral benefit, in addition to the question of the transfer of European technology to Africa.

That project will be carried out in phases, including short, medium and long-term programs, and covering the demarcated reconversion of the typical palm grove (currently over 80 years old), with the introduction of hybrid species which, nevertheless, demands slow, intensive work in its treatment, particularly with regard to the fertilization and the harrowing.

The area planned for the reconversion covers the 25,000 hectares comprising the plantations of BOROR, the monster which owns a palm grove that is out of sight of the company's four production units, Macuse, Mabala, Pebane and Moma. The latter, in turn, are subdivided into 34 blocs, each of which is larger when compared with the size of the state companies existing in the country.

One important feature to be noted in the area of the BOROR rehabilitation project is associated with the industrial equipment and transportation and communications equipment essential for the operation of that colossus.
In this connection, it is planned to have new equipment for the salt industry brought to Macuse and, furthermore, for the kyar factory (producer of fibers extracted from the involucres of the coconut, used for making rope and mats). This latter by-product has exclusive Portuguese cooperation, under the terms of a contract for trading the product with Quimigal.

As for the transportation, it is planned to rehabilitate the entire land and maritime fleet and, in this respect, a vessel capable of docking on any shore (even if it lacks a coastal shipping port) has already been ordered. This boat is being built in Singapore.

Also due to arrive in Macuse is a ferryboat, which will allow for the carrying of vehicles and passengers.

Insofar as the land fleet is concerned, plans specifically call for the arrival of modern trucks with computerized systems, operated with diesel, gasoline, recycled oil and alcohol; with the intention of not stopping production for lack of fuel. Also on hand are motorized bicycles and tractors.

In the telecommunications area, it is expected to set up a system with radio-transmitters for talking between workers in the enterprise's four production units, with both fixed and movable poles, also making possible connections to and from boats and vehicles; in addition to which a telex will be installed, the system of which will be between Macuse and Maputo and the agencies. For this purpose, 37 antennas from 15 to 40 meters tall will be installed, for propagating the signal, on a VHF system that had been previously devised.

Simultaneously, the rehabilitation of the telephone line has been scheduled, particularly that of the Macuse-Buríburi and the Brigedo-Barra networks.

BOROR in the Post-Independence Period

1975: The Swiss owners of the company were still there and, in a war of attrition, were engaged in economic sabotage, with under-billing.

1976: In view of that position, the Mozambican Government intervened in this company, appointing an administrative commission headed by the veteran of the national liberation struggle, Xavier Sulila. At the time there were still a few foreign technicians, who were leaving the company precipitously.

1977: The difficulties began in removing the copra, while the production factors became scarce. Nevertheless, progress was made.

This was the year of the crisis, aggravated by the uncertainties burdening the enterprise; the maritime transportation fleet started failing to meet the schedules. As a result, the copra started to lose quality as well, declining from "cups," known as extra superior quality to the second quality, "HAD," and the third quality, "FM."
And as if that were not enough, there arrived the crisis involving bags, then imported from India, while at the same time the Pungue Textile enterprise in Beira was not filling the orders of its clients.

On the same occasion, the labor began feeling the burden of the problems. The worker who, in the past, had been forced to fulfill the goal of 2,000 coconuts, became idle, and hence failed to shell them.

1983: A new direction was set, which finally put the ship in motion, coinciding with the arrival of a new commander of the freighter, "Ana Carla."

Under these circumstances, the artificial canal for the boats' access was reopened, resuming the program for removal of the copra held at the time: nearly 8,000 tons.

In this chapter of BOROR's history, mention should be made of the effort by the conscientious, patriotic workers who were active day and night, either removing copra from the port of Moma to that of Pebane, or engaged in other areas of activity.

Thus, at the end of 1984, one of the large Portuguese ships entered the port of Moma, which was previously inaccessible; and, with the mobilization of foreign trade, the selling of the product on the market at prices actually profitable to the country was resumed.

Problems With Labor

The problems with labor which recently became a vicious circle in the country are being solved at BOROR using local methods geared to the disposition of the region's inhabitants.

For example, to maintain stability, which depends on the supply of consumer goods, by way of experiment there was introduced the system of giving rewards to the workers who most distinguished themselves in shelling the coconuts; for example, one more metical for each product.

Also by way of an incentive, the enterprise started providing the small lunch free of charge to all the workers in the production units.

Meanwhile, a study is being made of the possibility of having a bus that would allow for travel, even for the population, on the Macuse-Namacurra route, to avoid using fuel for the enterprise's vehicles, which currently serve as an alternative even for the party and government agencies in the localities under its influence.

Workers Don't Listen But Participate in the Decisions

In an exclusive interview with DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, the acting general director of BOROR, Goncalo Antonio Ferrao, remarked: "The workers don't listen, but they participate in making the decisions on the enterprise's future"; adding that
all of them, without exception, were members of the Mozambican Workers Organization (OTM).

Goncalo Ferrao, who discussed the new methods adopted by the general administration, the circle committee and OTM, stressed that the workers' affiliation with the organization that has combined them is one of the major conquests made by the enterprise throughout the 10 years of independence.

That director noted that this result created secure conditions for the implementation of the principle of "democratic centralism" in the enterprise, unlike what sometimes occurs in other areas of activity.

Mozambican Technicians Retrained in France

Mozambican technicians will be selected to participate in the retraining courses to be held in France.

The initiative is also included in the agreement for the project of BOROR's rehabilitation.

Another type of retraining for that enterprise's working personnel will be carried out in Mocase, with the presence of the French who will soon be arriving in Mozambique on the basis of a 1-year contract.

Livestock Development in Cooperation Program

The development of the livestock sector at BOROR in Zambezia has recently had repercussions, with the mobilization of the new technical administration, rendering assistance to the livestock and determining a proper policy for their use.

A meticulous endeavor carried out by Goncalo Antonio Ferrao, a graduate in veterinary medicine, made it possible during the past 2 years to immediately eliminate the tuberculosis which was infecting the animals, by conducting unprecedented experiments in treating the cattle, for which he used his imaginative skill to seek traditional alternative solutions.

Hence, with that effort for health, the number of cattle attacked by the endemic disease was reduced by him from 20 to 2 percent.

Thanks to the impetus given by that veterinarian, a policy was also determined for the slaughter and rational distribution of meat to the workers and the population of the enterprise's area of influence, destroying the entire system of discrimination noted in the area previously.

"This new attitude has helped considerably to create good relations among the inhabitants of Mocase. As a concrete example, the population is now showing up to report to the enterprise's administration cases of robbery of livestock, and turning over to us the cattle retrieved from the armed and unarmed bandits who sometimes infiltrate our region.
"In 1982," continued Goncalo Ferrao," the milk production was 10 liters per day. This year, we achieved 130, and if we failed to produce more it was because of the lack of capacity for consumption among the residents of Macuse, possibly because they did not have the habit.

"In 1984, we had 500 hogs, but this year we have reached 2,500, and our program will include as many as 5,000, depending on the feed available for nourishing the breeders."

According to Goncalo Ferrao, the enterprise's program calls for the development of a small industry that will allow for the manufacturing of butter, cheese, yogurt and stuffed sausage, as well as other pork by-products for local consumption; in addition to a parallel plan to instruct the families on the raising of small animal species.

He added: "Furthermore, we have now created a department in the enterprise that is engaged exclusively in providing agricultural and livestock technical assistance to the rural areas, including the population in our area of influence."

As our newspaper learned, this entire program of action will benefit from the French cooperation, including technical assistance in the field of animal hauling.

Meanwhile, with regard to the cattle, the artificial insemination program is being continued to improve the dairy cattle.

2909
CSO: 3442/361
BULGARIA REHABILITATES GERALCO FACTORY

Beira DIARIO DE MOÇAMBIQUE in Portuguese 13 Jul 85 p 16

[Text] GERALCO, an oil and soap factory in Quelimane, currently in a financial situation considered to be positive (after the payment of debts to the bank), is on the way to rehabilitation, with Bulgarian cooperation; because it is operating at 50 percent of its capacity, though the industrial machinery is in precarious condition.

The rehabilitation of GERALCO, where there was intervention in 1976, will entail an immediate modernization of the entire equipment which has been operating without replacements since 1962, except for a few parts in the manufacturing system.

The plan is to optimize the soap and oil-seed line, which has undergone constant damage in recent years. A laboratory for analysis will be built, as well as storage facilities, and new parts will be acquired for the other areas.

Also included in the program to rehabilitate GERALCO is an improvement in the workers' living conditions, with the construction of a dining area, washrooms and other social infrastructures.

The survey of the enterprise's general situation was made in April of this year, and a Bulgarian delegation which, at the time, studied the economic viability of the enterprise, took part in it.

It is known that the plan is to guarantee the domestic supply, and fulfillment of the export goals will depend essentially on the rehabilitation, aimed at optimizing the factory's two production lines. It might be mentioned, by way of example, that in 1985 it is planned to export 2,000 tons of oil-seed; and as of May only 600 could be exported.

"The main problem is related only to the industrial machinery, now obsolete, and the raw material which we purchase from the family sector. Otherwise, our product has always had a premium, for good quality, on the international market," commented the GERALCO agent in Quelimane, Valdemiro Pires, giving, as an example, South Africa and Malawi as a couple of the clients.
GERALCO

GERALCO is a state enterprise, formerly owned by Antonio Ferreira, a Portuguese capitalist who had a monopoly in Mozambique, with factories in Nampula and Maputo.

After his escape following independence the state intervened in the enterprise in April 1976, and an administrative commission was formed, consisting of four members, including Valdемiro Pires, the present agent.

At that time, the enterprise was in a financial position marked by deficit, and hence the commission requested a loan from the bank, which has now been paid off.

Valdемiro Pires noted: "I think that it must be one of the few enterprises in the oil-seed sector with a positive financial situation."

The manufacturing unit employs 150 workers currently, who are distributed among the administrative, soap, milling, copra, cassava and corn, and transportation sectors, among others.

Local Initiatives

The local initiatives are helping to minimize some problems associated with GERALCO's factory equipment.

For example, in view of the deterioration of the equipment, the workers are using their small means to ensure the operation of the manufacturing complex, by making parts of various types and models.

According to Frolencio Mendes, chief of GERALCO's Technical Department, of Cape Verdian nationality, "Everything has happened as a result of the degree of responsibility and professional consciousness of the workers, who realize the difficulties that the country is experiencing."

Little Copra for the Factory

The oil-seed and soap factory in Quelimane, GERALCO, has an insufficient supply of raw material, copra from the family sector, on which it has always depended.

Recent reports state that the situation will improve upon the creation of the Copra Producers Association, assigned responsibility for the reorganization of family production, including the coordination of transport facilities for removal from the rural area to the city.

However, our reporter learned that a large amount of copra from the family sector is still being held, and is in danger of spoiling for lack of transportation; not to mention the state sector, whose situation is even reflected in the Beira and Maputo factories, namely, Mozambique Industrial and Fasol, 2909
CSO: 3442/361
POTENTIAL OF BAIXO LICUNGO REGION DISCUSSED

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 11 Jul 85 pp 8-9

[Text] The fertility of the soil in the Baixo Licungo region of Zambezia affords prospects for the opening, in the near future, of a seed institute for the entire country, operating with research centers, as DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE learned from an authorized source in the Ministry of Agriculture, quoting a study recently completed with the cooperation of Korean technicians, considered to be an ecological investigation never experienced during the post-independence period. The site of the agronomical infrastructure is Nante, where the Maganja da Costa state enterprise for rice growing is established, the granary of Zambezia Province currently dependent on the meager support from other intervening enterprises for supplies of production factors and transportation facilities, owing to the insensitivity coupled with apathy on the part of the overseeing provincial administrations, despite the fact that the province's director has called this to their attention.

According to information procured by a team from our newspaper visiting the site, Baixo Licungo is a region offering an extensive, fertile, tableland for growing various crops, in addition to a beautiful landscape which has been overlooked; where grains and vegetables sprout to an amazing height, This is, furthermore, the reason that the Fourth FRELIMO Party Congress decided to include in its range of priorities the accelerated development of the Nante irrigation facility, at that time owned on a concessionary basis by the Lopes and Brothers Organizations; which, during the entire period before independence, never achieved an agricultural production exceeding 3 tons per hectare, as opposed to 6 tons attained during the current 1985 harvest.

With regard to the latter point, it should also be noted that the production indexes obtained are considered one of the major victories in the area of the consolidation of our conquests; victories which also demanded the loss of human life, among workers from the enterprise and peasants residing in the area, who underwent the holocaust perpetrated by the armed bandits.

During the first attack, on 2 October 1984, the armed bandits took the lives of two enterprise workers and two other domestic employees, as well as a member of the defense forces. With this murderous rage, the armed bandits destroyed two rice storage places and an IFA truck, also looting the entire supply of dishes, and the curtains of five workers' houses, and ripping the sofas and other furnishings with bayonets.
In the second attack, on 26 April 1985, the armed bandits attempted to destroy the warehouse containing bran, salt, dried fish and mobile fuel tanks.

In brief, these are the conditions under which the Nante workers are carrying out an entire campaign, not to mention the floods which devastated the soil every year and block the access routes to the fields. Nevertheless, with these conditions caused as a result of unstable labor, the patriotic workers have not ceased expending efforts to guarantee production.

According to nearly all the workers, what is regretted is precisely the meager backing from the enterprises, especially with regard to supplies of production factors, transportation facilities and other auxiliary materials, for example, the cement for accomplishing the projects planned by the general administration.

Also included in this context is the need for greater support in the area of consumer goods to motivate the workers and peasants in general, without neglecting the matter associated with the reorganization of a local military force to defend the region currently being threatened by the bandits.

The History of Nante

While in the hands of the former owner, the Nante enterprise was nothing but a combination of two 500-hectare blocs, as opposed to an expanse of 3,500 currently under development.

"The private firm began producing rice in the bloc next to the water pumping station that we built. At the time, it did not have the irrigation system, and, furthermore, it installed only one trench," our newspaper was told by the director of the enterprise, Alberto Paulo, who noted that it was not until after independence that it became possible to divide into plots 6,000 square meters of land, as part of the program to rehabilitate the area.

"The production from the Lopes and Brothers Organizations never amounted to 3 tons per hectare; but, in 1983, we succeeded in producing 3.8 tons; and now we have an average output of 4 tons and 300 kilograms per hectare.

"The enterprise was founded at the time of the state intervention in 1977. On that occasion, it was conceived as one of the production units of the then Zambezia Agricultural Provincial Enterprise which, after the holding of the Fourth Congress in June 1983, the provincial government decided to dismantle."

According to Alberto Paulo, the enterprise is currently engaged in producing rice in two different areas, one irrigated and another dry.

In 1984, that unit's irrigation plan was for 118 hectares, with the rehabilitation of 53.4. Actually, it was only possible to transplant on 52.4 hectares, owing to the rainfall. So, the production plan which had been for 4 tons per hectare was reconverted to 3.8, with a total production of 200 tons.
As for the dry land production, the plan was for 250 tons. In fact, because of the effects of the rain and other disasters, it was only possible to harvest on an area of 125 hectares, with an output of 730 kilograms, compared with the 2 tons in the plan. The result: of the 300 tons in the plan, 145 were accrued, and cited as a causing factor was the poor condition of the plots, for lack of drainage.

With regard to the 1984-85 campaign, the original plan was for 418 hectares, 350 of which would be on dry land and 68 on irrigated land, with an anticipated production of 420 tons from the dry area (with a yield of 1.2) and 272 tons from the irrigated area, with an output of 4 tons per hectare.

This entire plan was not carried out, because situations arose associated with the floods which blocked the access routes for the transporting of fuel and other materials. For these reasons, instead of 2.5 hours (the normal time taken to travel from Quelimane to Nante), the trip took 20 consecutive days.

In view of this situation, Nante's general administration chose to reduce the area from 350 to 186.5 hectares for dry land production, increasing the irrigated area from 68 to 94.5 hectares, considering the greater yield from this type of planting.

Greater Agricultural Yield for the First Time in Nante

This year, for the first time, the Nante rice growing enterprise obtained the largest agricultural output in the entire history of Baixo Licungo, achieving 6 tons per hectare (although this is an index for a small area).

According to data obtained on the site, the current yield was never achieved during the time of the former concession holder, even with the introduction of "azenha" [literally, water wheel], the local name for the colonial exploitation system based on forced labor.

The "azenha" consisted of the distribution of 20 kilograms of seed to the peasant which, by the end of the campaign, had to be reconverted into at least 300 kilograms of rice, regardless of whether there was a good or bad campaign.

However, to attain the 6 tons, it was not necessary to introduce any "whips," but at the most a mere appeal to the peasants' consciences to combat famine.

The laborers' effort has been rewarded in the socialist emulation with the distribution of soap, "capulana" [a type of cloth], and other items and products of prime necessity.

Rice Harvest Ends, Removal in Question

The rice harvest for the current campaign ends this month in Nante, but there still persists the problem of removal, because the access routes to and from the site are virtually upset, either by the enemy situation or by the constant floods besetting the region.
At present the removal of rice to Quelimane is being done under very precarious conditions, by carrying the bags on their backs (as may be seen in the photo), or using small boats which make it possible to carry the loads along rivers and tributaries of the Licungo and Lipuare, which surround Nante.

The somewhat slow journey has reached the point of becoming extremely long and with high production costs if we include the rates for transportation, labor and other facilities; whereas, under normal conditions, the same trip can be made in only 2 hours' time, in contrast to the 20 or more days that it takes now.
AGRICOM MAKES EFFORTS TO ENSURE MARKETING SUCCESS IN TETE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 26 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] An enormous effort is being expended by AGRICOM [Agricultural Products Marketing Company] in Tete Province to ensure the success of the current marketing campaign. According to this company's director, Adolfo Mocambique, the conditions have been difficult, from the late arrival of the items for barter to the lack of transportation for removal of the marketed products. "However, a strong will and a spirit of total dedication to work often succeed in surmounting difficulties." Actually, despite those difficulties, the process is going on normally in Changara, at the stations set up for this purpose.

Despite the efforts made to date, Adolfo Mocambique claimed that there was little hope of achieving good results in this campaign, because, in his view, there are several causes which could always have a negative effect on the process. For example, he cited the matter of the small fleet of vehicles that AGRICOM has for fully engaging in its activity.

That director commented: "The question of transportation is the main bottleneck. Without vehicles, we cannot do anything. The fleet of new vehicles that we have now is very small for covering a province as large as this."

He told us that, as an alternative for being able to make the exchanges, they have recently resorted to the vehicles from the Department to Prevent and Combat Natural Disasters in the province, to remove the products for marketing from all regions which the AGRICOM vehicles do not reach.

During a brief visit to some of the districts of Tete Province, our reporter was able to observe the difficult conditions under which the agricultural marketing is being conducted, especially in the districts.

Adolfo Mocambique noted: "In the district of Maravia alone, we have lost 700 tons of surpluses to be removed. For lack of transportation, those products are still being held there."

He claimed that, although they have managed to purchase 150,000 bags for accommodating the products, the bag shortage still constitutes another obstacle to the normal progress of the marketing process.
The AGRICOM director added: "We also lack textiles, an item which the peasant needs most for bartering his surpluses."

Some Progress

As the NOTICIAS reporter managed to learn, in some districts, such as Changara, the marketing is going on normally, with the population bartering its products for items which, as we found out, arrived in the district very recently. However, all the districts are not this lucky, because that site is one of the few in which the products were made available on time.

Of the progress made in this activity, the recent creation of more fixed marketing stations in various districts of Tete Province, totaling 49, stands out. With these stations, the peasant in certain regions will stop traveling enormous distances in search of a marketing station for his surpluses.

A Good Campaign Is Being Planned

During the brief conversation that our reporter held with Adolfo Mocambique, he gave us the impression that the desire to work would surmount some of the difficulties existing now, although, he claims, the current campaign could be jeopardized.

When asked to tell what would be necessary to ensure a good campaign, he remarked:

"We must have all the facilities involved in the marketing process on time. In particular, we must have the people and the goods for barter at the stations; something that has not occurred in this campaign, in which the major problems began with the transportation, without which we can do nothing."
SUGAR REFINERY REPORTEDLY PRODUCING BELOW CAPACITY

Beira DIARIO DE MOÇAMBIQUE in Portuguese 15 Jul 85 pp 8-9

[Text] Between 10,000 and 12,000 Tons of Sugar Anticipated

This year's production campaign at the Mozambique Sugar Enterprise (AM), located in Mafambisse, Sofala Province, will have to begin next month at all costs.

It is planned to produce between 10,000 and 12,000 tons of sugar, in a factory whose installed capacity would allow 80,000 to be processed.

The cane plantations total an area of 10,500 hectares, only 5,000 of which are fully equipped for industrialization, while the rest, because they are from 10 to 15 years old, are showing output problems.

A little over a week ago, a delegation from the party and government in Sofala, headed by Marcelino dos Santos, director of the province, visited that manufacturing complex, a veritable development enclave for the country in general, and for the area in particular.

It is on the basis of the work done by the group, from observations to analyses and conclusions provided, that our newspaper will, in a rather general manner, scrutinize the current situation and what is intended.

The Crucial Problem

The Mozambique Sugar Enterprise has a contingent of workers totaling about 2,000. However, when a campaign is started, it is necessary to increase the work force, owing to the size of the field activity, consisting mainly of cane cutting.

Between 1982 and 1983, the enterprise was abandoned by workers who went to other areas because of the drought; a problem which is being reflected at present with great severity.

It should be recalled that, at that time, the supply provided by Home Trade was inadequate to meet the needs, because of the fact that the drought demanded a larger amount of food and in vast sections of the province.
However, the enterprise must start the campaign now. It needs 1,500 workers for the field and, until a little over a week ago, it had managed to recruit only 400.

The work force for the campaign must be found at all costs, because the alternative of using machinery for the cane cutting is considered detrimental from an economical standpoint and is not advisable from an agricultural-technical angle.

Hence, in lengthy, private work sessions held between the visiting delegation and the enterprise's administration, including political and administrative agents from the region, the work force ended up as one of the heated issues in the discussions which took place.

How to Surmount It

It was decided in Mafambisse that the enterprise's administration should submit, by last Sunday, a proposal containing various options aimed at solving this problem.

Concurrently, the question arose as to whether, rather than solving the specific problem of this campaign, Mozambique Sugar Enterprise should find practical means of stabilizing its work force, relying primarily on its own forces.

What appeared to be a real obstacle (the lack of labor) began to appear as a really crucial problem, but it is not devoid of a practical solution.

At one of the work sessions, it was noted that there are sectors with a large number of workers based on production volumes, such as transportation, whose labor might well reinforce the field workers.

And in a more thorough and realistic analysis, the conclusion was reached that, since this is a campaign, why not have the workers in administrative services join in the field work? This would, however, not be done to the detriment of their sectors, which are no less important.

Regarding the matter, Marcelino dos Santos recommended that the Mozambique Sugar Enterprise administration find out about experiences with mobilizing the work force gained at the Metuchira agricultural enterprise (Sofala).

Role of Production and Supply

Production plays a preponderant role in stabilizing the work force. The family sector in Mafambisse is self-sufficient in some crops; rice, for example, of which many families have enough for their own consumption and even some for marketing.

But the enterprise lacks those conditions. It must start the process of producing crops other than cane, making use of all the free land.
As the province's director remarked, "Without damaging the intended aim of producing sugar, kids, ducks, rabbits and chickens must be raised; we must make use of the land in order to become self-sufficient."

This means that it is not fitting for the enterprise's workers to remain waiting for supplies from Home Trade; they must produce, because therein lies the secret. Marcelino dos Santos said: "First, the factory must have its own forces; second, it must have the production of the workers' families. If not all the land is used for raising sugar cane, we shall produce food."

It is this entire group of solutions that will help solve the problem. Meanwhile, members of the enterprise's administration cited the possibility of requesting of the provincial government products for barter, including clothes, "which would serve as a lure and an attraction for greater participation by the peasants in the campaign."

At one of the work sessions, commenting on this opinion, Marcelino dos Santos expressed optimism regarding the proposal, provided it is fitting and strictly justified from a quantitative standpoint.

Factory: Another Tragedy

In his remarks, Marcelino dos Santos always made it quite clear that the campaign must be successful, and that this is vital to all of us.

This means that the situation of the manufacturing sector, which is also undergoing a critical period, must be changed, based on all the available resources.

The factory, with quite modern equipment, provided with electronic operating systems, is nearly all undergoing rehabilitation.

An emergency program to "save" the campaign is in progress, already responding to the spirit imparted by the party and government delegation that one should not stand by idly when there are problems. There must be aggressive action, which is strong, determined and courageous, so as always to find solutions to them.

There is equipment the recovery of which would be possible only with imported materials, but the factory administration has pledged to begin operations using the available resources.

We know that there are pipes to be completely repaired, a turbine which requires overhauling and various other machines which need improvements.

There is intensive action, both by the enterprise's administration and the provincial government itself, to unblock all channels and simplify methods conducive to the solution of the factory's problems and difficulties.
Concurrently, a process is under way to recover transportation facilities (trucks, hitches and tractors) which are part of the backbone of the campaign. In other words, it does not suffice to have the cane cut; it has to reach the factory.

The transportation sector also has some options in the event that its capacity for response falls short of the requirements.

Mention was made of the possibility of leasing privately owned heavy vehicles in order to cope with the requests which will be considerable at the outset, given the nature of the campaign and the manner in which it will be carried out.

AM: To What Extent Responsible?

By the end of this month, the Mozambique Sugar Enterprise (AM) must have completed the preparation of a plan for economic, political, social and military action. The provincial administration, insofar as it is authorized, assumed its responsibilities both for the success of the campaign and for enabling that strategic state enterprise to respond to the requirements determined on the higher level.

For the area in which it is located, AM's responsibility is mainly political, social and military, whereas on the national scale it is economic.

The delegation from the Sofala party and government which worked for 2 days in Mafambisse, went there precisely to find out how that production unit has assumed this role.

On various occasions, Marcelino dos Santos remarked that, as a state enterprise, AM, as it has already been defined, must be "a pillar of our revolution."

The delegation put its action into perspective, in the sense that it not only noted, but also instructed the enterprise's administration to support the region's political and administrative agents present there.

Mozambique Sugar Enterprise contributed to the defense of the area, through the action taken by the enterprise's militiamen. This alone lends that agroindustrial unit great significance in the battle against the enemy.

Marcelino dos Santos declared: "We want the enterprise to be a bulwark in the battle against the armed bandits."

It should wield a major influence on the agricultural development of the cooperative and family sectors, and there must be a concrete program in this respect.

For this reason, immediately after his arrival in Mafambisse, the director of the province, in a long meeting with the enterprise's administration and the region's political, administrative and military agents, remarked: "This is the beginning of a conversation which must end in the form of a military, social, economic and political plan that will meet the needs of the factory, its workers and the surrounding population."
Not only are the results of this visit immediately apparent, but their effect is obvious as well. The goals are, essentially, the defense of the revolution based on concrete action, taking our country's objective conditions into consideration.

Power and Water for Beira, Marcelino Congratulates Mafambisse

Marcelino dos Santos, director of Sofala, congratulated the workers from the Mozambique Sugar Enterprise on the important role that they are playing to supply power and water to the city of Beira.

That member of the Politbureau said that the provincial administration has joined that effort and sacrifice, not just now, but every time the power transportation line has been sabotaged.

Maj Gen Marcelino dos Santos spoke at the general workers' meeting which marked the conclusion of the 2-day visit paid by him to Mafambisse as head of a party and government delegation.

Prominent in the entourage were Maj Francisco Cachaco, commander of the fifth brigade; and the provincial directors of industry and power, agriculture, security, planning and labor, namely, Gama Afonso, Teotonio dos Muchangos, Marcelino Guerra and Antonio Chicumbe.

The delegation also included cadres from the state economic administration, the provincial secretary of the OTM [Mozambican Workers Organization], Munjenjecua Albino Muchanga, and others from defense and security.

At the general meeting of workers, Marcelino dos Santos announced that members of the provincial government would work immediately in Mafambisse to aid the local agencies in solving the problems raised during the course of the meeting.

Prominent among them are the ones relating to supplies for the workers, and occupational evaluations and courses.

The director of the province severely criticized the neglected appearance shown by the residential districts, where there is predominantly garbage in the streets, lack of care for gardens and the absence of beautification in the back yards of the dwellings. He also mentioned the consequences of this lack of care for the residents.

On the day of its arrival in Mafambisse, the delegation was honored with a warm reception from the workers and the surrounding population, with dancing and singing.

It received greetings from Carvalho Neves, replacement for the enterprise's general director, and from cadres of the party and administration leadership and the mass organizations.
The entourage visited the cane plantations, the transportation sector and the factory installations, where it was able to view all the existing problems and difficulties, as well as the efforts to surmount them.

Particular attention was given to the electric power plant, from which Beira is supplied with power.

In the various dialogues that he held with workers, including section chiefs, Marcelino dos Santos criticized the fact that they were not familiar with their own enterprise.

"We find instances of chiefs who do not know when the campaign is supposed to begin, or the production proposed for this year."

On the final day of its stay in Mafambisse, the visiting delegation was honored with a reception in which the entire enterprise administration, and representatives from political and administrative agencies in the districts of Dondo and Nhamatanda participated.
SITUATION OF SSE'S LIVESTOCK RAISING SECTOR DESCRIBED

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 18 Jul 85 pp 8-9

[Text] Efforts to provide new housing for people and livestock are being undertaken by the Sena Sugar Estates [SSE] Livestock Office in Luabo (Zambezia). A few days ago, brigades were set up to work on the construction of infrastructures for the animals, such as sheepfolds, pigpens and others, and including dwellings for the workers.

Adolfo Paulo Mavale, a veterinarian, and director of livestock for the aforementioned sugar enterprise, when speaking with our newspaper recently, remarked: "The purpose of providing new housing for the animals is to raise the birth rate and reduce the mortality."

With nearly 15,800 head of cattle, about 6,700 of which are in Luabo, while the rest are distributed among the areas of Mopeia, Marromeu and Matilde, SSE is one of the country's large livestock raisers. "At least up until last year, from a numerical standpoint, we ranked among the best," added our source.

The subject of our interview, discussing the decline that has occurred in the number of animals, explained: "For example, up until 1984, we had 18,700 head of cattle. The reduction that has occurred now is a result of the bandits' activity."

According to the source, at the present time there are nearly 4,700 head of cattle in Mopeia, while Marromeu has nearly 3,000 head. As Adolfo Mavale stated: "This is the information for March, because we have had difficulty communicating with this first district."

Luabo and Mopeia Are Victims

Luabo and Mopeia are considered areas victimized by the armed bandits' action, at least in the livestock area. For example, in this locality, after the enemy attack of 11 September of last year, nearly 1,500 cattle, including calves, were considered to be missing.

Concurrently, between January and March of this year, 20 livestock workers from the Luabo sugar enterprise were murdered, with their respective families, by armed bandits, while another five were kidnapped.
The livestock director reported: "The closest areas are located 12 kilometers from here. Therefore, we have to take the animals away from the more remote areas to the surrounding ones as a measure for keeping more effective control over the livestock."

The veterinarian noted: "The new area is a very small expanse," adding that, "with the capacity for only 1,500 head of cattle, it houses almost 6,000 animals."

The Opportunists

An unspecified number of animals, primarily hogs, disappeared from some sections of the locality of Luabo, as a result of what the SSE livestock director, Adolfo Mavale, described as opportunism.

Concretely, dishonest individuals from certain areas stole the aforementioned animals for their own consumption or even committing another illegal act, for commercial purposes.

According to the source, the situation is more disturbing in the areas where the armed bandits have created an atmosphere of uneasiness, giving the workers more cause to be concerned over their own lives than over those of the hogs.

Hogs Threatened?

Commenting on the animals' feed, Adolfo Mavale said that the problem was reflected more among the hogs because, as he explained, there is a shortage of copra bagasse which comes from Quelimane.

To solve the problem of the feed shortage, the source said that instructions had been issued by the Quelimane Provincial Directorate to plant sweet potatoes, elephant grass, sugar cane, squash and cassava.

However, considering the possibility of producing sweet potatoes and cassava for hogs is remote, because there is not enough for human consumption, the veterinarian remarked that "feed is still a worrisome matter," in view of the current food problems.

New Season, New Problems

Whereas during the rainy period, or rather the hot season, the problem was one of "matope" [floodings], within a few days it will be different, with the arrival of the drought: There will be no forage for the animals. To make the problem worse, mention is made of the fact that the present area where the animals are kept is small.

In the opinion of our informant, "Besides the dry season, the crowding of the livestock causes serious problems," and he adds: "One of them is the shortage of feed, because the area is meager."
Also, as Adolfo Mavale remarks: "One of our major concerns is to provide for new areas to uncrowd the cattle."

Butter Production: Resumption Is Nearing, a New Slaughterhouse Built

One of SSE's concerns in Luabo is the organization of a dairy for selling milk to the workers and for the production of butter which, as we were told, may also be supplied to other areas.

Adolfo Mavale, a veterinarian at the aforementioned agricultural-livestock industrial unit, commented: "We had started producing butter, but when our cream skimmer broke, we stopped. We now have 200 cows providing milk."

In response to a question of the reporter regarding the variety of those cows, the subject of our interview said that they were a cross-breed of dairy cattle and cattle for slaughter and, as he noted, the number was sufficient for supplying the workers with milk.

The resumption of the butter which many workers contacted by us claimed to enjoy is nearing and, according to Adolfo Mavale, will be one of the things to be done after the rehousing of the animals is finished.

Meanwhile, in Mopeia, where there are 7,700 head of cattle, as we have already mentioned, the workers and the population as a whole are being provided with milk from cattle for slaughter.

Moreover, to solve the problem of supplying the population with meat, a new slaughterhouse has just been built in Luabo, and there are also plans for its improvement.

SSE's livestock director in Luabo concluded by saying: "We are also building a pigpen which, from a technical standpoint, lacks the facilities for keeping the nearly 700 hogs."

And the Small Grazing Animals?

In addition to cattle which are more important economically, the Sena Sugar Estates enterprise in Luabo is also engaged in raising small grazing animals, such as kids and lambs, of which there are currently 120 and 570, respectively.

Adolfo Mavale, livestock director of the aforementioned sugar unit, commented: "Because they are not the type mainly exploited, the small grazing animals are a rather overlooked sector; because the beef cattle rank first, hogs are second and goats and lambs are last."

Rabbits and ducks are not given special attention either. The subject of our interview added: "Perhaps if we had a smaller number of cattle, we could provide better sanitary accommodations for the small species."
Both the rabbits and the ducks are used for reproduction, and are sold to the workers who are interested in breeding these small animal species.

However, according to veterinarian Adolfo Mavale, "Only a few have contacted us to buy pairs of small species; and if they do so, it is for consuming and not for breeding."

2909
CSO: 3442/361
TRACTORS TO BE SOLD TO PRIVATE FARMERS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Jul 85 p 8

[Text] The Politbureau member and director of Niassa Province, Maj Gen Mariano Matsinhe, ordered the immediate sale of all the tractors in MECANAGRO's fleet located in the district of Marrupa, in the eastern part of Niassa, to private farmers and merchants in that district.

At the present time, MECANAGRO's machine equipment section in Marrupa has six tractors, five of which are operational and one damaged.

To sell these tractors, Mariano Matsinhe, who was speaking at a meeting with Marrupa's private farmers and merchants held in the course of his recent working visit to the district, recommended that the provincial director of agriculture send a team of technicians as soon as possible to Marrupa to make an assessment of the total cost of each of the tractors.

The director of Niassa also remarked at the same meeting that the function of MECANAGRO in Marrupe, after the sale of the tractors to the private individuals is made will be to provide technical assistance for these farming machines and spare parts to their owners.

Furthermore, at the same meeting Mariano Matsinhe urged the Marrupa farmers to organize into a private farmers association, claiming that only by so doing will it be easy for the state to support them, specifically, with production factors and fuels.

The Niassa director also appealed to the farmers and merchants present to engage in activities which produce foreign exchange for the province, citing, for example, the need for producing beeswax and castor beans on a larger scale.

He explained that, in Niassa Province, the district producing the largest amount of foreign exchange will be the one to benefit from the use of it.

Another point mentioned by that member of the FRELIMO Party's top-ranking leadership was the need for the merchants to participate in agriculture, along with their main activity, thereby helping in the battle against famine.
Mariano Matsinhe met with the private farmers and merchants in Marrupa to learn about the real situation in this sector, and its future prospects.

Hence, at the meeting the participants cited problems relating to the people's supplies and to commercial taxes, some of which had immediate local solutions.

Participating in the meeting besides the administrator of Marrupa were the provincial directors of agriculture, home trade, and backup and control, among other provincial party and state cadres serving on the provincial party and government delegation which visited the district of Marrupa.

2909
CSO: 3442/373
CHIPANDE SATISFIED WITH FIRST PHASE OF CABINDA OIL EXPLORATION

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] The member of the FRELIMO Party's Politbureau, Army Gen Alberto Chipande, expressed satisfaction with the way in which the oil prospecting program is progressing in Cabo Delgado Province. Alberto Chipande, who was in Mocimboa da Praia last week, with members of ESSO, to check on the current phase of the oil prospecting work, voiced praise, both when addressing the population awaiting his arrival at the local airport, and in dialogues with technicians associated with the project.

The oil prospecting in Cabo Delgado Province is being done under the terms of a contract signed by the Mozambican Government with the American multinational firm ESSO; the area for its execution being the section between the Rovuma River and the one slightly south of the city of Pemba. To carry out the seismic survey of the region, ESSO, in turn, contracted a French firm, CGG (General Geophysics Company). This firm's work was started at the beginning of last year, and its first phase was completed last November.

On this occasion, the minister of mineral resources, Abdul Magid Osman, told the press in Pemba that everything was going well and also that CGG had done a good job.

After a few months of laboratory study of the first results, using a computerized system, then it was time for the second phase, that is, the detailed seismic one.

The director of Cabo Delgado Province explained to the population of Mocimboa da Praia the importance of the oil prospecting project being conducted in this province, as part of the effort that the Mozambican Government is making, aimed at developing our economy. Alberto Chipande lauded the population of Mocimboa da Praia for the backing that they have given to the foreign technicians associated with the oil prospecting.

Refraining from supplying information on the first results, persons connected with the program told us that everything was going well and, moreover, praised the courtesy accorded them by the party and state entities both in the district of Mocimboa da Praia and on the provincial administration level.
To ensure better execution of the project, ESSO is coordinating activities with the provincial government agencies for the purpose of using the port of Mocimboa da Praia, which has been closed to navigation for several years, owing to certain technical difficulties. This port was also visited by the provincial director last week, while he was in Mocimboa da Praia.

During this working visit of his, the director of Cabo Delgado, who was accompanied by several members of the provincial government, toured one of ESSO's work fronts for nearly 2 hours, receiving the essential explanations from the technicians.

2909
CSO: 3442/373
BRIEFS

USSR OFFERS MEDICINE--Yesterday in Maputo, the Red Cross of the USSR donated 20 crates containing medicine to the Red Cross of Mozambique, to assist the victims of natural disasters. Pavel Chmelkov, charge d'affaires at the Soviet Embassy in Mozambique, delivered the donation, which was received by the head of the Red Cross of Mozambique, Isaias Funzamo. At the presentation ceremony, Pavel Chmelkov remarked that the USSR understands the difficulties confronting our people as a result of natural disasters and the armed bandits. As was noted on this occasion, another Soviet donation will soon be arriving in Maputo, including hospital equipment that will be distributed among the provinces of Sofala, Nampula, Inhambane and Gaza. It should be noted that the USSR recently donated hospital equipment to the maternity units at the HCM [Maputo Central Hospital] and the hospital in Dondo, in Sofala Province, in addition to sports equipment of the boxing and basketball type. The charge d'affaires of the USSR Embassy said that, at his government's decision, 2,000 tons of rice would be given to our country. He also commented that, in the context of the relations between the two countries, nearly 130 Mozambicans will go to the Soviet Union to study, and that his government would pay all the expenses. The head of the Red Cross of Mozambique expressed gratitude for the Soviet people's act of solidarity, and said that the medicines would help combat many diseases. The photo shows a partial view of the Soviet donation to the victims of natural disasters. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 26 Jul 85 p 8] 2909

CSO: 3442/373
PR TO PRESS FOR APPOINTMENT OF OMBUDSMAN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] WINDHOEK. — The Republican Party would press for the appointment of an ombudsman in South West Africa, the party's leader and chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Speaking at the close of a two-day RP congress, Mr Mudge said the party would be the proponent in the SWA National Assembly for the creation of such an office.

The purpose of a state-appointed ombudsman would be to hear complaints by people whose rights have been abused "without their having to go to court, which costs a lot of money."

Mr Mudge, who is also Minister of Finance and Governmental Affairs in the SWA Transitional Cabinet, said peace was best secured through the promotion of improved human relationships among the various population groups.

Human dignity had to be respected at all times.

"I personally want to hear of it if anyone in the service of the state offends against this, whether it is in an office or at a road block or wherever."

Mr Mudge was earlier re-elected unanimously as leader of the RP, which forms the White political component of the DTA.

— Sapa.
BRIEFS

ENTRY CONTROL OF SA WHITES—Windhoek - The South West Africa Transitional Cabinet has approved a Bill to Control the entry of Whites from South Africa into the territory, according to a statement published in Windhoek yesterday. Legislation already existed for the control of Black and Coloured people entering the territory, mainly to protect job opportunities for residents. The Cabinet statement said that in the interests of good human relations it had become necessary to control the entry of Whites from South Africa. The Bill, to be introduced in the National Assembly, would also regulate the terms of residence of certain people in SWA and would provide for the issuing of orders to expel people from the territory. The statement said the Cabinet had also ordered the release of a further five people held in terms of security legislation but their names would not be disclosed for security reasons. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 17 Aug 85 p 8]

PR CONTRACTS EXTENDED—Windhoek - The South West African transitional cabinet had decided to extend for another 12 months the contracts of public relations consultants based in Bonn, London, Paris and Washington. The consultants were appointed in 1980 to promote the interests of the territory abroad. At a meeting in Windhoek on Wednesday night, the Cabinet also reaffirmed its commitment to basic policy for national unity in SWA. According to a statement issued after the meeting, the basic principles contained in that policy were: Unity in diversity, peace and national reconciliation, the right to self-determination, the rejection of violence, and the provisions of a Bill of Rights annexed to the proclamation of the South African State President that instituted the SWA Government in June this year. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Aug 85 p 11]

KOEVOET TAKEN OVER—Windhoek - Koevoet has been taken over by the South West African authorities on May 1 this year and was presently under the command of the Commissioner of the SWA Police, the chairman of the territory's transitional Cabinet, Dr David Dezuidenhout, said in the National Assembly on Tuesday. He was replying to a question by a SWA National Union member, Mr Tjeripo Ngarengombe, on when Koevoet had disbanded, whether the South African components of the unit had returned to the Republic and whether the public had been informed of the developments. Mr Bezuidenhout said the former SA Police unit was now known as the counter-insurgency unit of the SWA Police. The South African members had returned to the republic on June 14, while some SAP members had been seconded to the SWA Police to serve in the new unit. Mr
Bezuidenhout said the public had been informed through the media. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Aug 85 p 12]

14 SWAPO INSURGENTS KILLED—Windhoek - Security Forces in Northern South West Africa have shot and killed 14 Swapo insurgents in several skirmishes in the past 13 days, the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek on Tuesday. Seven were killed in follow-up operations on Sunday. The Security Forces suffered no casualties, the SWATF said. The latest SWAPO deaths brought to 482 in the number of insurgents killed since the beginning of the year. In a statement, the SWATF said Security Forces brought back to safety two schoolboys on Saturday afternoon after they had been abducted by SWAPO insurgents the previous night from a kraal near Mahanene in Northern SWA. A Kavango boy, Andreas Kandjimi (7) was killed and a friend injured when "an enemy projectile" exploded in the hands of one of the children. The incident happened last Friday near Taratara in Northern SWA after they had found the explosive device in the veld about 200 metres from a kraal. The injured boy was Linyando Karwapa (12) who was taken by helicopter to a hospital where he was admitted, the SWATF said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Aug 85 p 13]

SWAPO NUMBERS REPORTEDLY DOWN—Windhoek - The number of Swapo insurgents operationally deployed against Namibia had halved during the past six years, the chief of the South African Army and chief-designate of the SA Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys, said last night. He said the decrease in the numbers was not only attributable to successful security force operations, but also to the fact that insurgents were aiding the Angolan armed forces against Unita rebels. That was the price Swapo had to pay for the privilege of having bases in Angola. Insurgent activities, like destroying telephone poles and murder, had to be conducted by the so-called elite special unit elements which indicated how Swapo's military capability had degenerated. General Geldenhuys said security force activities had been utilised on other fronts to secure improvements in the political, constitutional and administrative areas in Namibia. That had shown to the outside world that there were other positive forces at work within the territory. And because of it, the international community no longer regarded Swapo as the sole voice of the people of Namibia. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Aug 85 p 5]

NEW WEEKLY PAPER PLANNED—Windhoek - A planned new weekly newspaper for Namibia, THE NAMIBIAN, applied for registration with the authorities on Friday, the editor, Miss Gwen Lister, said in a statement in Windhoek today. The application will come before the territory's new transitional government's Cabinet. Miss Lister, a well-known journalist in the territory, said the new newspaper would follow an independent editorial policy and would also initiate a media training programme for young journalists. "The project aims to train young Namibians to take up positions in the media and contribute to a self-sufficient Press corps in the country." [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 Jul 85 p 9]
PERFORMANCE OF COMMERCIAL FARMS FOUND DISAPPOINTING

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 12 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by Matthew Onwudinjo]

THE cardinal objectives of the Federal Government has been the transformation of subsistence agriculture to commercially oriented production. Unfortunately however, the performance of most commercial farms has been disappointing, Professor Obi Abisii Ogunfowora, Acting Director, AFERS; A.B.U., said at the second annual conference of Farm Management Association of Nigeria titled: “Problems and prospects,” which opened at the Agricultural Extension Research Liaison Services Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria.

Professor Ogunfowora who is also the President of Farm Management Association of Nigeria (FAMAN), attributed the reasons for such poor performance to adoption of management practices which are at variance with sound commercial practices, unattractive imput and output, price structure, high-overhead costs, inefficient management, as well as the lack of definite and sustained policy on the promotion of commercial agriculture.

According to Professor Ogunfowora, experience gathered during a nationwide survey of some commercial farming enterprises revealed many reasons for the current nationwide interest in commercial farming.

These, he explained, include the fact that people take to farming in order to reduce the food bill and generate additional income through farming activities.

The reduction of government expenditure, retirement and retrenchment of industrial and public officers due to shortage of raw materials and or overstaffing.

Thirdly, is the government policy which required commercial concerns to obtain a reasonable proportion of their industrial raw materials from local sources, hence the current interest in many agro-allied industries to establish or expand existing operation in direct positive response to government directive.

Fourthly is to satisfy the personal ambition of being recognised as a patriot who has made personal sacrifices by investing in agriculture.

Fifthly, is the attempt by some individuals to get rid of excess liquidity which arose from spillovers from uncontrolled civilian government expenditures and political patronages.

Professor Ogunfowora therefore said that in order to sustain the current momentum in the growth of commercial farms, a number of policy measures have to be critically appraised with a view to improving the efficiency of implementation.
He attacked the current level of subsidy on fertilizer and chemicals as inadequate, pointing out that the major issue of policy was the timely availability of these inputs and in sufficient quantity. He further explained that where fertilizer was readily available and market prices not unduly depressed, the rate of adoption of fertilizer would increase.

It was his view that an extension of the land clearing subsidy to individual commercial large farms would help in reducing farm indebtedness and induce an accelerated development of large-scale farms. But this policy, he noted should not be extended to corporate farms.

On farm machinery subsidy, Professor Ogunfowora called for not less than three sets of machines for land clearing to serve farmers in each state. These equipment, he added, should be purchased by the Federal Department of Agriculture, the river basins or the state ministries of agriculture to be hired out to farmers.

On the current economic trend, Professor Ogunfowora stated that it was necessary that the present tight fiscal policies, especially in relation to government expenditure be maintained for a minimum of five years - a period of time long enough to generate permanent and sustained interest in agriculture.
PAPER SHOWS LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR SIERRA LEONE'S MOMOH

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 15 Aug 85 p 3

[Editorial]

THE Ninth National Delegates' Convention of Sierra Leone's ruling party — People's Congress Party — held recently in Freetown, was an important milestone in the country's political development.

The Congress, by electing Major-General Joseph Saidu Momoh, the sole official candidate in the presidential elections scheduled for October, has laid to rest wide speculations that President Siaka Stevens was, more than anything, flying a kite when he announced his intention to retire from his country's national politics.

As it is, Siaka Stevens earns an eagle feather on his cap for keeping his word. The honourable path he has treaded, following the worthy examples already set by Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Ahmadu Ahidjo of Cameroun, has gone a long way to debunk the ugly notion — the notion had long gained currency — that African leaders blindly cling to power and refuse to quit even after their inadequacies had become glaring.

All pan-Africanists strongly hope that President Stevens would enjoy his retirement quietly, stay clear of his country's partisan politics and only when necessary — if at all such necessity could arise — play the role of an elder statesman by offering fatherly counsel to his successors. This advice should be the practical philosophy to guide President Stevens in his retirement if the misfortunes that befall many a former
African head of state was not to become his lot. Relinquishing office is one thing. Giving one’s successor a free hand to run the affairs of the state is quite another. Ahmadu Ahidjo became a mortal enemy to his former “good boy” and successor, Paul Biya, because he wanted to continue ruling Cameroun from his retirement. A wise man, therefore, needs no lengthy sermon. Beyond this, we are constrained to protest that General Momoh’s nomination is a sad commentary on the ability of Africans to operate a constitutional government. The Sierra Leonean constitution is unequivocal as to who succeeds the president whenever he relinquishes office. It’s the vice-president.

Stevens must have had his reasons for preferring his armed forces chief, Momoh, to his vice-president, Sorie Ibrahim Koroma. Yet, personal biases or caprices, no matter how well-intentioned, should not be allowed to supersede constitutional provisions. True, the Sierra Leonean Parliament has already proceeded to amend the Constitution to reflect the new development. But even at that, the amendment would have succeeded only in reinforcing the sad impression that political leaders in this part of the world find it difficult to uphold the lofty dictates of constitutional government. This untoward trend, Africa must strive to reverse.
LEAD, ZINC MINING TO BE RESUMED

Enugu DAILY STAR in English 14 Aug 85 p 16

[Article by Chris Nwokedi]

[Text] Nigeria will need technical assistance, especially in the areas of education, agriculture, science and sports in order to ensure it social and economic stability.

This indication was given on Monday by the Anambra State military governor, Navy Captain Alison Madueke, while receiving the out-going Yugoslav ambassador in Nigeria, Mr Ramadan Marmulaku, who visited him in his office.

Governor Madueke noted that a good number of Nigerians had benefited from technical man-power training of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and called for more technical assistance from the republic.

He also informed the out-going ambassador that Nigeria is blessed with minerals and raw materials, adding that there are some coal deposits in the state.

Governor Madueke therefore called for the marketing of the product, adding that coal would stand for a good substitute to gas when refined.

He also called for the development of raw materials into inter-mediate inputs for local industries.

Governor Madueke was happy that work in the lead and zinc mining project at Abakaliki would soon be undertaken by experts from Yugoslavia.

He expressed the hope that the team of experts would seize the opportunity to explore the salt deposits in the area.

The ambassador said that he was in the state to pay a courtesy call on the state governor, address the Onitsha Chambers of Commerce and familiarise himself with the Igbo people who, he described as "enterprising people".

The ambassador who came with his wife and a mining expert, Mr Stojan Fidracic, also stated his country's preparedness to reactivate the Abakaliki lead and zinc mines through a mining corporation in Yugoslavia.
He said that both his country and Nigeria have common economic and social ties; belong to non-aligned nations and as such striving towards achieving economic stability.

Ambassador Marmulaku described the effort of the present military administration as commendable, pointing out that even though he was leaving Nigeria after three years of service, as his country's ambassador, he would continue to scout for areas of helping in Nigeria's development.

On the Abakaliki zinc and lead mines, the ambassador assured the governor that necessary arrangements were on with the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Power for commencement of the reactivation programme.

He said that mining and research experts are due to arrive in September this year for feasibility studies on the mines.

CSO: 3400/974
BRIEFS

4TH IN WORLD COCOA PRODUCTION—Nigeria is the fourth largest cocoa producer in the world, coming after Ivory Coast, Brazil and Ghana in the 1984/85 seasons. Quoting the reputable London commodity trader, Gill and Duffus, the July edition of the UBA monthly Business and Economic Digest (BED) said that Nigeria's production for 1984/85 was 150,000 tonnes, Ivory Coast 530,000 tonnes, Brazil 396,000 tonnes and Ghana 170,000 tonnes. By the end of the 1984/85 season, it noted, world bean stocks including the International Cocoa Organisation's (ICCO's) buffer stock were forecast to be 454,000 tonnes, equivalent to just a little over three month's grindings. The prices of cocoa in the country has been showing an upward trend. From #660 per tonnes in the 1976/77 session, it went up to #1,500 during the 1984/85 season which was the highest now being paid in West Africa. [Text] [Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 12 Aug 85 p 24]

UK TRADE IMPROVES—U.K. trade has shown satisfactory improvement during the first five months of this year, British Ministry of Trade sources said in London Thursday. The sources said that during the period, British exports to Nigeria amounted to 492 million Naira compared with 768 million Naira for the whole of last year. According to the sources, imports were 360 million Naira for the first five months of this year, compared to 378 million Naira for 1984. A western Europe correspondent of the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) quoted the sources as saying that trade between the two countries showed a downward trend in 1984 for "understandable reasons." Main exports to Nigeria were transportation equipment and motor vehicles while crude oil, cocoa, coffee and spices were the main imports from Nigeria, the sources said. Following the introduction of economic measures in Nigeria last year, imports were drastically restricted, resulting in a downward trend with trading partners. Nigeria still remains Britain's largest trading partner in black Africa. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 10 Aug 85 p 8]

ENERGY CONSUMPTION DECLINES—The index of primary commercial energy consumed in the country showed a decline of 15.1 per cent last year and was down to 468 tonnes of coal equivalent, from 551.3 tonnes of coal equivalent in 1983, according to statistics from the central bank. The reduction in total consumption was a reflection of the 15.5 per cent and the 25 per cent decline in the consumption of petroleum products and gas which together accounted for 93 per cent of total energy consumed in 1984, the Central Bank annual report indicated. The contribution of coal to total energy consumption increased by
PCW per cent form 44,7000 tonnes in 1983 to 56,701 tonnes in 1984. It represented 0.3 per cent of total energy consumed last year. According to the Central Bank, the decline was due to the measures adopted by the federal military government to combat illegal trade in petroleum products. The measures include the intensification of the policing of the borders, the closure of petrol filing stations within 20 kilometres of the borders and stiff penalties, including death by firing squad, for those found guilty of smuggling petroleum products. Another reason for the decline was shortage in imported inputs which reduced capacity utilisation in industrial and commercial enterprises, resulting in a decline in demand for petroleum products. [Text] [Kaduna SUNDAY NEW NIGERIAN in English 11 Aug 85 p 4]

ANGOLAN FISHING ACCORD—An agreement which will enable Nigerian fishing companies to operate in Angola's territorial waters is to be signed before the end of the year. A source at the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources told a correspondent of the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) that the decision to conclude the agreement was reached in Lagos yesterday at a meeting between the acting minister of agriculture and water resources, Mr. Mahmud Tukur and the visiting Angolan foreign minister, Mr. Alfonso Van Dumen, M'Binda. The source said that the agreement would also facilitate the breeding of tuna fish in Nigeria. The two ministers also discussed other areas of cooperation between Nigeria and Angola, including the oil palm industry, the source said. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 14 Aug p 2]

MINERAL BASE DIVERSIFICATION ADVOCATED—The DAILY STAR writes on the need to diversify the country's mineral base. The paper advises that as the country is struggling to recover from the tragedy of her oil boom, every attempt must be made to ensure that attention is not focused only on the oil sector. While welcoming the recent assurance by the minister of mines, power, and steel that genuine efforts will be made to tap the benefits of abundant mineral resources of the country, the STAR calls for a pragmatic move towards the reactivation of the coal and zinc mines in Anambra State. [Text] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 19 Aug 85]

IRANIAN EMBASSY CRITICIZED—Two papers—the DAILY TIMES and the NIGERIAN CHRONICLE—comment on reported mass circulation in Lagos of fundamentalist Islamic literature on bills signed by the Iranian leader, Ayatoliah Khomeyni. The papers are surprised that the Iranian ambassador to Nigeria has publicly admitted responsibility for the circulating of the posters which they feel are capable of undermining the peace and security of the country. The TIMES describes as unacceptable the ambassador's claim that there are no ulterior motives behind the circulation of the posters. It contends that Nigeria, with a multireligious culture and exemplary tolerance, should not be a place for the Iranian brand of Islam which is characterized by violence. The TIMES and the CHRONICLE appeal to the Federal Government to put an immediate halt to further circulation of the posters by the Iranian Embassy, stressing that Iran must not be allowed to sow the seeds of religious discord in Nigeria. [Text] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 19 Aug 85]
BRIEFS

REBEL MONTHLY NEWSPAPER—A new newspaper called AL-MUJAHID will be published from tomorrow by the information and the propaganda section of the Somali National Movement, SNM, wing of the Somali opposition forces. The statement announcing the launching of the monthly newspaper was released this evening by the SNM office of information and propaganda section. The monthly newspaper will be published in Arabic, Somali and English. [Excerpt] [(Clandesinte) Radio Halgan in Somali to Somalia 1700 GMT 23 Aug 85]

CSO: 3400/985
REAGAN'S REACTION TO EMERGENCY CRITICIZED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 7 Aug 85 p 4

[Commentary: "Blunderbass Reagan"]

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan's world view is known to be rather narrow, and he has been known to drop the type of clanger that causes red faces among even fairly average fundis in his government and elsewhere.

The trouble is that American foreign policy, because it presumes to be omniscient but often misses the mark by a mile, has been like this for years.

Disastrous as the Vietnam story was, we do not wish to repeat the awful blunders perpetrated by American foreign policy-makers then. A more painful example is seen in the Middle East. Before the current problems in the Middle East, the Americans came a cropper in Iran - a situation which was handled by a president not as conservative and dumb as Ronald Reagan, but just as ill-informed.

After the Uitenhage massacre, President Reagan infuriated many people when he said it seemed to him this was a fight by blacks against blacks. The evidence for this he must have received from policy makers in South Africa, who reflect at the worst, the South African Government's view of the truth.

About the state of emergency, this is how the president of the most powerful country in the world reacts: "I think we have to recognise sometimes when actions are taken in an effort to curb violence. You are talking now about a governmental reaction to some violence that was hurtful to all the people. We have seen violence between blacks there, as well as from the law enforcement, against riotous behaviour."

That does not make too much sense, but the president of America gets even more hazy with the economic sanctions issue. Translated into other words, he has made up his mind about the situation in South Africa.

Nobody expected this conservative president, who is after all supportive of most oppressive regimes, to come out strong against South Africa. The American administration, as in Vietnam and more pertinently in Iran, seems to be led up the garden path, many times.

We believe that anybody who has seen even fleetingly and in all fairness the American administration might not have the local situation in mind. The American administration, as in Vietnam and more pertinently in Iran, seems to be led up the garden path, many times.

We could quote a whole litany of reasons showing why blacks kill blacks, but that is hardly the issue here. The point is that President Reagan seems to give credibility to tough government action which is not going to touch even part of the black man's insane anger. The laws of this country will not change because of the state of emergency. It seems to be putting the cart before the horse to come out tough against the people and not finding out, and perhaps resolving, the cause of their irrational behaviour.

Black people are not savages, nor are we mad.
POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES IF MANDELA IS FREED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 Aug 85 pp 8, 21

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text] The Government is believed to be working on new plans to release the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, unconditionally. But what would his release mean for the country he has been striving to free from racial oppression?

Many whites would obviously be scared by his release. He has been projected to them as a terrorist and they would see a free Mandela as a threat to their own safety. Some would rather he served his full sentence.

And died a prisoner.

Blacks on the other hand see his release as a sign of hope for the future. Many have tipped him as the first black President or Prime Minister of a liberated South Africa.

Judging by the way the mention of his name in many political gatherings sends waves of excitement among the youths, many of whom were not born when he was jailed 22 years ago, it would appear that great things will be expected of Mandela when he comes out of jail.

Understandably, many black leaders in South Africa have regional constituencies and Mandela is one of very few who have national followings.

It would also seem that the longer he remains in prison, the greater he grows in stature, and the more miracles he will be expected to perform to bring about change in South Africa.

Professor Samuel Dash, a leading American politician who visited Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison recently, said that when he spoke to him, he did not feel that he was in the presence of a guerilla fighter or a radical ideologue, but of a head of state.

And this is how he is seen by many people, including other heads of state in Africa and elsewhere.

The first talk of his possible release started two years ago. The condition for his release was that he agreed to live in the Transkei, which he rejected.

The next offer came from the State President, Mr PW Botha. He would release him if, among others, he renounced violence as a political instrument. This as well Mandela rejected.

Now his continued stay in prison poses a serious political problem for the authorities, who are pressurised by the international community to release him.

But Mandela's release would make no sense if other prisoners, such as PAC leader, Zephania Mothopeng, re-
remained in jail. Or if trials like the UDF treason trial in Pietermaritzburg continued. Or if the security laws under which he was jailed remained on the statute books.

Mandela has made it clear that what he wanted to see in South Africa were:
- A unified South Africa with no artificial homelands;
- Black representation in the central Parliament — not membership in the kind of apartheid assemblies that have been established for the Asians and coloureds; and
- One man, one vote.

On these demands, Mandela has the backing of almost all blacks in South Africa. But they are demands the Government will not be prepared to meet.

If the Government does release him, it will be to appease the international community. The Government would also be hoping to use him to quell the unrest in the country.

But Mandela would refuse to be used. And that would create a problem for the Government. And that is what might place his life in danger from white right-wingers who might assassinate him.

Bishop Desmond Tutu will demand the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela if he meets the State President with a delegation of other church leaders on August 19.

He believes that a natural consequence of Mandela’s release would be for him to be the country’s Prime Minister.

“That is my vision for the man. They cannot let him out to lead a life of an ordinary man. He has the kind of stature and credibility to direct the course of events in South Africa.

“If he said to people; ‘Hold it for a while’, I think the people would listen to him,” the Bishop said.

Mr Sipho Sepamla, director of the Federated Union of Black Arts (Fuba), said he did not think unrest would necessarily come to an end with the release of Mandela.

“I would think that in the same way that Bishop Tutu is a rallying point for some people, Mandela would be the rallying point for the majority of the people in this country.

“With him around, the demands of the people would become greater. Their articulation would become stronger and clearer. Mandela would give an impetus to the people,” he said.

Dr Beyers Naudé, general secretary of the SACC, said there would be massive celebrations by millions.

He said the danger of the celebrations was that they would instil fear in the hearts of the white community.

“Although I have never met him and do not know him personally, everything about his utterances tells me he would have the wisdom to know how to allay the unfounded fears of the white community.

“There is yet another danger I see in Mandela’s freedom: his life would be in jeopardy.

Bishop Desmond Tutu.
There are people who see him as a terrorist and a man of violence.

"One can only pray that when he does come out of prison, nothing should happen to him and that people should realise that his safety and freedom are of vital importance to ensure a process of responsible liberation to be achieved.

"I believe that Nelson Mandela is one of the few leaders if not the only one, who could bring the necessary calm and create the necessary trust on which a future could be built for blacks and whites in South Africa," said Dr Naudé.

He also said Mandela could play a major political role in setting up negotiations for a new political dispensation in South Africa.
COMMON GROUND BETWEEN BOTHA, BUTHELEZI, TUTU SEEN

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Aug 85 p 20

[Article by Hannes De Wet]

The differences between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the two most visible black leaders in South Africa at present, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner, are being highlighted almost every day. But what about the common ground between them? A study of their public statements during the past year shows that the perceived distance between President Botha and the two leaders is not as great as their daily rhetoric would suggest. HANNES DE WET analyses the situation.

The common threads outlined here are of course not the whole story. There is a morass of ifs and buts and divergent interpretations behind these statements of the three leaders.

But one fact remains: the subjects they touch on are key issues in South Africa.

Irrespective of the way in which these statements are qualified, they show that in essence the thinking of the State President and/or members of his Government and those of Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu is along similar lines.

- President Botha and Chief Buthelezi:
  - Until recently tension between the kwaZulu leader and the State President appeared to be easing.
  - After four years of bitter acrimony between them the two leaders met in May for the second time in six months.
  - Barely a month later a sudden chill developed in their relations after President Botha’s end-of-session speech in Parliament on June 19 in which he again rejected a one man, one vote unitary state.

According to Chief Buthelezi Mr Botha had also ruled out the possibility of a unitary state structured along either union or federal lines. Because of that, he said, it was no longer possible for him to negotiate with the Government.

On July 17 Chief Buthelezi said that he was prepared to back off his demands for one man, one vote in a unitary state. But he was still not prepared to negotiate before the Government was willing to discuss the sharing of power (a federation) and not a division of power (a confederation).

What he wanted, he said, was a declaration of intent from the State President that negotiations would be about a federation or the sharing of power.

Mr Botha’s statement that he believed in the principle of one man, one vote as long as it was not in a unitary state can be read in different ways.

It can be seen as simply a reiteration of the policy that blacks can have voting power in their own independent homelands in a confederation. Or it can mean that Mr Botha will find one man, one
vote in a non-unitary kind of federation acceptable.

But then, as Chief Buthelezi is saying, Mr Botha doesn’t want to commit himself to a federation.

Is Chief Buthelezi’s assumption that Mr Botha is unconditionally opposed to a federation or power-sharing correct?

According to National Party sources on constitutional development it is not. It is true, they say, that Mr Botha doesn’t want to use the word federation.

The reasoning is that the Government feels convinced that the classical model of a federation found in European countries cannot be applied in South Africa. And, it believes, that once it uses the word federation in committing itself before negotiation this could tie it to the European model.

In actual fact, NP sources say, Mr Botha has never ruled out the possibilities of some form of common political system.

Supporting evidence that Mr Botha is not necessarily against a federation in principle can be found in his April declaration that he was no longer committed to the policy of dispossessing blacks of South African citizenship when their “homelands” attain independence.

Confederation by definition means an association between separate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha’s statement was clearly inimical to confederation.

A political re-ordering within the framework of a common citizenship points towards a form of power-sharing.

Federation means dividing the country into a number of geographic regions or states which have a fair degree of self-rule (excepting on defence, foreign policy and the Treasury) and a common citizenship.

Another move that smacks of federation is the system of regional and provincial government which the Government is setting up.

Against this background the question can be asked: Is the State President really as opposed to the sharing of power as Chief Buthelezi claims?

Bishop Tutu and President Botha:

Not all four of Bishop Tutu’s conditions for supporting the Government’s reform programme have been fulfilled yet.

But on three of them it is clear that Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha have the same goal.

With regard to common citizenship, the State President has stated unconditionally that he is committed to South African citizenship for all.

The Government has conceded that the pass laws are an unhappy legacy of the past. The proposed Bill to review these laws will bring “dramatic” changes, say National Party sources.

The question of forced removals has not yet been resolved — although all removals were suspended after an announcement by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The Government’s efforts to curb legal action against previous removals are still causing resentment. And there are still thousands of blacks in “black spots” whose future is uncertain.

However, the Government’s suspension of forced removals indicates a sensitivity to this issue.

The prospects that Bishop Tutu’s demand for one education system will be met are dim — although the Government is aware of the need for upgrading black education.

But a score of three out of four suggests that the position is not hopeless and gives enough reason to believe that President Botha and Bishop Tutu can reach out and find a mutually acceptable solution.
Chief Buthelezi:
- We are prepared to shelve the ideal of one man, one vote in a unitary state.
- We are prepared to negotiate about power-sharing (federation), but we are not interested in power-division (confederation).

President Botha:
- We believe in the principle of one person, one vote as long as it is not in a unitary state.
- If I say a federation, or if I say a confederation, I’m prejudicing the issue. I have an open agenda in mind.

President Botha (or Cabinet Ministers):
- The Government is no longer committed to the policy of dispossessing blacks of South African citizenship when their homelands attain independence.
- Legislation aimed at changing the influx control laws would be introduced in the second half of 1985.
- Forced removals will be stopped.
- The Government’s goal is equal standards of education for all race groups.

Bishop Tutu:
- I will support the Government’s reform programme on four conditions:
  - That common citizenship for all South Africans be recognised.
  - That all pass laws be scrapped or gradually phased out.
  - That forced removals of communities be stopped immediately.
  - That one education system be created for all races.
NATIONAL TV REPORTEDLY NOT GIVING VIEWERS FACTUAL EVENTS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Linda Vergnani]

IF you want to see a different view of what is happening in South Africa, fly to New York or London and turn on a television set.

Overseas viewers have seen scenes of beatings, shootings and brutality in South Africa, while local viewers have been treated to a sanitized view of what is happening.

The SABC says it is giving viewers the facts. Foreign correspondents and people who have travelled overseas say the public is being given a false feeling of security. Neither the extent of the unrest nor the violent reaction to it are being shown locally. Among footage overseas viewers have seen since the declaration of State of Emergency have been scenes of:

- A teenager being beaten with sjamboks by two policemen after a funeral in Zwide, Eastern Cape;
- A youngster being dragged between two horsemen after a protest was broken up outside the Protea Magistrate's Court in Soweto;
- The use of birdshot, buckshot and rubber bullets;

The SABC, it has said, is receiving footage of the incidents, but it is not being used. An example was a protest march by students in Cape Town this week. An SABC-TV crew filmed scenes of students being beaten. Millions of overseas viewers saw the event, but the version screened in South Africa excluded the violence.

According to foreign TV correspondents, the SABC-TV crew sent 90 seconds of "extremely dramatic" material on the incident to Auckland Park, but only 28 seconds were screened on SABC-TV news.

A foreign correspondent, who asked not to be named, said television audiences worldwide were shown footage of "police attacking and beating students with batons."

"All that local TV news showed were the students marching, their placards, the police charge, and then it cut to shots of police putting people in a van."

A TV correspondent for a major American network said: "I know a lot of whites in this country and I don't think any of them has any idea of what is going on a few miles from their homes: the anger, the bitterness and frustration or the organisation and the commitment of the black people."

"Very brutal tapes" have been transmitted to overseas networks, using SABC facilities.

Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the Federal Council of the PFP, said: "SABC-TV is adopting a censoring process that is causing the average South African to live under false pretences."

Dr Boraine was in New York when the emergency was declared. "Overseas one is confronted with footage we don't see here at all. What comes over very clearly is that it's not just a handful of agitators causing unrest in South Africa - it's a whole community in protest."

Johan Pretorius, editor-in-chief of SABC TV News said: "We are convinced we are fully informing the public of South Africa about the facts of the situation in the country today, but we do draw the line when it comes to visual reporting because extensive visual reporting can have a snowball effect on violence."

"We have our own editorial policy based on what we believe are sound broadcasting, editorial and moral norms, and we are convinced that we apply them without under-informing or misinforming the public."
SOME people sell cars for a living. Others write constitutions. At the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, former university professors and lecturers are grappling with new formulae within which to frame solutions to SA’s political problems.

What started off as a small component of the office of the Prime Minister five years ago has become a growth industry. The atmosphere at 240 Walker Street is busy, the personnel confident and enthusiastic.

From the original draft of the Constitution, to the Regional Services Council Act and the Provincial Council Bill, they are altering the face of government in SA. The tripartite system has had its first session, and the RSCs are next. Planned date for the first to come on line is January 1.

Then comes the reorganisation of provincial government, and finally the inclusion of blacks into the political mainstream. Negotiations — including those with parties “to the left of the PFP” — are underway.

Heading the department is Dr Andreas van Wyk, the Director General. He arrived in December last year, following what by now has become something of a tradition: from academia to the public service and a chance to put into practice years of theoretical learning.

And like many of his colleagues, Van Wyk’s academic achievements are considerable: BA LLB degrees, with distinction, at the University of Stellenbosch, followed by post-graduate studies at the University of Bonn (West Germany) and the University of Leiden (Holland), where he obtained a Doctor of Law degree, again with distinction.

Van Wyk returned to Stellenbosch in 1966, and by the time he was 42 he was head of the law department and a member of the university’s council. It was time for a new challenge, and he joined the “think tank” at Constitutional Development and Planning. “I felt like coming to grips with the country’s problems,” he says.

A specialist in private and mercantile law, Van Wyk has authored or co-authored three standard legal textbooks and played a major part in drafting the Matrimonial Property Act of 1984.

The department has, he says, changed considerably in the last few months. “Although planning is important, we have become much more development orientated. Apart from thinking up constitutional structures, we are
operationalising them as well”. And he is philosophical about how long he will be in the public service. “That’s in the lap of the gods. We will always have the need for the development of government structures. It would be naive to think one could wake up one day and find the constitutional problems of the country had been solved.”

But he says the emphasis on constitutional matters will hopefully recede in the years to come and switch to social and economic areas. “Even if the political problems are solved, the socioeconomic ones will still be there.”

Len Dekker — a pupil of Dr Van Wyk’s at Stellenbosch — is Director of Constitutional Development, with special reference to local government. Dekker has degrees in law and administration, as well as a Masters degree in State Administration. He began his career in the Department of Justice and then joined the Johannesburg City Council as a legal adviser.

In August 1981 — “I remember the time so well, because Lady Di married Prince Charles” — he was seconded to the Office of the Prime Minister. “They had a small component of constitutional planners, but lacked a person with practical experience in local government.”

What was to be a temporary posting became permanent in 1982. While his work does involve planning, it is more concerned with constitutional development — “with implementing policy”.

He concedes the new tricameral system might not be everybody’s cup of tea, but says all MPs have agreed the standing committees have given them a better chance “to meaningfully participate in the legislative process”.

As an example he cites the Regional Services Council Act which, after its passage through the standing committees, “ended up a better product”.

Dekker, acknowledged as an expert on regional development, is keen to see the Act implement-

ed. “We have a meeting on August 13, when the preparatory steps for its implementation will be considered. And we must make progress if we are to achieve our goal of implementing the first RSC by January 1.”

Dekker is very happy with the way his work and outside interests have coincided. “This is a most interesting job, and that’s fortunate for me. It’s what real job satisfaction is about — when the cause is greater than your own person.”

He is anxious for the RSCs to succeed. “I can’t see that the fire will stop burning unless this succeeds. We need the RSCs and the revenue they will generate to upgrade the infrastructure and services of the developing communities.”

For Dr Fanie Cloete, joining the department gave him a chance to put into practice his academic studies — the tricameral system is a concrete implementation of conclusions reached in his doctorate.

Cloete’s studies were tailored to suit the situation in SA as far as whites, coloureds and Indians were concerned, but the question of black participation “was too big an issue at that stage”.

“I found there were examples abroad where successful attempts had been made to reduce ethnic conflict, and where groups were successfully accommodated into one political system.”

Cloete wrote parts of the first draft of the new Constitution as well as the Regional Services Council Bill, and is presently working with provincial legal advisers on the text of the Provincial Government Act, but emphasises the products are the combination of many people’s ideas.

He is also a Stellenbosch University “old boy”. It was there he obtained his Honours and MA degrees in political science after graduating from the Rand Afrikaans University with a law degree in 1973.

He prosecuted in the Randburg magistrate’s court before being seconded to the Theron Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to coloureds for two years. He then joined Stellenbosch University as a lecturer in 1976.

After completing his doctorate, he joined the CDP department in 1982 as Director: Constitutional Subsystem Planning. And he says his work is far from over. “We have only tackled problems affecting 17% of the population. The core of the problem, black participation, is still ahead.”

The new Constitution was the first phase, and the re-organisation of local government the second (“which already allows for power-sharing at the third level of government”). Third is the reorganisation of the provincial government, and, finally, “the incorporation of the blacks into the main body politics of SA — on the principles already spelt out by the State President.”

In other words, all communities will have a say in the affairs that affect them, as well as in matters of general concern.”

Cloete says he is satisfied with what has been achieved and is hopeful that the final piece of the political jigsaw can be achieved with “direct negotiation”.

He believes the new systems of government will create their own legitimacy in time to come. “When you think we abolished the sex laws and the Political Interference Act in six months, ask yourself what can we do in the next six?”

“It is significant that in the present climate of unrest it has been largely restricted to black areas. It just might be the coloureds and Indians have been calm because the new Constitution is succeeding.”

And what of the future? “I will stay as long as there is a challenge for me. If the time came where most of my advice was continually ignored I would leave, if only to retain my integrity.”
BLACKS NOT DECEIVED BY SEMBLANCE OF REFORM

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 12 Aug 85 p 4

[Commentary: "The Truth"]

[Text]

ANY SCHOOLBOY can tell you more than one story from history of reformers who were perplexed by events around them, of reformers confused by the beneficiaries' lack of gratitude. In fact, a belief among many who wield power is, do not give them a finger because if you do they will demand the whole arm.

Even before State President P W Botha announces the "far-reaching reforms" that is expected to announce this week, he should know that there will be very few blacks queuing up to shake his hand in gratitude.

For the very simple reason that he will not be going far enough. He still refuses to acknowledge that blacks are fellow human beings who need to have a democratic say in the running of their country.

We are going to see another of his conjuring tricks — appearing to have moved when he has not.

We saw him pull that trick on coloured and Indian parties that are now part of the tricameral Parliament. He gave them the illusion of sharing power with white South Africa when white South Africa remained firmly in control. Agreed, he threw a few crumbs their way, the Immorality Act amended, the Political Interference Act scrapped...

but these were red herrings.

The people the trick was meant to impress remain heatedly unimpressed.

Now it is to be tried again this week. There is already talk that Mr Botha might make changes to the citizenship laws, might look at influx control, might even consider the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, that urban blacks might get representation right up to the Cabinet.

Neat.

The outside world will be convinced that South Africa is in the process of reform. They will ease their pressure on Pretoria. And they will see the rioters in the townships as mad masochists.

The unrest and the state of emergency will cease to be an embarrassment to this country. The price of gold will go up and the graph showing the exchange rate of the rand will show a sharp rise.

Not quite.

Blacks will be getting angrier. Their anger is still very crude now, but given time it will be channelled into more sophisticated avenues, and... heaven help us.

Why do we have to torture our-
selves in this fashion?

It is not as if Mr Botha does not know what blacks want. They want exactly the same things he wants for himself and his children. They want to have a democratic South Africa: After all it is whites who brought us the concept.

They do not want their leaders in jail or in exile.

They believe they are human too. They are intelligent too, even if they may not speak or write English or Afrikaans.

White South Africa knows these simple truths. But when they realise that blacks are not impressed by their conjuring tricks, they get angry and start muttering “give them a finger...”

This is one week when South Africa must face the truth.
SENDINGKERK REJECTS VIOLENCE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Aug 85 p 13

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The NG Sendingkerk rejected any form of violence and did not support violent revolution, irrespective of the motivation or goal, according to a church decision made on Monday.

The decision was reached after a meeting called by the moderator of the church to discuss unrest in the country.

In a statement released after the meeting, the church said it disassociated itself from all those who condoned violence and called on its members and leaders not to justify violence "in a subtle way" by their actions.

Dr Allan Boesak is the assessor of the mission church, but was not present at the meeting.

It is the first church in the NG group of churches to have taken a decision on the question of unrest.

It found that apartheid was largely responsible for the unrest. Meaningful negotiation with a view to full political participation for all South Africans — and not the mere announcement of a state of emergency — would bring about peace, the church said.

Lasting peace and a solution to the country’s problems could only come about in a constitutional structure in which the interests and rights of all people were accommodated, the statement said. —Sapa.

CSO: 3400/957
NUM STRIKE CALL SEEN AS 'BIG BOMBSHELL'

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Aug 85 p 7

[Article by Claire Pickard-Cambridge]

THE decision by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to call for mass co-ordinated strikes has been described as the "biggest industrial bombshell since 1922".

According to industrial relations consultant Andrew Levy, the strikes could hit the government in "its most critical month since coming to power".

Latest demands regarding the state of emergency and the government's threat of repatriating migrant workers have a political dimension which cannot be addressed directly by the Chamber of Mines, he says.

As in 1922, the workers have also begun addressing political questions with a mineworkers' lobby challenging the status quo.

Levy points out that the local and international ramifications are immense, while in contrast, the gap between union wage demands and the employers offer is relatively small.

Employers could be faced with a "devil's choice" in the event of strikes. On the one hand, international outrage would result if mass firings were to take place, while every day of the strike would have an increasingly depressing effect on gold shares, the market and the national currency.

Another fear for employers is that the situation could spark spontaneous violence with striking workers sitting around.

Problems facing both sides could be enormous. If strike action spreads to non-recognised mines, it will present organisational difficulties for the union. Management, in turn, could face problems in identifying a leadership to negotiate with and financial losses would be enormous for the industry.

Furthermore, NUM as a young union does not have an established strike fund and the financial resources to assist over 200 000 striking workers.

But NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa has made it clear that members understand this and are still keen to go ahead. Asked whether workers did not fear the obvious threat of dismissal, Ramaphosa said the union believed it would be "economic suicide" for employers to dismiss 200 000 workers.

Conversely, Anglo American industrial relations consultant Bobby Godsell says it could also be argued that workers would be committing economic suicide by going on strike at a "peculiarly difficult time".

He stresses that Anglo American does not want a strike and believes this action would inflict "serious economic damage". Not only would it be damaging because the gold mines played a critical role in generating foreign exchange, but Anglo believes the vast majority of its workers do not want a strike and are satisfied with the increases they have received.

Godsell says he understands the workers' concern with the state of emergency and the government's threat to repatriate workers, but believes it is unproductive to link this issue with wage negotiation.

"It makes an already complicated set of wage negotiations more difficult and should be treated as a separate issue."

Some observers believe Ramaphosa is still hoping the strikes won't take place and that the Chamber will improve its offer to ward off action. However, they say the decision lies with
For a trade union even to consider calling a strike in the midst of a serious recession is usually either an act of supreme folly or one of reckless abandon. Yet that is apparently the course on which the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is set.

Despite the present upheavals in this country, a NUM strike now could well have more serious consequences for the union than for the mine owners or the government. This would be more so if the strike were intended primarily to achieve higher wages rather than merely to embarrass the authorities in the light of the unrest.

Experience abroad has shown consistently that in recessions unions lose members. It is a fact of life that in hard times job security becomes to ordinary folk more important than higher wages, even in the face of intimidation.

The NUM is by almost any standards a fledgling union without financial muscle. The hardship it will impose on its members could be extreme, especially were the strike to be protracted. Nor is support for a strike probably as widespread as the leaders would have us believe.

In contrast, the mine owners are in a strong position. The rand price of gold is high, the country's gold reserves are substantial and the balance of payments is in surplus. There is little reason for the union to believe that there will be an early capitulation to their demands.

So if the NUM goes on with its strike, the chances are that it has been caught up in the current wave of black hysteria in some townships. And if that be so, and the strike is broken, the union membership will have more than just mud on its face.

In that event, especially in the light of some doubts over the validity of the strike ballot, the union may have difficulty in regrouping.

The sensible thing for it to do, therefore, is to seek a face-saving compromise (possibly a short one-day stayaway) and go about building its support until better times come. Under present circumstances, the NUM should choose with great circumspection its path ahead. The wrong direction could in time prove fatal to a new union.
STRIKES STILL LEGAL DESPITE EMERGENCY

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English
4 Aug 85 p 9

[Article by Amrit Manga]

[Text]

INDUSTRIAL relations are likely to come under pressure because of the state of emergency.

But labour lawyers and consultants say the legality of strikes is not likely to be challenged in terms of the emergency.

A labour lawyer says: "The emergency does not affect the Labour Relations Act."

Boycotts

Johan Piron, of the University of South Africa's School of Business Leadership, says: "Industrial relations instruments should be used to further strengthen stability."

"Employers should not transplant the state of emergency into factories even though community-based frustration could spill over into the work place."

That industrial action is unlikely to be confined to the factory floor is almost certain. Trade unions have tested their capacity to hurt the economy with stayaways and consumer boycotts.

The emergency would have implications for unions if industrial action were extended to townships where the regulations apply.

But Dean Ehlers, president of the Industrial Court, says that the merits of each case will have to be examined.

Trade unions have warned they will not hesitate to stay away from work if conditions in townships demand such action.

One labour lawyer says it is possible that stayaways after a lawful strike related to industrial demands will be regarded as legal.

Violence

Union-led stayaways in support of lawful strike action could, however, be interpreted as being illegal.

The Commissioner of Police has the power to limit access to certain industrial areas to employees.

A lawyer says: "If such restrictions barred trade union officials, normal industrial relations practices could be disrupted."

Labour consultant Gavin Brown agrees that strikes following procedures laid out in the Labour Relations Act will be considered legal.

"Violence after strikes in emergency zones could be interpreted in the same way as unrest in townships."

"Trade unions should impress on their members the need for disciplined industrial action."

Professor Piron warns that the emergency should not be seen by employers as an opportunity for union bashing.

"Because industrial relations are likely to come under severe strain, both employers and trade unions have a joint responsibility to preserve the negotiating spirit."

CSO:  3400/870
PLANNED NUM MINERS' STRIKE LEGALITY DISPUTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Aug 85 p 14

[Article by Mike Siluma]

[Text]

As the build-up to the proposed wage strike by black miners grows, so does debate about the legality of potential strikes on mines where the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is not recognised.

While everyone is agreed that strikes at mines recognising the NUM would be legal, there is a difference of opinion on the legality of strikes at non-recognised mines.

The NUM has claimed majority support for a strike among the more than 200,000 black miners at 29 Chamber of Mines mines.

But the Chamber says the union is recognised at only 27 mines after it lost recognition in June at two of the mines, East Driefontein and Coalbrook.

The NUM publicity officer, Ms Manoko Nchwe, said that while the union had not gone out of its way to organise strikes at mines where it was not recognised, chances were that workers at these mines would support the strike.

ADVICE

She said the union could not stop the workers from doing so.

If workers at non-recognised mines also struck the total number of workers on strike could reach 400,000.

Ms Nchwe said the union's legal advice was that wage negotiations with the Chamber of Mines had covered the mining industry's entire black workforce.

A strike by workers at non-recognised mines would, from the union's point of view, be legal.

A leading Johannesburg labour lawyer told The Star on Wednesday that a strike by workers at mines which did not recognise the NUM would be legal — if wage negotiations had covered all black miners in the industry.

"According to section 65 of the Labour Relations Act, no employee may strike until a dispute has been referred to the Councillation Board."

WORDING

"The wording suggests that a person does not have to be a member of a union to take part in such a strike.

"For example, if you have a factory where a union has 80 percent membership, declares a dispute and calls a legal strike, the other 20 percent could legally join the strike."

However, the chamber's industrial relations adviser, Mr Johan Liebenberg, said the dispute affected only those mines where the NUM was recognised and a strike by workers at other mines would be viewed as illegal.

The chamber has also rejected the results of a strike ballot held by the NUM last month, claiming "widespread irregularities".

Observers have said the NUM was not obliged to hold a ballot before calling a strike because it was an unregistered union.
THE MINERS' STRIKE: WHAT IT MEANS

STRIKE THREATS

ODENDAALRUS  WELKOM  STILFONTEIN  CARLETONVILLE  BRAKPAN

GENCOR:

ANGLO AMERICAN:
35  42  32  24
36
37
39
40

RAND MINES:

JOHNNIES:

GOLDFIELDS SA:

ANGLOVAAL:

WIT NIGEL:

GOLD MINES

KEY TO NUMBERS:

GENCOR
16 West Rand Cons
30 Klooffontein
33 Bultfontein
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GOLDFIELDS SA

ANGLOVAAL

WIT NIGEL
WHITE MINERS ALLEGEB SNUB, THREATEN TO STRIKE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by Amrit Manga]

[Text]

WHITE miners will strike if the Minister of Manpower, Pietie du Plessis, discriminates against their union during the appointment of conciliation boards.

The threat follows an alleged delay by Mr du Plessis in appointing a board to consider the white miners' wage dispute earlier this year.

Council of Mining Unions president Arrie Paulus says: "The board was set up only after we threatened to strike.

"In the case of the black miners, Mr du Plessis acted almost immediately, appointing a conciliation board three days after deadlock was declared."

Reluctant

The Mineworkers Union says it will not tolerate unnecessary delays in future disputes.

The threat comes two months after the white union signed a wage agreement with the Chamber of Mines and as tens of thousands of black miners draw up strike plans.

Although the white miners reluctantly accepted the wage offer, this is the first time they have voiced their discontent about conduct of negotiations.

Mr Paulus accused Mr du Plessis of practising double standards and discriminating against his union.

"We have a sneaking suspicion that the Minister's haste in appointing a board was prompted by fears that black miners would not hesitate to repeat the 1984 work stoppage which cost millions.

"We must accept that he was prepared to take short cuts to resolve the black dispute."

A spokesman for the white union says: "This can be interpreted only as an underestimation of our union's potential to take stronger industrial action.

"We will demonstrate our strength by taking stronger action next time."

East Driefontein

Another mining dispute is brewing. It is between the white union and the management of East Driefontein mine and concerns longer working hours.

Mr Paulus has rejected a scheme which proposes to extend working hours to include days off granted once every two weeks.

The scheme, according to the union, offers prizes to teams that achieve the lowest accident rate.

But the prizes can be won only if miners work every Saturday. They would thus have to forego free Saturdays.

Longer working hours would be a breach of the 11-shift fortnight agreement, says the union.

A miner may, however, volunteer to work but will not be entitled to union protection in the event of injury or infringement of regulations.

Damage

Negotiations with black miners are in deadlock. Sources say that talks at Teba, the Chamber's recruiting agent, will end in deadlock as well and a dispute could be declared this week.

Neither the Chamber nor its affiliates will speculate on the consequences of a strike.

But Mr Paulus says damage could run into millions.

"Major damage has already been caused at Gencor's Evander and Beatrix mines and at Western Platinum near Rustenburg."

The need for NUM members to plan tactics is given as the main reason for the two-week delay in action after the strike ballot.

A NUM spokesman says a decision to strike if wage talks fail was taken in January. The strike ballot simply reaffirmed the January resolution.
NUM PAY INCREASE DEMAND NOTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 5 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

**A MAJOR confrontation between black miners and the Chamber of Mines is looming. The chamber does not believe that it will come to anything because, they say, only a minority voted for a strike that the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is threatening to support a demand for bigger pay increases.

The chamber offered and in the end unilaterally gave increases of between 14.1 and 19.6 percent. NUM — which has a membership of 110 000 — is demanding 40 percent.

In the current recession, the chamber’s offer looks impressive — very few companies are offering these percentage increases.

NUM’s response is very simple: “Nineteen percent of what?”

Before the July increases the minimum pay for surface workers on the mines was R136 and for underground workers it was R166 a month. The minimum pay in the highest category, Category 8, was R455 for surface workers and R526 for underground ones.

A spokesman for the chamber estimates that the companies spend another R110 a month on each worker for accommodation, food, transport from the miner’s home to the mine and back, medical care and recreational facilities.

NUM says this is peanuts when considering the profits that the mines are making.

The SOWETAN spoke to miners at the weekend.

Mr X is a matriculant from the Transkei and is a clerk on a mine. He has been working for the same mine since 1977 and now earns R386 a month. Before the July increases he was getting R341 a month.

He has a wife and four children, two at high school.

His salary scale does not entitle him to a house in the married quarters of the mine, so he has been allocated a bed in the single men’s compound.

His wife and children are still with his in-laws in Khutsong Township, Carletonville, and every night he risks arrest by going to join them there. The trips from the mine to Khutsong every
working day cost him R30 a month.

Whatever food, accommodation or recreation the mine might provide, he still has to provide for his family. He still has to pay for the family's accommodation, food, transport, medical care and recreational facilities.

"The National Union of Mineworkers has brought us hope because we are now able to talk about our pay and our working conditions," he says.

Wife

"Management tries very hard to discredit the union, but we shall overcome. I am sure of that."

Mr Y is from Mafeking in Lesotho. He started working for the mine in the transport section in 1972 and was later promoted to locomotive driver. He is now a team leader and earns R520 a month.

He has a wife and five children back home in Lesotho.

"Life is not easy with the pay we get here. Our wives have to buy things like mealie meal on credit and some of my colleagues have had to be called back home urgently to settle their families' debts.

"And anybody who absents himself from work for two days is dismissed summarily.

"We know that letters are being circulated to some people here warning them that they will be fired if they go on strike.

"This is because management knows very well that many workers support the union and they will agree to go on strike after the meeting in Welkom," said Mr Y.

Mr SM is a driver and earns R350 a month. He has been working at the mine since 1980.

He has a wife and three children and says that having to maintain a family in Lesotho while in Carletonville was difficult for him.

He does not know yet if he has been given an increase.

He said: "I joined the union because I was told that it would help me get higher wages than I get now. I am very anxious about the strike we will be having here soon because it might get our bosses to pay us better."

"I send my wife R80 every month with the rest I pay accounts for the furniture I bought for her. It costs a lot to transport it from here to Lesotho, but I need to show my wife that I am working," said Mr SM.

A spokesman for the chamber, Mr Johann Liebenberg, said an average mineworker's wages before the July increases was R370 a month and that it has now gone up by about 16 percent to R429.

He confirmed that the minimum wages were between R136 a month and R455, depending on the worker's category.

He said the lowest paid workers get 19.6 percent increases and the highest paid were given 14.1 percent.

CSO: 3400/870
FURTHER COMMENTARY ON NUM STRIKE CALL

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Aug 85 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

Emotion among most black workers is running high throughout the country at present. This is understandable. But it doesn't negate the fact that mineworkers in particular probably have under the circumstances the most to gain from cool heads and decisive leadership.

The hyperbole and rhetoric from the leadership of the National Mineworkers' Union gives the impression that this has not yet sunk home. It will, but by the time it does, the union may have been ineluctably swept along towards unproductive confrontation and possible disaster.

General secretary Cyril Ramaphosa is from all reports an able, intelligent and hardworking union official who may be sincere in his claim that he does not want a strike on the gold and coal mines. In striving to keep sweet the membership of a rapidly growing union he may be forgiven some poetic licence. But the confrontation to which he is heading is becoming very much of his own making.

Clearly, NUM claims a membership of 150,000 and believes it will be given the support of many more. But other informed and impartial observers say he would be lucky to muster 70,000.

His claim that over 12,000 members gathered in Welkom on Saturday is at best a gross miscalculation. The hall in which the meeting was held can hold only 3,000 and there were no signs of a massive overflow. There are only 1,500 chairs in the hall. News men who were present were able to count only 1,800 people.

There is confusion over precisely what type of strike Ramaphosa has in mind. Some of the shop stewards present were going back to report that in the offering was a two-day stoppage and a work-to-rule underground. Others are under the impression that only a one-day strike is in prospect. Clarity is difficult to obtain as Ramaphosa claims that it would prejudice union strategy.

The Chamber of Mines has been phlegmatic although firm in its stance, offering increases of 19.2% on basic wages at the lowest levels, rising to 14% at the top. The union is demanding a 22% across-the-board increase and saying the chamber must come up with a better offer. There are other demands being made, but essentially at the bottom rung the difference is not beyond mediation.

We guess the chamber might be prepared to review its position if the union is prepared to come back to the negotiating table with a position that is less dogmatic on an across-the-board increase. That would avoid a strike that is not in the interests of anyone, especially not the mineworkers themselves.
TRADE UNION UNITY TALKS FLOUNDER

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 6 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Sam Mabe]

The booting out of Azactu unions is likely to start a controversy because it is not supported by all the unions that are still involved in the talks.

Differences

Mr Samson Ndou, president of the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu), which is one of 11 unions affiliated to the UDF, said the exclusion of Azactu unions was not decided by all the unions which participated in the Soweto talks.

He said: "We do not support those who decided on the exclusion of Azactu because the differences that those unions have with the other unions involved in the talks, are not so serious as to necessitate their exclusion.

"The differences can be ironed out. We had actually hoped to iron them out at the next meeting. We need to do some homework, such as building strong industrial unions, before setting dates for inaugurating a federation," he said.

Mrs Emma Mashinini, general secretary of Ccawusa said she knew nothing about the exclusion of Azactu.

"All I know is that we will be attending further talks on August 8. Our union has been invited to the talks," she said.

Letters written to Azactu affiliates informing them of their exclusion state that they are excluded because of their rejection of the principles on which the envisaged super federation is to be based.

The letters further state that most unions at the meeting at Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto on June 9, 1985 agreed on the principles.

The principles are that:
• The present federations be disbanded;
• Unions in the same industry must be prepared to merge to form one union in each industry;
• Unions must accept the principles of non-racialism; and
• General unions must be prepared to disband or be moving towards being industrial unions.
Mr Chris Dlamini, president of Fosatu, which has eight unions, said the decision to exclude Azactu was taken at the meeting at Ipelegeng and that it was taken because of their disagreement with some of the five principles.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who wrote the letters, said he was not going to speak to the Press about the issue. He would also not say which unions were going to participate in the talks.

**Important**

Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, co-ordinator of Azactu, said the letters informing Azactu's affiliates of their exclusion from the talks came as a surprise to him.

"Our knowledge is that the talks held at Ipelegeng Community Centre were adjourned because no consensus could be reached on important issues such as non-racialism vis-à-vis anti-racism, the attitude of the new federation towards the liberation struggle as a whole and its relationship to internal political organisations," he said.

"It is now becoming apparent that a certain clique has been trying to make unity its own property through caucuses and under-currents.

"Thus, Azactu wishes to make it clear that if unity is not achieved, Azactu cannot be held responsible and that those who exploit the emotions of the black working class shall be held responsible.

"It should be noted that it is the second time that the so-called feasibility committee abrogated to itself the responsibility of kicking out those unions which do not agree with one or more of the principles they uphold."

The difficulties that the unity talks have run into are confirming the predictions of sceptics that it would be almost impossible to float a super federation of emerging unions because of ideological and personality clashes.
LEADING BUSINESSMAN'S VIEWS ON APARTHEID FICTIONS ANALYZED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Aug 85 p 16 p 16

[Article by Sol Makgabutlane]

[Text]

Attacking the "dangerous fictions" that are often used to justify apartheid, a leading figure of commerce, Mr Clive Menell, warns that these must be got rid of before real reform can begin. Reporter SOL MAKGABUTLANE, who recently spent six months with an American newspaper, reports on Mr Menell's views.

A prominent South African businessman has slammed what he called "dangerous fictions" pervading the South African society, attitudes which he said must be changed before real reform can begin.

Mr Clive S Menell, deputy chairman of AngloVaal, strongly underlined this point yesterday in a keynote address to a conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), in Bophuthatswana, at which the black business group is celebrating its 21st anniversary.

He pointed out that it was widely assumed "particularly by supporters of apartheid" that if different races mixed, friction inevitably resulted.

"This pernicious proposition has been disproved more often than it has been proved. I think of the extraordinary gathering in size and diversity in Ellis Park a short time ago of music lovers, an occasion of great joy. Anyone can observe the fallacy of this idea every day in our factories, mines, shops and offices.

"Another fiction that endures to this day is that a State can provide separate but equal facilities for its peoples. In spite of the De Lange committee's carefully considered judgments, in spite of the weight of experience throughout the world, our whole educational system as well as our political system remain rooted to this questionable premise."

Criticising separate development, Mr Menell quoted economist Barbara Ward Jackson as saying that "where there is separation there is no development, and where there is development there is no separation."

He called for everyone's involvement in the present reform path being taken by the Government, to ensure that blacks did not just become mere beneficiaries in the process of change, but took part in the "genuine negotiation and joint decision-making."

Mr Menell added: "Major reforms involve all parts of a society. They do not just involve the passing of certain laws or the promulgation of regulations, but action by the private and public sectors, change institutions and, even more importantly, change attitudes.

"This process implies far greater sensitivity by the whites, many well-meaning ones trapped in patterns of paternalism; many not such well-meaning ones, who are slaves to their prejudices. This also implies great tolerance by blacks who have for so long suffered inequities in all our structures."
He said changes made "in response to specific and irresistible pressures with no particular end goal in view" did not constitute reform.

"They may improve the climate in which reform can take place, but equally they may dangerously rouse expectations that cannot be met. They may lead us into dead ends from which it is difficult to retreat."

He also cautioned against the introduction of reforms that threaten to destroy the "worth while wealth-creating mechanisms that are vital to the nation's health", no matter what political structure a country has.

"Thus, any reforms which lead to a mass emigration of white South Africans could lead to economic decay and could be self-defeating."

He listed areas in which reform action was most pressing and most likely to produce accelerated development. These were:
- Participation by all South Africans in the political decision-making process that governs their lives.
- An all-embracing strategy on urban and rural development involving the abolition of influx control and the repeal of pass laws.
- A unified education policy in order to make possible a greatly improved quality of education for all.
- Ready access to business opportunities.
- Freedom to own property.
- An increase in the pace of advancement in employment, and
- A re-emphasis of the concept of the rule of law.

Dwelling on the last point, Mr Menell observed that the rule of law must apply equally to authorities and to every citizen.

"In turbulent times such as these it is particularly important that this even-handedness is seen to be operating. No person or institution should be perceived as outside or above the law."

The deputy chairman stated: "Today our country is in a deeply worrying state, with a sick economy, serious and continuing social and political unrest in many areas of the land, and mounting pressures from abroad.

"Such a state of affairs can lead all too easily to a polarisation of opinion and a reinforcement of past prejudices. But it could also lead to concern, out of which can emerge the necessary commitment to essential change.

"The events of the past year must shock us out of our past ways. We need to move away — swiftly and conclusively — from the body of laws and the weight of customs and conventions which have restricted — no, cursed — our society. Reinforcing ignorance and prejudice, concentrating always on that which divides man rather than that which unites him and his fellow man in our country."

He added that he envisaged the "potential riches that could be unleashed, great talents that would appear" if we would truly accept the errors of the past and recognise one nation — South Africa.

"With its many people, rich in its diversity of race, religion and background, the stage can be set for genuine negotiation towards a peaceful, prosperous and shared South Africa."

To Nafnoc's members, Mr Menell had a word of advice: "In the present difficult situation the act of silently going about one's business can be seen as supporting the status quo of discrimination and injustice."

Black businessmen were particularly vulnerable to being misconstrued in that way, he said.

He informed them that "business as a whole must identify itself unequivocally with the important changes that are needed to move South Africa away from apartheid.

"The black business community needs to be seen to be actively involved in wanting to change South Africa."

Discussion, debate, analysis, commissions and research projects were fine and even necessary to a point, he said.

"But surely our present situation demands, above all else, a sense of urgency, a sense of purpose . . ."

Nafnoc's conference — held at Sun City and whose theme is "Social and Economic Reforms Necessary for Accelerating Black Advancement in Southern Africa" — ends on Thursday.
PRETORIA SHOPS AFFECTED BY BLACK BOYCOTT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Aug 85 p 4

[Text]

SINCE the launching of the Black consumer boycott on Saturday, some Pretoria stores have reported a drop in turnover of up to 40 percent.

This has emerged from a survey conducted among Pretoria shops. The boycott was called by the United Democratic Front and is due to last until August 26.

Pretoria store-owners claimed yesterday that Saturday had been one of their worst days this year. Stores in the city centre appeared to be worst hit.

However, a spokesman for Assocom said yesterday it was far too early to assess the situation among the association's members and the effects of the boycott had not yet reached organised commerce.

The Assocom spokesman said there had not been enough shopping hours since the start of the boycott, to really assess the situation.

Mondays and Tuesdays were usually not very good shopping days for the Black consumers, with many Blacks receiving their salaries on Fridays.

According to Sapa, cafes and "corner stores" in Pretoria seemed unaffected by the boycott, with Blacks still buying basics such as bread and milk there.

CSO: 3400/962
CONFUSION OVER CALL TO BOYCOTT WHITE BUSINESSES SEEN

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 13 Aug 85 p 4

[Commentary: "Confusion"]

[Text]

We do not exactly know what to make of the boycott of white business which is the new strategy adopted by our political organisations.

What we do know is if this newspaper supports the boycott we will be breaking the law — a law for instance which is vague and all-embracing under the state of emergency regulations.

We fear, however, that there is a certain confusion that has been created by this political tack, which we can comment upon. We can also comment on the likelihood of abuse as too many opportunists have been taking advantage of a very serious situation.

The criminal tendency and those who jump the band wagon simply because they love mayhem must know they are creating grave problems for people who are engaged in a life and death struggle. The people who take on such campaigns are not fooling. They are deadly serious and anybody who abuses their endeavours is either a fool or a crook.

We have the deepest respect for those people who are sacrificing their lives for the ultimate liberation of all South Africans. That their struggle should be made to look tawdry by irresponsible behaviour is simply unforgivable. The stakes are just too high to allow anarchy to run riot.

Another difficulty is that, with the best will in the world, our organisations cannot control some of the excellent campaigns they mount occasionally. Sooner or later those people who have criminal tendencies to loot and do such disgraceful things, take advantage of a struggle that will benefit them as well in the end.

The time has come that black organisations at least attempt measures in which such elements are kept in check. They are creating very serious problems for the organisations and the people.

We might as well go on record to say that the boycott of business might create problems. Everybody by now should know there are black people who are used as fronts by white business. Most of us are also aware that our retail shops use merchandise from white wholesalers. They might feel the pinch of the boycott, but they will be enjoying the fruits of stuff that they are able to unload in black shops.

And this brings us to the last if not the most serious of evils we see in such campaigns.

The hooligan tendency might take advantage to rob people as has happened in the past. There must be direction as to who can be stopped by whom from buying in shops outside the townships. If everybody takes it into their minds to monitor
the campaign, too many people will suffer from hooliganism.

We cannot tolerate gangsters and some irresponsible youths to be allowed to search people and their private vehicles as this will lead to acts of criminality. We have seen how certain youths take advantage of the people's struggle and it is not until the organisations can stop these irresponsible gangsters that we will be successful. The people soon get angry at the calls for this or the other action, if irresponsible youths, who should be dealt with, take over the campaign for their own disreputable and selfish ends.

We urge that all blacks take care of such people. They must be educated by the organisations about the sacrifices involved in such struggles.
BLACKS BEAT BOYCOTT BY USING WHITE SURROGATE SHOPPERS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Ken Vernon]

PORT ELIZABETH — As the black boycott of white-owned shops in the Eastern Cape enters its fourth week with no sign of ending, some blacks have contrived to beat the ban by using whites as surrogate shoppers.

Store owners, none of whom wished to be named, reported that whites — usually women — were coming to clothing shops to pick up lay-bys for their domestic workers, who were afraid to be seen coming out of shops with parcels.

There have also been reports that, in a complete turnaround, white women have been shopping at supermarkets for blacks, especially at month-end, to allow their workers to escape the ruinously high prices being charged by black shopkeepers taking advantage of the boycott.

"There is fundamentally no change in the situation from when the boycott first began," says the director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Gillson. "The position is pretty bad and shows no sign of improving".

The same picture was painted by spokesmen for the Chambers of Commerce of most of the larger Eastern Cape centres, with the exception of Grahamstown, where the boycott has been called off, according to the vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr Peter Repinzi.

However, Mr Repinzi was reluctant to say how the boycott had been defeated for fear of "upsetting things".

One coloured shopkeeper said he had done a simple survey of what township stores were charging in relation to what he normally charged for various basic items, and arrived at the conclusion that blacks were being overcharged by an average of 50 percent.

"For a 2.5 kg bag of white sugar I charge R1.99, but black stores are charging up to R3.25, a markup of 63 percent. Their markup on a box of matches is 67 percent, and 50 percent on cooking oil, while I have heard of bread being sold for twice the normal price," he said.

CSO: 3400/961
BLACK CONSUMER BOYCOTT WORRIES GOVERNMENT

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Aug 85 p 5

[Text]

A BLACK consumer boycott of white shops in several towns in the Eastern Cape recently spread from Port Elizabeth to East London, worrying government and leaving some white traders without any customers at all.

"It's very bad," said a woman who runs a hardware store. "There are no customers," she said, surveying her deserted shop.

Her husband, referring to the wars between blacks and white settlers in the Eastern Cape in the 19th century, said: "The 'Kaffir Wars' are here at East London. We fear them (the blacks)...they are an ungovernable people."

The boycotts, in support of a variety of demands, including the withdrawal of troops from black townships, have successfully persuaded local white chambers of commerce to bring black grievances to government's notice.

Police have arrested dozens of blacks in the Eastern Cape on charges of intimidation, saying they threaten customers who try to shop at white stores. Blacks have been seen searching residents for "white" goods as they enter the townships.

East London's boycott began with a pamphlet distributed in its black townships saying: "Don't buy in town and "industry and the government - two sides of the same bloody coin".

Signed by a "Consumer Boycott Committee", the leaflet called for the lifting of the state of emergency and the dismantling of tribal homelands for blacks.

It urged the East London city council to open segregated facilities such as beaches to all races, and called on employers to end the sacking of workers during the recession.

Government is already trying to stamp out boycotts with its new emergency powers.

In Port Elizabeth the consumer boycott faltered temporarily when pamphlets of unknown origin were distributed saying the boycott was over and blacks had suffered enough. A spokesman for the local boycott committee said the pamphlet was a fake.

In Graaff-Reinet, police say they will close down shops whose operations contribute to a boycott, which effectively means they can, shut down black shops if residents continue refusing to buy at white stores.

Black Methodist priest Milton Matiwane said the boycott in Port Elizabeth, which forced the white mayor to call in Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange to discuss the crisis, seemed to be having a considerable effect.

"Whites are beginning to realise that we also have a say," he said. "They can't live without us." — Sapa-Reuters.

CSO: 3400/870
GLOOM DEEPENS IN RETAIL, WHOLESALE TRADES

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug 85 p 3
[Article by Kerry Clarke]

[Text]

RETAILERS and wholesalers, battle-weary after months of tooth and nail competitive trading, are gloomy about the outlook for sales and profits.

A survey of more than 100 wholesalers and retailers in June and July by Dun & Bradstreet shows most expected a decline in July sales and profits compared with the same time last year.

The survey shows that 43% expected sales to decline, and 56% believed profits would fall. Respondents were more pessimistic than those in a survey in January.

Turning point

Only 30% expected sales to be lower in January this year than in January 1984 and 50% expected profits to decline.

However, D&B believes that adverse trends are reaching a turning point because the rate of increase of respondents expecting a sales and profit decline is slowing.

Another indication that an upturn is in sight is the number of wholesalers and retailers who said inventories this July would be larger than in the same month last year.

A total of 18% of respondents said their stocks would be higher in July 1985 compared with 1984. Only 7% said January 1985 inventory would be higher than in January 1984.

A large proportion (60%) expected no change in staff levels in July compared with last year, and only 25% expected to have fewer employees than in 1984. In January this year 31% expected staff components to be lower. Only 6% expected increased staff levels in July.

D&B also analysed the proportion of retailers and wholesalers who said they would increase prices in July.

Of the 87% who would increase prices, 19% said they would be higher than the inflation rate. A total of 21% said price increases would equal the inflation rate and 27% said they would be lower than inflation.

Stocks cut

Graham Miller, director of development and planning for D&B, says: "This is interpreted to mean that there is a softening of attitude on price increases in an attempt to stimulate flagging sales."

D&B says there has been severe cost-cutting in the past nine months. It will probably continue into 1986 when turnover is expected to recover.

AC Nielsen, one of the world's largest retail research companies, says SA supermarket stocks of a wide range of products were reduced to a minimum in the first half of 1985.

Patrick McHarry, marketing manager of AC Nielsen in South Africa, says prices are also being hiked.

"We have surveyed prices of 500 items in 370 supermarkets. Initial indications are that there will be a dramatic downturn in the average shopping basket for July compared with June."

"It appears there has been a significant drop in the prices that retailers are charging for a broad range of grocery products."

"Retailers are rationalising inventories, squeezing manufacturers as never before for low prices and taking lower margins themselves."

"There have been significant reductions in total store inventory, so manufacturers are not only being squeezed for lower prices - they are having to deliver more frequently to maintain stocks."

"Inventories cannot be cut much more." He says a fierce battle is being waged among the big three retailers - Pick n Pay, Checkers and OK Bazaars. The small trader is being squeezed out by the competitive trading at the top end of the market.

Falling

"SA has the fourth-highest concentration of trade in the world, and in real terms, average turnovers of stores in the small category have been diminishing at a rate of 5% to 6% a year for the past three to four years."

Mr McHarry says that although the consumer goods market is depressed, there are still plenty of buoyant markets - disposable nappies and gourmet food, for instance.
NUMBER OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN SA REPORTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Paul Bell]

THERE are at least 350 000 legally registered black foreign workers in South Africa, and the total number, including "illegals", could be as high as 920 000.

These figures were provided by Natal University researcher Alan Whiteside, who has made an extensive study of migrant labour on the sub-continent.

He described estimates of 1.5-million foreign black workers, cited by President P W Botha earlier this week, as too high.

He said official estimates of the number of migrant workers in Southern Africa — including those from the TBVC states, non-independent homelands and neighbouring black states — were about 1 824 000.

Whiteside said migrant labour earnings repatriated from SA to neighbouring black states were so important to those economies that any expulsion of foreign workers by SA would have a negative effect on them, especially on Lesotho and Mozambique.

The Chamber of Mines' wage and employment figures also illustrate how the importance of mine labour to neighbouring economies has grown in the past decade.

Between 1972 and 1984, wages on its gold and coal mines have increased in real terms by more than 330%, while the pay differential between skilled and unskilled workers has narrowed from 20:1 to 5:1.

On an annual basis, Lesotho has increased its number of mine migrants from 72 000 in 1974 to 95 675 last year. Swaziland has doubled its mine migrants to 10 833 in the same period. Botswana's figures have remained more or less constant, and in 1984 there were 17 257.

Mozambique's figures peaked at nearly 81 000 in 1974, but slumped to just over 35 000 in 1979 following the Frelimo revolution. Last year they had risen to more than 44 000.

Business Day understands that, following talks between the SA and Mozambican labour ministers earlier this year, Mozambique would be keen to push its representation on SA mines back to 80 000.

Malawi had nearly 95 000 workers on Chamber mines in 1974, but withdrew almost all. But by last year, their annual average representation on Chamber mines had risen to more than 15 000.
CENSUS SHOWS BIT BLACK POPULATION RISE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]
FIRST results of the R31m 1985 census show a huge increase in the black population — nearly three times that of the other three population groups combined.

At a Press conference in Pretoria, head of the Central Statistical Services Dr A P T du Toit revealed that of a total population increase since the 1980 census of 2 888 200, 2 115 588 were blacks. They increased to 3 242 228.

Whites increased by 358 478 to 4 576 690. Coloureds increased by 367 268 to 2 825 094, and Asians by 46 596 to 793 978.

Demographers point out that although the white population is more than a third larger than the coloured population it was significant that the coloured increase was greater than the white increase by nearly 9 000.

They also point out that the white population is moving down towards zero growth — which could be reached by the end of the century.

The overall total population is 23 438 600 — greater by 2 888 200 than the 1980 figure.

Giving background to the census, Du Toit said that 41 000 enumerators were involved in the survey in 38 500 sub-districts. Total estimated expenditure in the 1984/85 financial year was R5.5m, and in the current financial year R25.5m. Currently 700 part-time workers are checking more than 7-million completed questionnaires.

Reports containing final census returns would be ready towards the end of next year. It had taken anything up to 11 years to get the final results of previous censuses published, he pointed out.

Later results would include sex distribution, occupation distribution, levels of education and age structure.

Provincial totals show that the Cape had the biggest increase — by 534 516 to 5 044 418. Transvaal increased by 466 295 to 7 579 886, Free State by 127 896 to 1 775 722.

Natal's population decreased by 132 525 to 2 147 902.

CSO: 3400/870

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BLACK POLICEMEN, COUNCILLORS TARGETS OF BOMB ATTACKS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 12 Aug 85 p 9

[Article by Sy Makaringe]

[Text]

BLACK policemen and councillors serving under the newly-implemented Black Local Authorities Act have been targets of a spate of petrol bomb and hand grenade attacks which have brought sorrow and grief to their families during the past 18 months.

The trial of destruction left about 300 black policemen homeless, seven dead and 270 injured when about 400 houses belonging to policemen were attacked in separate incidents since September last year.

According to Colonel Leon Mellet, Press secretary for Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, most of these attacks took place in the strife-torn townships in the Eastern Cape and on the East Rand.

And, in less than two years after the introduction of the Act, more than 60 homes belonging to councillors were attacked, resulting in extensive damage, the extent of which amounted to several thousands of rand, compared with minor, isolated cases of violent attacks during the time of the community councils.

About 15 councillors lost their lives in the wave of violence that erupted in the various townships.

But it is widely believed that these figures are just the tip of the iceberg as, in most cases, police situation reports released to the Press on a day-to-day basis did not specify whether some of the private homes attacked in this fashion belonged to councillors.

In most cases, the faceless and mystery organisation calling itself the South African Suicide Squad, claimed responsibility for the attacks.

The petrol bomb attacks, directly or indirectly, led to the resignations of scores of councillors from the local authorities.

Some of the policemen, mostly in the strife-torn East Rand townships, had to vacate their homes in fear for their lives.

Some of the demands made by the "suicide squad" through the Press include the resignation of councillors, removal of police from the townships and scrapping of the Black Local Authorities Act.

Observers believe this could be one of the reasons that prompted the declaration of the state of emergency by State President Mr P W Botha.

The house of Mr Steve Kgama, president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) suffered the most serious damage when it was attacked and petrol bombed recently. The extent of the damage was estimated at R35 000 — the high-
est figure ever to be recorded.

Next on the list was Reverend Sam Buti, mayor of Alexandra, whose house was attacked and extensively damaged. The damage was estimated at about R30 000.

The list shows that among those who fell victim to the spate of bombings were mayors of their respective townships, including Mr Ephraim Tshabalala and Mr Edward Kunene, of Soweto, whose houses and property were attacked on numerous occasions during their terms of office as chairmen of the Soweto City Council.

Mr Z Z Mashao, of Atteridgeville, was forced to resign as mayor of the township as a result pressure following the petrol bombing of his house.

But others, such as Mr Lucas Mothiba, mayor of Tembisa, Mr Tom Boya, of Daveyton and Mr M J Khumalo, leader of the opposition in the Diepmeadow Town Council, said they would not be deterred from continuing with their jobs by these acts.

When the anonymous South African Suicide Squad struck at several homes of Soweto councillors early last year, all three Greater Soweto councils supplied the councillors with fire extinguishers and provided round the clock police guard as a precautionary measure against the acts.

But this, it appeared, did not seem to bear any fruit. In some cases council policemen were literally caught napping when petrol bombs were hurled into the homes they were guarding.

The acts were still continuing at an alarming rate when the State President, Mr P W Botha, declared a state of emergency in 36 districts in the country.

Other people who were attacked had nothing to do with the black local authorities, but were active in the now defunct community councils.

These include Mr Tolika Makahaya, former right-hand man to former mayor of Soweto, Mr David Thebechali, Mrs Martha Taylor and Mr Johannes Mazibuko.
PRETORIA'S CIVIL DEFENSE ORGANIZATION DISTINGUISHES ITSELF

Greenside LOCAL GOVERNMENT in English Jun/Jul 85 p 28

[Text] The Civil Defence organization of the City Council of Pretoria had the honour of achieving an A grading for its Civil Defence planning.

It is the second time in a few months that the Council's Civil Defence organization has distinguished itself.

This unit was recently named Civil Defence Organization of the Year after Pretoria had participated in a competition organised by the commerce and trade in Bloemfontein.

In terms of the Civil Defence Act 1977 (Act 67 of 1977), the preparedness of the Republic of South Africa with regard to Civil Defence is evaluated by the SA Defence Force from time to time, and the Administrator is then informed thereof and advised.

According to the Chief Officer (Civil Defence) of Pretoria, Mr Mynhardt Beukes, Pretoria was the first city in the country to achieve the A grading and, since the Army started the evaluation process, Pretoria has invariably succeeded in receiving this grading.

Pretoria has the largest volunteer corps in the country, and the Civil Defence organization has one of the most extensive and sophisticated radio networks in the country.

Mr Beukes says that this system has also been refined to such an extent that suburbs are able to act relatively independently during disasters, at the same time being in constant communication with the control centre, and further that all the key persons in the organization may be reached by radio pager on a 24 hour basis.

Notably of late the organization has had great success in the practical training at the casualty department of the H.F. Verwoerd Hospital, where it comes into direct contact with casualties and where it learns how to classify the injured with a view to disaster action.

The corps consists primarily of volunteers from the public pursuing and holding a variety of professions and positions. They perform tasks which differ to a great extent from those pursued by them daily, which make the challenge and participation very interesting to them.

The City Council has also recently put into use a Civil Defence Control Centre for the eastern suburbs of Pretoria.

CSO: 3400/957
ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP DEVELOPMENT PLAN LAUNCHED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Aug 85 p 11

[Article by Janine Stein]

A R200-million project to enlarge Alexandra township in Johannesburg by almost a third and improve the quality of life for residents was given Johannesburg Management Committee approval yesterday after five years of negotiations.

The project including an international hotel, a technical high school, a multi-sports stadium and 1 000 houses — will be built on 102 ha given to the Alexandra Town Council by the Johannesburg City Council if the project is rubber-stamped by the Administrator of the Transvaal.

In addition, the development includes the extension of London Road to the N3 motorway.

The land — bringing the area of Alexandra from 350 ha to approximately 452 — adjoins the township on the east bank of the Jukseki river, while the hotel is planned for a portion falling on the west bank.

The Alexandra Town Council is negotiating for international loans to finance the project, while tenders would be put out for the hotel.

The Town Clerk of Alexandra, Mr Arthur Magerman, declined to reveal which countries were involved in the loan negotiations.

Construction is to begin on the project once the Administrator of the Transvaal has given his approval, and is expected to be completed within three years.

Mr Magerman said the development would create much needed housing and jobs for township residents and was in line with re-development plans for the area.

He described the closing of negotiations for the land on Monday and “a red letter day for the people of Alexandra.”

After furious objections to the plans — introduced in 1980 for the first time — by the Lombardy East resident’s associations, Mr Magerman said the entire project had changed from a high-density one to an up-market development.

No objections were, therefore, expected to the new plans from residents’ organisations, Mr Magerman said.

The plans had been changed primarily to prevent any incident of conflict or dangerous behaviour by schoolchildren from spilling out of the township — apparently a major fear five years ago.

Initially the area was intended for schools and sports stadiums only.

Asked why a hotel had been considered instead of additional housing, Mr Magerman said the area set aside for the hotel on the west bank of the river was on the floodline and, therefore, not suitable for residential purposes.

However, a hotel could be raised above the floodline, while this would be too expensive for individual houses.

In addition, the hotel would be income generating and create jobs for residents of the township, while at the same time providing recreation currently being sought by residents at other international hotels in Johannesburg.

CSO: 3400/962
NEwSPAPER'S SALES GO UP

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 4 Aug 85 p 3

[Text]

Newspapers come and newspapers go.
And then there's City Press, which grows—like crazy.
In the past six months, for example, our certified sales have rocketed from 115 181 to 135 238.
Along the way, we sold:
- 122 441 in February.
- 128 066 in March.
- 128 291 in April.
- 135 099 in May.
And remember, that was before the Argus Company closed down what some considered to be our opposition—the Sunday Mirror.
There's no looking back.
At this rate, who knows where we'll all be by the end of the year...
One hundred and fifty thousand?
Two hundred thousand?
We're the fastest-growing paper in the country—and it's all thanks to you, our readers.

...just look at those sales figures!

CSO: 3400/925
STARVATION HITS RURAL AREAS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Aug 85 p 6
[Article by Sarah Sussens]

[Text]

THE recession is biting deep into the rural areas as agricultural workers are laid off — leaving hundreds of families destitute.

In the Eastern Transvaal, 700 families have gathered around the black settlement areas surrounding Phalaborwa and the Swiss Mission.

An urgent appeal has been made to Operation Hunger to help feed them.

A letter from the Phalaborwa Evangelical Presbyterian Church said: "Due to the recession which has affected the whole of South Africa, a number of firms and industries have had to reduce their staff.

"We now have 700 families with unemployed breadwinners."

Mrs Ina Perlman, director of Operation Hunger, said she dreaded opening the post each day as there were so many appeals for help.

Operation Hunger, the organisation which feeds 625 000 people a month, is battling to keep pace with the growing mass of hungry people.

The long years of drought — affecting farmers as well as agriculture-related industries — combined with massive layoffs in urban areas have swelled the ranks of the unemployed.

"Seasonal work, which is the lifeblood of the rural workers, has been reduced.

"In some villages there is only the occasional bakkie instead of the usual four to five trucks which used to come to collect workers," Mrs Perlman said.

"The permanent farmworkers who get laid off usually have a family to provide for. When they lose their job their family is left without a home and with no income.

"In the Zebediela area in the Eastern Transvaal there is a squatter village of about 100 families who are destitute.

"A lot of the urban-based workers who have been retrenched are returning to their families in the rural areas.

"Their attitude is: if we are going to starve we may as well starve together," Mrs Perlman said.
HOMES TO BE FOUND FOR OUSTED INANDA RESIDENTS

Durban POST NATAL in English 24–27 Jul 85 p 11

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

The future of the 960 families who have to leave Inanda to make way for a large new black township has been decided.

The Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture, Baldeo Dookie, announced this week that they would be re-housed in Phoenix near Durban, and at Roodekrans and Sykes Farm near Verulam.

The announcement was made at a meeting attended by more than 500 people at the Wylde Memorial Hall near Inanda. The meeting was addressed by Mr Dookie, and the two men who have been appointed to investigate the Indian community's needs for agricultural land, Yellam Chinsamy and Pat Bodasinh.

It was also announced at the meeting that farmers who lost agricultural land would be compensated, and that attempts were being made to find other land.

The House of Delegates has made R1,5 million available to the Verulam Town Board so it can buy Sykes Farm near Verulam for housing. However, a condition is that a fair share of the housing be offered to people from Inanda.

The fate of the shanty area's more than 4 000 residents has been in the balance for years, and both the Durban City Council and Verulam Town Board have refused to accept responsibility.

After his appointment as Indian Minister of Housing, Mr Dookie negotiated with the Development and Services Board and the Verulam Town Board. It was finally decided that those affected should be re-housed in the three areas under the jurisdiction of Durban and Verulam.

A survey by the Inanda Child Welfare Society and Department of Housing found that most of the people worked in the Durban area, that some were unemployed, and that a large number collected pensions and State grants.

"For many years, in some cases almost half a century, people have lived in this shantyland under the most deplorable conditions," Mr Dookie said. "There is no proper sanitation, lights or piped water, and this is a great health hazard."
COLOREDS ABLE TO BUY LAND

Upington GEMSBOK KOERIER in Afrikaans 12 Jul 85 p 1

[Article: "Lots in Kenhardt Colored Area"]

[Text] Kenhardt: Coloreds will soon be able to buy their own lots in the colored residential area at Kenhardt for the first time.

A total of 150 lots have been surveyed and registered in the residential area. The mayor of Kenhardt, Mr Steph du Toit, says that there are already quite a few of these lots that have been provided with electricity. The town council has now appointed engineers to assist in the planning of the electricity supply in the area, as well as street lights, etc.

Mr du Toit says that perhaps only about 70 to 80 lots will be concentrated on at first so that the electrical installations need not be so widely spread out.

There is a great demand for lot ownership. The lots in the residential area are already in such a state of readiness that interested parties can say which lots they are interested in.

Roads

Neat roads have also recently been added in the residential area, and according to Mr du Toit were completed at an estimated cost of R35,000.

The economic residential area in which the lots are situated is known as Residential Area no 1. Provision for 7 business sites in the area has also been made and the lots have already been given out on tender.

The existing businesses in the town are in the sub-economic residential area. Mr du Toit says the town council would like to have the businesses concentrated on the business sites in the economic residential area, and the existing businesses will later have to be moved. The school, the NG [Dutch Reformed] Mission Church and the Congregational Church are also right next to the residential area.
REFORMS EXPECTED AFTER EMERGENCY

Johannesburg DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 23 Jul 85 p 3

['Political Editorship' Article: "New Plans for Blacks Coming After Unrest"]

[Text] Johannesburg--New political initiatives to provide black people with meaningful rights will be launched in the aftermath of the weekend's emergency action.

Announcements on subjects such as house ownership for black city dwellers, citizenship and influx control may be made in the coming weeks.

DIE TRANSVALER has been informed at a high level that the government is not sitting on its hands in its search for political solutions to the state of unrest.

It is in fact well understood that security measures are only one side of a strategy to calm the unrest. There must also be political action to address the fundamental causes of the unrest.

State President P.W. Botha said on Saturday that the state of emergency had been announced in 36 magistrate's districts to normalize things so that discussion of the political, economic and social concerns of all people can proceed.

The first priority is to restore peace and quiet in the black residential areas involved and to make an attempt to reactivate local authorities that collapsed because of the riots.

The grievances and needs of local communities will then be looked into in a purposeful way.

Great stress will be laid on the improvement of the infrastructure of black towns and the social welfare position of the residents.

DIE TRANSVALER has been told that while the security regulations are in force in the Eastern Cape and on the Witwatersrand, special attention will be given to areas where disturbances have not yet broken out. When order has been restored, the measures will also be extended to the affected areas.
It has been ascertained that the government decided to declare the state of emergency on Friday after it became clear that Soweto had now become the main target area for agitators.

The strategy of the provokers of unrest was first to stir up the Eastern Cape and then to extend the disturbances to the East Rand.

Soweto was the third target area. Because it is well-known overseas and has symbolic value, it would have been the launching point for nationwide unrest.

DIE TRANSVALER has been told that the state of emergency will not be in force any longer than is necessary to restore order. But that there will also be no hesitation about extending the regulations to other areas where there are disturbances.

12906
CSO: 3401/274
LEADING EDUCATION EXPERT ARGUES FOR EFFECTIVE SCHOOLING

Johannesburg HUMAN RESOURCES in English 1985-86 pp 10, 13, 15

[Article by Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon in the Cape and president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association]

[Text]

A subject such as "human resources" can be an excuse for a comfortable debate in which masses of statistics are quoted; or it can be a challenge to look at the hard reality of what is needed to enlist the capacities of our people in creating a viable country for all.

To illustrate how even the most able economic administrator can hold no more than a one-dimensional view, I quote from Leadership's last Human Resources: "We must hold on to and spread the private-enterprise system to all people, since real growth is achieved with capitalism and not Marxism; we must educate and train all our people; we must have a plentiful supply of skills to meet the needs of technology; we must recognise that higher levels of productivity go hand-in-hand with higher wages; we must get rid of or amend the laws which restrict mobility and the ownership of land - the two cornerstones of capitalism - and which demotivate people."

I agree wholeheartedly with most of these "musts"; but if they are meant to summarise our entire problem or declare our whole intent, I submit that they are sadly lacking.

If, tomorrow, everyone in South Africa was asked to cast a vote, free of any pressure, for a political system, the majority would probably plump not for capitalism but for socialism - even, out of frustration, for Marxism. No one foretold an overwhelming victory for ZANU PF's Marxist programme in Zimbabwe's first election - yet it happened. Similar choices, it is worth adding, were made in many other such situations.

In today's South Africa it is provocative to say that communism has a greater appeal for many than capitalism. But academics and men of business need to look facts in the face. As head of an institution which involves daily contact with our militant younger generation, and as president of an organisation of 20 000 teachers, I believe that I can claim a certain grass-roots knowledge.

What is the attraction of communism? Certainly not its past record, which is dismal. It is, rather, its capacity to offer those who count themselves dispossessed, a hope that the future can be made different.

We may say, "But how can people be so naive as to believe this?" We may quote facts and figures to show how it has led, in country after country, to the very opposite of such longed-for hopes. All our
reasonableness, all our facts, will mean nothing to the deprived when weighed against the vision that is being offered.

So what challenge does this offer those of us who find ourselves in positions of leadership? It seems to me that effective leadership for tomorrow's South Africa has to deal not just with the provision of technical and managerial expertise, vital though it is, but also with the question of motivation, which is perhaps more important and demanding.

It is comparatively simple to define the need for technical expertise. To run a sophisticated society we need sophisticated experts in every field: economics, engineering and the sciences are just a few. But, as principal of a technikon, my job - like that of any director or professional manager - has many facets. I have to be a decision-maker, a facilitator, an 'oiler of wheels'. Inevitably, therefore, I am involved in the political.

No professional or business leader can dodge the political demands of his job, and should not attempt to do so. The time is long past to argue that the problems besetting our society are for politicians to settle, even if they created most of them. They are now of such magnitude that we all must get in to get us out.

As head of an important educational institution, I must face the fact that my responsibilities are affected not just by educational norms, but by political, economic and social happenings outside my immediate field. Leadership means being ready to say, "I am responsible for the whole". The "ivory tower" mentality may be more comfortable, but it is quite unrelated to reality. Derek Bok, president of Harvard University, says it well:

The cloistered university could probably exist only at a heavy cost to the quality of professional education, applied research, social criticism and expert advice - activities that are all (crucially) important to our society.

Our technikon aims to turn out the technically-qualified people needed so urgently in our underprivileged community - but this, alone, is too limited an aim and takes too narrow a view of our responsibility to society. Suppose the end-products of our training are then concerned only with earning what they can for themselves: a bigger house, a better car, a longer holiday. Is this adequate? In a sense they will then be part of the problem, not of the answer.

It is a question which challenges the very fundamentals of the capitalist ethic. This preaches that the pursuit of enlightened self-interest will result in greater productivity, profit and wealth for all. But in our divided country this can be interpreted by many as an excuse for increasing "your" wealth at the expense of "my" labour. Just holding out a vision of some future "fat cat" society will not do. It, in fact, feeds the class war which increasingly is being used to divide white from black and black from black.

An old proverb states: "Where there is no vision, the people perish." What all-inclusive vision do we have to offer our people?

The recent dismissal of 14,000 or more miners from the gold-fields raises many queries. Whatever the rights or wrongs of the case, is this the best that capitalism has to offer? Like it or not, it has provided 14,000 potential recruits for an anti-capitalist campaign.

I think of the comments of a man who, for many years, was secretary of a communist-party cell charged with fomenting strikes in the British Midlands. Talking publicly to a number of South African employers, he told of the time the party directed him to a job in the Standard Motor Company. "We used to have marvellous strikes there," he said. "If we did not have an issue, I would say to my comrades, 'Leave it for a couple of days. Those bosses, they'll make a wrong move and then we'll have our issue.' We could count on their arrogance and blindness."

"I say to bosses," he went on, "how do you build trust with those on the other side of the fence?" I say to government, "how do you build trust with those opposed to you?" Those bosses in the Standard Motor Company never understood that the issues which we laid on the table were never the real point. Reality was the feelings which churned around, inside me and my comrades. If those bosses were to be ahead of the game, they needed to learn what made us tick, why we felt as we did, and how to deal with that.

"Effective leadership means learning to do this. In any negotiating situation you have to reckon with the needs inside the people sitting around the table if you are to get to grips with the problems on the table. Communism's strength is that it knows how to exploit the reality of the bitterness, fear and greed in people, while the non-communist world sometimes acts as if these realities did not exist, do not matter, or, if ignored, will go away."

FRUSTRATION AND NEGATIVISM
I take this as a challenge. If, for instance, the black student or the black worker is to be fully motivated, then leadership, whether in the schoolroom or on the factory floor, must present a plan for the future which will enlist everyone's imagination and will. The youth of South Africa, and I particularly refer to black youth, sees itself facing a future where it wonders if it is being offered any chance; whether, in fact, it is intended merely to promote and perpetuate an unacceptable status quo.
Such doubt undermines hope and leads to the recklessness of despair. Young people look at their elders and say: "Do we want to grow up to be like them?", for they see them as being emasculated by structural apartheid and an alien business culture.

We know, of course, of accusations that black workers lack a work ethic and are often low in productivity. We blacks owe it to ourselves to bravely examine such criticism. Having done so, we can then ask: "Why then is it that black immigrants to countries like Canada or Australia are known for their industriousness? Is it not one of the biggest challenges that South Africa and the private sector, in particular, have failed?"

Certainly in the past very little was done to make it possible, let alone easy, for blacks to identify with what is known as the free-enterprise system; to regard it as working in their best interests. They are often fed with the equal-opportunities jargon but in practice are burdened with innumerable obstacles and restrictions that reflect a debilitating duplicity and lead to frustration and sheer negativity.

A fortnight ago I was privileged to view a video recording of a young managing director of a large national company openly and courageously committing his company to the principle of non-racialism. He clearly distinguished between non-racialism and multiracialism by stating that, as far as his firm is concerned, merit and not colour, sex or creed will be the criterion. He went further by immediately inviting two black persons to sit on the national board as a highly visible sign of his sincerity, thereby practically demonstrating to Mr Jones (or Mr Singh or Mr Kurnalo or Mr April), the lorry driver, that his son can one day be MD.

The best place to start implementing these laudable principles is, however, at educational institutions. Education, after all, is among other things a process of socialisation. We therefore either socialise our young for separation and conflict or we prepare them for a common purpose and a single nationhood. We in education must actively endeavour to bring home that truth to government, while at the same time courageously seeking to introduce these principles in our own backyards.

The one depressing aspect of the change that is taking place in South Africa is that it is often too little too late; that change occurs far too grudgingly to instil confidence in its lastingness and enthusiasm for the process. Many more should step forward and state not only what they require others to do, but also what they are prepared and willing to do. Though there remain relatively few legal measures precluding black advancement, few blacks are seen in boardrooms and around management tables. Stereotypes and hackneyed prejudices abound. At times the impression is created among blacks that their performance is scrutinised under a microscope while white failure is routinely overlooked or regarded as exceptional.

ALIEN BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

I remain amazed at the many black qualified engineers and accountants who apply for lecturing vacancies on our staff. When asked why they are ready to leave the business environment, where it is claimed the sky is the limit, the response often reveals a hostility to an alien business environment. Business is strongly perceived as the white man’s domain in which the black is only there on sufferance; the system is perceived to support apartheid – sometimes overtly.

Business must accept as a fact that there is a difference in South Africa between the white world and the black world. Generally speaking, business and industry are almost a natural extension of life for whites at home and in their general environment. Conversely, the psychological and physical distance between the black environment and the world of big business is substantial.

The educational system will have to assist in overcoming that difference. While South Africa persists in educating people separately for an integrated work-place, we must find ways and means of reducing and even overcoming the harmful effects of such a foolish and counter-productive scheme of things.

One method is the co-operative educational system, which internationally is enjoying increased popularity. Broadly, it is a programme of vocational education for students through a co-operative arrangement between an educational institution and employers, whereby students alternate study at school with a job in any occupational field.

These two experiences are planned and supervised by the school and employers so that each contributes to the student’s education and to his socialisation and employability. Apart from the obvious educational merits of this system, the benefits of exposing students to the realities of a sometimes reasonably “open” work environment may serve to assist their adjustment to the “other” world of business.
This system of education has been formally adopted as the mode of education offered by technikons and has already proved greatly beneficial. Its emphasis is on preparing blacks for business. However, I believe that whites will also have to learn that they must adapt to the presence of black managers in business, even though there are at present very few black managers. Blacks resent the great sensitivity shown to white preferences. Business can increasingly make whites realise that their foolish prejudices can no longer be tolerated, and least of all be allowed to take precedence over the interests of the future South Africa.

South Africa can make genuine progress along the road of reform only if institutional segregation and the iniquity of discrimination based on irrelevant criteria of race, colour, creed and sex are struck off the statutes of our country. That is the responsibility of government. Leaders in academia and the professions must, however, urge that fundamental change occurs at a depth and speed that will convince all South Africans of the possibility of a peaceful and just society.

Now is the time for leaders of the various sectors in our society to nail their colours to the mast, by openly declaring their deepest commitment to moving along that road with calm yet resolute courage.

This must be done with such determination and speed that change in the so-called other leg of apartheid – the free-enterprise system – will be clearly perceived in the shortest possible time. Should this not occur, the business sector will equally deserve the criticism it has often laid before the door of government: “Too little too late.”

CSO: 3400/926
NATION'S LEADING AUTHORITY ANALYZES CONDITION OF BLACK EDUCATION

Johannesburg HUMAN RESOURCES in English 1985–86 pp 20–24

[Article by Ken Hartshorne]

[Text]

It must be apparent to any concerned observer, even from limited reports in the Press and other media, that black schooling in South Africa is in a state of crisis. After years of grave neglect, arising partly from a general lack of appreciation of its importance for the health of the "body politic", but more through the application of a narrow, racial ideology, black schooling is failing to meet both the needs and aspirations of the people it is supposed to serve, and the needs — social, political and economic — of South Africa as a whole.

The crisis is no new experience: it has been with us since World War 2. But it came to a head in Soweto on June 16 1976, and is now intensifying in 1985. Failure to bring about fundamental reform in education during those nine years, to bring black schools into the mainstream of South African education and out of their isolation, has brought South Africa to the point where school boycotts, burning of classrooms, violent protest and "pupil power" can happen at any time, anywhere, from the largest metropolitan sprawl to the smallest village.

What has happened to an education system in which, if 70 per cent of the pupils in a school are present, the situation is regarded and reported as "normal"; in which an environment conducive to teaching and learning is fast disappearing, particularly in urban areas? The creeping disintegration of the education system, particularly that part which falls under the Department of Education and Training, has such serious implications for the future of South Africa that it is difficult to understand the tardiness of the state in facing up to the fundamental issue, that of separation, compounded by discrimination and inferiority. What has led South Africa into this cul-de-sac?

The historical roots of segregated schooling were firmly in place by the end of the nineteenth century, and by 1910 the Director of Education in the Transvaal was able to report: "The principle of social segregation (that is, in the schools) is carried out and it is a principle that no one has challenged." However, it needs to be noted that as late as 1890 in the Cape there were still over 10 000 white children in the schools of the mission societies, many of which originally had conceived of their schools as being open to everyone. Pressure from the colonial authorities, the Boer republics, and the "settlers" was directed against what was termed the "academic" nature of mission schooling: it was felt that it needed to be more "useful" and should instruct black youth in the use of "the spade and the hoe, the plane and the saw, the mason's trowel and the plumb-line". This developed into policies of "special" education to meet the "specific" needs of black people, in relation to their "place" in society and what whites required of them; policies that could be implemented only in separate schooling systems.

Until 1953, however, the mission societies were able, under provincial control, to influence the character of education, particularly that given in their major secondary and teacher-training residential institutions such as Lovedale, Adams, Kilnerton and St Peter's. In retrospect, while there is much that might be criticised, for example that they could not avoid being elitist, there was in them a generosity of spirit, a quality of work and a commitment from their teachers that is only too often missing in present education systems.
With the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, under which control passed from the partnership of missions and provinces to central state authority, in a department which has remained closely linked to this day, not to the national education authority but to ministries concerned with separate black affairs, the tempering influence of the missions on segregated schooling was removed (except in the case of the Roman Catholic church which has maintained some of its schools on an entirely private basis, with no state funding). Not only was this influence removed, but the laissez-faire days of provincial management were replaced by the hard, inflexible, doctrinaire rule of the Verwoerdian "grand design" and ideological social engineering.

The government's intentions for education had already been spelt out in the 1949–51 Eiselen commission of enquiry:

A lower primary school (Sub A – Std 2) to provide a minimum of literacy for all children;
A higher primary school (Stds 3 – 6) which will serve not merely to continue the work of the lower primary school but will sort out the children most suited for further education and begin to guide them in appropriate directions;
A series of post-primary schools whose functions will vary but which will provide the types of educated Bantu necessary for the development of Bantu society. (My italics.)

This mythology of a separate "Bantu society", of a "Bantu economy" and of "Bantu social-economic development" would do most to hamper the progress of education during the next 30 years. Because, in the words of Dr Verwoerd in 1954, "there is no place for him (the black man) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour", secondary education was to be only for those who could be absorbed into Bantu society and "the Bantu economy". Secondary schools (especially those going up to Standard 10), trade schools and teacher-training colleges were to be developed only in the areas later to be called homelands, and not in urban areas. In the latter, education was to be offered only to the level and extent necessary for employment in unskilled and semi-skilled work in the so-called "white sector".

Because of this myth, "Bantu education" funding from general state revenue was pegged at R13 million, the theory being that all expansion was to be met by the Bantu General Tax. In practice this was soon exhausted and until 1972, when black education was at last financed from general revenue like any other government activity, it was for the most part financed through a loan account. In this period, 1953–72, the education system was starved of resources; it was not until 1974 that per capita expenditure (in "real" money terms) climbed back to what it had been in 1948.

The lowest point was reached in 1969, when 20 times as much was spent on each white pupil as on each black. When reasons are sought for the failure of black education, the full effects of which are being felt only now in 1985, the ideologically-based neglect of those years must stand at the top of the list.

In the specific field of primary education this neglect showed itself in a number of ways, particularly up to the mid-Seventies:

First, school buildings were inadequate in number, quality and equipment, particularly in rural areas. In urban areas schools were built by administration boards from loan funds, the interest and redemption on which were met by levies paid by township residents. Initially, only lower-primary schools could be built in this way; others had to be erected by the parents themselves, with very limited help from an inefficient rand-for-rand system of government support. When the formula was extended to include higher-primary schools, and later junior-secondary schools, it was inadequate to cope with the numbers of pupils seeking admission.

"DOUBLE SESSION" SYSTEM
Because of shortages of funds, classrooms and teachers, a whole generation of black children was subjected to the "double session" system. For at least the first two years of their schooling, pupils were given no more than three effective hours of class per day because each teacher had to cope with 100–120 pupils, divided into two groups. This system, introduced as an emergency measure in 1955, was still being used in 1980 when 71 524 pupils under the Department of Education and Training,
and 349 135 in the "national states", were in double-session classes. Despite the dedicated work of many black women teachers working under conditions that white teachers would just not have accepted, the weaknesses of these foundation years of schooling were to undermine the whole structure, right up to Standard 10.

Pupils who survived the first two years found themselves in over-large classes, with a 20 per cent chance of being taught by a professionally-qualified teacher or at best a "qualified" teacher with a Standard 8 academic background. Many still found themselves with shortened school days because one set of school buildings was being used for two separate schools, with the change-over taking place about midday – the so-called "platoon" system. Also introduced as an emergency measure in 1955, it still affected 160 000 pupils twenty-five years later. But for the fact that communities and parent bodies paid the salaries of many "private" teachers from their own pockets, the situation would have been even worse.

In 1969, the first year in which official annual reports provided such statistics, 5 599 teachers, about one in six of the total, were paid for in this way. Parents also carried most of the costs of school books and stationery; only from the late Seventies did the DET allocate substantial funds for this purpose.

The results of such neglect at primary-school level have perhaps shown themselves most clearly in the failure of the school to "hold" pupils. The problem of "drop-out", or wastage of human potential, while less severe than in earlier days is still a critical education issue, as the following table shows:

**Standard 2 pupils as percentage of those in**

|----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|

**Standard 5 pupils as percentage of those in**

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Put in another way, these indicators mean that by 1961, 160 000 of the pupils from the 1958 Sub A class had dropped out of school with less than four years of schooling (generally regarded as the absolute minimum for literacy). By 1983, while there had been some improvement in the percentage of "survivors" of the 1980 Sub A class, the number dropping out with less than four years of schooling had risen to 330 000.

This has been the fundamental failure of primary education: it has failed to provide millions of black people of working age (most estimates are in the region of 5-6 million) with the functional literacy, numeracy and life-skills on which further education and/or skills-training can be based. It has impoverished them and South Africa as a whole: a sound country, socially and economically, cannot be built on an education system from which, even now, half the school-leavers emerge with four years or less of schooling.

Earlier neglect of the secondary school system has had equally serious consequences. Three periods of developments in secondary education can be identified:

- **1955–65**: a stagnant period in which there was positive discouragement of expansion in this field. Following strict Verwoerdian doctrine, new secondary schools had to be built by communities themselves. Successful Standard 10 candidates increased from 465 to 1 145.

- **1965–75**: under pressure from urban communities there was a slow and somewhat unwilling expansion of junior-secondary facilities, while homelands began to use their limited freedom to expand facilities in the rural areas. Successful Standard 10 candidates grew to 6 720, but this represented well under two per cent of those in Sub A twelve years earlier.

- **1975 to the present**: a belated period of rapid expansion, both in the DET and the other black education departments. More funding has been available and the DET now has control of its own capital budget for school buildings. Successful Standard 10 candidates now represent about 5–6 of each cohort of 100 pupils who entered school twelve years earlier. In DET schools, however, there is still a loss by Standard 10 of about 70 per cent of pupils entering secondary school.

The tragedy is that, by the time this last phase got under way, previous neglect, together with the heavy hand of apartheid ideology, combined to negate many of the positive features of a rapidly-growing secondary system. In 1976 the black education systems were plunged into a crisis situation which has persisted up to the present.

The language-medium issue which precipitated the crisis was both symbolic and real: symbolic, in that it had to do with a white-establishment decision to protect and "push" Afrikaans, against the strong
desire of all shades of black opinion to use only English, at least from Standard 3; real, in that, as black teachers’ associations and others had kept pointing out for 20 years, it was educationally indefensible to expect black pupils to use two languages as media of instruction, neither of which was their first language. Adult groups had not succeeded in bringing about change; “pupil power” succeeded in the space of three to four weeks.

The language issue was, however, but the tip of the iceberg. The student protest marked the end of patience, the end of any further toleration of an inferior education system based upon ideologies of segregation, isolation and discrimination. It must therefore be seen in the context of issues of housing, transport, work opportunities, citizenship and general discriminatory laws.

Black high school pupils do not live in a vacuum, but are immersed in the affairs of their communities; they are intelligent and old enough (in 1976 the average age in Standard 10 was 19-plus) to realise they are not getting a fair deal either in school or in society outside the school. In 1976 they were saying that they wanted a good education – as good as their white compatriots. Because there is a strong feeling that all is not well with the quality of their schooling, they have tended since 1976 to take out their frustrations on their teachers.

They have reason to be concerned: Standard 10 pupils represent the 10 out of 100 who “survive” the system, and of that 10, five will fail, four will gain a senior certificate and only one will gain matriculation exemption, the minimum qualification for entering university. Standards in key subjects such as English (the medium of instruction), mathematics, physical science, biology and history have all deteriorated in the past six to seven years, as evidenced in the steady fall in median marks at both Standard 8 and 10 levels. In 1983 only 225 successful matriculation candidates had aggregate symbols of C (60 per cent or better).

Within an endemicely unsettled situation in the high schools, principals and teachers are having to bear the brunt of pupil protest, though many of the factors behind it are beyond their control. In 1983 (excluding TBVC territories) 13 per cent of secondary school teachers were professionally unqualified; 16 per cent did not have the minimum academic qualification of senior certificate; of those with senior certificate only half had been trained to teach in the secondary school; and there were only 1,634 graduate teachers (8 per cent) to serve 1,257 secondary schools.

Half of all secondary teachers are 29 years and younger, were themselves at school in the protest years 1976–80 and identify strongly with the aspirations of their pupils. Inexperienced, underqualified, under pressure from parents, pupils and the departments they work for, teachers are under siege. It is understandable that they should resort to “survival” teaching in which they avoid questions and discussions and are excessively dependent upon a single, prescribed textbook. They find themselves in, and dependent for their livelihood upon, a system in which they (together with pupils and parents) do not believe.

Even these few indicators should be sufficient to give some understanding of the present crisis in black education and perhaps to arouse some surprise that it was so long in coming to a head – that “the chickens took so long to come home to roost”. Not only has the state failed to meet its own limited objectives (it has not even been able to produce the qualified teachers necessary to run the system with a medium of efficiency) and aroused intense opposition and resentment; it has also failed to develop a system of education which is acceptable to the pupils, teachers, parents and community it was intended to serve.

It has failed to meet their needs and aspirations, and to prepare pupils adequately for the world in which they have to live, now and in the future, at work and in society.

There has been failure both in understanding of the real nature of the crisis and in political will to direct sufficient resources of human intelligence and state funding towards its solution. There has been a lack of flexibility, openness and imagination, together with an attachment to outdated policy, that is in grave danger of damaging South Africa irreparably.

Now that “reform”, with all the varying meanings attached to this concept, is a matter of public debate, and even National Party documents are rejecting some of the hard-line, Verwoerdian apartheid shibboleths, it is important to understand that, important as increased state funding is, solutions to the education crisis are not to be found by merely throwing more money at the problem without any reconsideration of the basic policies and ideologies on which the state system of schooling rests. There has to be full recognition of the “political” nature of education, and of the way it has been used in South Africa as an instrument of government policy and control, to reinforce the ideology of apartheid.
A major "depoliticisation" of schooling systems is only possible when they have the acceptance of the largest possible number of "users" of the systems (learners, teachers, parents, and so on). That, in turn, will come about only when the users participate in decisions made about educational matters; indeed, broadly accept the view of man and society that informs the ideology on which the education systems are based.

As a beginning, the government should seriously reconsider its response to the recommendations of the HSRC (the De Lange) committee of investigation into education of 1980-81, particularly those concerned with the structure and management of the education system. The essentials, which require unqualified acceptance and determined implementation if disaster is to be averted, are:

☐ The establishment of a single ministry of education (not five, as at present) at national (first) level, working with a single South African Council of Education so that all education policy and financing is lifted out of the "ethnic", "population group" context. This ministry would not operate schools directly (though it would be the channel for all tertiary education, including colleges of education), but would establish all policy guidelines, allocate funds and monitor the progress of the implementation of equality in the provision and standards of education.

☐ Executive education departments would operate at regional (second) level and would be responsible for all pre-primary and secondary schooling in a defined area. This would necessitate the dismantling, for example, of the existing provincial education departments and the Department of Education and Training, and the setting up of more compact, non-ethnic regional units.

☐ A more open, flexible approach to the provision of schooling. Parents should be able to seek out, from among the options available, the kind of school suited to their needs, traditions and perceptions of the future. Within these options, the non-racial school would receive the same state support as the closed, traditional school and both would operate under the same regional education authority. There would also be an important place for the private school with subsidy from the state. It could offer options not easily made available in other "regional authority" schools.

While these structural changes are being implemented, there are interim steps that should be taken with the greatest possible expedition in order to improve the climate in which further negotiation could take place. Firstly, it is crucial to get the South African Council for Education (established in the 1984 legislation) off the ground so that there is a high-level forum for debate, limited as this may well be; and to extend and strengthen the functions of the existing (general affairs) Department of National Education. Secondly, there should be a determined policy of devolving authority to the seven existing regional organisations of the DET. Much more is meant by this than mere decentralisation of administration; it should include a representative regional council with which the regional director would have to consult and negotiate.

Thirdly, the DET should follow an active policy of black advancement at both regional and head-office levels. If the "white image" of the DET were broken, and black educationists seen to be influencing policy and decision-making, a more positive environment would result. Lastly, there needs to be a determined attempt to change the management style of DET administrators at all levels. What is needed is, among other things, a more open attitude to teachers' associations, parental wishes, the active participation of private agencies in schooling programmes and the contracting out to private interests of as many educational tasks as possible.

TEACHERS NEED MORE SUPPORT
A crucial factor in educational reform is the education and training of the teacher. Present training systems are not producing sufficiently; in recent years the number of unqualified teachers has increased, yet compulsory education and smaller classes will necessitate an even greater supply of teachers. The country cannot afford to allow expensive facilities at white colleges of education to remain under-utilised.

Black colleges of education, now being upgraded from training "schools", need to be affiliated to universities and receive support from them in order to improve the quality of teacher training. One particular aspect that requires urgent attention is the student teacher's capacity to use English effectively as a medium of instruction.

Teachers in service, three-quarters of whom are not adequately qualified, require much more support than they are getting in order to strengthen both their academic and professional competence. The differences in qualifications between black and white teachers should not be used by government as a rationale for the continuing disparity in per-pupil expenditure (still running at about 1:8). Additional money that would have to be spent on black
teachers' salaries, if qualification differences did not exist, should be allocated to in-service teacher upgrading, study bursaries, and so on.

Finally, if teachers are to regain confidence and commitment, education departments must stop regarding them as "employees" whose lives they own, and recognise them as professionals with a right to participate in decisions affecting the educational process in schools in which they work.

There are also specific issues within schools which should receive even more determined attention than at present. In the primary school, for example, the following initiatives could be explored:

- The maximum size of a class should be 40 pupils, making it possible for the teacher to introduce participatory, group-learning methods which are crucial to the success of basic literacy and numeracy programmes.

- English should be taken much more seriously in the first four years of the primary school. It is not just another subject, but the language of communication, instruction and learning that the pupil will be dependent upon from the fifth year of schooling. Syllabuses and methods are in need of urgent revision and much could be learnt from the work of the Molteno Project at Rhodes University and the Elementary Upgrading Programme in Bophuthatswana.

- Given the problems surrounding mathematics in black education, the foundations of numeracy are of critical importance. Projects such as the computer-assisted arithmetic project in Soweto have pointed to the urgent need for close support for teachers through regular in-service workshops and the production of teaching materials that can be used for remedial work.

- In Standards 3 to 5 there are three major issues that warrant attention: the competency of the teachers to use English as the medium of instruction; the level of English used in textbooks; and the need to make increasing use of "specialist" rather than "class" teachers.

At the secondary-school level – assuming that departments will continue to improve buildings and facilities such as libraries, laboratories and workshops and bring class sizes down to about 35 – attention needs to be given to the following issues:

The high-school teacher, under siege for reasons already discussed, needs regular and readily available support from advisers who are seen not as part of the hierarchy of control but as professionals able to help him. The best structure for this is probably a teachers' resource centre, in the management of which local teachers and principals have a major stake, together with the department concerned and private-sector agencies. This is a specific area which could be contracted out to private initiative, including universities.

It is high time that the DET departed from its outmoded policy of insisting that in schools where white teachers are employed there must be a white principal. A radical change in this policy would have two effects: young white teachers could be brought in to work under experienced black principals who understood the needs and aspirations of parents and pupils, and black teachers would not feel threatened by the old policy, which had suggested a preference for white teachers in promotion posts.

Working together with teachers, departments need to make an even more determined effort to change the style of the secondary school from rote-learning to problem-solving, and to encourage the active participation of pupils in the learning process through "hands-on" experience in the laboratory and workshop, questioning and discussion. Modern educational technology (television, radio, video, computers) has its place in this process.

Linked to the above is the need for a hard look at the "South African matric syndrome". Apart from its doubtful validity as a university-entrance examination, the senior certificate/matriculation examination has exercised an undue influence on the education of those pupils – and they comprise the great majority – who do not proceed to university. It is of questionable relevance to their needs; for black pupils in particular there is little of "African experience" in the syllabuses for, say, history or English. This is not a plea for "utilitarian" education but for education that is, relevant to the social and economic needs and aspirations of secondary-school pupils.

These educational reforms will not, however, be possible – or, if possible, will not have the positive effects intended – if the climate in which education now resides does not change fundamentally, so that there is a basis of trust, in, and acceptance of, any envisaged reforms programme. Schooling has to be seen to be of value and to offer opportunity, not only in terms of economic benefit, but also in terms of human dignity and worth. It cannot be divorced from the society it reflects, nor from the aspirations of black South Africans to participate fully in that society and to share democratically in the decisions affecting the way in which their country is governed and the direction in which it is moving.
It is no accident that schools are in the vortex of the turmoil, nor that young people are in the vanguard of protest. They have most to lose if radical change does not take place, most to gain if it does. They are frustrated and angry and therefore often impatient, irrational and violent. Although violence is not the answer, it will unfortunately continue until, at the highest level of government, significant moves are made to bring black education in from the cold, into the mainstream of educational development, in common regional education authorities within a single, unified system. Equality must not be sought in separation, but in shared decision-making processes and structures in education and in society.

The fundamental decision for the state is whether its policies and actions are to be determined by past ideology – or by the vision of a new South Africa.

CSO: 3400/926
Against: Farouk Meer

"But who in South Africa can claim to enjoy these rights when our leaders are facing treason trials? When many are held in solitary confinement for long periods? When our organisations face unrelenting state propaganda which seeks to destroy us? When our community activists are murdered in the most vicious manner? When men, women and children are riddled with birdshot and R1 rifle bullets? When UDF supporters disappear in increasing numbers without trace?

"The essential question is not the right of association but rather the political basis of the association," he said.

He said association itself was "meaningless". What was important was whether association with the PFP promoted the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa or not.

"Furthermore, the central problem in our troubled country is not one of breaking racial barriers but breaking apartheid."

He said the Congress had in the Freedom Charter a clear political programme against which to judge changes currently taking place in South Africa. The National Party and the PFP failed to meet important criteria in the charter, namely the demands for a unitary South Africa and participation of all people in one parliament.

"It is against this background, and the respective strategies of the democratic movement and the ruling groups, that the PFP must be judged," he said.

He said the approach of the Congress and its allies could be summarised into four points:

- They were not prepared to tolerate apartheid. Apartheid had to be dismantled.
- They do not believe in the Government's "so-called good intentions".
- They were not willing to participate in apartheid structures. "Even critical participation (a euphemism used by Solidarity for collaboration) is unacceptable. The majority of our people are saying that participation in the tricameral system amounts to collusion with apartheid."
- The majority of black people had deliberately chosen to struggle against apartheid through extra-parliamentary organisations. "They have developed their own community, political, worker and student organisations which enjoy massive support. Through these organisations intense mobilisation in opposition to apartheid is taking place."
On the other hand, he said, the Government and its allies both in and outside South Africa were attempting to:

- Consolidate white control and domination (for example with the scrapping of the "dispensable" aspects of apartheid such as the Mixed Marriages Act and Improper Political Interference Act).
- Enhance the credibility of the tricameral parliament; black local authorities and the Regional Services Council. "Their analysis has been that the politically bankrupt Hendrickse, Rajbansi and their ilk cannot do this — but possibly the PFP could."
- Further sharpen misrepresentations of the UDF, NAC and their allies as violent organisations.
- Obscure the "real culprits" of the social, political and economic disorder prevailing in South Africa and lay the basis for a continued denial of basic human rights to the majority.

"The PFP as indeed any other group, can choose to promote either cause: That of the majority of South Africans or that of the minority."

"The PFP intends to continue its presence in Parliament. It seeks to establish alliances with the likes of Solidarity. It has not sought any understanding or working relationship with extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF. It opposes sports boycotts, disinvestments, and the anti-conscription campaign."

"Any recruitment of black persons (Indian, coloured or African) into the PFP in these circumstances implies mobilisation of support for a political strategy and objectives patently against the interests of the black majority."

Further, he said, the PFP would be:

- Mobilising support for a policy opposed to a unitary South Africa governed by all its people through one parliament;

- Abrogating to itself the right to decide on the means of struggle of the people and counter to their expressed wishes;
- Asking black communities to support participation in the already discredited tricameral parliaments;
- Working against the growing unity developed in democratic, extra-parliamentary organisations;
- Assisting the state in dismembering the UDF and its affiliates.

"It is for these reasons that we ask the PFP not to intervene in our communities," he said.

For: Ray Swart

Durban POST NATAL in English 31 Jul-3 Aug 85 p 12

[Article by Bobby Harrypersadh]

[Text]

IT WAS totally logical that with the repeal of the Political Interference Act, the Progressive Federal Party should seek members and support from all sections of the South African population, says Mr Ray Swart, Natal Leader of the PFP.

Mr Swart said when the old Progressive Party was formed in 1959 they were a non-racial party and operated as such until the law forced them to become an all-white Party.

"However, after a few years of watching Helen Suzman's gallant performance in Parliament in the early 1960s when she established her great reputation as a fighter for civil liberties and an opponent of racism, there was a change in attitude."

Then, Mr Swart said, influential members of the coloured community came to the party and in effect said: "As much as we loathe separate representation (that is, being represented on a sepa-
rate roll by whites), if we can be represented by whites of the calibre of Helen Sузman who can oppose the system and genuinely speak out on behalf of the coloured community based on the principles of the Progressive Party, we will consider participating in the elections for the 'coloured' seats.

"It will certainly be better than having people who purport to represent us, who in fact are merely enjoying the fruits of office while having no real feeling for the problems and aspirations of the people they represent."

Mr Swart said: "Our response to that was: 'Yes, while we too loathe the system, we will put up candidates of calibre and enter the elections for the 'coloured' seats, provided the community shows interest by registering as voters."

"We were concerned to maintain our credibility and were not interested in token representation based on a voters' roll which was unrepresentative."

"The result of this is now history. There was an impressive response to our appeal. The coloured people came forward and registered in their thousands as voters. The first test came when the elections for the two representatives in the Cape Provincial Council took place."

"The Progressive Party put up Dr Oscar Wolheim and Mr W van Heerden as official candidates. Both won their seats handsomely, and served with distinction representing the coloured community until the system of separate representation was later abolished."

"In the meantime, we had been preparing to contest the four Parliamentary seats when those elections were held, and there is no doubt we would have met with similar success."

"But the spectre of having another four Helen Suzmans in Parliament was too much for the Nats in the late 80s, and they thereafter eventually abolished the system of separate representation and introduced the Political Interference Act."

"So, it is only logical that the PFP, as successor to the old Progressive Party, should now revert to being a non-racial party. Conflict and confrontation can only be avoided in South Africa by negotiation and the PFP is determined to play a major role in the politics of negotiation in this country."

"But we believe we can only do so effectively if we are a broadly based party representing all sections of the community," he said.

Asked whether the PFP anticipated difficulties in their new 'operation outreach' for members and support across the colour line, Mr Swart replied: "Sure there will be difficulties, but we are used to difficulties."

"It has, after all, certainly not been easy to persuade a traditionally conservative white electorate to give increasing support and strength to the PFP policies and principles over the years, but today, we are the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly.

"I have no doubt that in our present campaign we will be sniped at froth both the left and the right, but we can take it. We are, after all, appealing to the great middle mass of the South African population who seek peaceful changes, and we have to work within the system to bring that about."

"Those who refuse to work within the system or who seek revolutionary change won't like us. Nor will those who hold the antiquated view that peoples' participation in politics should be strictly confined to separate racial compartments. So be it," he said.

Asked whether the PFP will eventually participate in elections for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives, Mr Swart said: "It is a decision which our National Congress will have to take when it meets in Durban on August 30. In the meantime, we are determined to broaden our base, and to increase our contact with all South Africans."

"Would the PFP consider a merger with any political party?"

"There is no question of merging with any other political parties or movement, but we will of course co-operate with all who share our commitment to seek meaningful and peaceful change in South Africa."
CONFLICTING VIEWS ON DISINVESTMENT PRESENTED

Durban POST NATAL in English 24-27 Jul 85 p 18

[Interview with Ismail Omar, Solidarity representative on the President's Council, and Saths Cooper, convener of the National Forum Committee, by Kanthan Pillay]

[Text]

A popular argument is that disinvestment will lead to large-scale unemployment in this country. What is the real situation? How many people would really be affected?

OMAR: If there is disinvestment, I think the livelihoods of a million people will be affected. Such a move would have a far-reaching effect, the influence spilling over to our surrounding foreign workers — and I am not referring to the homelands: we are talking of countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, and even Angola. We are economically so intertwined that it is difficult to separate the region from its peoples. That is why you find countries like Swaziland or Lesotho opposing disinvestment in southern Africa and in South Africa per se.

There are 360 American companies actively involved in South Africa. Research has shown that if all American companies were to disinvest entirely, it would not affect our gross national product by more than two percent. This is significant from a socio-economic point of view, but certainly not enough to bring a downfall of the Government or to make a serious indentation on attitudes of the Government.

Even if there is a total success of the American Government's disinvesting, I can't see it achieving the desired objective.

COOPER: As far as unemployment is concerned, the American investment figures are very small: only something like slightly more than 70,000 are employed by American companies.

If disinvestment were to take root for all foreign investment with the Far East, America and Europe combined, the actual employment figures would be under two million. If we also look at it not only in terms of employment, but also in terms of under-employment where people are being employed in areas where they are wasting their time and skills and are just merely working for survival, we would have a figure of just over two million people affected.

The investment from foreign investors is very capital intensive and not labour intensive. This country will need to create at least a quarter of a million jobs a year to cater for its growing population that needs employment, whereas it cannot meet even half that figure at the present rate.

You'll find that if you compare statistics in the Ciskei and other rural areas the cost of creating new jobs there is much higher than in the metropolitan areas because of the poor infrastructure and other related factors.

So if investors leave there will be an increase in unemployment, but I think the important factor here is that since already there is a huge unemployment figure of around two million at present and increasing, this is not going to greatly affect black people because black people are already suffering.

Another argument raised is that sanctions and disinvestment — if successful — will result in neighbouring countries being hurt. That argument can easily be countered, and overcome, by making the Southern
African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries more viable. (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.) They have, after all, formed themselves into an economic conglomerate and the US, Britain and other EEC countries can easily pump more money into the SADCC than they are doing. They obviously don't want SADCC countries to become totally economically independent on South Africa and hence the West.

Q: What about the argument that if disinvestment does come about, it will force the South African Government to step up production at a local level of technology that comes from outside, thereby creating employment?

OMAR: If that proposition was correct, then no country would allow foreign investment - they would try to use their own capital to develop. It is standard practice for developing countries to seek foreign capital. If we had reached the stage where we could do without them, we would be nudging foreign companies out. I don't think South Africa has reached the stage we can do without them.

COOPER: If investors pull out there would be immediately a job slump and underemployment increase. But in the long term it will even out and force the South African Government to make major concessions and make real concessions, and that means real change and not reform. That is what the Government is afraid of, and the Government is particularly afraid that apartheid policies won't be maintainable because it won't be getting loans from overseas sources.

Q: Overseas companies have made out a case for self-imposed guidelines such as the Sullivan and EEC codes. How effective are they? Would enforcing these guidelines improve or worsen the situation?

OMAR: Since the introduction of the Sullivan Code American companies have invested R70 million in implementing it. One can argue that if the code didn't exist, that R70 million would not have been spent, so obviously it has had its effect.

Another effect is that some South African companies have accepted the code. Here you have a strategy that is catching on. In the past four years, black wages by American companies have increased by over 20 percent. The concept of pensions and medical aid has been introduced by the majority of American companies for their employees.

American companies are involving themselves in housing. So it's only a matter of time before South African companies follow.

The question of whether the code should be enforced can be answered by looking at an analogous situation: morality itself is a code. To what extent can you succeed in enforcing morality? One has to strike a fine balance between the principles of profit and self-interest on the one hand and the principles of pressure on the other.

COOPER: The Sullivan and EEC codes were basically responses to the disinvestment calls of the 70s. The Reverend Leon Sullivan (who drew up the code) was not interested in improving the lot of black people; he was more interested in saving American investment in this country and preventing disinvestment.

So the codes of conduct from both Sullivan and the EEC were not interested in improving the lot of black people but were interested in preventing disinvestment becoming a major issue - which in the mid-80s it has now become.

Very few companies keep to the Sullivan or EEC codes, and even if they did, the call is almost a decade too late; keeping to those codes now is almost going to be useless. So the codes are almost archaic in the present situation.

Q: Why do Western governments claim in the South African situation that sanctions are not an effective form of pressure, but are willing to apply such measures when bringing pressure to bear on other countries? The Americans, for example, apply trade, investment, and technological embargoes on Cuba, the Soviet Union, and South American countries.

OMAR: I would love to ask this of President Ronald Reagan himself. I would be dishonest if I said Americans don't display double standards. The (Henry) Kissinger/Ian Smith situation was a classic example of how far Americans go when their interests are served, and how they drop the problem area when it is no longer in their self-interest.

When the solution to the disinvestment question is finally arrived at, it may not be a South African solution, but an American solution to a problem that may primarily be an American problem. And if the American problem is solved, we will be left dangling in mid-air. I think most countries act out of self-interest, and the Americans are no different.
COOPER: Western countries have shown a remarkable double standard — especially when it comes to South Africa, especially when it comes to vetoing real sanctions against this country using the same argument the South African Government is using, whereas there are basic reasons why they have supported this.

One is that American, European, and Far Eastern investment in this country being capital intensive and employing cheap labour as it does, has a very high return; so these governments are more interested in the returns they get.

Second, there is the sphere of influence; the Western governments are interested in keeping South Africa in the Western camp rather than seeing this country becoming more and more part of the Soviet or Eastern bloc sphere of influence. It's a power game — they are not interested in the people of South Africa.

Third, there is the important reason that there are certain very economically important minerals that this country can provide. An important factor to bear in mind with all these three considerations is that it is cheap black labour that is getting exploited. And if Sullivan and the EEC and the various other codes were true to their word and kept a standard that was equitable to their own countries, then of course their investment would be very expensive in this country. Then they would have to pay much more than they are paying right now.

OMAR: Detention without trial, political action on the local scene, its reaction to situations like what it perceives to be threats on our borders — certainly these add fuel to the fires of disinvestment.

COOPER: Of course it's quite patent that the South African Government is doing more for disinvestment than anyone else.

Q: Is there a real alternative to disinvestment for extra-parliamentary pressure groups?

OMAR: The system is unjust. We have common cause with just about every group except the fringes on the right that there is inequality.

How do we go about bringing change to that order? Since the birth of the ANC in 1912, various attempts have been made, some violent, to change the existing order, and in a large measure have failed. I don't believe that extra-parliamentary activity is the answer. If I did, it would be contradicting my stand on the President's Council. I believe in negotiation politics.

There are only two options: the violent option and the peaceful option. The violent option is the shorter method, perhaps more expedient to one school of thought. I don't believe it is a valid option. The peaceful option is obviously more difficult and may take a little longer, but I believe it is the only way out.

COOPER: I've already touched on the fact that by acting against persons who support such moral pressures, the South African Government is actually saying "there is no alternative but violence if you want to oppose us".

It is clearly saying to political activists: "Don't involve yourself in the disinvestment lobby which is a peaceful, moral, political campaign; involve yourself in violence against us, because we are only prepared for violence as a real opposition to our policies."

And if that is what the South African Government is saying to the Desmond Tutus of this world in their calls to outside sources to put more pressure, then it is saying: "Engage in violence."
PROBLEMS OF NATAL PROVINCE ADDRESSED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 Aug 85 p 8

[Commentary]

[Text]

WE FIND the almost cavalier manner in which certain leaders in Natal think that province's problems will disappear if they went unilaterally independent from the rest of South Africa, most unprofessional.

While it was useful for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his think team to try all sorts of solutions, and various commissions that have been presented as alternatives, the truth is the problems of Natal are intricately intermeshed with the problems of the rest of the country.

But worse than that, Natal and in particular places like Durban is plagued with a tribal problem of great seriousness.

For reasons that cannot be ignored the black (Africans) who attack other blacks (Indians), have been doing this as soon as their frustrations come to the boil. The lesson, we believe is that the problems of blacks in Natal are not any different from the problems of blacks in other parts of the country.

Unhappily too, Indians are in a class that is higher financially than the average African's. So in times of turmoil the obvious thing happens - the have-nots take out their ire on the haves. What is even more disconcerting about the situation in Natal is the type of respectable mantle that white right-wingers are placing over Chief Buthelezi. Certain conservative organs are singing his praises all the time, particularly because he has joined the investment-disinvestment campaign in such an aggressively public fashion.

We do not know about Chief Buthelezi, but as far as we are concerned the type of praises showered on him from these quarters are like the kiss of death.

There must have been lot of work and thought put into the Buthelezi Commission and others that have been framed to sort out the problems in Natal. But with the greatest respect we fear this division of the country is playing straight into the hands of advocates of apartheid or the separation of races.

The unhappy situation wherein Indians have to be targets of violence whenever it raises its ugly head in Natal, needs to be stopped. But we know these things are much easier said than done. What we believe could stop this inter-race madness, is for people to know and understand that we are all one in this whole country.

From its Inkatha to the various other manoeuvres at making Natal a separate province, independent from the rest of the country, Chief Buthelezi and his men have given the monster of apartheid credibility. As long as there are these divisions, even in the minds of leaders, so will the people who are led, think and behave.

The people of Natal must be taught there are no Zulus, no Indians, in fact even the difference between black and white should become individual choice, not a matter of national or provincial policy. That way lies inter-race fights, inter-tribal feuds and all the other problems we have suffered in this country for years.
WITS UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR URGES REFORM

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Aug 85 p 4

SOUTH Africa has been ruled by emergency powers for 25 years and only reform and not increased repression can restore peace and stability, a leading academic said this week.

Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University, was addressing a packed public protest meeting over the state of emergency at the Central Methodist Hall in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

The emergency regulations came under heavy criticism from three other speakers at the gathering. They were Mrs Molly Blackburn, Progressive Federal Party MP for Walmer, Mr Diliza Matshebula, a field worker of the South African Council of Churches and Father Smangaliso Mkhathwa, general secretary of the Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Suppress

Prof Dugard said the Government had invoked the state of emergency to suppress human rights and conceal its own political failures.

Mrs Blackburn told the audience that the majority of whites were hopeful that the security forces will restore normal life in the townships. However, the attitude of blacks to the emergency was that of disgust, anger and resignation.

There was silence in the hall when Mrs Blackburn described events in the Eastern Cape which she said read like a "cheap horror story".

Attack

President Ronald Reagan and other homeland leaders came under attack for their recent statements concerning the situation in the country. Father Mkhathwa said Mr Reagan's statements were irresponsible and showed arrogance of the worst kind.

Mr Matshebula said the State President, Mr Botha, has now given himself the role of dictating to the Church how it had to conduct itself. He said ministers of religion were now severely restricted in their performance of funeral rites for unrest victims.

He warned that there would always be a crisis as long as whites continued to talk to black "leaders" of their choice.
LABOR EXPERTS SPELL OUT STEPS GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE IN NEGOTIATION PROCESS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by David Breier]

[Text] THE South African Government should talk to the African National Congress even if the ANC supports violence. President P W Botha has made a crucial error in saying he will only talk to the ANC if it renounces violence as a political means.

This is one of the many hard lessons learnt by an industrial relations manager in South Africa's new era of 'labour' relations which could be applied to the country's political future.

There is a growing school of thought that believes the Government can learn lessons in political negotiation from the field of collective bargaining in the industrial relations field.

An industrial relations manager with political experience has drawn up a list of lessons learnt after five years of hard negotiating between management and some of South Africa's toughest black trade unions.

Lesson Number One is that both sides in a negotiation must have power. If only one side has power, then you do not have negotiation. You have consultation.

The only power wielded by trade unions is their power to strike. If management insists trade unions renounce their right to strike before bargaining, then they can kiss goodbye to negotiation.

In the political sphere, the only power wielded by the ANC is its use of violence. If the ANC renounces violence then it has no power and cannot negotiate meaningfully.

However, it is reasonable for the Government to insist on a ceasefire before negotiations take place, just as management can insist that strikers go back to work to cool the air before negotiations. But the basic right to strike is still recognised. And the ANC's basic use of violence must be recognised.

But Professor Nic Wiehahn, the father of South Africa's new labour era, points out that both sides in collective bargaining must have good faith.

For example, a trade union which really wants to take over the company, is not bargaining in good faith. Similarly, if the ANC really wants to take over the country and impose a communist system, it would not be bargaining in good faith, he said.

Professor Wiehahn said both sides must state an agenda. In labour relations the management agenda could include anything except handing over the company to the union. And in the political sphere the Government agenda could include anything except giving up its power.

He said Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had shown that he could bargain in good faith.

A trade union had to be representative and Chief Buthelezi had a large constituency, he said. However someone like Bishop Desmond Tutu had a big overseas constituency, but not a local one. He could, therefore, not bargain effectively.

Professor Wiehahn believes our politicians could learn some other lessons from the industrial relations field.

Firstly they should know the other party very well and what makes him tick.
They should show a consistent willingness to negotiate and to steer away from conflict. They should never humiliate or insult the other side or indulge in any form of "overkill".

They should make a very careful analysis of their opponents' demands and how to interpret them.

They should be prepared to have trade-offs and say: "We win some, we lose some".

Professor Viehahn believes our politicians could also learn bargaining techniques used by the Eastern bloc.

One was the "eventuality approach". If you keep hammering a point you could eventually win it.

Another was to have a superior base and ensure the climate and circumstances of negotiation favour you.

The Russians illustrate this with the story of the hunter who meets the bear in a forest. The hunter wants a fur coat, the bear wants a meal. The bear suggests negotiations take place in his cave. So the bear gets his meal and the hunter ends up snugly inside a fur coat.

Another vital lesson for South Africa is that you must never lose the initiative. South Africans are always inclined to react to circumstances instead of taking the initiative.

The industrial relations manager, who prefers to remain anonymous and who drew up a list of lessons for our politicians, makes these further points:

It's a waste of time to negotiate with unrepresentative unions and therefore with unrepresentative political groups. But some small craft unions do wield clout and so do some smaller parties representing minorities.

Where you have two rival unions you have problems as each tries to be more militant than the other.

Similarly South Africa will have problems as the UDF/ANC and Azapo/PAC try to outdo each other. In these circumstances it is tempting for management to use "divide-and-rule" tactics just as the Government has tried to set Azapo against the UDF.

But in the long run this tactic will fail as two divided unions are less flexible than one united union. It is far easier to bargain with a united union or a united opposition.

If the Government cannot talk to the ANC directly, it should use surrogates or "honest brokers" as mediators.

This has worked well in the initial stages of negotiating with militant unions. According to reports, the Government may already be using this approach with the UDF and ANC.

Politicians should remember negotiation is a slow process at many levels. The incremental process of change over years creates a better atmosphere in the workplace and in the country as a whole.

Negotiate from a position of power, don't wait like Ian Smith to negotiate when you have already lost.

A good industrial relations man can put himself in his workers' shoes. A good Government political negotiator must perceive what it is like to be black.

Amateurs hammer the table and talk about principles. They also get nowhere. Remember in bargaining that there is no right or wrong. Only what is possible.

Change can lead to higher expectations of more change. But collective bargaining also leads to a degree of realism by unions.

For example there are fewer wage demands by such unions in the current recession despite inflation.

Political negotiation can also lead to greater realism by militant groups. Militant unions have shown they appreciate logical arguments, for example if a factory needs to retrench because it is running at a loss.

But management must also be prepared to accept logical arguments from the unions. At the early stage of negotiations, new mass unions have to keep referring back to their membership for a mandate.

So negotiation can be painfully slow. But don't be in a hurry in political negotiations either. Never be put off by extreme "up-front" demands. Unions always demand more than they are prepared to compromise on.

The ANC might demand black domination — but they could compromise. Never say anything is non-negotiable. Even if it is unpalatable, it must be discussed.
THINK TANK FORMED TO DISCOVER ALTERNATIVES

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by John MacLennan]

EXPERTS in many different fields are to form a newly-political “think tank” to examine alternatives to South Africa’s problems and then reach decisions on the right actions to take.

This is the role of the University of Cape Town’s newly created Institute for the Study of Public Policy.

It is modelled on similar bodies abroad which provide their government of the day with scientifically researched political programmes and the critically evaluated information which is needed to take correct action.

UCT’s Professor Robert Schrire, who will head the project, says: “I don’t think it is too late to talk.”

Professor Schrire is scathing when questioned on the quality of decisions which are still being made here. “If one had to devise a system which is guaranteed to produce poor decisions one could not do better than the present one.”

Reasons for this, he says, are secrecy which prevents intelligent public discussion, a caucus dominated by President Botha, the failure to analyse policy critically, a less-than-free Press and a Government whose intellectual muscles have grown flabby after so many years of being in power substantially without challenge.

The institute will depend on public funds and has also applied to the Human Sciences Research Council for a grant. Various US multinational companies which operate here have already pledged their financial support.

Professor Schrire feels that “part of the problem is that one is very dependent on President Botha getting the relevant information. At the moment, in terms of the unrest, it is quite clear that he is being selectively briefed.

“He is listening to a limited number of advisers and is not getting a balanced flow of information and is therefore tending to take a narrow approach to the problem.”

A team assigned to any project will first try to obtain consensus based on a wide range of informed views, then subject these findings to rigorous scrutiny through workshops.

This sort of crisis management is not unique in the business community. The novelty of the institute lies in the fact that it is applying the same principles to public policy.

The institute will not take any party line and special efforts will be made to obtain black co-operation and the institute hopes to involve organisations such as the UDF, Fosatu, civic associations and trade unions. “We would even be prepared to have somebody who identified with the ANC position on South Africa… an institute that reflects within the status quo has limited relevance.”

Professor Schrire believes the institute will make it possible to predict challenges which will face us during the next 20 years and incorporate the interests and perceptions of blacks in formulating broad goals.

Its initial project on what Professor Schrire terms “critical choices” has four categories:

- An analysis of economic and political values;
- An examination of change factors, both domestic and foreign, which will severely test this status quo, and an examination of factors causing resistance to change;
- Determining the fundamental issues in politics and the economy which will require critical choices;
- Providing analysis and recommendation on the policy options which will demand decision and action from policy-makers — in both private and public sectors.

Says Professor Schrire: “The institute is based on the assumption that it is both possible and fruitful to debate options and alternatives among a large number of South Africans.”
BIGGEST EXODUS FROM NATION SINCE 1960 LOOMS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Caroline Hurry]

[Text]

FOREIGN embassies in South Africa are handling the largest flood of passport and emigration applications since Sharpeville.

Most have come from residents alarmed by the unrest and the State of Emergency.

"There has been a steady increase in inquiries and people applying for British passports," said British Consul Mr J Dove.

"Although I would not yet describe the situation as a panic exodus, more and more people are getting their house in order and preparing themselves for the worst."

Australian Embassy staff have been deluged with inquiries about emigration. It has issued a list of occupations, from pastry cooks to sub-editors, in which job vacancies are available.

A staff member said the backlog of applications from South African residents who had been offered jobs in Australia could take several months to be processed.

Mr Lawrence Sweeney, an Irish property dealer who recently placed an advertisement in The Star offering passports and information on emigration to the UK, has had more than 150 calls in four days.

"Although people from all walks of life are wanting to leave South Africa, the majority are professional people or wealthy citizens.

"There are always ways and means of emigrating," he said.

The three major factors contributing to the country's biggest "brain-drain" since 1960 were political unrest and the State of Emergency, the recession and inflation and the Citizenship Act which forced immigrants into the army.

"Some people are losing money on the property market and many more have been retrenched from their jobs and feel there are better opportunities elsewhere," said Mr Sweeney.

The president of the South African Institute of Estate Agents, Mr Eskel Jawitz, said the State of Emergency could crystallise the decisions of people who had been thinking of leaving.

If many people now placed their properties on the market, it could cause prices to drop further.

Mr Jawitz said agents were handling a flood of calls for valuations.

Government statistics for the first four months of the year revealed that immigration had dropped by more than 25 percent compared with last year, while emigration increased by 14 percent.
BUTHELEZI SPELLS OUT HOPES, FEARS FOR NATION

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Aug 85 p 14

[Text] Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, met Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London last week and presented her with a long memorandum setting out his views about South Africa and gave her his declaration of intent. Here are his memorandum and declaration.

UNLESS the South African Government now takes very early and bold steps towards normalising South Africa as a modern, industrialised, democratic state, there will be increased radicalisation in black politics, and the upward spiral of violence for political purposes which we are now witnessing, will succeed in making South Africa ungovernable, not only for the National Party, but for any future government — whether it be black or white.

If South Africa has any future at all worth having, that future will have to be characterised by a constitution which enshrines genuine democratic principles and practices and which gives rise to genuine democratic government, and which will also have to be characterised by a real and continued increase in the quality of life for ordinary people.

After the struggle for liberation in South Africa has been won, we will have to face the heritage of poverty and despair among the masses which apartheid has already bequeathed to the country.

We as black South Africans therefore dare not involve ourselves in tactics and strategies which undermine democracy and which destroy the productive capacity of the South African economy.

This is a message I constantly deliver to my people.

I say to them that there is no easy solution to the South African problem.

I say to them that there will be no overnight victory; and I say to them that after the political victory, there will be continued poverty for a considerable time to follow and that they must accept there is no Utopian future.

I argue that socialist and communist doctrines do not contain a magic which will solve South Africa's problems, and that the free enterprise system and enlightened capitalism, leading to a massive development of the South African economy, are things that black South Africa simply has to accept.

In our circumstances, the free enterprise system is the most potent force of development available to us.

I am also deeply convinced that while South Africa would rather adopt a scorched earth policy, and destroy the future for everyone, than capitulate immediately to a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state.

Black South Africa has cherished the ideal of a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state for generations.

I argue, I plead and I cajole with black South Africans, that if we are to avoid destroying the foundations of the future, we
must commit ourselves to the politics of negotiation and we must be prepared to compromise wherever compromises can possibly be made without them being self-defeating.

If millions of black South Africans are prepared at this point in time to shelve our ideal of a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state if negotiations between blacks and whites can begin to find a compromise solution acceptable to all population groups.

One-man-one-vote in a unitary state will always be our cherished ideal. But I believe it can be shelved for now in order to make a start where a start is possible.

I insist only that whatever negotiations do take place recognise that South Africa is one country, with one people, who have together but a single destiny; and that negotiations should be directed at tangible progress towards normalising South Africa.

There is in South Africa already a significant body of black opinion which has concluded that there is no prospect of bringing about change through negotiation and this has already resulted in South Africa having entered the first phase of civil war.

The African National Congress mission-in-exile is seeking to make South Africa ungovernable by encouraging black South Africans, and particularly the youth, to kill any black who opposes them and who is prepared to work towards compromise solutions.

The ANC’s mission-in-exile sees the armed struggle as the primary means of bringing about change, and it intends using the resources for violence at its disposal to further revolutionary aims which will in the end ensconce it as a post-liberation government.

Those committed to the armed struggle and to the employment of violence for political purposes, will ever-increasingly become intolerant of any success in the politics of negotiation.

The position the British adopted in last week’s Security Council debate must be applauded, and I plead with you to withstand all party political pressures which may be exerted on you to continue to protect the prospects of British diplomacy being employed to assist in the non-violent resolution of the South African problem.

I am fully aware of the fact that even the maximum possible growth rate of the South African economy will leave a great many black South Africans jobless for a very considerable time into the future.

The black birth rate in South Africa is approaching three percent per annum, and already more than half of all black South Africans are 15 years old and younger.

This huge population bulge of millions of young people moving towards the marketplace, is going to create almost insoluble problems for whatever government rules South Africa.

I am, therefore, aware that the development of an informal economy, and the development of self-help schemes is vital for our future.

I am also aware that the growth rate of the informal economy rises and falls as the growth rate of the formal economy rises and falls.

Western governments should understand that the cause for which we all struggle in South Africa demands the maximisation of the West’s input into the South African economy.

Millions of people now, and future generations, will benefit from a vast inflow of capital into South Africa, and the inflow of new technology and managerial skills which will come with it.

Western leaders (should also) seek to bring the State President to the point where he can make a declaration of intent.

I had reluctantly to succumb to pressures on me to draft such a declaration of intent. I have done so in order to produce a discussion document and to give content to the notion for a declaration of intent which could be debated and if necessary amended for acceptance.
My Declaration of Intent

WE the undersigned hereby declare our commitment to serve God in obedience to His divine will for our country and together:

Recognise that:
- The history of mankind shows the need for adaptive change among all peoples and all nations.
- Nations grow in wisdom.
- Both mistakes and lessons not yet learned led to errors of judgment in the mainstream politics in both the black and white sections of our society.
- The South African people are a family of mankind, seeking to live in harmony in the African community of nations and seeking to do so by expressing civilised ideals in the practical, social, economic and political affairs of our country.
- The South African constitution as it is now written is by force of history and reality a first step in constitutional reform which urgently needs the second step to be taken of enriching the constitution to make it as acceptable to the broad mass of African opinion as it has been made acceptable to the broad mass of white opinion.
- The Westminster model of government was not ordained by God to be the only form of good government.

We therefore accept:
- The need to make the preamble to the South African constitution of equal value to all the groups and peoples of the country by enriching the clause: "To respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples", to include the notion that this can best be done by sharing power in such a way that no one group can dictate to any other group how to express its own self-determination.
- The need to preserve the constitutionality of the adaptive democratic process on which we will jointly rely in being subservient to the divine will for our country.

We will therefore together seek:
- To negotiate as leaders to amend the South African constitution to make it acceptable to all groups.
- To find an alternative political system to that which the world at large understands by the word "apartheid" and also to seek an alternative political system in which universal adult suffrage is expressed in constitutional terms acceptable to all the peoples of South Africa.
- To use the opportunities presented in practical politics at first, second and third tier levels of government to fashion national unity by deepening the democratic process, and to use the democratic process in explorations of what needs to be done to get the people to legitimise the instruments of government.
We therefore pledge ourselves:

- To express national pride and patriotism by insisting that South Africans will decide South Africa's future in the acceptance of each other as individuals and groups and the acceptance of each other's cultural rights to be who they are.
- To start where we find ourselves in history and to move from there to build on all that is positive and valuable and to change that which is negative and undesirable.
- Each to work in our own constituencies to develop a South African pride in managing our own South African affairs in harmony with internationally accepted standards of civilised decency without being dictated to from without.
COLORED MP'S DECLARE APARTHEID THRIVES IN TOWNS, VILLAGES

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Frans Esterhuysen]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — Apartheid is stronger than ever in many towns and villages, according to coloured MPs.

One of them, Mr Willie Meyer (Labour Party, Robertson), has called for Government legislation to ban “whites only” signs and other apartheid practices.

His plea comes after incidents at De Doorns where Mr Meyer and a local school principal, Mr John Levensal, were involved in a row about “backdoor treatment” received at a minimarket.

Their objections to being told to use a “coloured” entrance to the shop are supported by other MPs, who said this week that progress in the removal of racial discrimination was too slow.

Apartheid practices which the MPs said were continuing in many areas included:

- “Whites only” signs and separate waiting-rooms in doctors’ surgeries.
- Few, if any, restaurants or tearooms where coloured people were allowed to sit down for a meal or a cup of tea.
- “Whites only” libraries.
- Luxurious sport and recreation facilities for whites only while coloured people were confined to playing sport on rough gravel fields.
- Job discrimination by white local authorities.
- Continuing beach apartheid, train apartheid and “whites only” catering facilities at many petrol station tearooms and restaurants.

Mr Meyer said the incidents at De Doorns, where people were told to use a separate shop entrance, were an insult to people of colour.

He had received many complaints about such discrimination from people in his constituency.

“I have been building bridges between the population groups for many years, I have experienced nothing but goodwill from many white people and local authorities, but now certain people are trying to break down those bridges by their attitudes. Legislation should be introduced to prohibit apartheid signs and practices,” Mr Meyer said.

Mr Jacobus Oosthuizen (LP, Swartland) said that as far as he knew not one restaurant or hotel in towns in his constituency was open to coloured people. Town halls and many libraries were for whites only.

At Porterville, where coloured people had no library facilities, the local management committee was seeking permission for coloured people to use the “whites only” library, even if only on certain days.

The duplication involved in providing separate libraries for coloured people in many areas was a waste of money.
CRIME UP AS CRIMINALS EXPLOIT UNREST

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Aug 85 p 12

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — Crime in the Cape Peninsula, especially car thefts, has increased dramatically as criminals exploit the unrest situation, according to the Western Cape’s Criminal Investigation Officer, Brigadier Hennie Kotze.

In a statement yesterday, he appealed to parents to exercise better control over their children, and called on the public not to invite crime by leaving packages on the back seat of their cars instead of locking them in the boot.

The brigadier noted that there were 67 reported incidents of car theft in the Peninsula three weeks ago, and that the figure had increased to 87 the next weekend while a total of 125 car thefts were reported last weekend.

The brigadier said: "Crimes normally thwarted by regular street patrols have increased dramatically in recent weeks.

"The use of extra police for crowd control and the subsequent reduction of police patrols has led to this increase in crime.

"The school and university boycotts are being exploited by the criminal element."

CSO: 3400/956
DIRE CONSEQUENCES OF TRANSPORT BAN FOR NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Aug 85 p 10

[Article by Brendan Seery]

When President Botha recently warned black African states over the sanctions issue, Press interest centred on his threat to expel thousands of migrant workers presently employed in South Africa.

However, as head of the most powerful country on the African continent, Mr Botha made a far more significant threat to those African nations supporting the UN Security Council motion on sanctions against South Africa.

A flexing of South Africa's economic muscle, he made it clear, is all that is needed virtually to strangle the economies of central and southern African states.

He told a youth meeting at the University of Potchefstroom: "It does not take much imagination to realise the consequences for our neighbouring states and even African states further to the north, should the South African railways, airways and harbours not be able to handle their imports and exports any longer."

In the first half of this decade — which saw the formation of the SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference) with its pledge to reduce economic dependence on South Africa — central and southern African countries have become, if anything, more dependent on South Africa's transport infrastructure.

Zambian and Zairean copper exports, together with container trains of Zimbabwean tobacco and minerals, all make their way along South Africa's rail arteries and out through its seaports.

Vitally-needed diesel and petrol, new vehicles, machinery and even thousands of tons of food in imports for drought-stricken countries have all flowed north on the SAR routes.

In Zimbabwe's case, reliable trade sources estimate that at present between 80 and 90 per cent of the country’s imports and exports go through South Africa either direct to South African ports or via the Komatipoort line and on to Maputo.

Although Mr Mugabe's country gets its diesel and petrol supplies from the Beira-Mutare pipeline, aviation spirit is still brought in through South Africa.

In the last few years, traffic over the South African routes has increased, largely because the rehabilitation and efficiency of the Mozambican rail links and harbours have not come up to expectation.

Problems of security have also played a large part in the reluctance of Zimbabwean businessmen to utilise the Mozambican facilities.

The Beira-Mutare rail line is operational and the route offers savings of up to 50 percent on the alternative routes from South African ports. However, there is only a limited amount of locomotive traction power available to haul traffic along the
route, which has difficult gradients. In the port of Beira itself, harbour facilities are being revamped, but are not nearly back to the state they were when the Portuguese withdrew from the country in 1974.

Some of Zimbabwe's tobacco is being exported through Beira, but most of the 90,000 tons of the annual crop is routed along SAR systems at preferential freight rates.

There is no doubt that if the South African transport authorities in some way prevented their system being used by the sanction-supporting African countries, then the Mozambique ports and infrastructure would be totally swamped with the increased, re-routed traffic. The threat of South African anger to countries in the sub-continent is real enough, but the question is: will Pretoria actually go as far as a formalised retaliatory transport ban?

Such a ban, while crippling some of South Africa's most bitter enemies, would also badly affect her one "friend" in Africa — Malawi. Most of Malawi's imports of fuel and essential supplies come through Zimbabwe via the South African rail and road links.

Also, up to now South Africa's transport relations with its neighbours have been governed by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), to which Pretoria is a signatory. The GATT convention specifically bars members from doing anything to stop or hinder exports to other landlocked member countries.

What does seem a more likely form of South African action is the subtle, "unofficial" pressure which can see exports and imports for African countries piling up in South Africa through one or other administrative reason.

That the South African transport and harbours systems can be a great help was amply demonstrated in the past year when, despite the tremendous pressures on them to move thousands of tons of grain imports for their own country, they also moved large consignments of food aid for neighbouring countries.

The subtle pressure principle has already been applied by the South Africans on a number of occasions, notably with "delays" of diesel delivery to Zimbabwe to underscore South Africa's displeasure with anti-apartheid propaganda shortly after independence in the early 1980s.

In 1976 Prime Minister John Vorster used similar tactics to force a reluctant Mr Ian Smith to the settlement negotiating table. At that time Rhodesian exporters suddenly found that their shipments were experiencing unusual delays as bottlenecks built up unaccountably on the South African rail system.

More than 16,000 tons of citrus destined for export had to be destroyed and the mining, industrial and agricultural sectors were almost at the end of their tether.

If Mr Vorster could do that to a "friend" in 1976, what compunction would Mr Botha have about doing the same thing to people who are decidedly less than friends in 1985?
VIEW OF MZIMHLOPE TOWNSHIP IN SOWETO

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 13 Aug 85 p 12

[Article by Nat Diseko]

TUCKED away in one corner of Soweto is little Mzimhlope township, whose tenor goes very much the same ordinary way as in the years gone by.

This impression is underlined by the familiar sights that one comes across in a section the residents call Ezindlovini — the place of the elephants.

The area owes its nickname to the fact that here one finds the white-painted elephantine sub-economic dwellings. They still stand brooding, like stills of elephants frozen by a painter's brush.

In the twilight of a sooty late winter's evening, one meets the same old scene: semi-clad urchins playing in the street, suddenly scattering to give way to a speeding rickety automobile driven by an ancient motorist.

Hazels

Further on, towards Mzimhlope station, an old scene is re-enacted; throngs of weary workers plod homewards.

The hard-eyed youths hanging around the shops like a bad smell, their stares boring into us as Michael Jackson blares in the background, jerk my memory to those hairy days when a gang of hooligans, the Hazels, used to hold sway in this township.

As we went on our rounds, we came upon Mr Daniel Monnakgotsa (66), one of the township's founding fathers, tinkering at a car.

One of Soweto's most well-known builders, (Mr Monnakgotsa has lost count of the number of churches he has built in Soweto and elsewhere), he opines that Mzimhlope is actually a fine place.

"What I like most about this township is that the people have a strong community spirit. My neighbours are good folks and we have an association, Thusanang, which is a community
aid society,” Mr Monnakgotla said.

Some people will also remember Mzimhlophe for the violent clash between the residents and the dwellers of the Mzimhlophe men’s hostel during the “troubles” of 1976.

Since then, a lot of water has gone under the bridge and that upheaval, which caused many residents living near the hostel to quit their homes, is a thing of the past.

**Banned**

Now there is harmony between the once-warring groups.

We paid a lightning visit to the home of Mzimhlophe’s chronicler, Mr Mutuzeli Matshoba (35). This is one son that Mzimhlophe is proud of.

He is famous for his once banned book, *Call Me Not a Man*. On relations between the residents and the hostel dwellers, Mr Matshoba says: “We share a fraternal spirit with our brothers who, due to circumstances, happen to be migrant workers.”

Mr Matshoba’s book, which is mostly about his experiences in this ghetto, has enjoyed success here and abroad. The book has been translated into German.

“I think that, by and large, the people here, especially the youth, have come to realise that togetherness is more desirable than feuding, crime and strife,” Mr Matshoba said.

At the Mzimhlophe hostel itself, we find living conditions that are pathetic in the extreme. In one section of this sprawling complex are housed families that were rescued from the “Kliptown floods” of 1977.

Mother of six, Mrs Doreen Selebalo (46), must have been expressing the feelings of all the people living here: “When we came here eight years ago, we were told that this was going to be temporary housing and that we would be built houses. We are still waiting,” she said.

Her neighbour, Mrs Violet Banda (38), said that because of the condition that prevailed, with families living side by side with single migrant workers, it was no wonder that the morals of teenaged girls had been eroded.

“This is terrible. There have been cases of schoolgirls being lured by money to the men’s quarters. The authorities need to do something drastic,” Mrs Banda said.

That is the sad lot of the forgotten people, the people of “Squatter Camp” as this place is called.
HNP BLAMES CONSERVATIVE PARTY FOR FAR RIGHT DIVISIVENESS

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 10 Jul 85 p 4

[Editorial: "The HNP and Vryburg"]

[Text] In all of the important events of the past week the failure to reach an agreement between the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party; Reconstituted Nationalist Party] and the KP [Conservative Party] over the immediate future of the White nation is a matter of utmost importance. It was the joint actions of both parties in by-elections that aroused hope and expectation for checking and bringing down the present government.

The KP's refusal to allow the HNP to contest the Vryburg constituency destroyed not only collaboration in this single constituency, but also shattered the hope for growing harmony between the two parties which would have been and could be a bulwark against the liberal onslaught. This single action on the part of the KP underscores the series of instances in which collaboration on the part of the HNP provided positive results: Soutpansberg, Potgietersrus, Primrose, Harrismith and also other constituencies.

It was the HNP that took into consideration the KP's personal and local factors every time in these constituencies, without demanding an equal advantage for every advantage granted to the KP. These actions on the part of the HNP are a testimony to its good spirit and good faith. Its motives were above suspicion and it did its utmost to promote a spirit of good will on the supposition that similar sentiments would be exhibited by the KP. But now the contrast in the approach of the HNP and the KP is being attested to in discordant notes.

Motive

The unmistakable motive of the KP is that it is not granting Vryburg to the HNP because this constituency could be won by the National Party (NP) and, as they rationalize, because Sasolburg could possibly be won by the HNP then the HNP should not also contest Vryburg.

The fact that the KP cannot make any claim for contesting Vryburg requires no explanation. On the other hand the HNP has an inviolable claim for putting up a fight there—not just because of the local and personal factors which bear
heavily in its favor, but also on the merits of the seat distribution which has taken place between the HNP and the KP since 1984. With the nomination of a KP candidate in Springs the KP has enjoyed a primacy in ten constituencies since February 1984 as against the HNP's two. If the KP were to have priority in Vryburg as well then the ratio would end up being 11 to 2 in favor of the KP. If this is a reflection of the KP's disposition then it is clear that it wants to have a uniformity of a horse and a hare. This is a pity, because then certain KP personalities must be suffering from a serious illusion.

There must not be an underrating of the HNP's spirit of independence. More than any other party the HNP has endures the brutality, roguery, slander and defamation on the part of the "National" Party ever since its foundation in October 1969. This party has a record of having correctly perceived and judged the "National" Party when, during the late sixties, it took the first step away from its basis of principles. History has proven the HNP right every time when what it foresaw proved to be true and the attacks against it tested its faith and courage to the utmost.

Honest

After 15 years its integrity remains unassailable; its political judgement is irrefragable and it has a record of an honest and courageous policy characteristic of Afrikaner nationalism. This is the party that has defended the honor of Afrikaner nationalism at a time when many took to their heels for the sake of political security.

The HNP will not allow anybody to misjudge it. If it must fight for its right it will not hesitate to do so as it has never hesitated to fight for principles and for truth against the predominance of the government's apparatus.

Now the KP is challenging it to defend its honor and its right in the Vryburg constituency. The HNP would have liked this to have been otherwise. It would have liked to have enjoyed the KP's alliance against the "National" Party in the same manner that the KP and the HNP alliance was enjoyed in a series of by-elections. But, as this wish was not granted to the HNP, it now has only one choice: Continue the fight started in Vryburg in 1970 and kept up in election after election so that today Vryburg can be pulled away from the grip of the "National" Party.

Political struggle is a hard and ruthless one, especially when a people must fight against the selfrighteousness, misuse of power and brutal disregard of democratic rules which have increasingly characterized the government ever since 1970. Numbers are important in a political struggle, but just as important and perhaps more important is the strength of inner faith in the justness of a cause that a party has initiated unwaveringly and with firmness of principles. This is what the HNP is bringing to the voters and it wants to be tested on this.
OPINION SAMPLINGS SHOW TRANSVAAL AFRIKANERS OPPOSE INTEGRATION

Pertoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 3 Jul 85 p 5

[Text] Afrikaners are overwhelmingly in favor of separate facilities and services. According to a survey made by RGN [Raad vir Gesterwetenskaplike Navorsing; Council for Humanities Research], whose findings have just been published, less than 10 percent of three Afrikaans speaking samplings were in favor of the "immediate and speedy" opening up of schools, hospital rooms, beaches, swimming pools and bathrooms.

The samplings were taken last year in three Transvaal towns: Delmas, Barberton and Pietersburg. The RGN says that the findings do not differ much from the countrywide surveys taken earlier.

The RGN's Institute for Sociological and Demographic research is now engaged in a series of monitoring surveys for testing the reaction of South Africans to change. One of the objectives of the surveys is to attempt to determine whether people act in accordance with what they say. The institute says that it wants to determine whether, for example, a supporter of the National Party (NP), who favors separate residences, will react with actual protests to a decision abolishing separate residence.

The institute says that various surveys have shown that the general Afrikaner community, notwithstanding physical security as well as job security, places an especially high premium in the maintenance of certain traditional apartheid measures which it associates with fundamental interests. "The most important of these institutions have to do with places of residence, school education, the statutory entrenchment of separate voters lists, the statutory ban on mixed marriages and sexual relations that cross the color line, individual national states for black national groups and a number of local public services/facilities where swimming pools, beaches, bathrooms and hospitals are most important.

"With respect to public services/facilities a recent survey has shown that less than 10 percent of Afrikaans speakers sampled (drawn from established Afrikaans speaking inhabitants of three Transvaal town: Delman, Barberton and Pietersburg) were in favor of the immediate and speedy opening up of schools, hospital rooms, beaches, swimming pools and bathrooms. About three-fourths of these three responding groups indicated that they would leave town if local school segregation were to be lifted."
The institute stated that from the information derived from the above surveys (compared with the data of the first countrywide monitoring survey of 1984 and an earlier countrywide survey taken towards the end of 1983) it would appear that the Afrikaans speaking respondents of rural Transvaal do not differ significantly from the broad Afrikaans speaking community insofar as this has to do with their conservative fixations for the above mentioned basic fundamental interests. "To be sure, from this relative data, one can derive in a reasonably reliable manner the types of critical interests which Afrikaans speakers regard as essentially their 'own affairs' and not negotiable."

During the monitoring survey in question, undertaken by the institute in 1984, 92 percent of Afrikaans speakers and 64 percent of English speakers expressed themselves in favor of separate voters lists. Support for separate black states was in the same ratio. Afrikaans speakers were in favor of separate education and the percentage of English speakers in favor of this was 55 percent.

The RGN's most recent findings are in agreement with the findings, published last year, with respect to the Act on Mixed Marriages, Article 16 of the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, separate facilities, black homelands and separate voters lists.

At that time the RGN found that 78.9 percent of the Afrikaans speakers were in favor of preserving the Act on Mixed Marriages; 81.3 percent were in favor of keeping Article 16 of the Immorality Act and 73.8 percent wanted to see the retention of the Group Areas Act.
CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS MUST OBSERVE FAK RULES, FESTIVITIES PLANNED

FAK Rules Observance

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 11 Jul 85 p 16

[Text] Bloemfontein—The autonomy of cultural councils has been reconfirmed during the 36th general assembly of the FAK [Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations] which is being held here.

Cultural councils may decide for themselves whether border cases, such as branches of the Afrikanervolksweg (Afrikaner National Guard), the Rotarians and congregations when the councils make decisions on affiliations.

Organizations such as the Rotarians, the Lions and the Tafelronde (Round Table), with international affiliations and constitutions, have caused problems in the past. These organizations are made up mostly of Afrikaners especially in rural areas. According to the resolution passed yesterday affiliation can take place if harmonious collaboration is possible under the aegis of the cultural council.

Each case must be treated in accordance with its own merit, according to the decision, and the organizations involved must subscribe to the constitution of the cultural council and of the FAK.

Recently it came to light that schools which for years have been affiliated with the FAK and cultural councils are not incorporated. According to the constitution these, therefore, do not have voting rights in the general assemblies held by the FAK. The resolution has been passed that schools may continue to become affiliated, even under the new constitution of the FAK; however, for the time being these will not have voting rights.

The FAK is going to institute an inquiry in all provinces to determine whether schools (school councils) can be incorporated in one way or another.

The question has been asked as to whether small towns that do not have cultural councils must disestablish themselves from "area cultural councils" under which they now fall. The guideline was adopted to the effect that cultural councils can be established as long as effective contact and successful management of cultural matters are guaranteed. Natural separations must be taken into consideration wherever new cultural councils are established.
It has furthermore been resolved that the narrow concept of culture, which has recently been much in discussion, must be broadened. We must guard against "high culture." Cultural activities must not be offered just to certain groups; these must cover the entire spectrum of humanity. All Afrikaners must get involved.

In order to encourage attendance in cultural councils meetings it is suggested that the agenda being circulated "must contain substance." In addition it is necessary that member organizations submit ahead of time letters of credentials for those who are going to attend the meeting. Social affairs can also be arranged for greater participation.

FAK Festivities

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 11 Jul 85 p 16

[Text] Bloemfontein—The 150th commemoration of the Great Trek to take place in 1988 must be a national holiday for all Afrikaners. Cultural councils must start making plans now and think about original methods for commemorating the event. This is what Prof Marius Swart, a member of the chief directorate of FAK, says.

The effects of this celebration must be lasting and provide inspiration for the future. Cultural councils must not regard this as a repetition of the 1938 ox-cart trek.

Local celebrations must begin by 10 October and reach a high point by 9 December. The countrywide holiday will attain its climax on 16 December with a mass rally at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria.

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CULTURE ORGANIZATIONS LACK FOLLOWING

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 13 Jul 85 p 9

[Report "From Our Correspondent": "Elite' No Longer Have People with Them: Culture Leaders Like Generals Without Soldiers"]

[Text] Bloemfontein.—Afrikaans cultural leaders are all generals without soldiers. They no longer have the people with them, says Professor Marius Swart, a member of the executive board of the FAK [Federation of Afrikaans Culture Unions].

It was clearly apparent at yesterday's general meeting of the FAK in the city that great difficulties are being experienced in the preservation and expansion of Afrikaner culture. Professor Swart was one of many speakers who addressed problem areas.

He said that cultural leaders must take it into account that there are people who live in houses "like those sub A's draw" and that half of those liable for military service have standard 9 or a lower qualification.

He called on youth leaders to give more attention to these people. "It is a fine thing that the Afrikaans Student Association [ASB] is talking to Inkatha, but why are they (the ASB) not on our technicons?"

Mr Niek Koornhof, a Cape Town lawyer and one of the three members of the youth panel in yesterday's discussion, said that the youth has no part in the political strife raging in Afrikaans cultural organizations because it is the creation of the older generation.

The older generation thinks it has problems with young people, but young people sometimes have problems with "the older people," he said.

*The FAK accepted a draft resolution noting with sadness, and expressing its deep objections to, the envisaged conversion of the Afrikaans radio service into a commercial station.

In the draft resolution, proposed by Mr W. le Roux of the Stellenbosch Cultural Council, the FAK expresses its concern about the unequal treatment of Afrikaans on TV. The general meeting instructed the executive to negotiate
with the SAUK [South African Broadcasting Corporation] at the highest level to put this right.

*Another honor fell to Professor Gawie Cillie, chairman of the FAK. The second trophy for which culture councils will henceforth compete, next to the H. B. Thom floating trophy, has been named after him and will be known as the Gawie Cillie floating trophy.
CHAIRMAN OF CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS CROCKER ENEMY OF S.A.

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 17 Jul 85 p 2

[Article: "Crocker Does 'More Harm' Than Robinson"]

[Text] Dr Chester Crocker, American undersecretary of state of Africa, is in no sense a friend of South Africa. He has done the republic more harm than Mr Randall Robinson, leader of the disinvestment campaign in America.

This sharp attack on Dr Crocker, generally regarded as the architect of President Ronald Reagan's policy of constructive engagement, comes from Mr Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus in America.

Yesterday he addressed the one-day seminar on disinvestment of the Institute for American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Dr Crocker, he said, was responsible for the official uproar in America over South Africa's attack last month on ANC targets in Garborone, Botswana. The same applies to the official American indignation over the Cabinda incursion in Angola.

"Chester Crocker was and is not your friend. He is your greatest enemy in the Reagan administration. Important people in the American conservative movement are hard at work to find a replacement for him, someone who will truly be a friend of South Africa," Mr Phillips said.

He painted a dark picture of what is in store for South Africa if the disinvestment campaign, which now also has support on the legislative level in the American House of Representatives and the Senate, should succeed.

He described the campaign inter alia as "despicable" and a "scandal" and warned that the legislation now being prepared for President Reagan's signature also involved America's veto right at the UN.

Thus far America has chiefly used its right of veto in the UN in South Africa's favor. As a result of the anti-South African legislation in the House and Senate that many soon be a thing of the past, Mr Phillips said.
The legislation will also oblige American companies with interests in South Africa to become involved in the country's internal affairs. That is a form of modern colonialism, Mr Phillips said.

"It makes no difference how much progress is made here with reform. The people behind the campaign—Randall Robinson and Russia too—will not rest until an ANC government rules South Africa."

He believes the tide can still be turned. But then South Africans must help their allies in America convince Americans at the grassroots level that disinvestment is a facet of Russian imperialism that also threatens the strategic interests and security of America.
SHORTAGE OF CIVIL SERVANTS Owing TO SALARY POLICY

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 17 Jul 85 p 11

[Article by Civil Service reporter Andriette Stofberg: "Crisis Anticipated in Civil Service: Trouble Over Salaries Again"]

[Text] There is serious concern in Civil Service circles that the Civil Service is bound for a personnel crisis similar to that of a few years ago.

It is feared that the Civil Service will not have the necessary manpower available to cope during the next economic upturn. What is regarded as an ever-increasing lag in salaries vis-a-vis those in the private sector is one of the reasons for the concern.

This emerges from a leading article in the most recent issue of DIE STAATSAMPTANAAR [THE CIVIL SERVANT], mouthpiece of the Association of Civil Servants [VSA].

The association's executive is so concerned over this state of affairs that an in-depth study has been carried out and a program of action mounted.

The indications are that when the economic indicators show an upturn, demands will be made that civil servants salaries be adjusted to market level.

There was great unhappiness among civil servants earlier this year when the government announced economy measures. Inter alia civil servants are receiving no salary increases this year, and their annual service bonus has been cut by one-third.

These measures have been accepted with the proviso that they are a one-time event and that officials' salaries will continue to be maintained at market level as far as possible.

According to DIE STAATSAMPTENAAR, the VSA has been keeping a careful watch on the salary market since the principle of market-related salaries was accepted a few years ago. Civil servants must not be allowed to fall behind again, and the administration of government to suffer thereby, as happened previously.
The principle of market-related salaries has never been fully realized, however, partly because there was never enough money made available to catch up with the market entirely and partly because of the government's economy measures. The top management in the Civil Service especially lag behind their equivalents in the private sector, it is said.

In the meantime the market has been busy moving forward, albeit slowly, while civil servants have fallen behind. Surveys show that, despite the recession, workers in the private sector did, in fact, receive salary increases this year and were also compensated for the tax on fringe benefits.

As opposed to this, civil servants took a salary cut and, moreover, were not compensated for the extra burden of the tax on fringe benefits.

According to DIE STAATSAMPTENAAR it should also be taken into account that officials' so-called "market-related" salaries have already been scaled down to allow for factors such as untaxed housing subsidies and pension gratuities, as well as job security relative to the private sector.

Distress that officials do not receive equivalent compensation for comparable work, the fact that vacant posts are frozen and the necessity of fully implementing the new political dispensation causes anxiety that the Civil Service is headed for a personnel crisis during the anticipated next economic upswing.
SUPER FEDERATION OF BLACK UNIONS HAMPERED BY DISAGREEMENTS

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 9 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Labor Reporter Leon Coetzee: "Set-backs for a 'Super Union'"]

[Text] Johannesburg—The concept of a super federation consisting of new and upcoming black trade unions, which jointly would operate efficiently as the most powerful labor organization that has ever been active in South Africa is still alive.

However, the realities in the way of making this come true are delaying the achievement of this concept and in the long run can even destroy it.

Almost 4 years of bitter strife, conflict, confrontation and differences are still present today and there are no real signs of progress.

As Piroshaw Camay of CUSA [Council Unions of South Africa] explained it, this is really a long and difficult road with more problems and stumbling blocks than they would have dreamed originally.

It's not that there has not been any progress; but, as soon as positive signs have been at hand, a problem arose, a delay which obliterated all previous efforts.

The most important effort was made on 12 June of last year when the six trade union classified groupings drafted a constitution and approved it.

At that time this was regarded as a breakthrough in labor circles and there was talk of a new beginning in the South African labor scheme of things.

This "breakthrough" followed the official opening of the entire unity-process at Langa, near Cape Town, in August of 1981.

Since then several trade unions withdrew out of protest and they were singled out as stumbling blocks by the remaining members who promised: "Now things will go better," and the effort for achieving unity was continued with renewed dedication.
Among the most important trade unions which withdrew, or were now attending meetings and assemblies only as observers, figured the very important Allied Workers Union and the General and Allied Workers Union.

The contents of the constitution that had been accepted were never published, but it is now clear that these did not satisfy all the members. The accusations that were generally heard indicated that some of the members were not really interested in unity, but wanted to promote their own business and territory as much as possible.

Other members were moreover afraid that their own interests would suffer in the unity process and they wanted certain assurances before proceeding further, assurances which they could not always get.

Accusations, suspicion, lack of experience and disputes among members of the same union organization thus continued to characterize this unity process for the subsequent 4 years.

Most recent events indicate that this process has now reached a low point.

One of the two biggest trade union federations has now currently quit the unification discussions due to: "differences which cannot be cleared up."

The thing which created a great deal of concern among the supporters of the concept of unity was the withdrawal of the Council of Unions of South Africa.

CUSA was involved in these efforts from the very beginning and occupied a strong and powerful position.

Mr Piroshaw Camay, its chief secretary, did not wish to elaborate on the reasons for the union's current withdrawal of 21 June of this year.

"This is not permanent. We are just dissatisfied with the attitude of some members who want too much, but want to do nothing on their part. But I am satisfied that there is progress, after all, however slow it may be."

Mr Camay is one of the principal characters who planned the unity drive right from the start.

Some of the other important trade unions working on unity are the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, with an estimated membership of about 120,000 as well as FOSATU of Mr Joe Forster, the General Workers Union and the Commercial and Catering Workers Union.
NGK COMMENTS ON DIFFICULTIES OF MIXED MARRIAGES, PROMISCUOUS SEX

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 9 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] Johannesburg--Because of the great difference in culture and background a mixed marriage will have a chance to survive only under exceptional circumstances and a racially mixed couple will be confronting many problem situations in South African society and these will subject the marriage to great tensions.

This is what the main article in the latest issue of DIE VOORLIGTER says. DIE VOORLIGTER is a monthly newspaper of the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK). Editorial comments are now beginning to appear in various church newspapers in reaction to the abolishment of the Act on Mixed Marriages and the repeal of Article 16 of the Immorality Act.

DIE VOORLIGTER admits that when the Dutch Reformed Church spoke in favor of such a legislation some years ago, this happened without much motivation.

Later the various synods conceded that there are no clear cut bans in the scriptures. Whereas, at one time mixed marriages were branded as unlawful by the church, the General Synod of 1978 asserted this to be "extremely undesirable."

The article goes on to say that finally the Western Cape Synod of 1983 came to the conclusion that the ban in question is in discordance with the Bible, even though the General Synod of 1982 voted in favor of keeping the ban.

However, because of the numerous problem situations racial mixed marriages continue to be regarded as undesirable.

The General Synod of 1982 declared that Article 16 of the Immorality Act ought not be repealed as long as the Act on Mixed Marriages remained in force in view of the fact that Article 16 would no longer be enforceable if the above mentioned act is no longer in the books.

But this does not mean that the church is glossing over immorality and DIE VOORLIGTER is emphatic about the fact that all immorality, and not only that which crosses the color line, is sinful according to the Scriptures.

A drawback of Article 16 was the very fact that the impression could be given that immorality within the same population group is less sinful than that which crosses the color line. That is how the commentary reads while pointing to the Biblical commandment against promiscuity.
IMPACT OF STATES OF EMERGENCY ON MARKET TRACED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Malcolm Pothergill]

The State of Emergency declared by the Government at midnight on Saturday, July 20, has hit the Johannesburg Stock Exchange harder than either the State of Emergency in 1960 or the Soweto riots of 1976.

As the accompanying tables show, some shares even picked up steam in the days after the 1960 declaration on Wednesday, March 30.

This was not the case in July 1976. Nor has it been the case now.

A reason for the comparatively sunny showing in 1960 might have been that once the Government had taken action, investors took heart.

Another might have been that widespread rioting had already pushed down prices in the weeks before the State of Emergency was declared.

In the week before it was declared, for instance, on March 22, London's Financial Times gold share index had fallen to its lowest level since August 1958.

Whatever the reason for the JSE's comparatively sunny showing, it did not last. On April 9 a wealthy Magaliesberg farmer, David Pratt, tried to assassinate the Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. With few exceptions, share prices took a dive.

As the weeks went by, comments by Mr BJ Vorster, the new Prime Minister, that there was no emergency and by Mr De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration, that relations between white and black in South Africa had never been better, did little to encourage investors.

While OK and Tiger Oats held firm, the mood elsewhere was one of gloom which took many weeks to dissipate.

In 1960, when rioting broke out in Soweto on June 16, share prices fell immediately. However, it did not take long for optimism to rear its head. A month after the riots, many shares had risen in price.

Those that lingered in the doldrums were those favoured by overseas investors — Vaal Reefs, Buffelsfontein and President Brand among them.

The exception was De Beers, which rose 12.01 per cent on the wings of a buoyant world market for diamonds. Others to gain were SA Breweries, Tiger Oats and Barlows.

The situation this time is that prices have dropped sharply across the board. Nor are they likely to bottom out, let alone pick up steam, until the factors that pushed them down change.

The most immediate of those factors is obviously the State of Emergency — but even if that were to end tonight, investor confidence would not necessarily put out springtime buds.

As the marketplace for South African shares, the JSE reflects what is happening in the country as a whole. When, as now, the political situation is unsettled, share prices must reflect that mood.

The amount of institutional money sloshing around on the JSE might keep prices artificially high, but it can't reverse trends.

As long as the chorus of international condemnation of things South African continues, disinvestment and other unfriendly actions remain a hot issue overseas and internal unrest simmers, the JSE is unlikely to bounce back to any significant extent.

This is not necessarily a reason for despair.

Looking at the broad picture, there are only three possible courses the future could take: towards a continuation of the status quo, towards increased unrest or towards peace.

A continuation of the status quo, such as that after the 1960 State of Emergency and even (some would argue) after
the 1976 riots, seems unlikely, given the pressures for change.

That leaves war or peace.

Taking the gloomy view, the sub-continent is headed inexorably for a bloodbath. If that is so, it is hard to see foreign powers keeping to the sidelines.

And if foreign powers were to become involved in a war here, it would surely not be long before that war engulfed other areas of the world as well, with possibly fatal consequences for mankind.

The optimistic view — the only one worth considering, given that if the pessimists are proved right there will be no share prices left — is that the tensions in Southern Afri-

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What happened in 1976

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<th>The day of the riots</th>
<th>% change from June 15</th>
<th>% change from June 16</th>
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## What's happening now

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CSO: 3400/870
BOTHAG: NO FREEZE ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT BANNED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 4 Aug 85 pp 1, 3

[Article by Peter Honey]

AS condemnation of the South African government continued in countries around the world — including Mozambique — President P W Botha said he would not freeze foreign investments in the face of sanctions threats.

Botha said government had no intention of tightening exchange controls. The free market system would be allowed to run its charted course “as far as is practically possible”.

“Foreign capital remains welcome and will continue to receive reasonable treatment,” he said in an interview with the Sunday newspaper, Rapport.

The President qualified his recent threat to repatriate foreign workers if punitive sanctions were imposed against SA. He indicated it was not a foregone conclusion but could be “the unfortunate consequence” of sanctions-related unemployment.

“If punitive economic measures are imposed against SA and they do have a detrimental effect on black workers in SA then I — on the basis of first our own, then other people’s children — will have to look after the welfare of our own black workers.”

Sanctions could also severely limit SA’s “considerable contributions” to neighbouring states in the fields of transport, communications, health, agricultural and veterinary services, Botha said.

Meanwhile, Mozambican President Samora Machel hit out at SA in terms reminiscent of the pre-Nkomati era, while opening a Zambian agricultural show at the weekend.

SA was like a “gigantic prison” hit by an unprecedented wave of oppression and violence, he said, apparently referring to the two-week-old state of emergency in which more than 1 300 people have been detained.

He attacked SA for continuing to administer SWA in defiance of international calls for its independence, and said Botswana was still being intimidated by its white-ruled neighbour.

JOHN BATTERSBY reports from London that the three EEC Foreign Ministers expected to visit SA this month intend pressing Botha to make a declaration of intent on reform as a prelude to a national convention.

Western moves to adopt limited sanctions against the country amounted to a diplomatic initiative to stave off tougher sanctions and buy time for SA, according to some EEC diplomatic sources.

Britain and West Germany had mounted a holding action against sanctions, they said, but the French decision to stop new investments and withdraw its ambassador from Pretoria indefinitely had set a sat among the pigeons.

Heads of mission of the 10 EEC countries — and Portugal and Spain — have been recalled for temporary consultations on an anti-apartheid strategy to be discussed by EEC foreign ministers next month. One of the EEC countries, Denmark, had decided to close its consulate-general.

In other related developments:

口 SA’s top-ranking Roman Catholic clergyman, Cardinal Owen McCann, called for a conference of SA’s leaders to discuss the drafting of a “proper constitution” acceptable to the majority of citizens.

口 British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met two leading South African opposition politicians — KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and PFP’s Helen Suzman — in a bid to rally support for her rejection of economic sanctions against SA.

CSO: 3400/870 185
ASSOCOM's Business Confidence Index (BCI) has, in the wake of the State of Emergency, taken something of a nosedive.

The BCI for July, calculated on the last day of the month, stands at 77.4 compared to 81.0 in June.

This drop, however, is not as dramatic as some might have expected - although the full implications of current political crisis may yet have some way to go in affecting the index. The reason is that the July index was calculated only one week after the State of Emergency had been declared.

The previous low since the BCI was introduced in January was the April figure of 76.1, though it has since been on an upward tack until the latest slide.

According to Assocom the decline is due almost entirely to the impact of the State of Emergency in certain areas and its effect on certain key economic indices such as the rand/dollar exchange rate and the JSE Index.

However, Assocom believes that the trend is temporary and that, if stability returns to the townships and perceptions of what is happening in the country improve, the BCI should resume its upward trend.

A spokesman for Assocom told Finance it should not be overlooked that, even although inflation at 16.4 percent was still high, other economic fundamentals were still moving in South Africa's favour. These included a higher dollar gold price (and even a higher rand gold price), a strong surplus on the current account of the balance of payments and a continued (though slow) slide in interest rates.

"The sooner stability is restored, the sooner South Africa can look forward to economic recovery," he added.

Assocom's BCI is based on 12 inputs, including the dollar gold price in London, rand/dollar exchange rate, merchandise imports in real terms, consumer price index, JSE All Market Index, prime lending rate of commercial banks, car sales, estimated retail sales, number of insolvencies of individuals and partnerships, unemployment among all races, three-month bankers' acceptance rate, and new companies registered.
IBM IN SA TO STAY

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 4 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Jennigay Coetzer]

[Text]

THE American computer giant IBM is in South Africa to stay, is implacably opposed to the use of business as a foreign-policy tool and is to spend an additional R30 million on social responsibility programmes in the next five years.

This is the message from Mr Tony Dry, IBM South Africa's director (marketing services), who said this week the proposed sanctions legislation in the US would not make any difference to computer sales to the private sector. It would merely reinforce the existing ban, introduced in 1979 during the Carter regime, on sales to the police and military.

Asked what was to prevent an IBM user from reselling hardware to those on the banned list, he said: "Theoretically, nothing at all."

Mainframe buyers, however, were required to sign an undertaking that the equipment would not be used by or resold to any of the restricted bodies. Mr Dry admitted that customers could sell their equipment to a third party who could, in turn, sell to whomever he pleased.

But, in such a case, up-to-date software could not be obtained without a licence agreement.

He said IBM actively opposed disinvestment moves in the US because the corporation felt it was sound business sense to continue operations here.

"What we are not prepared to sacrifice is the principle that we have a fundamental right to do business anywhere."

While IBM SA represented only one percent of the company's global business, it was one of the top 20 revenue-producers in the world. It was, therefore, a big company in IBM terms.

He stressed that the company's revenue in the first six months of this year had increased by 44 percent over the same period last year.

Mr Dry said recent speculation that, in the event of a total embargo, Japanese IBM-compatible manufacturers would take over the market were misguided: "People who shout that the Japanese are coming are forgetting that much of their hardware is largely dependent on US software, which would also be embargoed."

Referring to the company's activities in social responsibility and equal opportunity, he said that in addition to the millions it spent annually on social projects, the company had earmarked R30 million for projects which would include education, job-creation, housing and legal reform for blacks. This would be spent over the next five years.
IMPACT OF U.S. BAN ON KRUGERRAND ASSESSED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 4 Aug 85 p 1, 3

[Article by John Spira]

[Text]

THE Krugerrand might be down but it is by no means out.

Intergold chief Don Mackay-Coghill, in a wide-ranging interview with FINANCE, says that while it seems certain that a United States ban on Krugerrand imports will soon be a reality, the world's most popular gold coin will not die.

Mr Mackay-Coghill points out that KR sales to the US have been on the decline since 1983 as a result of the growing disinvestment campaign.

He adds: "Between 1978 and 1981, the United States was the biggest market for KRs. In the last three years, however, the European arena has outstripped North America by a significant margin and I would expect the offtake from this area to remain stable and perhaps even grow. "Thus, while the US move will certainly prove damaging to KR sales, it is not a catastrophe."

He believes that net sales of KRs by the Americans will continue — a trend which, in the long run, could result in the coin being sought after in the US because of its eventual relative scarcity there.

Clearly, he comments, the US premium is bound to drop from its present 2.5 percent. However, it cannot fall to melting-point level because once it approaches such a point the coin will be arbitrag ed out of the US to other world markets.

"Therefore," he concludes, "the international liquidity of the KR is guaranteed. My advice to Americans who hold KRs is to sit tight. "The Krugerrand remains an ideal means of owning readily marketable gold. No sanctions of any kind will alter this role."

CSO: 3400/870
EFFECT OF UNREST ON PUTCO ASSETS REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by David Cartel]

[Text]

IF you have tears, shed them for Putco.

Chief executive Albino Carleo's busing giant has been a primary victim of the problems besetting the nation — from the fall in the rand to burning black townships.

Putco is caught between a rock, in the form of unsympathetic black passengers reluctant to pay higher fares, and a hard place, in the form of a cash-strapped Government that will not lightly increase subsidies.

Stonings

Black passengers have stoned Putco buses, causing damage estimated by Mr Carleo at R3-million to R4-million in the past year. Putco self insures, so the losses come straight off the P&L. Because Putco has been unable to collect passengers in some troubled townships, the number carried has fallen. Fortunately, Soweto has been relatively calm, but parts of the East Rand have sometimes been too turbulent for entry.

The cost of fuel rose 40% last year and the rand's fall has forced bus prices up by a staggering 50% to R120.00 per seat.

Mr Carleo claims Putco has had no compensation in higher fares from passengers or State subsidies. The last fare increase was 12.5% in December. Putco has applied for higher fares, but does not sound confident of receiving them.

Magnum claim

Putco has not yet provided for the R7.1-million it was unable to recover from Magnum and which it still hopes to recover from guarantors.

The company is also waiting for the National Transport Commission to pay it R18-million in compensation as a result of losing its Mabopane routes to a new rail service. Pirate taxis are also carving Putco up on profitable routes.

The company's slide cost Putco R6-million in the six months to March and another R18-million in unrealised losses will have to be written off over the life of the loan unless the rand becomes a lot stronger.

Mr Carleo will not be drawn on recent trading results or whether the R244-million attributable loss of the first half to December will be repeated in the second half. Final results are being prepared.

Gearing

The interim dividend was held at 3c and a final will be considered in September.

The dividend has been stuck on 6.5c for 14 years. Dividend cover last year was 4.6 and gearing only 40%. The dividend costs only R1.6-million a year, so the company should be able to hold it, even in this traumatic year.

The share has slumped from a high of R20c in 1981 to R1c — 57 times Putco's best earnings and offering a historical yield of 5.5%.

Those who have the nerve to invest contrary to market sentiment could consider Putco.

Because of Government and passenger hostility to profits, the company has a vested interest in showing poor results and therefore uses replacement cost depreciation. Even though profits have been low, huge depreciation provisions and meagre dividends have ensured strong cash flow — and an incredible build-up of (tax-free) value in the company.

Merger

Although earnings grew at an annual average compound rate of only 5% a year in the five years to 1984, net assets bounded along at 29% a year. Putco has more than 3 000 buses with an average age of 5.6 years. Replacement value net assets in the last balance sheet were more than 1 000c a share. Even allowing for trading and forex losses in full, Putco has net assets of at least six times its current share price.

Like the Frame and the Rembrandt groups before it, Putco will one day benefit from all that accumulated value.

It will require a takeover, a merger or even a grand sale of assets and it could occur only after several years — but one day that value will out.

CSO: 3400/870
RESERVE BANK HIT BY UNREST, RECESSION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug 85 p1

[Article by David Carte]

ECOnomic fundamentals have improved markedly for South Africa, but negative political developments threaten to delay a recovery.

A surplus of up to R6-billion on the current account, the balance of payments this year would normally permit lower interest rates and restore growth.

Instead, largely because of political pressure and to stave off concern about South Africa's creditworthiness, the surplus will be devoted to reducing short-term foreign debt.

Outflow

Political worries have led to capital outflows and weakened the rand. The Reserve Bank's scope for allowing interest rates to fall is limited by the need to protect the rand.

Because a lower rand increases the cost of imports, it is inflationary and could necessitate brakes on the economy for longer.

The implication could be an end to falling interest rates for a while, more bankruptcies, unemployment and general hardship.

Once again financial markets were jittery this week largely because of threats to SA's lines of credit.

On Wednesday, the rand plunged 12% to R4.300. It recovered to R4.450 by Friday.

Chase out

Rumours that Chase Manhattan Bank was severing relationships with SA were one reason for the rand's dive on Wednesday. Chase explained later that it was stopping new loans to the private sector. It banned new loans to the Government long ago.

Other American banks, some of them with negligible business in South Africa, grabbed public relations mileage at home by announcing no more loans to this country.

This damaged sentiment in many markets because Chase's move could put pressure on banks with meaningful business in South Africa to follow suit.

Shares fluctuated, but golds were unchanged on the week. Industrials were down on average by 3%.

Bramie van Staden, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, estimates that SA owes R14-billion in short-term loans. The short-term component was R17-billion at total R40-billion last December and R32-billion has subsequently been repaid.

London

Neil Behrmann, Business Times reporter in London, says bankers there estimate that short-term loans are nearly twice as high as Dr van Staden's claim.

Using Bank for International Settlement figures at the end of March, they reckon this country owes $17-billion (R35-billion), of which 67% is short-term, suggesting a short-term component of R22-billion. The 67% difference could be that the short-term component of long-term debt is not included in the Reserve Bank figures.

Concern about refinancing problems and fears that the rand will begin to fall have encouraged importers and bankers to cover open trades and debt by buying foreign currency forward.

When the rand slid this week, bearish forecasts became self-fulfilling. Rumours about American banks refusing to roll over debt aggravated the problem.

EXaggerated

A London banker says: "The rand is a thin market and Johannesburg is a hot-house of rumours. Relatively small sales can force the rand sharply lower."

Foreign sales of securities are not helping the rand either.

SA bankers say fears for the nation's lines of credit are exaggerated and that if there are no further political upheavals, sentiment will improve. The rand could strengthen and interest rates could resume their downward drift.

Dr Van Staden said there was no question of repaying all of SA's foreign debt or even of devoting the entire current account surplus to repayment. Although some American banks had got tough, European lines of credit were still wide open.

A bank economist said European banks would be glad to get a couple of percentage points more in interest by lending to a customer as creditworthy as SA.

Aubrey Dickman, chief economist at Anglo American Corporation, said the political shocks of the past two weeks had been a major disappointment because the economy was improving. He said hard-nosed foreigners would be more impressed by the current account surplus than short-term political setbacks.

But the reform process should be accelerated to encourage foreign investment and lending to SA. Both were essential for long-term growth.

Jim Srodes reports from Washington that Chase was one of the first banks to stop making loans to the South African Government. It acted seven years ago.

California-based Security Pacific Corp, America's seventh-largest bank, says it may stop private lending to SA as well.

Activists

Although Citicorp and Bank of America, the top two lending institutions in the US, have no plans to pull out of SA, both have come under increasing pressure from activist shareholders.

Bank of America, which does business with the University of California where anti-apartheid protests have become an almost daily part of campus activity, has been pressed for some time to reduce its SA presence.

Although the US bank lending position to SA is not strong — latest figures indicate $4.5-billion, most loans are part of syndicated credits arranged through an international consortium.
GENCOR INTEREST IN BUYING OUT UNION CARBIDE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Brendan Ryan]

PERSISTENT mining-industry rumours of an imminent buy-out of Union Carbide's South African interests by Gencor have strengthened.

Union Carbide South Africa's group personnel manager, Cedric Robertson, confirmed yesterday that the giant US chemical group was holding discussions with several parties about the sale of its entire international metal and mining operations.

Partner

These operations were recently combined into one wholly owned subsidiary.

He said negotiations were being conducted from the United States.

Steve Ellis, the head of Gencor's base-metal operations and chairman of Samancor, said Gencor was studying certain proposals from Union Carbide.

"We are, however, not involved in actual negotiations at this stage."

Mr Robertson said Union Carbide intended to either sell off its entire division or bring in a partner. It did not want to sell its interests piecemeal.

Union Carbide's metal and mineral interests contribute a tiny portion of its annual turnover of about $9-billion.

Union Carbide has 49% of the Tubatse ferro-chrome plant in the Eastern Transvaal. It also has a vanadium mine in Bophuthatswana and some chrome interests.

Its interests include uranium in the US and Canada, tungsten in Brazil and the US, and coal in the US.

Neat fit

Gencor owns the other 51% of Tubatse. The plant is managed by Samancor, which Gencor controls.

Mr Ellis says: "Because of our stake in Tubatse we have to be interested in Union Carbide's plans."

The Union Carbide interests would fit in well with Samancor's operations and Gencor might not be averse to picking up some international mining interests. It recently moved into Brazil.

Mining sources believe Gencor is particularly interested in Union Carbide's vanadium interests and plans to expand its operations into ferrovanadium.

Gencor's only problem might be paying for the additional stake. The mining house has plenty on its capital funding plate with at least two rights issues by industrial subsidiaries coming up.
NATION'S DIPLOMATIC 'FRIENDS' PRAISED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Aug 85 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

Wise old fogeys are often fond of saying that you can judge a man by his friends. It's probably true and it probably applies to countries as well as human beings.

Right now, South Africa's "friends" who have not temporarily recalled their diplomatic representatives are Paraguay, Chile, Switzerland, Israel, Uruguay, Brazil, Malawi, Argentina and the Republic of China. They are all sterling chaps, of course.

What we appear to have in common (with a notable exception) is a tendency towards an unstable general price level. But surely there must be something else?

CSO: 3400/870
SBDC HIT BY ACUTE SHORTAGE OF FUNDS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

THE Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) is fighting an acute shortage of funds which threatens to freeze further development of business properties.

Managing director of the SBDC Dr Ben Vosloo says funds from the private sector have virtually dried up, while the demand from aspiring black entrepreneurs is stronger than ever — and growing.

Vosloo says that so far 14 industrial parks have been established and six more are being built.

Also nine shopping complexes have been erected and another four are being constructed.

"The problem is that we have come to the bottom of the pool of share capital, which means new development is virtually static," he says.

Share capital invested in properties so far amounts to R81m. Plans are afoot to raise more capital and get a bigger private sector involvement in the corporation's work in the near future.

Vosloo says the only other alternative is to borrow. But the lowest rate obtainable is 18%, which says Vosloo is too high as many of the industrial projects give an average net return of about 2% and the shopping centres between 5% and 8%.

The shortage comes at a time when the corporation has built up a development momentum and has established a successful system.

Vosloo says that initially "pioneer" capital is essential but that normal market forces would hopefully take over and in time market-related returns would be possible on capital invested with the corporation.

Every rand the corporation can mobilise is matched by a rand from government.

Outlining the extent of development so far, Vosloo says that by the end of March this year 34 000m² of lettable industrial and commercial premises had been completed. A further 76 900m² is still under construction.

However, he stressed again that unless additional capital could be found soon, development would freeze except for work that could be financed by returns from property purchases.

To date, the corporation has sold about R5m worth of property to black, Indian and coloured tenants.

One possible solution would be for government funds to be made available to subsidise interest rates paid on share capital to market-related levels.
EFFECT OF UNREST ON INVESTMENT EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 4 Aug 85 p 10

[Article by Martin Spring]

A SPEAKER at a Johannesburg investment conference last year pointed out that South Africa was a country whose mood is always at one of two opposing extremes: "Euphoria or doomsday".

A year ago it was euphoria. Today it's doomsday.

The rand has been knocked back below 50 US cents. The newspapers are full of gloomy reports about people leaving the country.

Properties are being dumped on the market at giveaway prices. My telephone lines are choked by South Africans wanting to buy my report on how a second passport can be obtained.

Those of us who are old enough to have lived through both Sharpeville and Soweto have a sense of "deja vu". We've seen it all before, and we know what happens next.

Both those earlier periods of civil disturbance were followed by periods of peace and great prosperity.

Sharpeville was followed by the golden Sixties, when South Africans became richer, inflation and taxes were low, and our country surged ahead in the most important phase of its development as an industrial power.

Soweto was followed by a boom that took the economy's real growth rate to 8 percent in 1980, and tripled the value of the average share portfolio.

Those who showed enough confidence in their country (or enough cynicism about politicians' warnings and journalists' predictions) and bought real assets at the knockdown prices in those times went on to make handsome profits.

Why should things be any different this time around?

It is important not to let your judgment in matters of family business be influenced unduly by the posturing of politicians, whether they be American, French or South African; black, white or brown.

It is always a mistake to under-estimate the capacity of businessmen, in a free-enterprise system, to adjust to changed political circumstances and keep the economy moving forward.

If the international divestment campaign does gather pace, we can expect one or more of these conse-
Or perhaps the rand won't fall much at all, because individual international investors, who share my lack of respect for politicians, will see assets buyable in South Africa at exchange rates of 50 US cents or less as dirt cheap and therefore excellent speculations.

Foreign disinvestment is not a particularly serious matter. But what about the civil disturbances?

They disrupt the operations of industry, they threaten commerce, they drive into deprivation thousands of people who have lost their jobs, directly or indirectly, because of them.

But it is not credible that such disturbances will go on forever, or that they can escalate to any significant extent.

Some time, and probably soon, the authorities will get a grip on the situation, the agitators will all be locked up, the kids will get fed up with being birdshotted and tearsmoked, and things will start to return to normal.

Once that happens, what do you think will happen to the prices of shares, the values of property and the exchange rate of the rand?

Now is the time to borrow again as cheaply as you can, and to buy shares and property at the lowest prices you can bargain out of the panicky dunderheads who are selling.

quences:

- Ownership of South African assets (operating businesses, factories, property) will pass into the hands of South African financial institutions, or foreigners, at bargain prices. The sellers will suffer, the buyers will benefit.
- There will be an outflow of capital which will depress the rand exchange rate, thus providing a substantial boost to two major sector of the economy — the exporting sector, and the one which competes against imported goods.

This fall in the rand may be great enough to panic the authorities into reintroducing exchange control, thus locking foreigners into continuing ownership of their South African assets, presumably with some new and nasty discrimination against repatriation of profits to hostile countries.
MANPOWER, UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION DESCRIBED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug
85 p 13

[Text]

A VISIT to Conlyn House in President Street, Johannesburg, is enough to convince one that any job is better than none.

It is where increasing numbers of unemployed of all races register for benefits from the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

They clutch the cards which show that they have contributed to the fund and are entitled to claim. Patience is a must for the queue is always long.

It is not as simple as collecting the dole in a welfare state like the United Kingdom. Numerous forms have to be filled in and it takes time before the money starts rolling in.

Dire straits

Although the Department of Manpower says the average wait for a claim is between four and six weeks, many applicants have waited much longer and are in dire financial straits.

The UIF has paid about R40-million on the W1: wracked and alone this year compared with a national payout of R196-million in 1984. With 45,000 new applications a month, the fund is strained.

The Director-General of Manpower, Piet van der Merwe, says the fund could continue paying at the current rate for another two years. It has reserves of about R200-million.

But the UIF system is under review and is likely to be overhauled soon.

The fund is a temporary financial aid for people who have lost earnings through illness, pregnancy or termination of service.

Workers who have paid into the fund and who earn less than R1 500 a month are entitled to benefits of 65% of their normal weekly gross earnings over the last 13 weeks of their employment.

They are likely to be paid for six months, but can reapply if they are still without work.

Here is a case history of a white woman who has applied for UIF benefits:

The company Jane worked for went into liquidation last December. Luckily for her she found another job almost immediately and resumed work early in January.

Redundant

She is married without children, but her husband's salary is not sufficient for her to stay at home or even work part time.

At the end of May she was made redundant and found that there were few openings in her field. She heard about the UIF and visited Conlyn House to register in the first week of June.

She handed in her blue book with her employment details, filled in various forms, was given a card and told to return on June 21 to "sign".

Then she was told to come back on July 19 to sign again. Her next signing date is August 16.

Not a cent

It is nine weeks since she first visited Conlyn House and she has not received a cent.

Jane is much more fortunate than applicants who do not have a husband to rely on.

But one wonders how much abuse there is of the fund.

This declaration appears on the rear of an applicant's unemployment card: "I declare that I am unemployed and have not been employed since I last signed this card and that I have not received remuneration for any work performed without notifying the claims officer."

There are no exact figures on unemployment in South Africa, but it is certain that most of the jobless are blacks who are not registered and do not receive benefits.

Markit Research Africa says more than 100,000 urban whites were unemployed in March this year, but the Department of Manpower has fewer than 20,000 jobless whites on its books.

The Institute for Futures Research at Stellenbosch University says a third of SA's potential workforce is either unemployed, underemployed, working in the informal sector or are subsistence farmers.

Although the Government has committed R100-million to short-term job creation it will have to find a more permanent solution if there is to be work for the 150,000 workers who will enter the market between 1988 and 1990.
RECESSION VIRTUALLY HALTS JOB HOPPING

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Ciaran Ryan]

FEARS of not being able to find another job in the recession have virtually ended job hopping.

Turnover among white staff has dropped from 30% a year ago to 10%, says P-E Corporate Services.

Black staff turnover has fallen from 38% a year ago to 12%.

Turnover as a result of retrenchments has increased from 10% a year ago to 15% among white staff and from 10% among blacks to 22%.

Bosses go

P-E Corporate Services managing director Martin Westcott said yesterday: "About 35% of the 1 500 companies we survey every year expect to retrench staff in the coming year. Retrenchments are no longer confined to the unskilled and semi-skilled categories. They are across the board."

Mr Westcott said senior managers were being retrenched on an increasing scale, but that they tended to remain unemployed for only a short time.

"Managers are able to turn their hand to a variety of different projects or else they down-grade their skills to regain employment."

The companies surveyed by P-E every year employ 10% of South Africa's economically active population.

Figures from Market Research Africa show that 38% of black adults in cities are employed compared with 47% a year ago. Only 53% of blacks who had completed high school have been able to find work, and 78% of those with higher education found work.

Part-timers

Market Research Africa estimates that over 100 000 white urban adults are looking for work. Another 30 000 are in part-time employment and are looking for a full-time job.

The findings are based on a representative sample of 1 000 whites.

The survey found that was highest among the 16-24 age category, 8% of whom were out of work.

Mr Westcott says that in spite of widespread retrenchments, the economic upturn will leave SA underskilled at all levels of management.

"The country has not prepared middle management for senior postings and junior staff for middle-management positions. By the 1990s about 30% of all managers will have to be black."
RENT DEFAULTS BY BUSINESS SOAR

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 4 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Ciaran Ryan]

[Text]

COURT judgments against businesses for non-payment of rent jumped by 131% in the first four months of 1985 over the same time last year.

Credit bureau Dun & Bradstreet says the amount involved in these judgments was R1,425-million — 442% more than in the same time last year.

The number of judgments against businesses for non-payment of rent was 552 in the first four months of 1985.

Severity

A director of Dun & Bradstreet, Graham Miller, told Business Times: "This underlines the severity of the recession.

"Companies in financial trouble avoid paying the least pressing debts at first and only when things are desperate do they default on essential overheads, such as rent."

The total number of judgments against businesses in the first four months of 1985 was 14,488, which was 54% more than in the same time last year.

The amount involved in these judgments was R25,3-million — 149% more than in the same time last year.

A total of 2,393 judgments was made against businesses because of overdrawn cheques, 66% more than last year.

Bounced cheques

A total of 129,692 judgments were made against individuals in the first four months of 1985 — 16.5% more than in 1984. But the value of these judgments was R169,43-million — 116% more than last year.

More than 4,500 judgments were made against individuals for non-payment of rent which is 23% more than in 1984. The amount involved was R4,35-million — 93% more than in 1984.

Mr Miller says the average size of judgment for non-payment of rent is R2,582 and for overdrawn cheques R1,875.

The number of judgments against businesses for overdrawn cheques was 2,393, which was 66% up on the first four months of last year. The judgments were for R4,467-million — 106% more than in 1984.

CSO: 3400/870
GOVERNMENT IGNORES FAILING APPLIANCE INDUSTRY

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 4 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by David Cumming]

GOVERNMENT intransigence is threatening 10,000 jobs in the South African appliance-manufacturing industry.

And, says the Domestic Appliance Manufacturers’ Association of South Africa (Damsa), trading conditions are so bad that sales are 30 percent down on last year’s and the industry is running at 60 percent of capacity.

Mr. Owen Dinsdale, Damsa’s chairman, said this week that several approaches to the Government to grant the industry relief in the form of relaxed credit terms had failed, in spite of such relief being granted to other industries.

“We have no quarrel with the necessity for financial discipline in these times but we feel we have been singled out for unfair treatment,” Mr. Dinsdale said.

He pointed out that 10,000 workers were employed in the industry and if it was forced to lay them off, it would not be in a position to take immediate advantage of an economic upturn. Imported goods would then fill the gap and aggravate South Africa’s inflationary spiral.

Several approaches had been made for relief. Industry representatives met the Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. Kent Durr, in January when they discussed the situation informally.

In the first quarter, the motor and furniture industries were granted relief when credit repayment periods were extended by about a third.

“We were taken aback. The move aggravated differentiation between product categories and we could not understand why we were not granted relief, in spite of the parlous state of our industry.

“In March we made a formal approach to the department. Two weeks ago we received a letter saying our case had been rejected. No justification for the decision was given in the letter. It simply said circumstances did not permit any relaxation,” Mr. Dinsdale said.

“We are not seeking special treatment. All we ask is that we be put in line with furniture manufacturers.

“An additional factor the Government could bear in mind is that stoves and refrigerators are hardly ‘desire’ purchases such as video machines.”

A further cause for concern was that when the restrictions were lifted, they would be lifted from the current base. This meant appliance manufacturers would once more be at a disadvantage.

Dumping duty was another bone of contention. The dumping duty on refrigerators was last revised in 1981.

“Since considerable dumping is taking place, we applied for a revision. That was nine months ago and we have heard nothing from the Board of Trade,” Mr. Dinsdale said.
CRUCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SITUATION HIGHLIGHTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS Supplement) in English 4 Aug 85 p 13

[Article by Angus MacMillan]

[Text]

THIS year's Institute of Personnel Management Convention promises to be one of the most crucial in its history.

At Sun City last year the personnel boffins hopped on an "in search of excellence" bandwagon. In Durban this year they will be looking for solutions to South Africa's First and Third World dichotomy.

Recession, labour disputes, political issues and the introduction of emergency powers have affected the industrial relations scene since last October.

Challenge

Never before has the human resources fraternity faced an important challenge. But it has to move quickly or it will be overtaken by events.

An encouraging sign is the interest and awareness shown by general management. The IPM reports that several delegates booked for the October 1 to 3 convention are not in the personnel field.

Wilhelm Crous, the IPM's director, says enrollment from non-personnel people is the highest on record and there have been 28 conventions.

The participation of a cross-section of managers should give this personnel party the recognition it deserves and make future conferences early entries in busy diaries.

There is no doubt that personnel matters are becoming increasingly politicised, but it is inevitable, especially in industrial relations.

Mr Crous says: "Until we have sorted out a political solution there will be chaos on the industrial relations front. We must not forget that the unions are the only political outlets for most urban blacks."

"It is a major challenge to successfully combine First and Third World structures, but it has to be done. The First World cannot be expected to drop its standards, nor can the Third World dramatically upgrade itself. But there has to be a meeting somewhere."

Topics at the convention will include unemployment and job creation; the influence of the environment on productivity; management training and development in the Third World; transferring First World expertise to the Third World; the obligations of SA management; and industrial relations structures to cope with Third World needs.

Cut rates

Pietie du Plessis, the Minister of Manpower, will open the convention and will be followed by six foreign speakers and about a dozen commentators on the SA scene.

Accommodation for delegates at the Elangeni and Maharani hotels is limited so delegates should apply for registration forms as soon as possible.

A bit of marketing initiative from Southern Sun and the IPM is the introduction of a spouse programme at a cost of R140 to R180 each.

Anyone looking for an excuse to take a break may be interested in Southern Sun's Sunsaaver package deal for seven nights' accommodation and a cheap flight.
FISHING INDUSTRY SEEKS GOVERNMENT AID

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Aug 85 p 4
[Article by Chris Cairncross]

[Text]

Faced with the urgent need to finance a massive fleet replacement programme, SA's deep sea fishing industry is vowing government assistance to reduce the considerable cost-raising effects such a programme will entail.

This apparently constitutes the main thrust of submissions made to the Margo Commission of Inquiry into the country's tax structure by the SA Deep Sea Trawling Industry Association.

Specifically, it is understood fishing companies are requesting that government should "re-rate" them as primary producers in the chain that eventually supplies important raw resource to the SA economy.

Their argument is that this distinction would enable them to qualify for the sort of tax relief they say is essential to enable companies to consider embarking on expensive capital expenditure programmes.

Particularly, it would enable them to avoid the considerable burden of having to pay general sales tax on every vessel ordered. Fishing companies believe that this single cost item remains one of the major reasons the industry has pushed back its fleet replacement programme as far as possible.

Not only does it add significantly to the eventual final purchase price, but it exerts immediate pressure on company cash resources.

The usual arrangement when placing an order with a shipyard is that 15% of the purchase price is paid on the signing of a deal. GST for the total order must be paid on top of that.

Given that, it is estimated the industry must now consider spending at least R30m a year over the next 20 years on a modernisation programme, it is apparent the sector's financial resources are going to be severely strained.

Any relief must, therefore, be welcomed. However, the trawling industry's chances of obtaining a sympathetic response from government on the GST issue are generally believed to be not very good.

A deaf ear has been turned to similar appeals made on a number of occasions in past years and with the Treasury's coffers now under severe strain, conditions militate against the sector getting the tax dispensation it is again requesting.
TAIPEI CHINESE TO SET UP FACTORY IN UPINGTON

Upington GEMSBOK in Afrikaans 28 Jun 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Upington--The efforts to entice industries to Upington are now beginning to bear fruit.

Two new factories are now to be built here and these will be providing jobs for many people.

A team of Chinese businessmen from the Republic of China, with main offices in Taipei, visited Upington on Tuesday in connection with the possible construction of a factory for producing semiprecious stone jewelry here.

The Chinese were engaged in long discussions with Upington's City Clerk Kolie van Wyk and they also went to look at industrial lots and other facilities in the city.

A clothing factory in Pella, near Pofadder, is now going to move to Upington.

Mr Gert Niemoller, the owner of the clothing factory, has already obtained a lot in Upington's industrial district.

The factory manufactures clothing for the armed forces, overalls for co-operatives and it also has extensive and large overseas contracts.

For export purposes Upington is much more convenient than Pofadder. We have learned that Mr Niemoller is also going to expand the local market for his products.

Mr Van Wyk said: "This is all part of the effort to attract industries to Upington.

He said that as Upington grows and expands it will benefit the entire region.

The Chinese who visited Upington are Messrs Y.P. Hwang, managing director of the Nien Yang Enterprise of Taiwan, T.Y. Chiang and B.T. Lin.

Mr Hwang told GEMSBOK that Upington is the ideal place to set up a factory for their enterprise in semi-precious stones.
The jewelry wares which they want to manufacture will be intended for the world market as well as the local market.

Mr Hwang also said: "I do not believe we need to look any further for a place for our factory."

Mr Kole van Wyk, the city clerk for Upington, said that the Chinese team was impressed with all the things that Upington can offer.

The city has the infrastructure, there is enough labor here, cheap power, shipping and air line connections.

The North-West Cape and the southern part of the South-West are rich in various kinds of semi-precious stones.

Upington is therefore the logical central point for such a factory.

In the meantime, the office of the city clerk of Upington is in communication with nearly 300 industrialists every month. These are located all over the country and many questions are being asked about the possible establishment of industries here.

Mr Van Wyk said: "These industrialists are just waiting for the economy to turn around, but they are already looking for information."

7964
CSO: 3401/268
SAFETY TRAINING EMPHASIZED AFTER CRASH OF MIRAGES, IMPALAS

Pretoria AD ASTRA in Afrikaans Jul 85 p 5

[Text] Is the Air Force's control over flight safety slowly, but surely slackening? Are not the ring-heads then concerned when four Mirage fighters and two Impalas crashed within a period of 3 months? These questions are being raised regularly by every Tom, Dick and Harry and it is for this reason that AD ASTRA went to seek some answers from SSO Col A. Kruger of Flight Efficiency so as to get confirmation of the Air Force's expanded program for assuring flight safety.

In the meantime the Directorate of Public Relations explained the nature and extent of aircraft accidents to members of the media during the course of a press conference led by Brig P.D. Steyn. During the explanation the program for the prevention of these accidents was also clearly outlined.

The Air Force is certainly not sitting backwards with respect to flight safety and this assurance was provided by Colonel Kruger. Moreover the multiple program designed to prevent and to reduce accidents is dispelling all doubts. He said: "Flight safety training is being given to pilots at a university level by specialists who are even coming from abroad. In addition each flight unit has a qualified flight safety officer."

He then underlined the component parts of the program: Inspections are carried out much more efficiently so that the finest details of factors are not lost. Improved inspection techniques also make for efficient prevention of accidents.

Flight efficiency officers at a squadron level are very well trained and can point out problem areas in good time. There is personal contact at this level and the comrades can be made aware of, and kept up in, flight safety. Healthy competition between units spur them on to improve each other's flight safety performance. In 1980 a computer analysis of flight accidents was introduced and 62 videos for this purpose have been distributed among the units.

But since this program for maintaining awareness of flight safety among pilots was set up, other measures have been introduced to make sure that student pilots are already given a strong basis with respect to flight safety during their training.
At ground instruction schools students are given flight safety lectures and attend such rallies regularly. They get lectures for each training flight. The lectures, which last for about one hour advise the students on hazardous situations and how to prevent or correct them.

Colonel Kruger said: "It is for this reason that accidents are kept at a minimum also at the flight school, because flight training there is well regimented. However, one cannot always have such an absolute control over situations." In so saying he also underscored the view that flight in itself is not risky, but that, due to the nature of the military milieu, the pilot must test himself and his plane to extremes for the sake of survival.

It is for this reason that pilots are tested and retested on a regular basis in order to maintain their proficiency as well as their medical and mental conditions at a high level. In his opinion: "As a profession pilots are the ones subjected to tests most of all." This is necessary, because there is no other profession in which decisions have to be made under so much pressure and in so brief a time. "Things happen mighty fast," he emphasized.

If the public still has doubts that the Air Force is neglecting flight safety, then the words of Colonel Kruger will finally convince them: "We cannot neglect this matter, because an enormous pile of money and the lives of highly qualified men are at stake."

There are so many factors which contribute in guaranteeing flight safety, but also in thwarting it. The smallest human error can so easily degenerate into a big fiasco. Colonel Kruger summed up again the unique situation where total collaboration is vital when he said: "If the cook prepares bad food and the pilot gets a stomach ache at 5,000 feet there is certainly a problem. When the salary clerk fails to pay the pilot's salary in time he becomes worried and is not fit to give his undivided attention to his task."
BRIEFS

DHL INTERNATIONAL--Rumours that South Africa's largest courier company, DHL International, is about to pull out from this country because of pressure from its overseas partners, have been strongly denied by the company. DHL claims to handle 75% of the South African courier trade. Tony Brooker, No 2 on the DHL South African hierarchy, is adamant that the company has no plans to pull out, but does admit to a recent rationalisation of Staff. "Possibly someone adversely affected by the reorganisation at DHL is seeing more in the event than in fact is true," he says. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS in English 5 Aug 85 p 4]

AUTOCLAV FOR RESEARCH--Johannesburg's heavy engineering company P V Desroizilles has completed a R350 000 order for a large autoclave to be used by the CSIR for research purposes. The order was won against international competition. It will be used by the CSIR's aeronautical section to test composite materials under pressure and high temperature. The autoclave, manufactured at the company's Brits factory, is the first fully automatic one to be designed in SA. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS in English 5 Aug 85 p 4]

MARITZBURG BOYCOTT--In an escalation of the BTR Sarmcol dispute, white-owned shops in Maritzburg are to be boycotted, said the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu). Mawu said the methods of the boycott had yet to be decided. A spokesman for the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) said a delegation of Fosatu and Mawu officials, along with representatives from community organisations, would hold meetings with the Mayor of Maritzburg, Robin Dailes, and the Chamber of Commerce today and tomorrow, respectively. "But the boycott is definitely on" he added. Mawu is also to have a separate meeting with the Chamber of Commerce, which it hopes will put pressure on BTR to reinstate dismissed workers. "There will be a general meeting of the Maritzburg community next Saturday to report back on the meetings with the mayor and various chambers and to launch the boycott," said the Mawu spokesman. The dispute between Mawu and Sarmcol began when the company fired 975 workers who went on strike over union recognition several months ago. In a weekend Press release in the House of Commons regarding foreign investment in SA and a representative of Mawu will be appearing on British TV to outline the dispute," said the union. The release added that the
British Trades Union Congress had agreed to send a senior trade unionist to SA to investigate the BTR dispute and report back to UK, if invited by Fo satu. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Aug 85 p 2]

CREDIT QUERIES INCREASE--Credit bureau Kreditinform says 25% more credit inquiries were made in the first six months of this year compared with last year. Companies are checking up routinely on prospective clients before doing business with them, says Kreditinform. In Johannesburg 30% more inquiries were recorded in the first six months of this year compared with last year. In Durban the figure was 33%, in Port Elizabeth 28% and in Cape Town only 2% more than the previous year's figure. June was one of the busiest months ever for credit inquiries--an increase of 83% on June 1984 in Johannesburg, 46% in Durban and 6% in Port Elizabeth. [Text] [Johannesburg THE SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Aug 85 p 5]

ADVANTAGE IN CURRENT PUBLICITY--All the negative publicity about South Africa in the United States also has an advantage: People who have never heard of South Africa now know where the country is located. This is what Mr Sakkie Hattingh, assistant director of the Council for Marketing Tourism, said yesterday in an interview. He said that the negative publicity has spurred the council to initiate a new marketing strategy in the United States. Besides a new advertising campaign to start in August/September and to be conducted by the Council on Tourism in collaboration with the South African Air Service and the private sector, there are also plans to invite foreign journalists to South Africa. Mr Hattingh said: "Whereas in the past we have invested more money in advertising, we will now use part of that money to first correct the climate in the United States." One way is to invite to South Africa journalists of all the media. Last year the council was able to reach 508 million people all over the world with this "guest program." He went on to say: "In order to get the same value from advertising we would have to invest a lot more money. For readers a copy of an editorial is usually a lot more credible than an advertising." Another possibility is to bring more people from the travel industry to South Africa. "In so doing they will be better equipped to sell South Africa." [Text] [Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 10 Jul 85 p 6] 7964

CHURCH LIFTS BAN ON BLACKS--Pietersburg--The church council of the Pietersburg North NCCK congregation has rescinded a decision barring blacks from worship services. The turnabout is thought to have occurred because of pressure from church members and regional synod leaders. The Rev J. C. Carstens, one of three ministers at the church, who was the central figure in the controversy involving the previous decision, has refused to comment on the matter. In May, Mr Carstens announced during a Sunday service that blacks would not be permitted to attend worship services in the church. The announcement came after five black university students unexpectedly attended a service at another NCCK congregation in town. The new decision has been widely welcomed in Pietersburg church circles. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Aug 85 p 6]
SOWETO TEACHERS' COLLEGE CLOSED—The Soweto Teachers' Training College, where lectures were boycotted this week, has been closed by rector Michael Morapeli "out of concern for students' safety." The students were told of the closure after a student delegation met Mr Morapeli on the class boycott following the detention of eight students last Friday. Aubrey Matshiqi, Linda [name indistinct] Dan Motaung, Tumelo Mangakane, Pandelani Mukona, Frank Langa, Moses Tembe and Reginald Mkhonza are being held at Protea police station. The students have also demanded the dismissal of two allegedly racist white lecturers, G. Whitehead and Jan van Heerden. "We believe the detentions were the result of last week's meeting between the Ad-Hoc Committee, the college administration and regional director Philip Engelbrecht on the demands over the SRC constitution and the two lecturers," a student spokesperson said. Mr Morapeli had told students his decision followed complaints by parents. [By Mudini Maivha] [Text] [Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 4 Aug 85 p 7]

ANGLICANS AGAINST MILITARISM—Durban—The Anglican synod of Pietmaritzburg yesterday adopted the resolution tabooing school cadets in any of the schools in which they are involved. They claim that this prepares the students for wearing military uniforms; this being something they disapprove. In another motion which was also passed the decision was made to forbid Anglican bishops serving in the operational area to wear uniforms. Henceforth the bishop of Namibia must also give his approval for the presence of any bishops in the operational area. Bishop James Kailuma, the bishop of Namibia, has made it known that he is not going to be willing to grant any such approval. Certain white congregations have announced that if the synods will support such a motion they would no longer be willing to provide money for the church district, although they would continue to pay their own congregation preachers. The Anglican Church in southern Africa consists of 82 percent black congregations and only 8 percent white congregations. But the white congregations provide 82 percent of the church's money, while the black congregations provide altogether only 6 percent of the money. [Text] [Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 10 Jul 85 p 3] 7964

CSO: 3401/272
SOUTH KOREA SEEKS COUNTRY'S SUPPORT

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 7 Aug 85 p 1

[Text] South Korea's Special Presidential Envoy Mr Yun Suk Heun yesterday delivered a special message to the Queen Regent at Manzana Guest House, from that country's President Chun Doo Hwan.

The message read by Mr Yun sought Swaziland's support for South Korea in solving the unification problems between South Korea and North Korea during the forthcoming Non-aligned meeting to be held in Angola next month and during the United Nations General Assembly.

South Korea's President Chun Doo Hwan, further thanked Swaziland for the support given by Swaziland in the international forums on unification problem.

He said such support in international forums will go a long way in the peaceful unification of the Korean people.

He continued to say that the existing relationships between the two countries would grow from strength.

In reply, the Queen Regent thanked the Korean President for the message and said Swaziland will support that country in the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

She said the technical assistance that Swaziland continues to receive from Korea was the manifestation of the strong bonds of friendship between the two countries.

Earlier, Korea's Presidential special envoy, Mr Yun, held discussions with Prime Minister Prince Bhekimi at the Government House.

During the discussions, Prince Bhekimi appealed for more investors from Korea to come to Swaziland and further pointed out that Swaziland will continue asking for help from that country. Mr Yun revealed that the Republic of Korea will be opening a resident embassy in Swaziland next month.

He also said the Republic of Korea will be giving Swaziland 50,000 U.S. dollars to meet some medical needs.

CSO: 3400/981
REPORT ON WFP FOOD AID

Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 7 Aug 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] The Swaziland government yesterday signed an agreement with the United Nations World Food Program (WFP). Under the agreement the WFP will provide the kingdom through the Ministry of Health and Education with food worth E21.2 million over the next three years.

The minister of agriculture, Mr Sipho Mamba, represented the government while the United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative, Mr. Peter Metcalf, signed on behalf of the United Nations, at the Ministry of Agriculture's conference room.

Mr Mamba said: "We are grateful for the aid as members of the UN, we appreciate it. However, we would prefer the UN to help us produce our own food because the pride of any nation is in self-sufficiency as far as food is concerned.

The minister said a nation that cannot feed itself is not worth calling itself a nation.

In reply, Mr Metcalf said the UN will help the kingdom to achieve her objectives of self-sufficiency in food production.

He noted that victory of any nation lies in strong healthy children, women and men.

"I just hope that in future Swaziland will be able to say, 'we can now manage to feed our children and the nation as a whole.'"

"The UN can then assist the kingdom in other areas other than in food programme," concluded Mr Metcalf.

In the Ministry of Education the food will be supplied to schools, for students and participants in teacher training institutes and other formal and non-formal training institutions serving women, youth and disadvantaged people in the rural areas.

In the Ministry of Health the food will be supplied to the preschool children and undernourished expectant and nursing mothers regularly attending maternal child health centres countrywide.

CSO: 3400/981
BRIEFS

WOOD PULP INDUSTRY—Swaziland's wood pulp industry has announced a bumper harvest with 127,000 tons to be exported to the world market. This good news was announced in a statement yesterday released by D. Hilton-Barber on behalf of the shipping company Safmarine. The Managing Director of Usutu Pulp Company, Mr Rogers said the current average selling price of pulp was 310 U.S. dollars per ton which means this figure could represent more than £70 million or 39,370,000 U.S. dollars in terms of money. Mr Rogers said, however, that the figure of pulp to be exported could be much higher. Mr Tony Viegas, shipping administrator for the Usutu Pulp Company, said Swaziland had been exporting wood pulp since 1962 when the first export consignment was shipped via the then Portuguese colony Mozambique. He said the entire output of wood pulp in Swaziland will be exported this year. Seventy percent of it to other continents. The pulp is exported to South America, Europe, Africa, the Far East and North America. This year's output was 175,000 airdry metric tons of wood pulp, maintaining the production level of 1984. The wood was obtained from the company's own forests and was pulped at the Usutu Pulp Company's plant at Bhunya. The company employs about 3,000 workers. [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 7 Aug 85 pp 1, 6]

KOREAN AID—The Republic of Korea will give the Kingdom of Swaziland assistance in technology, education and medical aid worth about £100,000. A Special Presidential Envoy to the Kingdom, Mr Seuk Heum-Yun who is based in Nairobi, Kenya revealed this when he met the cabinet and later the Queen Regent at the Manzana Guest House on Tuesday. "The Republic of Korea will also establish an embassy in September to help strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries," Mr Heum-Yun said. On behalf of the Queen Regent, the Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpilo appealed to the Republic of Korea to establish big industries to help fight unemployment in Swaziland. The minister of health, Prince Phiwokwakhe also appealed to the envoy for medical aid in the form of drugs and more doctors from the Republic of Korea. The Prime Minister told the Special Envoy that the Queen Regent would like to see the friendship and relationship that has existed between the two countries going from strength to strength. [Text] [Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 8 Aug 85 p 5]

CSO: 3400/981
BURUNDI, TANZANIA DISCUSS RELATIONS

EA161959 Bujumbura Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 16 Aug 85

In the framework of consolidating the existing relations of good-neighborliness between the border Provinces of Kagera in Tanzania and Muyinga and Cankuzo in Burundi, a Tanzanian delegation led by the Kagera regional commissioner, Lt Col Nsa Kaisi, on Thursday went to Muyinga where it held a working session with delegations from Muyinga and Cankuzo led by their respective governors, Aloys Ndezako and (Ngataba). The meeting was a step forward after the protocol made by the Kagera regional commissioner during his recent visit to Muyinga last July to strengthen the existing good relations between the border provinces of Burundi and Kagera Province in Tanzania.

Several points were discussed in the meeting. These were: irregular movements along the common borders; economic questions; free movement of persons and goods and the consolidation of social relations. On irregular movements which are rampant along the borders of the three provinces, the delegations of Kagera, Cankuzo and Muyinga acknowledged that indeed there are tremendous irregular movements and decided that from now all travelers crossing the borders must have travel documents which will be checked at the border posts. Nevertheless, members of the three delegations agreed that people of the three provinces traveling less than 2 km inside neighboring borders may carry only their identity cards.

On economic questions, the three delegations agreed that regulations must be followed to monitor trade activities in each part of the common borders.

On security and movement of goods and persons, the Tanzanian and Burundi delegations decided to establish a committee charged with the maintenance of security of goods and persons. Before closing the session the three delegations agreed to meet more regularly in the future because, they said, such meetings are in the interest of mutual advancement of their respective peoples.

CSO: 3400/979
NORTH KOREANS TRAIN TERROR SQUADS

Christchurch THE PRESS in English 5 Jul 85 p 17

[Text] Amnesty International has asked Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, to clarify Britain's attitude to reports of continuing atrocities in Uganda. This follows the release of Amnesty's latest findings, based on the evidence of two British surgeons, about Ugandan torture methods. The background to a chronicle of brutality, rape and murder is described by JOHN BIERMAN, of the London "Observer," recently in Kampala.

Opposition M.P.'s walked out from the Parliament building in Kampala, as President Milton Obote rose to speak. They were protesting at what they claimed as the murder of hundreds of thousands Ugandans by army death squads during the past five years.

Obote dismissed the demonstration as a political stunt. He denies allegations of atrocities. But even the parliamentarians live in fear, following the abduction four weeks ago of one of their colleagues, Sebastian Ssebaggwawo.

"We must consider him dead," says the Democratic Party, to which he belonged.

The Opposition has also protested at the formation of a completely new army unit, being trained by North Korean instructors. The unit is being recruited exclusively from youths in Obote's ruling United People's Congress. "It is being indoctrinated by the North Koreans," says the Opposition.

The growing influence of the Koreans in Uganda - given the reputation they acquired in Zimbabwe - adds to the tension among the civilians around Kampala. It is the ordinary villagers who suffer most as troops try to hold back the guerrilla forces led by Yoweri Museveni, a former Defence Minister.

According to Obote, there are fewer than 1000 Korean helping the Army. He also says they have been kept out of the fighting. But coffins seen being loaded on to Ethiopian cargo planes at Entebbe airport are said to be destined for Pyongyang, the North Koran capital.

Although the human rights position in Uganda was called "horrendous" last year by the United States Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, most diplomatic missions in Kampala still keep silent. They fear driving Obote further into the Communist camp.
Obote cites the presence of a 20-strong British team at Jinja, east of the capital, to show that he takes military advice from both West and East.

The Koreans are kept in camps inaccessible to foreigners. Many at Nakasongola, a large military base inside the Luwero Triangle, where they are training men of the para-military Special Force. Originally, it was trained by Falconstar, a private British organisation.

Some observers consider the Special Force to be intended as a counterweight to the army, in case of an attempted military coup, such as the one in which Idi Amin seized power in 1971, while Obote was out of the country attending a Commonwealth summit conference.

Civilians in Kampala consider the Special Force troops, in their distinctive jungle jumpsuits, to be even more brutal and capricious nowadays than the army.

Other North Koreans are running an infantry training school at Kabamaba, on the edge of the triangle in Mubende district. In the theatre of operations against the rebel National Resistance Army, the Koreans are said to be largely involved in the command and control of artillery.

According to diplomatic sources, the North Koreans are also running an intelligence training school for the newly-formed National Security Agency on the site of much-feared detention centre known as "Capetown" on the shores of Lake Victoria, about 15 miles from Kampala. East Germans and Cubans are also said to be involved in the training of this new secret police force.

The same diplomatic sources say that a large shipment of arms for the Uganda military arrived from Bulgaria in January, having been brought by Ethiopian Airlines from Addis Ababa.

How widespread have the massacres of civilians been? At the time of the Abrams' statement last summer, United States sources and private relief groups were saying that between 100,000 and 200,000 non-combatants, nearly all of them Baganda tribespeople, had been killed in the Luwero Triangle during the previous three years' military operation.

Now, Western diplomats say privately that between 200,000 and 300,000 of the 750,000 Baganda who used to live in the triangle cannot be accounted for. Large areas of the triangle are depopulated as a result of the army drive to deprive the guerrillas of their popular support - the people are either dead or driven from their homes.

The Government claims to have resettled between 200,000 and 300,000 of them, but concerned Western diplomats have been unable to find out where they have been sent. "It's the question that worries us the most," said one diplomat. "What has happened to the people they say they have resettled?"

"We have pressed and pressed for an answer and asked for permission to be allowed to see these people in their new locations, but the Government just
stonewalls. It could be due to nothing more than bureaucratic incompetence, but the Government's failure to respond could be the result of something a lot more sinister.

Among the Baganda people one encounters in Kampala there seems to be little doubt about the fate of the missing thousands. "They're all dead," said one woman, expressing a view that appeared to be widespread if not unanimous.

Outrage and grief over past massacres and fear of more to come has produced a mood of profound bitterness and despair. These once fun-loving and industrious people have become noticeably sullen and withdrawn. Every household seems to have its story of friends and relatives killed, maimed, or tortured.

At vehicle checkpoints, set up throughout the city and the surrounding countryside, soldiers routinely stop cars, buses, and taxis, order their passengers out into the road, and extort money from them at gunpoint. Such behaviour is especially prevalent after dark and Kampalans do their best to be home by sunset.

"If you have no money to give them they'll beat you up if you're a man or take you away and rape you if you're a woman," said one Kampalan. "We're all terrified of the soldiers, yet Obote says that "the people are beginning to respect the institutions of government'."

The acting military commander of Uganda's Western Brigade, Lt Col. Obot; and seven soldiers were killed in an ambush by suspected anti-Government rebels 10 days ago. The Defence Minister, Paulo Muwango, said that the incident took place in western Uganda. The attack followed three incidents on the previous day when 16 people were reported killed by suspected anti-Government rebels around the city.

CSO: 3400/983
BELGIAN WITH 'SEDITIOUS MATERIAL' ARRESTED

Background Provided

AB261040 Dakar PANA in French 0955 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] Kinshasa, 26 Jul (AZAP/PANA--A Belgian national, Ronald van den Bogaert, was arrested by the Zairian security agents on Thursday, 18 July at Ndjili International Airport on arrival from Brussels. He was carrying seditious materials, written and recorded, intended to create subversion in the Republic of Zaire. He was presented to the public on television Thursday evening by the secretary of state for justice, Phanzu Lemvo.

Born on 14 August 1947 at Anvers, Ronald van den Bogaert carried passport No P.819012, issued on 4 November 1982 at Louvain. He is a functionary with the European Parliament and member of the Belgian Socialist Party (Flemish). He plays an important role in the party as the person responsible for Zairian affairs.

Since 1979 the Zairian intelligence service has been discreetly following his contacts with the so-called Zairian opposition in Belgium.

The materials seized from van den Bogaert at the time of his arrest included cassette tapes of conversations and messages recorded in Brussels by the so-called Zairian opposition, as well as newspaper clippings.

In his presentation, the secretary of state for justice, Phanzu Lemvo, said that van den Bogaert was currently being interrogated by Zairian justice for acts against the internal and external security of the Zairian state. This Belgian national is a member of a movement hostile to Zaire which groups of former Belgian settlers called "the Zairian Committee" headquartered in Belgium.

Questioned by the press, van den Bogaert confessed that he was effectively the carrier of written and recorded materials which were seized from him upon his arrest at Ndjili on 18 July.
Committee Condemns Arrest

AB280935 Paris AFP in French 1906 GMT 27 Jul 85

[Text] Brussels, 27 Jul (AFP)--The Zairian Committee, which in Belgium gives support to opponents of Marshal President Mobutu, on Saturday condemned the arrest of a militant of the Belgian Socialist Party (Flemish), Ronald van den Bogaert, in Kinshasa on 18 July.

Mr van den Bogaert is accused by the Zairian authorities of bringing into the country "seditious materials, written and recorded, which were intended to create subversion in Zaire."

In a communique, the Zairian Committee feels that to level the accusation of an attempt on the security of the Zairian state against [words indistinct] is "significant of the state of democratic freedom, particularly the freedom of opinion in Zaire."

"The fact of exhibiting Mr van den Bogaert on Zairian television and depriving him of any contact with the Belgian Embassy in Kinshasa sheds a special light on the meaning that the Mobutu regime gives to the Belgian-Zairian friendship," it adds.

The committee "urgently calls on the Belgian Government to demand [words indistinct] Zairian authorities and to initiate moves with the authorities for the immediate release of Mr van den Bogaert."

Meeting With Ambassador

AB311235 Paris AFP in French 1559 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Brussels 29 July (AFP)--On Sunday, Mr. Kengo wa Dondo, the Zairian prime minister, promised the Belgian ambassador to Zaire that he will allow him to meet with a Belgian socialist militant, Ronald van den Bogaert, who has been detained in Kinshasa since 18 July, the Belgian national press agency, BELA, announced in Brussels on Monday.

The agency quotes Belgian external relations minister, Leo Tindemans, as having declared that Belgium "is striving to initiate all appropriate diplomatic moves in Mr van den Bogaert's interest."

The arrest of Mr van den Bogaert, militant of the Flemish Socialist Party of Belgium and a university professor specializing in African issues, was announced on 25 July by the official press agency, AZAP. AZAP then indicated that Field Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko's government accused Mr van den Bogaert of bringing into the country "seditious materials, written and recorded, which were intended to create subversion in Zaire." The content of the materials has not been disclosed.

'Not on Mission' for UDPs

AB021951 Paris AFP in French 1414 GMT 2 Aug 85

[Text] Brussels, 2 Aug (AFP)--Ronald van den Bogaert, the Belgian national who was arrested on 18 July in Kinshasa for bringing "seditious documents"
to Zaire, was not on mission for the Zairian opposition party in Belgium, Cederic Fisher, the lawyer for the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS the banned Zairian opposition movement), asserted today in Brussels.

Mr van den Bogaert, a close collaborator to Professor Dikonda, the UDPS president, and also a militant of the Belgian Flemish Socialist Party, went to Zaire on his own initiative in order to resume contacts with some persons he knew there some time ago, Mr. Fisher explained.

The lawyer confirmed that his client traveled with clippings from Belgium. "They do not contain any political statements, but only recordings of facts already known to everybody," Prof Dikonda who attended the press conference declared.

(According to informed sources in Kinshasa, it was said on Wednesday that "the cassettes, which were hidden in the secret compartment of a valise, contained instructions from Prof Dikonda" to some members of the UDPS).

Mr van den Bogaert's defense counsel further stated that he was worried about the trial of his client being held in such a very short time, fearing that he might not have sufficient time to study the documents.

CSO: 3400/917
RIVER EXPEDITIONISTS DISAPPEAR IN BAS-ZAIRE

Boats Found

AB121056 Kinshasa Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 12 Aug 85

[Text] Seven people, among whom are five Frenchmen, including French TV announcer Philippe de Dieuleveut, have been missing for 3 days. They are participating in an expedition along the Zaire River. As soon as President Mobutu Sese Seko learned of the news, he immediately ordered a search operation and gave the searchers the necessary means, that is three Puma helicopters and additional units to reinforce the gendarmerie. Sources at the Ministry of National Defense said that the search started on Friday, but that search squads are confronted with serious difficulties, given the rough terrain, rocky slopes, numerous mountains and dangerous rapids which characterize the topography of the Bas-Zaire Region.

French journalist Philippe de Dieuleveut had already visited Zaire in 1983 when he made his first expedition along the Zaire River and followed the same itinerary. He is well known for his show, "Treasure Hunt," on French television.

This current expedition was called Africaraf and the expeditionists intended to sail down the Zaire River which, along with the Nile, is one of the biggest rivers of the African Continent. The seven people who had embarked in two boats were not far from the mouth of the river and at a very difficult crossing.

The boats of expedition were seen and identified on Friday and Saturday. One of them was on the river bank and the other one was completely wrecked. Yesterday the gendarmerie and army squads continued their search with even more efforts and vigilance.

No French Survivors

HK110242 Hong Kong AFP in English 0234 GMT 11 Aug

[Text] Kinshasa, 11 Aug (AFP)--Pieces of a raft being used by a French-led expedition to shoot dangerous rapids on the Zaire River were located Saturday by a search helicopter, reliable sources reported here last night, but there was no sign of survivors.
The cataract, as it is called, an 8 metre by 3 metre craft said to be unsinkable, was spotted near a dam not far from an island where the seven crewmen were last seen alive in the middle of the week by two companions who decided to opt out of an attempt to shoot the Inga Rapids.

The sources said the two had reported seeing their team mates "immediately lose control of their two rafts because of the strong current."

The other raft was found on Friday, empty and further downriver from the rapids.

The expedition, originally of 12 people, set out from Lake Tanganyika at the beginning of July, joining the Zaire River by its tributary the Lukaga.

Those missing include French TV journalist Philippe De Dieuleveult, who presents a popular "Treasure Hunt" series filmed in exotic locations.

CSO: 3400/917
DIAMOND SALES AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH BRITISH FIRM

AB101157 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1452 GMT 9 Aug 85

[Text] Kinshasa, 9 Aug (AZAP)—The Bakwanga Mining Company (MIBA) and the British Diamond Corporation Limited (Britmond), a British subsidiary of the De Beers, signed a new agreement on Saturday, 3 August providing for the British company to buy the entire production of the MIBA for a period of 2 years.

The news of the signing ceremony was disclosed to AZAP on Friday by Bruno Morelli, the deputy manager of the MIBA.

This agreement, in fact, replaces the first one which was signed in February 1983 between Zaire and the British company. This accord came to term last March and was not renewed because of the disagreement on the minimum price guaranteed by Britmond. In the new agreement, the minimum price amounts to $7.90 for 1 carat instead of the $8.55 for 1 carat in the first agreement. The new accord was signed just after a series of negotiations were conducted last April between Britmond and MIBA, on the one hand, and between the latter and the EVENS Trust [a Belgian company FBIS] which was also a prospective buyer, on the other hand. All proposals from the various partners were submitted to the approval of the Executive Council through the Department of Mining and Energy. The De Beers subsidiary's proposals were accepted because of the financial credibility of this company.

MIBA, Mr Morelli said, is satisfied with this contract for two reasons: Britmond will buy the totality of their production and the payment will be made, in most cases, within 48 hours after the transactions.

In order to implement this new accord, the MIBA has sold 1,026,288.10 carats of diamond worth $6,401,729. This first batch of diamonds included the normal production as well as the rejects (the trailings).

CSO: 3400/917
ITALIAN GROUP PROPOSES RIVER DIVERSION PROJECT FOR SAHEL

AB302335 Paris AFP in French 1357 GMT 30 Jul 85

[Text] Kinshasa, 30 Jul (AFP)--A grandiose project to build a 2,500 km channel to divert water from the Zaire River in Central Africa to the drought-hit areas of the Sahel was presented last week to the Zairian authorities by an Italian mission.

The delegation that presented the project, named Transaqu, was led by a parliamentarian, Giani Cerioni (Christian Democrat), it was pointed out on Tuesday at the Italian Embassy where it is also said that several Italian parliamentarians were "enthusiastic" about the idea. However, the means to finance it have not yet been found.

They simply noted that the "ecological imbalance of the Sahel was caused by lack of water." But then, far away, it is true, the Zaire River, which is the second largest river in the world because of its flow, carries a formidable amount of water; 1,900 billion cubic meters a year at its mouth.

"The Transaqu project," the feasibility study said, "would enable the transfer of about 100 billion cubic meters of water a year" from Zaire, through the Chari River in the CAR, towards Lake Chad which is between Chad, Cameroon, Niger, and Nigeria.

Thus 50,000 to 70,000 square kms could be irrigated in the Sahel, the study explained. It also stressed the possibilities of using the water for hydro-electric energy and for transportation.

A total of 10 countries are reportedly interested in this "water highway" and its road extensions: Niger, Nigeria, Chad, CAR, Cameroon, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, and Kenya. The channel would also enable a means of connecting the central African land-locked regions to West Africa, the authors of the project stated.

For those who are skeptical, the study stressed that the USSR "has undertaken to transfer annually 60 billion cubic meters of water from the Kazakhstan River to the Ouzbekistan by means of a 2,200 km channel."
On the Zairian side (the delegation was received in particular by the ministers of planning and agriculture) fear was expressed on the eventual consequences on the climate conditions and water transport system in Zaire. However, the Zairian authorities expressed "some interest," according to an Italian source.

The question is "how to find means of financing" this white elephant project, a Western expert observed simply. The Italian parliamentarians hope to turn to the EEC to obtain it.

CSO: 3400/917
BRIEFS

EMBASSY MARKS ARMY ANNIVERSARY--Kinshasa, 1 Aug (AZAP)--Huang Youkui, military attache to the Chinese Embassy in Kinshasa, hosted a reception Wednesday evening at the residence of the Chinese Ambassador to Zaire to mark the 58th anniversary of the creation of the People's Liberation Army in China on 1 August 1927. The reception was enhanced by the presence of heads of diplomatic missions and military attaches of friendly countries accredited to Kinshasa. General and senior officers of the Zairian Armed Forces [FAZ] were also present. Sino-Zairian military cooperation, which continues to grow, was marked in July by the arrival of about 20 Chinese instructors, who are here to assist the Zairian counterparts in training FAZ units based in Boma and Mbanza-Ngungu (Bas Zaire). [Text] [Kinshasa AZAP in French 1040 GMT 1 Aug 85 AB]

CSO: 3400/917
DETAINED MAYOR SAYS MUGABE'S CRACKDOWN NOT OVER YET

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Aug 85 p 13

[Text] HARARE. — Zimbabwe police, in a continuing crackdown on opposition leader Mr Joshua Nkomo's Party, arrested at least 10 members of Bulawayo's city council, detained them for several hours on Friday and then released them, the mayor, Mr Enos Mdlongwa confirmed yesterday.

Mr Mdlongwa, first citizen of the city that is a stronghold of Nkomo supporters in the southern Matabeleland province, said police in plainclothes and uniforms raided his home at 2 am, confiscated documents and held him at the central police station for nearly eight hours before setting him free.

In a telephone interview from his Bulawayo home, the mayor said "nearly the whole council was picked up." At the police station, he said he saw 11 of the 12 Black councillors who in the Nkomo power base; all belong to the opposition leader's minority Zimbabwe African People's Union.

Mr Mdlongwa said their ordeal might not be over. "The police said they were only releasing us while they study the documents from the party and the council, which they seized in raids on councillors' homes," he said.

He said he would make a more detailed public statement today.

An unknown number of more than 40 Nkomo Party officials, including three national legislators, have been detained in a month-long crackdown.

Mr Nkomo said yesterday he could not verify or dismiss rumours that a fourth legislator, Mr Edward Ndluvu, had been arrested.

Mr Ndluvu planned to fly to Canada last week to visit his seriously ill mother-in-law. "We also have heard rumors that he was arrested before he boarded the flight, at Harare airport. But we simply don't know," Mr Nkomo said.

Tightlipped government officials have not named, or put a number to arrests made. On Friday a government spokesman would only confirm that "certain persons are assisting police with investigations."

The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has said that the clampdown is a routine police investigation into Mr Nkomo and his party, which he accuses of giving orders to hundreds of armed antigovernment rebels.

Mr Nkomo has charged that the harassment is an effort to frame his party so that it can be banned, paving the way for Mr Mugabe to create a one-party in this multi-party democracy. — Sapa-AP.
CRACKDOWN ON ZAPU LEAVES NKOMO ISOLATED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Aug 85 p 14

[Text] HARARE. — A silent, unremitting official crackdown on Zimbabwe’s Zapu Party has left its leader, veteran nationalist Mr Joshua Nkomo, isolated and petulant. A general election in July confirmed Mr Nkomo’s unshaken grip on the political loyalty of Matabeleland, the South-Western Province that is the home of the Ndebele tribe. But in six weeks since the vote, police have rounded up more than 40 of his top officials and closest associates, including Members of Parliament and his servants. They have confiscated his passport, seized the guns of his bodyguards and repeatedly searched his homes in Harare and the Matabeleland capital, Bulawayo. No official reason for the crackdown has been given and exact figures of those detained have not been released. Government spokesmen meet all inquiries with the bland reply that a number of people, including senior Zapu members, are “helping police with their enquiries”.

Mr Nkomo himself, largely confining himself to his house in Bulawayo, has increasingly refused to see visitors and answer telephone calls. “Why don’t you people stop bothering me,” he responded to weekend enquiries about the latest detentions.

Degraded

Two weeks earlier he said that “to subject my house to these searches is inhuman and degrading treatment to me and my family. It is becoming unbearable here.”

The crackdown followed Zapu’s election victory in all 15 seats at stake in Matabeleland Province.

The result divided Zimbabwe on tribal lines and was a setback to Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe’s hopes of an early implementation of a one-party state in Africa’s youngest nation, which gained independence five years ago after a bloody war during which the two rivals fought alongside each other in uneasy alliance.

It was an alliance which lasted only a few weeks after the December, 1979 ceasefire. The extent of the rift that now exists between Mr Mugabe and Mr Nkomo, and the Prime Minister’s anger at the election returns, was indicated in a post-ballot Cabinet reshuffle last month.

To the key portfolio of Home Affairs, which includes charge of the police, he appointed the controversial Mr Enos Nkala, like Mr Nkomo, an Ndebele.

Enemies

But the two men are widely regarded as mortal enemies and Mr Nkala had been humiliatingly defeated in the ballot, gaining only a few hundred votes and losing his deposit against a rank-and-file Zapu member in a Matabeleland seat.

He has since been declared elected unopposed.
for the northern seat of Kariba, which was not contested in the election because the candidate of Mr Mugabe's ruling Zanu (PF) Party died during the campaign.

Zanu (PF) won all but one of the 65 seats at stake in the mainly Shona-speaking areas of the country. Twenty other seats in the 100-member House of Assembly are reserved for Whites.

Since being sworn in on the opening day of Parliament on July 16, Mr Nkomo (68), has only attended one parliamentary session, Budget Day on July 30.

Rebels

The government accuses Mr Nkomo and Zapu of backing rebels who are active mainly in Matabeleland, a charge Mr Nkomo has repeatedly denied.

In the latest move against Zapu, Security Police picked up 11 members of the Bulawayo City Council on Friday, including Mayor Enos Mdlongwa, and questioned them for several hours before freeing seven. Mr Mdlongwa said yesterday four were still held along with two other councillors detained two weeks ago. — Sapa-Reuters.